



The Making of a 'Bad' Refugee: Establishing a Correlation in the American and British Perception and Response to the Middle Eastern Refugee Crisis and Irish Catholic Immigration in the 18th – 19th Century

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01-06-2023

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Word count (Main body): 16451

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Introduction

The mid to late 2010's popular discourse was marked by the 'Refugee Crisis', whereby an increase of refugees was seen entering the British-American world from the Middle East.¹ According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (2022), the decade began with 15.2 million refugees and closed with 26.4 million. Conservative media outlets and political discussion alike reacted to this by labelling those who entered with varying degrees of 'bad'-ness based on their perceived threat to the security, homogeneity, and general well-being of the host state (Wilson & Mavelli, 2017). Further to this, such an "invasion" was described as unprecedented in its scale and power to disrupt the status quo (Bahceli, 2015). Yet, such migrations in terms of numbers have been seen before, and hostility to the immigrant other has been observable in state-based politics across millennia. This raises the question as to how 'new' the challenge presented by displaced people entering British-American spaces really is, and how 'bad' they truly are. There is significant value, therefore, in contextualising the current refugee situation from a historical perspective and challenging whether it is a completely unique phenomenon. This can contribute to understanding patterns in how societies react to and construct narratives about refugee populations, which can then provide insights into how to better address the challenges posed by displaced persons. By choosing a group which experienced similar stereotypes and hostilities, it is possible to gain a deeper understanding of the long-term impact of such discourses and how they can shape societal attitudes toward refugee populations. For this study, Irish Catholics of the 18 – 19th century were chosen as this is arguably when the discourse surrounding Irish refugees was most vitriolic, though the stereotype created extended far into the 20th century.

The fundamental issue of portraying certain refugee groups as 'bad' by American and British media is that it proliferates an image of the refugees through the grammars of Othering that establishes them as opposition to the Self (Baumann, 2004). This acts as means of creating greater social distance between the host state and the refugee community and can form the

¹ The label of 'Refugee Crisis' is in itself problematic, as it focuses on the negative impact on the Host state instead of the human experience of the refugee population.

basis for social exclusionary practices and various measures to securitise the issue (Rodriguez, 1999).

Academic writing has created a firm foundation for this paper in terms of context for both cases and problematising the profile created of them by media sources (Billington, 1933; Cavanaugh, 2009; Eroukhmanoff, 2018; Fahey et al., 2019; Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2016; Schultz, 2013). However, literature approached from this perspective with emphasis on Arabic Muslims and Irish Catholic refugees specifically has remained unexplored.

Wilson & Mavelli (2017) offer a profile of the 'Muslim' refugee within US and British media discourse that defines them through their (1) practice of a religion which is considered 'bad' comparatively to the beliefs of the host state, (2) objection to modernity, (3) operation of autonomy in reaching the host state, (4) tendency toward violence and, the (5) gendered aspect of their profile. Further, operating using postmodernist concepts and associated frameworks of social constructionism and Othering allows for the narratives created by the host state to be properly deconstructed and elaborated upon, as well as elucidating the intended and unintended repercussions of such discourse. With a historical case study, a comparison of 'Muslim' refugees with Irish Catholics is drawn with the features of their alliance and divergence with one another detailed, and the consequences of such within the context of dominant US and British societies asserted. Findings suggest that similarities exist to varying extents with the strongest ties lying in the portrayal of both groups as being violent, as operators of undesired autonomy and untrustworthy based on their perceived religiosity. While the associations in terms of the gendered and sexual aspects of both groups are more tenuous in terms of their expression, their fundamental value in the creation and perpetuation of the Other-Self binary narratives remains consistent. This suggests that processes of othering are deeply ingrained in the cultural and social fabric of nation-states and may require significant effort to address and overcome.

This thesis seeks to dissect the similarities and differences in how refugees are portrayed in American-British media, focusing particularly on the aspects which enables the media to label the different groups as 'bad'. This study aims to capture public attention to the findings of this study both in Ireland as well as in countries with high Irish populations, including Britain, Canada, Australia, and America. This study has the potential practical

implication of lessening the social distance between the host state and the refugee community in such countries by drawing attention to the similarities that exist between Irish and Arabic forced migration. By problematizing how refugees are framed by the media over time, awareness can be drawn to the fact that the assumptions people make. Furthermore, given that Irish people are generally well accepted in American and British spaces today, it may prompt further research into Irish integration to uncover means which could be applied for other groups. In doing so, it may form the basis of future integrative projects.

Academically, the utilisation of the historical case study in this manner could also be replicated in future studies of other groups. To do so, the following research question is answered:

What are the shared patterns and distinctions in the responses of American and British media towards Irish Catholic refugees during the 18th and 19th centuries, and refugees from the Middle East during the 21st century?

By cultivating an answer, this thesis will explore how unfamiliarity, misunderstanding and misrepresentation is dealt with in American and British spaces through the lens of dimensions of 'bad'-ness as proposed by Wilson and Mavelli (2017), and theories of orientalism and othering.

To properly address the research question, the profiles of the 'bad' Muslim refugee is established in the first analytical chapter, while the 'bad' Irish Catholic refugee follows in the second. The aim is to describe perceptions of both groups in popular media in based on their religion, opposition to modernity, operation of agency in arriving in the host state, a tendency toward violence and the gendered aspect of their profile. A comparison follows in the discussion thereafter. These chapters argue that while the profiles of Irish Catholic and Arabic Muslim refugees differ in terms of their character, this is a representation of the binary they must exist in relative to the host state so as to enable their othering.

Following this, the third analytical chapter seeks to answer the sub-question *How has the response of America and Britain towards 'bad' Irish and Arabic refugees evolved over time?* This chapter equally contends that while the physical and legislative boundaries placed between America, Britain and the unfavourable refugee have changed over time, they

ultimately seek to reaffirm their othering. This is despite any efforts which have been made to re-characterise actions as being taken on compassionate grounds.

The Refugee

The term 'refugee' was only been adopted into legislation in the modern era following the events of World War II (Rabben, 2017). Therefore, given that the wave of Irish migration that is considered in this case study predates the terms adoption, it is necessary to confirm that they belong within this category.

The "primary and universal definition" of a refugee is contained in the 1951 Refugee Convention, as amended by its 1967 Protocol that is legally adopted by each British-American country that is mentioned in this thesis. According to the Convention, a refugee is someone who:

Owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it (UN General Assembly, 1951).

Criticism surrounds this definition among scholars, who find it to be lacking in encompassing all the possible scenarios in which a person might become a refugee, such as domestic displacement (D'Orsi, 2013) (Gibney, 2004). Other definitions have emerged that provide a wider scope, and of them the definition of 'survival migration' proves itself as the most popular. As outlined by Betts (2013), a survival migrant is one who is "outside their country of origin because of an existential threat for which they have no access to a domestic remedy or resolution". Given that these proclamations came in the 20th and 21st century rather than the 19th, Irish Catholics of the relevant era rely more so on revisionist history to proclaim their status of 'refugee'. This reimagining can often elude the wider public, such as the journalistic community as well as society at large, and limit the association from being

made and properly understood. Among interested academics, however, the Irish Catholics are often offered as the first ethnic group to have migrated in what can be described as a modern manner. As purported by Williams (1996):

Irish Catholics were in many respects the first 'ethnic' group in America and the first immigrant group to arrive in extremely large numbers, to high visibility by clustering in cities..., and to appear sufficiently 'different' in religion and culture so that acceptance by native-born Americans was not automatic, and assimilation was, therefore, prolonged

Regarding both internationally established, as well as academically accepted definitions of refugees defined in the last 70 years, those who migrated from Ireland in the 19th century meet the criterion for refugee status. Civil and political unrest, famine and starvation, as well as dire economic conditions were varyingly present throughout the 1800's. As stated by Wallace-Russell (1901) the Irish faced the century "with war and rumours of war all around; with a serious rebellion running its course; with the French one day off Bantry Bay, and on another marching from Killala to Castlebar; with the mass of the people, then as now, hostile to British interests". Being a member of such a society, victim to the whims of landowners and imperialists as well as those who wished to bring the whole regime down, unsurprisingly produces refugees, and in this way the Irish caught in the middle receive such a qualification.

Theoretical Framework and Conceptualisation

The importance of language, history, and identity in answering the research question lies in the fact that each is an essential component in shaping the ways in which refugees are perceived and represented in the media. In this way, this thesis blends aspects of social constructivism and historical sociology. Understanding this provides a solid basis for the extrapolation on the theories of othering and orientalism upon which this study is based.

Social Constructivism and Historical Sociology

While social constructivism and historical sociology exist as two distinct theories, their amalgamated utility in social science research has been well documented, specifically in relation to the topics of power, race, and cultural practices (Anderson, 1983; Bourdieu, 1977; Martin Alcoff, 2015; Rowe, 2004). This is enabled as, despite emphasizing different mechanisms, both focus on the social construction of reality.

Social constructivism argues that individuals and societies alike create and interpret knowledge from their social and cultural contexts, and that reality is constructed through social interaction over time (Lombardo & Kantola, 2021). Language and culture are considered the primary means through which shared meaning is created and supports the formation of social hierarchies and structures. Language enables social practices, such as storytelling, debate, and negotiation (Cojocarui et al., 2012). By analysing language used in mass media coverage, one can gain an insight into how a powerful portion of society may construct a representation of a group, and how they communicate that representation to the wider public (Abrudan, 2008). Historical sociology instead focuses on understanding how societies change over time, with an emphasis on the role of historical context, institutions, and power relations in moulding social phenomena (Clemens, 2007). By combining both views the research question for this thesis explores how historical events and cultural norms have shaped the language and discourses used in mass media coverage

of refugee groups. Thus, social structures are both enduring and changing over time. Social structures are not fixed but are instead influenced by historical events and processes.

Othering, 'Bad'-ness and its Expression through Religion

With relation to the expression of identity and in turn othering, the working definition for this paper relates to groups rather than the individual. I will borrow from Riggins (1997) and consider the 'Other' as "collectives that are thought to share similar characteristics ('We' and 'They')", as well as "all people the Self (or dominant group) perceives as mildly or radically different". Structural functionalists observe that the "members of a group would not be inclined to reflect about the values that unite them if deviants within their midst did not pose intellectual and political challenges" (Erikson, 1966). The identity ascribed to groups are subjective, multidimensional, and fluid and exist both as means of expressing sameness and belonging, as well as otherness. While the schemata of the grammars of identity have greatly expanded since its conception by Baumann and Gingrich (2004), this paper borrows from the foremost grammar of identity: orientalisation.² This, made a cornerstone of anthropological studies by Said (1978), is manifested generally as "negative mirror imaging: 'what is good in us is lacking in them' and the subordinate reversal: 'what is lacking in us is (still) present in them'" (Baumann & Gingrich, 2004). This gives rise to the 'self-other' binary and in turn an 'us versus them' mentality. In turn, poor value judgements, great social distance, and little knowledge of the Other group (Todorov, 1982) lead directly to aggression toward them, and the cultivation of the idea that "aliens are carriers of chaos" (Rodriguez, 1999).

² Examples in the expansion of the schemata of grammars of identity include:

Agency and Empowerment: The original conception by Baumann and Gingrich focused on the ways in which individuals are shaped by discursive practices. However, there is now a recognition of individuals' active role in constructing their own identities, as well as their capacity to resist dominant discourses and create alternative narratives (Nicolaidis & Archanjo, 2019).

Digital and Online Identities: The advent of digital technologies and the rise of online platforms have significantly expanded the schemata of grammars of identity. Individuals now have new avenues for self-expression, self-presentation, and identity negotiation. The online environment has brought forth new discursive practices, such as social media platforms, online communities, and digital storytelling, which have transformed how identities are constructed, performed, and understood (Cover, 2015).

With respect to religion specifically within this context, othering “is due less to the difference of the Other than to the point of view and the discourse of the person who perceives the Other as such” (Staszak, 2008). Given that the fundamental intent behind Othering is exploitation (JanMohammad, 1985) and that it is “constructed by the majority” (Riggins, 1997) it is by no means a reflection of reality for the out-groups concerned, those being the modern Muslim or Irish Catholic refugee. Religion acts simply as a “central dimension” to “dominant boundary making” and “provides resources to distinguish the in-group and out-group” in the same way ethnicity or inequality do. Religion merely provides ample content for social comparison between groups (Mitchell, 2017). While there are differences among and within the refugee groups concerned, this is not expressed when they are generalised through Othering by the dominant group. Therefore, the ‘bad’-ness of the refugee or religion when used in this piece is not a reflection of that community but simply an operationalisation of the dominant group’s perception of them, in a similar vein as Wilson and Mavelli (2017) who have also adopted the term. By doing so the intent is not to disregard or downplay the current situation, but instead to convey that this issue is not something which is new, it is simply history repeating itself but with a new Other, and a new victim for the “us versus them” mentality.

Methodology

Historical Case Study

This thesis adopts a historical case study approach. This is a “blended” diachronic study method that captures attributes of both historical and case studies respectively. In line with the approach of Widdersheim (2018), the aims of this research strategy are to:

- 1) adopt both a retro and current view of a case or cases,
- 2) incorporate existing data sources and develops new ones, and
- 3) generate both specific and general types of knowledge

While a synchronic approach offers value in responding to the research question posed, its “snap-shot” like study method fails to capture the entire situation at hand (Gerring, 2006). Further, though labelled as historical, this method of analysis allows for temporal reach to extend into the present, therefore it is best to instead consider temporal units (Widdersheim, 2018). To do so a minimum of two points in time must be compared with the overall aim being to understand “change, continuity, development and evolution” of a topic or issue (Yin, 2014). When identifying temporal units, one should consider “identifying distinctive themes, actors, or discourses that set temporal units apart”, and “identifying a structural feature of the case, such as a regular, recurring event or cycle” (Widdersheim, 2018). The two temporal units for comparison in this study are between 2000 – 2020 for Arabic Muslims and the years between 1830 – 1880 for Irish Catholics. While these two temporal units vary in length by 30 years, given that the discourse around the Arabic Muslim takes place in the last twenty years and extends to the present day, the availability of data is constricted. The 50-year temporal unit for Irish Catholics correctly captures a contextual understanding, while maintaining a historical perspective of current issues and changes over time.

With respect to “distinctive discourses” (Widdersheim, 2018), Wilson and Mavelli (2017) and other authors and contributors to their book *The Refugee Crisis and Religion: Secularism, Security and Hospitality in Question* offer insight into how modern Arabic

Muslim refugees are characterised in popular media. Coherent and linear themes of what makes up the identity of the refugee within British-American perspectives were found. This is both directly relevant to the research question and offers structure and clarity in answering it. The 'refugee', within a broader Western perspective according to Wilson and Mavelli (2017) is:

- A practitioner of a 'bad' religion.
- Sexually repressed.
- In need of liberation by British-American counterparts.³
- A threat to the sanctity of British-American world through 'contamination'.
- Inherently linked with terrorism and social destruction.

Additionally, as outlined by Wilson and Mavelli (2017) the West reacts to this 'threat' posed by the refugee with "narrow policy responses, exclusionary politics, and a growing trend towards 'securitizing' forced migration". The three main areas through which this is expressed is:

- The provision of aid.
- The use of legislation to exclude refugees.
- Physical violence

In order to jointly identify the discourses and the "structural feature of the case" (Widdersheim, 2018), popular British-American media publications from both eras were considered. Generally, newspapers with high readerships at that time were endeavored to be chosen, such as the Guardian or the New York Times, two of the biggest newspapers in each of their respective countries of publication. Given the evolution of mass media over the last two hundred years, the newspapers and media outlets sought for an encapsulation of the Irish situation were different. These included newspapers such as the Brooklyn Daily Eagle, but also cartoon magazines such as Puck or Punch. The British Punch and the American Puck contained satirical commentary on social and political issues from a predominantly conservative perspective (Dueben, 2014). Puck and Punch were not only popular in terms of readership but also held significant cultural influence. Their satirical

³ In respect to female refugees specifically.

takes on societal issues often shaped public opinion and influenced debates. The magazines had the power to challenge and shape narratives, making them important contributors to the cultural and political discourse of their respective countries. For instance, historian Richard Altick (1997) wrote of Punch:

To judge from the number of references to it in the private letters and memoirs of the 1840s... Punch had become a household word within a year or two of its founding, beginning in the middle class and soon reaching the pinnacle of society, royalty itself.

In addition to these sources, legislative texts from Britain and America, as well as academic publications directly or indirectly centered on either the Catholic Irish or Arabic Muslim refugee, were considered. By combining popular media, legislation, and academic publications, it was possible to triangulate multiple sources, identify gaps in the historical record, and both challenge and re-evaluate existing interpretations (Dempster et al., 2022). The thematic nature, how it acted to achieve the goals of the relevant parties, and its contribution to the construction of the 'refugee' were the main areas of deliberation for each area of analysis. Thereafter, an overall analysis of the essential nature of the analysis and an allocation of "single themes to thematic area and to possible discourse strand entanglements" (Jager, 2001).

Analytical Chapter 1: Perceptions of the Arab Refugee

As established previously, there are defining aspects of a 'bad' refugee that include practicing a 'bad' religion; an atypical view and expression of sexuality and gender relations; opposition to 'modernity' and a tendency toward violence. The objective is to determine the characterization of the categories and evaluate their alignment with the defining characteristics identified by Wilson and Mavelli (2017). Following this, a third will follow aimed at answering the sub-research question raised by this study.

Practitioner of a 'bad' religion:

While not all refugees are Muslim, the connotation is persistent and prevalent (Connor & Krogstad, 2018). In media, the perceived overt nature in which their religious practice is expressed through, for instance in dress, is deemed as particularly problematic or barbaric. A poll conducted by the BCC (2003) following the 9/11 attacks noted a respondent as answering:

Islam is not compatible with modernity. Freedom and human rights that are experienced in British-American countries cannot be experienced in Islamic nations. Islam controls almost every aspect of life, from politics to how you touch your own wife.

This sets a dangerous precedent, as it not only reveals that Islam is viewed as an "archaic culture" in contrast to the British-American world, but further that those who practice it are completely under its control and have no agency to change this view. It seems that the identity of the refugee is "shaped entirely by the supposedly unchanging culture into which they are born" (Mamdani, 2002), and in this way removes any context as to how and why this may be the case.

An Atypical View and Expression of Sexuality and Gender Relations:

A British Daily Mail news article in 2015 wrote in its headline that “half of all British Muslims think homosexuality should be illegal”. Though another news article questioned the methodology used in collecting this data, based on its sample size as well as the geographic areas chosen to be surveyed, its headline still mirrored the same sentiment (Perraudin, 2016). The polling group they revealed in the piece, chose “specifically to poll in areas that are poor and more religiously conservative” and “only polled 500 people” (Hume & Allen Greene, 2016). The reporting of real-world events by such media outlets as the Daily Mail often sought to perpetuate this idea of Muslims as homophobic further. One such instance took place one year later in Orlando, Florida where an Arabic Muslim man conducted a mass shooting at a LGBTQIA+ nightclub in 2016 which resulted in the proclamation that “homophobia is integral” to Islam (Hirsi Ali, 2016).⁴ Even after the initial link between the shooter's faith, his motives, and his actions were undermined, the media continued to propagate the original story. They reported that the man, fuelled by self-hatred on the grounds that his religion denied him from expressing his own homosexual desires, targeted the dominant group members who freely could (Greenwald & Hussain, 2018). Their basis for this assertion was largely centred on the confessions of his ex-wife, with whom he had not been cordial leading up to his death, who told reporters: “he would take a long time in front of the mirror... and he made little movements with his body that definitely made me question things” (Alter, 2016). The link being made, as is common, is that the man's homophobia was an expression of latent homosexuality, in that his natural inclination of homosexuality is hidden beneath homophobic actions (Adams, et al., 1996). This framing in media ultimately endeavours to create three different renderings; that Muslim view homosexuality as wrong, which is contradictory to British-American values and beliefs; that the views held are sexualised into a homoerotic manner; and that these views pose a real threat to British-American civilisation and secular laws of human rights. This narrative runs counter to the fact as U.S Muslims are more accepting of homosexuality than their 'native' evangelical Christian, Mormon, and Jehovah's Witness neighbours (Pew Poll, 2015).⁵ Dominant Islamic doctrine does dictate “horrible views” on LGBTQIA+ issues (Greenwald &

⁴ Not naming the shooter for ethical and moral reasons

⁵ Percentage who believe homosexuality should be accepted by society: Islam – 38%; Evangelical Protestant & Mormon 36%; and Jehovah's Witness 16%.

Hussain, 2018), but it should be noted that the same could be said for the dominant Christian or Jewish dogma (Mamdani, 2002). The underlying difference is that the latter groups are granted an understanding of their “historical and extraterritorial terms” (Sen, 2001) whereas Muslims are portrayed as limited by their “archaic culture” over which they hold no control (Mamdani, 2002). Additionally, by using Muslims as a frame of reference, the dominant group is able to define and express their own sexual norms, while simultaneously placing blame and criticism on the Other rather than addressing issues within their own community. Essentially, the argument made in America and Britain, despite evidence that strongly suggests otherwise, is that the outlook of Muslims is foreign to their own, and one which cannot change nor transform, and therefore the entering migrant is to be viewed with suspicion. Furthermore, the media frequently portrays refugees as individuals with a suppressed and volatile identity, resembling a ticking time bomb ready to explode at any moment. The immigrant's exposure to the ideals of freedom and liberation cherished in the British-American world leaves refugees susceptible to feelings of frustration and a sense of being deprived. These emotions arise from the constraints imposed on them by their own society, resulting in a heightened state of volatility.

Gender roles are also often a prominent proponent of the discourse surrounding the refugee. Today, much of the discussion and resulting change regarding the Arab woman takes place within the political sphere where, thanks to the feminist movement, women have a prominent and powerful place. The renowned speech by former First Lady of the United States, Laura Bush, following the events of 9/11, stands as a significant representation of how Arabic women are framed and discussed in the British-American world today. It embodies the prevailing ideals and perceptions that shape their portrayal within modern British-American society. She stated that Afghani women and children under the “hard and repressive” Taliban regime were “imprisoned in their homes” under the threat of constant “deliberate human cruelty” from which they cannot escape. Salvation can only come in one form – through American liberation of particularly women. The First Lady further stated that condemnation was needed from “civilised people throughout the world” who, if they remained silent, would be liable for the same treatment to be “imposed” on them. She continued that the war in Afghanistan was as much a fight against terrorism as it was for the “rights and dignity of women” (Bush, 2001). It was deemed therefore essential

by prominent American feminists, as highlighted by Abu-Lughod (2002), to intervene and "save" women, a notion that implies superiority and the potential for violence. This stance played a crucial role in justifying the deployment of the American army into the Middle East. The justification put forth, as exemplified in Laura Bush's speech, propelled an already developing narrative that portrayed Arabic women as "submissive and disempowered" (Ghanem, 2017) and characterized them as being subservient to men's desires due to a perceived lack of personal agency, which was further reinforced by their religious practices. As a result, this popularised the existing narrative that Arabic women represented patriarchal religion, embodying everything that white feminism and liberal movements aimed to eradicate, without genuinely considering the perspectives and requirements of the very Arabic women they intended to safeguard (El Guindi, 1999). Nonetheless, there are spaces where agency can be cultivated that may not align with the conventional expectations of contemporary feminism, a notion that British-American liberal feminism struggles to grasp. For these feminists, there exists a dichotomy between religious expression and secular liberalism when contemplating the ideas of submission and agency. The British Home Office found that 2,703 hate crimes against Muslims took place in the year ending March 2021, making up 45 per cent of all such crimes. Those who were "visibly Muslim", and predominantly those who wore niqabs or hijabs were the most open to such attacks (Javed, 2021). Overall, Arabic women were portrayed as requiring salvation from the British-American perspective due to their perceived lack of agency. They were depicted as both a threat and trapped unless they severed their ties with Islam and patriarchal Arabic men. The idea of an Arabic women who wears any 'repressive' headdress *by choice* is not an option. Salvation is offered through host women who now have access to the "Old Boys Club" of mainstream politics who take up their cause (Haritaworn, et al., 2008). The concept of salvation being offered by women of the dominant group is inherently paternalistic, as it fails to involve the participation of the Other woman herself. Instead, she is expected to be directed, often through political interventions, towards embodying the idealized version of womanhood desired by the British-American world.

Opposition to 'modernity':

Discrimination against Muslim individuals has undergone significant transformations compared to its historical expressions. In a time when overt racism and xenophobia are widely condemned, there is a need for more sophisticated discourse to perpetuate discriminatory narratives. Consequently, the labelling of certain discussions as Islamophobia serves as a means to create distance, shielding those who employ such language from being labelled as racist. However, the British government has come to define Islamophobia as being “rooted in racism and is a type of racism that targets expressions of Muslimness or perceived Muslimness” (All Party Parliamentary Group on British Muslims, 2018). Although the merging of religion with race in this definition may generate controversy, its primary objective is to underscore the commonalities in the mechanisms and patterns of Islamophobia, rather than asserting that Muslims constitute a distinct race (Allen, 2018).

While Islamophobia is observable within the discourse of both Britain and America, its prominence notably increased in the context of the Brexit referendum, especially in the period leading up to and following the vote. Thirty-one per cent of Leave voters felt that “Muslim immigration to this country is part of a bigger plan to make Muslims a majority of this country’s population”, a conspiracy theory which is suggested to have originated in France. According to a UNHCR report (2015) examining press coverage of the Mediterranean refugee crisis during 2014 and 2015, among the five countries surveyed, the United Kingdom's portrayal of refugee crossings was deemed the “most negative and most polarized.” Additionally, 47 per cent of leave voters thought the UK government was “hiding the truth” about the number of Muslim migrants that were living in the country. Both ideas are supported by conspiracy theories that can be found online and comparatively these are more trusted than the mainstream media (YouGov, 2018). Another poll conducted by Hope Not Hate (2019) found 49 per cent of those who voted Conservative in the 2017 British general election thought “Islam was generally a threat to the British way of life”, while only 21 per cent considered it compatible. The colonial and racial tones expressed through these views amount to cultural racism and can be argued are simply a way of voicing racial prejudice in a more ‘appropriate’ manner than simply being outright about it. Equally, regardless of what form the racism takes, the intention is the same – it asserts that the

incoming group is not welcome, a threat to the decency of the dominant group and should be repressed.

Tendency Toward Violence:

The embedded journalistic approach taken during conflicts such as the Iraqi war, and with events as they unfolded during the Arab Spring, drew those in the host state into the conflict faced by the refugee.⁶ People saw for themselves the destabilization and destruction, and the narratives employed by most networks ensured that the army they followed appeared as 'good', and those they fought as 'bad' (Gunter, 2009). This fuelled the perception of Islam and its practitioners as being inherently violent (Juergensmeyer, 2003). This embedded approach fostered the perception, even before their arrival, that those entering the country were inherently dangerous, as they were actively devastating their own homeland without regard for any sacred values. The war, which was previously distant, became globally pervasive through media screens, and subsequent acts of terror committed by Muslims in the dominant country only served to reinforce this pre-existing notion.

One does not need to look far when investigating modern media discourse to find an apparent link between Islam, those who practice it and terroristic violence, with the initial link being made in Rapoport's famous work *Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious Traditions* (1984). A study in America of media coverage in the aftermath of 11 terrorist attacks between 2011 – 2016 found that "the perpetrator was first labelled as Muslim or non-Muslim before the reason for the act was investigated". If found to be Muslim, "connections to international Islamic terror groups are investigated and the war on Islam on the US was furthered" (Powell, 2018). Additional media reports, such as the widely known conspiracy theory propagated by Donald Trump, claiming that Muslim residents of New Jersey celebrated in the streets after 9/11 (Fredericks, 2015) (Reuters, 2015), contribute to a

⁶ Embedded journalism refers to the practice of assigning journalists to accompany military units during conflict situations, providing them with first-hand access to the frontlines. It aims to offer unique perspectives and real-time coverage, although critics argue that it may lead to biased reporting and a limited understanding of the broader context (Gunter, 2009).

climate of mistrust towards peaceful Muslims. In relation to terrorism, there is perhaps no clearer or more simplistic example of the media's perception of the connection between terrorism and Arabic people than a sketch from the American series *Family Guy*. In this satirical depiction, the sketch humorously references the association between mental illness, terrorism, and skin tone. The reporting on the Orlando LGBTQIA+ shooting, as previously mentioned by the English *Daily Mirror* newspaper, and the mass shooting in a mosque in Christchurch, New Zealand, exemplify this stark contrast. In the case of the Christchurch shooting, the article portrays the shooter as an "angelic boy" with positive attributes, including being a dedicated personal trainer for children. The front-page picture of the shooter as a young, blond boy in his father's arms further emphasizes a sympathetic narrative, revealing details about his father's tragic death. In contrast, the Orlando shooter is depicted on the front page under a headline that highlights his affiliation with ISIS and portrays the incident as the worst US terror attack since 9/11 (Daily Mirror, 2016; Young, 2019). This is even though no links were ever found tying him to any such organisations. More generally, a study conducted regarding the media coverage of terrorist attacks – as identified in the Global Terrorism Database – found that attacks conducted by Muslims received 4.5 times more coverage (Kearns, et al., 2019). Another study of 146 American network and cable news channels between 2008 – 2012 found that 81 per cent of the attacks which were covered were carried out by Muslims, revealing that television news gave over-coverage of Islamic people as terrorists (Dixon & Williams, 2015). Overall, this narrative in public discourse favours the cultivation of Islamophobia, and in ways that is achieved through the negation of horrific actions taken on the part of white terrorists. The figure of the Arabic immigrant, therefore, is so completely constrained by an affiliation with their religion, and the political organisations linked with it, that they are simply endowed with an uncontrollable inclination for destruction.

Conclusion:

In conclusion, the portrayal of Muslim refugees as 'bad' reflects the harmful use of Othering and identity-based stereotypes, perpetuating discrimination against them. This characterization stems from deep-seated biases and associations. Their religious practices,

visible in their attire, are often unfairly judged as problematic or uncivilized. Media outlets frequently propagate the notion that Muslims hold homophobic views, disregarding the diversity of opinions within the Muslim community and the fact that some U.S. Muslims are more accepting of homosexuality than certain evangelical Christian groups. Moreover, the depiction of Arab women as submissive and in need of rescue reinforces a narrative that undermines their agency and ignores their individuality. British-American feminists, assuming superiority, often impose their own ideals of womanhood on these women. Discrimination against Muslims is often justified by opposing their perceived 'modernity.' Islamophobia, intertwined with racism, has gained prominence, fuelled by conspiracy theories and negative media portrayals, particularly during the Brexit referendum. Additionally, media coverage tends to emphasize the religious background of perpetrators before delving into their motives, contributing to an overrepresentation of Islamic individuals as terrorists. This section aimed to shed light on these complex narratives surrounding Muslim refugees and encourage a more nuanced understanding of their experiences. By analysing how Muslim refugees are portrayed in the media, it has provided valuable insights into the research question at hand.

Analytical Chapter 2: Perceptions of the Irish Refugee

Practitioner of a 'bad' religion:

Catholicism, and the strong allegiance Irish people were perceived as having with it, was framed as a danger to the host state and its wellbeing (Friedman, 1967).⁷ As stated in the popular pamphlet *the Plea for the West* (Beecher, 1835) “the spell was not broken” between the Catholic Church and its Irish followers, and therefore those who followed “the whore of Babylon” had greater allegiance to their religion over their state. Irish Catholics unwillingness to convert to Protestantism despite centuries of efforts made by the English in particular, led to a “warning” being proclaimed “of the dangerous nature of Catholicism” by the American Protestant Society (Leonard & Parmet, 1971). Irish Catholics entering the US were “bent on capturing control of America, enslaving its citizens, crushing republicanism, and preventing the realisation of America’s millennial glory” (Davis, 1969). The notion that the Irish were incapable of self-governance without the influence of their Church can be traced back to the 17th century and was prevalent in Britain. This belief amounted to the enactment of the Penal Laws by the British in Ireland during that time. An example of this includes the ruling that a:

*‘Papist’ ... could not hold any office of honour or emolument in the state, or be a member of any corporation, or vote members of the Commons... or sit or vote in the Lords.*⁸

Further to this, neither could they teach Catholicism, and any Protestant to convert to Catholicism would share these limited rights (Sanderson, 1898).

During the period of the Great Famine in Ireland (1845 – 1849), a political movement called American Nativism rose to prominence with the Know-Nothing Party. It reached its peak in the mid-1850s, with the Know-Nothing Party who ran on Nativist views winning several local and state elections (Ciment & Radzilowski, 2015). The American Nativism political

⁷ While, of course, there were Protestants among the Irish settlers, they were predominantly Catholic with 89.5% of the population being recorded as such in 1881 (Central Statistics Office, 2016).

⁸ A Papist is a derogatory term for a Catholic

movement can be defined as “a deep-seated American antipathy towards internal ‘foreign’ groups of various kinds which has erupted periodically into intensive efforts to safeguard Americans from such perceived ‘threats’” (Leonard & Parmet, 1971). There was widespread belief among Anglo-Saxon Americans that they were the “only religious, enlightened, and free people... a distinct species of mankind” (de Tocqueville, 1938), with Protestantism being the underlying theory of this belief. Open displays of hatred toward Irish Catholics were therefore common. For instance, the infamous Ku Klux Klan first sought to target Irish Catholics at its conception (Scott, 1926). Prominent members of the political and legal elite, such as Hugo Black, the senator and later Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, were members of the KKK and ran on the notion that Irish Catholics could not be trusted (Sprigle, 1937). The aforementioned American Protestant Society, who were heavily associated with the Nativist movement, viewed their work as a “religious crusade”, and this sentiment was cemented in their constitution, which stated:

We desire to secure the permanency of our free institutions, and through them liberty of conscience, to maintain and to perpetuate ‘pure religion and undefiled’ and also to rescue from error and from sin those, who are in spiritual darkness (Beyer-Purvis, 2016).

In full, Irish Catholics practiced a ‘bad’ religion that rendered them servile to a dangerous foreign influence and had proven themselves over centuries of attempts at conversion too ignorant to accept Protestantism.

An Atypical View and Expression of Sexuality and Gender Relations:

The portrayal of Irish Catholic refugees during the 1800s emphasized their alleged sexual appetite, capturing significant attention from their host states. Historical records reveal a substantial production of literature between 1830 and 1860, including approximately 270 books, 25 newspapers, 13 magazines, as well as various gift books, almanacs, and pamphlets, all dedicated to the anti-Catholic cause (Billington, 1933). The majority of these publications focused on the "sexual immorality of Catholicism," serving both as titillating entertainment for interested readers and as a basis for indignation. They often contributed

to eroticizing and vilifying the Other (Pagliarini, 1999). Given the conservative nature of Victorian-era Britain and antebellum America, the discourse surrounding deviant sexual behavior varied significantly, resulting in Catholics being depicted as more sexually liberal.

Popular discourse often focused on the Catholic institution rather than laypeople with priests and nuns being the target of distrust and aggression. The implication, often stated outright, was that the rotten core of Catholicism extended outward to its disciplines (Billington, 1964). Most anti-Catholic novels were convent novels and often garnered great success, such as Maria Monk's *Awful Disclosures of the Hotel Dieu Nunnery* (1836). She claims to have been forced into the convent against her will and describes a series of harrowing events. According to Monk, numerous instances occurred where the priests allegedly visited the convent under the guise of providing spiritual guidance and counselling to the nuns but instead coerced them into sexual relationships. Monk further outlines how, as a nun, it was her "great duty" to "obey priests in all things", even "criminal intercourse", and that babies produced from this were strangled and dissolved in chemical pits (Monk, 1836).⁹ The book sold more than three hundred thousand copies between release and 1861, making it the second most popular book of the antebellum period (Billington, 1964).¹⁰ Another example displaying the depravity of Catholicism can be found in the novel *Rosamond* which details the rape of a fourteen-year-old girl by a group of priests, in which the protagonist was forced to watch at knifepoint (Culbertson, 1848). The portrayal of priestly celibacy during that time often attributed it as the underlying cause for such perceived misconduct, as it was seen to defy the natural principles of love, marriage, and fatherhood (Beecher, 1855). This depiction created a contrast that posed a perceived threat to Protestant family values. Popular narratives suggested that acts such as murder, rape, incest, and child abuse were outlets for the pent-up desires of the celibate priests, described as overwhelming and intense (Bourne, 1847). However, it's important to note that these portrayals and allegations were based on the perceptions and assertions of certain writers,

⁹ It should be understood, however, that this popular account was not actually written by Monk herself, but instead by a group of Protestant men, including the popular minister J. J. Slocum (Billington, 1937).

¹⁰ Other titles that were very successful include; *Convent's Doom* (1854) by Charles Frothington which sold 46,000 copies in ten days; *Six Hours in a Convent* (1854) also by Frothington went through eight editions within two years; and *Danger in the Dark* (1954) by Isaac Kelso which had thirty-one editions published in one year. All titles were notably written by men (Billington, 1937).

rather than concrete evidence of actual behaviours. Nevertheless, these sentiments, which promoted baseless notions of sexual perversion, established and perpetuated a particular ideology of sexuality, playing a significant role in its deliberate dissemination and implementation, as described by Michel Foucault's concept of "deployment" (Foucault, 1978).¹¹ The portrayal of Irish women within the context of the UK and US took on a noticeably aggressive tone. By the 1840s, the "vexatious Irish Bridget" stereotype emerged as a common representation of Irish women, particularly those working as domestic staff, a stereotype that had developed over the course of the 19th century (Schultz, 2013). This stereotype had some basis in reality, as Irish women constituted a significant portion of domestic servants, with 54 percent of domestic workers in America being Irish women by 1900 (Miller, 1985), and over half of the 1.3 million Irish girls and women employed as domestic servants in England in 1891 (Humphries & Weisdorf, 2015). Print media, particularly cartoons and advertisements, played a prominent role in disseminating the characteristics associated with the "Irish Bridget." Cartoons often depicted Bridget as an untidy, freckled girl from rural Ireland, portrayed as uncivilized and buffoonish (Schultz, 2013; Murphy, 2000). Illustrations frequently presented Bridget as an ignorant and clumsy individual, reinforcing the notion of her being a simpleton (Murphy, 2000). Alongside this portrayal, Bridget was also depicted as a threat to the idealized concept of domesticity, which defined women's self-governance within the confines of the domestic space. In addition to the negative stereotypes and caricatures associated with Bridget, she was also seen as a danger to the traditional notion of domesticity. The idealized concept of domesticity defined the roles and responsibilities of women within the home, emphasizing their self-governance and authority in managing household affairs. However, Bridget's portrayal challenged this idealized concept by presenting her as an outsider who did not conform to the expected standards of domesticity. As a result, she was viewed as a threat to the established social order and the traditional gender roles associated with women's self-governance within the domestic space (Schultz, 2013; Kaplan, 1998). This is perfectly illustrated in the *Puck* cartoon of 1884 "Our Self-Made 'Cooks': From Paupers to

¹¹ Foucault's concept of "deployment" refers to the deliberate dissemination and implementation of certain ideas, practices, or ideologies within a society or system. In the context of sexuality, "deployment" refers to the active construction and enforcement of specific sexual norms, behaviours, and ideologies by those in positions of power, such as institutions, authorities, or influential individuals (1979).



Figure 1: Frederick Burr Opper. Our Self-Made "Cooks"—From Paupers to Potentates. Puck, January 30, 1884.

On the left, an ape-like Bridget, is being evicted from her dirty cottage while her family members lie around her old and weak. In contrast, on the right portion of the cartoon, Bridget stands in her mistresses' kitchen, still ape-like but this time in a garish gown, under a picture of the Pope, ordering her mistress out of the room with an angry look and pointed finger. The caption reads: "They are evicted in the old country. But in America they do all the evicting themselves". This exploits the fears of a middle-class native Protestant woman who constantly worried about her country and home being invaded by a creature representing the negative attitude of "can't, won't, and don't." (New York Times, 1879). However, there was hope for Bridget, who could be saved from her savage inclination by her employer. In the advice manual on the issue penned by Prescott Spofford, *The Servant Girl Question* (1881), Spofford implores those in search of a servant to view the Irish option as "plastic as any clay in all the world". She explains further:

[the Irish woman] is fresh, emotional, strong, willing, full of the energy that sent her three thousand miles across the water, and so totally ignorant of any other civilised ways than ours that she is completely ready to be moulded to our wish (p.42) [AOD]

This suggests that, if utilised correctly, the ape-like Irish servant has the potential to work in the favour of the matron of any household if she is strong enough to wield her, adding the "muscles" to her mistresses' "brains" (New York Times, 1879) and creating a constructive and powerful duo in the domestic space.

An Opposition to 'Modernity':

As alluded to in relation to gender above, with reference to their representation in cartoons as being ape-like, the racial dimension to the Irish stereotype was ever-present regardless of the greater intention of the piece. Scientific racism, while serving as the overall language of racism, held particular significance when it came to the Irish.¹² Despite the usefulness and utilization of the religious aspect, Catholicism was easily concealed and lacked sufficient foreignness compared to Protestantism. In both America and Britain, the Irish shared similar physical attributes such as skin tone and language with their hosts. Unlike the black or Asian communities, the excuse of color couldn't be readily employed, requiring more elaborate mental contortions to establish a sense of differentiation and thereby justify mistreatment (Schultz, 2013). This frustration is best captured by Charles Kingsley, the author of *Water Babies* (1863), who expressed his dismay by stating, "to see white chimpanzees is dreadful; if they were black, one would not see it so much, but their skins... are as white as ours." In reference to Britain specifically, the Act of Union in 1800 had created the United Kingdom under which Irish people were citizens of the Crown, and therefore were technically equal to their English counterparts in the eyes of the law (Ó'Tuathaigh, 1981). Therefore, an expansive project was undertaken to distinguish them as "not quite white" (Schultz, 2013). This was best articulated through the newly established field of science, as the proponents of racial difference could not be easily touted by the common man. Popular figures within the academic field were very outspoken on the topic, including John Beddoe (1885), the President of the Anthropological Institute of Britain, who wrote the "superior" Nordic men had less prominent jaw bones, and the prevalence of "prognathous" among the Irish was evidence of their inferiority, and that Celts were in fact "Africanoid" in ethnicity. Charles Darwin (1871), one of the most famous minds of the modern age, wrote that while the Celts can reproduce "like rabbits" they lacked the "frugal, foreseeing, self-respecting, ambitious" nature of the Scot who was "stern in his morality, spiritual in his faith, sagacious and disciplined in his intelligence". He determined that while Celts may outnumber the Scot,

¹² Scientific racism refers to the pseudoscientific practices and theories that emerged during the 19th and early 20th centuries, aiming to establish a hierarchy of races based on alleged biological and intellectual differences. It involved using scientific terminology and methods to legitimize racist ideologies and discrimination (Hannaford, 1996).

their natural inclination toward having “faults” meant that Scots would still retain the majority “of the property, of the power, [and] of the intellect”. It was also held that the Irish had among them “a higher ratio of criminals”, and were more prone to bouts of “insanity, and other undesirable features”. Their migration from Ireland to England was judged as “an example of a less civilised population spreading itself as a substratum beneath a more civilised community” (Hickman, 1995). They offered “inferior elements” making them “biosocial ‘waste’” (Gair, 1934). Beyond the lofty considerations of academics, similar views were expressed, such as in the British counterpart to *Puck*, *Punch*. In 1862 a satire piece by Sir John Tenniel attack Irish immigration and the Irish race under the title “The Missing Link”:

“A creature manifestly between the Gorilla and the Negro is to be met with in some of the lowest districts of London and Liverpool by adventurous explorers. It comes from Ireland, whence it has contrived to migrate; it belongs in fact to a tribe of Irish savages: the lowest species of Irish Yahoo” (Curtis, 1971)

By disregarding the inflammatory language and repugnant perspectives and focusing solely on the underlying purpose, this narrative implies the existence of a scientific and cultural element that deems the Irish refugee as inferior in an immutable manner. Consequently, a clear and conspicuous connection within British discourse emerges, promoting the notion of British supremacy and asserting their entitlement to restrict the influx of others.

Tendency toward Violence:

In the 19th century, there were three significant historical events that greatly impacted the Irish, both within their own country and on an international scale with the dispersal of the Irish diaspora.¹³ These events shaped the perceptions of the Irish during that time. Violence was prevalent both in Ireland itself and in regions with significant Irish diaspora populations,

¹³ The Act of Union, 1801; The Great Irish Famine 1845-1948; Irish attempts at independence throughout the 1880's and onwards.

leading to the interpretation that the Irish had an inherent inclination towards violence. The 19th century began with a major Irish rebellion, supported by the French, that ultimately failed (Beiner, 2007). The British quickly learned that the Irish were willing to resort to unprecedented acts of violence to achieve their political goals, and violence continued throughout the century (Whelehan, 2014).

In addition to the view of the Irish as volatile and dangerous, they were also portrayed as lazy due to the widespread failure of their crops. This perception of laziness was reinforced by major famines, particularly the Great Famine of 1845-1848, which resulted in the loss of one million lives and the displacement of a million more. The British government presented this famine as evidence of the Irish people's alleged unwillingness to work (Brantlinger, 2004). One of the main instigators of this idea within British imaginations is Sir Charles Trevelyan, who was one of the highest-ranking civil servants in Ireland at the time of the Great Famine. He viewed, and urged others to view, the Famine as an "act of God" aimed at removing from existence the "social evil" evident among the Irish (Trevelyan, 1848). In a Scottish newspaper, he anonymously wrote: "[the Irish] conceal their advantages, exaggerate their difficulties and relax their exertions... by [working hard] they would disentitle themselves to their 'share of the relief'" (Gillissen, 2014). He additionally faulted the Irish gentry, who had gained the "defective part of the national character" (Kissane, 1996), thus eliminating any blame for the British government. This barbaric approach did not just affect the Irish gravely domestically, but also internationally. Idleness achieved through crafty means began to become synonymous with the Irish name, and thus 'No Irish Need Apply' signs became prominent fixtures of job advertisements in British and American cities alike (Fried, 2016). Nationalistic violence had a resurgence in the 1880's in Ireland, which included the assassination of Irish Secretary for Ireland and his Permanent Undersecretary, Lord Frederick Cavendish and Thomas Henry Burke by a group of fringe members of the Irish Republican Army (IRB). This eruption of violence would be marked by the birth of modern terrorism, with Irish "dynamiters" beginning a bombing campaign in 1883 – 1885 in Britain. They tended to target public buildings, such as Westminster, but attempts were also made on three occasions to blow up the London Underground with their "infernal machines", with the aim of disrupting public life in the metropole in a much more powerful way than an Irish revolt ever could (Townshend, 1983) (Short, 1979). It should be

noted, however, that these attacks were rarely arranged with the purpose of causing harm to civilians, unlike the events which are common today (Clutterbuck, 2004). Given that the violence was often organised from hubs located in Britain or the US by Irish expatriates (New York Tribune, 1991; Short, 1979), discourse suggested it was impossible for the host state to discern who was a threat to the state among arriving refugees and therefore all were a risk (Simcox, 2018; Harris, 2019). Therefore, the creation of the Irish refugee as unrelenting in their pursuit of violence, yet listless in their pursuance of food or peace on a domestic level, is brought outward onto the international stage, and thus their public image is solidified as such.

Conclusion:

Throughout history, Catholicism and the strong allegiance Irish people were perceived as having with it were framed as a danger to the host state and its well-being. The Catholic Church and its Irish followers were seen as a threat to Protestantism and the ideals of the host countries. This perception led to negative portrayals and stereotypes of Irish Catholics, highlighting their alleged lack of loyalty to their state and their supposed inclination towards capturing control and preventing the realization of national glory.

Furthermore, the responses of American and British media towards Irish Catholic refugees included the portrayal of their sexuality and gender relations as atypical and deviant. Irish Catholics were depicted as having a supposed sexual appetite, and the Catholic institution, particularly priests and nuns, became targets of distrust and aggression. These portrayals contributed to the vilification and eroticization of Irish Catholics, further perpetuating negative stereotypes.

Additionally, there was opposition to the perceived modernity of Irish Catholic refugees. The racial dimension of the Irish stereotype played a significant role, as they shared physical attributes with their hosts, making it challenging to justify mistreatment solely based on color. Thus, efforts were made to establish a sense of differentiation through scientific racism and the assertion of Irish inferiority, both academically and in popular media. The Irish were portrayed as not quite white, with inferior physical attributes and a higher propensity for criminal behavior.

Lastly, there was a tendency to associate the Irish with violence. Historical events, such as the Great Famine in Ireland and the Irish diaspora, shaped perceptions of the Irish as a group prone to violence. These perceptions influenced the media's portrayal of Irish Catholic refugees as violent and dangerous individuals.

In conclusion, American and British media exhibited shared patterns in their responses towards Irish Catholic refugees during the 18th and 19th centuries and refugees from the Middle East during the 21st century. These patterns included framing Catholicism as a threat, emphasizing atypical sexuality and gender relations, opposing perceived modernity, and associating the group with violence. However, there were also distinctions based on the specific historical and cultural contexts in which these responses occurred.

Analytical Chapter 3: The British and American Response to the 'Bad' Refugee.

Drawing upon the insightful work of Mavelli and Wilson (2017), this chapter adopts a comprehensive lens to analyze the responses of America and Britain to the influx of refugees. Mavelli and Wilson posit that these responses can be understood through a multifaceted framework, encompassing three key dimensions. Firstly, they emphasize the role of aid, both in terms of financial support and humanitarian assistance, provided by the respective governments. Secondly, they shed light on the limitation of rights, examining how the legal and policy frameworks in these countries shape the rights and entitlements of refugees. Finally, they acknowledge the presence of acts of physical violence perpetrated by the dominant group, which serves as a powerful indicator of societal response. Building upon this theoretical framework, this chapter aims to explore the prevalence of these response patterns throughout American and British societies, transcending the boundaries of the state. It will critically examine the intricate interplay between the state, media, various interest groups, and individuals, highlighting how these entities collectively contribute to shaping the overall response to refugees. By adopting a multidimensional perspective, this chapter seeks to provide a comprehensive understanding of the complex dynamics at play and the resultant impact on the lives of displaced individuals. Further, by assessing historical developments, it aims to uncover patterns, shifts, and continuities in the treatment of refugees. Furthermore, this chapter explores the comparative experiences of two distinct refugee groups, namely, the Irish and Muslims, shedding light on how their presence has been perceived and responded to within the American and British contexts.

Aid:

As previously mentioned, the Great Famine in Ireland took place between 1845 – 1849 and had catastrophic effects on the Irish people. Unfortunately, the humanitarian movement can be traced back to the 1860's, which succeeds that of the greatest Irish era of migration.

The dominant theory during the 1840's was that of inaction. The highly influential book of economic pessimist Thomas Robert Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population*, surmised that a stark depreciation in the standard of living was nature's method of population control. Populations increased during times of greater food availability until the population expenditure outpaced subsistence production. Further, the moral actions of the population mirrored this flux. In times of excess, vice and immoral actions were common, such as a low standard of living and laziness. Famines and disease 'reset' the population to a more virtuous and moral state. The lowest economic classes of people were believed to be impacted most as a result of how easily their morals could be corrupted (Brotten, 2017). With respect to Ireland specifically, Malthus proposed "to give full effect to the natural resources of the country a great part of the population should be swept from the soil" (Mokyr, 1980). This, in line with other laissez-faire economic beliefs, dominated the response to the crisis.¹⁴ Therefore, public work projects such as the Peelite Relief Programmes were set up in 1845 as a way of making the Irish work, earn very little, and try to sustain their already starving bodies under further stress from intense physical labour (Donnelly, 2001). Aid came at a very literal price - at its peak 715,000 people were working ten hours a day in horrific conditions. While £4 million was paid out during this time, this was considered a loan by the government and the Irish were expected to pay this back (Nally, 2011). On the part of the previously mentioned Sir Charles Trevelyan, his extensive work to push a narrative of the Irish as lazy and of deserving the disaster resulted in the British government removing the backing of the Peelite Relief Programmes. It was shut down by the end of 1846 even though in the same year ninety per cent of the potato crop had failed and millions continued to starve, flee if possible and die if not (Ó'Murchadha, 2011). To further compound these effects, exports of Irish food and livestock were increased by Britain over the course of the Famine. In 1847, for example, the exporting of Irish calves increased by 33% to over 10,000 (O'Grada, 2014).

¹⁴ Laissez-faire politics refers to a hands-off approach by the government or policymakers regarding the provision of aid and assistance to individuals or communities in need. It advocates for minimal government intervention and limited regulation in matters of aid distribution and welfare support. The underlying principle of laissez-faire politics is that free markets and individual actions should determine the allocation of resources, including aid, rather than relying on centralized government control (Field & Green, 2009).

Though the British governmental response to Ireland was largely dormant during the years of the Famine, there were some efforts by British socio-political figures and associations that did seek to provide aid at the time. In line with Malthusian beliefs, however, these interventions came with strings attached. The aid came with a condition and were designed as means of achieving ideals that the dominant country sought after. Within this context, religion was the focus. The perception that the Famine was a manifestation of divine punishment towards the Irish due to their perceived flaws, including their Catholicism, was actively propagated by influential civil servants stationed in Ireland. This narrative, deliberately provided to the British press, allowed certain Protestants to advance their own self-interests effectively. Reverend Edward Nangle of the Church of England is one such example of a provider of 'aid' with stringent conditions attached, using the Famine as a chance at religious imperialism. From his base in Dugort, Achill Island (County Mayo) Nangle embarked on a campaign of what would become known as 'souperism'. Nangle, through 34 schools, would offer an education and food to starving nearby children, but only on the condition of receiving Protestant religious teaching. Nothing was offered to the poor by the "Apostle of Achill" without an "exchange for consciences" (O'Cathaoir, 2002). While many converted in order to gain access to food their true allegiance would be tested through the 'aid' supplied to them by Nangle. Soups containing meat would be deliberately served to the starving on Fridays – something Catholics were forbidden to do (Kinealy & MacAtasney, 2000). For the closely associated Irish Relief Association their 'aid' was entirely underscored with a desire for conversion and the conditions that were linked with their supply, writing in a report: "primarily, it is the duty of those who have received, to promulgate and bring men under the power and saving influence of the gospel of Christ" (1847). This is a clear indication that aid was a weapon which was wielded to the meet the ideals of the dominant country.

Today, aid is seen a vastly different light. In the age of humanitarianism, aid is seen as a necessary response to times of great struggle. Countries, both directly and indirectly through the United Nations or the like, expend resources to struggling countries as means of promoting the overall welfare of their population. Societal perception of aid is that of virtue. While this can certainly be the case, these endeavours still serve political ends. In contrast to the virtue it espouses, aid now acts as means of containment, such as through refugee

camps. Preference for salvation, seemingly provided by the philanthropy of the British-American world (Mamdani, 2002), is often given to those who remain within camps in neighbouring (non-European countries), as they are the “real” victims (Fiddian-Qamiyeh, 2017). The Mediterranean crossing undertaken by refugees which was widely reported on in 2015 is one of the most prominent modern-day examples, of those who extend themselves beyond the control of the refugee camp and into the host state. This peaked in September of the aforementioned year, when an image the body of three year old Alan Kurdi from Syria washed up on the shore of a Turkish beach as he and his family attempted to cross into Europe and from there to Canada (Rayner, 2015) (Fantz & Schoichet, 2015) (Austen, 2015). An analysis of this exact situation, and how it relates to the UK within a wider context, fully unveils the binary between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ refugee. Following a chronological timeline that goes back to 2014, the year before Kurdi’s drowning, Britain announced that they would not “support future search and rescue operation to prevent migrants and refugees drowning in the Mediterranean” as a deterrent to further crossing attempts. Lady Anelay, Foreign Office minister, announced their focus instead would shift to the “countries of origin and transit” (Travis, 2014). While Cameron would admit by April of 2015 that such an approach was not going to work (Mason, 2015), in June of 2015 they shifted from rescuing refugees to only attempting to “identify, capture and dispose” smuggler vessels. By the end of July following this tactic change, the UK had not rescued a single refugee from the Mediterranean despite it being the high season for crossing. As evidence of this, German and Italian naval vessels, for instance, rescued 2,500 people from 13 boats on July 15th alone (Travis, 2015). This shift coincided with comments being made by Cameron who utilised divisive language to describe the “swarms” of people coming across the Mediterranean, evoking images of insects rather than human beings (BBC, 2015). Following the tragic death of Kurdi on the 3rd September, Cameron would have a drastic change in tone and announce instead that the British would have a much more proactive stance and accept 20,000 refugees into the UK over five years. While framed as the UK “living up to its moral responsibility” following the death of Kurdi, who’s death had “deeply moved” the country, there were underlying conditions to the offer. Those being that the offer was not being extended to refugees already in Europe, as this would again “encourage” further crossings. Instead, only those living in formal refugee camps were to be chosen, and even then, the priority would be to

keep them “in the region” rather than opting for “resettlement in the UK” (Wintour, 2015). This implies a preference for supporting refugees closer to their home countries rather than facilitating their resettlement in the UK, and has the implication that those who attempt to autonomously enter are bad for doing so. During times of intense interest, as stirred through Kurdi’s death, gestures are made toward maintaining the idea of having a high moral standard, however upon inspection nothing truly changed. Still, both before and after the needless death of a toddler and countless more people that is still occurring today (Médecins Sans Frontières, 2019), next to nothing was done to protect people crossing the Mediterranean into Europe. Only those who stayed in their countries of origin or neighboring states, awaiting assistance from the British, were deemed worthy of being rescued. Those who attempted to take control of their own lives were no longer seen as deserving of help. As a result, the British perception of refugees, while attempting to uphold a sense of justice and fairness, seems to use "aid" as a deceptive means to keep them at a distance.

Limitation of Rights:

Legislation serves as a convenient means for the provider to achieve the goal of creating space between the host state and the refugee. The legislative tactics used can be categorized into two distinct approaches: restricting the progress of potential settlers and curtailing the rights of those who do settle. As asserted by Wilson and Mavelli (2017) hosts respond with “narrow policy responses, exclusionary politics, and a growing trend towards ‘securitizing’ forced migration”. With reference to the modern-day situation, there is plenty evident of this phenomenon. In terms of limiting arrivals American president Donald Trump both prior and once he had ascended to his position in 2016, has called for a ban on the entry of people from five Muslim majority countries.¹⁵ Beginning at the end of 2015, he began calling for “a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States”,

¹⁵ Executive Order 13769 called for a ban of migration from Libya, Syria, Iran, Somalia, Yemen and Sudan. Sudan was removed upon further revision of the document.

which he would defend by stating that “Islam hates us... we can’t allow people coming into this country who have this hatred of the United States” (Wolf, 2018). Often using times of increased mistrust for those from an Arabic background, such as after a terrorist attack in 2017 which took place in London, his agenda would be pushed further with more tweets (Trump). Three attempts by the Trump administration marked 2017 using Executive Orders and a Presidential Proclamation and were used to try and implement measures to limit Arabic migration.¹⁶ While initially the effects only held for between 90 – 120 days, revisions to the Orders and related documentation have led to the desired outcome of denying Muslim refugees immigration. While this “colourful style” of articulation would be a huge component as to why the Ban would be repeatedly struck down in court (Barbash & Hawkins, 2017), its continued popularity at Trump rallies reflects the reality that it is a favoured topic of his agenda. Implementation came at a cost to Trump’s rhetoric, however. This includes the editing of the Trump campaign website and the removal of the text “Donald J. Trump’s Statement on Preventing Muslim Immigration” after it was brought to the attention of then Press Secretary Sean Spicer (Barbash, 2017). Additionally, two other countries were added to the list of those facing restrictions; North Korea and Venezuela, neither of which are Muslim majority. Consequently, this enabled the Trump team to make the argument that their actions were not specifically aimed at Muslims, but rather indirectly contributed to the continued securitization of the issue (Eroukhmanhoff, 2018). The Ban served as a means of altering previous administrative initiatives aimed at facilitating the entry of migrants into the country. It closely associated the terms 'refugee' with 'Islam' and 'terrorism'. Given that the initial Order was aimed at *Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States* and suspended the US Refugee Resettlement Program (White House, 2017), this line of association is clearly drawn, and has real effects. Syrian refugee resettlement to the US from Jordan and Lebanon has “plummeted 94 per cent in just over three years”. As of April 2019, 219 Syrian refugees had arrived in the US from Jordan and Lebanon, with 650 being predicted to arrive by the end of the year. In contrast to this, in 2016 11,204 Syrian refugees from Jordan and Lebanon were accepted into the US (Amnesty International, 2019). These policies make evident the clear correlation being

¹⁶ Executive Orders 13769 (White House, 2017); 13780 (Homeland Security, 2017); Presidential Proclamation 9645 (US Department of State, 2017).

drawn in legislation by politicians that directly target those seeking asylum, refugees and those with a Muslim background.

The origins of this American framing of heightened ethnic tension between the 'native' and the religiously zealous 'invader' can be traced back to the initial waves of Irish immigration. According to William H.A Williams (1996):

"Irish Catholics were in many respects the first 'ethnic' group in America and the first immigrant group to arrive in extremely large numbers, to high visibility by clustering in cities..., and to appear sufficiently 'different' in religion and culture so that acceptance by native-born Americans was not automatic, and assimilation was, therefore, prolonged".

International convention, however, altered the way in which people were denied from the United States. Today, a refugee must await on foreign soil the granting of entrance to the United States while a rigorous screening process is performed. In contrast, during the 19th century the lack of protocol meant that there was no such waiting but simply those who had the money for passage to the States could attempt the crossing. This crossing, especially during the Great Famine, came at a great cost to the refugee, with the vessels on which they crossed coming to be known as "coffin ships" that had a mortality rate of between 20 and 50 per cent (Laxton, 1996).

This required for the policies that fought this migration to target those who had already arrived, in order to deter further voyages. These deportation laws, however, had never been seen before, and were the first in American history. They were first introduced during the Famine in the 1840s in states such as Massachusetts and New York, with Massachusetts going to great lengths to disrupt migratory efforts. Deportability was defined on the basis of "legal settlement – a symbol of membership in the state". However, only those born in America could acquire legal settlement. Additionally, according to the law if found to have broken the law non-naturalised citizens could be deported, and given the prejudice associated with Irish refugees they were often rendered without rights and at the mercy of hostile law enforcement of the area in which they sought to reside. Even those who had not broken any law could face expulsion, especially mentally ill or destitute women, and while the law mandated a warrant and due process for removal many were not provided the

luxury. Raids were often conducted on mental institutions and workhouses to flush out the Irish inside, and even children born to Irish immigrants on American soil faced the same fate as their parents. These deportees were placed on coffin ships again and sent back across the Atlantic to places such as Liverpool and left “without basic provisions for self-support, such as food, clothes and money” (Hirota, 2017).

These local efforts accumulated on a federal level with the Immigration Act of 1882, which restricted certain classes of people “likely at any time to become a public charge” such as the criminal, insane or the stupid, traits linked closely with the stereotypical Irish (Fox, 1991). Further Acts were also passed, such as one in 1891 which saw the establishment of inspection stations such as the Ellis Island Immigrant Hospital in 1892. This move had overtones of racial superiority and was connected with the eugenic movements of the time. Three forms of illnesses were screened – physical, mental and moral - with anyone found in breach of the outlined protocol being sent back to the country of origin, as they were seen as a threat to the American race (Goddard, 1911).

Consequently, while there is a distinction in the distance from which the British-American world keeps the ‘other’ at bay, be it from a few thousand miles or from their doorstep, and with or without international conventions pertaining to proper care of migrants, the underlying principles remain. That being that those who are attempting to enter are a threat and therefore should be treated as such, and therefore those who are worthy should be ‘weaned’ from those who are not incredibly careful. Further, both instances provide us with the focus of the public imagination, with those being points of entry, be it crossing the Mediterranean or the Atlantic, using visas or not.

It is worthwhile, however, to mention that despite the efforts made to limit Irish migration it was not as successful as that of the modern-day legislative actions taken to stop Arab refugees. The number of Catholic Irish refugees far exceeded that of Arabs today by millions. Further, Irish migrants benefited from the lack of international protections and limitations placed on the those with refugee status. However, one of the greatest successes made by the Irish to integrate in America was their ability to vote in local and state

elections. Though unfortunate in terms of living standards, their settlement in poor neighbourhoods of Boston and New York did give them a large political footprint. Tammany Hall, a political organisation in New York City, is an example of this. As a political machine they controlled the Democratic Party nomination in the city. Their endurance to help the city's poor through providing legal aid and food, endeared them to Irish immigrants, who then largely controlled the organisation post-1850 (Golway, 2015). This gave the Irish a vessel through which they could meet their own political ends, as well as providing them with a sense of power and voice among the greater population. They were able to take control of state- or municipal-run organizations such as the police departments and school systems. This enabled a system through which they were able to adjust the narrative surrounding their community, and to further support their own integration (Sanders, 2018).

Physical Violence:

Physical violence can be regarded as a significant manifestation of the overall response to the perception of the 'other', as it is often extensively publicized due to its tangible nature and its ability to capture attention in various forms of media. Today, members of the Muslim faith who find themselves in the West can become targets of aggression and outright violence. There are countless examples of this being the case in the West whereby the motivations for the attacks are often linked with the perceived racial and religious background of the victim(s) involved. For example, in 2022, Muslims were the target of the largest number of hate crimes in the UK, accounting for 42% or 8,307 incidents, outnumbering any other minority group (Al Jazeera, 2022). In the eyes of the perpetrators of these crimes their violence is simply a response in tit-for-tat manner to the attacks made on them. This, of course, has been previously mentioned with reference to the 2019 terrorist attack in Christchurch.

Other examples can also be found, including an incident in October of 2017 in Manchester, England whereby a 12-year-old boy stamped on a Muslim boy of Syrian descents head while he and a group of friends shouted racial slurs at the victim. Their motivation for attack was

directly related to the fact that 2017 was marked by three major terrorist attacks in the UK carried out by people of Muslim faith in Manchester and London (Britton, 2017) (Dearden, 2018). These young boys were not alone, the same year was marked by an increase of religious hate crime by 40 per cent in England and Wales in direct correlation to the timing of the aforementioned terrorist attacks. Of those, most of the attacks were aimed at Muslims (UK Home Office, 2018).

Across the Atlantic in the United States, Muslims were the subject of 763 separate incidents from 2012 to mid-2018, and many of these attacks came directly after terrorist attacks carried out by Arabic people, or Muslims. These signs of aggression range from opposition to refugee resettlement to hate crimes against mosques or Islamic centres (New America, 2018). From this the conclusions that can be drawn are clear – when the media focuses heavily on the savagery of the 'other' they aid and abet those who wish to be violent toward said group, and this is evident in the response to the 'bad' refugee.

A distinct disparity in media coverage of these events allows for this cycle to continue further, as research by the Global Terrorism Database (2018) found. They discovered that between 2006 and 2015, on average, attacks by non-Muslims received 15 headlines in comparison to those committed by Muslims which numbered 105. This is despite the fact that, within the same time period, twice as many terrorist attacks were carried out by white and right-wing terrorists. In all, the attacks conducted by the 'other' are amplified. A similar study also revealed alarming statistics, those being that Muslim attacks received 357 per cent more media coverage than those committed by non-Muslims (Kearns, et al., 2018). Both indicate that the narrative of the Arabic outsider being an aggressor to the West is pushed by the media and allows for the physical use of violence against them to be perpetuated further.

Hate crime legislation was introduced in the United Kingdom and the United States in 1965 and 1968, respectively. Regrettably, due to the timing of these legislative measures, there is a lack of available statistics regarding the specific number of crimes committed against Irish Catholic refugees based on their ethnicity and/or religion during the 19th century. However, this absence of statistics does not negate the fact that violence was frequently employed as a response to Irish Catholics. There are two major instances that reflect this as being the

case during the 19th century in America – in Charleston, Massachusetts in 1834, and the Bible Riots in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania in 1844. Both incidents took place as a culmination of tension between the host and invader and was seen as protection of native interests. In the Charleston incident, which centred on an Ursuline Catholic convent, violence conducted by a Protestant mob was aimed at the protection of a young Protestant student of the school, Rebecca Reed. Reed had joined the school in 1831 and decided to enter the Ursuline novitiate the following year. However, after six months as a postulant she left suddenly, and wrote a book detailing her time spent there and the indoctrination she had fallen victim to by the nuns (Reed, 1835). Alongside this, a Boston newspaper reported that a Protestant orphan had been bought by the Order through manipulation and hidden in the convent for unknown use (Tager, 2001). These reported issues, along with others surrounding other damsels in distress including the nuns of the convent itself, resulted in the burning down of the convent in August 1834 by a group of more than 2,000 people (Prioli, 1996). Two details of the event link it with Irish Catholics specifically. Firstly, that during the mob burnings a nearby Irish pub was also burnt to the ground (Goddard Whitney, 1877). Secondly, upon the arrival of the mob at the convent, the mother superior was reported to have warned them that the Bishop would lead “twenty thousand of the vilest Irishmen” to avenge the action (Hamilton, 1996), asserting a closeness between the convent and the Irish community. Playing on the previously discussed sexual aspect of the Catholic Church and its perceived depravity, this indicates that the Irish of Boston were not to be trusted and were co-conspirators and supporters of the acts conducted by the Church. Another incident in 1844 in Philadelphia saw violence erupting from tension created by the perceived idea that Catholics were encroaching on Protestant values. Over the course of three months of May to July, nativist groups in the city denounced the Catholics while holding meetings within Catholic neighborhoods. They were angered by the increasing numbers of Irish Catholics arriving in the city, and much of the reason offered by nativists was the belief that Irish Catholics were attempting to remove Protestant Bible teaching from public schooling (Grubbs, 2018). They called on Americans to “defend themselves from the bloody hand of the Pope”, which resulted in various acts of brutality breaking out between the two groups. Over the course of the three months fifteen people died, two of whom were burnt alive, and another 50 were injured. Two Catholic churches were also burned to the ground (Lannie

The Making of a 'Bad' Refugee: Establishing a Correlation in the American and British Perception of the Current Middle Eastern Refugee Crisis and Irish Catholic Immigration in the 18th – 19th Century

& Diethorn, 1968). Grand juries assembled to find the culprits of each outbreak of savagery found Irish Catholics to be responsible, even if it was not always true (Tager, 2001).

Conclusion:

The response of British and American societies to refugees has evolved since the largest wave of Irish immigration in the 1800's. In the context of aid, during the Great Famine in Ireland, the response from the British government was largely dormant, with limited and conditional assistance provided. Aid was seen as a means to achieve the ideals and religious imperialism of the dominant country, rather than a genuine effort to alleviate suffering. In contrast, today, aid is viewed as a virtue and a necessary response to times of great struggle. However, even in modern times, aid can be used as a means of containment and to maintain distance between host states and refugees.

In terms of the limitation of rights, historical legislation and policies in both America and Britain have aimed at restricting the progress of potential settlers and curtailing the rights of refugees. Examples include Donald Trump's attempted ban on the entry of people from Muslim-majority countries and the securitization of forced migration. These measures have been implemented to create a space between the host state and refugees, associating the terms 'refugee' with 'Islam' and 'terrorism'. Similarly, in the historical context of Irish immigration, Irish Catholics faced discrimination and were not automatically accepted by native-born Americans, prolonging the process of assimilation.

Overall, the response of America and Britain towards 'bad' Irish and Arabic refugees has evolved from a historical context of limited and conditional aid, discriminatory attitudes, and the securitization of forced migration to a modern context of viewing aid as a virtue but still using it as a means of containment. The limitation of rights has shifted from overt discrimination based on religion and culture to more complex legislative tactics and securitization. The comparative experiences of the Irish and Muslim refugees highlight the changing dynamics and societal responses within American and British contexts.

Discussion

Given that the profiles of the Irish Catholic and Arab Refugee have been established, this discussion section will seek to properly extrapolate on the main research question of this study: *What are the shared patterns and distinctions in the responses of American and British media towards Irish Catholic refugees during the 18th and 19th centuries, and refugees from the Middle East during the 21st century?* The same will be done with the sub-research question: *How has the response of America and Britain towards 'bad' Irish and Arabic refugees evolved over time?* In doing so, the similar patterns and differences in the profiles established will be discussed. In the conclusion of this study, I will elaborate on the aims of this research, how it contributes to broader discourse, its limitations, and potential areas for future research.

Comparing and Contrasting Refugee Profiles:

While the Irish Catholic refugees and refugees from the Middle East have distinct profiles as portrayed, there is a common underlying narrative that emerges from the media responses towards both groups. Despite these differences, the media coverage of both groups ultimately seeks to serve the same overarching narrative.

With relation to faith, the refugee groups' perceived deep affiliation plays greatly into why they fall victim to discrimination upon arrival into a territory that does not share that same religion. The religiosity of both groups becomes a focal point for the media, albeit in different ways. The perceived overt nature in which it is expressed through, for instance in dress or practice, is deemed as problematic or barbaric. The colonial nature of British-American media grants it the capability of taking 'ownership' of modernity, and thus this "colonial project" allows them to grant groups and countries the status of "modern and premodern" based on criteria they determine. "Modern" culture equates to creativity and its expression, and fundamentally "what being human is all about", whereas those deemed premodern are trapped by culture deemed "mummified" and that which they have no

power but to “conform to” (Mamdani, 2002). The perpetuation of this notion is frequently evident when it is masked by other concerns, ultimately positioning the arrival of Irish and Arab refugees as opposed to “modernity,” rendering them susceptible to attacks and vulnerable in their new surroundings. This validates the feelings already held by those wishing for those entering to be considered as Other and cultivates further resentment and a call for action.

In regard to sexuality, when considering the framing of the sexual aspect of the ‘bad’ refugee, here lies some divergence between the two groups. While Muslims are widely considered to be non-compliant with Western society based on their conservatism, the inverse is true for Irish Catholics. This, as with faith, is simply reflective of the society that the immigrants enter and the role they play in it. As argued by Michel Foucault in *The History of Sexuality* (1978), the accomplishment of “normative” sexuality is achieved through establishing an implicit discourse on what is “deviant” or “unnatural”. Furthermore, by going to such lengths to create this narrative, feelings of sexual pleasure are also conjured, and thus this eroticizes the Other. Therefore, characterization and stereotypes attributed to the 'Other' play a pivotal role in defining the boundaries of acceptability within the dominant group. The Muslim refugee, for instance, is perceived as holding highly conservative beliefs regarding marriage and women's rights, which directly conflict with liberal Western ideals. Paradoxically, in the eyes of Christian conservative groups in the UK and America, their conservative stance is deemed flawed as they practice polygamy—an act considered too liberal for proper acceptance. Popular contemporary discourse on Irish Catholics suggests sexual deviancy that has extended from their natural character and has been institutionalized into the Catholic Church. While the religious chokehold of the Muslim faith has sought to entrap its followers, the opposite is true for Irish Catholics who have instead infiltrated and ruined their own religion. This lack of control of Irish Catholics base instincts juxtaposes with the overcompensating Muslim, but result in sexually deviant behavior when left to their own devices.

Gender also follows this same process. Ultimately, when all is considered in the two contexts, the ‘other’ woman serves the dominant narrative in much the same sense regardless of which group is being analyzed. The ‘primitive’ woman offers to her mistress,

be that within the home or in the public space, an opportunity through comparison to assert her own dominance, and the chance to take a paternal role in guiding the other woman into how she should be. This form, of course, mirrors that of the dominant woman herself, who is the pinnacle of what it is to truly be a virtuous woman. The framing of the Irish Bridget sought to destroy the homebound, houseproud delicate 19th century woman with her brutish and dominant manner. She entered the space allotted to the dominant woman for her to control and questioned her ability and validity to do so. This contrasts with the Muslim woman, who instead opposes the modern liberal woman who exists in public space according to her Western feminist ideals. Both characterizations of the refugees, however, are equally an affront and an opportunity, as they can be considered as a cry for help which the dominant woman to cater to. If correctly managed, they may be wielded to the dominant woman's benefit in achieving greater visibility within her domain.

The final element of what makes a 'bad' refugee pertains to the idea of the refugee as harbouring and facilitating chaos in terms of violence and stately destruction. This disfunction, within the Western imagination, originates inherently to the refugee as seen in their homeland, and has real potential to spread this disorder in their new home. Terrorism, and acts of great and indiscriminate violence are and were closely associated with both groups, regardless of the contact the wider community may have had with the violence itself. The portrayal of the refugee as nationalistic plays a significant role in shaping their identity and propensity for violence, as they are depicted as being driven by strong convictions towards their homeland. This renders them more untrustworthy within the dominant groups narrative of them, as their character is not only defined by their religious beliefs, as previously stated, but also by a staunch sense of patriotism.

The terrorist actions as they are portrayed in American and British media by Irish and Arabs in their acts of terrorism exhibit numerous shared aspects. Firstly, both groups engaged in attacks that had both a domestic and international impact. Secondly, their preferred method of attack predominantly involved the use of explosives. These attacks were primarily carried out in urban areas with the specific aim of instilling public anxiety. Moreover, through their actions, they clearly demonstrated their intentions to commit atrocious acts in order to achieve their goals. These activities were orchestrated and

supervised by terrorist organizations, as highlighted by Whelehan (2014). Furthermore, the Irish and Arab groups were both affected by Britain's imperialistic actions, although the level of British control differed between the two regions. The British Empire exerted authority over Ireland in the 18th and 19th centuries. Further, the prevailing Anglo-Saxon beliefs during the imperial era significantly shaped the situation, perpetuating power dynamics and Othering narratives in the media in the US. While the British formally relinquished control in the Middle East as of the 1970's, the presence of American and British forces in recent decades has preserved a form of neo-colonial involvement.

In comparing the treatment of Irish refugees in the 18th and 19th centuries to modern-day Arab refugees, it is evident that the overt expression of xenophobia has significantly reduced. During the Irish refugee influx, xenophobic sentiment was more openly and unabashedly expressed, with discriminatory actions and policies targeting the Irish population. In contrast, the modern media portrays a more veiled and sophisticated perspective when discussing Arab refugees, employing subtler forms of prejudice and biased narratives. While the means of expression have evolved, the underlying goal of perpetuating negative stereotypes and marginalizing these refugee groups remains consistent. The modern media's approach may be more subtle, but it still contributes to the perpetuation of discriminatory attitudes and practices.

In conclusion, the media's portrayal of Irish Catholic and Middle Eastern refugees reflects the process of "othering". Both groups experience discrimination based on their faith, with religious expressions seen as problematic. The media's framing aligns with a colonial narrative that defines "modernity" based on Western criteria, leaving refugees vulnerable to attack. The perception of refugees as chaotic and violent stems from a Western imagination that associates dysfunction with their homelands. Overall, these processes of othering perpetuate marginalization, reinforce biases, and uphold dominant cultural norms.

Comparing and Contrasting the evolution in responses of the Host State to the 'bad' refugee:

Britain's aid response to the Irish Famine was largely dormant and characterized by inaction. Public work programs were established, but they were designed to make the Irish work under harsh conditions rather than providing genuine aid. British socio-political figures and associations did provide some aid, but it often came with strings attached. Aid efforts were influenced by religious motives, with attempts to convert the Irish to Protestantism and impose certain conditions in exchange for assistance. The modern perception of aid has shifted, considering it a necessary response to crises and a virtue. Humanitarian aid is seen as a means to promote overall welfare and express solidarity between people. However, the aid is often used as a means of containment, such as through refugee camps. There is a preference for providing aid to refugees who remain in neighbouring countries, rather than those who attempt to cross into Europe. The historical response to Irish refugees reflects a dominant view that regarded them as lazy and undeserving of assistance. The British government's actions during the Great Famine and its prioritization of economic interests over humanitarian aid demonstrate a lack of empathy towards the Irish population. The contemporary response to Arabic refugees reveals a complex dynamic. While there are humanitarian efforts to provide aid, the political discourse and actions highlight a distinction between "good" and "bad" refugees. The focus on keeping refugees in neighbouring countries and reluctance to accept refugees already in Europe suggests a selective approach to providing assistance.

Both Irish and Arab refugees experienced restrictions on their rights and were subjected to discriminatory practices. In the case of the Irish during the 18th and 19th centuries, legislation was enacted to curtail their settlement and to curb of their rights, particularly in the United States. Similarly, in the 21st century, American policies, such as the travel ban on individuals from Muslim-majority countries, aimed to limit the entry of Arab refugees and curtail their rights. In both historical and contemporary contexts, there is a trend towards securitizing forced migration. The perception of refugees as potential threats to national security is evident in the restrictive policies implemented against both Irish Catholic refugees and Arab refugees. The securitization discourse is employed to justify exclusionary politics and narrow policy responses. While there has been evolution in how media discourse covers refugees in terms of the relative restraint shown in the use of overtly

xenophobic language, the same cannot be said for legislation. Legislation remains targeted against specific groups with clear objectives for exclusion and marginalisation.

Trends in political and legislative responses that have created differences over time, which creates differences. Firstly, the methods used to restrict the entry and settlement of Irish and Arab refugees have evolved over time and become more sophisticated. During the 18th and 19th centuries, Irish refugees faced deportation laws and deportation raids, targeting those who had already arrived in the host country. In contrast, contemporary measures, such as the travel ban imposed by the Trump administration, aimed at limiting arrivals from specific countries rather than targeting those who had already entered. The legal framework and international conventions pertaining to refugees have also evolved over time. In the 18th and 19th centuries, there were no international protocols or waiting periods for refugees seeking entry to the United States. In the contemporary era, refugees are required to undergo rigorous screening processes and await the granting of entrance while on foreign soil. The establishment of international protections for refugees in the present day has influenced the methods employed by host countries.

Difference in terms of integration also exists, especially as it relates to the ability of groups to gain the right to vote. While Irish refugees faced poor living conditions in slums across the UK and the US, this did benefit them in their collective right to vote. Refugees in America specifically, despite facing discrimination, were able to establish political influence and hold positions of power, as seen in examples like Tammany Hall in New York City. This political integration provided the Irish with a means to advocate for their community's needs and shape the narrative surrounding their integration. Arab refugees are both mostly unable to vote, and exist in such few concentrated numbers as to make significant impact and thus integrate. Overall, while there are shared patterns in the responses of American and British media towards Irish Catholic refugees during the 18th and 19th centuries and refugees from the Middle East during the 21st century, the historical and contemporary contexts present notable distinctions in legislative methods, international conventions, and political integration opportunities for the respective refugee groups.

Both Irish and Arabic refugees have faced violence stemming from the perception of their association with terrorism. For the Irish, this association often arose from the activities of

certain Irish nationalist groups. Similarly, Arabic refugees have been unfairly stigmatized due to the broader association of Islam with terrorism. However, both offer a similar impact on the values of 'modernity' which the US and Britain reign over. The misguided linking of these refugee communities with terrorism exacerbates the hostile environment they face and increases the likelihood of physical violence. By associating Arabic terrorist actions with directly with religion, popular seeks to distance these acts as rebellion against the imperialistic actions of the US and Britain, which was not the case for Irish terrorism.

This is further exasperated by media discourse, which seeks to distinguish the violence perpetuated by the refugees and that which is carried out against them. With that being the case, a strong comparative link stands between the Western view of Arabic Muslims and Irish Catholics. The acts of the hate against the 'other' are always justified, and the actions and characteristics of the refugee are amplified to allow for these acts to take place. In some instances, both Irish and Arabic refugees have suffered from collective punishment. This form of violence extends beyond targeting individuals and aims to send a broader message to the entire community. By subjecting refugees to collective punishment, perpetrators seek to instil fear and maintain a sense of dominance over them. The use of collective punishment further exacerbates the sense of insecurity and vulnerability experienced by the entire refugee community. Often, the native population have responded harshly and horrifically in ways that brutalise the 'other' community, but these actions are downplayed in light of perceived offences done unto them. This, in part, is supported by the media and the institutions that witness and respond to these events. Overall, physical violence is not endorsed but not entirely condoned by the native population and leaves the 'other' vulnerable to further marginalization and attack.

In all, the experiences of Irish and Arabic refugees demonstrate striking similarities regarding the physical violence inflicted upon them due to prejudice and discrimination. Both groups have been subjected to acts of violence and collective punishment, with the perception of association with terrorism exacerbating their vulnerability. The media's role in perpetuating negative stereotypes further contributes to their marginalization and targeted violence. As a result, there are differences in the historical and contemporary contexts and the response of host states has evolved over time. Historical actions during the Irish Famine

reflected a lack of empathy and prioritization of economic interests over humanitarian aid. In contrast, contemporary responses to Arabic refugees exhibit selectivity in aid provision, preferring containment and external support rather than accepting refugees into their own countries. All of this is sought while simultaneously maintaining the narrative that the humanity of Arabic refugees is of paramount importance to the states which seek to exclude them. The challenges of integration and the securitization discourse have also shaped the divergent experiences of these refugee communities.

Conclusion

With regards to academic implications of this study, this study further demonstrates the validity of employing historical case studies as a methodology as the study provides a rich and contextualized analysis of the responses towards different refugee groups over time. Further, from a social constructivist perspective, this study contributes to our understanding of how media representations and public responses construct and reinforce social identities and the process of "othering" in relation to refugee communities. It highlights the role of media in shaping public discourse and perpetuating stereotypes, as well as the power dynamics between the dominant host society and marginalized refugee populations. This study contributes to the wider topic of forced migration, where further research is necessary to deepen our understanding both generally and regarding host states' responses towards refugees specifically. Expanding knowledge in this area would contribute to the advancement of scholarly discourse and inform evidence-based interventions. This topic specifically is deserving of further research as it has demonstrated that by examining the narratives surrounding these two distinct refugee populations, it contributes to the scholarship on forced migration and enhances our understanding. Doing so has contributed to an understanding of the complexities and challenges associated with displacement, asylum-seeking, and refugee protection. It encourages a more nuanced analysis of how refugees are represented and fosters a more comprehensive understanding of the dynamics involved in hosting and responding to refugees.

These findings hold significant potential for application in educational settings, aiming to foster empathy, understanding, and advocacy for refugee rights. Their particular value lies in Ireland and countries with a substantial Irish diaspora, including the UK, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and the US. Given the deep historical connection between the Irish and the traumatic experience of the Great Famine, employing a comparative approach that examines Irish Catholic and Muslim refugees can effectively highlight the shared aspects between these two groups. This approach serves to counteract prevailing narratives that often cast refugees in an entirely negative light, instead presenting a more accurate and humane portrayal of the situation and the individuals involved.

Moreover, comprehending the historical and current portrayal of refugees by American and British media can raise awareness and prompt critical examination of the representation of refugees in the US and UK. By doing so, it challenges the assumptions surrounding refugee narratives and encourages a more nuanced understanding of how these marginalized groups are depicted.

When dealing with research of this kind, the limitations of this study are worth mentioning. Historical records and sources were found to be limited in their coverage, which restricted the depth and accuracy of this analysis. While I sought to always find the original source of a newspaper, this was not always possible to be done through online sources, and thus secondary sources were sought. Another potential limitation is my own identity. As an Irish person with an academic background in Irish politics and history, I have a deep personal understanding and connection to the experiences of Irish refugees. Further, my familiarity with Irish history, culture, and context can provide valuable insights into the nuances of the experiences of Irish refugees. My intent with this study was to raise awareness about the historical mistreatment of Irish refugees and advocate for the rights of Arabic refugees today. By shedding light on their experiences, I hope to contribute to empowering refugee communities across time and fostering a better understanding of their journey to aid in their acceptance in host states. However, bias and subjectivity as well as a heightened emotional involvement are limitations of this study. Further, Irish and Arabic refugees are not monoliths and experiences vary. Thus, this study should be considered as making a contribution to a broader discussion which requires further research. It by no means seeks to diminish each specific group's unique perspective or experience, but instead seeks to highlight the unwavering expression of Othering over time.

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