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CULTURE, CLASHING BETWEEN CAPITALISM AND  
CONFLICT



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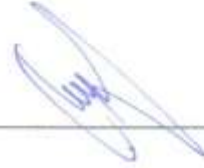
Culture, Clashing Between Capitalism and Conflict

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## **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

### **CHAPTER ONE**

1.a Overview of Theories-----	P.8
1.b Social and Cultural Theory-----	P.8
1.c Foucault and Structuralism-----	P.15

### **CHAPTER TWO**

#### **9/11 THE BUSH DOCTRINE -ITS PRELUDE AND THE INVASION OF IRAQ**

2.a Introduction-----	P.21
2.b 9/11-----	P.22
2.c Understanding Neo Conservatives as a Political Interest Group-----	P.30
2.d Neo Conservatives Under Trump’s Reign-----	P.36
2.e Neo Liberalism and Neo Conservatism -----	P.39

### **CHAPTER THREE**

3.a MEDIA-----	P.43
3.b Media and the Public Perception – A Focus Group-----	P.49
3.c Media and the Perpetuation of Stereotypes-----	P.52
3.d Media and The Dehumanisation of Arabs and Muslims-----	P.54

### **CHAPTER 4**

4.a ORIENTALISM-----	P.61
4.b Examples of Hate Crimes Due to Negative Stereotyping, In The UK-----	P.66
4.c Examples of Hate Crimes Due to Negative Stereotyping, In The USA-----	P.71
4.d Policy Changes Leading to Human Rights Violations in Myanmar and China---	P.73

## ABSTRACT

This dissertation set out with the intention of investigating whether Islamophobia has become a socially acceptable form of bigotry fuelled by the media. In doing so, I put my research into a socio political context of neoconservatism and neoliberalism, to point out government ideology that may have lead to the huge phenomenon we are witnessing contemporarily, supported by institutions such as media and education.

First, I referred to Social and Cultural theories in order to arrive at the conclusion that several of the foundational theories in my field, cannot encompass the scope and magnitude of various expressions of hate crimes due to stereotyping, as it relates contemporarily. What I found was, a Foucauldian approach was best suited, as he aimed to shatter preconceptions based on structures already set in place and defined by power relations.

I investigated 9/11 and the Bush Doctrine, which is another term for neo conservatives. I learned that the invasion of Iraq was premeditated in order to secure oil fields much needed to sustain the west. Further to this, my research lead me to try to understand how the neoconservatives established themselves as a political interest group, and their rise with the implementation of Trump in the White House, and as a superpower on the political landscape. This also included the use of the Institutions which Foucault highlights in his work, mainly media and education, in order to exercise power within this framework.

I delved heavily into Edward Said's work, who clearly proved that the Orientalists who set out to learn about the East were guided under misunderstandings of an incredibly diverse region, which encompasses a myriad of cultures and traditions, that cannot be clumped under one umbrella.

I conducted research on the media, and the use of images to perpetuate stereotypes, which in the case of Arabs and Muslims, has created bigotry, both on a legal and social front. I consulted Sara Ahmed's work on emotions, and the power of words to show how such bigotry is carefully constructed as a form of 'governmentality', in order to racialise crime and racialise personality traits of Arabs and Muslims at large.

I concluded my research by showing the rise of incidents of hate crimes in the UK and USA, due to negative stereotyping. Closing with policy changes in Myanmar and China, dictated by US ideologies. However, realised this was an area which requires intensive research. I hope to expand on this in the future, in order to understand the roots of these crimes in a partial manner. Having said that,

Islamophobia is a huge phenomenon at the moment, extending itself to all corners of the world, and requires a reform in the way the media presents Middle Easterners and Islam. I see the media as the most powerful force in reaching the required movement in consciousness, which could aid to bridge the gap and ease the lives of Arabs and Muslims who have been forced to migrate and integrate into different geographical regions throughout the world.



## ÖZET

Bu tez, İslamofobinin, medya tarafından teşvik edilen ve sosyal anlamda kabul edilebilir bir bağınazlık formu haline gelip gelmediğini incelemek gayesini gütmektedir. Bu şekilde, medya ve eğitim kurumlarınca da desteklenen günümüzün bu büyük olgusuna sebep olan devlet ideolojisine dikkati çekmek maksadıyla, sosyopolitik bağlamda neokonservatizm ve neoliberalizmi araştırmaktayım.

İlk olarak, bu alandaki temel teorilerin birkaçının günümüz basmakalıp inanışlardan ileri gelen farklı nefret suçu söylemlerinin önemini anlamada yeterli olmayacağını göstermek maksadıyla Sosyal ve Kültürel teorilere atıfta bulundum. Neticede, hâlihazırda yerleşmiş ve tanımlanmış yapılar üzerine temellenmiş önyargıları yıkmayı hedeflemesinden ötürü Foucault'cu bir yaklaşımın en uygun yaklaşım olacağı sonucuna ulaştım.

9/11 saldırısını ve neokonservatifler için kullanılan diğer bir terim olan Bush doktrininin inceledim. Irak'ın işgalinin Batı'yı ayakta tutmak için gerekli olan petrol sahalarını güvenceye almak amacıyla önceden tasarlanmış olduğunu öğrendim. Dahası, araştırmam beni neokonservatiflerin kendilerini nasıl bir politik menfaat grubu olarak kabul ettirdiklerini ve Beyaz Saray'daki Trump'ın siyasi görünümde süper güç olarak devreye alınmasıyla birlikte nasıl yükseldiklerini anlamaya çalışmamı sağladı. Bu durum, Foucault'un da çalışmasında vurguladığı yetkinin kullanılmasına yönelik olarak, medya ve eğitim kurumlarının büyük oranda kullanımını da kapsamaktadır.

Açık bir şekilde Doğu'yu öğrenmeye çalışan Oryantalistlerin, aynı şemsiye altında toplanamayacak sayısız kültür ve gelenekleri kapsayan akıl almaz derecede geniş bir bölgenin yanlış anlaşılmasıyla yönlendirildiklerini kanıtlayan Edward Said'in çalışmasını derinlemesine araştırdım.

Araplar ve Müslümanlar olayında olduğu gibi kanuni ve sosyal cephede bağınazlığı ortaya çıkaran basmakalıp inanışları sürdüren medya ve görüntüler üzerine araştırma yürüttüm.

Suçu ırksallařtırmak ve genel olarak Arapların ve Mslmanların kiřisel zelliklerini ırksallařtırmak amacıyla byle bir bađnazlıđın “ynetim zihniyeti” formunda zenle oluřturulduđunu gstermek iin Sara Ahmed’in duygular ve kelimelerin gc zerine olan alıřmasına bařvurdum.

Arařtırmamı olumsuz basmakalıp inanıřlara bađlı olarak Birleřik Krallık ve ABD’de artan nefret suu vakalarını gstererek bitirdim. in ve Myanmar’daki politika deđiřikliklerinin Birleřik Krallık ve Amerika Birleřik Devletleri ideolojilerince belirlenmesi konusuna deđinerek tamamladım. Ancak bunun yođun arařtırma gereken bir alan olduđunu fark ettim. Bu suların kkenlerini kısmi tarzda anlamak maksadıyla gelecekte bunu daha da detaylandırmayı umuyorum. Sylendiđi gibi, İslamofobi řu anda kendini dnyanın her křesine yayan byk bir olgu olup, medyanın Orta Dođu’da yařayanları ve İslam’ı sunuř řeklinde bir reforma ihtiya duymaktadır. Medyayı, bilinlenme iin ihtiya duyulan akımı yaratacak en nemli g olarak gryorum. Bu aynı zamanda aıđı kapamaya ve dnya apında deđiřik blgelere g etmeye ve entegre olmaya zorlanan Arapların ve Mslmanların hayatlarını kolaylařtırmaya yardımcı olacaktır.



## INTRODUCTION

Are we moving towards a monoculture defined by economic initiatives, enforced by powerful governments, based on consumer societies and made possible by neoliberalism? Has prejudice taken on a different take, where certain forms of bigotry have become socially acceptable? Has globalisation resulted in further marginalisation of the already marginalised? Clearly, we can establish, that gone are the days of small business', we live in the age of corporate, multinational giants dominating global economies. Developing nations are submissive to the developed world through structural adjustments made at the policy level. Loans intended for the advancement of societies in terms of aid, are used as leverage for powerful nations to impose their ways on weaker ones. In fact, aid no longer means it goes towards alleviating poverty. It merely implies that any country which accepts aid will be indebted and consequently manipulated - wealth never seems to trickle down - the poor get poorer; the rich get richer; the middle class is slowly but surely disappearing.

Politics and race come into play, as a relationship is formed between different cultures and nations of the world being defined by the type of services they are able to provide. For example, Asia's slave labour of electronic production and textile industry. Africa's mineral and agricultural labour force. S.America's free trade zones and factory workers creating products for the west, to name a few. This not only prohibits people's choices in what they do to make a living, but, also creates a new form of slavery where certain products are made possible according to their race and geographical placement. This phenomenon has become so huge that wars for economic resources have been/are being fought, and justified by narratives leading to restructuring of entire geographic regions, without any regard for the humanity of those who inhabit them. I intend to discuss these narratives in depth. This paper will use social and cultural theory to show how power structures of neoconservative and neoliberal ideologies are enforced by institutions like education and media, which rely upon dehumanisation of Middle Easterners through the perpetuation of stereotypes, for public support of conflicts to reach economic goals.

In the First Chapter I will be discussing Social and Cultural Theories which have come to represent the shape of society. I will begin with Hall and Thompson who attempt to add more layers, by way of analysis of action not being detached from meanings, which lead to their own canon, what we contemporarily call Cultural Studies, which is interdisciplinary. After which, I will start to introduce Post Structuralism, which began to be accessed by a variety of different disciplines. As I progress, I will show how Post structuralism attempts to move away from the utilitarian approach, by making note of Strauss, who was a leading thinker in the Post Structuralism line of thinking. In between, however, I will discuss how Feminism emerged as a refutation of Humanism, which has grown in momentum, moving toward the contemporary fourth wave and taken on a different form, not only being a movement which concerns itself with the advancement of women, but also including justice and equality for all, including men. Having established this, it will incite a small discussion about images, in order to highlight how capitalism works with the power of image as a commodity which instills the dominant ideologies, that ultimately benefit the economic system at large.

In the Second Section, I will focus on Foucault's school of thought which is crafted around Structuralism, and highlight the valuable contributions he has made toward the fields of Post Colonial Studies, The Social Sciences and The Humanities. I will zoom in on his ideas on liberalism by using his very extensive work entitled "Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics". My intention would be to show how Foucault focuses on power relations as they relate to the subject, by assigning illegitimacies to legitimate power structures, namely institutions which lead us to question ourselves in terms of formation. He believed the subject is one that lacks agency, because one can only move within the given pathways of the structure, which is exactly the point which he believes needs deconstruction, as it is the subjectification process which creates divisions and inequalities. Foucault challenges us to think outside the box, to question the Institutions which oppress, because this is the theatre of power, it always wants control, and it needs resistance to flourish; without resistance, it would be no less than violence.

The Second Chapter will take the starting point of 9/11 as a pivotal moment in the restructuring of such politics. I will focus on how this moment in history has created a permanent and dangerous narrative, leading to discrimination against people who encompass one of the globe's largest geographical regions - The Middle East - leaving a large group of diverse people, clumped under one umbrella of their dominant faith - Islam. The different cultures of this region have not been acknowledged, as different religions also exist within this group, including vast numbers of atheists and agnostics and pluralities which are disregarded when thoughts turn toward the people who make up this entire region. The Middle East extends itself from N.Africa moving towards Asia and also encompassing Europe, as Turkey straddles both of the latter. Arab cultures are united by one language, but the dialects differ, and with this, differ traditions and cultures. However, Iran and Turkey are not Arab countries, as I have sometimes come to understand that this perception exists. It is arguable that N.Africans are also not Arab, although this is a separate discussion as they are united by the same language. First, I will show how the falling of the World Trade Centre was used as a tool to manipulate public perceptions, using a tactic which Boudrillard called "Simulacre et Simulation", creating a hyper reality, in turn lead to the dehumanisation of Arabs,

In the Second Section of the Second Chapter, I will discuss how American leaders created a moral panic, misleading the public into believing there was a threat to national security. Their going against the International community's unanimous vote against the war in Iraq, was a point of defiance, which is lead by a neoconservative view that went back as far as George Bush Senior, who had unfinished business in the region. Their intentions were to remove Saddam Hussein from power, and backed by "The Project For a New American Century", whose members included some high profile figures. Their goals are about extending American power throughout the world by persuasion or force. They take confidence in the Military Industrial complex. I will discuss this in great lengths, as I explore the narratives for war, which revolves around spreading democracy. Islam, therefore has taken the place of Communism, which was

also a false threat during the Cold War era. I will also discuss this time in history as the roots of divisions, which we are seeing in America today.

In Section Three, I will discuss the rise of the Neocons as a political interest group, and under what three principles they operate under. Their beliefs that this is a higher moral conviction, ordained to them by God. I will show how they have infiltrated many significant institutions in the US which have influence on foreign policy, education, the media and their backing of the Evangelical Christian community, who have immense influence on large portions of American society.

The Fourth Section in the Second Chapter will cover neoconservatism under Trump's rule. He has emerged as a leader redefining political correctness, winning the election on extremely controversial campaigns, which were shameless and disconcerted. I will show how his anti Muslim rhetoric appeals to Americans of the "old stock", and by that I mean the likes of those of the confederacy. I will discuss his divisive policies that are protectionist - threatening to pull out of NATO, war with N. Korea and Russia, including implementing a ban on Muslims entering the country, whilst relentlessly speaking out against immigration, ironically to a nation full of immigrants. In addition to mocking establishments who speak out against him, declaring journalists as liars and calling opposition journalism "fake news".

In the Fifth Section, of this Chapter, I will discuss how Neo-liberalism and Neo-conservatism go hand in hand, in the sense that they utilise institutions within the superstructure to establish their economic goals. This century will be marked by an increase of lower incomes, where labourers, the youth, people of colour and single mothers will be those who will be most affected. This will also lead to racialisation of labour, as we are clearly already seeing in Asia's technology slave labour market. I will show how the Laissez Faire system is designed to make the right richer and the poor poorer, especially under the current climate which is marked by cuts to social security, healthcare and education.

The Last Section will be dedicated to analysis of the mainstream Media. I will look to tactics used in order to encode into the public perception the dominant

ideologies aligned with economic goals. I hope to evaluate its role in the vilification of Middle Easterners, by perpetuating stereotypes, through exaggerations and disproportionate coverage of current events. I will use Gramsci to demonstrate that this is how concepts of hegemony are established. with societies consent as capitalism needs this to use established institutions for social control. I will attempt to analyse how the Media was able to establish the public's support for the wars in the Middle East, and with this, have also established a socially acceptable bigotry towards Arabs and Muslims by the constant perpetuation of negative stereotypes.

In Chapter Three I will discuss some of my research results, which I conducted in Canada, with a focus group of thirty participants, none of which were Muslim or Arab. I asked a group of people who wish to remain anonymous about participating in some political incorrectness. I created a power point with a series of stereotypical images, which I'd found over the internet. With each photo, I asked that everyone respond with the first words that came to mind upon exposure to the images, and I only gave them 2-3 mins to write down their words. Also, I asked that they didn't hold back or second guess their initial reactions. I also played some audio of the Azhan, and asked for reactions towards it. What ensued was a really great discussion about stereotypes, and I believe that I bridged a gap within their understanding about Muslims and Arabs in general. Actually, I'd like to try this experiment in a variety of different ways, if given the chance in the future, as I have many new ideas on how to enhance it. Furthermore, I was actually with a very intelligent group who were well aware of media manipulations.

In the Second Section of Chapter Three, I will briefly discuss the fuel which the Media is propelled by, which has spread the perpetuations of stereotypes, by discussing Al Qaeda, ISIS, Boko Haram and Al Shabab's initiatives, as dominating any type of news coverage coming out of the Arab/Muslim world. I will make parallels with groups such as David Koresh's cult, who used religious doctrine to incite individuals into violence. Without denying their agendas are hateful and dangerous, I am simply pointing out that these people do not represent their respective societies at large, nor of the dominant ideologies.

The Second Section of the Third Chapter takes on a convoluted quest, to show how the concept of dehumanisation is constructed by the media. Keeping in mind that in doing so, its objective is to spread propaganda, but at the same time has allowed for a very dangerous precedent that allows such institutions to dictate who we can classify as second class, in terms of humanity. This section also raises the issues of the leaked photos from Guantanamo Bay, and questions ethics in war, and whether self defence is a valid reason to incite violence in foreign lands. This section will also delve into some of Butler's work and apply it to a Foucauldian perspective on subjectification. I will also discuss media jargon and how the words they use take away from the reality of situations, in a way that desensitises people, and prohibits their ability to empathise with the other. It will conclude with a very interesting subject of immigration, integration and assimilation, using an example presented by Butler, currently being used by the Netherlands as an integration test.

The Last Chapter will start with a discussion of Said's infamous work on Orientalism. He challenges many perceptions of the western world's hegemonies, by analysing the roots that go as far back as the enlightenment. He starts by shattering their first misunderstanding which was to clump all the areas from Sub to Supra Saharan Africa, all the way to China, including Russia, as what was then named the Orient. I will attempt to show how these misunderstandings are also based on fantasies and fetishes, and attempt to show how Said emphasises that Arabs were always represented as something quite exotic. Furthermore, those entrusted to learn about them, seemed to misunderstand some things which are fossilised in the Occidental mind. For example, the misconception about Islam can be traced to Norman Daniels, a Christian, who interpreted the role of the Prophet as parallel to that of Jesus in Christianity. The roots of Islamophobia can be traced as far back as the Orientalists.

In The Second Section of this final Chapter, I will discuss the increase of hate crimes in the in the UK by giving examples of alt right groups such as British First, and discussing how they are also fuelled by BREXIT talks. I have intentionally focused on examples from the media. However, acknowledge that there have been incidents on

both sides. It would require intensive research in order to relay the complexities. Islamophobia is most definitely a growing and pressing problem, creating unnecessary divisions. I will refer to Sara Ahmed's work on the "Politics of Emotions", as she has very eloquently analysed the impact of the power of language in Britain First's racist rhetoric.

In the Third Section of the final Chapter, I will discuss the increase of hate crimes in the USA, as a result of negative stereotyping, by presenting examples from the media. But, also how initiatives such as the visa ban on Muslims entering the country have now been implemented via Trump's administration. I will also refer to Ahmed's work again, as she discusses the racialisation of crime, and how this connects with the debate about immigration. She also raises issues about how racism is taught via the power of words. She compounds this claim with examples taught in Psychology classes about preconceptions, using a tale about a child and a bear.

The Last Section will be dedicated to policy changes in Myanmar and China, due to American influence, which have led to human rights violations. I will start by discussing the atrocities occurring at the hands of the government, Buddhist Monks and ultra right wing groups against the Rohingya minority of Myanmar. It can be linked to the state's newly democraticized government and proxied via American ideology. There is clearly a genocide taking place, but the International community has yet to take sufficient action. I will also go on to briefly discuss the Chinese initiatives against the Uyghur minority of Xinjiang. Islamophobia in this case takes the shape of rounding up people who they believe to be extremist and putting them in to internment camps. The camps pose as rehabilitation institutions. However, accounts coming from people who have escaped, profess to having experienced and witnessed, violent rapes and torture. That being said, it's very difficult to access academic literature on the subject, as China denies these allegations.

## **CHAPTER 1: OVERVIEW OF THEORIES**

### **1.a INTRODUCTION**

In this chapter, I will present some Social and Cultural theories as they've progressed to be most relevant to my dissertation. In order to do so, I will discuss Structuralism and Post Structuralism and show the potential which the Feminist movement has; Orientalism's importance, with extra emphasis on the Foucauldian perspectives, specifically with reference to his ideas about power relations - how they create subjectification which consequently effects self formation, which in turn causes division within society. This chapter will also highlight Foucault's critique of institutions such as education and media, as areas where government has the strongest social control. I will bring to light the question of agency, and leave an open ended space for the reader to decide whether there is room for transformations. Through this deconstruction, I intend to map out an archeology of human history with a reflection of human subjects that shatters utilitarianism by trying to understand the main ideas behind human actions. My intention is to show how the utilitarian approach fails us, because culture itself is fragmented, and constantly in flux, so a flexible approach is necessary.

### **1.b. SOCIAL AND CULTURAL THEORY**

Social theory, has the ability to shape everyday relations, which also expands itself to a wider level of politics. We can look to disasters in history, such as WW2, having a huge impact on shaping contemporary views of society, with reference to the formation of the United Nations as a regulating body, in order to prevent societies from facing the type of tragedies which resulted as consequence. Alexander focused his ideas on the depression of the 1930s as a main thrust for contemporary social theories. His ideas gave a hopeful and gainful momentum, which had its impact on the Chicago School, and how a depression such as the one of this time period, could be avoided in the future through modern liberalism. (1986, Alexander) Marxism also came out of this frame of thought as he was very critical of contemporary society.



How Social Scientists reflected on their own work, is also attached to social research that again reflects in social theories. It can't be seen as a closed circuit. Alexander, for instance, takes the empirical and metaphysical environments into account by putting essential concepts in between - it's therefore shaped by social engagement. It prioritises the ideological (which will be defined later) dimension, that others tend to base their models on. This leaves things up to the individual to use their own sense of critical faculties, to measure how we understand concepts based on our own terms and how we relate to it. Alexander asks, do qualitative or quantitative measurements create a closed circuit which social theory is based on? Does methodology for gaining such insights shape our perception of others, come from filling in those models? Does it help us move through debates and discussions? (1986, Alexander) Of course, we can answer positively to all of the above, but it isn't black and white. I believe we need to be more flexible with the initial concepts because it would be a mistake to reduce social theories down to one of these models, as culture and society itself is not unified, everything is always in flux and constantly fragmented. All of us explore different ways to understand the world. Mediation is a big part of life, which extends itself uniquely to each individual who needs to have concepts to understand, make sense and navigate throughout the world. By this, I mean that social and historical concepts need to be understood through context. When we rely on the utilitarian approach, we see the actor as rational. However, the opposite can also be approached and not necessarily understood in a rational way. I will discuss this a little later as I intend to challenge some common perceptions in contemporary society, namely, the acceptance of some kind of balanced order in the world based in ideology (not necessarily an ideology adopted by the masses, perhaps localised, although it has taken on a dominant form, it is not always truthful). What results from this is, whether it be individualistic or collective, a pre existing structure generates actions, and those aren't always necessarily positive, often times biased or based on economic pursuits. We need to look to our globalised reality with a newer vision, because different positions influence and shape contemporary social research. We can look at theory, producing knowledge which appeals to models and presumptions, or we can look at

certain topics to explore methods of asking different questions which can help us understand subjects further rather than reiterate those preconceptions. So, we need social theories for this particular transformation, this is how we evolve, by reasoning, by sometimes questioning what we had previously understood to be wisdom, or questioning the methods used to come to conclusions we might have thought of as static.

Said, who I will discuss later, is a great example of this, he uses socially acceptable theories of Orientalism to show how judgement of an entire cultural group comes from pre existing notions that actually stem from gross misunderstandings. He argues that ideas about the Middle East and Middle Easterners are often times based on fetishes and fantasies which have no real basis in reality. (2003, Said) We have now lived through almost two decades of wars against an entire geographical region, which is based on misconceptions of a religion practiced by 1.6 billion people all over the world. However, Islam doesn't make up the only religion being practiced in this region. It's completely irrational that Christians, atheists and Druids to name a few seem to get painted with the same brush.

Scholars like Hall and Thompson (Post Structuralists) attempted to add another layer which in turn formed their own canon, using various expressions of culture as an analytical tool. (1980, Hall), making it an interdisciplinary practice. It gives and takes with meaning, not only a material relationship with goods and services, or wage and surpluses, which lie in the material. Instead, meaning is at stake by seeing practices as analytical layers, which are not actions detached from meanings. (1980, Hall) These are taken across everyday practices where feeling and emotion control things. They are conceptualised as interactions of structures transferred through the basics which make us human. Biding suggests a model and superstructure which rejects economic determinism, by wanting to define society as a whole. Thompson by contrast, added cultural ideas and practices as a struggle within those frameworks, because by including culture, it would be humanistic, which should be at the base of social theory.

Post Structuralism emerged as a consequence of these above schools of thought. It attempts to deconstruct relationships amongst social groups, through reflection and criticism. Strauss who was a highly respected Post Structuralist, organises it as something which is not understood as a superstructure. By this he meant, not all encompassing or with a utilitarian approach. He argued that it's not really something to be understood as one of economic relations. I agree to a great extent based on evidence displayed in today's ideologies of Globalisation. What I mean is that economic relations do play a significant part, but it's not the only part and we would be mistaken to think otherwise. According to the Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, Globalisation was intended as a result of the advancement of technologies that've created "deterritorialisation". (<https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/globalization/>) What this means is, in our more sophisticated forms of technology enabling us to communicate better, exchange goods, travel etc. the world seems to be a smaller place. On a social level this ability to interact with one another, has brought us into the digital age, which advisor to the EU, Rifkin, calls a "Third Industrial Revolution", as this has allowed us to have some agency, and break out of the confines of institutions. Rifkin's book is compelling, as it lends ideas on how we can transform by thinking of sustainable solutions to make transformations possible with the help of digital technology, and in the process think of ways to sustain our planet. (2011, Rifkin) We cannot deny that economic relations have shaped some entire societies based on those pursuits. Strauss would allow us to believe that this concept is not centralised, rather, that an individual is shaped as a subject based on ideology. One can say that Post Structuralism focuses on the individual in a way that schools don't, at least in the subjectification process. Structure itself comes before the subject, based on classifications spoken in categories which create the subject. By this, we can then conclude that subjects aren't active agents in defining or creating their histories, which leaves us with questions that revolve around us exploring the potentials of the subject within those defined structures.

Foucault takes the concepts of Structuralism to greater heights by considering the role of power. Lacan, who was a leading psychoanalyst in Structuralism, may

discuss the role of the unconscious as it relates to self formation and actions based within our frameworks; Foucault however puts power into question by analysing the roles of domination. He made the issue of power within the fascist system of WW2, as a relation of domination made possible by concrete analysis of social institutions/sexuality and what contemporarily we label as gender issues, as productions of these social institutions, as systems of representation. He saw theory as a closed circuit abstraction in a historical context deriving from social research. He believed we needed theories to find our way in research, however we don't need to appeal to them. His focus was more on the formulation rather than the content. He asked questions which others dared not, and further to this, explored answers. (2012, Lemke)

Representation approaches reality only to de represent - too much or too little truth can contaminate representation. This can be seen as representation no longer shaped to fit what is real, instead the world is called upon to live up to its images of what representation has called upon us to believe is real. This stems from power structures that dominate the media and political economies at large. Capitalism is a sense of false consciousness based on a mass culture of economic ideologies (1936, Benjamin). It not only dictates how we spend every hour of our days and nights, manipulating what we can and cannot do with our time, but also attempts to tell us what is right and wrong about people, traditions, expressions or beliefs (which might be deviant from the popular), even as far as classifying our own natural emotions and responses as problematic. Unfortunately, we've come to a point where we judge reality based on a representation of what power structures have initiated for us to believe as reality. Ideology, as defined by the Oxford dictionary, is a system of ideas and ideals, especially those that form the basis for economic and political policy. It is also a set of beliefs or goals shared by individuals and social groups. Therefore it can be seen as a semiautonomous category based on the imaginary, which effects real relations that translate into real experiences in the lived material world. Ideology is therefore in reference to the superstructure which is based on economic pursuits that dominates powerful government agendas, these also trickle down to other nations, due to

influence. I will discuss this in more depth in the chapters which follow. However, it's important to also consider gender issues as they relate to Feminist theories.

Humanism took on many forms as the years have progressed. The commonalities are grounded on appealing to one another based on basic biology - humanity - to break free from traditional views, which marginalised certain subjects. It took a central concept of humans not needing religion, and the view of a self-determinism in life, to guide subjects into moral practices, and as the ideas have taken on, they've also given more weight to science, which is something that was not really considered so much in its earlier days. (<https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/maritain/>) It is not inclusive. However, it failed to deconstruct or question the frameworks of patriarchy the way that Feminism has - one can hardly call it "human", if women have been left out of the analysis.

Camille Paglia, an American Academic, and prominent critic of the Feminist movement takes issues with the title - the "fem" in "Feminism". (<https://americanhumanist.org/key-issues/Anti-feminism> - the hinge connecting the right-wing periphery and the centre). Whereas I can see this to be a valid point, the movement was historically been one about the advancement of women. However, contemporarily there is much debate about what Feminism actually is. Many anti-feminist feminists, consider it to have turned into a movement which has encouraged misandry, or only oriented with specific types of women. Paglia has called for its name to be changed to "Equalism", if it is really inclusive of pluralities. (2006, Moi) Although her issues with the movement are not simply about semantics, I would agree the title can be misunderstood, and serve as a deterrent for others to learn more about the discourse. What's important is, Feminist discourse is philosophical and historical in terms of language, giving weight to the power of words, and how meaning is constructed through this relationship.

Feminist theory has evolved to discuss how power operates between language and practice, with an interconnectedness of legislation and poses as a hopeful and

inclusive movement. This not only appeals to issues of gender, but can be applied to the claims I will make about prejudicial views applied to Middle Easterners.

Discursive formations are then applied to construct hierarchies and inequalities. Where Feminism has unequivocally filled the gap is acknowledging pluralities. (1997, DeLauretis) Equal access doesn't just apply to gender related issues, but, within the framework of addressing all minorities. Some might argue, different treatment then defeats the purpose of equality. I would argue, by acknowledging differences, we are in fact acknowledging equality by promoting inclusivity. We live in a world of different identities - race, religion, traditions, cultures, etc - diverse identities need to be acknowledged, perhaps even more so as globalisation becomes more and more a reality. I love the idea of blended cultures and am all for the movement of all things the world has to offer, for every corner of the World. However, I do not believe we have to be alike, think alike, want the same things or demand a standard governing system which is applicable to the whole world's population. An ethical regulating body in terms of economic exchanges or environmental practices is more realistic.

Democracy might be the acceptable ideal, and for the most part, there are no other models which have come close to satisfying the demands of the world's pluralities - its beauty is really about the power to choose politically, but largely due in part that one can have some autonomy to shape their own lives according to personal choices. Having said that, everyone who lives in a democracy is well aware of the fact that it doesn't (politically) meet everyone's needs, sometimes not even the majority, as we have witnessed in America's latest election with Trump's win. He did not win on the majority vote. It was a product of systemic disorder, or from the stand point of those who voted for him, a systemic win. Perhaps his image of being a wealthy man, or perhaps his former TV show also influences his supporters.

The world seems to be lured in by images. According to Sontag, images are the ultimate commodities, dictating how people wish to live, as they appeal to our imaginations. Images speak to ideologies, capitalism's best friend, if you will. McGuire suggests the transformation of modern cultures will depend critically, if not

wholly on the success of interventions in and around transformations of the media. (1998, McGuire) Sontag on the other hand, is more pessimistic about this. She argues that where the potency of images in so called 'primitive' cultures rested in the fact they partook in images of the real - Capitalism has indeed reversed that situation, where it can be seen everywhere in all forms of media. (1998, McGuire) Not only are fantasies used to sell products, but they can be held responsible for the destruction of certain traditions specific to some cultures, and behind some of societies social ills which believe what they see in print, television, movies or the internet as positive, real representations of the ideal - modern, advanced, progressive and intelligent. Advertising is seen as matching the desires of the masses to the measure of commodities. Benjamin claims that the mass culture of capitalism is the source of phantasmagoria and false consciousness. (1936, Benjamin) Foucault was incredibly critical of society, and amongst many things, took issues with how truth is normalised. He was adamant about social control coming from institutions. The following section will discuss some of his thoughts.

### **1.c. FOUCAULT AND STRUCTURALISM.**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

Foucault sees cultures as crafted around Structuralism, but no other scholar has defied the status quo the way that he did. His work has penetrated the fields of Post Colonial Studies and made valuable contributions to the Social Sciences and Humanities. In fact, entire disciplines have emerged from his work. What he offered the world was a view point which revolved around unfamiliar themes and sometimes cryptic formulations. Anne Stoler noted that no single analytical framework has saturated the field of colonial studies so completely over the last decade as that of Foucault (2016, Melhent, Zamora). However, he had his critics, such as Monique Devaux who detected undertones of mysogyny, and some Post-Colonialists find his Eurocentrism troubling, such as Walzer, who argued that Foucault failed at offering an account of liberal state and the rule of law, as though he were a liberal in denial (2016, Melhent, Zamora). It

is undeniable that his contributions have offered alternative ways of thought in a world which seems bent on one way of thinking. By reading some of his work, one is able to relate to the webs of power which he talks about. One can only be in awe by his thoughts on the art of not being governed in his politics of freedom - intuitively his philosophies are liberating. I will look to him as a means of solidifying leftist socialist critical awareness, because it works well within the meaningful works of reform, in its insightful and inspiring rationality. Foucault claimed that liberalism wasn't really liberal enough. His critical thoughts highlighted by an insistence that power structures are exemplified and executed by liberal structures, as we will see when I discuss Neo liberalism and its importance for empire building. He felt that liberal freedoms were confined by disciplinary power configurations which were not really emancipatory. (1982, Foucault) He sought out methods to resist the Neo liberal order which he believed had hidden mechanisms of power. In short, he felt our so called freedoms in western democratic societies were nothing more than an illusion. The liberal illusion being nothing more than a sinister form of power. German poet Johann Wolfgang Von Goethe said it best, non are more hopelessly enslaved than those who falsely believe they are free.

Foucault's "Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics" is an extensive work, which diffuses from macro-politics to assign illegitimacy to legitimate power structures - by distinguishing power and force and embracing the power relationship to a retrospective reduction, that questions "what" or "who" the subject is. (1982, Foucault) In his work he deconstructs the idea of the individual as a given of history, society and social construct. He didn't see the individual as self contained, who makes rational choices, this aspect is taken for granted because Structuralism gives a clear cut path to the subject. He questioned whether the subject actually had agency, because of different conceptualisations of what the actor is. Within this thought, he felt the most influential concept attempts to overcome dual construction of structure and agency, because of different conceptualisations of the 'actor'. (1982, Foucault) Butler will also attest to this as she speaks of how the subject is divided through multiplicities, which becomes an open ended concept. This in fact gives an analytical framework which



opens up our minds to those multiplicities. According to Foucault, there are different modes by which humans are made into subjects. First, how humans are transformed through biology and natural history, and secondly, through objectifying the subject by providing labels or definitions to forms of identities. For example, the mad, the sane, the sick, the healthy, the good, the criminal etc. (1982, Foucault) Foucault also saw the subject as something which was not seen in totality. By this, there was room for movement between pathways. He saw humans as living between structures which were not necessarily predetermined. Therefore, structures didn't precede the subject. For Foucault, subjectification is what created divisions which in turn produce scientific knowledge. What this means in simple terms is that the institutions themselves are designed to control us. So when he speaks of subjectification, it refers to a type of classification of individuals defined by the institutions, which in turn created social divisions. Then again as consequence, those divisions become the basis of scientific investigation that result in knowledge - normalisation. In his school of thought, there was no value in thinking of a hierarchy with no dynamism. He learnt on the tremendous changes that Europe went through after WW2 in terms of capitalism, with the belief that, structures of domination were already determined by the Frankfurt School, leaving no room for mobility. (1982, Foucault) With this, he moves his thoughts from the subject to institutions already in place which determine changes in history and societies at large. What he does through this focus, is talk about structures of domination by using the subject as one who moves across institutions through discursive formations and truth. He claimed the complications which arise between institutions, knowledge and power, can only be produced because of the pre existing structures. At this point of his argument, it isn't even a criticism. Simply a statement of fact - there are structures of exploitation and subjugation and subjectivity makes the exploitation and domination possible. (1982, Foucault) Foucault felt that Marx already recognised this in his work, concluding with the knowledge that there are various different ways of practicing capitalism. It's made possible by the different structures, and our participation and investments within them. It can also be traceable when we question how scientific knowledge is produced within those structures, how institutions

divide subjects, categorise, label etc. In addition to identifying various forms of struggles which are introduced against the consequential inequalities. This is evident in the case of women, workers, migrants, minorities etc, who organise themselves within power practices. In fact, what Foucault claims is that, open channels of resistance serve as contradictory for subjects within these struggles because it gives weight to the power structures themselves - without those struggles, there is absolutely no power. In order for power to operate, there has to be resistance. (1982, Foucault) He claims this to encompass all aspects of life because if it wasn't embedded within the structure of domination, it wouldn't actually be power, but violence. Foucault believed the subject is constructed and limited by choice. In essence, structure and power coexist. We believe that we have the power to choose how we live and have agency over our lives, especially so, if we live in democratic societies. However, we are actually limited by the ability to choose within already preexisting power structures. The institutions have been constructed by choice of what's made available to us, leaving the actor's choosing as a power practice. In this sense, what the subject has actually done is accepted the limitations of their choices. (1982, Foucault) He gives the power to vote as an example to highlight this. When we vote in elections, we accept that the majority's voice will rule. So, we have legitimised the power structure even if it's not in accordance with our own desires. We have given the structure in place the authority to dictate how we will make choices in the future. This is an investment in to the legitimisation and limitations of the structure. (1982, Foucault)

Discursive formations of the construction of truth don't have to be consistent, transformations are possible because of the unpredictability which guarantees that things don't have to be the same forever. What Foucault means by truth is, within the power structures, the education system has the most significant control on production of knowledge, including societal acceptance of such knowledge as truth. Basically, what Foucault is telling us is that we need to question the methods authoritarians use on how they come to certain suppositions, or maybe even why they do. Mourad, wrote an excellent article about how Foucault rejects these methods, because, not only are we limited by the system, but also the confines of science, that regulate how the knowledge

itself is produced. We can see this throughout the changes in history. Therefore, power doesn't have to always be the same, because people choose these formations and it's an open ended structure. We may be living in a modern and dynamic reality, but change is slow, it can take years to move consciousness. Plus, the nature of power is that it struggles to always be in place. Sometimes, it is the limitation of choice which legitimises it, which can obviously be contradictory to will. One cannot predict the future, as we can never know what it holds. However, the frameworks in place can make certain things predictable because the structures have remained unchangeable. Foucault's thoughts were that at some point, we need to resist the institutions we've accepted and created. How? Is a good question, this leaves individuals in a position of learning how to access the powers within the limitations of their specific positions, or perhaps create new ones. There is always power in numbers, for instance. When people come together, history has proved on many occasions that change is possible. Only then, can accurate predictions of change occur, simply by assuming certain consequences as a given, would lead to significant transformations.

Consensus is therefore a toolkit for democracy which should extend itself to all concepts. We have chosen government as a form of collective decision making. Yet, this is what Foucault sees as problematic because of the discursive formation where practice of power can be observed. Foucault's analysis covers all aspects of life that relate to domesticity, gender relationships and the practice of political science. Without power practice there is no subject. There are subject positions but absolutely no sovereignty in the power unit. He gives the example of political leaders who are actors within their political parties. It is not an empty position, it is one field by the process of subjectification. A leader can be elected but it is about a position created through a historical and social process made possible by the practice of power. We as civil society, therefore invest into the subjectivity because we don't want to appear as weak within the structure. (1982, Foucault) The subject is therefore formed by structures determining one's agency capacity, as it can only be within the parameters of given pathways. There isn't actually any agency, nor an existential conceptualisation of each of us as unique individuals. Foucault claims that subjectification produces divisions,

or scientific knowledge formations of the institution which as a result, determines the subject. For example, it can be formed through gender roles by defining what it is to be a man or woman. Delaurittis would say this is a gender construction based on white male privilege. It just makes subjugation and exploitation possible, because it's a relational concept, when expressed in reality, it is actually how power will still operate - according to one's decisions within whatever framework is available to them. We are free to do as we please, really, but depending on the choices one makes, the relevant institution will then use the power it has to form the subject according to that choice. What Foucault does is trace connections with decisions and social contexts, because it's not as easy to choose alternatives. He suggests, perhaps accepting ourselves as weak, might be the catalyst which will bring social change. Perhaps also the concept of self needs redefinition as we assume identities within predetermined structures. Foucault begs the question of whether there is actually a way out of all this. He questions whether we are simply making assumptions about ourselves that are already constructed within the modern conception of the world. On that same note, have we also constructed identities of others according to a modern conception (not necessarily accurate), already predetermined within the superstructure. In this case, the superstructure would be the political landscape which has caused divisions amongst nations by creating a hierarchy between them. This then produces scientific knowledge, which then determines who or what the subject is according to their place of birth or nationality. Could we actually be mistaken? Can we reject legal positions in the world? Would this lead to a transcendence or would the vulnerability marginalise us further? Having put forth these ideas, I'd like to reference the Middle East, as it applies to these power relations - 18yrs of wars and the social consequences of subjects being dehumanised within these superstructures. In the following chapter, I will go into great lengths to discuss 9/11 and America's justification for invading Iraq, which has laid the foundation for the chaos within the region, which we are witnessing today.

## **CHAPTER 2.**

### **9/11 THE BUSH DOCTRINE - ITS PRELUDE AND THE INVASION OF IRAQ**

#### **2.a INTRODUCTION**

2001 was a pivotal moment for the entire geographical region of the Middle East. How this has affected individual lives will be discussed by presenting some interviews I conducted with some refugees fleeing war, and some others who have managed to escape the consequences. The dissertation will only include two, however, several were interviewed to arrive to certain conclusions. There's no doubt that the so called war on terror has created a shift in political thought and agenda throughout the entire western world, with it's regards to Middle Eastern countries. Not only has there been a series of funded wars, but also a massive movement of people who have had to leave places they call home. It has presented complexities, due to propaganda for both the aggressors and those who've been aggressed against. At the turn of the century, everyone who was in their early twenties and older, at the time, could probably tell you where they were the day of the attacks on the World Trade Centre. I imagine this was kind of what it was like to watch the first human landing on the moon. Jean Baudrillard's essay "Simulacre et Simulation" is noteworthy here. The media outlets constant replay of the airplane crashing through the building, created a hyper reality. He called it "a hallucination of the real, of the lived, of the every day - but reconstituted", going on to call this type of tactic "something much like the way of an animal park or botanical garden - presented with transparent precision, but totally lacking substance, having been derealised and hyperrealised" (Baudrillard, 1991). The result was they created a desensitivity towards it, after a certain point of exposure, because the reality was removed.

Everyone who understood anything about world politics was well aware of the fact that this moment was going to be life changing. It was the days that followed, where American reaction was going to determine the fate of many nations, at the time, unbeknownst to them, would dramatically alter the lives of hundreds of thousands of

people. I don't think I would have ever imagined that an entire geographical region would be subject to reconstruction.

Usually when crimes are committed, entire communities or nations are never held responsible. However, the rhetoric of revenge was clearly in the air. With America's foreign policies and proxy wars around the world, it's kind of a wonder that something like this hadn't happened sooner. However, as tragic as this event was, it was what was to follow that people feared. Bush claimed a terrorist attack, which snowballed into the senseless conflicts which have ensued over the past two decades. The word terrorism had still not been encoded into the public sphere as loaded with meaning as it is today. This was the beginning of the propaganda of hatred and dehumanisation, which now to date, 6 nations have paid for directly or indirectly. When you think about this, each individual nation having populations in the millions and above, costing displacement and destruction on unprecedented levels, the magnitude is hard to believe. The question begs, does the punishment fit the crime? I would like to give this an angle from a human point of view, a democratic point of view, a point of view which reflects ideals of justice. In the next section, I will discuss the destruction of the World Trade Centre, much like in literature, as a foreshadowing of the destruction which would follow in the Middle East.

## **2.b.9/11**

First, I like to think that people are guilty until proven innocent, at least this is what I've been taught having been raised under a western democratic ideal. There has been no concrete evidence presented that Iraq or Afghanistan had anything to do with 9/11. Further to this is the magnitude of the destruction which took place leaving it hard to believe the evidence that was presented as convincing. Two buildings burn down to the ground, families are unable to identify their next of kin due to the damage,

yet the passports of the pilots miraculously remain intact. I'm not going to go into theories presented by 9/11 deniers or the countless number of conspiracy theories, but this crucial point of debate, especially in hindsight of the lies that the war was premised upon, leaves room for curious query. In addition to the decades of war which have followed, one cannot help think about other ways the public had been manipulated. We were pumped with a series of lies, fuelled by the media to lead us into believing that certain people were responsible for this atrocious crime. However, not a single piece of evidence provided actually holds weight in pointing fingers towards anyone responsible for the crime itself. The first thing Bush talked about in the days that followed were Iraq's possession of weapons of mass destruction. National security was apparently under threat, and it was believable given what had just happened. However, all of those accusations have been proven false. (2008,

Schmidt, Williams) Bush took his plan to invade Iraq to the UN security council, who unanimously voted against them. What ensued was a coalition of weaker nations forming in agreement with the US, as Bush declared, either nations "were with them", "a coalition of the willing", "or against them", meaning they would be presumed to have taken sides with the terrorists. They went ahead with military force, as planned, entering Iraq without a real plan of what their objectives were. This was a war on terror, and the justifications and narratives took twist and turns as the years progressed. There was no exit strategy, and the war which has cost the US billions, has still not really ended with any clear conclusions except with land grab and indirect rule.

New world order was an outcome, yet not for the reasons proposed. Neoconservatives were in their glory in the days which followed, with their abilities to steer American responses to the war on terror, using the World Trade attacks. (2008, Schmidt, Williams) The fact that UN security rulings were ignored, was also a significant move on the world political stage. This was a display of might, a superpower showing that they would dictate defiance against previous conventions, such as the UN, which was designed as a regulatory body to keep the world safe from harm. The neoconservative Bush doctrine served as justification for the war, and continues to rule American politics to this day. Furthermore, it only served to act on

agendas already premeditated in American ideologies. This was only just a perfect moment to sway the public on to their side.

The first Persian gulf war under George Bush Senior's reign of America was considered unfinished business, which can be seen as a prelude to the actions which followed after 9/11. What they had intended from the onset and before, with their first invasion, was to oust Saddam Hussein who was once a favoured pet – the US had encouraged the Iraq war with Iran during the 80s. (2008, Schmidt, Williams) Members of the “Project for a New American Century”, sent a letter to Clinton in January of 1998 with a clear military strategy for regime change in Iraq. (2008, Schmidt, Williams) Members included, William Kristol, Donald Rumsfeld, Richard Cheney, Paul Wolfowitz, Richard Perle and Lewis “Skooter” Libby. This doctrine had aims of extending the US as a sole superpower in the world, to preserve a hegemonic position for the indefinite future. (2008, Schmidt, Williams) They intended to build and create defence strategies beyond any challenges. American domination, meant by any means necessary. This predated any military national security strategy which was released after the attacks on the World Trade Centre. It outlined a 5 yr plan mainly authored by Paul Wolfowitz, who was serving under the Secretary of Defence at the time, (Richard Cheney). (2008, Schmidt, Williams) This was leaked to the press and consequently the public, at a time when opposition to the Iraq war was becoming apparent in the public debate. What this paper outlined was, that, “ peace”, which was meant to be a universal ideal, shared and prioritised by all superpowers, was actually a hinderance to achieving American national interests. (2008, Schmidt, Williams)

Neocons of the Bush doctrine believed in a bandwagoning affect. What this meant was that rogue nations would be threatened by the prospects of violence, and would therefore succumb to US demands, whether it meant joining a coalition of force, or simply sharing propaganda sentiments. Basically, by threatening weaker states, it would make it non sensical of them to oppose US demands. Given that they were already opposing UN security rulings, weaker nations were with the confirmation that if they resisted, force would be applied to them. Their main goal at the time was to get Turkey to join forces, because weaker states would follow by the above rational. (2008,



Schmidt, Williams) The Bush doctrine was completely committed to military force, and further to that was strong confidence they would achieve the upper hand as they knew full well what Iraq's military capacity was. Where force might have been considered a last resort in the latter years of the 20th century, military strategic calculation is not considered optional but necessary for removing opposing regimes, by forcefully imposing democratisation as a moral and political process. (2008, Schmidt, Williams) There are religious views behind this as well. But, this is never highlighted in the rhetoric. The US claims to be a secular state, but is most certainly ruled by religious beliefs of promised land ideologies which I will discuss later, in their hypocrisy and accusation of terrorist groups espousal to Islamic beliefs which predispose them toward political violence.

9/11 helped fuel the necessary support for war, by initiating a climate of fear - much like US justifications for nuclear weapons acquisitions, it's about deterrence and defence. This was intentionally exaggerated in the media, as a super threat, of Muslim/Arab terrorists, who at that time were Al Qaeda (notice, we don't even hear anything about them anymore), a force more powerful than them, which the public gobbled up. The idea was to get them first - a childish type of attitude which doesn't seem to have any place in the political stage, however, I've come to learn, these conflicts are basically like children fighting in a school yard. Its aim was a unilateral rather than multilateral action. However, post 9/11- the slogans for war were about either being with the US or the terrorists, which didn't leave much room for opposing views.

Pre 9/11 American stance on its lack of peace initiatives in the world became evident. They withdrew from International government agreements, such as the International criminal court - the Hague, The Kyoto protocol which aimed at implementing a ban on biological weapons was also ignored, with a follow up of complete withdrawal by lack of participation. (2008, Schmidt, Williams) This was quite clearly open contempt of any peace strategies, starting with the 1972 Anti Ballistic missile treaty in Russia. Not only did they defy the international communities, but made it clear that their superpower status meant they didn't have to comply with

the International community on whatever point of debate presented. In the years that followed, they have ridiculed the Paris treaty on climate change, even denying that top world scientists have any validity in their claims towards the threats placed on the environment. (2018, Carrus, Panno, Leone) Their national agenda was priority, and no other reason could sway them.

Post 9/11, US defiance against world peace became clear as day. They went against the UN vote to enter Iraq, accelerated by liberal values, through institutions and by force. Their faith in the Military Industrial Complex, gave an overconfidence that would guarantee regime change in Iraq. The military had technological advancements they would boast of - small ground forces would be utilised to ensure a lesser degree of loss on human lives as costs for war (2018, Porter). What they put out into the public was jargon removing the human element of war - "precision bombings" and "friendly fire" would not only aid in accomplishing their goals, but also protect the lives of Americans who would be fighting for the freedoms which were suddenly under great threat. I'll go on to discuss this in my chapter on the media. However, the public were not being informed that war would result in the same tragedies seen in Vietnam or WW2. No, this was a modern war, where human lives were minimal and intentionally exaggerated by media outlets such as CNN, MSNBC, Fox and the likes, which perpetually drove into the public conscious that liberty was at stake. (2008, Schmidt, Williams)

The promotion of democracy was also used as a justification for war, which fed into the public ideology. This is incidentally the same narrative in practically every single war lead by the US - liberty and freedom. One wikipedia search on the history of American Invasions reveals a list of US wars throughout history. (<https://www.wikipedia.org>) Each one seems to be with the reasons that, it was America's responsibility to free the people of those respective nations by bringing democracy by force. This is also true for all their proxy wars, where it always seems to be the threat of terrorist or terrorist like institutions bent on destroying American liberties. American politicians strongly believe that lesser developed nations are in need of their assistance to move them towards democracies or their version of progress. They carry

out this belief by force. Islam has simply taken the place of the Soviet Union as a threat to world peace, much like communism was a threat during the Cold War.

Democracy would therefore succeed and spread from Damascus to Tehran, as the 2003 speech on National endowment for Democracy read - that freedom can be the future of every nation (<https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2003/11/20031106-2.html>) The narrative revolves around evidence being, how democracy flourished after the demise of the Soviet Union. There was no mention of how this particular ideology would be of major benefit to America's strongest ally - Israel.

The war on terror was therefore backed by congress and public opinion. Saddam Hussein was painted as a villain. Iraq should not possess weapons of mass destruction (this is a privilege only held by them). There was emphasis on his previous crimes, no mention of how those crimes were US backed and promoted. Saddam Hussein was much like Hitler and needed to be stopped, point blank, due to his inherent aggressive nature. A nature that seems to be innate in all Middle Eastern men, by the way. This was only the beginning of the same analogies being extended to all cultures sharing this geographic region, having an innate quality which predisposes them towards violence. National interest become devoid of moral dignity, based solely on national interest and quite clearly separated from political reality, which up until this point, required a type of consensus that included the UN Security Council's consent. (2008, Schmidt, Williams)

Several oppositional views emerged from this, coming from the left, who attempted to voice their opinions but it mainly fell on deaf ears. Basically, their rhetoric revolves around the lack of morality in political affairs. Their counterargument based in the fact that the bandwagoning effect was dangerous, because threatening other nations would only encourage them to find other ways to defend themselves. Seeking the acquisition of nuclear weapons might pose as a viable threat in the future. North Korea, for example only sought to increase funding for its program. It's reached the point where they've publicly claimed to suspend their nuclear testing capacity as they

no longer have any need to do so. What this means is that they're ready to defend themselves, if those fists come raised at them. (2017, Kim,S.C,&Cohen,MD)

The Left acknowledged that forceful democracy cannot really have the desired outcome, it in turn creates nationalism and protectionism. This is clear throughout Islamic nations and communities world wide where a revival of Islamic values is evident and consequential. For example, this, amongst other things, such as resistance of Americanization, might have contributed towards Turkey's increase in the religious implementations in government, over the last decade. If the US had pipe dreams of bringing democracy to Iran, then this is a reality which is not only extremely far fetched, but unfounded. Iran is a nation that's completely non submissive to them in any way, their lack of debt leaves them not bothered by sanctions placed against them and have publicly declared their rejection of any infiltration, economic or otherwise. (Burns,2018, Dec,23) It not only propels their government towards more extreme forms of control, but also invites a criticism of American capitalists and democratic ideal, which other nations wouldn't dare to publicly decree. Iran doesn't hold back in sharing their discontent with American policies, economic sanctions have made no differences in their economic relations with others. (Burns,2018, Dec, 23) Those who were anti war, were quick to declare, that a hegemony desired by Neocons was completely out of reach. Where Neocons glorified military force and used it as the force for imposition; the left knew violence was something that needed to be used, if at all, quite sparingly. Stephen Watt's balance of threat theory, is clear on this. He claims that weaker nations will form alliances with one another in order to strengthen and balance against outside threats (2013, Bock). Insecurity made clear by US invasions, despite the international communities opposition, only made it clearer that forming any types of future business strategies with them should be taken with great caution. Saddam Hussein's murder, was a testimony of betrayal in politics, as he was once a favoured and praised leader by those responsible for his demise; He could not have reached such heights in power without US backing. (2008, Scmidtt, Williams) Furthermore, if the US is willing to act alone, against the international community, it really means that no nation is safe from their wrath, depending on whatever vested

interests they have in their territories - aggressive intentions are simply not ones to speculate over anymore - threatening violence to enforce foreign policy has led to a general unfavourable view of them, effecting diplomatic success.

It is no secret that today, Trump is the bud of jokes on a global scale. I read that political cartoonists have never in history had a subject so dynamic to exploit as Trump's presidency has provided. (<https://www.pri.org/stories/2017-05-18/cartoonistsworldwide-respond-unprecedented-week-trump-drama>) He has been embarrassed diplomatically in ways that no other leader, not even someone like Mugabe had experienced in the past. Trudeau's famous lack of handshake and Macron's near slumber are images circulated on the internet as forms of entertainment. There probably has never been a US president since Bush Jr. who has been ridiculed to the same extents, coincidentally not surprising that both espouse to the same neoconservative ideals.

Anti war leftists believed the US could have taken preventative measures as they had claimed to have no opinions in the past on Arab-Arab conflicts. (2008, Schmidtt, Williams) The claim that Saddam Hussein was a threat due to his involvement in the Kuwait invasions was baseless for a number of reasons. First, Iraq had only a history of two previous wars - Iran and Kuwait, both of which were US backed. (2008, Schmidtt, Williams) The threat of weapons of mass destruction was also one where the US was unlikely to feel threatened, as their military capacity was stronger than that of Iraq's, whether there was a real threat of chemical usage or not. This made it highly unlikely that Iraq would, if in true possession, have used them against the US in the first place. The fact that chemical weapons were used against the Iranians and Kurds in the 80s was due largely in part to the US supply of them. Walt and Mearsheimer stated that Hussein wanted to maintain his presence in the Middle East as a powerful leader. He was well aware of US surveillance of his military capacity, holding onto power would have been his utmost priority. (2008, Schmidtt, Williams) Where the Anti war, left, disputed charges of Iraq having anything to do with 9/11, nationalists and patriotists needed no convincing against any other possibilities. The Bush administration's propaganda machine was so effective that

most people were blinded by the whole 9/11 incident. Not only were there conditions placed against any criticism, because the narrative claimed any one opposed to the war was a traitor or terrorist sympathiser, but there was really no argument that could sway opinions against the foreign policy which sought to impose American power throughout the world. The opposition saw the costs of war as an excess of necessary military budgets, and also considered the cost of human life; Neocons saw this as a form of collateral damage. (2003, Schmidt, Williams) They exploited nationalism to suit their agendas, which was not difficult after the attack on the World Trade Centre, as intellectual debates were dominated by the narrative of threats on national security. These narrow conceptions were politically disastrous and analytically misleading, because they had no basis in truth. The use of violence against Iraq can be seen as a point of decline in American intellectual and political life. The paradox was presented as a conflict between morality and foreign policy, which encouraged a division amongst the public as it was unequivocally detrimental to both. (2003, Schmidt, Williams) The neoconservatives at this point, established themselves as a political group, harbouring on a combined politics of fear, nationalism and patriotism. In the next section I will begin to discuss how the US pose a threat to world peace, especially being more empowered with Trump in the White House.

## **2.c UNDERSTANDING NEO-CONSERVATIVES AS A POLITICAL INTEREST GROUP**

It's important to understand Neocons unite under three common themes which are at the basis for their political agendas and initiatives in foreign policy. The main concept has its roots in religious beliefs that state there is an existential state in humanity, which is the battle between good and evil. (2004, Halper., Clarke) Politics as a result, is based on a willingness for those who believe themselves to be on the side of good, in this case themselves, who make a choice to fight the latter as a moral responsibility. The second is their insistence that military power is therefore designed to be used against the evils in the world which threaten the fabrics of peace. The third, is the fact that the Middle

East and its representation of global Islam, is a threat to the world, based solely on the premise that their interests go against the principals which America stands for, threatening their own interests in ways that other nations or ideologies pose none (at the moment). (2004, Halper, Clarke) This is why I say that Islam has taken the place of Communism, because its principals are perceived as a threat to American values. Basically, to understand this, all you have to do is invert American values. So where one values freedom, the other, oppression; Where one values democracy, the other, dictatorship and so on. Also, strengthened by a superpower status, America believes it has the higher moral convictions which are necessary, compatible and desired by the rest of the world. (2004, Halper, Clarke) Military force is viewed not as a last resort but first and viable option. They are therefore quite adamantly against multilateral institutions as this would be antagonistic towards international treaties and agreements of unilateralism. (2003, Schmidt, Williams) This in fact, only gives more weight to the arguments which confirm American virtues, leaving a lot of open ended questions: if today Islam is the target, then what will tomorrow bring? Are they willing to place military force against fellow citizens who dispute their views, because this would be going against what they believe to be American virtue? Furthermore, there are those who believe that America has internal problems which need to be financially addressed - problems in the inner cities, lack of adequate employment opportunities and medicare, to name a few. So, does opposing the excessive budget on war also equate to dissent? The left have called this a Hobbesian state of nature, which requires a type of primitivism and conspiracy, that constantly conflict, as superpower status is something that all nations aspire to. Unlike Locke and Rousseau, they fail to see value in a community of nations which can coexist, because they saw a social contract between nations as a propeller toward peace, in fact, in their views, this is completely illusory and out of reach. (2003, Schmidt, Williams)

Neocons ignore notions of advancing stability, normalcy, peace, realism, collective security or consensus. Treaties of international calibre are instead methods to attempt to constrain American might. (2004, Halper, Clarke) Non military factors are overruled by economic incentives and initiatives. They do not see any point in

wasting any time on issues of poverty alleviation, pluralism or environmental damage, because any of those issues would be irrelevant to the larger agenda based on the three above principals. Americans who oppose these views are considered obstacles because their patriotism is in question. If they voice concerns with what they would consider to be trivial issues, it would hinder their abilities to spread American virtues, ordained by God. This becomes especially convincing when reading their religious beliefs that are far from accepting of pluralities in the world. It's clear and evident in the numerous publications which are accessible with some efforts. Critics feel they have been quite clear with their agendas albeit they aren't out in the public sphere, due in part to a media blitz which doesn't discuss the less spoken about goals of this political interest group. (2004, Halper, Clarke)

It's also really important that people understand that Neocons have infiltrated every aspect of the American stage, which influences discursive practices. They are literally everywhere, in Academia, like Yale and Princeton; research Institutions, The Council of Foreign relations and the Hudson Institute, to the media - Fox News, The Wall Street Institute and The Washington Post; business and politicians, such as, the Defence Policy board, direct advisors to the president and state department officials who are members of The New American Century Project. (2004, Halper, Clarke) Neo conservatives have penetrated The House of Representatives, they are Senators and Speakers of the House of Representatives. (2004, Halper, Clarke) They also form an alliance with Evangelical Christians who have an enormous impact and influence on the public perceptions of domestic and international politics. What this group has proved unequivocally, is that there is no real place for debate on their views, it is no longer a philosophy, they've moved very forcefully into polemics which fail to see a compromise in order to appease others. (2004, Halper, Clarke) Their clear cut perceptions have unapologetic foreign policies, which are not only entrenched in their conservative views, but they're well funded. They oppose the leftist socialist ideals, are critical of human rights, women's freedoms to decide for themselves about issues concerning their health, and pay little attention to issues on climate change. In short, they have narrow assertive conceptions. (2018, Vlahos) Whilst their focus remains



solely on the Middle East, their sights are also on developing continents such as Africa and Latin America, albeit a periphery vision less prioritised at the moment. Europe is also a menace to them in only the fact that at times some European nations may conflict with NATO. (2004, Halper, Clarke) An example of this narrow vision is Richard Perle, who publicly supported attacks on N.Korea regardless of the 15 million and more inhabitants of S. Korea (2004, Halper, Clarke) From my interpretation this lacks any intellectual capacity to understand the magnitude of destruction which would take place, if political war games turn towards the use of nuclear weapon capabilities. If winning is always on the agenda, then they have failed completely to comprehend that there are no winners in a nuclear war. It would mean the end of the world as we know it. Pearl has treated Middle Eastern Islamism, as he calls it, as a main focus for US foreign policy, disregarding any peace initiatives of the last 70 yrs of Arab - Israeli conflict, claiming no loans should be exchanged for peace. (2004,

Halper, Clarke) Most of the world completely oppose this, evident in the Oslo Peace Process, yet they are bent on undoing any of the initiatives which have taken place in history, towards this seemingly endless conflict between the Palestinians and Zionists rulers of Israel. Instead, the neoconservative position is to create a very weak mini state for the Palestinians which would mean they should be completely and totally disarmed and politically cripple, with no form of resistance made available to them, not that there is much at the moment. (2004, Halper, Clarke) 2017, Under Trump's reign, we have seen the withdrawal of billions of dollars for any initiative which had worked toward the benefit of Palestinians, whether it be in the form of funding for refugees initiatives by UNRWA, or others who established medical and educational initiatives toward the Palestinian plight. (<https://www.washingtonpost.com>) This is also aligned with the post 9/11 initiative in Iraq, which aimed at removing Islam as the primary religion within its constitution.

In the Iraq Invasion, transforming their culture would mean two possible outcomes would arise; either Islam would be removed entirely as a state religion, or they would have to decide which form of Islam they'd have to back in their attempt to make Muslims non believers. Halper and Clarke called this a conceptual neocon failure

because in their denial of Wahabbism, Iranian Mullahs and other fundamentalists, they would have to make a choice between empowering Sunnis or Shiites. This would also incite a civil struggle, which in their views is beneficial as it saves them from spending the cash on the fighting. Any form of population curbing, whether at their own hands or others would be seen as beneficial. The failure in Iraq, as Halper and Clarke stated, was conceptual overreach and the absence of pragmatism. The Middle East stands as a place of great strategic interest, which is never really talked about in the public sphere. First, the security of Israel being top priority, second the energy resources which America is the greatest consumer of and tirelessly try to control and possess - without oil, the country will fall to bits. Also, Israel's lack of water supply which needs to be secured from neighbouring Egypt, and beyond. (2004, Halper, Clarke) The Palestinian Intifada is seen as a huge economic burden, as more and more people wake up to the realities of Israel being a segregative state, consequently supporting the Boycott Divestment and Sanction (BDS) movement, which is starting to have significant impact. Third, the fact that change in the Middle East is top priority by any means necessary, change will come, whether through persuasion or force. (2004, Halper, Clarke) Persuasion in these terms doesn't include intellectual debate, it comes through policy change, by way of aid, so it too is actual forcefulness. Although it may come in the form of influence, it is somehow justified as a lack of imposition. They believe their doctrines as saviours of the world, or world police, to be a higher ground of morality which is less authoritative than the fascist leaders of the Arab world.

Neocons also reject their American oppositions and have used it to incite divisions within the country at levels higher than ever seen before in history. William J Bennet belongs to a hierarchal church authority, which bases its foundation on claims based on an apostolic descent from Jesus Christ himself (2004, Halper, Clarke). He professes clearly that he supports the use of violence in the Middle East, but fails to acknowledge any contradictions in that this goes against Christ's own teachings. Not to mention the fact that Jesus was a Palestinian, Middle Easterner, who would probably be rolling in his grave, crucifix, or point of view from his resurrection - whichever way you look at it, at the violence taking place in his homeland. Neocons also very

adamantly attack moral relativists. Very briefly, moral relativists support a philosophy of relativism in truth, morality, historical events etc. They claim that cultural, historical and geographical contexts may have differing views of what is true, false, good, bad etc. For example, they oppose violence as a solution to political problems; neocons on the other hand, believe heavily that the supremacy of technological advancement in the military is a source of confidence, regardless of consequences. (2004, Halper, Clarke) From a psychoanalytical standpoint, this extreme fascination with war is terribly disturbing. They seem to look ahead to more violent conflicts. (2004, Halper, Clarke) fiscal spending is pumped into the military in the US than on education and healthcare. They also adamantly support the freedom to own firearms, as protected by the second amendment, regardless of the fact that America is the only nation on earth where mass shootings take place on a regular basis every year. (2012, Alcantra, Berkowitz, lu) The chances of dying from gun violence in the US are incredibly high. Have a look at the table which follows:

**Gun violence is a leading cause of death in America**

CAUSE OF DEATH	LIFETIME ODDS	CAUSE OF DEATH	LIFETIME ODDS
Heart disease	1 in 6	Airplane, boat, and spaceship incidents	1 in 2,499
Cancer	1 in 7	Assault by sharp object	1 in 2,517
Any injury	1 in 19	Any force of nature	1 in 2,566
Chronic lung disease	1 in 26	Choking on food	1 in 3,461
Any accident	1 in 28	Bicycling	1 in 4,020
Stroke	1 in 20	Police/law enforcement	1 in 7,703
Alzheimer's disease	1 in 27	Accidental gunshot	1 in 8,349
Diabetes	1 in 51	<b>Mass shooting</b>	<b>1 in 11,125</b>
Influenza and pneumonia	1 in 72	Electricity/radiation/food/poison	1 in 15,210
Drugs	1 in 72	Hot water	1 in 18,681
Kidney disease	1 in 82	Sharp objects	1 in 22,403
Poisoning (accidents including drug overdoses)	1 in 86	Venomous animal or plant	1 in 44,459
Suicide	1 in 82	Foreign-born terrorist	1 in 45,785
Any motor vehicle incident	1 in 106	Tornado	1 in 60,000
Falling	1 in 122	Stinging by hornets, wasps, and bees	1 in 63,215
Alcohol	1 in 123	Colic/dysentery/stomach	1 in 66,324
Murder	1 in 229	Asteroid strike (global impact)	1 in 75,000
<b>Assault by gun</b>	<b>1 in 315</b>	Bus, train, or streetcar	1 in 101,144
Riding inside a car, van, or truck	1 in 491	Dog attack	1 in 112,382
Suffocation	1 in 591	Legal execution	1 in 118,993
Pedestrian	1 in 611	Earthquake	1 in 120,000
Motorcycle	1 in 921	Lightning	1 in 163,821
Drowning	1 in 1,133	Asteroid strike (regional impact)	1 in 1,993,000
Fire or smoke	1 in 1,579	Shark attack	1 in 6,000,000

Note: Most odds based on 2015 death, population, and life expectancy data. The odds for mass shootings were based on more historic data. Terrorism odds based on 41-year average (1975-2015).

Source: National Safety Council, National Center for Health Statistics, and Department of Justice. © 2015. All rights reserved. © 2015. All rights reserved. © 2015. All rights reserved.

**BUSINESS INSIDER**

Neoconservative opposers have proclaimed that violent solutions to otherwise debatable conflicts, don't always have favourable outcomes. They claim that the US

is isolating itself on the International stage, no one trusts them or wants to do business with them. Where economics and allied cooperation in terms of commerce and culture used to stand as points of leverage and immense power, these things have now been overtaken by military pursuits or the threat there of. The following chapter on the Trump presidency will highlight more of these divisions present in modern day America.

#### **2.d. NEO CONSERVATISM UNDER TRUMP'S REIGN**

Trump's presidency in the US stands as a testament to the strength of the neoconservative views in America. His followers fill the gap which Obama's presidency seemed to quell with a more liberal stance after the Bush Doctrine. However, as much as Obama was a well liked and charismatic leader, he left a playground for his successor, who obviously had a stronger opposition than had been predicted or thought possible. Sadly and more so, dangerously, it also poses a serious threat on the world political stage, as American politics essentially effect us all, albeit they've deliberately adopted a more isolationist position as goal.

Trump's rejection of established candidates and electorates on mainstream issues secured his candidacy. Foreign policy was at the forefront, winning him the support of a population in America who had been somewhat marginalised due to their extremist and frequent offensive opinions.(2018,Haar) His campaigns were shameless, racist and disconcerted. For example, he wanted a total and complete ban on Muslims entering the country. His justification being that America shouldn't open itself up to more terror attacks because all Muslims believe in Jihad (2016,Al Jazeera). There was also the incident of the Gold Star Muslim family, The Khans, who called him out on his racism, by stating the fact their Muslim American soldier son, had died in a car bombing in 2004 in Iraq, while attempting to save other troops no less. Trumps rebuttal was aligned with the negative stereotype of oppressed Muslim women, instead. He

mocked the fact Mrs Khan stood by her husband, silently, while he addressed the convention: “If you look at his wife, she was standing there, she had nothing to say, she probably - maybe, she wasn’t allowed to have anything to say, you tell me.” (2016, New York Times). These kinds of comments seemed to have no place in contemporary intellectual or social life, but he boasted revivals of xenophobic ideals not seen since the confederacy, which preached white supremacy. Harr (a lecturer in International Relations at the Maastricht University) called this neoconning of America, a contemplation of the unimaginable, which had a worrisome outlook for Europe and the world. Others had strong beliefs that Trump wouldn’t be capable of ruling domestically or abroad as his ideas were unacceptable to most members of congress. (2016, Haar) Furthermore, oppositionists viewed his foreign policy as too weak to hold weight amongst potential voters. Of course, we all know now that this has proved to be false. Trump has reorganised American politics in a way which is only favourable to isolationists. He has threatened to pull America away from NATO; encouraging the use of nuclear weapons as the primary threat to nations without, since it is enough to deter any nation from disputing against them. (2016,Haar) He has emphasised conspiracy theories, given out vague threats to other nations such as China, N.Korea and Russia. (2016,Haar) He has very rudely insulted weaker nations with his referral to Namibia and other developing nations as “shit holes”. These shocking rhetorics which lack diplomacy and political correctness, have not only disapproved of already established international systems, which have defined the contemporary political stage since the first world war. But he also, unabashedly, has an exceeding overflow of confidence in a superpower status, which will allow other nations to comply with them, simply because they don’t have the military might to oppose. It is an embarrassing moment for the US. He might be the first president to experiment with multilateral cooperation, and promote bigotry and racism. Ironically, preaching anti immigration policies to a nation made up of immigrants, not to mention the fact he is married to a first generation one. He gives weight to climate change deniers and empire builders, including, a promotion of distrust in oppositional views in the media, if they speak openly, calling it “fake”news. (2018,Vlahos) His cabinet is also made up of less

informed and under qualified experts as advisors that push a more Republican mainstream policy, with an anti globalised stance unaligned with former agreements which the international community had previously worked very hard to establish. (2016,Haar) Not to mention the outright expressions of nepotism, with his daughter (who has no background in politics), and her husband as part of his team.

This doesn't leave any good news for the Middle East as the neocons prior and during the Bush Doctrine, have finally found their power to establish legality where once it only proved to be simple philosophy. Islamophobia is on the rise and exasperated by neoconservatism and neoliberalism, which go hand in hand. This is not only applicable to policies within the US but far reaching and beyond - the Middle East is merely a current priority. Liberalism was the dominant intellectual tradition since the 1950s until the present. However, Trump is backed by the Evangelical Christians who have religious beliefs about the Middle East as a place for Christ's return. (2010,Lewis) Plus, the very financially influential Jewish support from those not living in Israel and within the USA, who work towards supporting it through American foreign policy. For example AIPAC (American Israel Public Affairs Committee), have managed to find an alliance with Christian communities, on their mutual hatred for the Middle East surrounding Israel, specifically those who deny or refuse to acknowledge its existence. According to Weir, they have an annual revenue of about \$60 million. They use this money to donate towards political campaigns and other initiatives which favour Israel's politics. ([www.ifamerica.com](http://www.ifamerica.com) [knew.org](http://www.knew.org)). Having said that, there is a perception out there that discussing any of their affairs, regarding Israeli initiatives from overseas, is automatically labelled as anti Semitic. Leaving a very fine line on what can and cannot be said about them, as criticism of Israeli politics (whether it is from the Jewish left or otherwise) tends to get shut down by such accusations. Popular use of the term is seen as being anti Jewish, when in reality "Semite" is a classification which extends itself to Arabs, Ethiopians and Armenians, for instance, and there is a difference between criticising a government and criticising a religion.

Trump's slogan of "Make America Great Again" lies in returning power to the likes of the Klu Klux Klan, the not so cultured, the highly controversial, the lacking

intellect, and the down right scary - America of the “old” stock, as Perlstrein put it. (2017, Perlstein) This new America has become a state sponsored xenophobic one, where social justice has become a distant memory and political correctness has been completely redefined. Trump’s connection to the Alt right is not only evident in his public speeches. In 1927, 1,000 hooded clansmen fought the police in Queens, New York. It was described as a brutal and vicious display of violence. One of those people arrested was Trump’s father, Fred Trump. (2017, Perlstein) It’s no surprise that Trump grew up in a racist household. His father, known as “Old Man Trump”, preached racial hatred for most of his adult life. He had also settled on a federal housing discrimination suit, where he was accused of not allowing black tenants to rent out units in one of their housing projects. (2017, Perlstein) Donald Trump is simply a product of an extremely volatile time in history, which concluded with the uprising of the civil rights movement. This is the America he speaks of when he refers to the so called “greatness” of the past. In the following chapter, I will discuss neoconservatism and neoliberalism, in order of showing how the two go hand in hand toward initiatives which will change cultural landscapes and aid economic goals as priority over any other type of social issues.

## **2.e. NEOLIBERALISM AND NEOCONSERVATISM**

Neoliberalism and Neoconservatism go hand in hand; what the former has done for rising inequalities is merely the priority for the latter. To be clear Neoliberalism has taken on different forms throughout the world, however remains consistent in one way. The laissez-faire capitalist system was about freeing up markets away from governmental control and encouraging privatisation. What this means is that prices are set against supply and demand. It also has allowed for huge corporations to find ways of bending rules because the profits they generate can be significant to a country’s GDP. So, for example a US owned, rose farm in Nanyuki, Kenya, yielding maximum profits by using pesticides which might be banned in the US. So, if the chemical exposure is carcinogenic, causing an employee's health to be compromised, the workers have no way of fighting back. We are also seeing a surge of conservatism spreading throughout

the major global economies. (2015, Kenny. Pearce) It doesn't really make any sense as we are supposed to be progressing as a human race, however, there are definite signs of regression. It's only natural for the youth of every generation to be anxious about their futures as they move into adulthood. But, today's youth are not growing up with any certainties to help them feel optimistic for a better one.

This century is marked by increasing unemployment rates, worsening working conditions, a degraded public sector and declining social services. We are seeing more inequalities with wealth distribution, more and more people are sinking into lower paying jobs, where labourers are mostly affected, along with the youth, people of colour, immigrants and single mothers. The class war is completely about neoliberal economics which is backed by the neoconservative political elements in order to preserve it. (2018, Vlahos) What this means is, there are some parts of the world now being designated for production by race. For example, it's an old movie now, but "The Corporation" shows how, Asia is being designated as a part of the world which produces technology. The working conditions can be unbearable with quotas to meet on a daily basis, that a bathroom break could cost one their livelihood. In addition to the neoconservative politics which would stop people from forming unions in order to fight for their rights. This has also caused a strong marginalisation in institutions which once held great value, such as, education. Education has been an area used to guarantee maximum profits for capitalists, corporations and governments.(2018, Vlahos)

The enforcement of conservatism in schools ensures a labour market for the future that is devoid of critical thinking skills and submissive to government ideologies - a systemic use of state power ideology. This has become more and more hegemonic internationally as well, which has great impact on discursive institutions and practices, that advance inequalities as extensions of free markets through outsourcing and privatisation. It only increases the gap in wealth between classes. This results in individualism, which destroys the fabric of family values. This is not to say that family values are despised by neocons. It means that, this highly competitive system depends on your luck at birth. One's abilities to move up economic ladders are more



constrained, sometimes inhibiting the abilities of people to have families. Life is expensive enough, money is already half spent before it's even earned, adding the cost of children into a personal budget leaves most ordinary people looking at ways to subsidise through credit cards, second jobs etc. The Laissez Faire system only helps the rich get richer; the poor get poorer, with minimal state funding, expressed in cut backs to health, social services, and education.(2009, Jacobsson) Education is becoming increasingly more controlled and constrained to be less informative and objectionable. "Dangerous" content of curricula is removed from schools and universities. (2017,Pendergast, et al) Pedagogy is regulated through relations of teachers and students. Students are controlled through the ridiculous fees for higher education and are therefore a guaranteed labour force at low costs, as they arrive at their graduations in enormous debts. Teachers and professors are subject to surveillance. Marketisation is key for future educational institutions. What this basically means is that there will be no more learning about other parts of the world. Arts and extracurricular activities such as sports and music will no longer be accessible to everyone. It seems obvious that in a globalised world and economy, world religions and cultures should be taught in basically every school on the planet. Instead, people are more sheltered, learning about nationalism, as a competitive type of advantage. My concerns are, if kids only learn about what goes on in their backyard, they're less inclined to respect different ways of life. The aims of this are simply to produce a skilled workforce that benefits a profitable economy. While I don't believe that's necessarily a bad thing, after all, we all need to keep a roof over our heads and food on the table. Additionally, becoming decent citizens and contributors to any nation are good things. The problem is, the narrow type of vision that kids are going to grow up with. Furthermore, the largest group of migrants to the west are coming most definitely from the Middle East, which is the focus of my paper. This doesn't mean that it's not applicable to other cultures. They not only have the challenge of integration, but that challenge becomes more exasperated when people have no clear understandings of their cultures, history, traditions, or the positive contributions they have made to science, technology, the arts and so on. The media has predominantly portrayed a

picture of a violent culture, including a religion which promotes inequalities and violence toward women. In addition to that, are the rise of the Alt Right, who have children sharing classrooms with newly immigrated children who are brainwashed to believe their classmates are of a second class, sometimes coming from an archaic past. If they are lucky enough to make it out of the oppressiveness of their home countries, economical declines, they become further marginalised in an educational system that doesn't feel the need to tell the truth about how they really ended up in western societies. The proof in this is in the African diaspora, where many parallels can be drawn. The Trans Atlantic Slave Trade is the root cause of African American challenges. It took 400 years to abolish slavery but at the same time, it looks like 400 more years, of re education and of constantly telling and re telling their stories. This is in essence what Black Lives Matter movement is all about, very loud, very clear and happening now as I write this - The inability to recognise the other. (2018, Banks) The rise in anti immigration sentiments amongst countries of immigration, is further proof that there needs to be a re education about others. If immigrants can't understand why other immigrants are attempting to integrate into foreign lands, then there is something terribly wrong with the education system and society at large. Henry Lewis Gates or Angela Davis, both African American scholars, whose work covered many of the subjects mentioned above, in the context of the African diaspora, are well worth reading for more knowledge on this. However, pretty much the whole field of Post Colonial Studies is built on these premises.

Marxist theoreticians have seen this revolution in education to be backed by capitalistic ideals which are designed to produce a hierarchy in the work force. The whole purpose is to institutionalise children for exploitation when they enter the work force. (2017, Pendergast et al) Especially so in a globalised market, this bluntly translates to westerners with privilege, even if they are guests in other countries. A good example of this is the English teaching profession around the world. Although this is a serious profession, it requires skill, knowledge and creativity to teach a language. However, it seems the most desirable skill for marketing purposes is simply being a native English speaker. A huge imbalance between locals and foreigners is

created within the system. It's clearly a segregative one, where local counterparts are paid half the amount of money that a local educated teacher who may know the ins and outs of grammar far more thoroughly than the so called "native" speaker of the language. I've seen this on three different continents now. I can only speak with certainty, for the profession I've worked in. However, I've been an expat, immigrant and migrant all my life, where several discussions with other expats have ensued about different professional fields, confirming this segregation in multinational companies across the board. With this comes the attacks on union and workers rights. Where this might be the norm in western countries, protected by laws, developing nations feel themselves powerless in forming any protests against working conditions, pay and benefits. Often times, there might be laws in place to protect worker's rights. (2017, Pendergast et al) However, exercising them is a different story. With the rich and privileged in higher positions due to nepotism and corruption amongst elite circles, it doesn't leave any room for ordinary hard working people to move up, nor the channels to dispute any concerns. Marx calls this the capital - labour relationship, where punishment for dissent or deep critique concerning the traditional morality aspect of neoconservatism, varies in space and time, from country to country at different periods, although the goals will always remain the same. (2017, Pendergast et al) This brings me to the next subject, that of the media and it's role in this system, which needs strong condemnation and transformation, if they intend to uphold ideals of impartiality and truth.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **3.a.MEDIA**

Cultural theorists believe there has to be a transformation in the media in order to impact significant changes in the world. Sontag calls the power of the image, the greatest commodity in capitalistic ideology. No pictures are neutral, image is the

language that conveys meaning. (1998,McQuire) If we look at Semiotics, they can clearly be seen as designed ultimately to effect people's understanding of the world under different forms of intellect, by appealing to our emotions. For example, the art of letter writing (pretty much dead), compared to the language of emoji's in today's digital world. Clearly we've moved to something very overly simplified in the same way people's perceptions of things have, due to the methods presented through the media. When we extend this issue to races and identities, it covers a type of hegemony where the reception model is differentiated according to what type of identity baggage one carries. Hall came to this conclusion by examining his own relationship with discrimination in the UK during the 70s. He concluded that there is nothing isolated in politics - racial profiling based on discrimination and stereotyping has been a problem since as far back as any individual's memory can serve, remaining evident throughout history. The news not only informs, but it also misinforms, it exaggerates through sensationalism and disproportionate coverage. It intends to manipulate public perceptions according to state ideologies. Postcolonial theorists, like Sara Ahmed who I will be mentioning later as the paper progresses, are very adamant in highlighting the construction of images, words and nationalism, as a way to construct social ideologies for economic goals. What this does is vilify entire cultures, such as what the Arab and more specific Muslim world, is currently experiencing under the contemporary wars being fought in the Middle East. They've been labelled potential threats to society, based on the acquisition ideals of natural resources. The end goal for the corporate backers of the media is to get their hands on Middle Eastern oil, in doing so, it requires a type of consent from the public in order to reach this. This legacy in analysing the media comes from Gramsci's work, which deeply influences media critics. Everyone takes meaning from the images according to their identity baggage, and media texts or images are produced to encode into societies the desired ideologies. So, depending on which end of the world you're on, in the west, the Middle Easterner is the villain with primitive ideals; the westerner in the Middle East, is the land grabbing cancer which invades, rapes and pillages throughout their ancestral lands, aiming to destroy their

cultures; both have validity to their claims based on fact. This leaves us with a huge dilemma, as no media can be fully reliable.

Concepts of hegemony come into question as this is not a type of manipulation by force. It becomes a gradual control of society by consent and based on artificial needs and illusions. They present notions of capitalistic ideals, through fashion, music and food, to name a few. The images become further sponsored through movies, books and television which creates the ideologies through the art of storytelling. What happens is, as people become more and more entrenched in consumer society, they also become more and more apolitical and apathetic towards societal problems or injustices, as quickly as consumer societies are essentially capitalistic ones, who are unaware of their own oppression and exploitation. For example, news channels that replay the same stories over and over all day. You watch a terrible flood in the Philippines, for example, and it might stir some emotions in the first viewing. However, after seeing it 7 times in one day, it stirs no emotions and can be comparable to how one views a movie. This is what Boudrillard was talking about when he referred to a hyper reality. The constant exposure, takes away from the reality. Advertisement works this way, depending on the viewer to memorise their slogans and subliminally etching into our minds their 'awesome' products by appealing to our emotions. Later, I will discuss this power with reference to Sara Ahmed's "Politics of Emotions". Gramsci, a cultural expert and neo marxist, made popular references to intellectual life which expressed itself in society, media and culture. As a neo-marxist, he saw the superstructure much like Foucault did, where religion and education were at the base, rather than the economy. Today of course, religion is being slowly swept under the rug of capitalistic ideology. Gramsci wondered why and how people came to accept this state of apathy. Capitalism needs to use institutions such as religion, education and the media. Hegemony is one part, but it's highly complicated and intertwined. The aim is to standardise people because no one can exist without a system umbrella. How those ideologies shape you become your identity. So, all these popular subjects of debate in the world such as deciphering gender roles, racial prejudices, religious ideologies and rituals, the value of military, nationalism, family and so on, aren't neutral or innocent

concepts. They carry ideologies which have been ingrained into us through institutions. Religious nations have stronger ideologies, because the rule of law is entwined with exploiting religious dogma, and using God as justification for exaggeration of sorts. So, when discussing the Middle East, this becomes a greater challenge for capitalistic ideals, unless they align their ideology in a way that manipulates those ideologies towards consumerism which matches economic goals. Ideology as defined in the first chapter, has no history, is not static and can change narratives as generations do. What I mean is that there is room for change, if people want it. They are just too busy going through the motions of the designed institutions Foucault talks about to have time to question them. In fact, aside from schools, the media is a point of criticism Foucault had. He saw this as a strong point where the government has complete control. This can actually be progressive if we are standardising critical thought. The issues lie in the fact this is deliberately oppressed. The result becomes intensification of public anxieties albeit satisfying other greater goals of mind control.

Conflicts around the world pose challenges for governmental ideals as they need to justify their actions for public support, as in the case of the US lead wars in the Middle East, which is satisfied through propaganda media coverage. According to Reception Theory, there are three ways of encoding according to hegemony. First, we receive messages the way it's relayed, assigning meaning according to how it's received by taking things at face value. Perception becomes exactly how it's intended. There is no reading between the lines or attempt to understand any hidden meanings. This becomes the dominant view, aligned with the ideology that was intended. Decoding in this case takes no effort as it is simple. The second is to engage in oppositional meaning. In this case, meanings become inverted, so the original message is somewhat rejected. Reception doesn't happen the way it was intended, and this is completely subjective to individual broad views. Hall would say this is where one's political baggage comes into play. Maybe one person might find something humorous, whereas another sees underlying tones of sexism, homophobia, racism etc. so understanding doesn't necessarily match the encoding. The third way is when there is a negative reading associated with the message. It's a type of compromise the receptor

makes with the message which consists of partial acceptance and partial rejection. So, whereas the one person sees a commercial for example, as sexist, yet at the same time found humour in it and didn't quite feel anger at the social implication. In the end, we read things according to the frameworks which we come from and the media serves a type of justification in that it only confirms certain perceptions we already have through predetermined ingrained thoughts. This is why it's hard to change public perception when they've only been exposed to biases or misleading notions. For example, how many times have we seen the plane crash through the Twin Towers? From every single angle, and I bet it's flashing through your mind as you read this. It appealed to our emotions. However, after seeing it so many times, it becomes like seeing the same commercial play over and over.

The wars in the Middle East have been backed by the type of encoding mentioned above. The carpet was already rolled out through previous methods of misrepresentation in the media. Language plays a huge part in this. News coverage in the media only transmits negative images of either impoverished people, or wealthy sheikhs who come from oil rich countries representing lavish and excessive spending. For example when one thinks of Dubai, images of high tech skyscrapers, luxury cars and state of the art shopping centres. Further to this are images of covered women, donning the hijab, which has come to symbolise weakness as opposed to its true meaning of empowerment. In addition, Arabs are only seen in the west as religious fanatics, who spend most of their times in religious activity, civil conflicts or violently/aggressively promoting ideals which are simply strange to western cultures. First, there are the images of the Arab Sheikhs, like Saudi Royals, He's wearing his traditional garb, long white dishdasha, with red head dress, he's followed by a huge entourage of equally strange looking men with beards and you can't tell them apart as they all seem to look the same. Then there's the wailing women rambling on in heated emotion over a loss of life, screaming and tearing at her clothes. Or, the masked men who've been terrorising, screaming "Allah hu Akbar" over some type of injustice, yet they're definitely on the wrong side and are subjects to be feared. There's also the weak women who are walking behind their husbands, covered in a Burka, you cannot

see her eyes, a silhouette of a tented woman with no shape, oppressed by the culture that only wants to put her behind a veil. Then there are the barefooted children who are in dirty clothes running around some remains of broken down buildings. Let's not also forget about the congregations of people gathered to burn the American flag, the ultimate message that America's freedom is something those Arabs wish to eliminate. There's also a disproportionate amount of coverage on the poverty stricken, those who are without homes and speaking a less intelligible form of Arabic that some native speakers would have a hard time understanding. I could go on and on

Post 9/11 has also seen an inclusion in the Arab/muslim representation in pop culture. Basically various representations of the above - Characters have no depth, they're either terrorists on planes, or individuals reading or holding the Quran. They're usually violent, can't speak English without a thick accent, refugees of some sort or the relentless stereotype of immigrants who are lost and clueless. Or, they're simply extras in airport scenes, to solidify the huge threat they pose on national security after the World Trade Centre attacks.

There's absolutely not one positive image of Arabs out in the mainstream, anywhere. When have you seen an ordinary Arab doing something boring like having a cup of coffee in a local cafe? Or expressions of Arabic culture, such as their immense and significant contributions to the world of Art, Literature, Music, Culinary Arts, Astronomy and Science, to name a few. These things are deliberately left out to perpetuate the negative stereotypes. The misrepresentation only helps to amplify the encoding into societies, that these people are less sophisticated and in desperate need of American assistance to bring them democracy and freedom. The latter being a clear cut equation to sophistication and modernity. Today, the words 'Arab' and 'Muslim' are synonymous with 'terrorist'. In the next chapter, I attempted to prove these above claims by conducting a focus group in order of investigating whether we think of stereotypes when we think of other cultures.



### **3.b MEDIA AND THE PUBLIC PERCEPTION - A FOCUS GROUP**

I conducted this experiment to confirm in my mind that most people whether they are heavily engaged or active with media outputs or not, could be prompted by images, in order for me to make them think of negative stereotypes. Of course, I know that one focus group is not sufficient enough to build a theory on. However, what this proved to me was that I was able to elicit exactly what I wanted from the participants, simply by flashing an appropriate photograph. I learned that stereotypes, whether we believe them or not, are ingrained in us, even at a subconscious level.

In Canada, I conducted a focus group with 30 volunteers (non of which were Arab or Muslim) asking them to write down the first words that came to their minds (regardless of political correctness), in response to images I flashed on a powerpoint and some audio. One of the pictures I showed was of a Palestinian freedom fighter, the group unanimously wrote the word “terrorist” when exposed to this image. When I showed a picture of a veiled woman, people wrote words such as “weak”, “oppressed”, “sad”, “abused”, “trapped” and “brainwashed”. I played audio which repeated the phrase “Allah hu Akbar” once in a monotone and the second time loudly. The first generated a mixture of feelings as they recognised the phrase but had never heard it spoken gently. Pictures of children in refugee camps resulted in words such as “poverty”, “poor”, “war”. Most didn’t recognise them as Syrian refugees, but, had a sense of them coming from an area of conflict. I showed an image of an Arabic wedding with the bride completely covered and the man sitting next to her with a huge smile on his face. I got responses such as “arranged marriage”, “horrible”. ”disgusting”, “shame”. ”child bride”. My point was to try to see how powerful images can be without giving much time to think about them. It was evident that images were loaded with messages, even without having any background to them. The second evoked anger towards religion in general and also provoked thoughts of terrorist ideologies against western ones. I explained the dynamics of the phrase - the first being said gently in prayer; the second was actually in celebration of passing an exam. No one in the room knew of how this

phrase could be used in so many different situations as they only heard it used in anger. I played the Azhan, Islamic call to prayer, which generated a mixture of feelings. Some found it to be relaxing, which I was curiously intrigued by, whilst others just wrote down the words “song” or “singing”. Only two people from the group recognised it as the call to prayer but they had travelled to Muslim majority countries and heard it before.

After the experiment was over, I gave a little background to all the photographs. Most were surprised that the Palestinian freedom fighter’s cousin was just shot in the face by an Israeli soldier. The veiled woman was a picture of a doctoral student just before her graduation - she was receiving a PHD in Electrical Engineering and her favourite hobby was kickboxing. Most had a hard time believing that the completely veiled woman at her own wedding was there out of choice. This was a unanimous disbelief that any woman would want to be dressed this way at her own wedding. I asked how they thought she really felt and most talked about her secret thoughts of a white wedding dress which was aligned with the Cinderella fantasy, which most women in the world have bought into. This experiment simply proved my point about the power of images having influence on people’s pre conceptions. The majority of participants had stereotypic responses as their first and initial thoughts. Discussions which followed, proved I had actually come across a group of highly intelligent individuals who were definitely in the third category of reception theory. They were well aware of media manipulations and were all intelligent enough to know that their first initial responses were due to stereotypes presented to them through similar images in the media and rhetoric which accompanied them. We talked about perceptions about Arab cultures, and non really had much idea about them and didn’t know any personally. All of the participants had seen them in shopping malls, supermarkets and restaurants, one lived on the same street with an Arab family, but had never had a direct encounter with them. I asked if they had children sharing classrooms with Arabs. Some said, most probably but they weren’t friends and hadn’t had any invited over for play dates. I was curious to speak to a younger crowd but was unable to arrange anything to ask some questions which I still have unanswered. I just remember my own high

school experience in multicultural settings being quite positive for the most part. Although there were obvious signs of segregation amongst certain groups and certain ethnicities - minority groups were separated according to lifestyles and music choices, like hippies and preps or mods, punks, and hip hoppers. Having spent my early years in Kenya, I was surprised to notice in Canada, the Blacks and Chinese mainly tended to stick to themselves, which was contrary to how I had been raised. Although, I always attributed it to being in a different world and having no real point of comparison. That being said, in the classroom, there were never any problems when people worked together in groups. A few discussions with some friend's children who attended public school in Canada today, also told me that there were similar clique formations. Their world is totally different to mine as there is also the digital dimension, where they communicated on social media. Bullying and demonisation took place online and extended itself to real life. One child told me that Arabs were referred to by their ethnicity or as terrorists. There was a label given to girls with veils, referring to them as "Hijabis", this wasn't necessarily derogatory as they seemed to refer to themselves this way, too. Although teachers and adults were not exposed to these problems as there was no inclusion of them in the digital circles which youngsters frequent.

I learned in my focus group when I took the discussion to focus on the issue of the Hijab, is that no one believed this was a form of empowerment and couldn't understand the choice to wear one. It was understandable, that from a western point of view, this piece of cloth couldn't be seen as fashionable or comfortable, and no one could see why covering their hair and adopting a modest form of clothing was really a choice. They felt, if younger girls were wearing it, then there must be influence from their parents; if an older woman was wearing one, it must be due to her husband's influence.

I read them passages from Muslim scholars to help them understand the Muslim perspective. I talked about how Islamic feminism took the perspective of preserving their natural adornments and chastity. In contrast, I showed them examples in pop culture, such as Nicki Minaj and Beyonce having to prance around in what looks like

underwear. There was unanimous agreement about commercials and movies exploiting women in many ways, sexualisation of women being used to sell anything and everything under the sun. It was a lively discussion and I made a breakthrough in showing them that Muslim women who chose to wear the hijab, felt empowered by not allowing people to objectify them, that this was in fact the purpose of it, to not be slaves to fashion and force people to engage with them from a point of intellect. In the following chapter I will discuss the media's role in perpetuating these stereotypes in order to gain a lack of empathy, and socially accepted form of bigotry, conducive enough to gain consensus for war. In the next chapter, I will discuss why the Media perpetuates stereotypes, and how they are applicable to certain theoretical models.

### **3.c MEDIA AND THE PERPETUATION OF STEROTYPES.**

The Media is responsible for the dehumanisation of the Arab race, demeaning this form of human life and creating hostile atmosphere for Arabs and Muslims to exist in. First, one has to make mention of groups such as Alqaeda, ISIS, Boko Haram and Alshabab who give fuel to this fire. Without condoning any of their activities, one must say that their initiatives tend to dominate any others coming out of the Arab/ Muslim world. They are without a doubt extreme and use religious doctrines to justify their behaviours. However, the discourse needs to be put into socio-economic and political context. Poverty is complex and comes with a variety of components. An emphasis needs to be placed on the disenfranchisement and inequalities in these societies which aid in formulating such groups, not to mention the educational backgrounds of those involved. They are no different than Kony's Lord's Resistance Army in Uganda, or cults in America, such as David Koresh's. People were brainwashed into these irrational logics. Kony used the Bible and the Quran to mislead people into strange

forms of action; Koresh used an apocalyptic Christianity. Where some have affected mass populations, they've simply used economic disenfranchisement in their justifications to win motivation to join their groups. Where others have affected smaller populations, like in the example of Waco - Koresh also preyed on disenfranchisement and powerlessness to encourage a group to commit mass suicide. Educational and social backgrounds of those involved were researched to prove that they were not illiterate, but people trapped within their power structures and feeling righteous in committing violence because they believe they are doing some sort of good. I'm not saying this is acceptable. What I am saying is that this is a result of a system which leaves people feeling they have no choices. Al Shabab of Somalia (and now a lot of Eastern Africa), who are responsible for the terror attacks in Nairobi's West Gate Mall, are made up of a group of disenfranchised youth. They gain some sort of status, not to mention wealth, which they are otherwise unable to attain by lawful means. They see the ills in their society and are offered money to join, and then have the religious dogma pumped into them, with gross misunderstandings, that lead them to believe they are right. Boko Haram, preys on a population in Nigeria who are also disenfranchised by a system that doesn't allow them to progress. Joining a militant group becomes a source of income, and also provides them with power. Also, politics fuels them for many other complex reasons. Sometimes, the negative talk and perpetuation of stereotypes can have an adverse effect, creating fuel for religious fundamentalists and extreme ideologies are born. The same can be said of Al Qaeda and ISIS. Any intellectual person knows that religion cannot be blamed for these people's actions. They are in fact isolated from authentic religious worship. Without claiming to know about all the religions of the world, I've investigated enough to know, the core of religion is peace. There is no religion on earth that preaches violence as a form of worship. I of course acknowledge the concept of Jihad, however it too is a concept very clearly misunderstood, and can be interpreted by many in different ways. I spoke to a religious scholar who claimed that religions are not at fault, rather it's the people who practice them, due to the fact everyone has their own way of understanding the world. If one person's interpretation differs from another's, it's simply because

they can only understand from their own frameworks. This is the point where the media fails to tell the whole story. Whereas news is covered on these particular groups, and so they should be, then there needs to also be coverage on the contexts which these groups emerge. Furthermore, they are not representative of dominant ideologies, which is another area where media fails. It is simply wrong to portray pictures of entire geographical regions, who encompass hundreds and thousands of individuals, as represented through these types of groups. Condemning cultures and religions based on these rogue expressions of society is not only misleading, but completely dangerous. In the following section I will discuss the Media's dehumanisation of Arabs and Muslims.

### **3.d The MEDIA AND THE DEHUMANISATION OF ARABS AND MUSLIMS**

The media is the ultimate institution where government is able to express discourse influences on society which dehumanised the Arabs to a point where killing them in their own homelands, at random, became justified. Foucault claims these are the exact locations for contestations as this is where governmentally utilises techniques to exercise its powers. Aside from educational institutions, there is no other area the government has such a strong social control. In terms of the first war in Iraq, post 9/11, the techniques used went beyond anything history has previously seen. The state of emergency which resulted gave green lights which went further than the judiciary had formerly allowed. Claiming that terrorists were breeding underground cells, which spread across the globe, gave justification for actions that were not normally established by authorities. Individuals were arrested, given indefinite detentions based on their potential threats of violence. Butler goes as far as to say that places such as Guantanamo Bay, reconfigured governmentality, which went beyond the previous limits. They allowed for the military to take more power into their own hands, which in turn suspended people's rights. The existence of indefinite detentions left no place for people to appeal decisions made by judiciary tribunals. The fact that terrorism was no longer limited by geography, relayed the impression that lawlessness was also limitless. Those incarcerated at Guantanamo weren't necessarily convicted of

anything, rather it was based on suspicion, and potentiality. Without being able to convict prisoners of crimes, they were still able to incarcerate them indefinitely. This was and continues to be in complete violation of any previous Geneva conventions on prisoners of war. What the US has done is, in fact make claims that self defence, even when they have invaded foreign territory is an ethical justification for violence. To a country which defends the rights of ordinary people to possess firearms, using the argument of self defence, is not a hard one to wrap one's mind around. This now brings us to the question of whether any types of violence should be considered righteous? What makes one form better than another? It seems to me that violence is violence no matter which way you look at it, having it state sponsored doesn't make it any different. Levinas claims that self preservation is not a good reason to instigate violence anywhere. He argues this to be servicing an internal desire - the desire to kill. Levinas references a psychoanalytical point of view which states that this internal conduit for aggression, justified by self preservation turns back on itself as it's a negative part of narcissism based on ego cruelty - the other is the one who brings out of me the reason why I wish to kill. It presents a strange dichotomy where one cannot really claim a higher moral ground when one condemns an action but in the same moment uses the same action with a claim of an ethical justification for it. The reality of the wars in the Middle East have not been properly conveyed to the public through news coverage. Instead, the focus was on the narrative which supports the US decision to invade lands which had nothing to do with the falling of the World Trade Centre. Butler claims there was also a dehumanisation of subjects in order for people to overlook the essential basics - people were being killed for no apparent reason.

The selective humanisation and dehumanisation of subjects are media tactics used to remove the public from attaching any emotions to the realities. In terms of the narrative that claimed support for bringing freedom to Iraq, women were also used as the symbol of the struggle which compelled America to also invade Afghanistan. The images presented women in full burqa, who were simply enslaved by their male counterparts. Western women identified with the Afghan women from a point of feminist discourse. Their failure lies in not engaging in dialogue with Afghan women

properly, to understand what they actually want, what they consider to be progress, rather than assume they want the same freedoms as their western counterparts. Their view is ethnocentric, I'll even go as far as saying based on negative stereotyping. It assumes that, Afghan women aspire to have the same lifestyles as western women; Afghan women are fully veiled, not working, assuming the roles of marriage and motherhood, this then must translate into something they have no choice in and that it's negative and oppressive. From a western point of view, having fought for so many rights, it must have been shocking to see women not being allowed to pursue educational pursuits, or date and marry who they want. Sexual freedom is seen as an ultimate sign of modernity, with rights supported by a particular version of secularism (2010, Butler) I understand that they might find the patriarchy was so strong in these "barbaric" cultures, it became a burden for them to free the oppressed dark women of the Middle East. It's presumptuous, though. Malala Youssef, for example, became a symbol of the war, also exploited through her victimisation of being shot in the head for trying to go to school. She now has a strong activist career albeit considered by some as a victim of the narrative which supported the incitement of violence. The fact that the Taliban restricted female movements, meant that these men needed to be stopped. Where as the woman became slightly humanised in terms of our abilities to identify with them, the evil of Taliban males was to be stopped by simply wiping them out. Did the media release the images of the destruction which occurred in order to achieve these goals? Not at all. So Butler calls this a form of dehumanisation which makes these people not grievable. We do not see their faces, we do not know their names, we do not know their histories - they cannot be grieved. (2006, Butler) There are no sounds of the agony, there are no cries from those who lost their fathers, brothers, uncles, nephews and husbands. These people are simply painted with the same dehumanising brush which vilifies and reduces them to a group of evil doers, who are inhuman. She claims, when life and death fall out of the normative views, then the living status is open to apprehension. The frame becomes an editorial embellishment. ( 2006, Butler) The media's emphasis on the narratives of war, took out the human element, allowing people to make judgements about what is considered a life worth



living. Instead of seeing all humans living a shared condition, as being on a journey that none of us chose to be on, the issue arises in the portrayal of the other, with a point of focus on their lack of sophistication. The war in Iraq wasn't fought with any positions based on any commonalities which we might have in terms of our humanity. Not that any wars are, but there is something different about the

way this has played out. So, the sense of responsibility toward the other is completely removed. When we think of grievability, as Butler has pointed out, and lend it towards only those who feel some sort of recognition, then it sets a precedent of putting all other humans who do not share the same ideals in life in a state of absolute danger. It implies that certain lives are worth living, and certain lives are deserving of death - not allowed to share the common spaces we share, or even if those spaces are far enough away, they pose a threat to our own. (2010, Butler) This is essentially what the narrative is built on, if a little critical thought is applied.

The emergence of torture allegations at Guantanamo Bay helped to put a moral question to the activities of war, these were pictures leaked to the public via the internet. There was no intention of the mainstream media to release any photos to bring faces to the war. In fact, journalists were given limited access, designated reporting localities and subjected to restrictions on what can and cannot be reported. This censorship not only goes against the principles of freedom of speech, but also those of ethical journalism which aim to relay the truth. Butler raises questions about why it seems acceptable that some forms of violence are deemed as permissible. How can we mourn the victims of the World Trade Center, but feel nothing when bombs are dropped on innocent people? Furthermore, how can people be gathered up and placed in detention when they've not committed any crimes? This goes against all principles of democracy. The Taliban came in to power as a result of failing institutions, not everyone living under this system necessarily supported it. However, as power structures go, people are subject to submission. There is no logical sense in collectively punishing an entire country for the failings of their dominant institutions.

The political jargon attached to coverage of the wars in the Middle East also aids in the desensitisation of the realities. For example, "friendly fire" and "precision bombings". I've never seen a "friendly" fire, and how many demolitions are controlled to affect particular areas. First of all, because there is no reality involved in the image portrayal. We are talking about incredibly ancient cities and countries, where infrastructure wasn't executed with the type of intelligent design of contemporary practice, as population overload was never really foreseen to reach the levels that it has today. Middle Eastern countries are heavily populated and people live in close quarters with one another. If you drop a bomb on one home, their neighbours are probably going to feel the impact. It only makes logical sense that an explosion will be damaging, this is the nature of an explosion. All the refugees I spoke to in Istanbul have memories of bombs dropping around their homes. All of them, either know someone who was killed, or know of people who were killed. Once I was at the Grand Bazaar, and the sales guy was talking to my Mum, he told her 12 people in his family died in one day. It's hard enough to lose one person, I couldn't imagine being in this position. Furthermore, they hate the term "refugee" it makes them feel like they are imposing themselves on people. "Freddy" (Anonymous, Feb, 17th 2018) said that, he is lucky to come from a wealthier family. This is not to say he is rich, just that he was able to establish himself here without the help of any services offered to them. He said anytime the term refugee is applied to any type of application, it means things will go very slowly, if they move at all. Incidentally, he also lost his brother in Syria. "Lubna" (anonymous, Feb 6th, 2018) said she used to have a normal life, hanging out with her friends and going to school etc. She told me that she never used to get scared of anything. However, when the bombs would go off she would be so scared that she'd lock herself in the closet. Believe it or not, she lost her hair from the stress, although it's grown back now. The public need to hear these stories.

Leaked photographs of torture and sexual abuse at Guantanamo Bay brought a reality to the war, which was otherwise portrayed to be an ethical mission. This raised other questions about what else we didn't know. It also tarnished the image of the US military who are held in high regard by fellow patriots. The public was otherwise under

the impression that the military was on an ethical mission. However, the photos clearly proved otherwise, which raised a moral debate about whether the war was justified. Of course, we've come to learn that all the reasons for the war turned out to be false. Nonetheless, the US still has troops in Iraq today, and the covert mission of securing the oil fields has without a doubt been satisfied. Furthermore, the damage is done. Not only were hundreds of thousands of people murdered but, survivors have been permanently traumatised and disabled physically and economically - more jargon - this was "collateral damage". There is also the result of a deep sense of resentment towards the west. They've created a breeding ground for angered people who have many reasons to seek out revenge. I've read countless literature which lay claims to the effect that women felt safer under the Taliban regime, and trusted their own men, albeit patriarchal, because at least they were living their lives in peace:

We hate them when in the name of women's rights and human rights they come and intrude on our privacy. They keep saying women should work. They don't understand that women are not happy that they provide work for women and not for men. It does not work like this in our culture. We want to work side by side with our men. We cannot ignore our men. Men also need education and employment.' Nuria, Mazar-e-Sharif

(Rostemy-Povey,E 2007)

The gender inequalities and lack of sexual freedoms which western feminist ideologies revere, are not aligned with what they think women of other cultures want. These points have been used to rationalise war against predominantly Muslim populations and now also justifies arguments for limits of immigration to Europe and the US from predominantly Muslim countries.

The inability of Arabs and Muslims to integrate into western countries has been argued to justify the murders and displacements of mass populations. There is circular type of logic involved which doesn't make much sense. First, if there are failing institutions that require unprecedented violence to eliminate them, then why place the restrictions on people wishing to flee from these oppressive regimes? Foucault would say this is the point where a superstructure has already been put in place - power always wants to hold on. This is also the exact point of subjectification,

which has already dictated within the power structure, what Arabs can and cannot do in their homelands, including how or if they're able to integrate, when moving to other countries. There are restrictions on the pathways accessible to them within the globalised system. Also, this particular subject could be a subject of research for another thesis.

What happened in Syria has been unclear from the start, All we really know for certain is that violence has been internal, from a civil front, and internationally from the perspective of other nations fighting within their borders. Arabs and Muslims now encompass the largest group of refugees in the world. Western media describes it as a "flood" or "invasion". European communities have had discussions about their inability to contain this overflow of people attempting to integrate into foreign lands. Whereas some countries had opened their borders, we also saw some incredibly shameful expressions of humanity with violence happening at some European borders, which was quite shocking at times, including all the blunt conversations that followed about Arab culture not being compatible with western ones. Butler's book "Precarious Life", spoke of the Netherlands actually having an immigration test which forces potential immigrants to view a tape of two men kissing. The point being, if they can handle this, then they are able to integrate.(2006, Butler) Let's not forget that not all Europeans accept homosexuality. My country has legalised same sex marriage but not everyone I know accepts it. They just respect everyone's right to choose their own lifestyles and believe whatever they want, as long as it does no harm to others. One can still respect someone without agreeing with the things they do in privacy. Furthermore, is accepting homosexuality at the forefront for testing one's ability of integration? Really? Is this such a strong point in western societies, which could determine if a person could pursue an education or enter the work force, buy a house, get a job and be a taxpayer? I really find this totally strange, it got me thinking. I ought to test my vegan friends next time I have a potluck where meat will be served. With the Dutch government's logic, I will make them come to the kitchen, watch me wash and take the skin off my chicken before I marinate and roast it, to prove they

aren't going to get violent around the rest of my friends, if we serve beef or poultry. Sounds ridiculous? Then perhaps you understand my shaking my head at this assimilation test. It's this type of insistence that the other is of another world that makes life, at times, seem quite ridiculous. We don't all have to agree on the same things, we do however, have a moral obligation to respect one another. Respect is simple. However, for some reason, Arabs do not have the same cognitive abilities to have respect for fellow human beings, because apparently they've never learned geography and have no clue that other cultures and religions exist. The next chapter will discuss the background to the perpetuation of stereotypes, which goes as far back as the Enlightenment.

#### **4.a. ORIENTALISM**

This chapter shows how the creation of the enemy/other, is a tactic used throughout history to create desired views of the other. The Arab world has always been misunderstood by the western one. Edward Said tackled this subject a long time ago and eloquently presented a theory based on Arabs being seen as both, mystic and exotic, albeit based on misunderstanding. I will show how the misconception on Islam goes as far back as the Orientalists, including defining what Orientalism is in order of reaching the conclusion that, (with reference to Spivak's point of view) the subaltern although without the awareness, could potentially see the point of oppression as a point of power. I will also include some Foucauldian analysis, as they relate within this context.

The differentiation of the other in the west, is a tactic used throughout history to create knowledge of the unknown, in a manner, which in the case of the Arabs, is completely misunderstood creating unnecessary divisions; the fault lies in the institutions which present it. Said's Orientalism theories demonstrate these

misunderstandings quite clearly. Orientalism is based on three things which operate independently from one another: 1) Academia - this would include anyone who writes about or researches the Orient. 2) It is a style of thought based on ontological and epistemological distinctions made between the Orient and Occident (the west). What this means is that large numbers of writers, poets, philosophers, political theorist and imperial administrators have accepted a basic distinction between East and West through these elaborate theories, epics, novels, social descriptions and political positions concerning the Orient. 3) The West as a form of dominating and restructuring body, having authority over the Orient. This has been established and defined as it is really where the west has historical reference to knowledge of this region. (2003, Said)

To be clear though, the first misunderstanding was of the entire region. The Orient according to Orientalists consisted of a large geographical region. To an American the Orient referred to the Far East - this mainly embodies Japan and China. To the French and British, it is the greatest and richest of their oldest colonies, the source of civilisations and languages, its cultural contestant, and one of its deepest and most recurring image of the other. (2003, Said) That being said, this area clumped up everyone from the eastern hemisphere into one, which proved their complete misunderstanding of the diversity of cultures which inhabit this large area. Basically Sub and Supra Saharan Africa to China constituted of the Orient. The Balkans were a subject for division and the demarcation line is somewhat relative, as Russia was included and then excluded because of religion. This vast area of land therefore encompasses so many different types of cultures, tribes, religions and languages. So, to clump them together was the first error in their gross misunderstandings of the East. Scholars have made claims that this creation was also made possible by the Orient allowing itself to be defined this way. Khalil Hamdi, takes on this challenge through his work titled "Edward Said and Recent Orientalist Critiques". (Hamdi,2013). However, I would argue that they didn't really have any say in how they were being represented. It was based on a fantasy of these cultures based on Eurocentric filters. The cultures themselves did not speak for themselves, so everything was up to

speculations and interpretations which weren't necessarily accurate. Generalisations were made which actually have no basis in an "enlightened" world. Judgements were formulated and therefore stood as foundations for western scholars to make sense of the other. The result was a type of hegemonic idea which produced subjects and institutions. I don't want to over generalise and sound as though I'm discrediting everything, as there have been some very positive contributions from this era, such as Carlo Alfonso Nallino, who lectured about the Arabic Astronomers, for example (Istanbul Islamic Museum of Science and Technology). However, claiming this entire territory as having some sort of homogeneity is misleading, it is simply a fusion of cultures, overly generalised, who are very different from one another. Foucault's work on critical analysis of authorship puts writing into this perspective. It takes on two different types of methodologies of strategic location and strategic formations. (1998, Foucault) The former leads to the writers narrative, which results in one taking on the author's position. The latter results in an ensemble of relationships between works produced, audiences and the Orient itself. It becomes intertextual, as it doesn't rely upon a single author which then lead to hegemonic ideas about European superiority that override any ideas which might have been formed independently. (2003, Said) This means that a flexible position arises in the position of the west, which creates a whole series of possible relationships with the Orient, but by always claiming the upper hand. Again, this reiterates Foucault's claims about power relations. Where Structure is formed to create an ideology, culture is found somewhere in the middle. It has turned into a way of governance, as we are witnessing today, as these hegemonies are accepted upon consensus, made up of generality rather than particularity. It is how the Orient functions in the Occidental mind, supported by institutions. Again as Foucault would claim, they precede the subjects themselves. It is quite frankly a condescending representation, and Foucault's work becomes increasingly appealing, as he spoke of these institutions which have produced so much on cultural theories, as being valid in their respective research and methodology, but it isn't carved in stone.

Arab cultures were always represented as something exotic and quite different from their Western counterparts. Everything from food, religion and customs in their

strange and mysterious lands have been the foundation which set precedent on the misunderstandings of Middle Easterners. For example, the west started to take on impressions of the Egyptian woman, based on a novel which was written by a missionary who had a deep love affair with her - Kucuk Hanem. The understanding became that Egyptian women were of a passionate romantic and fiery disposition. There's also a deep fetishised obsession about veiled women in the west.(2016, Somay) On the one hand they are viewed as submissive to the men in their cultures, where a religious view allows them to accept marrying other women; on the other hand, this makes them somewhat obedient and malleable to do whatever men want, something that seems to fulfil a western sexualised fantasy about them. I think this is like how there is a lot of romanticising about Japanese Geisha in the Western (white) male fantasy. Said stated there was nothing especially controversial or reprehensible about such domestications of the exotic; they take place between all cultures, certainly, and between all men. (2003,Said) However, it leaves me with questions about an inferiority complex arising. Is the war on Arab men to stop them from having all they want, is it an ingrained envy within the brotherhood of the patriarchy? Spivak called this a subaltern identity based on difference enforcement of identity. It's made available to us, filling in a description which accesses the hegemony. The subaltern doesn't have access to this, which is of no real fault of their own, as it's restricted to the west, through the patriarchal interpretation (male and white), and aligned with the dominant framework, leaving no access for the actual subjects to representation of themselves. It's the colonial hangover so to speak.

Said claimed the Occident's misunderstanding of Islam, was most problematic as these are the same perpetuations which continue to be used in propaganda tactics, today. In his work, he made mention of a Christian scholar, Norman Daniel, who tried to make sense out of the religion. He paralleled Christ being the central figure in Christianity, with Mohammed, and from here came the term "Mohammedism". His interpretation was that one of the Muslim Prophet's was therefore an "imposter", that this religion was based on the teachings of Mohammed, who in turn brainwashed the entire Muslim world with his version of religion. Said went on to say, this word was



initially used by Daniel, and stuck with the Orientalists who repeatedly then started to see Islam through this misguided vision. (2003, Said)

Although entire fields such as Post Colonial Studies, are built on attempts of transforming these pre judicial notions, it is a slow and painful process as it means disputing educational and governmental institutions. To dispel an already established outlook which has taken years and years to formulate, leaves an incredible onus and challenge on present and future generations. It also sets a precedent of questioning other institution's validities and claims. Let's not forget that slavery was justified and backed up by societal experts, who spoke to inferiorities of Blacks based on scientific findings which were widely accepted. Apartheid South Africa was legally enforced through widely accepting authoritative positions that laid claims based on science. We of course know these studies are ludicrous now, however, the power structures of the time, were designed on segregations enforced by law.

We are already 18 years into the wars in the Middle East, with the media backed by those with vested interest in those wars. Marx says it's the global elite who own the media and everything that comes out of it, only serves to fulfil their own agendas. The vilification is deeply ingrained into the average psyche. Even if one is completely disinterested in politics and pays no attention to the media. The dominant narratives tend to be represented through other forms, such as music, literature, television programs and movies. Furthermore, people have discussions. One can still be subliminally affected.

Spivak elaborates on Foucault and Derrida, who decode the power relations that position subjects in a frame of powerlessness, however, allowing for a dislocation in forms of resistance. (1988, Spivak) Resistance doesn't have to always take the form of political movements. It can be as simple as writing a paper as there is enormous power in words, and limits to the powers one has access to. The location of the oppressed can be a point of power. Marxist theory presumes a class which represents itself by violating political representations of the Bourgeois democracy. This actual speaking about the other is what enables the other to speak for themselves. (1988,

Spivak) Arabs/Muslims, are at point in history where the philosophical and political representation relationship needs to be redefined. However, there is no quick fix to the issues of inequality. Especially in the system which has lead to massive movements of them penetrating other parts of the world. This is not to say they haven't been there before. They have, just not in the large numbers which are causing them to move at the moment. Unfortunately, things usually get worse before they get better. Incidents of Islamophobia are on the rise in every part of the west and beyond. The following section will examine some of these incidents around the world, with a focus on the UK, USA, and two examples from Asia.

#### **4.b EXAMPLES OF HATE CRIMES IN THE UK DUE TO NEGATIVE STEREOTYPING.**

In this section, I will discuss incidents of crimes against Muslims in the UK, which have risen in large numbers over the years, and also recently due to Brexit talks which raised many issues with immigration. Obviously, I cannot cover this entire topic with the partiality it deserves. I would like to acknowledge my awareness at the evils which occur on both sides, such as the bombings of the London Underground and Bridge. This would require extensive research with a variety of different methods to give it complete justice. My focus is on the increase of hate crimes and violence occurring as a result. Having said that, further research would require that one ask questions, such as are these acts of violence motivated out of revenge or xenophobia? I will also limit some of my sources to news media for the reasons mentioned above.

We have state sponsored racism and civil society attacks on Arabs/Muslims via newly emerging groups who have gained momentum through their spread of narratives which are blatantly Islamophobic. Britain first is a great example of this. They base their mandate on slogans which preach against the Islamisation of the UK, with a strong stance against Shariah law. When perusing their website, [https:// www.britainfirst.org](https://www.britainfirst.org), you can watch videos of racist rhetoric and click on photos of posters used throughout

their activism, in addition to showing examples of solidarity throughout Europe of similar right wing groups, sharing their mandates of hatred toward Muslims. Their mission, according to their own slogan is “Taking Our Country Back”. They even have a section on their claims of not being racist, with photographs of other people of colour who share their sentiments.

I’d like to address some of their major arguments which claim that refugees and immigrants are taking away the rights, jobs and freedoms that Britons have. (<https://www.britainfirst.org>) This issue is always discussed in a way of infiltration which is aligned with media jargon that represents immigrants in “floods” and “hordes”. (2015, Ahmed) First, both of those words have negative connotations. Floods are natural disasters, where people usually lose their homes or lives due to environmental damage. Hordes, according to their definition refer to large groups of (nouns) - generally animals, and insects. (2015, Ahmed) So, this itself takes away from the human element as it too has negative connotations. For example, the hordes of people that flocked towards the mall during boxing day sales, or hordes of coyotes raiding the camp site. When the media puts these headlines out there, even if you’re not reading the paper, subliminally the messages are being received. It’s easy to forget they are leaving in the masses because their homes in Syria were/are being bombed. Furthermore, most will have gone undocumented, due to the urgency of leaving with the clothes on one's back. This would reiterate Butler’s point about the media dehumanising subjects. They arrive in rubber dinghies which are over capacity and shouldn’t be taking trips across large bodies of water, as they aren’t designed that way. So, the questions which might arise, when you hear of people who drowned before they got to shore, might revolve around questioning their sanity. The absolute desperation which would influence someone to risk theirs and their loved one’s lives, doesn’t get talked about in the media coverage of such incidents, because then they would have to mention that it’s a consequence of military pursuits. Having said that, I should be clear that there are definitely journalists, activists, and alternative media outlets filling in this space; some mainstream media also does cover stories with great integrity and partiality. However, it is disproportionate. This lack of discussion is what takes away

from the very real and unimaginable struggle of Middle Easterners running for their lives. It's not always rational, but, clearly the risk of death is just as great if they were to stay in their homes.

Immigration takes away from the rights of hard working Britons. (<https://www.britainfirst.org>) This is a common argument against immigration. Alt right groups get their support and fuel from emotions generated by deep seeded resentments, instilled in them by the media. There is no research to back up their claims. Immigrants do not leach off the social security system, it's a myth. The UK has such a large and established Muslim community that there is a big fear of imposing Sharia law. The people who believe this are also the ones who get very upset that their children are eating Halal meat served at lunch. It's a slightly comical issue. Muslims do have dietary restrictions but this is not only a Muslim issue. People have health issues, allergies or require specific meals for other reasons, religious, ethical, medical, or otherwise, maybe they just don't like certain things. What they found to be a compromise on the subject of meat being served, was that it would make more sense if all the meat was halal, therefore all the meat eating children would be able to eat the same meals. Contrary to Alt right beliefs, this doesn't take away from anyone's rights. Instead, this is a good inclusive solution which honours all meat eaters equally. A non Muslim is not going to become infested with Muslim belief by eating a piece of steak that came from a cow that was killed by saying a prayer over it. Immigration takes away from jobs that British people could be doing to support their families (<https://www.britainfirst.org>). This only contradicts their initial argument of them leaching off social security. Are they working or are they taking away their jobs? It's a bit confusing. Also, there is no mention of the real struggles that immigrants need to go through in order to gain employment. The reality is that most immigrants to any country, do not just walk in and find their dream jobs in a few weeks. If it is anything like Canada, then I would assume new immigrants are settling for any jobs they can take, which are usually in labour, factories or the service industry. Again, this would require research to uncover the realities.

I don't even understand the argument that one's freedom would be in question. How is it if an Italian immigrates to the UK, that British freedom would be at stake? This is a very racist argument. From my interpretation, what they really mean is they don't want to see any other type of immigrants (that aren't white), enjoying their freedoms. Perhaps this means, they don't want to see other cultures in the park, at the shopping centres and cafes? I'm not entirely sure. My personal conclusion on this is, a British first supporter wouldn't necessarily have any qualms with the immigrant Italian wearing Dolce and Gabbana or Versace, enjoying a bit of British freedom in the park, as he/she would with, the Indian, the Ghanaian or the Arab. It's the turban wearing, headscarf, dashiki or sari that would be offensive, add that to a picnic with weird food and perhaps this misrepresents their own misconception of what freedom is.

Britain First have been known to vandalise mosques, with words like "get out of our country". There have been reported incidents of raw bacon thrown outside of mosques, apparently in their rage against Muslims not eating pork. (2017, Independent) The Independent published a report by a group called "Tell Mama", (<http://www.tellmama.org>), last year claiming hate crimes in the UK had doubled since the previous year. In addition to the above, the article went on to report assaults on Muslims on their way to and from mosques, and one very savage attack on a 14 year old boy, who was stabbed in the face and neck outside a mosque in Birmingham. (Roberts, 2017, October) They've accosted ordinary people on the streets on their ways to and from mosques, and stood outside in protest after ritual Friday prayers claiming Imams are preaching terrorist activity, that mosques are breeding grounds for terrorists. Women wearing hijab have been attacked for wearing their headscarves in public, one extremely awful report I read was of a woman, accosted by two teenagers, who attempted to rip off her hijab dragging her along the pavement. It was apparently completely unprovoked (Dearden, December 2016, Independent). Tell

Mama, mentioned above, have been recording incidents of Islamophobia in the UK. In 2017 alone there were 1,330 incidents reported, of which 1,201 were confirmed hate crimes. The same organisation also claimed a 16.3% from 2012 -2016. (<http://www.tellmama.org>) Obviously, this is aligned with right wing beliefs, much like

those of British First, who would go to the extent of attacking a complete stranger because of a lack of understanding between groups. I have no idea how one consolidates with groups like these. They are of the same extremist train of thought as their own nemesis, those of the likes of ISIS, who also have the same extremist misconceptions about the west. Before closing this section and moving on to the next on hate crimes in the the US, I'd like to present a group of scholars, cited below, who came together to understand what might be behind this tension that exists in the UK due to the positive BREXIT vote. They based their study on Islamophobia and conspiracies which have entered the public realm about a fear of immigrants, and the Islamisation of Europe. They extended themselves to different parts of the world in order to understand the consequences of racializing violence:

One particular feature of anti- immigrant sentiment in Europe concerns the perceived threat posed by Muslims and Islam to Western cultural values (Azrout, van Spanje, & de Vreese, 2013; Schiffer & Wagner, 2011; Strabac & Listhaug, 2008). Although such sentiments are partly driven by external events such as terrorist attacks and the refugee crisis, scholars have also highlighted the impact of Islamophobic conspiracist narratives *vis- à- vis* European integration (Fekete, 2011; Ünal, 2016). These narratives draw on older forms of racism and Islamophobia, but also incorporate concepts derived from the notion of a clash of civilizations (i.e., that there is an intercivilizational conflict caused and maintained by cultural differences) to suggest that there is an ongoing attempt to Islamize Europe (Fekete, 2011). The discursive framework of this conspiracist narrative seems to be based on the claims that Europe is being Islamized, either directly via intentional asymmetrical population growth or mass migration, or indirectly via naïve attempts to encourage multiculturalism. (2017, Swami, Barron, Weis, Furnham)

Having said that, this is definitely an area of study, which as I mentioned is quite vast. The debate about a clash of civilisations is one which I believe is also part of the Foucauldian perspective on the superstructure. It attempts to keep the other in a position of complete differentiation, because then it can always impose its hold. Robert Fisk's book "*The Great War of Civilisation*" is an interesting read about the conquest of the Middle East, and also another interesting subject for future research. The next section will talk about hate crimes as a result of negative stereotyping in the USA.

#### **4.c EXAMPLES OF HATE CRIMES DUE TO NEGATIVE STEREOTYPING, IN THE USA**

In America, the incidents of Islamophobia have resulted in numerous deaths. If the whole country is at war in foreign lands, indiscriminately killing, then why wouldn't this same practice extend itself nationally. The same incidents of mosque vandalism can be blamed on media rhetoric claiming mosques to be breeding grounds for terrorism. The alt right is now having a great moment, further empowered by Trump, who blatantly speaks about anti immigration from Muslim countries. He has successfully placed visa restrictions on travellers from those countries, because the big threat is they will never leave and try to impose on American freedoms. Although, many have tried to contest it, they (neoconservatives), have found the right loop holes in the law to have it currently implemented it (2017, Lindara). For the first time in history, Muslim Americans are not allowed to have their families visit. When mass shootings take place, and the culprit is of Islamic heritage, their actions are due to their faith. However, when a white person terrorises a community through similar actions, it is generally due to their poor mental health. The double standards leave Muslims living in a state of unease, which was otherwise unheard of prior to 9/11.

Sara Ahmed calls this racialisation of crime, a politics which relies on appeal of emotions which work toward shaping the surfaces of individual and collective bodies.(2015, Ahmed) She claims, these short slogans which alt right groups tend to hang on to, are a result of longer articulations of history which secure the white people of these nations as the true sovereigns. She goes on to say, this creates a illegitimisation of the other. (2015, Ahmed) Both the UK and the US are countries of immigration. However, we can say that Britain evolved into this after years and was not actually built on this premise. So, perhaps the fact they believe the Aryan race is the superior one may have some historical and legitimate background. Having said that, due to England's colonial history as infiltrators to a vast number of nations throughout the world, they have no rightful claims that the practice of immigration is one to look down upon. They used to pride themselves by saying that the sun never sets on England. To be frank, a lot of the problems developing nations experience are

rooted in their colonial pasts. British policies changed when they became a country of immigration. So, immigrants are long time inhabitants, not necessarily first generation, as most alt right rhetoric pushes with their reference to invasions. In the case of the US, they have no justifiable claim to their nation being one reserved for only one specified race. The whole country was built on immigration. If one person's family has been there for generations, at one point, their ancestors were immigrants, even if they claim heritage through pioneers, and at that I would also like to remind them that they were once British, until they decided to formulate the Confederacy of Independent States. Furthermore, one can't turn a blind eye to the fact, the real inhibitors of the North American continent are a variety of Indigenous cultures who have suffered greatly and irrevocably at the hands of colonisers who established America as an independent nation.

Ahmed's "*Political Culture of Emotions* ", amongst many things, highlights how racism is basically something that is taught and can be unlearned, which is not actually anything formidable or profound. Honestly, what's mostly fascinating is that in this day and age we are still discussing this and trying to appeal to cognitive abilities to realise that we are all just human. I actually don't think it takes much effort to understand this, but I'm clearly mistaken. She gives an analogy of a story taught in psychology classes about an incident with a child's first encounter with a bear. The child sees the bear and runs away. (2015,Ahmed) Analysis of the situation, could boil down to simple instinct and reflex, generally children are curious and need instruction on things to be feared of. For example, they will not know that a fire will burn them unless they try to touch it, unless of course they've been given previous instruction on the dangers which fires pose. This would be the same with the child's encounter of the bear; She may run simply out of genuine fear that is supported by biological reflexes of fright or flight, where a physical reaction accelerated by adrenaline might cause this reaction. Or, more simply, because the child had been warned about possible dangers a bear might pose. (2015,Ahmed) This translates to how we are presented the ideas of the other through our established institutions via the power of language. Words are not neutral, they are loaded with meaning which have positive and negative connotations.



(2015,Ahmed) Politics is merely a representation of power struggles throughout the world. We can point to the media, with great condemnation, as largely responsible for their portrayal of the other in negative and static contexts. The next section will show incidents of Islamophobia in Myanmar and China.

#### **4.d. POLICY CHANGES LEADING TO HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN MYANMAR AND CHINA**

Incidents of human rights violations due to negative stereotyping are not only confined to the western world. A globalised world means that weaker nations are submissive to more powerful nation's rhetorics. Contemporarily, this means that democratic ideology is that which unites, which for the most part is not necessarily negative. With this, it means that similar values must be adopted in order to be able to label themselves as progressive. So, issues such as human rights and justice are popular discussions of debate on a global scale. Where the US has great influence due to its superpower status, gaining leverage through the donations of aid, and loans regulated by the World Bank and IMF. What results is policy changes aligned with their own ideologies, within institutions that dominate those respective societies. They already established allies in their coalition of the willing. This means education and media in other countries must match the dominant ideologies of their own. So we have countries like Myanmar exercising genocide against their own Rohingya Muslim minorities.

Crimes perpetrated against Muslims in Myanmar come from Buddhist monks, ultra right wing nationalist groups and government, savagely murdering people indiscriminately and raping women in extremely high volumes, in order of driving them out of the country. (2017, McPherson, Time) They believe that democratic ideals are at stake. So, another refugee crisis emerges, from people attempting to flee this regime. Cunningham makes strong statements in his work about this clearly being a genocide, much like the holocausts of the Jews, Cambodians, and Rwandans, to name a few. (2018, Cunningham) However, goes on to state, the world gives this little attention. There's been an acknowledgement of ethnic cleansing, but it's only activists and medical workers who are relaying the truth about the conditions in Myanmar. This

is the war on terrorism in far reaching places. Medecins Sans Frontieres reported in 2017, that in one month 6,700 Rohingya, which included 730 children were shot, burned or beaten to death. As they started to flee to Bangladesh, they were simply rounded up on riverbanks and shot.(2017, McPherson) Entire families were locked in their homes and burned to death. It's overwhelming and unimaginable.

In China, the Uyghur are not only experiencing violence at the hands of their Chinese counterparts who consider them to be extremist, but the state is also taking it upon them to re-educate them in internment camps, so they may be rehabilitated from their erroneous beliefs. To be fair, communist China is against all religions, point blank. However, they have taken government initiatives to enforce their dislike for the Uyghur. The fact they have vested interest in the oil and mineral wealth of Xinjian is not on the forefront of this discussion, in this particular war on terror. We are witnessing a massive incarceration of individuals in these so called camps, where released subjects have reported the use of torture in the forms of sleep deprivation, including violent sexual assaults, being forced to drink alcohol and eat pork as part of their 're-education'. An Uyghur woman, Mihrigul Tursun, was recently at Congress, revealing the torture she experienced while in the Internment Camp. She said " I begged them to kill me". Muslims are reported to be extremists if they wear hijab, encourage younger girls to wear longer skirts, refrain from drinking alcohol or eating pork, or simply having a Quran in their homes. It seems the criteria for being an extremist in China, is simply being an ordinary practitioner. (2018,Meixler) These incidents are on the rise, and slowly gaining public attention, however, mostly again, due to activists rather than news coverage. Furthermore, it is difficult to access academic research on the subject, either one should be in China to understand the reality, or somehow meet the Uyghur who've managed to escape. The Chinese government adamantly deny these internal camps are violations of people's human rights. (Yunan, 2018).

## CONCLUSION

In Conclusion, during the process of this dissertation, I have raised questions about society's movement towards a mono culture, which classifies subjects according to their race and religion. Also, the racialisation of production being distributed throughout the world as a new form of slavery. In doing so, I have realised that the capitalist system is far more ruthless than I had imagined, and I didn't have a very pleasant perception from the onset. Copious amounts of ink has been spilled on the analysis of cultures and societies at large. The first chapter discusses some social and cultural theory as they relate to the subject at hand. What I found was, by starting with the Structuralists, I was able to map out the evolution of discourse, which has lead me to find great value in Foucault's work on power relations.

I showed how Post Structuralists, who've evolved from the Chicago School, take the empirical and metaphysical environments into account by seeing things shaped by social interaction. I highlighted questions Alexander asks, to look at the models we've been presented with and question process of methodology, or whether quantitative and qualitative measurements create a closed circuit. By flipping through many years of social theory, I realised the utilitarian approach fails us as it is too static, when in reality culture itself is fragmented. A pre existing structure generates predictable actions which are generally aligned with economic pursuits. In that sense then, taking different approaches, is probably more beneficial to understanding the variety of expressions, rather than reiterate preconceived notions. Hall and Thompson take these further by attempting to add another layer by using analytical tools, which are not only focused on the material relationships with goods and services, it can also be about the emotional, which is actually a huge and significant part of what makes us human.

Post Structuralism, looks at deconstructing relationships through reflection and criticism. This gave rise to Foucault who took the basic models of Structuralism further, by looking at power relations and how subjects are shaped and formed through them. This adds weight to self formation and discursive formations which revolve around truths. What I intended to show by using his analysis, which in fact reiterated

his point, is that we need social theory to make sense of the landscape, but we don't need to appeal to them, as he's suggested.

I briefly touched upon Feminist theory, by commenting on its emergence as a result of disputing Humanism's lack of addressing the patriarchy. By doing so, I explained how Feminist theory can be relevant for collectively merging many concerns within the human family, as it has evolved to be an inclusive movement. Although, I shy away from labels, I see this one as hopeful in its ability of joining together all issues of social justice. Of course, there are some serious concerns with the name of the movement, I think this is more an argument about semantics, rather than content. It shatters the patriarchy, and at this point in the fourth wave, offers a space for discursive formations with reference to pluralities.

As I approached the end of the first chapter, I hope to have relayed some of the wiles that institutions use to manipulate our perceptions through the use of images. I called images, capitalism's best friend, as they appeal to our emotions, imaginations, fantasies, hopes and dreams. It is the place, aside from learning institutions, where government has a strong control over people's thoughts. It is what Sontag called capitalism's greatest commodity.

By the end of the first chapter, I went back to Foucault, and highlighted his immense contributions to the Social Sciences and Humanities. Although he had his critics, it doesn't take away from the deep insight he had on the way power relations have used institutions for societal control. He was very critical of the education system and also sought out methods to resist the neoliberal order, which also has mechanisms of power. I showed how Foucault believed that democratic frameworks were illusory. I focused on his work in "Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics", which assigned illegitimacies to legitimate power structures, and highlighted his question of whether subjects actually have agency. Foucault claimed that subjects were only able to move within the pathways assigned to us through institutions. However, my intention was to show that Foucault offers a refreshing outlook about how our agency can allow us to move through those pathways, and allow transformations, by accepting weakness, and

making choices which would instead have more predictable outcomes. I used Foucault's analysis to show that mobility is possible. Power will always struggle to hold on, however, and it needs resistance in order to exist.

In the Second Chapter, I brought in the problematic aspect within the superstructure, that has created a hierarchy between nations in general, but as it applies to the Middle East, as a predetermined agenda, aimed at destruction of an entire geographical region for the sole purpose of securing economic initiatives. By using 9/11 as my starting point, I break down the phenomenon which consisted of a moral panic created by US administration, in order of establishing a climate of fear. I pointed to Boudrillard's "Simulacre et Simulation", to solidify the point that the media's constant repetition of the event, was designed to create a hyper reality because it loses its meaning, much like a commercial that keeps playing over and over. As my analysis progressed, I arrive at the conclusion that these tactics were carefully manufactured in order to manipulate public perceptions, for the support for war.

I then went on to talk about 9/11, raising issues with Americas justifications for war, which went against the international communities, when Bush took it to the UN Security Council. Ignoring the unanimous vote against the invasion of Iraq, displayed their total disregard for former commitments to world peace. I discussed how the threat to national security was crafted along the drums of war. It gave rise to the narrative, which was necessary for gaining support to do what they did in Iraq, and then keep the momentum for future military pursuits. Bush called this a "new world order", however, it's more like a 'disorder'. By discussing the rise of the neoconservatives, I showed how the plans for war were already in their sights, as their agendas are about empire building. Also, by highlighting US withdrawal from many other peace initiatives in the world, this nation proved they're superpower status and military were the only things they needed to proceed with their objectives. The enemy was painted and the war on terror began. Islam became the new Communism of contemporary times, and US democracy would be the elixir that Middle Eastern countries needed in order to be free of their tyrannical leaders. This chapter also went on to discuss how leftist opposition also took rise in light of the current events. I showed through my analysis

that their vision was a more realistic one about the consequences of war. Nevertheless, the divisions created internally are of no concern, they only serve as obstacles. I proceeded to describe their mission of ousting Saddam Hussein, in order to secure Iraq's oil fields, as their own. Again, the narrative being associated with his inherent predisposition toward violence, due to his history of wars with Iran and Kuwait, both of which were supported by the US.

In the following section, I took on the task of understanding neocons as a political interest group, only to realise that they have infiltrated every aspect of American life, from politics, media, education and so on. I discussed the major themes which unites them stemming from a religious perspective from the Christian right who believe there is a battle over good and evil. They are fuelled by rhetoric which sees Islam as a threat to the world. What astounds the most about Islam, is the fact there are no missionary operations dispersed throughout the world, but it is still the fastest growing religion. I spoke to Neoconservatives having exceeding confidences in the Military Industrial Complex. In this section, I hoped to place strong emphasis on this culture's very strange obsession with war.

In the section which followed, I gave a full account of how Trump's win was a victory for neocons. Trump's campaigns came in strong with racist, controversial, and divisive politics. He shamelessly went to great lengths to appeal to an otherwise silent part of America. I showed that with his strong stance against immigration, and protectionism, he was able to secure the votes of a less than enlightened part of the population who have now gained momentum, as their xenophobia is now state sponsored. I showed how he displays a lack of insight, when threatening war with China, N.Korea and Russia.

I wrote the second last section in this chapter in this section to show how neoliberalism and neoconservatism go hand in hand. My point was that neo conservatives rely on a free market in order to pursue initiatives at home and abroad. They intend, and already have, cut back on social spending by way of health care, education and social security. They want to make sure that education is more regulated

or standardised to produce individuals who are suitable for the work force. What I hoped to show is that this means future generations who are devoid of critical thought. It also means that the rich will get richer and the poor will get poorer, and the gap will continue to widen. Those who will suffer the most from these initiatives, are people of colour, the already marginalised, the youth and single mothers.

In the last section of this chapter, I set out to highlight what is problematic about the media and how Foucault saw this as a very strong point of control of the masses. I discussed reception theories and coding and encoding, as a necessary tool for manipulating public perceptions in order of gaining consensus. This way, ideologies will be aligned with government's. I also showed how the media has tricks to create hyper realities, desensitisation and apathy. With focus on stereotypes, my intention was to prove that perpetuation of them, was beneficial in feeding the narratives for war - without a villain or in the case of the Middle East, an entire culture lacking sophistication, there would be too much ethical concern over their military pursuits.

In the third chapter, I spoke about some field work which I conducted in Canada to prove or disprove the effects of the power of images. What I wanted to learn was whether or not stereotypes were the first things that people thought of when prompted. Also, whether those stereotypes were negative or positive in nature. My hopes were to record initial thoughts, so it was a controlled exercise. I created a power point full of stereotypical images of Arabs. I asked participants to write down the first word/s that came to mind without giving it too much thought. Plus, I made it clear that there would be no judgements, this was not about political correctness, rather about honest feedback. I was right that the same negative stereotypes about Arabs, was actually ingrained within their psyche. What I didn't expect in the dialogue which followed, was that nearly all of them would be well aware of the manipulations the images had on them. I feel this experiment has a lot more potential. Furthermore, the discussion which ensued was really informative and for some of the participants, transforming,

The second section in the third chapter, I write about why the media needs to perpetuate these stereotypes. I begin with addressing the atrocities of some terrorist

groups who give them the fuel to do so. I suggest that these types of groups need to be examined in a socio-economical and political context to be fully understood, as poverty is a complex, consisting of various components. In my view it is wrong to try to assume these people, who do not reflect the majority opinion nor even have their support, should not be presented as representations of their societies. I do this by showing that their leaders exploit their social positions. This section also progresses to the disproportionate news coverage,

The third section in this chapter discusses the dehumanisation of Arabs and Muslims. I argued that Foucault claims, the media, aside from educational institutions, is the one of the strongest places where the government has social control. This is an institution which needs to be challenged. I also looked to Guantanamo Bay, including a discussion on the images which revealed sexual abuse and torture and discussed the illegitimacy, and violations of Geneva Conventions on prisoners of war. I take issues with the argument of invading foreign countries on the basis of self defence - it's unjustified. I discuss issues of selective humanisation and dehumanisation, used to win sympathy for Afghan women; at the same time vilifying their male counterparts. I argue that western Feminist rhetoric was actually aligned with the stereotype of Muslim women being oppressed and needing to be saved. I also go on to discuss the discourse surrounding European country's lack of acceptance of Arab and Muslim immigrants, as well as their criteria for what qualifies them able to assimilate in to western culture. I hope to have shown that the speaking points which go against Arab/Muslim integration can actually be quite silly.

The last chapter shows how the creation of the enemy/other is a tactic used throughout history. I used Said's theories on Orientalism to show how the Middle Eastern people have constantly been misunderstood, and can be traced back to the Orientalists. The Occident had always looked to the east with a sense of mysticism, and exoticised them according to their fantasies. This chapter also goes on to discuss increased rates of hate crimes in the UK, USA. As well as showing how American policies can be expressed in different regions such as Myanmar and China, whilst also discussing some reasoning behind it. I want to be clear that for this particular section,



I focused mainly on news sources, keeping the focus on hate crimes from only one perspective, against Arabs and Muslims, because in reality, it would be premature of me to have made any claims of being with the knowledge of why there are counter attacks. Finally, I concluded my dissertation with the Rohingya genocide in Myanmar and the Uyghur in China.

In fact, upon concluding this study, I see there are so many more points of research worth exploring from this. I embarked on this journey with the hopes of understanding why these things were happening. What I've found is the situation is so complex on both sides, and in different contexts, in different parts of the world. I would like to look further into Africa, and Latin America. I also raise the question of who or what is next? If people of conscience unite under one umbrella, then the institutions will have to answer to that. I would like to see environmental and minority groups in solidarity, as in the case of slavery in the US, it was not abolished until white people of conscience moved into the fight. Having said that, I agree with Spivak, that Arabs and Muslims are at a point where they can start to speak out and establish themselves in a way that never presented itself before. The task of eliminating inequalities Muslims and Arabs are facing is a difficult and complex one. Until then, they will remain a culture, clashing between capitalism and conflict.

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24349&ictx=3&uact=3](https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=images&cd=&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=0ahUKEwj9YbZ5LPfAhXHqQKHTyrA0UQMwiNAShBMEE&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.asia-news.it%2Fnews-en%2FSyria%3A-rebels-and-regime-agree-to-cess-fire-in-Zabadani.-Obama%3AAssad-must-leave-23725.html&psig=AOvVaw13xGUvy9XjEz7L3sLHO5Nv&ust=1545580102624349&ictx=3&uact=3)

6. **Wailing Women:**

<http://www.axisoflogic.com>

7. **Women in Hijab:** [http://www.](http://www.pinterest.com)

[pinterest.com](http://www.pinterest.com)

STEREOTYPICAL PHOTOS







PHOTOGRAPHS





**Throw out your political correctness - Go with your instinct - No Judgement Here.**

**Questions:**

1. Please write the first word or words that come to your mind when I switch between slides.
2. Have you ever heard this phrase? Allah hu Akbar ( three different ways.)
3. What do you think of him?
4. What's your first thought when you see her?
5. Does it surprise you that she kick boxes?
6. What if I told you his cousin was recently shot in the head?
7. So why is it unusual to want to dress modestly?
8. Would you prefer her to be dressed like her?



9. Would you sit next to him on a bus?
10. Is there any thing you'd like to know about her?
11. Do you think she's happy?
12. Do you think she chose to wear that or do you think she was forced?



