BA Degree

Anthropology

Understanding the negative and criminal dialogue regarding refugees as racist discourse

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Abstract
As the need for international aid and protection is rapidly on the rise throughout the world, refugees, asylum seekers are becoming an ever growing social group. However, as the need for international aid increases, misunderstandings and acts of discrimination tend to rise alone with them. In this paper, I aim to understand how negative and criminal dialogue regarding refugees can be understood as racist discourse. In order to create a comprehensive overview of the relevant theories at play here, I have sectioned the paper down into six chapters. Each chapter focuses on a certain theme, relevant to the matter at hand, and creates a platform for the relevant theories to be explored. Throughout the paper, I used theories along the lines of racism, new racism and ethnic stereotyping, xenoracism, bio power and bio-legitimacy to support the thesis question. The conclusion is that the racist discourse at hand, is constantly re-created as authorities base their work on prejudiced ideologies, in turn the discourse is passed down and maintained by a community that does not see need to question it. Contributing to cycle that is maintained by ignorance.
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1 Introduction
As the need for international aid and protection is rapidly on the rise throughout the world, refugees, asylum seekers, and other displaced citizens are becoming an ever-growing social group. The reasons behind the need for international assistance are, as diverse as they are complex, above all else the reasons are immensely subjective. Not every society has been through events that have led to seeking external aid, it can often be difficult for residents to put themselves in the shoes of those in need. Through different traditions and biased media representation, refugees have largely been coined as criminals and abusing the system by not working or attempting to adjust to their new homes.

In this paper, I aim to understand how these negative discourses have sprouted roots through racism. I will situate the paper through theories of evolution and racism and explain how those recurring themes have followed us in our social growth, as well as hindered our open-mindedness. To attain a holistic and diverse understanding of how the negative and criminal dialogue regarding refugees has resulted in the racist discourse that has prevailed, I have broken the essay down into six chapters. Each chapter will provide a platform to navigate the theories that come to play. In the first chapter, I aim to focus on theories of evolution and racism. My aim here is to situate the terms historically within the anthropological discipline. Here I will provide a brief overview of evolutionary theory as well as introduce two influential scholars, who have certainly both set their mark on the studies. In the second part of this chapter, I will introduce Darwin to play. I have chosen to speak of him as his scientific breakthrough has without a doubt changed the way we view how we learn and grow. I will end this chapter by discussing the scholar Franz Boas. Boaz has in turn been known as one of the founding fathers of anthropology. I have included him in my text to show how the studies were taking a turning point. Through Boas’ work, the studies that were being conducted, changed from focusing merely on the physical aspect of life, into studies that aimed for personal experience, which has proven to be a distinctive quality of anthropology. In the second chapter, I will introduce theories of race and racism. To be able to have a clear understanding of the terms it is vital to discuss how they came to be and how they have evolved. The third
chapter I have written introduces the term Neo Racism. In this chapter, I will discuss how racism, in its traditional sense has been rendered outdated. Here I will focus on how racism has changed and exactly what exactly entails within neo-racism. For the fourth chapter, I have introduced the term refugees. In this chapter, I will define what it means to be a refugee, as well as discuss the difference in being a refugee and asylum-seeking. In the fifth chapter of this essay, I will introduce the theories, Xeno racism, and ethnic stereotyping. In this chapter, I will provide definitions of both terms, as well as provide an insight into the ideologies that create and maintain racist theories. Lastly, in the sixth and final chapter, I will focus on the terms biopower, bio-legitimacy, and worthiness. I have decided to discuss these topics to show how negative theories of others have been projected back onto those in need of international assistance. Here I will showcase how it is possible to denounce the responsibility towards helping others and in that, turning the responsibility back onto the bodies seeking help.
2 Evolution

2.1 Introduction
In the following chapter I will start off by introducing the terms evolution, as well as natural selection and cultural relativity. Here I will start off by discussing the term evolution as well as providing a definition and examples of how the theory has changed. Following the discussion around evolution, I will introduce Charles Darwin and his theory of natural selection. Lastly, I will introduce Franz Boaz and his theories of cultural relativity. Although these three chapters may at first glance seem to be quite random, I have chosen them to show how important it is to have a holistic and well-rounded view when researching social situation. All these theories have sparked a movement of furthering the grasps of knowledge, pushing boundaries to attain a deeper understanding.

2.2 Evolution
As a species, humans are by nature very social animals. From taking the first steps as a species, humans have found strength in numbers, creating communities built on kinship and cooperation. And in working together, they have created a complex tapestry of various family structures. Albeit these structures have proven to consist of endless variables, it is within them that we have found the skill and savvy to create the world we live in today. By combining skillsets and strength, humans have been able to create communities, tools, houses, and work that defines us to this day. Although we can brazenly consider ourselves to be our biggest assets, we cannot limit human connection to be our only encouragement to work. Another prominent driving factor in humankind’s journey, that must be considered, is curiosity. For it is the curiosity that has paved the way to explore the environment as well as the human’s role within it. Along countless other disciplines, Anthropology as we know it today took its first steps in academia as an armchair discipline. During the era of the armchair Anthropology, scholars based their research solely on observations and analysis (Sera-Shriar, 2013, p. 27). Albeit the era has mostly been remembered for its inaccurate methods, as scholars who had seldom traveled further than the horizon, started writing academic texts based on literature and secondhand tales from travelers, missionary workers, and colonial officers (Sera-Shriar, 2013, p. 28). As the scholars tried to analyze the information at hand, they aimed to
create a holistic overview of societies, their histories, and everyday life (Sera-Shriar, 2013, p. 27). It is interesting to note that the individuals who were able to recall accounts from other lands, were held in the highest regard. Although this method was in its core flawed, the primary scholars at play, recognized its limitations, and actively sought out ways to improve their work (Sera-Shriar, 2013, p. 27). Although the armchair era of Anthropology is widely understood to be the first step in the discipline, said narrative tends to exclude the complexity of the discipline’s actual formation. Surely the armchair Anthropologists played a certain role in the discipline’s formation, but it was not a linear development. What must be taken into account, is the fact that the scholars that in sense created Anthropology, came from other disciplines as well, for example, zoology and surely took methods from their original schools, and helped adapt them into an appropriate frame for anthropologists to work from. By taking ideas from such a wide variety of disciplines has indeed helped anthropologists create methods that take note from both social and natural studies, revealing the ethnographic framework that has proven to be a defining factor for anthropology (Sera-Shriar, 2013, p. 28).

The history of humans is very long and widespread throughout all disciplines, as most scholars have at some point tried to make sense of our existence and lives. Regarding this paper, I have chosen to summarize evolutionary ideas with the aim of creating a ground for understanding where the idea of our origins and how we have grown. In this next chapter, I will introduce Charles Darwin and his theories of natural selection. I aim to introduce Darwin’s finding in this paper as a prelude to how academia changed through new findings and driven by need for further understanding.

2.3 Darwin

It was towards the end of the year 1859, when Charles Darwin the natural scientist, released his influential work On the Origin of Species (Darwin, 1859, p. 11). In this book, Darwin was able to present a clear picture of his theory of natural selection (Darwin, 1859, p.77). The book gave Darwin the possibility to present his theory in nature as well as within mankind. Natural Selection is based on the idea of different species being able to adapt well to their surroundings, through evolving adaptive qualities. The said specimen that can provide the most helpful features, is most likely to mate with another specimen, and thus create fit individuals that are better prepared to thrive. In simpler
terms, proving evolution to be a true and thriving element in the natural environment (Darwin, 1859, p. 79). Albeit it is crucial to note that Darwin was neither the first nor last scholar to submit theories of man in academia, but within the widespread flora of academic texts, Darwin’s has certainly prevailed (Gunnar Þór Jóhannesson and Þórður Kristinsson, 2010, p. 13). In the following years after Darwin released his book, his works were proven to be revolutionary in more ways than one and provided science with a whole new perspective. Not only had Darwin’s work been indispensable within the discipline of natural science, but it had also provided scholars in intersectional studies to base their theories on evolutionary and scientifical grounds (Gunnar Þór Jóhannesson and Þórður Kristinsson, 2010, p. 13). Anthropologists along with other evolutionists marveled at Darwin’s findings, as in many cases it aligned with their prior research and helped shape the understanding of our species. Darwin’s theories were proven time and time again to be a very helpful tool in academia, for Darwin’s theories opened the gate for so many (Gunnar Þór Jóhannesson and Þórður Kristinsson, 2010, p. 13).

It is certainly clear that Darwin’s theories have proven to be indispensable within academia. In the same manner that Darwin’s theories were able to change the way we conduct scientific research, the next scholar I will introduce was able to revolutionize the way we view social sciences. In the next chapter, I will speak of Boas and his ideas behind cultural relativity.

### 2.4 Boas

Franz Boas was a German immigrant who moved to the United States during the 19th century. Before he moved, Boas had pursued an academic career in Anthropology, in which he blossomed. As he settled into his new home, he made sure to secure a position within the academic field of Anthropology (Eriksen, 2010, p. 15). Boas managed to find a teaching position, where he was able to share his knowledge of Anthropology. His teachings were very influential and before long he had attained a large following. His successful career in the studies of man earned him the title “the father of Anthropology” (Gunnar Þór Jóhannesson and Þórður Kristinsson, 2010, p. 15). In Boas’ teaching, he strongly emphasized using comprehensive methods during his research. He stated the importance of considering all sides of society, not only the social. One could not create an accurate representation of societies, without understanding all sides of the culture in
question. As a result, Boas thought it important to take into consideration the social side of the society as well as look at biological factors, the archaeology as well as the linguistics and how it shapes the culture at hand. Boas certainly had a very fruitful career and contributed a lot to the social sciences. Of his works, the idea he certainly takes the cake was his renovated introduction of the theory of Cultural Relativity (Erikson, 2010, p. 15). Albeit the theory of Cultural Relativity was not Boas’ discovery, the theory had been passed around the academia for more than a century, Boas was the first scholar to adapt cultural relativity into Anthropological practices. The theory of cultural relativity is based on the idea that each society is unique and must be viewed as such. One cannot compare two different cultures, as each society’s building blocks, such as language, traditions, and often beliefs are based on unique principles and thus cannot be compared. As a result, cultural relativity calls for each research to be performed independently, as comparing cultures with different core principles can create derailing and harmful results. The introduction of cultural relativity has not only helped anthropology, produce more accurate findings regarding ethnographic fieldwork, it has also helped open researchers’ minds which has evidentially led to more inclusive and transparent research methods (Erikson, 2010, p. 15).

In the first chapter of this essay, I have provided a very brief overview of how theories of evolution as well as academic growth, changed the way we view scientific research. My aim was to show how one person and one idea can contribute to, not only the way we work, but also the way we think. I wanted to start by stating the importance of growth and understanding before I discuss further ideas of discrimination and prejudice.
3 Race

3.1 In the following chapter I will present the theories of race and racism. In this paper I will define both race and racism, as well as accompanying those definitions with examples of how ideas of race, how they came to be and how they are portrayed today. Following that I will present an example of how racism prevails and how it showcased itself. As I will focus heavily on racially aimed discourse throughout this paper, it is important to have a clear idea of what both theories entail.

3.2 Race
The idea of others is by no means new and has been found to be a reoccurring theme throughout written history. From rumors to urban stories, we have famously tried to define the people around us, so that we can fit them into our current life views. It is no surprise that anthropologists have focused their work on understanding other societies and people around us. As evolutionary ideas, carved themselves into anthropology, not only did they help create a more comprehensive understanding of our history, but they were also able to lay a base for existing and progressing theories. The biologist Carl Linnaeus was certainly a pioneer, as he introduced his ideas of different races in his 1735 publishing Systema Naturae (Gunnar Þórar Jóhannesson and Þórdur Kristinsson, 2010, p. 41). In his findings, Linnaeus introduced a system that would categorize different species, into certain groups and subcategories, based on factors like appearances and abilities. As Linnaeus wrote of the natural world, he included his findings on the humankind. According to his theories, Linnaeus claimed that the people from different societies, had different skillsets and thus should be categorized as different species, which were coined as race. This idea was groundbreaking and as this theory gained popularity it managed to take a stronghold within academia and later was regarded to as a fact (Gunnar Þórar Jóhannesson and Þórdur Kristinsson, 2010, p. 41). As time went on, the theory of different races, proved to be persistent and savvy and with the passing of four decades, the only critique the theory received, was the need for more a detailed conclusion. Johann Blumenbach a German scholar (Gunnar Þórar Jóhannesson and Þórdur Kristinsson, 2010, p. 42), responded to these claims and went to work, progressing the idea of race further. According to Blumenbach’s results, the humankind could be divvied into five separate
3.3 Racism

The act of documenting historical events and writing about people is in no way a new idea. For centuries, people have been reviewing tales of former empire, studying old immigration laws and keeping up to date on the newest political viewpoints throughout history. Following these everchanging political discourses that have been crucial in defining our values as well as our environment (Murji and Solomos, 2005, p. 1). Considering our seemingly constant need for defining those around us, the term racialization came to light and use in 1899 (Murji and Solomos, 2005, p. 6). The term racialization, that was quite widely used in the late nineteenth century and into the early twentieth, aimed to identify the use of racial characterizations. In Kristín Loftsdóttir’s paper, being a desierable migrant (Loftsdóttir, 2017), she references Garner’s definition of racialization (Garner, 2010). Loftsdóttir writes, that racialization can be defined as the process “when race becomes meaningful in a particular context” (Loftsdóttir, 2017, p. 792). As the theory racialization grew, it offered a counter theory called deracialization (Murji and Solomos, 2005, p. 6). As the name deracialization implies, the theory was based on the idea of trying to look beyond race in social settings (Murji and Solomos, 2005, p. 6). Deracializations most notable contribution to academia was the theory of colour-blindness. The idea of colour-blind ideology was based on seeing each person’s need regardless of race or culture (Murji and Solomos, 2005, p. 6). Although the thought of viewing every person need, regardless of background may seem thoughtful and well-intended, it has rendered itself quite ignorant for not everyone is not built the same nor
requires the same assistance. Each person is created by their environment and experiences and so it is crucial to provide a more wholistic overview in the name of help. To ignore the social surroundings and experiences that call for need, in the name of help, is taking the human out of humanitarian assistance (Erikson, 2010, p. 127).

The theory of race may have originally served as a classificatory system for scientists to use in research and understanding. However, the theory seemed to face quite an unfortunate backlash as the basis of different races has widely been used as justification to treat people unequally due to racial distinctions. As Ruth Benedict stated in her book Race Science and Politics (Benedict, 1940) „Racism is the dogma that one ethnic group is condemned by Nature to hereditary inferiority and another group is destined to hereditary superiority “(Benedict, 1940, p. 98). Albeit Benedict’s statement clearly states the core of racist ideology, racist thoughts are not always portrayed in the same manner. It is worth noting that prejudiced thoughts and actions are not necessarily always blunt or direct. Racist and otherwise prejudiced thinking often comes second-hand to the thinker in question. It has also proven to be quite clear that people who share racist ideas, are not always actively trying to think racist thoughts, rather they have been conditioned by resilient stereotypes that prevail around them. How-ever, racism shows itself in form of ingrained ideas such as black people being inherently more violent and thus more likely to get into trouble with law enforcement (Peffley, Hurwitz and Sniderman, 1997, p. 32). Stereotypes along the lines of these are for the most part, not scientifically backed up. However, they have managed to create some sort of social acceptance, which in turns validates these ideas among citizens. However, when harmful generalizations along these lines become widely accepted there is call for intervention. Ruth Benedict spoke of how racist stereotypes can not only be harmful, but how they cannot hold ground in academic research, as they are not scientifically proven and often extremely contradictory. Benedict wrote „But the literature of racism is extraordinarily inept and contradictory in its use of facts. Any scientist can disprove all its facts and still leave the belief untouched. Racism, therefore, like any dogma that cannot be scientifically demonstrated, must be studied historically “(Benedict, 1940, p. 99).

Benedict made a point of racism being a socially based phenomenon and thus it must be researched as such. At first glance it may seem confusing, how such systematically ingrained prejudice, was able to sprout roots – even though the arguments held no
academic ground. However, confusing the phenomenon, a point can be made that the scientific grounds were not driving factor in racisms stronghold. Like many other social rankings and social standings, racism is a socially constructed phenomenon. In cases of working with manmade ideologies, is can present quite clear that manmade structures can be altered and swayed in the initial stages. Racism has proven to be a result of such alterations as the ideology showcases how systems can benefit those who made them (Murji and Solomos, 2005, p. 70). It is blatantly obvious in researching how ideas of racism came to be, that those who worked towards creating the racial ideology were namely white and thus had a biased view they could use to their benefits. However, one looks over the history of the racist ideology those who created the terminology held themselves to a higher standard than others. It is thus clear that those who have embraced racist ideologies as the truth are in turn claiming themselves as higher beings. As Benedict wrote, “Racism is essentially a pretentious way of saying that „I“belong to the Best People” (Benedict, 1940, p. 99).
4 New Racism

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I aim to look at how racist ideology has changed from ideas of biological superiority to thoughts of cultural and ethnic difference. Although quite a while has passed since the first ideas of racism and racial discrimination came to light, sadly prejudice is still to be found. Albeit through many civil rights movements and general demands for equality changes have been made regarding discriminatory mindsets, but sadly they are just changes, and not complete abolition.

As above mentioned, racism in the sense of discrimination based on biological different has lost its ground in today’s political landscape, but that is not to say it has disappeared. A changed form of racial discrimination has come to light and it has been coined New Racism (Ibrahim, 2005, p. 165). As Maggie Ibrahim writes in her publishing The Securitization of Migration: A Racial Discourse, “Racism is no longer simply based on a notion of bio-logical superiority, but that new racism focuses on the natural and unavoidable fact of cultural difference” (Ibrahim, 2005, p. 165).

As celebrating as ethnic cultures can be, it can prove to be difficult when different cultures meet and clash. As one’s culture is widely seen as a unifying identity, (Eriksen, 2010, p. 10) it can be very difficult when another culture with opposing values comes into play. It is here that New Racism (Ibrahim, 2005, p. 166) reaches out and plants seeds of doubt and raises worries along the lines of, will a fight break against another ethnical group (Ibrahim, 2005, p. 166). These doubtful ideas can prove to be quite harmful, as they invoke ideas of threat and other dread. For example, the idea that societies with conflicting ideologies might aim to harm the opposing cultures values. As Ibrahim wrote “The defining feature of new racism is that cultural pluralism will lead to inter-ethnic conflict which will dissolve the unity of the state” (Ibrahim, 2005, p. 166).

At the end of the day it is not a personal fear of different cultures that creates conflict, it is rather the lack of understanding and fear that other cultures might impose on one’s personal society. It is not fear of the people, it is fear of opposing ideas and the unknown. As Ibrahim wrote “Fear of the “other” is at the core of new racism” (Ibrahim, 2005, p.165).
It is in this in between state that vulnerable social groups, such as refugees, are left to fend for themselves, as they do not fit in too new cultures and often leave their background behind. As one tries to assimilate into a new country, it can remain both worrying and tiresome, as people that have relocated on the grounds of not fitting in, tends to leave people in some sort of limbo as they have not found a place to call home. In this fragile state of not having a strong support network that it is easy to fall through the cracks of society. As Ibrahim states, the negative attitude that refugees tend to face, should be defined as racism as the, as refugees seem to be considered as a threat and face prejudiced from prospects of their race or cultural differences (Ibrahim, 2005, p. 166). This situation is all too real for refugees and people seeking international protection.
5 Refugees

5.1 Introduction
In this chapter I provide a brief overview of what it means to be internationally displaced as refugees and those who seek international protection. To be able to understand what it means to be a refugee or asylum seeker, it is pertinent to able to understand what it means to be a refugee and who are the people behind the internationally displaced term.

5.2 Refugees
In 1948, the United Nations held a convention that focused on universal human rights and ones right to move as well as the right to seek international asylum. This convention that was called United Nations Convention, relating to the Status of Refugees and was in the least fruitful. In 1951 the 14th article of the declaration of human rights was approved. The 14th article states the international right to seek asylum (Convention 1951 and 1967, p. 2). The aftermath of this convention was to say the least, ground-breaking. Following the 1951 convention, a unanimous definition of refugees was stated, which had been needed as it seemed unclear who was able to fit into the definition of refugee and therefore unclear who was able to state their rights (Convention 1951 and 1967, p. 3). The definition of refugees has been stated “Refugees and asylum seekers are migrants who have left their countries and request international protection on account of persecution, war or other factors that put their lives or security at risk” (Bartam, Poros and Monforte, 2014, p. 106). However, the reasons for seeking asylum can be diverse and the 14th article articulates few reasons why people internationally face persecution, those reasons can for example be: Religion, Race, Political opinion, being a member of certain social groups and so on (Convention 1951 and 1967, p. 3).

When people in need of international protection are introduced, the terms asylum seeker and refugee are interchangeable. As both terms are very frequently used, it is bound to cause confusion. It is important to note that the terms refugee and asylum seeker are both titles for people in search of international assistance, how-ever they do not mean the same thing. Both terms are used to assess a person’s status, within the process of seeking international protection. The title asylum seeker implies that the person in question has not yet gotten approval for international protection but has arrived in a foreign country based on seeking international aid from the government
Refugee is however a term used to for those who have been granted aid from an external government (Bartam, Poros and Monforte, 2014, p. 107).

However, the problems do not end as soon as one has been granted status as refugee. In the days, months and years that follow receiving international protection can prove to be just as difficult as the actual process of seeking help. People must adapt to new languages, cultures, and the new life away from one’s family. The troubles are not necessarily only to be within the assimilation, rather it has been known that acceptance among the new culture can seem to be extremely challenging. In this next chapter I aim to showcase how premonitions based on outdated ideas, such as those I have mentioned in the chapters about evolution and racial discourse, have created stereotypes and prejudices that merely maintain the otherness of refugees.
6 Xeno racism

6.1 Introduction

Throughout this paper, I have worked towards creating an understanding of racist ideology. I have provided a brief overview, entailing how racist ideology manifested itself through ever growing theories of evolution and race. However, now I aim to focus on how said manifestation of theories has contributed to the criminal and otherwise negative dialogue regarding refugees. In the following chapter I will pursue the different viewpoints such as xeno-racism and ethnicity.

As I have set out to understand how these racist ideologies came to be, I have looked to the source and will situate the ideas of how evolution and racism have played together, as anthropology took its steps towards creating fully formed theories.

In the first part of this paper, I have introduced the theory of evolution namely to set the scene of how theories within the discipline developed and more structured theories of race and racism came into place. By creating a certain timeline of scholars that contributed to theories of evolution and human origin. However as stated here earlier, the theory of racism has not served as a ground-breaking theory in the greater scheme of understanding our origins, rather has it mainly served as a blight and a harmful regressor throughout history. However racism and racist discourse has certainly changed with time, through tireless civil rights movements. Racism may not showcase itself in the same way it previously has, but that cannot count as indicator that racism is not present in society as is.

As previously stated, racist ideologies have not disappeared, they have merely manifested in different ways, acclimating to today’s political landscape. In the previous chapter, I presented the theory of New Racism (Ibrahim, 2005, p.165), and introduced the following theoretical framework of racism shifting its focus point. The idea states the prejudice that was once based on physical features, has since changed, and now focuses mainly on social status. In the end of the last chapter, I stated that this new type of racism greatly affects people with fragmented social standing such as refugees and asylum seekers. In this last chapter I will further explain how these new ideologies have affected socially venerable groups, along the lines of refugees and asylum seekers, and further articulate how these theories have caused more harm than help.
When it comes to prejudice against minority groups such as migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers, it can be quite easy to discount racial discrimination as the fault. It can be easy to overlook racism in the equation, as it does not showcase itself in forms that are traditionally known as racist, for example segregated businesses and more blatant and explicit forms of racism such as slavery (Hunt, 2019, p. 88). In cases such as these, it is important to note that racial prejudice is often discounted due to the fact that the new racism (Hunt, 2019, p. 88) that has emerged, thrives off clandestine and unassuming actions that preserve and uphold white superiority (Hunt, 2019, p. 88). It can certainly be noted that such violent and explicit racism is no longer visible in society today. The keyword here is, visible. For those who do not face prosecution, threat, or danger of any sort from their surroundings, are more likely to write racism off, as a thing of the past. However easy it is to write off prejudice when you cannot see it, writing off the aftermath and consequences of racist regimes remains continuously harmful (Hunt, 2019, p. 88). As past actions are buried and forgotten, they do not only dismiss the gravity of the lasting effects, but they also fail to prevent further harm.

It is worth noting, that the prejudice that showcases itself can be observed in different forms that can often be unassuming in comparison to the explicit effects most people relate traditional racism too. Although, when examining the matter at hand, it becomes quite clear that both the methods of traditional racism and new racism (Ibrahim 2005), both revolve around creating a distance between social groups, resulting in an us against them mentality. Through unassuming eyes, it can be easy to slip past signs of injustice. It can be easy to notice the others, but not the actual othering at play. The terms ethnic stereotypes and xenoracism are both relevant examples of how prejudice has concentrated itself around social identity (Erikson, 2010, p. 3). Both terms have managed to present theories of prejudice based on social standing. Albeit it is important to note that these terms are not synonyms to new racism, how-ever they do showcase examples of prejudice in a similar manner of new racism

6.2 Xeno Racism
While reading through matters regarding refugees, asylum seekers or other types of migration, the term xeno racism is bound to appear within the literature. The term xeno-
racism often comes to light in the coverage of struggles that refugees face, in their attempt to seek international assistance. Xeno-racism is certainly able to shed an interesting light on struggles of refugees and asylum seekers. Struggles that do not only entail logistical issues, like acquiring a passport but difficulty to enquire assistance due to prepositioned ideas along the lines of refugees being lazy and in turn demonizing a whole group of people seeking help (Fekete, 2001, p. 23). As the name implies, Xeno-racism is based on racist ideologies, however the term entails ideologies that differ from racism as it is most known (Hunt, 2019, p. 88). The definition of xeno-racism was provided by a leading scholar in race and class studies and director of United Kingdom’s Institute of Race Relations, named Sivanandan (Cheran, 2001, p. 2). Sivanandan presented xeno-racism as such, “a racism that is not just directed at those with darker skins, from the former colonial territories, but at the newer categories of the displaced, the dispossessed and the uprooted, who are beating at Western Europe’s doors” (Boeyink, 2019, p. 62). As the definition states, the subordinate groups are not merely defined by race or skin tone, these minorities can rather be found through loss of social standing, for example those who have been uprooted from their homes. As Sivanandan continues to argue, it is important to note that xeno-racism focuses discrimination mainly against foreigners as the name indicates. The groups that have since been mentioned, such as the displaced and otherwise uprooted, can all be viewed as outsiders, seeking external assistance (Cheran, 2001, p. 2). As Sivanandan stated “Xenoracism is racism in substance, but “xeno” in form” (Cheran, 2001, p. 2). As xeno-racism diverges from the more direct racism, sadly it still shares some of the more crass and direct forms of racial prejudices. As Liz Fekete wrote in her publishing The Emergence of Xeno-Racism (Fekete, 2001, p.39), “Xeno-racism, the new racism against asylum seekers, marries up the worst racist practices throughout the western world: the segregation of asylum seekers mirrors the anti-black racism of apartheid, or of segregation in the US” (Fekete, 2001, p.39). Whilst Xeno-Racism is held up by institutions and bureaucracy that endorse racist work ethics in the name of economic preservation, social prosperity, and the national identity (Fekete, 2001, p.23), it does not only take place in an institutional environment. It is important to note the prejudiced values can certainly be found on a domestic scale. Personal ideas of prejudice do not always show themselves in the same ways, but it is crucial to note that these different manifestations all play a significant role in popularising prejudiced values.
6.3 Ethnic stereotypes

In the following chapter I will present the theory ethnic stereotyping. I have chosen to discuss how the concept of ethnic stereotyping and how it can be used to regulate ideas about certain social groups through the corresponding discourse. At first, I will provide a definition of the term ethnicity. After that I will explain how ethnic stereotypes materialize, through understanding the knowledge we have at hand and who created said knowledge. Lastly, I will discuss how stereotypes manifest and the repercussions they can have.

Ethnicity is described as “relating to a sense of belonging based on the belief in shared culture and common ancestry” (Demmers, 2017, p. 26). As with any form of identity, ethnic identity is to a large extent built on personal experiences. It is crucial to note that even though a group of people adheres to the same culture and beliefs, each individual will manifest their own understanding of the shared experiences, thus definitions of shared ideologies, ethnic groups for example must always be taken with some caution as the definitions can be flexible and interchangeable, respective to each members experience. However, by reviewing the literature on ethnicity, it is quite noticeable that there are two focus points on understanding ethnicity. On one hand there is primordialism, which entails the idea that ethnicity is a natural bond that we attain at birth and can in no way be broken (Demmers, 2017, p. 26). On the other hand, there is the idea of constructivism. Constructivism is understood as the practice of creating boundaries between individuals, that can furthermore lead to creating groups (Demmers, 2017, p. 27). Albeit the first term has since been banned from textbooks due to the terms “commonsensical simplicity” (Demmers, 2017, p. 26). Remarkably, the outdated ideology certainly set its mark on how ethnic identities are perceived, pertaining the idea that ethnic values are set in stone. In any case, the outdated ideology has certainly been replaced which has allowed the theory to embrace the thought of fluctuation. In the paper Ethnicity and Ethnic Identity in Context (Kiang, 2014), the author Kiang discusses the idea of ethnicity being a personal experience. Kiang argues that to fully understand the term ethnicity, one must regard it as a constantly changing fluid; taking new forms and directions based on personal experiences (Kiang, 2014, p. 216).

Now that I have introduced the term ethnicity into play, I will further elaborate on the matter and bring forth the term ethnic stereotyping. Ethnic stereotyping is a good
example of how prejudiced ideologies have taken hold in within personal interactions and everyday life. Stereotypes as we know them serve as a useful tool as we assess everyday situations. We develop stereotypes to process the information we receive from our surroundings. Stereotypes do not only help us navigate those surroundings, but they play a huge role in curating the meaning we give to each predisposed idea (Caparoso and Collins, 2015, p. 199). In most instances, the stereotypes we create are harmless, merely notes on how to perceive our surroundings from the knowledge we have at hand. They simply echo how we perceive people and surroundings and help us creating appropriate responses (Caparoso and Collins, 2015, p.199). However, these preconceived notions can quickly turn sour, if the initial information we must work through is in any way harmful. In most cases stereotypes present as simple statements, for example those who play football are great runners. However, stereotypes that involve people’s origins or ethnicity can lead to harmful results. Ethnic stereotyping can be noted as an echo of ongoing discourse, constantly recreated through ingrained ideas. This can remain quite evident in places where ethnic minorities discrimination and inequality as the ingrained values bleed out into common stereotypes. A common version of ethnic stereotyping that pertains in many societies discourse, is that ethnic minorities more dangerous (Caparoso and Collins, 2015, p.200).

There is a certain amount of responsibility that must be considered while focusing on stereotypes. As we create these prepositioned notions of our surroundings through pre-existing knowledge, it is important to be critical of where this knowledge comes from, as well as understanding who enforces the values. As most of our understanding comes from our surroundings, education, and other curricular activities. The knowledge that we are prepositioned to, teaches us to maintain the path we are on and how to thrive on said path. Governments create policies and laws based on prevalent discourse (Ibrahim, 2005, p. 164). To fully grasp how the knowledge at hand is utilized, it is crucial to understand the power dynamics at play. In most every nation there are both majority and minority groups. The majority groups are defined as a national group that is publicly represented by the state in which the ethnic group resides. On the other hand, the minority groups are known as groups that are not dominant within the state and are known as an ethnic category of the state (Eriksen, 2010, p. 294). It is extremely important to be able to recognize the majority and minority groups in every society, as within the most common
power dynamics the power lies with the majority (Eriksen, 2010, p. 294). In most cases, this knowledge can prove to be helpful as we navigate our surroundings, for example it can help us understand the bed side manners relevant in each society or it can help us figure out how to practise fundamental rights such as voting. However, in the cases that question the status quo, ethnic stereotyping can be used as a tool to write off external ideas and reenforce the current social standing. As Liz Fekete argued, in her paper The Emergence of Xeno-Racism (Fekete, 2001), those who disrupt societies, for example those who seek asylum, are commonly demonised to render them undesirable. Fekete argues that by portraying asylum seekers as unfaithful individuals who fabricate their need, to acquire help, the state can discredit their claims (Fekete, 2001, p.23). Fekete argues thus that negative stereotypes concerning those who are considered a threat to the state, can be used a way to alienate them from society without the government having to take at A good example of said alienation, could be to deny someone asylum based on the idea that they might prove to be a threat to the safety of the public as well as state (Fekete, 2001, p.23).
7 Bio Power

7.1 Introduction

In the following chapter I will turn the focus over to the ideology behind the term’s bio-power and bio-legitimacy. In this chapter I aim to provide a brief overview of the terms and their role in the literature as well as providing examples of their relativity and functions. It can be said that both concepts are noticeably relevant whilst reading about matters regarding refugees and asylum seekers and in turn provide a good insight into matters regarding the body as an agent. I will start off by introducing the term bio-power and its use. Following that I will focus on the term bio-legitimacy and explore what legitimacy means for those seeking asylum.

7.2 Bio Power

The term Bio-Power was first coined by the French philosopher Michel Foucault, in his 1979 publishing The History of Sexuality (Foucault, 1979). Foucault argued that the emergence of bio-power could be found through social and economic growth. As there were plentiful and rapid developments in the workforce as well as academia, a boom of social needs followed suit. In a relatively short period of time there was immense need for social structures to be set, such as schools, adequate housing, and social functions to manage issues such as birthrates and migration (Foucault, 1979, p. 158). Foucault claimed that these sudden growth spurts created opportunities for authorities to govern bodies on an individual scale with the aim to enforce capital growth (Foucault, 1979, p.158). As Foucault argued, “that the ancient right to take life or let live was replaced by a power to foster life or disallow it to the point of death” (Foucault, 1979, p. 157). Following these ideas, the term bio-power has since been described as the “management of life” (Ajana, 2013, p. 571). Said description of the term has to do with bio-power being performed through rules and regulations that aim to govern populations through their individual bodies (Ajana, 2013, p. 571). The term bio-power has also been understood as the “anatomo politics” as the governments work towards disciplining and thus controlling individual bodies. (Boeyink, 2019, p. 63).

After presenting the origin and definition of the term bio-power, there are questions bound to arise regarding the relativity of how bio-power is used, and how does the term come into play within the discourse on refugees and asylum seekers. Here I have
analyzed how bio-power can be used as an authoritative tool to maintain a social standing and I aim to showcase how the term is used to maintain said social standing. By taking a further look into how authorities maintain certain functions like schools or migrant issues, there are often multiple factors that contribute each function. Take schools for an example. For schools to fully function they need appropriate housing, teachers to work there and administrators to regulate the work within for example. Similar set ups can be found with in most governmental institutions. By examining how authorities regulate migration and asylum matters, there are certainly many factors at play. The most notable factors at play are the external and seemingly objectivity ones. This can be an example of borders, border controls and in some cases, publicly situated detention centers (biometric, p. 580). Along with these factors, objects along the lines of ID cards or passports may also be noticeable (Ajana, 2013, p. 580). To the unassuming eye, these factors may merely fall into the excepted involvement from the government. But when more closely observed, these are the key factors that allow governmentally controlled migration and observation (Ajana, 2013, p. 580). Albeit these examples mostly serve as external functions. How-ever these functions all create a setting for authorities to perform a more intricate form and intrusive form of bio-power. The borders allow authorities to preform searches on bodies as well as luggage and passports serve as an access key to one’s personal information (Ajana, 2013, p. 589). Here I will introduce the term biometrics. The term biometrics, is used to describe the process of using technology to measure, process and analyze certain biological factors to create a distinctive profile. A common example of traits that are used in biometric research are eye retinas, palm prints or the commonly used fingerprints (Biometric, p. 581). The term takes its name from the phrase “the measurement of life” as that is its literal meaning (Ajana, 2013, p. 581). Biometric technology has frequently been used throughout the years, mainly as a method of identification. How-ever it quickly became evident that this technology could be used in the process of proving asylum seekers (Ajana, 2013, p. 581). The method turned out to be so affective in identification that the European Union set off and created a database of information to be used in cases of asylum seekers that was named Eurodac (European Commission, N.D). The formal database Eurodac was established in 2003, with the aim to “make it easier for EU states to determine responsibility for examining an asylum application by comparing fingerprint datasets” (European Commission, N.D). This
international database has managed to provide states with an intensive practice of bio-power that has manifested the responsibility of seeking assistance on to the body itself. Fingerprints are used as definitive factors that indicate their social status as well as their status on international protection (European Commission, N.D). These practices have in turn enabled authorities to sift through the applicants and only accept those that are considered desirable. This also enables authorities to define who is considered worthy enough based on desired skills and abilities (Ajana, 2013, p. 584).

7.3 Biolegitimacy and worthiness

7.3.1 Introduction
In this next chapter I will introduce the theory of bio-legitimacy. Here I will provide a definition of the term as well as producing examples of how bio-legitimacy is determined. Here I want to explore what bio-legitimacy truly means, as well as learning who has the right to claim legitimacy and what follows attaining legitimacy. In the latter part of this chapter I will introduce the term worthiness. Theories of bio-legitimacy and worthiness are often mentioned together, and I aim to shed some light on the relationship between them. Lastly, I will discuss what attributes to worthiness as well as examining in what circumstances does one need to acquire recognized worthiness.

7.4 Bio Legitimacy

In the same manner that bio-power can be considered “management of life” (Ajana, 2013 p. 571), bio-legitimacy can be understood as the value of life as is (Fassin, 2009 bls 50). Bio-legitimacy is defined as the value given to life itself and the justification behind said value (Fassin, 2009 p. 50). The theory of bio-legitimacy is certainly interesting as it calls out such variable results. Each situation that calls for the use of bio-legitimacy is unique, and the results must be understood as such. However the theory can provide invaluable insight into social settings that call for governmentally recognized legitimacy from a single person.

It is quite interesting to note that a common public depiction of refugees is as Liz Fekete (Fekete, 2005) notes, young, physically, and mentally fit men, that are quite capable of taking care of themselves (Fekete, 2005, p. 66). As politicians and government officials commonly hammer on these claims, they are constantly recreating the idea that
people seeking international refuge are merely exaggerating their actual need (Fekete, 2005, p. 66). In turn these claims work towards denouncing the authority’s part to provide help as well as implementing the need for bio-legitimacy. To attain help, one must not only be in need, but be able to prove their peril. These requirements of validating each person’s situation, has in turn called for individual governance. Said governing can be performed and echoed through the above-mentioned acts of bio power. By undermining the applicants ground for assistance, governments are not only able to reduce the amount of people they help, and as Boeyink states, “governments use bio power as a way to justify bio legitimacy and thus govern who is “worthy” of assistance” (Boeyink, 2019, p. 64). This theory also rhymes with Fassin’s (Fassin, 2009) claims, that bio-legitimacy has taken on a critical role in the moral grounds of humanitarian work (Fassin, 2009, p. 50). Fassin argues that humanitarian assistance as in many was lost its sight of human rights and in turn focuses mainly on the right to live. Thus, rhyming with the ideology of bio-legitimacy, which holds the right to live over the right to life (Fassin, 2009, p. 50).

7.5 Worthiness

In the last part of this chapter, I will introduce the term worthiness into play. Albeit the terms bio-legitimacy (Fassin, 2009) and worthiness (Cheran, 2001) may seem inherently similar they are based on different values and in this chapter, I aim to discuss the distinction between the two terms.

As mentioned earlier, bio-legitimacy calls for the physical and mental fitness of an individual to render legitimized (Fassin, 2009). However for a person to be deemed worthy, one must have certain sort of skillsets or other values along the lines of being able to work or being educated (Cheran, 2001). Governments all around the world are formatting plans and regulations, regarding their obligations towards international assistance (Cheran, 2001, p. 2). As authorities work towards creating efficient systems, that profit both those who receive protection and the society, certain patterns have arisen. Authorities have created methods, such as interviews, that sift out individuals with desirable abilities and skillsets relevant to the society’s current capital (Cheran, 2001, p. 2). As social capitals are in a never-ending battle with maintaining capital growth, authorities are faced with the evident decisions of who will be granted asylum or the refugee status. It seems that said decisions are often coloured by the prospect of capital
gain (Kathrani, 2011, p. 1549). It seems that granting help to those who behold skillsets that can be used in the workforce is considered more desirable as a person who is fit for work will cause less strain on the system and help achieve capital gain (Kathrani, 2011, p. 1549). This development seems to be manifesting quite widely and has in some cases been more prevalent, than aiding on humanitarian basis (Cheran, 2001, p. 2). The repercussions of this development have also become prevalent, as it has created a correspondence between being considered worthy and being able to work (Cheran, 2001, p. 2).

Such a development has certainly created some strain as those who are unable to offer their labor, are now considered to be less desirable to those that can contribute to the workforce (Ikanda, 2018, p. 582). It has become quite clear that those who are considered most desirable are on one hand those who are able bodied and eligible to partake in work straight away. On the other hand, those who are in the most fragile positions are also among those who are considered for international aid (Ikanda, 2018, p. 582). Albeit this is positive for those who need urgent assistance, however this excludes the majority of those in search for international aid (Ikanda, 2018, p. 582). For those who have been injured or suffer from mental setbacks due to traumatic past events, they are put in a strange position of having to showcase their most extreme vulnerabilities or muster the strength to put the past completely behind, to be perceived worthy enough (Ikanda, 2018, p. 582). In some cases, people’s country of origin offers some sort of cash or favourable donations to the countries that accepts refugees (Boeyink, 2019, p. 62). It has become quite evident that those who offer some sort of external favours have also become quite favourable, indicating the fact the peoples worth lies hand in hand with the prospect of capital growth (Boeyink, 2019, p. 62).
8 Conclusion and Final words

Throughout this paper I have worked towards creating a ground for understanding the negative discourse that those who seek international assistance face frequently. I have worked towards providing a holistic view of understanding the repercussions that racist ideologies create. I have also worked towards showcasing that racist ideologies have acquired an unassuming yet intently intrusive ability to trickle into the surrounding environments. Throughout my findings this has also become quite clear, as it seems to be that non-tolerant policies originate within in the government, trickling down into the society through means of media and other mediators. Whilst this racism and anti-immigration rhetoric is held up by institutions, media, and government, it thrives within a culture of ignorance that tolerates it.

For the time being, it seems that the authorities will continue to run profitable borders for the time being. However, opening the discourse is the first step to change. Hopefully, those who have worked tirelessly towards fighting for migration rights, will be able to reap the fruit of labour and see a day where borders are open and international help is provided happily.
Bibliography


