Department of Political and Social Sciences
Institute of Sociology
Master's Program in "Sociology-European Societies"
Summer 2018
Supervisors: Prof. Dr. Harald Wenzel and Prof. Dr. Markus Kienscherf

Father, Can You Hear Me? The Abject Is In the House.

A Lacanian Analysis of a Case of Xenophobia

Master Thesis

By Mina Jafarisabet

Date of Submission: 21.09.2018

ABSTRACT

This research is an attempt to coalesce sociology and psychoanalysis and to approach less palpable and more insidious aspects of xenophobia. I have used the Lacanian concept of perversion to address the question of xenophobia as a recurrent phenomenon. Once again, xenophobia has reached the point where Europe's death is seen imminent by neo-conservatives like Douglas Murray whose book, *The Strange Death of Europe; Immigration, Identity, Islam* has been my case of study. This is an attempt at understanding xenophobia as a social problem characterized by an essential corporeality that has been neglected in social sciences. I suggest that the xenophobic is the perverse who is calling on the father to stop the flow of abjects into the house. The abjects are *Unheimliche* in Lacan's terms whose appearance in the house has caused phobia in the perverse. In a precise manner, I will practically analyze xenophobia enunciated by Murray in his book and in the end I will suggest what has to be borne in mind in treating xenophobia whose subject is desperately calling for a charismatic leader to show face and lead him to terminate the flow of migration. The xenophobic is making scenery that is a necessity for him to feel satisfied. If the EU forgets her part and is incapable of playing her part in the xenophobic's fantasy the scene collapses.

Keywords: Xenophobia, Perversion, Abjection, *Unheimliche*, Lacan

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction

On 25 August 2018, two foreigners in an argument stabbed a 35-year-old German origin man in Chemnitz to death and this led to a series of anti-immigrant demonstrations in the city of Chemnitz. Some of the demonstrators were shouting, "We are the people," "Get lost" and "You're not welcome here ("Hooligans 'attack immigrants' " 2018)." What did these hooligans want? They asked "fans and sympathizers" to show people "who is in the driver's seat in the city (Ehl 2018)." In Lacanian terms, the xenophobic that I diagnose as the perverse is frustrated with the deficient father and wants to enact the law himself. Slogans like those in these demos in Chemnitz are common among nationalist and xenophobic movements who want to preserve home and put the impure or unclean out. What do we usually put outside our home? Isn't it trash, garbage, or an unwanted child? Or as Georg Lutz, director of Swiss Electoral Studies at the University of Lausanne, said with regard to the poster of a white sheep kicking a black sheep off the Swiss flag promoted by the Swiss People's Party, "an outsider," a foreigner that is not welcome, or if we would want to follow Kristeva, we could say, the abject whose presence in proximity horrifies the subject. There is some corporeality to xenophobia that has been neglected. This is the main aim of this research that is an attempt to coalesce sociology and psychoanalysis of xenophobia. The xenophobic subject is the perverse in the Lacanian sense of the term whose phobic object, the abject, has stepped into the room, just like in Little Hans's phobic imagination when he said he was afraid of a horse comes into his room — what in psychoanalysis is defined as the *Unheimliche* that always appears within a framework. The xenophobic text of a new-conservative author, Douglas Murray, will be the case for me to practice psychoanalysis on xenophobia as a social problem. Based on this case study, I will delve into the articulation of perversion, *Unheimliche*, abjection, and xenophobia. As a Lacanian every analysis I shall be aimed at practice. This research is my practice of Lacanian psychoanalysis on the problem of xenophobia.

The xenophobic subject is jealous of a new arrival that has appeared in the locus of the lack of his mOther. The xenophobic is frustrated with the failed father that has not taken serious action to prohibit the desire of the new arrival and castrate the unsexuated whose "wave," "tide," or "flow" of migration can change European demography, as the

xenophobic claims. The new arrivals are brown and dropped in the sea to be picked up later by Europeans to be saved and rescued—brown and dropped, like what Little Hans calls *lumf* or an abject if Kristeva had to name it. This is where I coordinate the phobia of the xenophobic with that of Little Hans and abjection. This congruency I will explain by the means of the concepts of anxiety, perversion, and abjection.

This research is based on the case study of Douglas Murray's *The Strange Death of Europe; Immigration, Identity, Islam[1]*. Douglas Murray is a British, neoconservative author, journalist and political commentator. Having founded the Centre for Social Cohesion, it is not hard to define his main concern—European identity. And his phobia is losing his identity. Just a quick glance at the chapters of the book can illustrate the map of a phobia. His main target is "multiculturalism" that he defines as grounded in "the tyranny of guilt" has made Europeans "hooked on immigration," while "prophets without honor" through "the pretense of repatriation" have given him "the feeling that the story has run out." The quotations are all taken from the chapter titles of this book. All pages are full of words that can be taken as symptoms of a phobia, which I see as the phobia of the flow of abjects. Here is a paragraph full of phobic images and it is full evidence of the unease and fear that resonate in the words of the xenophobic author talking about his phobic object.

> Yet all the time we skate over, and sometimes fall into, terrible doubts of our own creation. More than any other continent or culture in the world today, Europe is now deeply weighed down with guilt for its past. Alongside this outgoing version of self-distrust runs a more introverted version of the same guilt. For there is also the problem in Europe the story has run out and a new story must be allowed to begin. Mass immigration—the replacement of large parts of the European populations by other people—is one way in which this new story has been imagined: a change, we seemed to think, was as good as a rest. Such existential civilizational tiredness is not a uniquely modern European phenomenon, but the fact that a society should feel like it has run out of steam at precisely the moment when a new society has begun to move in cannot help but lead to vast, epochal changes. (*The Strange Death*:3)

The author of these words is petrified as the changes are "too fast" and "too different" that make him and the likes of him "become something else (ibid.:5)." He does not say what they are becoming, but "else." The object of anxiety, Lacan says, is different from the

---

[1] I refer to it as *The Strange Death* in the following pages.

object whose perception is known, as anxiety is the cut that is always tight-lipped. It is an unopened letter that is being sent off again and again with the seal never broken (Lacan 2018:76). The cause of anxiety is the return of this cast off that is out of the symbolic order. It is the abject that is not within the symbolic. It is the *extimite*. It is traumatic. For Lacan trauma is the hard kernel that has *not* been integrated into the symbolic: this is why the subject cannot speak about it or refers to it as something external to him or her,

Xenophobia is the word for the fear of strangers. In Greek language xenos is a "guest" or a "stranger." Xenophobia, *Marriam Webster* defines as "fear and hatred of strangers or foreigners or of anything that is strange or foreign." Xenophobia when targeted at Muslims is called Islamophobia. Since in the case of the current xenophobia in Europe there is no difference between the two words I'd prefer xenophobia since I believe whether Muslims or not any outsider can fall into the same logic of phobia once seen as threatening. Islamophobia is a term coined in Britain by the Runnymede Trust that was set up to advise the British government on race relations and established the Commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia in 1997 to investigate discrimination against Muslims (Taras 2012:2). Taras argues that the emergence of the fear of Muslims stems from the citations of Richard Morison, who was the author of four religious tracts between 1536 and 1539 for Henry VIII around whose figure he created a cult with patriotic means. Morison called Turks as England's Other, Taras says, because they were loyal to their ruler:

> I am sory that they [Turkes hethen creatures] shoulde so farre excelle us,
> in a thynge that onely perteyneth unto us, and lytell or nothing to them.
> Obedience is the badge of a trewe christen man. (as cited in Taras 2012:3)

Taras (ibid.:3) also cites from Thomas More who also raised the fearful specter of the Turk and even depicted the Pope as friend of them, since after all he wanted separation from Rome:

> All Germany, for all their divers [e] opinions, yet as they agree together
> in profession of Christ's name, so agree they now together in preparation
> of a common power in defense of Christendom against our common
> enemy, the Turk. And I trust in God that this shall not only help us here
> to strengthen us in the war, but also that as God hath caused them to agree
> together in the defense of his name, so shall he graciously bring them to
> agree together in the truth of his faith. (3)

Taras cites from Arthur Dent,

> Even as the Pope brought devastation with his clergy, the Mahometan
> religion swept across Europe with 'martial horsemen and Turkish armies'
> slaughtering many 'by their cruelty and barbarous inhumanity. (ibid.)

The seminal 1997 report of the Runnymede Trust was a consultive document for the British government to make reference to the fear of Muslims pervading Tudor England. The report defined Islamophobia as "unfounded hostility towards Islam" and as

> the practical consequences of such hostility in unfair discrimination
> against Muslim individuals and communities, and to the exclusion of
> Muslims from mainstream political and social affairs. (ibid.:3-4)

Hisham Ramadan and Jeff Shantz (2016) in *Manufacturing Phobia; the Political Production of Fear in Theory and Practice* call for a proper understanding of phobias in sociology. They draw attention to the lack of understanding of phobias, not as an individual disorder but as a social problem. Richards (2013) ranks social phobia the third largest mental health care problem in the world. Whether it's a mental problem, brainwashing, propaganda, irrational or unreasonable, it's true. For instance, Murray writes,

> Mass migration assisted a near-doubling in the size of the Muslim
> population. Between 2001 and 2011, the number of Muslims in England
> and Wales rose from 1.5 million to 2.7 million. (*The Strange Death* 12)

As a Lacanian, I do not try to inspect if it is true or false—the facts that one establishes his logic on. It's not only the author that sees this as an uncontrolled flow of immigrants. Boris Johnson while emphasizing on the importance of integration, used the same concept; helplessly he cannot hide his fear when he says,

> We need to stop moaning about the dam-burst. There is nothing we can
> now do except make the process of absorption as eupeptic as possible.
> (as cited in *The Strange Death:*25-6)

This one quotation is enough to point out the centrality of corporeality in xenophobia. Eupeptic means having good digestion and therefore having good defecation. This is the point where all my analysis will be fixated on from this moment on. Imagine a dam is breaking; the sound of forming ruptures in the wall and the water that is about to flood just like the breaking of the water during labor which every baby has heard before birth upon which event the mother makes "such a row with her screaming (Freud 1977:232)." This horrifying image ends with the birth of a new baby, a new arrival, in case of the xenophobic,

an immigrant. The loud sound of *lumf*, Little Hans's word for shit, falling into chamber by a horse, he says to his father, is what is phobic about a horse.

> His fear of defecation and his fear of heavily loaded carts is equivalent
> to the fear of a heavily loaded stomach. (Freud 1977:226)

I am suggesting that the current xenophobia is the phobia of these abjects, menstrual or excremental, that are flooding Europe and suffocating the place of the lack in the Other. The appearance of immigrants at home, the locus of the desire of the other that has to be empty is the cause of the phobia that I will explain how it has developed in the xenophobic subject.

The fear of foreigners is shaping today's European politics. Europeans are split into two halves over the issue of immigration. Immigration is one of the two top concerns in Sweden, a country with the second highest number of refugees. And the Sweden Democrats are rising high on anti-immigration sentiment. *The Sydney Morning Herald* announces four key issues in the Swedish election according to *Aftonbladet* polls in July and the first issue is refugees and immigrants (Miller 2018). Sweden Democrats are free riding news like the recent one published by *BBC* about the result announced by public broadcaster *SVT* saying that 58% of men convicted in Sweden of rape or attempted rape over past five years were born abroad ("Sweden Rape," 2018). In Italy, "Massimo Trefiletti proudly proclaims himself and his party as fascists (Shah 2018)." Silvio Berlusconi, the leader of Forza Italia, depicts illegal immigrants in Italy as a "social time-bomb ready to explode (ibid.)" He has pledged mass deportations when in power. Paolo Grimoldi a League deputy, who is running for another term in parliament states the reason behind the fear of immigrants; it is not all immigrants that are terrifying Europe. It is Muslims. Xenos are Muslim. It is the fear of Muslims that is overriding Europe. He says,

> It's better to take immigrants from Ukraine… they are Christians, or from
> Belarus, they are not Muslims and they cannot be terrorists. (ibid.)

In Slovenia, an anti-immigration opposition party won the parliamentary election (Novak 2018). In Poland, a far-right march took place with 60,000 participants among whose banners you could see slogans like "pure blood, clear mind" and "Europe will be white or uninhabited (Kelly and Pawlak 2018)." Paid for some of the travels of the participants but did "not regret the decision to support the trip," Lucjusz Nadberezny, called the November

Independence Day march a "safe and joyous manifestation of patriotism (ibid)." "Middle East migrants could bring parasites and diseases to Poland," the powerful leader of the PiS said in 2015. Immigrants are associated with diseases that are mostly infectious.[2] Once again the corporeality of the fear is obvious. Reuters reported a 300 percent rise in hate crimes between 2013 and 2016, based on the result published by Warsaw University's Centre for Research on Prejudice. Poland like Hungary has refused to take any of its European Union quota of refugees as it sees them as a threat to national security and stability. Immigrants are not only a threat to the identity as they are to the body. Morawiecki once said that,

> We will not accept refugees, migrants from the Middle East and Africa.
> This is our sovereign decision. (ibid.)

And in Hungary, Viktor Orbán was elected for a fourth term. He is a well-known anti-immigrant. This unscrupulous manifestation of xenophobia can be capsulated in the word *perversion* in its Lacanian sense as Lacan says that perversion is where

> All manner of nuances are called forth, rising up in tiers from shame to prestige, from buffoonery to heroism, whereby human desire in its entirety is exposed, in the deepest sense of the term, to the desire of the other. (Lacan 1998: 221)

Xenophobia is not a new problem in Europe. The fear of foreigners can be traced back to 1553 when Henry's VIII's eldest daughter decided she was going to solve the problem of a multicultural London (Taras 2012:1). The anti-immigrant populism that is threatening the whole Europe is a *barbarism with a human face,[3]* as Žižek calls it (2014a). He argues that it is an enactment of a regression from "the Christian ethic of 'love thy neighbor' back to the pagan privileging of the tribe over the barbarian Other." He then continues,

> The defenders of Europe against the immigrant threat are doing much the same. In their zeal to protect the Judeo-Christian legacy, they are ready to forsake what is most important in that legacy. The anti-immigrant defenders of Europe, not the notional crowds of immigrants waiting to invade it, are the true threat to Europe. (ibid.)

---

[2] A quick search on the diseases associated with immigration can be helpful like tuberculosis, helminthiasis, measles, rubella, rabies, etc..

[3] The title of a book by Bernard-Henri Lévy.

Žižek warns about xenophobia,

> These passions have always been there, lurking; what's new is the outright shamelessness of their display. Imagine a society which has fully integrated into itself the great modern axioms of freedom, equality, the right to education and healthcare for all its members, and in which racism and sexism have been rendered unacceptable and ridiculous. But then imagine that, step-by-step, although the society continues to pay lip service to these axioms, they are de facto deprived of their substance. (ibid.)

Hook also warned about this growing hatred before the refugee crisis hit Europe,

> Still growing levels of intolerance, racist hostility and hatred even in societies where equality and democracy have become enshrined ideals. (Hook 2006:10)

Xenophobia has shaken Europe to its bones inasmuch as it can make Europe doubt its principles such as democracy. Viktor Orbán, the right-wing Hungarian prime minister said once:

> Let us hope that God will help us and we will not have to invent a new type of political system instead of democracy that would need to be introduced for the sake of economic survival … Co-operation is a question of force, not of intention. Perhaps there are countries where things don't work that way, for example in the Scandinavian countries, but such a half-Asiatic rag-tag people as we are can unite only if there is force. (Žižek 2014b)

This explicit hatred of strangers or I should say Muslims has been rationalized in recent years and disguised under the loads of facts to show how immigrants can be a threat to Europe. Žižek (2015) describes it, a new *rational* anti-immigration policy among European liberal democrats who reject the open racism but at the same time "understand the concerns" of ordinary people.

We can trace the trauma of being overtaken by Muslims back to the Byzantine Empire. It is interesting to read the article in *Wikipedia* that is the first and mostly only source for our children to look for an answer. It says,

> The Byzantine Empire, already *weakened* by *misrule*, was *left* divided and in chaos. *Taking advantage* of the situation, the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum began seizing territory in Western Asia Minor, until the Nicaean Empire was able to repulse the Seljuk Turks from the remaining territories still under Roman rule. (Emphasis by me)

The weakened successor, the impotent father, or the father who has not allegedly functioned well to save the country from invaders is blamed for the loss. And now this can happen again, if the flow of Muslims is not controlled. That's how the book of Douglas Murray starts, depicting the death of Europe due to this misrule. Things are so much out of control, as Murray claims that nothing can be done to save Europe anymore (1-2). Immigrants, Murray says, are dropped in the sea to be picked up by the ships remind one of the dead body of Alan Kurdi that was washed up to the shore. There is a virulent twist to the myth of the stork that brings children to their parents (Chapter Three and Six). The stork can also bring stillborn and disabled children. Perhaps, it was the stork that dropped Alan Kurdi as a punishment on the lap of Europe instead of his mother. The stork in European culture can bring children to their mother. This story was told to Little Hans whose parents always came up with different explanations than a real one to tell him about the sudden appearance of his little sister toward whom he developed jealousy — a fact that is very important to my analysis of xenophobia and its relevance to abject which I will explain in Chapter Five.

The Strange Death is a succinct enunciation of the author's phobia of Muslims that he thinks have brought the death on Europe. The author is starts his book by mourning the imminent death of Europe,

> Europe is committing suicide. Or at least leaders have decided to commit
> suicide. Whether the European people choose to go along with this is,
> naturally, another matter. (1)

But it is not the first time Europe is terrified to its bone with immigration. The fear keeps coming back to Europe. Žižek (1998) and following him Hook (2006) referred to racism's "uncanny logic of return" and I say the same in reference to xenophobia that in my opinion racism is a form of xenophobia. This in psychoanalysis is an indicator of a trauma. In psychoanalysis one does not try to verify the words of the *analysand*.[4] Thus, I will ignore the numbers that the author uses to make his point and make the reader realize the depth of the disaster. As no matter if the analysand is saying the truth or not, he is revealing the structure of his unconscious. A Lacanian would never look for evidence or attempt at making the analysand see the *real* truth.

---

[4] Lacanian definition for patient in psychology.

Jennifer Rankin (2018) in *The Guardian* names the EU's tolerance for Brexit and the same attitude by other countries as the reason for Orbán's unscrupulous anti-immigration. Everyone was expecting Orbán to end his "peacock dance" as he himself has called it, and become "moderate" and "reasonable." Rankin sees the technocratic approach of the EU in dealing with Hungary's recent behaviors *inadequate*.[5] I will associate this inadequacy with perversion and the xenophobic's fear of the abjects. Orbán has been using the money from the EU and not abide by the rules. She depicts this problem of the current permissive leaders of the EU,

> The EU is a club of liberal democracies that depends on independent courts and checks and balances in its member states. Despite the high stakes, there are few signs European leaders are ready to challenge Viktor Orbán.

This endurance of the EU has been seen before when the president of the European Commission, Jean-Claude Juncker said that he does not expect an "amicable divorce" but it was never "a tight love affair anyway (Cooper 2016)." I believe that the EU will establish a "Name-of-the-Father" [6] for the member estates upon completion of Brexit. It's meaningful the results that *the Financial Times* on 10 July 2018 reported. It says there has been observed a sharp fall in anti-immigration among Britons (Blitz 2018; Mance 2018). It is markedly lower than the result taken in 2015 before the Brexit referendum campaign. In my conclusion, I will return to Brexit and its role in the future of xenophobia in Europe.

The xenophobic that is the perverse is not a "naughty" child. He is the most conservative and the most docile child of all time. He devotes himself to the desire of the Other. Hyldgaar explains,

> It is a common idea that a perverse practice undermines laws, conventional norms, and morals, that the perverse subject is some sort of avant-garde against a bigoted heterosexual hegemony. In the following I would like to argue that perversion, if anything, represents a conservatory factor by disavowing what psychoanalysis calls the lack of the Other, that, on the contrary, it is a neurotic structure that makes room for the possibility of change.

The failure of the paternal metaphor is known as the cause of perversion. The

---

[5] But just a week ago the EU took for the first time action against Hungary's violation of democracy. (see "EU Parliament Votes" 2018)
[6] Lacanian term for the law.

permissive father or in a more precise manner, the failure of the introduction of the symbolic order to the child or in short his lack of articulation of a firm "No!" to the child's unquenchable wanting of mother is the cause of disavowal and perversion. The perverse is the child that needs to be born into language, the symbolic order, or the law. The person who introduces the law, the symbolic order, or the "No" is metaphorically speaking the father who is also the rival. Rivalry constitutes the ego of the subject. It is essential as it is "Through the rivalry the subject can grasp himself as ego (Lacan 1988:176)." Lacan says "It is in the other by the other, that desire is named (ibid.:177)." And how the other has or hasn't named the desire structures the subject's psyche. In perversion what has not taken place is that the desire of the mother has not been named. The father is a liberal permissive father like the father of Little Hans that does not prohibit or win the mother over from Little Hans and leaves the desire of the mother unnamed. This the perverse himself has to name. He names it himself *by* himself *for* himself. The perverse thinks of himself as the object of the desire of the mOther. Thus, the perverse subject loyally offers himself up to the Other's *jouissance*.

In xenophobia, what makes everything complicated for the perverse is that there is a rival, who is sucking on the breast of the mOther and it's not even the father, it is the *new arrival, not* sexuated like *l'hommellette*, *abjects*. Murray uses the word *new arrivals* to refer to immigrants. The new arrival that has been dropped whether by the stork from the sky or brought by the sea in boats like refugees are horrifying like a falling horse, falling *lumfs*, or a falling phallus in Little Hans's case. This I have seen related to the phobic object in xenophobia. What is essential in central to my argument is the interchangeability of *lumfs* with refugees in xenophobia. Following Hook who emphasizes on the corporeality of hatred in racism, I refer to Julia Kristeva's *Power of Horrors* as my main reference to explain the fear of strangers as the fear of abjects. To avoid losing sight of the "psychic density" of racism, as Hook suggests, I argue that psychoanalysis has to be introduced to social problems like xenophobia. All theoretical parts are supplemented with the next chapter in which the book of Murray is examined in details for symptoms of xenophobia. Muslims flowing into the country like abjects is the ubiquitous theme in anti-immigrant literature. I will delineate this more in details.

In Chapter One, I will review the works on xenophobia in the field of sociology

and psychoanalysis and then I will put on my Lacanian glasses to analyze the subject of this literature that has enunciated his fear in *The Strange Death*. Lacan affirms this by saying, "commenting on a text is like doing an analysis (Lacan 1988:73)." In Chapter One, I will also review the current literature on social phobia that has recently been brought to the attention of researches in social sciences as a distinct concept. Then, I will give a short introduction to the literature on psychoanalysis and anxiety. After, I will review the works of Lacanians on xenophobia. In Chapter Two, I will bridge anxiety in its Lacanian sense to phobia through the concept of *Unheimliche*. Moreover, I will discuss concepts central to Lacan's teaching on anxiety. I will define two very important concepts, which will lead us to the matter of phobia, *Unheimliche* and *extimite*. Little Hans's phobia constitutes the topic of Chapter Three. Perversion will be discussed in Chapter Four to bridge xenophobia to the Name-of-the-Father in whose deficiency the xenophobic subject has developed the phobia of the flow of abjects disrupting his space and identity. This composes the last chapter before conclusion. Chapter Five is distinctively on Kristeva's concept of abjection and its relevance to the phobia of the flow of abjects. In the conclusion, I will summarize the case of my xenophobia and try to shed light on what have been discussed as a treatment. I will argue that the EU must put foot down in response to Brexit and end endurance to disrespect for the law, if the EU wants to prevent the right-wing from seeking asylum on the lap of a new charismatic leader who can be easily someone like Orbán. The xenophobic is making scenery that is an imperative necessity for him to feel satisfied. If the EU forgets her part and is incapable of playing her part in the xenophobic's fantasy the scene collapses. If the UK has forced this divorce on the EU and has been treating the EU like a puppet is because she wants to play the master in this game. This must not be tolerated.

Chapter One: Background

Immigration policy has become a political milestone debate in European elections as the result of a rapid increase in the numbers of immigrants to Europe in the last few decades. Anti-immigration is not a new problem in Europe. In the 1980s and early 1990s, a similar anti-immigration atmosphere was observed (Coleman 1992). The surge in immigration had caused negative views among a large number of people in Europe even before the Refugee Crisis hit (Coenders et al. 2008; Schlueter and Wagner 2008; Semyonov

et al. 2008). Xenos that have been given different names—immigrants, asylum seekers, foreigners, refugees or guest workers—have become the glove that fits every politician's hand. And xenophobia has emerged under different names in research; some call it a form of discrimination, a desirability bias (Creighton and Amaney 2015), prejudice (Kushner 2003), or racism (Hook 2004, 2005, 2006, 2008; Hook and Howarth 2005).

Various variables have been known to have a correlation with xenophobia. For example, on individual levels, low self-esteem (Boehnke et. al 1998), education and age (Raijman et al. 2003) have been found to have correlations with anti-immigrant sentiment. On the country level, it is suggested to have correlation with the influx of foreigners and low employment rate (Meuleman et al. 2009; Schlueter and Wagner 2008; Wilkes et al. 2007; Yvonni and Simonetta 2013). Yvonni and Simonetta (2013) assessed the current explanations for the determinants of anti-immigration attitudes. Their focus was on the impact of regional characteristics by isolating the impact of regions from regressions while using individual-level data and explained the residual regional heterogeneity in attitudes with aggregate-level indicators of regional characteristics. They found that regions with a higher percentage of immigrants born outside the EU and a higher unemployment rate among the immigrant population show a higher probability that natives express negative attitudes to immigration. Meuleman et al. (2009) explains an increases in anti-immigrant sentiment with the evolution of unemployment rates and inflows of foreigners.

Based on Blumer's realistic conflict theory (Blumer 1958), competition over scarce resources between different groups has been known as a cause of hostility towards outsiders (Blalock 1967; Sides and Citrin 2007). Others have also strongly confirmed the effect of the socioeconomic vulnerability (low-education, low-skill, or unemployment) on negative attitudes toward immigrants (Mayda and Facchini 2006; O'Rourke and Sinnott 2006; Quillian 1995; Semyonov et al. 2006; Wilkes et al. 2008). This effect has also been examined on country levels. Under less favorable conditions (for instance, low GDP or high unemployment) anti-immigration sentiment grows (Castles 2006; Meuleman et al. 2009). But yet, some doubts have been cast by others (Semyonov et al. 2004; Sides and Citrin 2007).

Among other determinants is intergroup contact as an independent variable. Schlueter and Wagner (2008) associated with the contact theory, used data from cross-

national multi-wave panel surveys from Germany and Russia and found that "perception of threatened group interests are causally antecedent to German's dislike and negative behavioral intentions against foreigners as well as to Russian's ethnic distance towards minorities (also see Hayes and Dowds 2006)." They refuted other theories that have conceptualized perceived group threat to be a consequence or have reciprocal relations with out-group derogation. It is more precisely the fear of conflict over values and culture that is driving anti-immigrant attitude (Schneider 2008). Education level, foreign direct investment, and political variables have also been assessed as independent variables (Rustenbach 2010).

Some research has dubbed xenophobia as a form of in-group favoritism or out-group hostility that can be sometimes necessary to individual identities. Sabri Ciftci (2012) in *Islamophobia and Threat Perceptions: Explaining anti-Muslim Sentiment in the West* based on the data from the Pew Global Attitudes Survey conducted an empirical study to test the three theories of perceived threat, social identity, and cognitive capabilities. The results show that perceived realistic and symbolic threats are the most significant sources of Islamophobic attitudes in the West. He found that individuals could cognitively differentiate between general feelings toward Muslims and their specific characteristics. Higher levels of education significantly reduce negative sentiments. A good number of Westerners think of Muslims as violent individuals while some believe that they support al-Qaeda. Citizens in the West are more likely to associate Muslims with terrorism if they feel threatened by their physical and cultural existence. Recent experimental work suggests that in-group favoritism is not a necessary concomitant of out-group hostility (Rabbie 1982, 1992; Ray and Lovejoy 1986; Struch et al. 1989). While both can be enhanced by competition and external threats (see Sherif 1961 for the classic field experiment), in-group favoritism should be expected only if affiliation with the in-group can successfully counter the competitive threat (Rabbie et al. 1974). If a group is unable to be successful, hostility to outsiders may be mirrored by ethnic breakdown and further hostility and competition within the group. Finally, threats can arise from environmental catastrophes as well as from outsiders, and we might expect that such disasters would foster enhanced group loyalty without any concomitant hostility to outsiders.

Researchers from a social identity theory background have also contributed to the literature (Bobo and Hutchings 1996; Glaser and Gilens 1997; Meertens and Pettigrew 1997; Sniderman et al. 2004; Taylor 1998). Immigrants are perceived to pose threats to the unity and coherence of indigenous population who differentiate themselves from others (Coenders et al. 2008; O'Connell 2005). Outsiders are seen as threats to individual and collective values, culture, and national identity (Lapinski et al. 1997; Sides and Citrin 2007; Van Tubergen et al. 2004). Ben-Nun Bloom et al. (2015) studied the effect of perceived cultural and material threats on ethnic preferences in immigration attitudes. Similarity is the ground on which ethnic preferences are based if the people are culturally threatened. But in case of material threat, people of different background are preferred. Moreover, some have argued that perceived immigrant labour market competition has a positive causal effect (Heizmann 2016; Kunovich 2013; Polavieja 2016; Wallace and Figueroa 2012). Furthermore, the impact of norms and values (Mckay et al. 2012) and that of religiosity have also been assessed. Ben-Nun Bloom et al. (2015) found that religious social identity increases opposition to immigrants that are from different religion or ethnicity. Data from a national probability sample of Americans surveyed soon after the 2016 election shows that greater adherence to Christian nationalist ideology was a robust predictor of voting for Trump.

Anti-immigration is known to be a mobilization tool in the hands of politics is very familiar to the reader who is experiencing today's European fear of immigrants rooted in the politics of fear (Altheide 2006). Anti-immigration as a determinant of political orientation toward the extreme right has been assessed at the individual level as the most vulnerable develop an inclination toward immigration restrictiveness (Lubbers et al. 2002; Sides and Citrin 2007). However, what is important is the perceived size of immigrant populations, not the actual size (Ceobanu and Escandell 2008; Semyonov et al. 2008; Strabac and Listhaug 2007). The audience of propaganda would never check the validity of the facts that they have been given. The phobic subject has all the rational reasons to be scared of a horse, height, or a needle. Žižek (2015) has said it before that today's anti-immigration is rationalized. Just try to listen to an anti-immigrant and you'll see they have reasons, understandable reasons to be scared of foreigners. And no matter how hard you try to convince them that their numbers or sources are not reliable, it's useless.

Boundary-making is also known as a phenomenon correlated with xenophobia (Bail 2008; Wimmer 2008a, 2008b; Wimmer et. al 2009). Anti-immigration has been studied as prejudice (Kushner 2003) where the intensity of hatred and ill-treatment of Muslims has been explained by the need to protect *our* people and *our* culture against the diseased and dangerous alien. There has been suggested an urge to make a distinction between genuine refugees and bogus asylum-seeker. But who are the genuine refugees? The ones who "came through the proper channels (Mckay et. al 2012)!" On national levels, Xenophobia is strongly correlated with national attachment and national identity. Nationalism and patriotism (Jeong 2013; Green et al. 2011; Ariely 2012; 2016; Ceobanu and Escandell 2008; Pehrson et al. 2009; DeSipio 2002; Willis-Esqueda et al 2017) and its result of construction of an "us and them" dichotomy have been studied. Andre (2018) sees this construction of "us and them" as part of the "elite versus people" discourse that has developed nowadays into the citizen versus asylum-seeker dichotomy.

Ruth Simpson is among the first to examine phobia as a sociological phenomenon. She sees phobia as inter-subjective and socially constructed. She asserts that objective danger may or may not exist in phobia. The perceptions of danger do not necessary come from experiences. Simpson notes that fears are "shared through socialization and communication (Simpson 1996:552)."

Sociologists suggest that xenophobia is a product of a fear that has been socialized and communicated and from time to time it has been used to mobilize populations. Hirvonen (2017) asserts that the politics of fear has a hegemonic principle that is security and racism. He says it is an elemental part of the nationalist identity politics. He argues that xenophobic images, nationalist signifiers, and racist fantasies create the vicious circles of fear and hate that gives justification for the nationalist identity politics that raises security as the hegemonic organizing principle. He marks "an intensive use of fear" that has been devised to higher crises, making fear as a basic constituent of contemporary subjectivity (250). Also, Ramadan and Shantz argue that phobic responses are outcomes of social, economic, political, and cultural mobilizations of power. They refer to articulation and interpellation to explain how phobias are created and accepted by the public. Shantz (2012) suggests phobias are the outcomes of social struggles over social resources and social standing. Ince argues that we can explain social phobias with reference to the powerful

political forces that are enacted by stakeholders with certain interests (2005). Heidi Rimke (2016) in *Manufacturing Phobias* argues that phobias can be deployed to mobilize populations. Furedi (2007) discusses the fear of terror or the fear of danger is distinct from the real acts of terror or crime. He notes, "A distinguishing feature of contemporary fear is that it appears to have an independent existence." Also, in *Manufacturing Phobias*, Fierke (2007:86), from a constructionist point of view, claims that in phobias lies the logic of exclusion. Jens Rydgren (2004) in *Logic of Xenophobia* discusses the subjective rationality of xenophobic and racist beliefs. He argues that such feelings might be non-rational from an objective perspective, because of their incongruence with reality, but under certain conditions they may appear rational from people's subjective point of view.

Phobias in biopolitics are targeted at specific bodies. In other words, the target can be located in specific bodies that are externic. Ma and Bhandar (2012), in *Phobia in an Age of Post-Migrant Rights: the Criminalization of Tamil Refugee,* suggest that there has been a politics of fear as the cause of the phobias in today's Western democratic neoliberal nations. In other words, a language of securitization and criminalization has emerged in risk societies (175). Bhandar, in the same book, links the language to Western democratic neoliberal political culture (Bhandar 2004; Isin 2004). They argue that the expansion of securitization has simultaneously led to the production of fear and xenophobic responses. A politics of fear has been created that give rise to anxieties in a system of governance of everyday life. It has been seen as a productive capacity of a neoliberal governance strategy. The state,

> perpetuates a notion of feeling of unease regarding the migrant subject, in order to bolster the rationale for security and greater systems of control. (Ma and Bhandar 2012:193)

Hisham Ramadan calls it a social phobia mighty machine that implements anti-other propaganda to the extent that it has become widespread and formed a phobia towards the other (Ramadan and Shantz 2016:27). The authors raise the notion of "the foreign body, the body as foreign" to question the formation of racism and how a paranoid form of collective hypochondria can be mobilized. What is missing in this literature is the corporeality in xenophobia.

To this fear there is a form of corporeality that none of the above-mentioned

16

theories can explain. The fear of xenos is always associated with corporeal symptoms. Descriptions of the xenos are mostly about their bodies, their food, and their rituals. I will discuss these symptoms throughout this research. Moreover, what is not answered by these studies and constitutes a main point in my research is the cause of this repetition of the fear of strangers. The reason behind this repetition can be analyzed by psychoanalysis that is specifically an attempt to understand the repetition of a trauma. These two shortcoming in the literature of xenophobia brought me to psychoanalysis in my search for an understanding of xenophobia as a social problem.

Lacanians have discussed about anxiety and failures of the paternal function as the symptoms of the neo-liberal consumerist societies (Salecl 2004; 2011; Wright 2013), but Žižek was the first to call the neo-liberal western countries as pervert-structured societies. He diagnosed a "generalized perversion" as the result of the failure of the paternal metaphor that he believes has become the most effective way to mobilize people in today's world (Žižek 2008:34). Following Žižek anti-immigrant sentiment has been listed among manifestations of perversion in the neo-liberal societies in response to the failure of the paternal metaphor. Jason Glynos (2001) meticulously lists them:

> … fundamentalisms and racist intolerance, cynicism, mob hysteria vis-a-vis immigrants and paedophiles, and voter apathy, the popularity of conspiracy theories, the fascination with chance games that promise heavenly monetary rewards (while the poor flock to lottery and betting agencies, the rich splurge in posh casinos and lay the stock market), so-called postmodern 'trash' art, retreats to the real of nature (in an attempt to recoup certainty in the various General Theories of Everything, in the complete objectification of the human in the form of a genome map, in the Spiritual Balance of Eastern Mysticism), to postmodern theories of multiculturalism. (82)

Zizekians, like Glynos, have a long lists of these symptoms that I do not completely agree, as I think, as a sociologist such generalizations are not possible unless elaborated.

Colin Wright (2013) in his article, *Sadomasochism and the Body of Law: Lacan's Reconceptualization of Perversion as Père-Version*, argues that the shift Lacan made in his *Seminar Anxiety* "from a single, overarching 'Name-of-the-Father' to a pluralization of 'Names-of-the-Fathers' is relevant with today's liberal consumer societies." He argues that in *Seminar XVII* Lacan speaks about the "the swarms of S1s" that have replaced the "totemic singularity of the primordial father." Wright argues that today's "world without

17

limits" that is produced by the failure of the paternal function has led to the invention of father-substitutes that he says was evident in Lacan's late work where he changed the-Name-of-the-Father to the-Name*s*-of-the-Fathers.

Renata Salecl (2004) in *On Anxiety* explains how hyper-capitalism relies on people's feeling of inadequacy all the time. In the last chapter, she is asking a final question. She asks, "Can testimony offer a cure for anxiety?" She tries to answer this question by her analysis of Binjamin Wilkomirski's *Fragment* that the author claims to be his authentic memoir when he was three or four years old and in a concentration camp. She mates this book with Benigni's *Life is Beautiful* that is a comedy indeed. In her analysis of Wilkomirski's *Fragment* Salecl explains that the subject developed "a traumatic memory as an answer to his particular anxiety with regard to the failed father (134)." By doing this, he was trying to supplement the deficiency in the function of the father. Salecl discusses that Wilkomirski by producing a traumatic memory attempted to find an answer to his anxiety with regard to the failed father. She discusses that Wilkomirski by means of a recovered but false memory of a trauma transforms the feeling of failure of a father authority into the "memory" of Holocaust trauma. Recovered memory therapy, she argues emerged precisely at a time of numerous dilemmas concerning the status of authority in contemporary society (125). The last decade has been marked by the decline of the power of traditional authority figures such as fathers, state presidents, church leaders, etc., and the emergence of cult-leaders, sexual abusers, etc.—figures which appear as the obscene underside of traditional authorities (ibid.). In *Fragments,* Wilkomirski, Salecl argues, is deeply troubled by his father's authority. It is because of the failure of the father [to utter a word] to act in the symbolic realm that in his son's memory he becomes a squashed object (126). This trauma deriving from authorities failing in their symbolic status continues in Wilkomirski's memoir. The real thrust of the book, she says, is thus the disbelief in the adults and fear from "their compassion." Wilkomirski's horror of authority figures was a way of dealing with the trauma of his non-existent father (134). Once Wilkomirski was forced to accept that his memory of childhood trauma was false, he turned to a "memory" of a violent death of his father. Salecl suggests that the subject can find "special *jouissance* in this search for the *jouissance* of the authorities" resulting in "nothing but the promotion of violence (137-8)."

> The subject fantasizes about the *jouissance* of the Other, because he or she actually tries to supplement the deficiency in the functioning of the big Other. Similarly, the subject often assumes a burden of guilt in order to keep the Other as a consistent order, often claiming responsibility for a crime he or she never committed so that the importance of the authorities (for example, father, leader, etc.) will not be exposed…
>
> So, we can conclude that the subject invents a traumatic memory because of the necessary inconsistency of the symbolic order and, especially, because of the inherent powerlessness of the authorities. … The example of Wilkomirski and other recovered memory cases show that the current dissolutions of authority structures have resulted in the idea of the subject as a victim. Here, the attempt is no longer to cover up the impotence of authority figures, but to further expose it. But, as a result of such endeavors, we are often left with nothing but violence and obscenity, which emerges in the form of new authority figures like cult-leaders – as well as some recovered memory therapists. (138-9)

I will show how Salecl's analysis can be applied to the case of the Douglas Murray's book which is revealing the scandals of the authorities who have as he claims shamelessly led Europe to a strange death as the result of their incompetency.

Dolar links the concept of anxiety with modernity that led to the emergence of monsters, vampires and etc. in the modern time. Dolar (1991:13), whose quotations and effort on elaborating the word *Unheimliche* I will use to explain anxiety in its Lacanian sense, has linked the uncanny (*Unheimliche*) to the advent of modernity. In premodern societies, he argues, the uncanny was largely covered by the scathed and untouchable (7). He explains more,

> With the triumph of the Enlightenment, this privileged and excluded place (the exclusion that founded society) was no more. That is to say that the uncanny became unplaceable; it became uncanny in the strict sense… there was an irruption of the uncanny strictly parallel with bourgeois (and industrial) revolutions and the rise of scientific rationality… Ghosts, vampires, monsters, the undead dead, etc., flourish in an era when you might expect them to be dead and buried, without a place. They are something brought about by modernity itself. (7)

Dolar then gets to the point that is most applicable to my analysis of xenophobia. He argues that "…the uncanny is the return of something long surmounted, discarded and superseded (7)". I will link this notion to the return of Cain under the disguise of a refugee in xenophobia (Chapter Five).

Among all Lacanians, Žižek was the first to call the current neo-liberal societies

pervert as the result of the swarm of small Big Others in the lack of one Big Other. Žižek argues,

> Today … it is the very symbolic function of the father which is increasingly undermined—that is, which is losing its performative efficiency; for that reason a father is no longer perceived as one's Ego Ideal, the (more or less failed, inadequate) bearer of symbolic authority, but as one's ideal ego, imaginary competitor. The outcome of the relentless dissolution of traditional hierarchies and authorities is not emancipating like Laclau would discuss as he sees the expansion of capitalism's reach into all areas of social life should entail. Laclau argued that the result would be politicization of traditionally disadvantaged subject positions linked to sex, race, age nation,… (Žižek 2008:334)

That's where Žižek departed from the radical democracy, as he cannot see capitalism as a liberator. Žižek argues that the moment the Other recedes, a whole series of social symptoms emerge as the subject wants to regain balance. There, I depart from Žižek. As this strategy is more similar to the strategy of the neurotic not the pervert.

The pervert is not able to supplement the big Other with small big Others as the loyalty of the pervert is not like the loyalty of the consumer that Žižek describes as capricious and ephemeral. The loyalty of the pervert is like the loyalty of Hitler's adherents. The xenophobic subject is devoted to the fulfillment of the Other's desire like the most devoted adherents of Hitler, for instance Philipp Haeuser who was a staunch nationalist. He like his fellow "brown" priests who dedicated their lives to Hitler's cause held a great disdain for Jews. In his publication, *Jew and Christian or to Whom Does World Domination Belong?* (1922), Haeuser announced that he was "strongly nationalistically oriented" and endeavored "to be a good patriot" (as cited by Spicer 2007:108). This is true about the xenophobic (Hirvonen 2017). Lacanians who have approached the question of xenophobia has mostly incorporated it into their analysis of race and nationalism (Seshadri-Crooks 2000; Hook 2004, 2005, 2008). Anxiety in postcolonial post-apartheid South Africa has been discussed (Barnard-Naude 2017). Protests against authorities have been associated with the discourse of the hysteric (Bracher 1988; Verhaeghe 1995:10) or the discourse of anxiety (Hillier and Healy 2016: 526). However, I have distinguished the protests by the xenophobic subject whose violence and demonstration I do not associate with the discourse of the hysteric. The xenophobic for the reasons I will explain is the pervert subject in its Lacanian meaning.

To avoid losing sight of the "psychic density" of xenophobia, I will follow Hook's suggestion for analysis of racism and treat xenophobia "a social, political and psychological phenomenon" (Hook 2004:692). Abjection, Hook explains, assists us in this challenge, as it is a theory of the role of the body in racism. Through abjection we can understand the centrality of corporeality to racism inasmuch as "the body never 'falls out' of racism (692-693)." He continues,

> In the notion of abjection we have a theory of embodiment able to understand a form of racism that is played through and substantiated by the body's economy of separations and distinctions. We have, moreover, a theory able to grasp a mode of racism that is routed through affective channels and that maintains powerful links to death, the corporeal limits of the subject, and the constitution of the ego. (693)

In xenophobia, I see the same "bodily logic" that Hook sees in racism. Through abjection, I can explain the return of xenophobia not as a universal and inescapable human experience. Moreover, it helps to see the corporeal aspect of a social problem with such extreme emotional intensity that has been neglected in sociology. I will explain the concept of abject that is often coupled with the concept of the *Unheimliche*, that's what is "un-home-like," in other words foreign, yet familiar. Abjection is a central concept in my analysis in a separate part, as I will later develop this concept to incorporate the phobic object of the xenophobic subject. I will also use the concept of the uncoded flow drawn from the anti-Oedipus of Deleuze and Guattari to argue that the xenophobic subject's *Unheimliche* has appeared as the flow of immigrants. First, I will delve into some key Lacanian terms before further discussion.

Chapter Two: From Anxiety to Phobia through *Unheimliche*

Lacan makes it clear that it is not the longing for the maternal breast that provokes anxiety (2018:53).

> What provokes anxiety is everything that announces to us, that lets us glimpse that we're going to be taken back onto the lap. It is not, contrary to what is said, the rhythm of the mother's alternating presence and absence. The proof of this is that the infant revels in repeating this game of presence and absence. The security of presence is the possibility of absence. The most anguishing thing for the infant is precisely the moment when the relationship upon which he's established himself, of the lack that turns him into desire, is disrupted, and this relationship is

most disrupted when there's no possibility of any lack, when the mother is on his back all the while, and especially when she's wiping his backside. This is one model of demand, of the demand that will never let up. (ibid.:53-4)

In the case of Little Hans's phobia his anxiety was linked to the mother forbidding masturbatory practices as his mOther exerted her desire upon him.

> A case of phobia that Lacan discusses is the case of a patient whose mother had never left him "so much as an inch, up to a certain age. (ibid.:64)

> She only ever gave a false response to his demand, a response that really fell wide of the mark, because, if demand is actually structured by the signifier, then it's not to be taken literally. What the child asks of his mother has to replicate the originative Fort-Da game. A void has always has to be preserved. And when the void is totally filled, anxiety arises. (ibid.:65)

Lacan continues in his seminar by elaborating on the word *Unheimliche*. He says,

> Suddenly, all at once, you'll always find this term the moment the phenomenon of the *Unheimliche* enters. (ibid.:75)

Likewise, Murray keeps warning of sudden appearance of the *Unheimliche*, in which we can see the word, *Heim* that is *home*. The *Unheimliche* appears at home, and this causes anxiety. But what is it? Is it the occupant? Lacan says it's the *hôte*, a French word for host or as Lacan defines it, "someone well-wrought through with expectation (ibid.:75)." This host has,

> already slipped into the *hostile* with which I began this talk on expectation. This occupant, in the ordinary sense, isn't the *Heimlich*, it's not the inhabitant of the house, it's the softened up, appeased and admitted hostile. That which is *Heim,* that which belongs to the realm of *Geheimnis*, has never passed through the twists and turns, the networks, the sieve of recognition[7]. It has stayed *unheimliche*, not so much inhabitauble as in-habiting, not so much in-habitual as in-habituated. (ibid.:76)

It is here that xenophobia can be explained in terms of appearance of the *Unheimliche* in home. It's no wonder why xenophobic literature is replete with the sense that home is not home anymore.

---

[7] In Deleuze and Guattari's terms it is the uncoded flow (Chapter Five)

> Anxiety is the appearance, within this framing, of what was already there, at much closer quarters, at home, Heim. (ibid.:75)

Anxiety is caused by the image of having been returned on the mother's lap. In case of perversion, he *disavows* the lack of the mother and places himself in the place of the object of desire of the mOther.

> If the mOther's desire is for the phallus, the child wants to be the phallus in order to satisfy her desire. (Lacan 2006:582)

Lacan explains more, that anxiety is framed, like a mirror that has limits. It is not infinite.

> … the dreadful, the shady, the disturbing, everything by which we translate, as best we can in French, the magisterial German *Unheimliche*, presents itself through little windows. (Lacan 2018:74-75)

> The *Unheim* is poised in the Heim (ibid.:47).

> Man finds its home at a point located in the Other that lies beyond the image from which we are fashioned. (ibid.)

Is anxiety caused by a loss? Anxiety is "gaining too much" (Dolar 1991:13); it is caused by "a too-close presence of the object. What one loses with anxiety is precisely the loss — the loss that made it possible to deal with a coherent reality (ibid.)." Machado (2016) explains that for Lacan phobic anxiety is related to castration anxiety. Phobia is equivalent to the myth;

> …a solution to a moment of passage. The passage of the imaginary relation with the mother around the phallus, to the castration game in relation to the father.

He explains that the moments of passage, where Oedipus is the prototype of what is going to happen, bring out the phobia as the solution to crises like adolescence, pregnancy, or subjective crisis. The phobic object "comes to obliterate fundamental anxiety of the subject. It witnesses the emergence of a real, impossible to be symbolized." A real, like an *extimite* or an abject in xenophobia! The subject in phobia is trying to avoid anxiety by placing objects in its place to have the real organized. Phobia, Machado says, is a structure that puts limits to space, the body and the relation between them. The phobia is always about the dialectic of the inside and outside, of the interior and exterior. If the space is not guaranteed, anxiety arises. The subject, Machado argues, faced with anxiety "looks for a

semblant as an ego" that helps him to "keep a space, an identity." What is most often repeated in xenophobia? The fear of confusion of the interior and the exterior! The xenophobic subject is faced with anxiety since he is losing the sense of space and identity. The xenophobic has to put up borders to protect his space from dismantling.

> The word [*Unheimliche*] is the standard German negation of *Heimlich* and is thus supposed to be its opposite. But it turns out that it is actually directly implied by *Heimlich*, which means familiar, homely, cozy, intimate, "arousing a sense of agreeable restfulness and security as in one within the four walls of his house; by extension, what is familiar and securely tucked away is also hidden, concealed from the outside, secret, "kept from sight... withheld from others; and by a further extension, what is hidden and secret is also threatening, fearful, occult, "uncomfortable, uneasy, gloomy, dismal ... ghastly"—that is, *unheimliche*, uncanny (as cited in Dolar 1991:5-6).

Lacan had to invent a word to define the point where the two (*unheimliche* and *heimlich*)

> directly coincide and become undistinguishable, and the negation does not count—as indeed it does not count in the unconscious. The English translation, 'the uncanny', largely retains the essential ambiguity of the German term, but French doesn't possess an equivalent, *l'inquietante etrangete* being the standard translation. So Lacan had to invent one, *extimite*. (ibid.:5-6)

Dolar mentions the endless effort of man to draw a clear line between the interior and the exterior. What blurs the lines in between the interior and the exterior is called *extimite*. *Extimite*

> points neither to the interior nor to the exterior, but is located there where the most intimate interiority coincides with the exterior and becomes threatening, provoking horror and anxiety. The *extimite* is simultaneously the intimate kernel and the foreign body; in a word, it is *unheimliche*. (ibid: 6)

It is the abject that lies somewhere between inside and outside; somewhere at the border. Its appearance inside does cause anxiety. Lacan uses the object petit *a* that is an algebraic sign for the place where there lies the lack. When the object petit *a* is "suffocated" (Harari 1991:74) or when "fantasy-object" fills out the void left by the original loss (Žižek 2004:3) *das Ding* emerges. The relation between the object petit *a* and *da Ding* is called by Lacan as the a-Thing (Harari 1991:74).

> The object that provokes anxiety in the neurotic is the a-Thing, that is, the desire of the Other, as the Other requires that the subject erase its borders, handing itself over to it in an unconditional manner. (ibid.:75)

In case of perversion, the subject wholeheartedly offers himself back on the lap of the mOther. He believes without any doubts that he is what she lacks.

To assure that the lack remain a lack the abject must be kept out. In architecture one can see how phobia can shape phobic spaces where fortresses are constructed to inhibit the flow of the poor, or if Kristeva would have to say, the abject, that if not prohibited they will relentlessly pour into the bourgeoisie's spaces. Mike Davis (1991) in his magnificent book, *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles* has depicts Los Angeles as a city brutally divided between

> fortified cells of affluent society, the bourgeoisie's phobic *Vorbauten* with their ubiquitous little signs warning "armed response", and increasingly diffused "places of terror", or anxiety, where the nomadic poor are hardly ''contained'' by the police. (223–224)

Davis explicates that the imposition of phobia goes hand in hand with a false permissiveness. The "liberal" behavior of Hans's father follows the logic of "totalitarian systems." Davis argues that the father of Little Hans

> allows, and even encourages, his son to approach the horse, which, in his belief, is a stand-in for the mother; however, the result of this, is that Hans is "forced to stare" at the phobic object. Hans's father thereby deludes his son into believing that he can have easy access to the terrifying object of his enjoyment. Yet, according to Lacan, what the father achieves by means of this is "maintaining in a different way a right over what was forbidden," the mother. (ibid.)

Hans's father needs to enact such a phobic strategy because, as we can see, he is a deficient father, unable to come to terms with the mother and castrate his son. Phobia is the one and only paradoxical imposition made by a falsely permissive ruler who would otherwise be completely unable to assert himself.

Chapter Three: Little Hans's Phobia

The case of Little Hans is the primary source for psychoanalysts interested in phobia. The analysis of Little Hans was not based on Freud's own observations. Except for one time, Freud never met the boy as the father of Little Hans carried out the treatment.

The father would report Hans's development from a period when he was almost three years old as first signs of phobia sprang. Moreover, Freud marks the importance of the birth of Hans's little sister when he was three and a half. His father wrote to Freud,

> At five in the morning labour began, and Hans' bed was moved into the next room. He woke up there at seven, and, hearing his mother groaning, asked: "Why's Mummy coughing?" Then, after a pause, "The stork's coming today for certain."
> Naturally he has often been told during the last few days that the stork is going to bring a little girl or a little boy; And he quite rightly connected the unusual sounds of groaning with the stork's arrival. (Freud 1977:174)

It's interesting how the fear of immigrants who are being dropped in the sea can resemble the myth of the stork bringing children and dropping them in the lap of their mothers or sometimes wrongly as stillborn or dead children like Alan Kurdi. The myth of the stork that brings babies to mothers has long shaped the minds of our children. The parents of Hans always sought explanations like that of the stork to answer the question about human's birth. Thus in his subconscious what he had observed before, during, and after the birth of his little sister was hooked on his fear of this new arrival whom Little Hans saw as a threat to his being his mother's only object of desire. "Hans is very jealous of the new arrival (ibid.:174)." We read that

> And in fact when he saw her for the first time he was very much surprised that she was unable to speak, and decided that this was because she had no teeth. During the first few days he was naturally put very much in the background. He was suddenly taken ill with a sore throat. In his fever he was heard saying: "But I don't want a baby sister!" (ibid.)

But there are more to his jealousy of the new arrival. Freud explains that his phobia was preceded by an event that could be the outbreak of the phobia. Little Hans and his mother went for a walk and saw a horse that was carrying a cart with perhaps the packages and boxes fall down. The horse fell down and died. Hans thought that all horses would fall down. When his father suggested that the horse was him for whom Hans wished death, the child did not dispute but he started a game with him consisting of his biting his father. If you remember, Little Hans was afraid that a horse would bite him. This made the behavior of his father who was already a very liberal dad, as Freud says, "unconstrained and fearless, and in fact a trifle overbearing (ibid.:283)."

Later, Little Hans was occupied with the *lumf* complex. He was disgusted at things

that "reminded him of evacuating his bowel (ibid.:283)." With the help of the father Freud recognized that there is an analogy between "a heavily loaded cart and a body loaded with faeces, between the way in which a cart drives out through a gateway and the way in which faeces leave the body, and so on." Hanna, Hans's sister, he wished could fall into the bath just like *lumf* and die (ibid.:285). All babies are *lumfs* and born like *lumfs* (ibid.). Freud depicts the connection between the stork and the *lumf*,

> all furniture-vans and drays and buses were only stork-box carts, and were only of interest to Hans being symbolic representation of pregnancy; and that when a heavy or heavily loaded horse fell down he can have seen in it only one thing—a childbirth, a delivery, ['*ein Niederkommen*']. Thus the falling horse was not only his dying father but also his mother in childbirth (ibid.:285-6).[8]

What in the first place brought the father of Little Hans to Freud to seek his help was Hans's phobia of horses. "He is afraid *a horse will bite him in the street* (ibid.:189 emphasis by Freud)." He was afraid that "the horse'll come into the room (ibid.:187)." He was afraid of the *Unheimliche,* if Lacan would have to say it.

The father writes to Freud,

> I cannot see what to make of it. Has he seen an exhibitionist somewhere? Or is the whole thing simply connected with his mother? It is not very pleasant for us that he should begin setting us problems so early. Apart from his being afraid of going into the street and from his being in low spirits in the evening, he is in other respects the same Hans, as bright and cheerful as ever. (ibid.:189)

When he was in the street, he would start crying and ask to be taken back home, to "coax" with his Mummy. He was afraid a horse would bite him. Who could be this horse with teeth and big mustache? The primal rival, the father, the new arrival, or even the mOther! Lacan says the phobic object can signify more than one as it is a crude signifier, which I will explain it further down. Little Hans when asked if he wished Mummy would let go of Hanna so that she would fall in to the water, said yes.

> In the evening my wife told me that Hans had been out on the balcony and had said, "I thought to myself Hanna was on the balcony and fell

---

[8] "Further, he confirmed in so many words the hypothesis that heavily loaded carts represented his mother's pregnancy to him, and the horse's falling down was like having a baby. The most delightful piece of confirmation in this connection-a proof that, in his view, children were 'lumfs' – was his inventing the name of 'Lodi' for his favorite child (Freud 1977:288)."

down off it.'' I had once or twice told him to be careful that Hanna did not get too near the balustrade when she was out on the balcony; for the railing was designed in the most unpractical way… and had big gaps in it which I had to have filled in with wire netting. Hans's repressed wish was very transparent. His mother asked him if he would rather Hanna were not there, to which he said "Yes".

…He has already several times expressed a wish that the stork should bring no more babies and that we should pay him money not to bring any more "out of the big box" where babies are. (ibid.:229)

There are three ways for the child to be successfully subjectivized (sexuated), which depends on how he is introduced to the three stages of the Oedipus complex: frustration, privation, and castration (Chiesa 2008:300). It is at the privation stage, that "the child is involved in an aggressively imaginary rivalry with the imaginary father in order to control the mother (ibid.:301)." It is when the child loves the mother and hates the father. At this stage,

if the imaginary father, the agent of privation, fails to intervene or intervenes in an inadequate manner, the child must find alternative ways to cope with the anxiety induced by the Desire-of-the-Mother. Phobia is one of these alternatives. Phobia is a defensive formation that compensates for the child's inability to accept and "work through" the mother's privation, her real lack, or desire. This inability depends on a deficiency of the function of the imaginary father. (ibid.:302)

As Lacan marks with regard to Little Hans's phobia, his father is far too tolerant, and apparently never plays any aggressivity toward him (as cited in Chiesa 2008:302). Although the father of Little Hans deprives his mother by telling him that she does not have a penis, he does not try to compete with Hans at the imaginary level to prove his control over the mother's desire, or lack;

all Hans is tacitly asking his father to do is to 'fuck her [the mother a bit more]' so that she can get what she does not have (as cited in Chiesa 2008:306).

Chiesa (2008) suggests,

…we could therefore suggest that, in Hans's case, the imaginary signifier of the horse works as a replacement for the imaginary father's deficient phallic Gestalt. The horse carries out the two fundamental functions that, during the second stage of the Oedipus complex, are usually reserved for the phallic Gestalt: it offers an initial signifierization of lack, and, for this

reason, stands as the "crude signifier", or sign, that can be attached to all other signifiers (306).

Although Hans's father informs his son about the fact that the mother does not have a penis, and thus deprives her, he never tries to compete with him at the imaginary level, "to secure control over the mother's desire, or lack. It is only by means of this competition that the child can dominate the mother." This competition is "a logical precondition of symbolic castration, the child's full assumption of his psychological identity (ibid.)." This is the reason I will explain in the conclusion that the EU has to announce the law not to lose the stage to the xenophobic.

Little Hans was effortlessly trying to overcome his phobia by making fantasies over and over again. Later, Lacan says that he developed his triumphant final phantasy (Freud 1977:256).

> He summed up all of his erotic wishes, both those derived from his auto-
> erotic phase and those connected with this object-love. In that phantasy
> he was married to his beautiful mother and had innumerable children
> whom he could look after in his own way. (ibid.:272)

In the case of the xenophobic, we can see the regret of not having enough children to satisfy the need of the motherland for labour (*The Strange Death*:46). The xenophobic wishes to give birth to enough children that the mother would stop wanting more children like Little Hans.

> At the same age (when he was three and three-quarters) Hans produced
> his first account of a dream: "Today when I was asleep I thought I was
> at Gmunden with Mariedl". (Freud 1977:176)

Mariedl was the 13-year-old daughter of the landlord with whom he used to play at Gmunden in the summer before his sister was born.

> Han's confused with all the stork and the story of birth of a baby,
> imagined that he could have his own children. "My children Berta and
> Olga were brought by the stork too. (ibid.)

Phobia, Chiesa, explains in what sense phobia is a compensatory defensive formation, citing from Lacan's *Book IV*, which has not yet been translated into English.

> For Lacan, the phobic object is essentially an imaginary element that
> can function as a crude [brut] signifier. It is around this element that the
> child can symbolically reconstruct his world after the devastating

encounter with the Desire-of-the-Mother. In other words, the phobic signifier is the empty signifier for which the subject is represented by every possible signifying element in his world. In this way, the subject is anchored to a new production of signification that protects him from anxiety (as cited in Chiesa 2008:302-303).

The phobic object that in case of Little Hans is the horse and in the case of the xenophobic subject is the immigrant does not have a "univocal meaning"; crude signifiers such as the horse in Little Hans's phobia are "obscure signifiers". And the phobic subject does not undergo castration, even when the subject overcomes his phobia. Chiesa argues that the phobic subject cannot answer the question "What is a father" as the phobic subject cannot find an answer to the question "What does it mean to have the sex I have?" Thus, what the subject does is that he signifies himself "as a generator who controls the mother by being the one who—supplementing a deficient father—takes care of her children." In other words, he assumes "his sexuality without activating the symbolic paternal function, the Name-of-the-father that allows the constitution of a lineage, which can only emerge after castration has taken place (ibid.:303)."

Little Hans later develops a series of fantasies to manage his phobia. The first fantasy begins when Little Hans and his father are at home, looking out of a window. He says to his father that he wants to stand on one of the carts and jump from there to the loading dock next to it. But he says that he is afraid that the horse moves and the cart drives away as the result. Hans, who knows that there is no way for him not to go back to Mummy, which is the cause of the anxiety, keeps anxiety at bay. He says, "I can always come back to Mummy, in the cart or in a cab (as cited in Chiesa 2008:307)." His second fantasy involves Hans, his father and his paternal grandmother. The grandmother lives in Lainz that is a small village on the periphery of Vienna. Almost every Sunday Hans and his father visit her by train. He imagines that he gets on a train, leaves from Lainz with his grandmother. His father misses the train, but Hans sees his father arriving while their own train was departing. Hans, impossibly waiting for him even though he's gone with his grandmother on the other train, takes a train later with his father together. This second fantasy, Lacan says, is a solution to the first fantasy by returning to the mother with the father (Chiesa 2008:307). Little Hans who could have remained a pervert if not developed these various fantasies was calling upon his permissive father to introduce the law and

organize the space and his identity (sexuate him). His fantasies were his effort to compensate his father's deficiency.

Chapter Four: Perversion and the Permissive Father

Fink explains the difference between neurosis and perversion.

> If neurosis can be understood as a set of strategies by which people protest against a "definitive" sacrifice of *jouissance* — castration — imposed upon them by their parents (attempting to recover some modicum of *jouissance* in a disguised manner) and come to desire in relation to the law, *perversion involves the attempt to prop up the law so that limits can be set to jouissance.* (Fink 1997:165 emphasis by the author)

Perverts, Fink says, struggle to bring the law into being, in other words "to make the Other exist". Perversion in the Lacanian theory is based on a specific mechanism of negation, *disavowal*. The evidence of the functioning of this mechanism, Fink says, leads a psychoanalyst to diagnose someone as perverse. *Disavowal* is the English translation of *Verleugnung* also known as denial. Freud used this word with regard to the case of young boys like Little Hans that when seen a girl's genitals, deny that the girl has no penis and claim that they actually saw it. In other words, the perception of the female genitals is *disavowed*. In disavowal the perception of the lack of penis is put out of mind. Disavowal is one of the three mechanisms that constitute the three essential psychoanalytic categories—neurosis, psychosis and perversion. The differentiation is based on the paternal function. Fink describes the disavowal as follows,

> I know full well that my father hasn't forced me to give up my mother and the *jouissance* I take in her presence (real and/or imagined in fantasy), hasn't exacted the "pound of flesh" [a Shakespearian expression], but I'm going to stage such an exaction or forcing with someone who stands in for him; I'll make that person pronounce the law. (ibid.:170)

Lacan says,

> The whole problem of the perversions consists in conceiving how the child, in its relationship with its mother—a relationship constituted in analysis not by the child's biological dependence, but by its dependence on her lobe, that is, by its desire for her desire—identifies with the imaginary object of her desire. (Lacan 2006:462-3)

Lacan says,

> Perversion lies at the limit of the register of recognition. Perversion is fragile, at the mercy of an inversion, a subversion, which makes one think of the change of sign which occurs in certain mathematical functions – at the point when one passes from one value of a variable to the value immediately following, the correlative changes from plus to minus infinity. (1988a:221)

Politically speaking, or in other words, it is perversion that is changing the results of referenda where the desire of the Other is put forward for the people to deal with it. So who would most likely out of the three structures that Lacan counts be the first to roll sleeves to satisfy the desire of the Other? Perverts. It's perversion that is changing the national results like that of Brexit where the gap between the remain and leave votes is only seven per cent (53.4% leave and 46,6 remain). Perversion shows faces in margins. The pervert has an inclination of inexhaustible capitation of the desire of the other (ibid.). The uncertainty is fundamental in the perverse relation. Perversion is where

> all manner of nuances are called forth, rising up in tiers from shame to prestige, from buffoonery to heroism, whereby human desire in its entirety is exposed, in the deepest sense of the term, to the desire of the other. (ibid.)

The pervert in Lacanian framework is one of the three structures of the subject, alongside psychosis and neurosis. What is the most relevant here is the relationship of the pervert to the Name-of-the-Father or the law. Perverts do not attempt to undermine the law, which is a characteristic of the neurotics. On the contrary, the pervert *disavows* the lack of the Other. He truly enacts the famous Lacan's sentence that "the desire is the desire of the Other." The pervert's answer to the question what is the object of desire of the Other? "Me!"

Fink's figure recaps the differences between the three structures in terms of their relationship to the symbolic order.

	Psychosis	Neurosis	Perversion
the Symbolic Order	is lacking, thus does not exist as such	ineradicably exists	must be made to exist

Table 1. Three Structures in Relation to the Symbolic Order. (Source: Fink 1997:193)

Perversion involves the inability to name something having to do with

the mOther's desire (the father does not seem to be what she wants), to name or symbolize something having to do with sex—the mOther's lack—the result being that the pervert is faced with a lack of lack that generates anxiety. (Fink 1997:194)

Fink states that the object that becomes central in the phobia that in Hans' case is the horse, serves as Name-of-the-Father that brings about the separation of mother from child. Hans attributes certain things to the horse, like that he gets angry; unlike his father that is a partial failure of the paternal function. Disavowal, the pervert's strategy to make up for the deficiency of the father, is an attempt to prop up the paternal function. It is an attempt to "make the Other pronounce the law, or to indicate oneself the place of the law (ibid.:174)." The pervert engages in an attempt to "*supplement the paternal function* (ibid.:193)." This he does by staging or enacting the enunciation of the law (ibid.). The xenophobic says it very clear and loud, for example here,

> Not even the terrorist attacks on the evening of Friday 13 November in Paris, Jean-Claude Juncker announced Europe's insistence on the continuation of its refugee agenda. (*The Strange Death*:186)

In response to this liberal ignorance of this speech of the Big Other (the EU),

> With disregard to this stance of the EU, Norway hastily changed its asylum policy and Sweden within a fortnight announced that she will introduce checks at its borders. (ibid.:187)

Having not pronounced his desire, the father of a pervert thus propels the child to identify with the imaginary object of the mOther's desire. That is to say that he identifies with the phallus (Lacan 2006:554). He is trying to be the mOther's prized possession, her little dick. This, the father never interferes with. The child asks himself, "What am I? What am I to my parents?" He believes he is what is lacking in his mOther. He believes he is her object *a*. The pervert's solution to anxiety is,

> to become the object that can stop up the desire by providing the Other with jouissance, with the kind of satisfaction that squelches desire. (Fink 1997:176).

Fink delineates that the word is the death of the thing (ibid.:177). The child that is fixated in submerging in the mOther as demand needs the parents to symbolize the desire of the mother by naming her desire.

> Until the desire of the mOther is articulated the child is fixated in

submerging in the mOther as demand. After all perversion is père-version, as Lacan said; the pervert calls upon or appeals to the father, hoping to make the father fulfill the paternal function. (ibid.:181)

Now that the father has failed and that separation as part and parcel of castration has not taken place, the pervert needs to try to do it himself. He needs to call the law in.

> Perversion is an experience which allows one to enter more deeply into what one can call, in the full sense, the human passion, to use the Spinozistic term, that is to say what there is in man which is open to this division from himself which structures the imaginary, namely, between O and O', the specular relation. It becomes a profound experience, on account of the fact that within this gap of human desire, all manner of nuances are called forth, rising up in tiers from shame to prestige, from buffoonery to heroism, whereby human desire in its entirety is exposed, in the deepest sense of the term, to the desire of the other. (Lacan 1988:221)

For instance, extremism and fundamentalism that are the exposition of human desire in its entirety are the manifestations of the call of the pervert for the establishment of limits to the Other's *jouissance*.

The perverse subject loyally and jealously offers himself up to the Other's *jouissance*. There is

> an incessant see-saw of the lark-mirror which, at each moment, makes a complete turn on itself—the subject exhausts himself in pursuing the desire of the other, which he will never be able to grasp as his own desire, because his own desire is the desire of the other. It is himself whom he pursues. Therein lies the drama of this *jealous* passion, which is also a form of the imaginary intersubjective relation. (Lacan 1988a:221 emphasis by me)

This brings us to the matter of jealousy that is explicit in the xenophobic. Desire in its pure form, before the introduction of the symbolic order, is destructive. Freud says the pure form of desire as Hegel teaches us has no outcome but the destruction of the other (ibid.:170). And who has the purest form of desire? The perverse. He also says, the subject's desire is only confirmed in an absolute rivalry with the other. And every time the subject gets close to its primitive alienation, the most aggressive arises, in the form of the desire for the other to disappear (ibid.:170). Lacan refers to Saint Augustine and his note on the all-consuming, uncontrollable jealousy of a child for his fellow being, especially when the rival is clinging to his mother's breast (ibid.:171). To the xenophobic, the new arrivals are the rivals sucking

on the mother's breast and won all her attention.

> Merkel could have been merciful to those in need whilst not being unjust
> to the peoples of Europe. (*The Strange Death*:296)

The xenophobic, tired of the permissiveness of the father, seeks justice. He is frustrated of the guilt that inhibits enactment of the law. Murray elaborates his frustration in *Chapter: Tyranny of Guilt* where he condemns European liberal societies' unassuageable historical guilt. He recites the story of a left-wing Norwegian politician called Karsten Nordal Hauken who was raped by a refugee. The guilt of the victim for the return of the criminal to his country to the author is a sign of masochism that needs to be stopped. He rejoices at the thought of a day when

> Young people who have done nothing wrong themselves say 'enough' with this guilt [.] 'enough' of the feelings of subservience that such guilt forces upon them, 'enough' of the idea that there is something uniquely bad in their past, and 'enough' of a history they were never a part of being used to tell them what in their present and future they can or cannot do. It is possible. Perhaps the guilt industry is a mono-generational phenomenon, to be replaced by who knows what? (ibid.:177)

Chapter Five: The Flow of Abjects

Hook (2004) suggests through abjection we can understand the centrality of corporeality to racism as "the body never 'falls out' of racism (692-693)." He then continues,

> In the notion of abjection we have a theory of embodiment able to understand a form of racism that is played through and substantiated by the body's economy of separations and distinctions. We have, moreover, a theory able to grasp a mode of racism that is routed through affective channels and that maintains powerful links to death, the corporeal limits of the subject, and the constitution of the ego. (693)

In xenophobia, I see the same "bodily logic" that Hook sees in racism. Through abjection I can explain the corporeal aspect of xenophobia as a social problem with such extreme emotional intensity, which has been neglected in sociology. Thus I refered to Kristeva's notion of abjection to explain xenophobia.

Julia Kristevia (1982) in her work, *Powers of Horror,* describes abjection that is subjective horror. In other words, it is the feeling of horror when one encounters one's corporeal reality. The abject is what separates what "is not me" from my environment. The

abject underpins a social order. It is what has been rejected; what that used to be a part of me. The abject that one cast off, is situated outside the symbolic order like filth, waste, or a corpse. Kristeva discusses the concept of abjection that is most manifest in borderline patients. Kristeva counters two symptoms for the borderline discourse. One is discursive chaos. Second is abjection. Abjection disturbs identity, system and order. It is what does not respect borders, positions, or rules (4). "Abjection is above all ambiguity (9)." This ambiguity develops under the impact of "ruptures" or in the collapse of self-limits. It's neither the subject nor object, neither the inside nor outside, neither here nor there. Let's read Murray's xenophobic text. One can easily spot the "ruptures" in *the Strange Death.*

> The world is coming *into* Europe at precisely the moment that Europe has lost sight of what it is. And while the movement of millions of people from other cultures into a strong and assertive culture might have worked, the *movement* of millions of people *into* a guilty, jaded and dying culture cannot. Even now Europe's leaders talk of an invigorated effort to incorporate the millions of new arrivals. (7 emphasis by me)

One can easily sense the fear of moving objects that are entering the borders of the body that in these sentences is called Europe. Blurry borders that make permeation invincible. The author explains that Europe cannot be home to the world as the definition of home falls apart if Europe becomes a home to the world (ibid.). Solidity of identity and body limits are crucial to the peaceful-mindedness of the pervert. If home to the whole world, Europe "must search for a definition of itself that is wide enough to encompass the world" (ibid.). If the world is included inside home, it would be as *Unheimliche* as the moment if a camel could go through the eye of a needle. Borders are vague, and Europe is unrecognizable as the result of such an attempt that the authorities have recently made,

> An appeal to justice of a different sort could just as well have come from those of a more conservative mindset. Such people might, for instance, have taken the view of Edmund Burke, who in the eighteenth century made the central conservative insight that a culture and a society are not things run for the convenience of the people who happen to be here right now, but a deep pact between the dead, the living and those yet to be born. In such a view of society, however greatly you might wish to benefit from an endless supply of cheap labour, a wider range of cuisine or the salving of a generations conscience, you still would not have the right to wholly transform your society. Because that which you inherited that is good should also be passed on. Even were you to decide that some of the views or lifestyles of your ancestors could be improved upon, it

36

does not follow that you should hand over to the next generation a society that is *chaotic*, *fractured* and *unrecognizable*. (296 emphasis by me)

Murray frightened with the image of a chaotic, fractured and unrecognizable body, feels that the *Unheimliche* or the abject can easily permeate the porous body of Europe.

Europe could no longer be bothered to turn anyone away. And so the door just remained open to anyone who wanted to walk through it. (293)

Excrements as one of the pair of polluting objects (excremental and menstrual) pose danger to identity from without. Foreigners to the xenophobic subject stand for the danger that threatens life by death. Polluting objects, in Little Hans's word *lumfs*, are horrifying because they can easily spread, grow and develop at a very fast rate.[9] Given that foreigners give birth at a very high rate, the xenophobic subject would perhaps say they replicate like amoebae. *The Free Dictionary* defines amoeba:

Ameobae are any of various one-celled free-living or parasitic protozoans having no definite form and moving by means of pseudopods.

Lacan characterizes the libido as an imaginary bodily organ he calls *lamella* or *l'hommelette*. The latter term means both "omelet" and "little feminine man"; Lacan offers it as a witty play on Plato's myth that human beings were originally egg-shaped androgynies who were only later divided into the two sexes. Lacan explains what a *lamella* is,

Let us imagine it, a large crepe moving about like the amoeba, ultra-flat for passing under doors, omniscient in being led by pure instinct, immortal in being scissiparous. Here is something you would not like to feel creeping over your face, silently while you are asleep, in order to seal it up…

Lamella is something extra flat, which moves like the *amoeba*. It is just little more complicated. But it *goes everywhere*. And as it is something – I will tell you shortly why—that is related to what the sexed being loses in sexuality, it is, like the amoeba in relation to sexed beings, *immortal*— because it survives any division, any *scissiparous* intervention. And it can run around.

Well! This is not very reassuring. But suppose it comes and envelops your face while you are quietly asleep…

---

[9] Like infectious diseases mostly that the xenophobic is afraid of being spread by the entrance of refugees into home.

I can't see how we would not join battle with a being capable of these properties. (Lacan 1988b:197)

One could easily point out the similarities between the lamella and the depiction of a refugee that is observable in xenophobia. First of all, it can go everywhere. We hear it everywhere in the news about the "flow", the "wave" and the influx of refugees. In the myth of Cain that was cast off, how did God punish him? He made him immortal. He had to wander around the world, like a homeless but forever illegal to immigrate to any land. And lastly, they replicate, they grow by splitting. Organisms that reproduce themselves in a non-sexual way, bacteria, viruses, prions, and clonescan, in principle live forever, because their reproduction comes down to a replication. It is a replication not a reproduction. More importantly, he is not castrated. He is not prohibited by the father to whom the xenophobic is begging to castrate the new arrival. The refugee is like the *hommelette* that

> … is one of the few human-like figures who needs not fear castration. He is, qua odradek, human in appearance only; furthermore, considering that he is both *prephallic* and *immortal*, he truly has '*nothing to lose*' in both senses of the phrase (there is no penis to be *castrated* and no determinant end to his existence. (Evans 2016)

Also, the myth of the stork can articulate the *Unheimliche* that is the real in the Lacanian sense and which is abject in Kristeva's theory of abjection. The doors are open to these new arrivals, new babies, new-born-s or in case of refugees one could say new-brought-s. The new-brought babies by boats or the old baby bringer, the stork, they can be dropped right on the lap of a mother or down the chimney that is as dark and dirty as a tunnel like the rectum from where one defecates. The myth of the stork that brings children to their mother is an old tale. The stork fable has been part of the European folklore for centuries. Little Hans was told that the stork brought his new sister. The stork soars high with little wing-flapping. Their flight patterns are heavenly gliding motionless on currents of air. Their appearance is phallic (Margolis and Parker 1972:502). But, there is a dark side to the beautiful story that we were told as a child. What if the stork drops the baby by mistake? The stork has been portrayed as a benign bird that is responsible for all maimed or stillborn infants. It is supposed that she dropped them *en route* to delivery. Or she brings crippled infants in "punishment and revenge to those who formerly tormented or taunted

38

her (497-8)." These people who have nothing to lose are dropped in the sea like unwanted babies or faeces to be either picked up or washed away later by the sea to the shore like Alan Kurdi.

> The naval patrols in the southern Mediterranean were continuing to pick people up in their thousands. Indeed, according to the EU's own agencies, the number of migrants arriving into Italy in July 2016 was 12 per cent up on the numbers in July 2015. A year on from what was meant to be the peak, more than ten thousand people were picked up off the North African coastline in just 48 hours. Whenever the media did report these events they described the migrants as being 'save' or 'rescued' from the Mediterranean. Most of the time the European vessels simply went ever nearer to the North African shore and picked people up from the boats they had been pushed off in not many minutes earlier. But the implication was really that they were being 'saved' and 'rescued' from terrible situations that had caused them to set out on the boats in the first place. (*The Strange Death*:284)

The xenophobic subject is sensing his concept of home is tearing apart. The loss of borders has made it an easy target for migration.

> The aim of migration was to fundamentally alter the concept of Europe and make it a home for the world, then the people of Europe would most likely have risen up and overthrown those governments.
> Europe is the home of the European peoples, and we are entitled to be home-centric as much as the Americans, Indians, Pakistanis, Japanese and all other peoples are. (ibid.:296-7)

The abjects must be kept somewhere between here and there, where it belongs, somewhere not inside or outside. Murrays says,

> They could, for instance, prioritize a policy of keeping migrants in the vicinity of the country from which they are fleeing. (ibid.:298)

Cain built a city in the vicinity of the city of God.

In Anti-Oedipus, Deleuze and Guattari argue that "the general theory of society is a generalized theory of flows" (Deleuze and Guattari 2000:262). How to code these flows (139) is every society's goal and the "terrifying nightmare" (140) of any society is a flow that eludes its codes, that is, a decoded or uncoded flow (25). Civilizations have tried to arrest and measure these flows.

> The social machine is literally a machine, irrespective of any metaphor, inasmuch as it exhibits an immobile motor and undertake a variety of interventions: flows are set apart, elements are detached from a chain,

and portions of the tasks to be performed are distributed. Coding the flows implies all these operations. This is the social machine's supreme task, inasmuch as the apportioning of production corresponds to extraction from the chain, resulting in a residual share for each member, in a global system of desire and destiny that organizes the productions of consumption. Flows of women and children, flows of herds and of seed, sperm flows, flows of shit, menstrual flows: *nothing must escape coding*. The primitive territorial machine, with its immobile motor, the earth, is already a social machine, a megamachine that codes the flows of production, the flows of means of production, of producers and consumers: the full body of the goddess Earth gathers to itself the cultivable species, the agricultural implements, and the human organs. (141-142 emphasis by me)

The nightmare of every society is the terror of a non-coded or decoded flow. The uncoded flow of abjects has become the nightmare of Europe. The EU has tried to code the flow of refugees by its "mandatory quotas" but they have been "divisive and ineffective," says the president of the European council, Donald Tusk (Rankin 2017)."

We can remember that Little Hans was afraid a horse would come in, a horse would fall, or a locomotive[10] that is just like a *widdler.*[11] Hans saw a steam engine when he was at the railway station. The engine was peeing, but no *wiwimacher* is visible. Phobic objects are most terrifying when they start to move either part of their body or the whole. In case of a xenophobic phobic objects are inherently moving objects, coming from the sea, crossing borders, penetrating the borderless Europe. The xenophobic is terrified of the unrestricted flow of these abjects that are uncoded. An abject is *Unheimliche* as it is not alien yet not inside or outside thus disturbing the identity and space.

> The abject is what I must get rid of in order to be an I at all. It is a phantasmatic substance not only alien to the subject but intimate with it—too much so in fact, and this overproximity produces panic in the subject. In this way the abject touches on the fragility of our boundaries, of the spatial distinction between our insides and outsides as well as of the temporal passage between the maternal body and the paternal law. Both spatially and temporally, then, abjection is a condition in which subjecthood is troubled … (Foster 1996:114)

I already developed the similarities between refugees and excrements or in Little Hans's words *lumfs* that were the replacement for new-born children. Refugees as if dropped like

---

[10] Klein's use of locomotive
[11] Little Hans's word for penis

lumfs belong to the anal universe. The xenophobic is afraid because there is no differentiation in the anal universe. In "the anal universe where all differences are abolished (Chasseguet-Smirgel 1985:3)."

The xenophobic author of *The Strange Death* condemns the concept of the art that is mostly attractive to the movements that in his mind would be the same as the ones that support the Welcome Refugee cause. The three movements in contemporary art, "the parasitic, the haunted full stop and the studiedly insincere," Murray says, are not "aberrations in the culture" they are,

> The greatest possible refutation of the presumptions of recent generations. Contra all the assurances and expectations, the people who came into Europe did not throw themselves into our culture and become part of it. (*The Strange Death*:276)

Murray is afraid of this "fusion" art that can be about falafel. He is condemning contemporary artists who do not attempt to connect to any enduring truth, and simply saying to the public that "I am down in the mud with you." In the mud, everything is the same color. Differentiation fails and recognition as well. In the mud, be it money, baby, or faeces, the same! Everything turns into a *lumf*. Nothing is identifiable. Once again the xenophobic is stating that the absence of differentiation is what is causing his anxiety. In the abject art, Mike Kelley (as cited by Foster 1997:119) who explores the space where symbols are not stable, he asserts that he is intended to "interconnect everything, set up a field, … [where] there is no longer any differentiation." In this field "the concepts faeces (money, gift), baby and penis are ill-distinguished from one another and are easily interchangeable (Freud as cited by ibid.)." Once distinctions gone, the baby, the penis, and the lump[12] of shit become the same. The xenophobic is afraid of losing not only part of his living body but the totality of it if differentiations are obliterated as the result of which everything will turn into a lump or in Little Hans's terms, into a *lumf*.

Chapter Six: An Open-End Conclusion

---

[12] Lumpen the German word for "rag" that Marx found it abject too in the word Lumpen-proletariat that are the mass too ragged to form a class is the word that all the abjects are deducted to.

I discussed how I diagnosed the xenophobic as the perverse as he has gone under alienation but not separation. Separation is relieving. On the conscious level, the xenophobic is afraid that Europe is going to die, but unconsciously he wishes she would be dead and allow him to have desire without her part of it, and back to be the full-fledged German, English, or etc.. But the abject that was thrown out by the symbolic, like Cain into exile, is approaching the seamless Europe. Cain was sentenced to wandering not to death and now he is coming back to Europe under the disguise of an asylum-seeker; the xenophobic calls upon the symbolic order to do something. The immortal is approaching. If I may rephrase Fink's sentence, the xenophobic

> "… know[s] full well that [his] father hasn't forced [him] to give up [nation-state] and the *jouissance* [he] take[s] in her presence hasn't exacted the 'pound of flesh,' but [he's] going to stage such an exaction or forcing with someone who stands in for him; I'll make that person pronounce the law." (1977:170)

The xenophobic is seeking a charismatic figure to set limits to the flow of the phobic objects. The EU has required that the xenophobic erase its borders, "handing itself over to it in an unconditional manner (Harari 1991:75)." No matter how loud the xenophobic is repeating his implicit exhortations to his father, "Be a real father!" he is unheard. The danger lies here now for Europe as the xenophobic cannot buy the discourse about war-stricken refugees as "the story has run out" (the title of a chapter in *The Strange Death*). Like Little Hans, the xenophobic knows where the new arrival comes from and is saying he is irritated by the lies he claims he has been told. The xenophobic has seen how refugees who were told to be children, but pretty old to be children, resisted being misled any more by his parents with the stork fable. He is questioning the wisdom of the father. The subject to know is not reliable.

> When the British government agreed to take in a certain number of unaccompanied child migrants from the camp, photographs of the young arrivals appeared in the newspapers. Some of the 'children' looked distinctly adult. Some were in their thirties. (*The Strange Death*:292)

Now that we know the xenophobic is the perverse asking the father to name the desire of the mOther in his deficiency, what can we do?

Now that we know xenophobia is the fear of the flow of abjects into home, what can we do?

Now that we know refugees to the xenophobic are like the *hommelette*, haven't been castrated by the Name-of-the-Father thus immortal and prephallic and having truly nothing to lose, what can we do?

Should Europe open the borders and let everybody in?

Should Europe confront her phobic object? How can in practice Europe put limit to the desire of the Other for the xenophobic to be treated? Is it really treatable?

Once again we should go back to Freud's Little Hans. Little Hans every time he asked about the birth of his new sister, his parents would answer him with all stories except the real one that the father had a role in the birth of the new arrival. Little Hans unconsciously knew the stories about the stork bringing babies were not true. He even started playing a little game with his parents about how Anna was there with them at Gmendun the year before she was even born. Lacan says fantasies help anxiety go away. What is the fantasy Europe needs to overcome this phobia? Has Europe ever tried to tell the true story of the new arrivals to the xenophobic? How should Europe code this uncoded flow of humans into home? As Deleuze and Guattari have said that uncoded flows are every society's nightmare (Chapter Five). The EU cannot scrap the refugee quota and leave the refugees as the *hommellettes* uncastrated and the perverse as xenophpbic as they are. In Lacanian terms, the *hommellette* is not castrated. But how to castrate refugees if one has to value human rights? Is it a trade-off situation? Orbán has warned Europe,

> Let us hope that God will help us and we will not have to invent a new type of political system instead of democracy that would need to be introduced for the sake of economic survival … Co-operation is a question of force, not of intention. Perhaps there are countries where things don't work that way, for example in the Scandinavian countries, but such a half-Asiatic rag-tag people as we are can unite only if there is force (Horvat 2015).

But Murray, not under the pressure like that of a politician, who has to win the votes of the public, renders it less aggressively and says,

> They could, for instance, prioritize a policy of keeping migrants in the vicinity of the country from which they are fleeing. (*The Strange Death*:298)

Should Europe then like Cain in the biblical story build a city next to the city of God? That is what Europe is doing right now by paying cash to Turkey to keep refugees.

I do not have a certain answer to all the above. But I know that there are some points we need to bear in mind in dealing with xenophobia. I associate sudden recent xenophobia to Brexit whose future will determine the future of the European Union. The UK has voted to leave the European Union. The date of separation is set at 11 pm UK time on Friday 29 March, 2019 and there are three main concerns that have to be dealt with before the "divorce:" how much the UK has to pay to the EU, what happens to the Northern Ireland border and what happens to UK citizens living elsewhere in the EU and EU citizens living in the UK? But there is the possibility of a no-deal ending to the negotiations between the UK and the European Union. A no-deal would mean "scrapping a 21-month transitionary exit period (Petkar 2018)." This means the UK can refuse to pay a divorce bill to the EU that is estimated at about 39billion pounds. Residency rights for 3.7million EU nationals in the UK would also disappear overnight. This also applies to 1.3million UK nationals residing in the EU. If the EU takes further the capitalist erosion of the Other's efficiency, the xenophobic subject will fall even more deep into a panic.

Kovacevic (2011) in his brilliant paper, *Masochism in Political Behavior: a Lacanian Perspective* discusses that the masochist's "victories" are by necessity temporary as he will require constant repetition. Masochism is a category of perversion. The xenophobic like the masochist is struggling for separation from the Other. Separation means that law has to be brought forward. Lacan says that what underlies this push for separation is the appearance of anxiety. The masochist is always trying to make the Other redefine their relation. The masochist wants boundaries imposed, rituals and practices call fort, and lay down the law that everybody has to respect. But all this is temporary (Fink 1997:188). The threat of imminent chaos remains ever present. The masochist makes the Other anxious to make him create laws that would take care of the masochist's demands. But this is temporary satisfaction, as the masochist will endlessly take it even further.

Before the arrival of his sister, Little Hans had already shown the wish for the death of the father. His wish for his father to die was coupled with his love. He "quite unexpectedly butted his head into his [father's] stomach, so that he had given him as it were a reflex blow with his hand." This, Freud says, was "an expression of the little boy's

hostile disposition towards him, and perhaps also as a manifestation of a need for getting punished for it" (Freud 1977:204). The EU needs to take serious action with regard to Brexit and set an example for future troubles that are already emerging, like in Hungary with Orbán unscrupulously threatening to replace democracy with a new political system if necessary. The EU has to demonstrate its authority every time xenophobia shows her face, as there is no permanent solution. As I am writing this these I heard about the news that the EU took action against the transgression of Hungary ("EU Parliament Votes," 2018).

To conclude I will take a long quotation from Hyldgaard's magnificent article on perversion, *The Conformity of Perversion* and from there I will try to have suggestions for the current xenophobia in Europe.

Hyldgaard writes,

> Rather, the other is a puppet in that scenery which is an imperative necessity for the perverse subject's fulfillment of satisfaction. If the other forgets his or her part, or is incapable of playing his or her part in the subject's fantasy about the other — for instance as a frothing greedy vamp or the reverse, an innocent, asexual Lolita who can be corrupted by the pervert — then *the scene or the setting collapses*. This is one of the reasons why perverts are often compelled to seek out the professionals, i.e., the prostitutes, as these are paid in order that desire should not crop up as a question. This is probably the definition of, and a precondition for, professionalism altogether.
>
> That the prostitute or the other in general is a puppet in the perverse subject's fantasy can explain why the question — of how the obvious simulation of the prostitute can have an effect — is naive and beside the point; it is an irrelevant question. In the perverse scenery the seemingly naive illusion dominates. Authenticity is neither an issue nor a problem in perversion. Only the neurotic worries whether the Other's, meaning the lover's, desire and manifestation of lust is authentic. The Other's desire is never occasion for knowledge, only occasion for doubt and supposition in a neurotic structure.
>
> In contrast to the neurotic, the pervert knows what he desires. The pervert's relation to the other's desire is, or must be, a relation of knowledge, not of question, not of lack of knowledge. The masochist must be able to control the situation, he must be able to instruct the scenery either explicitly by detailed prescriptions of clothing, lines etc. or by manipulating the other to humiliate him or her. The masochist's climax is reached when he can prompt the other to think that it is her

desire to kick, beat up and humiliate him; when he can make her think that she is not a puppet on a string, but a true sovereign, and act accordingly. This is the reason why sadists and masochists cannot form an ideal couple, as the agent of both parts is knowledge, the key word is control, the other must never be the Other, never be the occasion of anxious doubt (Hyldgaar emphasis by me).

Thus, the xenophobic is making scenery that is an imperative necessity for him to feel satisfied. If the EU forgets her part and is incapable of playing her part in the xenophobic's fantasy the scene collapses. Perverts have to pay to leave no place for any further question. Perverts are fond of professionalism and contracts. If the UK has forced this divorce on the EU and has been treating the EU like a puppet is because she knows what she desires. The perverse needs to control the situation; she must instruct the scenery. She reaches her climax when she can prompt the other to think that it is her desire to hurt the perverse that triggered this in the first place.

Let's see how the EU responded to the Brexit. President of the European Commission Jean-Claude Juncker after the result was announced called for urgency on separation and said,

> It doesn't make any sense to wait until October to try and negotiate the terms of their departure. I would like to get started immediately. (Cooper 2016)

The perverse did enjoy this scene where she could see anxiety in the speech Juncker made right after Brexit results. Boris Johnson an advocate of the leave announced that there is no "haste" in negotiating the terms of Britain's departure but Brussels insisted on immediate action. Exactly what the Brexiteers wanted. Juncker told Germany's *ARD* television station after the referendum,

> Britons decided yesterday that they want to leave the European Union, so it doesn't make any sense to wait until October to try to negotiate the terms of their departure. (Cooper 2016)

The xenophobic have developed phobia as a defensive mechanism as, Freud in his analysis of Little Hans' phobia of horses points out that a phobic object helps to cover a more horrible anxiety that is related to the relationship of the son with his father. This does not mean that a powerless father or an absent father alleviate anxiety (Freud 1977:126). On the contrary, it opens up a space for strong identification with some 'proper' father substitutes

(like cult-leaders), as well as a desire to expose the failed actual father (Salecl 2004:126). That is what the reader has to bear in mind that the liberal father is as dangerous as the totalitarian father. The right wing is always awaiting the rise of a new father, a charismatic leader to identify with. Just like the perverts who are "good" boys to their mums, the perverts are the well-behaved citizens; they are the ones who have given up the most for the Other's desire. Both Kierkegaard (2014) and Lacan (2018) confirm that the guilt of giving up on one's desire is the cause of anxiety.

What would be Freud's solution to this situation? Let's go back to Freud, as Lacan always urges us to do,

> In the end the patient may have got rid of all his anxiety, but only at the price of subjecting himself to all kinds of inhibitions and restrictions. From the outset in anxiety hysteria the mind is constantly at worked in the direction of once more physically binding the anxiety which has become liberated; but this work can neither bring about a retransformation of the anxiety into libido, nor can it establish any contact with the complexes which were the source of the libido. Nothing is left for it but to cut off access to every possible occasion that might lead to the development of anxiety, by erecting mental barriers, [in the case of the xenophobic by erecting borders,] in the nature of precautions, inhibitions, or prohibitions; and it is these protective structures to our eyes the essence of the disease. (Freud 1977:275)

This means in short that the EU has to be strict in dealing with Brexit.

Now let's review Salecl's analysis of Wilkomirski who developed "a traumatic memory as an answer to his particular anxiety with regard to the failed father (2004:134)." She states, "traumatic memory can offer a quilting point that helps the subject to find answers to his or her distress with anxiety (121)." When he was forced to accept that his memories were fake. He developed another fantasy, a violent one. Destruction entails if recognition is not possible for the subject (Lacan 1988a:171). We cannot force the xenophobic to be rational and not be afraid. He will develop new fantasies to stick to his fear. But how could the EU recognize the xenophobic? This has to be analyzed in coalescence of sociology and psychoanalysis.

Among others who have elaborated on the problem is Balibar. It's worth to see what he suggests,

> re-valorization of the powers of the European Commission, institutionalization of humanitarian norms on a par with budgetary and

commercial norms, liberation of resources for a politics of assistance and integration (which in turn would increase the necessity of democratic control at a "federal" level), concerted educational programmes against racism... In short, a re-invigoration of the European Union project, in opposition to current tendencies. (Balibar 2015)

But is it conceivable? Balibar asks himself. He answers, "Perhaps, if a common sense still exists among us." Balibar is imagining a more democratic and less state-centered European citizenship. European citizenship needs to be reinvented. This means that a new Europe. That is exactly what the xenophobic finds horrifying. And it is already obvious that there is no common sense among Europeans. *Human Rights Watch* reports in November 2016,

Despite common, binding EU asylum standards, inadequate implementation and enforcement mean that there are deep disparities among EU member states with respect to procedures, reception conditions, and treatment of asylum seekers. These disparities are at the root of the distortions in the EU asylum system and explain many of the tensions and divisions among EU member states when it comes to addressing migration and asylum challenges. (Petropoulou 2017)

Balibar argues moralistically,

It is a question of whether humanity expels from its womb a part of itself, or whether it integrates the rightful demands thereof into its political order and into its value system. It is a civilizational choice. It is for us to choose. (Balibar 2018)

Lacan would say, the subject expels from within a part of itself, like an abject, Kristeva would suggest.

The current situation in Europe resembles the dialectic of phobia between Little Hans and his father who encourages his son to go toward his phobic object. In his chapter, *Learning to Live With It,* Douglas Murray describes how the state has made it compulsory for them to put up with refugees. Confronting the phobic object or trying to eupeptic like Boris Johnson suggests is not the answer to this problem either. The subject will throw up the abject again.

Some things are clear that the EU cannot let the UK leave with no deal. A no-deal will further damage the image of the EU that is already a deficient father in the eyes of the xenophobic and right-wing. The xenophobic will not be persuaded with numbers or rational thinking of the opponents. The xenophobic will develop other fantasies with regard to the-

Name-of-the-Father, even with more violent endings. And second, the EU has to code the uncoded flow of the abjects. I called the flow of migration, an uncoded flow of abjects and there is this evidence of impossibility of coding that is manifest in the failure of the distribution quotas of refugees on the basis of each country's population and resources. It is not a matter of number or the wealth of millions of Europeans who are not willing to accommodate refugees. It is a permanent fear of foreigners that needs to be precisely dealt with on daily basis. This phobia needs more analysis before further action can be taken. But to avoid the emergence of a new charismatic leader to lead the xenophobic no tolerance of any act of xenophobia can be acceptable. What has to be explained more is how the EU can recognize the xenophobic to prevent violence and how the EU has to further develop the fantasy of a seamless Europe for the xenophobic to overcome his phobia of the flow of the abjects into the home? Little Hans developed new fantasies to finally overcome his phobia. The EU needs to implement the same strategy and for this psychoanalysis can come handy.

Reference

Altheide, David H. (2006). *Terrorism and the Politics of Fear*. Lanham. Altamira Press.

Andre, Rasmus. (2018). *The Nonracist Racist: A discursive Psychology Approach to Anti-immigration Sentiment in Sweden* (Master's Dissertation). Uppsala University. Retrieved http://uu.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1215952/FULLTEXT01.pdf.

Ariely, Gal. (2012). Globalization, Immigration and National Identity: How the level of Globalization affects the Relations between Nationalism, Constructive Patriotism and Attitudes toward Immigrants*? Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*. 15(4):539-557.

Ariely, Gal. (2016). Does National Identification Always Lead to Chauvinism? A Cross-National Analysis of Contextual Explanations. *Globalization*. 13(4):377-395.

Bail, Christopher A.. (2008). The Configuration of Symbolic Boundaries against Immigrants in Europe. *American Sociological Review*. 73:37-59.

Balibar, Etienne. (2015, September 8). Can Europe Make it? Borderland Europe and the Challenge of Migration. *Open Democracy*. Retrieved https://www.opendemocracy.net/can-europe-make-it/etienne-balibar/borderland-europe-and-challenge-of-migration.

Balibar, Etienne. (2018, August 18). Can Europe Make it? A Call for an International Right of Hospitality on World Humanitarian Day. *Open Democracy*. Retrieved https://www.opendemocracy.net/can-europe-make-it/etienne-balibar/call-for-international-right-of-hospitality.

Barnard-Naude, Jaco. (2017). "She Reigns and He Does Not Govern": The Discourse of the Anxious Hysteric in Post-apartheid South Africa. *Law Critique*. 28:267-287.

Ben-Nun Bloom, Pazit; Arikan, Gizem; Lahav, Gallya. (2015). the Effect of Perceived Cultural and Material Threats on Ethnic Preferences in Immigration Attitudes. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 38:10:1760–1778.

Bhandar, Davina. (2004). Renormalizing Citizenship and Life in Fortress North America. Citizenship Studies. 8(3):261-78. Retrieved https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/1362102042000256998.

Blalock, Hubert M.. (1967). *Toward a Theory of a Minority-Group Relations*. New York. Wiley.

Blitz, James. (2018, May 23). Are Britons Softening on Immigration? *Financial Times*. Retrieved https://www.ft.com/content/9cfd644e-5e7e-11e8-9334-2218e7146b04

Blumer, H. (1958). Race Prejudice as a Sense of Group Position. *Pacific Sociological Review*. 1:3–7.

Bobo, L; Hutchings, VI. (1996). Perceptions of Racial Group Competition: Extending Blumer's Theory of Group Position to a Multiracial Social Context. *American Sociological Review*. 61(6):951-972.

Boehnke, Klaus; Hagan, John; Hefler, Gerd. (1998). On the Development of Xenophobia in Germany: The Adolescent Years. *Journal of Social Issues*. 54(3):585-602.

Bracher, Mark. (1988). Lacan's Theory of the Four Discourses. *Prose Studies*. 11: 32–49.

Castels, Stephen. (2006). Guestworkers in Europe: A Resurrection? *International Migration Review*. 40(4):741-766. Retrieved https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2006.00042.x.

Ceobanu, Alin M.; Escandell Xavier. (2008). East is West? National Feelings and Anti-Immigrant Sentiment in Europe. *Social Science Research*. 37(4):1147-1170.

Chasseguet-Smirgel, Janine. (1985). *Creativity and Perversion*. London. Free Association Books.

Chiesa, Lorenzo. (2008). Topology of Fear. *Subjectivity*. 24(1):298-313.

Ciftci, Sabri. (2012). Islamophobia and Threat Perceptions: Explaining Anti-Muslim Sentiment in the West. *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*. 32(3):293-309.

Citrin, Jack; Sides, John. (2007). European Opinion about Immigration: the Role of Identities, Interests and Information. *British Journal of Political Science*. 37:477-504.

Ma, Michael C.K.; Bhandar, Davina. (2012). Phobia in an Age of Post-Migrant Rights: the Criminalization of Tamil Refugee. In *Manufacturing Phobias: The Political Production of Fear in Theory and Practice*. (175-206). University of Toronto.

Coenders, Marcel; Lubbers, Marcel; Scheepers, Peer; Verkuyten, Maykel. (2008). More than Two Decades of Changing Ethnic Attitudes in the Netherlands. *Journal of Social Issues*. 64(2):269-285.

Coenders, Marcel; Lubbers, Marcel; Tolsma, Jochem. (2008). Ethnic Competition and Opposition to Ethnic Intermarriage in the Netherlands: a Multi-Level Approach. *European Sociological Review*. 24(2)2:215-230.

Coleman, David A. (1992). Does Europe need immigrants? Population and Work Force Projections. *International Migration Review*. 26(2):413+

Cooper, Charlie. (2016, June 25). Brexit will not be 'an Amicable Divorce,' Says Jean Claude Juncker. *Independent*. Retrieved https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/brexit-latest-eu-referendum-juncker-article-50-when-will-uk-leave-not-an-amicable-divorce-a7102561.html.

Creighton, Mathew J.; Amaney, Jamal. (2015). Does Islam Play a Role in Anti-Immigrant Sentiment? An Experimental Approach. *Social Science Research*. 53:89-103.

Davis, Mark. (1991). *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles.* London. Verso.

DeSipio, Louis. (2002). Immigrant Organizing, Civic Outcomes: Civic Engagement, Political Activity, National Attachment, and Identity in Latino Immigrant Communities. *Center for the Study of Democracy*. Retrieved https://cloudfront.escholarship.org/dist/prd/content/qt4pf4c1tz/qt4pf4c1tz.pdf?t=lnqqld.

Deleuze, Gilles; Guattari, Felix. (2000). *Anti-Oedipus; Capitalism and Schizophrenia.* Translated by Robert Hurley, Mark Seem, and Helen R. Lane. London. The Athlone Press.

Dolar, Mladen. (1991). "I Shall Be with You on Your Wedding-Night": Lacan and the Uncanny. *JSTOR*. 58:5-23.

Ehl, David. (2018, August 29). Violence in Chemnitz: A timeline of events. *DW*. Retrieved https://www.dw.com/en/violence-in-chemnitz-a-timeline-of-events/a-45262531.

EU Parliament Votes to Punish Hungary over 'Breaches' of Core Values. (2018, September 12). *BBC NEWS*. Retrieved https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-45498514.

Evans, Christine. (2016). M. Hommelette's Wild Ride: Lamella as a Category of Shame. *International Journal of Zizek Studies*. 2(2).

Fierke, K. M. (2007). *Critical Approaches to International Security*. London: Polity.

Fink, Bruce; Feldstein, Richard; Jaanus, Maire. (1995). *Reading Seminar XI, Lacan's Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis*. State University of New York Press.

Fink, Bruce. (1997). *A Clinical Introduction to Lacanian Psychoanalysis; Theory and Technique*. Harvard University Press.

Foster, Hal. (1996). Obscene, Abject, Traumatic. *Monoskop*. 107-124. Retrieved https://monoskop.org/images/5/54/Foster_Hal_1996_Obscene_Abject_Traumatic.pdf.

Freud, Sigmund. (1977). *Case Histories; "Dora" and "Little Hans"*. Translated by Alix and James Strachey. Penguin Books.

Furedi, Frank. (2007). The Only Thing We Have to Fear is the 'Culture of Fear' Itself. *Spiked*. Retrieved http://www.frankfuredi.com/pdf/fearessay-20070404.pdf.

Glaser, James M.; Gilens, Martin. (1997). Interregional Migration and Political Resocialization: A Study of Racial Attitudes under Pressure. *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 61(1):72-86.

Glynos, Jason. (2001). 'There is no Other of the Other' Symptoms of a Decline in Symbolic Faith, or, Zizek's Anti-Capitalism. *Paragraph*. 24(2):78-110.

Green, Egt; Sarrasom, O; Fasel, N; Staerkle, C. (2011). Nationalism and Patriotism as Predictors of Immigration Attitudes in Switzerland: A Municipality-Level Analysis. *Swiss Political Science Review*. 17(4):369-393.

Harari, Roberto. (1991). *Lacan's Seminar on 'Anxiety': An introduction*. New York: Other Press.

Hayes, Bernadettec; Dowds, Lizanne. (2006). Social Contact, Cultural Marginality or Economic Self-Interest? Attitudes Towards Immigrants in Northern Ireland. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. 32(3):455-476.

Heizmann, Boris. (2016). Symbolic Boundaries, Incorporation Policies, and Anti-Immigrant Attitudes: What Drives Exclusionary Policy Preferences? *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 39(10):1791-1811.

Hillier, Jean; Healy, Patsy (eds.). (2008). *Contemporary Movements in Planning Theory: Critical Essays in Planning Theory*. 3. London: Routledge.

Hirvonen, Ari. (2017). Fear and Anxiety: The Nationalist and Racist Politics of Fantasy. *Law and Critique*. 28(3):249-265.

Hook, Derek. (2004). Racism as Abjection: A Psychoanalytic Conceptualization for a Post-Apartheid South Africa. *South Africa Journal of Psychology*. 34(4):672-703.

Hook, Derek. (2005). Paradoxes of the Other: (Post-) Colonial Racism, Racial Difference, Stereotype-as-Fetish. *PINS*. 31:9-30.

Hook, Derek. (2006). 'Pre-discursive' Racism. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology.* 16:207-232.

Hook, Derek. (2008). The 'Real' of Racializing Embodiment. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*. 18:140-152.

Hook, Derek; Howarth, Caroline. (2005). Future Directions for a Critical Social Psychology of Racism/Antiracism. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*. 15:506-512.

Hooligans 'Attack Migrants' in Chemnitz after Stabbing at City Festival. (2018, August 27). *AFP*. Retrieved https://www.thelocal.de/20180827/hooligans-attack-migrants-in-chemnitz-after-stabbing-at-city-festival.

Horvat, Srecko. (2015, June 23). Europe's Soft Dictatorship. *Al-Jazeera*. Retrieved https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2015/06/europe-soft-dictatorship-immigration-hungary-150622110424394.html.

Hyldgaard, Kristen. The Conformity of Perversion. *Lacan.com*. Retrieved http://www.lacan.com/conformper.htm.

Ince, John. 2005. *The Politics of Lust*. Amherst, NY: Prometheus.

Isin, Engin. (2004). The Neurotic Citizen. *Citizenship Studies*. 8(3):217-35. Retrieved https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/1362102042000256970.

Jeong, Hoi Ok. (2013). Do National Feelings Influence Public Attitudes towards Immigration? *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. 39(9): 1461-1477.

Kelly, Lidia; Pawlak, Justyna. (2018, January 3). Poland's Far-Right: Opportunity and Threat for Ruling PiS. *Reuters*. Retrieved https://www.reuters.com/article/us-poland-politics-farright/polands-far-right-opportunity-and-threat-for-ruling-pis-idUSKBN1ES0BK.

Kierkegaard, Soren. (2014). *The Concept of Anxiety. A Simple Psychologically Oriented Deliberation in View of the Dogmatic Problem of Hereditary Sin*. Translated by Alastair Hannay. W. W. Norton and Company.

Kovacevic, Filip. (2011). Masochism in Political Behavior: a Lacanian Perspective. *International Journal of Applied Psychoanalytic Studies*. 8(1):58-73.

Kristeva, Julia. (1982). *Powers of Horror*. Translated by Leon S. Roudiez. New York. Columbia University Press.

Kunovich, Robert M.. (2013). Labor Market Competition and Anti-Immigrant Sentiment: Occupations as Contexts. *International Migration Review*. 47(3).

Kushner, Tony. (2003). Meaning Nothing but Good: Ethics, History and Asylum-Seeker Phobia in Britain. *Patterns of Prejudice*. 37(3):257-276.

Lacan, J.. (1988a) *Freud's Papers on Technique, 1953–1954*. Translated by John Forrester. Edited by Jacques-Alain Miller. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

Lacan, J.. (1988b). *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis, Book XI*. Edited by Jacques-Alain Miller. Translated by Alan Sheridan. W. W. Norton and Company.

Lacan, J.. (2006). *Ecrits*. Translated by Bruce Fink. W. W. Norton and Company.

Lacan , J.. (2018). *Anxiety. Book X*. Edited by Jacques-Alain Miller. Polity Press.

Lapinski, J.S., Peltola, P., Shaw, G.; A. Yang. (1997). Trends: Immigrations and Immigration. *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 61:356-383.

Lubbers, Marcel; Gijsberts, Merove; Scheepers, Peer. (2002). Extreme Right-Wing Voting in Western Europe. *European Journal of Political Research*. 41(3):345-378.

Machado, Danuza. (2016). Phobia and Perversion. *JCFAR*. Retrieved http://jcfar.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/Phobia-and-Perversion-Danuza-Machado.pdf.

Mckay, Fiona H.; Thomas, Samantha L.; Kneebone, Susan. (2012). 'It Would be Okay If They Came through the Proper Channels': Community Perceptions and Attitudes toward Asylum Seekers in Australia. *Journal of Refugee Studies*. 25(1):113-133.

Mance, Henry. (2018, July 10). Political Correspondent. Negativity about immigration falls sharply in Brexit Britain. *Financial Times*. Retrieved https://www.ft.com/content/b9cfac7a-836e-11e8-a29d-73e3d454535d.

Margolis, Marvin; Parker, Philip. (1972). the Stork Fable—Some Psychodynamic Considerations. *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association*. 20(3):494-511.

Mayda, Anna Maria; Facchini, Giovanni. (2006). Individual Attitudes towards Immigrants: Welfare-State Determinants across Countries. CESifo Area Conference on Global Economy. *Munich University Center for Economic Studies*.

Meertens, Roel W.; Pettigrew, Thomas F.. (1997). Is Subtle Prejudice Really Prejudice? *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 61(1):54-71.

Meuleman, Bart; Davidov, Eldad; Billiet, Jaak. (2009). Changing Attitudes towards Immigration in Europe, 2002-2007: A Dynamic Group Conflict Theory Approach. *Social Science Research*. 38(2): 352-365.

Miller, Nick. (2018, August 22). 'I'm Not a Racist': Immigration a Key Concern in Swedish Elections. *The Sydney Morning Herald*. Retrieved https://www.smh.com.au/world/europe/i-m-not-a-racist-but-immigration-a-key-concern-in-swedish-elections-20180822-p4zz16.html.

Murray, Douglas. (2017). *The Strange Death of Europe; Immigration, Identity, Islam*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

Novak, Marja. (2018, June 3). Anti-Immigration Party Wins Slovenia Elections. *Reuters*. Retrieved https://www.reuters.com/article/us-slovenia-election/anti-immigration-party-wins-slovenia-elections-idUSKCN1IY0V1.

O'Connell, Michael. (2005). Economic Forces and Anti-Immigrant Attitudes in Western Europe: a Paradox in Search of an Explanation. *Patterns of Prejudice*. 39(1):60-74.

O'Rourke, Kevin H.; Sinnott, Richard. (2006). The Determinants of Individual Attitudes towards Immigration. *European Journal of Political Economy*. 22(4):838-861.

Pehrson, S.; Vignoles, V.; Brown, R. (2009). National Identification and Anti-Immigrant Prejudice: Individual and Contextual Effects of National Definitions. *Social Psychology Quarterly*. 72(1), 24-38.

Petkar, Sofia. (2018, September 17). No Deal Dramas. What is a No-Deal Brexit, What's Government's Latest Advice and What Would It Mean for the UK? *The Sun*. Retrieved https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/6820080/what-no-deal-brexit-news-uk-advice/.

Petropoulou, Athanasia. (2017). On the Margins of Citizenship: The Refugee Crisis and the Transformation of Identities in Europe. *Nordicum-Mediterraneun*. Retrieved https://nome.unak.is/wordpress/volume-12-no-2-2017/conference-procceding/margins-citizenship-refugee-crisis-transformation-identities-europe/

Polavieja, Javier G.. (2016). Labour-Market Competition, Recession and anti-Immigrant Sentiments in Europe: Occupational and Environmental Drivers of Competitive Threat. *Socio-Economic Review*. 14(3):395–417. https://doi.org/10.1093/ser/mww002.

Quillian, Lincoln. (1995). Prejudice as a Response to Perceived Group Threat: Population Composition and Anti-Immigrant and Racial Prejudice in Europe. *American Sociological Review*. 60(4):586-611.

Rabbie, J. M.. (1982). The Effects of Intergroup Competition on Intragroup and Intergroup Relationships. In *Cooperation and Helping Behavior Theories and Research*. Edited by V. J. Derlega and J. Grzelak. New York: Academic Press. pp.123–49.

Rabbie, J. M.. (1992). The Effects of Intragroup Cooperation and Intergroup Competition on In-Group Cohesion and Out-Group Hostility. In *Coalitions and Alliances* In *Humans and Other Animals*. Edited by A. H. Harcourt and F. B. M. de Waal. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp.175–205.

Rabbie, J. M.; Benoist, F.; Oosterbaan, H.; Visser, L.. (1974). Differential Power and Effects of Expected Competitive and Cooperative Intergroup Interaction on Intragroup and Outgroup Attitudes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. 30:46-56.

Raijman, Rebeca; Semyonov, Moshe; Schmidt, Peter. (2003). Do Foreigners Deserve Rights? Determinants of Public Views towards Foreigners in Germany and Israel. *European Sociological Review*. 19(4):379-392.

Ramadan, Hisham; Shantz, Jeff. (2016). *Manufacturing Phobias: the Political Production of Fear in Theory and Practice*. University of Toronto Press.

Rankin, Jennifer. (2017, December 11). EU Could 'Scrap Refugee Quota Scheme.' *The Guardian*. Retrieved https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/dec/11/eu-may-scrap-refugee-quota-scheme-donald-tusk.

Rankin, Jennifer. (2018, April 9). Viktor Orbán: re-election of Hungary's anti-immigrant leader is major challenge for EU. *The Guardian*. Retrieved https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/apr/09/viktor-Orbán -re-election-hungarys-anti-immigrant-leader-major-challenge-for-eu.

Ray, John J.; Lovejoy, F. H.. (1986). The Generality of Racial Prejudice. *Journal of Social Psychology*. 126:563–64.

Rimke, Heidi. (2016). Pathologizing Resistance and Promoting Anthropophobia: The Violent Extremism Risk Assessment (VERA) as Case Study. In *Manufacturing*

Phobias: The Political Production of Fear in Theory and Practice. (17-26). University of Toronto.

Richards, Thomas A.. (2013). "Social Anxiety Fact Sheet: What is Social Anxiety Disorder? Symptoms, Treatment, Prevalence, Medications, Insight, Prognosis." *Social Anxiety Association*. Retrieved http://socialphobia.org/social-anxiety-disorder-definition-symptoms-treatment-therapy-medications-insight-prognosis.

Rustenbach, Elisa. (2010). Sources of Negative Attitudes towards Immigrants in Europe: A Multi-Level Analysis. *International Migration Review*. 44(1):53-77.

Rydgren, Jens. (2004). *The Logic of Xenophobic*. Rationality and Society. 16(2):123-148.

Salecl, Renata. (2004). *On Anxiety*. London. Routledge.

Salecl, Renata. (2011). Perversion and Forensic Science: Fraudulent Testimonies. *Social Research*. 78(3):887-906.

Schlueter, Elmar; Wagner, Ulrich. (2008). Regional Differences Matter: Examining the Dual Influence of the Regional Size of the Immigrant Population on Derogation of Immigrants in Europe. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*. 49(2-3):153-173.

Schneider, S. L. (2008). Anti-Immigrant Attitudes in Europe: Outgroup Size and Perceived Ethnic Threat. *European Sociological Review*. 24(1):53–67.

Semyonov, Moshe, Raijman, Rebeca; Gorodzeisky, Anastasia. (2006). The Rise of Anti-Foreigner Sentiment in European Societies, 1988-2000. *American Sociological Review*. 71(3):426-449.

Semyonov, Mosh; Raijman, Rebecca; Gorodzeisky, Anastasia. (2008). Foreigners' Impact on European Societies: Public Views and Perceptions in a Cross-National Comparative Perspective. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*. 49(1):5(25).

Semyonov, M.; Raijman, R.; Tov, A. Y.; Schmidt, P. (2004). Population Size, Perceived Threat and Exclusion: a Multiple-Indicators Analysis of Attitudes toward Foreigners in Germany. *Social Science Research*. 33:681–701.

Seshadri-Crooks, Kalpana. (2000). *Desiring Whiteness: A Lacanian Analysis of Race*. London. Routledge

Shah, Ritula. (2018, February 26). Italian Election Dominated by Immigration Debate. *BBC NEWS*. Retrieved https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-43167699

Sherif, Muzafer. (1961). *Intergroup Conflict and Cooperation: The Robbers Cave Experiment*. Norman: University Book Exchange.

Shantz, Jeff. (2012). Degradation Ceremonies: Fear Discourses, Phobic Production, and the Military Metaphysic in Canada. In *Manufacturing Phobias: The Political Production of Fear in Theory and Practice*. 242-269. University of Toronto.

Simpson, Ruth. (1996). Neither Clear nor Present: The Social Construction of Safety and Danger. *Sociological Forum*. 11(3): 549-562.

Sniderman, Paul M.; Hagendoorn, Louk; Prior, Markus. (2004). Predisposing Factors and Situational Triggers: Exclusionary Reactions to Immigrant Minorities. *American Political Science Review*. 98(1):35-49.

Spicer, Kevin P. (2007). Working for the Fuhrer: Father Dr. Philipp Haeuser and the Third Reich. In *Antisemitism, Christian Ambivalence, and the Holocaust*. 105-120. Bloomington. Indiana University Press.

Strabac, Zan; Listhaug, Ola. (2007). Anti-Muslim Prejudice in Europe: A Multilevel Analysis of Survey Data from 30 Countries. *Social Science Research*. 37(1):268-286.

Struch, Naomi; Schwartz, Salom H.; Reis, Harry T. (1989). Intergroup Aggression: its Predictors and Distinctness From In-Group Bias. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. 56(3):364-373.

Sweden Rape: Most Convicted Attackers Foreign-Born, Says TV. (2018, August 22). *BBC NEWS*. Retrieved https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-45269764.

Taras, R.. (2012). *Xenophobia and Islamophobia in Europe*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Taylor, M.. (1998). How White Attitudes Vary with the Racial Composition of Local Populations: Numbers Count. *American Sociological Review*. 63(4):512-35.

Van Tubergen, Frank; Maas, Ineke; Flap, Henk. (2004). The Economic Incorporation of Immigrants in 18 Western Societies: Origin, Destination, and Community Effects. *American Sociological Review*. 69(5):704-727.

Verhaeghe, Paul. (1995). From Impossibility to Inability: Lacan's Theory of the Four Discourses. *The Letter*. Retrieved http://doctorabedin.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/Lacans-Theory-of-four-discourses.pdf.

Wallace, Michael; Figueroa, Rodrigo. (2012). Determinants of Perceived Immigrant Job Threat in the American States. *Sociological Perspectives*. 55(4):583-612.

Wikipedia. Byzantine-Ottoman wars. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Byzantine%E2%80%93Ottoman_wars.

Wilkes, Rima; Guppy, Neil; Farris, Lily. (2008). 'No Thanks, We're Full': Individual Characteristics, National Context, and Changing Attitudes Toward Immigration. *International Migration Review*. 42(2):302-329.

Wilkes, Rima; Guppy, Neil; Farris, Lily; Semyonov, Mosh et. al. (2007). Right-Wing Parties and Anti-Foreigner Sentiment in Europe. *American Sociological Review*. 72(5):831-849.

Willis-Esqueda, Cynthia; Delgado, Rosa Hazel; Pedroza, Karina. (2017). National Attachments and Feelings (Patriotism and Chauvinism). *The Journal of Social Psychology*. 157(1):114-125.

Wimmer, Andreas. (2008a). Elementary Strategies of Ethnic Boundary Making. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 31(6):1025-1055.

Wimmer, Andreas. (2008b). The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries: A Multilevel Process Theory. *American Journal of Sociology*. 113(4):970-1022.

Wimmer, Andreas; Cederman, Lars-Erik; Min, Brian. (2009). Ethnic Politics and Armed Conflict: A Configurational Analysis of a New Global Data Set. *American Sociological Review*. 74(2):316-337.

Wright, Colin. (2013). Sadomasochism and the Body of Law; Lacan's Reconceptualization of Perversion as Père-Version". *Theory and Event*. 16(4). Retrieved 30.08.20018 https://muse.jhu.edu/article/530499#f04-text.

Yvonni, Markaki; Simonetta, Longhi. (2013). What Determines Attitudes to Immigration in European Countries? An Analysis at the Regional Level. *Migration Studies*. 1(3):311-337.

Žižek Slavoj. (1998) Love thy neighbor? No, Thanks!. In *The Psychoanalysis of Race*. 154–175. Columbia University Press: New York.

Žižek, Slavoj. (2004*). Tarrying with the negative: Kant, Hegel and the critique of ideology*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Žižek, Slavoj. (2008). *The Ticklish Subject: The Absent Centre of Political Ontology*. London. Verso.

Žižek, Slavoj. (2014a). Barbarism with a Human Face. *London Review of Books*. 36(9): 36-37. Retrieved from https://www.lrb.co.uk/v36/n09/slavoj-zizek/barbarism-with-a-human-face.

Žižek, Slavoj. (2014b, June 10). Why Both the Left and Right Have Got it Wrong on Ukrain. *The Guardian*. Retrieved https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/10/ukraine-slavoj-zizek-lenin.

Žižek, Slavoj. (2015, September 9). The Non-Existence of Norway. *London Review of Books*. Retrieved from https://www.lrb.co.uk/2015/09/09/slavoj-zizek/the-non-existence-of-norway.