

## A

abortion, 235  
activism/activists  
    US state repression of, 19–20  
affect theory, 122–23, 122–24  
Agamben, Giorgio, 244, 273  
Agios Panteleimonas, 271, 282–83, 285, 286  
Al Qaeda  
    in Canadian phobic constructions, 250–51, 251, 261  
    US misrepresentation of Muslims as, 41  
Albanians, 281  
*Alias* (ABC TV show), 127, 128  
Althusser, Louis, 62  
America  
    fear of subversion of, 216–17  
America. *See also* United States  
Ames, Melissa, 8–9, 58, 67–68, 116, 295, 303  
anarchism, 219  
anarchists, 244, 276, 277, 279  
anonymity, 55, 293  
    as reinforcing a framework of suspicion, 55  
    of the Iranian self, 109  
antebellum era, southern US, 218  
anthropophobia, 17  
anti-capitalism  
    criminalizing and pathologizing activists of, 17, 24  
anti-Catholicism, 217  
anti-God phobia, 76–77, 80–81, 84, 103. *See also* Antichrist conspiracy; secularism (fear of)  
anti-other propaganda, 27. *See also* otherness  
anti-Semitism, 157–58, 211, 220–21  
    Russian nationalists', 158  
Anti-Terror Act (Bill C-36, Canada), 242–43, 296, 298, 300  
anti-terror legislation, 267–68  
Antichrist conspiracy, 209, 211–12, 217–18, 225, 229  
anxiety, 52, 55, 58, 95, 192, 194, 271, 294, 299  
    constant, as television's affect, 122–24, 126  
    societal, risk avoidance, 3  
apocalyptic conspiracy tropes, 10  
Appadurai, Arjun, 214, 220  
Arab(s)  
    racist/stereotypic depictions  
        in Iranian textbooks, 96, 101–2  
        in Canadian discourse, 243, 251, 265

articulation (creation of meaning), 62  
Aryan, Persian Iranian history as, 93–95, 102  
Aryan-Pars chauvinism, 76, 86, 93–96  
Aryan-Pars-Shi'a "race" categorizations, 97, 102  
assimilation, 32, 34–35, 36, 68, 103, 244, 266, 297  
asylum  
    etymology of, 178–179, 191, 199, 201n1  
    seekers, 175–76, 180–82, 185, 189–90, 197–200, 199  
asylum seekers. *See also* refugees  
Athens, Greece, 270–71, 275–76, 279  
Athens, Greece. *See also* Agios Panteleimonas; Exarcheia  
Australia, 183, 185  
authoritarianism  
    majority, 31–32  
avaton ("no-go area"), 270, 274, 275–76, 279  
Ayatollah Khomeini. *See* Khomeini, Ruhollah

## B

Baha'ism, 82–84, 107  
banlieus, 274  
banlieus. *See also* avaton; ghetto  
Barthes, Roland, 122  
*Battle Royale* (Takami), 55–56  
Beck, Glen, 231, 232, 234  
Beck, Ulrich, 3  
Behrens, Matthew, 243  
Bell, Stewart, 249–59  
Berlet, Chip, 216  
Bhandar, Davina, 6, 9–10, 68, 296, 297, 303–4  
Big Brother, 139  
Bill C-4 ("Preventing Human Smugglers from Abusing Canada's Immigration System Act"), 193–95, 198  
Bill C-31, 189–90, 200  
Bill C-31 ("Protecting Canada's Immigration System Act"), 175, 182, 193, 198  
Bill C-36. *See* Anti-Terror Act (Canada)  
biometric identity screening, 245–46, 253  
biopower regimes, 56, 200  
Birchers. *See* John Birch Society  
blasphemy, 38–39, 83  
boat people. *See* migrants, ocean-voyaged.  
border(s), state, 196, 242. *See also* Canada, immigration; Fortress North America

borderism, discriminatory border-patrolling, 109  
Broe, Dennis, 125, 126

## C

Cairo, 41

Canada

conservative rhetoric as 'haven for terror,'  
253–58

history of social phobias, 16

military spending in, 246–47

origins in colonial relations, 12

phobic constructions in military-industrial  
complex, 10

phobic responses to international migration, 9

religious bias in, 30

social morality in, 31

US influences on, 12

Canada. *See also* Bills C-4, C-31, and C-36

Canadian Border Services Agency, 181

Canadian Security and Intelligence Service  
(CSIS), 181, 243, 249, 257

capitalism, 6, 18, 19, 20, 24, 54–55, 108, 227

Russian polarization as, 144

carceral practices, 267

Catholicism, 217–18

Catholics, 32, 38

causality, as shaping fear, 56–57

CBSA. *See* Canadian Border Services Agency

Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Canada), 12,  
34, 46, 298

Chechens, 144, 150, 159, 162–63, 164

Christianity, 212

in Iranian textbooks, 108

Christianity. *See also* anti-Catholicism; anti-  
Christ conspiracy; Catholicism; religion(s)

citizenship

as authoritarian property defense, 278

Iranian discourse of "ideal citizen," 76–78, 81,  
84, 87, 93, 104–5, 107–9

Iranian education on, 70

performative (US, post-9/11), 125

rights discourse, 177

Russian tensions, 169–70

civility, civilization

as obedience, 20

conspiracy theorists as "at the barricades of,"  
215

class

class-less society in Iranian rhetoric, 79

conflict and domination, 10, 20, 24, 54, 152,  
154, 208, 247, 297

clergy

Islamic. *See also* *ulama*; Islamic Republic  
leadership, 76–80

colonialism, 72, 78, 82, 87, 98, 299

communism

fear of, 219

Conservative Party of Canada, 261

conservative(s)

rhetorical phobia production in Canada, 252

conspiracy (or conspiracy theories), 83, 103, 232

fear of 'insiders' or 'invisibles,' 218–19, 222

formation and discourses of, 212–13

laws against, 296

New World Order (NWO), 211

politics of, 229–30

traditions in America, 216–21

contamination, fear of, 217–18

contraceptives, 36

Convention (refugee rights), 189

cooperation

Iranian state discourses around family, 91–92

Coughlin, Father Charles, 221

counter-terrorism

Canadian legal measures, 254–55

crime (criminals)

insecurity, phobias of 'decline,' 10–11. *See*  
*also* ghetto

legislation to "get tough on", 183–84

pathologization, classification as "abnormal,"  
17–18

as revolutionary force, 155–56

states, as organized, 267

criminalization

of activists, 18, 20

of asylum seekers, 175, 199

of migrants, 175, 187

of ocean-voyaged migrants, 182–84, 187, 191,  
192, 198

of the "other," 109, 274. *See also* "otherness"

of refugees

in Australia, 183, 185, 198

in Canada, 187–91, 197–200

criminology

crisis of causality, 56–57

critical, tasks of, 18, 24

as discipline, fear analyses, 6

labelling theories in, 259  
psychocentrism in, 21  
cultural assimilation, 103  
cultural assimilation. *See* assimilation, cultural  
currency, 221, 227, 234

## D

danger, manifestations of, 61  
“dangerous classes,” 4, 11, 60, 61–63, 72, 74, 81,  
102, 109, 125, 136, 176, 192, 273, 274  
“death panels,” 209, 235  
degradation ceremonies, 259–260, 264, 267  
Department of Homeland Security. *See*  
Homeland Security Office  
Depression (anti-Semitism during), 221  
deviance, 18, 60, 207, 260  
in phobic constructions of Islam, 11  
disobedients (vs. “deserving” people), 278–79  
disorder, fear of, 69, 89–92, 96, 278  
Drudge, Matt, 231  
drugs, drug-dealing, 276  
Dworkin, Ronald, 28, 46

## E

ecological threats  
as lacking urgency, 57  
Egypt  
British colonial rule in, 40–41  
erotophobia, 54–55, 60  
escapism, 118, 119–20, 139  
essentialism, 98, 105  
ideal citizen characteristics (Iran), 78, 106–7  
ethnic nationalism/ uprisings, 103, 144, 145–47,  
155. *See also* Kondopoga riot  
ethnicity  
homogenization (enforced “purity”) of, 102,  
211  
and racialization of  
Muslims in Canada, 264  
pathologization of, 103–4  
social-ethnic animus, 9  
as stigma symbol, 199–101  
violence over, 171. *See also* ethnic  
nationalism/uprisings  
eugenics, 209, 218, 221, 234–35  
European Convention for the Protection of  
Human Rights and Fundamental

Freedoms, 35

European Court of Human Rights, 12, 35, 36, 45  
euthanasia, 234–35  
Exarcheia, 11, 270–71, 275–76, 279  
exception, state of, 244–245, 267, 273  
exceptionalism  
American, 210–11, 215–18, 221, 224, 233  
extremism  
conspiracy theory dualism and paranoia, 215–  
216  
legislation regarding, 172n1  
Muslims, accusations against, 264, 266  
political, 21, 229,  
Russian nationalist youth, 144–45  
violent, 17–19, 22. *See also* VERA

## F

family  
Islamic constructions of, 89–91  
fascist groups, organizing, 278  
fatherhood  
in Islamic Republic order, 92  
FBI (US Federal Bureau of Investigations)  
labelling of left groups as terrorists, 19  
fear  
as culture, 3  
constant low level anxiety, 123, 286  
generalized, as social commonality, 293  
ghetto as place of, 285–86  
in public consciousness, 297  
of crime, 58  
of foreigners, 210  
of the “other,” 27, 81–85. *See also* otherness  
of treasonous “insiders,” 82, 210, 222. *See  
also* otherness, internal  
places of, or geographies of, 271–72, 274,  
285–86  
politics of, 192, 270, 272–75, 278, 285–86  
replacing contemplation (Adorno), 126  
*Fear (The Spectrum Said)* (Masumi), 123  
fear. *See also* danger; phobia(s)  
feminism, 271  
folk devils, 13, 293  
Ford, Henry (populist anti-Semitism of), 220  
foreigners, fear of, 98  
forensic(s)  
as Western, legal, 21

Fortress North America, 249, 253, 261  
Foucault, Michel  
  biopolitics of, 63, 270  
  on narratives, 4  
  “normation” (socially derived rules), 21  
  “regimes of truth,” 18  
fractured selves, 105  
fragmentation  
  in identity construction, 105  
France, 35  
freedom  
  of speech, 29, 38, 46, 299  
  religious, 28–30, 32, 38, 43–44, 46  
Furedi, Frank, 3, 5, 13, 56–57, 58, 272, 294  
  phobic entrepreneurs, 6, 58  
futurism, 138

## G

gazeta.ru, 146, 147  
gender  
  Islamic state hegemonic constructions of, 89–91  
genocide  
  textual, 83–84, 108  
geography/geographies, 214  
  of fear, 271–72, 274, 285–86  
  space represented through enclosure, religion, 98–99, 109  
*gesellschaft*, 293  
ghetto, 196, 276, 279, 285  
  construction of, 10–11, 270  
ghetto. *See also* “avaton”  
God  
  context in Islamic leadership, 77, 80  
God. *See also* anti-God phobia  
Golden Dawn, 285  
Greece  
  migration and social welfare in, 281  
*Grey's Anatomy* (ABC TV show), 128  
Ground Zero, 133  
Grusin, Richard (on premediation), 123

## H

Harkat, Mohamed, 256  
Harper, Stephen, 181, 183, 261  
headscarf  
  ban in Turkey, 37–38

  ban in various EU states, 34–36  
headscarf. *See also* veil; hijab  
hegemony  
  in construction of family and masculinity, 89–90  
*hijāb*, 87, 90, 102–3  
*hijab*. *See also* headscarf; veil  
Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombing, 133  
Hitler, 155, 233  
Hofstadter, Douglas, 215  
Hollywood, 117  
Homeland Security Office (US), 123  
homeland security, as trope, 188  
homeless, phobias around, 52  
homophobia, 75, 89, 228, 251  
human deficit model, 21  
human rights, 32  
  constitutional address of, 29  
  European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, 35, 45  
  in Canadian legal, moral contexts, 46  
Hutterites, 32–33

## I

ideal citizen. *See* citizenship, Iranian discourse of identity, 297  
  in phobic production, 62–63  
  national constructions of, 70–71, 104  
  Russian, 148–49  
  terms signifying refugeehood, 189  
identity politics, 105  
ideology  
  Russian extremist, 144  
illegal vs. legitimate, 187. *See also* semiotic(s); criminalization, of migrants  
immigrants. *See* migrants  
immigration and refugee policy  
  in Athens, Greece, 280–81  
  Canada, 175, 189–91, 193–96, 249, 253, 264–65. *See also* Bill C-31  
  international, 191–92  
  US/Canadian database sharing, 253  
Indigenous nations  
  forced assimilation, 32  
infiltration, fears of, 11. *See also* otherness, as internal  
informants, 262, 267

infowars.com, 231  
insanity  
institutions  
    patriarchal family as core, 89  
International Organization of Migration, 191  
internationalism (vs. US isolationism), 220–21  
internet, 144–46, 147, 151  
interpellation, 62  
interrogations  
    in Islamic law, 39–40  
invasion  
    fears of, 11, 74  
invisibles, invisible agents, 82, 215–16, 219, 221.  
    *See also* fear (of treasonous insiders);  
    otherness (internal)

**I**  
Iran  
    historical formation of, 93–94  
    identity construction, 103–4  
Iranian textbooks  
    depictions of tribal people in, 99–102  
Islam  
    family and gender roles in curriculum, 89–92  
    family and household construction, 89  
    Iranian depictions of Arabia, 101  
    phobic constructions of, 11, 30, 34. *See also*  
    Islamophobia  
Islamic law, 30, 36, 38–40, 77–79  
Islamic Republic, 76–82  
Islamic state  
    gendered division of labour by, 89–91  
    institutionalization (and political involvement)  
    of clergy, 75–76, 78–80  
Islamophobia, 34–36, 40–42, 44, 256, 265  
isolationism, 217. *See also* exceptionalism

## **J**

Jews  
    conspiracies regarding, 220  
    pogroms against, 156–57  
Jews. *See also* anti-Semitism; Zionism  
John Birch Society, 221–23, 227, 229, 232  
Jones, Alex, 231  
jurist guardianship (*velayat-e-faqih*), 78, 92. *See also* *velayat-e-faqih*

## **K**

Kansas, 44

Kapuściński, Ryszard, 13  
Kenney, Jason (former Canadian Minister of Immigration), 186, 187, 190, 191, 199  
Khamenei, Ali (Ayatollah), 78  
Khomeini, Ruhollah (Ayatollah), 77–79, 82, 84, 85, 87  
Kinsman, Gary, 299, 300  
Knight, Graham, 293, 294  
Koch, David and Charles, 232  
Komagata Maru, 184  
Kondopoga riot, 144–47, 150–51, 155, 159, 162, 164, 166–67, 169–171  
Koutrolikou, Panagiota (Penny), 10–11, 208, 270, 277, 280, 297, 298, 304  
Ku Klux Klan, 218, 219, 220–21

## **L**

labelling theory, 109, 216, 259–60  
leadership  
    anti-leadership stigmatization, 75  
    in the Islamic Republic, 76–78  
Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), 180–81, 184  
Lost (ABC TV show), 134–37

## **M**

Ma, Michael C.K., 6, 9–10, 68, 296, 297, 304  
Majlis (Iranian parliament), 85, 88, 103  
male  
    as Islamic republic leader, 79  
    roles in Islamic republic patriarchal order, 92  
manipulation of fear  
    politicians and, 272, 277  
marriage  
    Islamic household construction, 89  
    legal ceremonies limiting, 32  
martyrdom, 88, 98, 103  
Marxism, 152, 155  
Massumi, Brian, 123, 271  
Medes, 94  
media  
    political ‘personalities’ and role in creating phobias, 210, 248, 298–99  
    role in creating phobias, 193  
mediation  
    immediacy of tv news, 122  
    importance in moving from disbelief to belief,

men, in Islamic Republic patriarchal order, 89–92  
 Merkel, Angela, 35  
 migrants  
   global shifts in flows of, and rights of, 191, 219  
   phobic constructions of, 11, 281–85, 297, 300  
   ocean-voyaged, 182–84, 187, 191, 192, 198.  
   *See also* MV Sun Sea  
 migration  
   border insecurity, 57  
 military, 244–27  
   metaphysic, 244–46, 248, 257–58  
 millenarians, 210–13, 215–17, 218, 224, 233  
 Mills, C. Wright. *See* Wright Mills, C.  
 Mirfakhraie, Amir, 8, 67, 69, 91, 96, 304  
 mob violence, 156–158  
 modernism (and anti-), 82, 105, 211, 217  
 modernization (discourses around), 98, 102  
 money. *See* currency  
 moral panic(s), 6, 13, 248, 293  
 morality  
   Iranian regulation of women, 85  
   majority regulation of, 31  
 Moscow, 154  
   anger toward role as capital, 145–47  
 Moslems. *See* Muslims  
 motherhood, 86, 89, 90–91, 256, 284  
 multiculturalism, 170, 244, 248, 264–66, 297–98  
 Murdoch, Rupert, 126  
 Muslim(s)  
   in Belgium, 34  
   “ideal citizenship” in Iranian textbooks, 76–78, 81, 84, 87, 92, 100, 104–5, 107–9  
   phobias of/ discrimination against  
     in Canada, 30, 243, 245, 249, 252, 257, 262–267, 268, 297. *See also* Toronto 18  
     in France, 34–35  
     in Germany, 35  
     in Greece, 275, 284  
     in Russia, 158, 167–69  
     in Switzerland, 34, 35  
     in the United States, 38–42, 209, 230  
*MV Sun Sea*, 183, 191, 195, 197–98. *See also* Tamil refugees to Canada

## N

nationalism  
   American cultural conservatives and, 211  
   Canadian, 193  
   ethnic resistance in Iran, 103  
   genocidal aspects of, 83  
   in Islamic state construction of revenge, 92  
   Iranian identity construction, 105  
   Iranian textbook Persianizing, 103  
   patriotism motifs in post-9/11 cultural narratives (US), 125–27  
   Persian Iranian racialization of, 96  
   Russian, 145  
   Russian, Bolshevik, 150  
   Russian, historical optimism, 143  
   Russian, youth, 154–55  
 nationalism, national identity construction, 11–12, 70–71, 105  
   in Iranian leadership qualities, 78  
 native Canadians, 32  
 Nazis, 152, 154, 155, 168  
 neoliberal governance, 192  
 neoliberalism, 7, 20, 21, 62, 177, 192–93, 294  
 New World Order (NWO) conspiracy, 10, 211–12, 221–27  
 news (television), 122  
 9/11, 2001  
   allegorical television programming following, 118–19, 138–39  
   fictional narratives of, 8–9  
   legislative panic following, 183–84, 242  
   as mediated through tv, 120  
   radicalism called terrorism after, 23  
   role in social production of phobias, 4, 5  
   US cultural impact, 116–17  
 niqab, 30. *See also* headscarf; hijab; veil  
 “no-go” areas, 274–76, 297. *See also* *avaton*  
 norms (and normation), 21, 84  
   family gender roles (in Iranian textbooks), 91  
   moral regulation and forced assimilation, 32  
   in psy sciences’ cultural domination, 24–25  
   use in political phobic production, 286, 297

O

Obama, Barack, 51, 233, 235  
   birth certificate accusations, 209, 225, 230–32  
 oil and gas, 125, 143  
 Oklahoma, 44

- Oklahoma City bombing (1995)  
227
- Ontario government, 30, 43, 253, 262
- order, (gendered, hegemonic constructions of),  
89–92
- Orientalism, 72, 76, 95–98, 106–7, 109
- otherness (or “othering” practices),  
as key challenge of 21<sup>st</sup> century, 13  
as alien (outsider, migrant, different), 11  
as Arab, in Iranian textbooks, 102  
criminalization through politics of fear, 109,  
274  
cultural homogeneity vs. “outsiders,” 214  
essentialized characteristics of citizens, selves,  
8  
in European Court of Human Rights, 12  
fear of the non-white ‘other,’ 96, 107. *See also*  
whiteness  
of “ground zero,” 133  
as ideological (in conspiracism), 215–26  
as incorporated into self definition, 73, 105  
as internal difference/enemy, 82, 99–104  
in Iranian textbooks, 73–76, 83, 84, 89, 92–93,  
95, 96, 98, 101  
of Muslims  
in Canada, 264–266. *See also* Muslim,  
phobias, in Canada  
in the US, 39  
in nationalist identity discourses and phobic  
construction, 11, 99, 107, 214  
in US demonization of Muslims, 39  
scapegoating of minorities as, 214  
social control practices to contain, 15–16  
religious, 27, 51. *See also* millenarians  
women as, 85
- outsider(s)  
phobias of domination by, 75  
rhetorical use of, 214, 254
- P**
- paganism, fear of, 101–2
- Palestine, Palestinians, 186  
in Iranian textbooks, 74, 89, 92–93
- parliament, Canadian, 193–94
- pathologizing processes, 17–18, 21–22, 24, 103
- patriarchy, 54, 69, 72, 85–90, 211
- Patriot militias, 212, 227
- patriotism  
in US post-9/11 cultural narratives, 125–127
- Paul, Ron, 232
- Pautz, Johann, 10, 58, 207, 209, 297, 305
- peasant rebellion/repression of, 156–157
- Persian, as Aryan ethnic identity, 93–96
- phobia(s)  
anti-God, 76–77, 80–81  
anti-leadership, 76–78  
etymology of, 3  
of Muslims, 34–36, 230. *See also*  
Islamophobia  
religious clothing, 34–36  
social, 4, 6, 12–13, 51, 52, 56, 58–59, 60–62  
social constructions of, 3–5, 10–11, 54–55.  
*See also* otherness  
in social framing, 293–94  
of women’s political involvement, 85–87
- phobophobia (fear of fear itself), 56
- photography, 122
- places of fear (stigmatization), 274, 278, 285–86.  
*See also* avaton; “no-go” areas
- pogroms,  
anti-migrant, 285  
Russian, anti-Jewish, 156–157, 171  
Russian, anti-Chechen, 144, 157–58, 164
- polarization, 9, 144, 286
- police,  
brutality, 276–79  
Cossacks, 163  
international, 234, 235  
moral panics and, 255–56  
RCMP, 180, 261  
riot control, 144, 147,  
secret, 167  
tsarist, 163
- policing, social, 20, 24, 274
- political action committees (PACs), 232
- political criminal profile as “normal,” 23
- politicians, 13, 272
- politics of fear, 192, 270, 271, 272–75, 278, 285–  
87
- polygamy, 31, 32
- populism, 207, 212
- Populists  
in Russia, and anti-Jewish violence, 157
- pornography, 31
- Posse Comitatus, 222, 223, 224
- power elite, 164, 229, 244
- pre-crime, 243

precarity, 56, 294  
prejudice, 52, 84, 256. *See also* phobia(s), social  
premediation (remediation of the future, as reg.  
news media practice), 123  
Prophet, the, 77  
prostitution, 85, 282  
protest, 277–78  
provocateurs, 267  
psy discourse(s), 18  
“psychocentrism,” 18, 21  
limiting deployment of, 299–300  
social power wielded, 123–24  
psychocriminalization, 17–18, 21–24  
psychological classifications  
“violent extremism.” *See* VERA  
psychological profiling  
difficulties in identifying political extremists,  
22  
Putin, Vladimir, 150, 158, 159, 164  
overthrowing, 160, 162, 168

## Q

Québec, 32  
Front de liberation du Québec (FLQ), 252

## R

racialization  
of Asians and Arabs, in Iranian textbooks, 96,  
99  
in Canada,  
immigration discourses, 255–56  
of Muslims, 264  
in state and military discourses, 244  
of Iranians as white, textbook constructions of,  
94–97. *See also* Aryan-Pars chauvinism  
in phobic constructions, 70, 72, 93–99  
textbook portrayals of violence, 108  
racism, 27, 70, 95–97, 108, 183, 218, 220, 256,  
266  
radicalism, radicalization, 18–19, 22, 23, 150,  
210, 221–23, 252, 266, 276, 279. *See also*  
terrorism, labelling; right-wing movement  
tactics  
Ramadan, Hisham, 7, 8, 15, 27, 51, 67, 207, 293,  
295, 305  
RCMP. *See* Royal Canadian Mounted Police  
reality television, 19–120

Redfield, Marc, 120  
refugees  
Canadian state and, 186–191  
criminalization as “illegal immigrants,” 184–  
85  
depiction in conservative anti-terror discourse,  
254  
global context, 185–86  
legal terms describing, 189  
ships of. *See* migrants, ocean-voyaged. *See  
also* Komagata Maru; MV Sun Sea  
religion(s)  
freedom of, as human right, 28–30, 43  
ideologization as vulgur, deteriorating, 80  
jurists through (*velayat-e-faqih*), 78  
“othering” in competitions between, 27–28  
phobia, 34, 217–18. *See also* anti-God phobia  
practices with legal conflicts, 32–33, 35–36,  
43–44. *See also* hijab; headscarves; veil  
Shi’a political Islam (state), 78–79  
Republican Party (US), 232  
revenge, 92, 285  
Riel, Louis, 252  
right wing movement tactics, 10, 150, 222–23,  
231  
Rimke, Heidi, 7, 16, 17, 56, 305  
riot police, 144, 279  
riot(s)  
Athens, 277, 278  
riot(s). *See also* Kondopoga riot  
risk society, defined, 3  
Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), 180,  
249, 258, 261  
Rushdie, Salman, 38  
Russia, 9, 86, 143–67  
  
**S**  
Sarkozy, Nicolas, 35  
scapegoating, 212, 213, 216, 237  
school  
Iranian textbooks  
secret societies, fear of, 218–19  
secret trials, 243  
secularism (fear of), 211, 218. *See also* anti-God  
phobia  
securitization, 192–93, 196, 198, 199, 243, 244,  
249, 258, 285  
billions spent by Canadian state in, 246–47



- security  
 logic of, 18, 23  
 security certificates, 56, 59, 243, 256, 263, 268  
 security, anti-security  
 beyond hegemony of, 20  
 self (identity construction), 72–73, 92–93, 105.  
*See also* “otherness”  
 semiotic(s), 73, 189, 212–13, 215  
 arousal. *See also* conspiracy theories, 215  
 war, 187  
 sex work, 85, 282, 298  
 sexual assault, 33  
 sexuality, 32, 40, 54–55, 153  
 fear of (erotophobia), 55, 60, 64,  
 homosexuality, 54, 228. *See also* homophobia  
 regulation of, 85  
 women’s (as relegated by patriarchy) 85. *See also* patriarchy  
 Shaikh, Mubin, 262  
 Shantz, Jeff, 8, 10, 207, 242, 293, 295, 296, 305–  
 6, 306  
 shari’a (law), 30, 42, 44, 80, 81  
 Shi’a, 76, 81, 83  
 as political/Islamic state, 78–79  
 differences with Sunni in Iranian history, 102,  
 107  
 ships, refugees arriving by. *See* migrants, ocean-  
 voyaged  
 Shlapentokh, Dmitry, 6–7, 9, 68, 143, 297, 306  
 Sikhs, 33–34  
 silver, as currency, 221  
 Simmel, Georg, 270, 271  
 Sims, Jinny, 193–94  
 slavery, 27, 101, 168, 218  
 smuggling, human (in state rhetoric), 9–10, 176,  
 180, 182, 183, 188, 190–92, 193, 196–98  
 human. *See also* Bill C-4 (“Preventing Human  
 Smugglers...”)  
 social Darwinism, 220  
 social movements  
 addressing discursive phobic practices, 299–  
 300  
 social phobias. *See* phobia(s), social  
 social sciences (disciplines of), 21  
 socialization  
 as treatment for phobia, 61  
 sociology, 244, 259  
 approaches to phobic construction, 5–6, 18,  
 52–54, 300  
 labelling theories within, 259  
 sociology. *See also* social sciences  
 Somali refugees, 186  
 Sontag, Susan, 120  
 Soroush, 80  
 Soviet system, 146  
 spectacle  
 of “illegal” migration, 182, 184  
 9/11, of the collapsing tower, 120  
 Spivak, Gayatri, 71, 104  
 Sri Lankan refugees claimants to Canada, 183–84  
 state of exception. *See* exception, state of  
 state repression  
 of political dissidents, by Islamic Republic of  
 Iran, 79  
 state(s)  
 international systems of, 12  
 separation from religion, 35  
 as “protection racket,” 267  
 stigma/stigmatization  
 discourses theorizing, 73–75, 106–7  
 ethnicity as symbolic of, 99–101  
 of gender norm disruption, 91  
 “ghetto” neighborhood-based, 271, 274, 280,  
 285–86  
 of “places of fear,” 286  
 racial citizenship construction in Iranian  
 textbooks, 93  
 subaltern narratives, 210, 216  
 subjecthood, 191  
 subversive organizations  
 security state’s class war against, 20  
 Supreme Court  
 of Canada, 12, 28, 31, 32, 33, 46, 243, 298  
 of the United States, 39, 43, 44, 45  
 Surkov, Vladislav, 164  
 surveillance regimes, 105, 193, 242, 245  
 borders and, 11  
 suspicion  
 as exacerbated by fear, 55–56  
 Sweden, 36–37
- T**  
 Takami, Kōshun (*Battle Royale*, 1999), 55–56  
 Tamil refugees, 9, 180–82, 190, 195, 197–200.  
*See also* *MV Sun Sea*  
 Tea Party, 221, 224, 231–34, 236–37  
 technologies, of surveillance and control, 193

television  
as cultural tool in coping with 9/11, 8–9, 116–129, 132–33, 135,  
reality shows' ethnocentrism and narcissism, 119  
remarkable events mediated through, 124  
territorialization, 99  
terror, fear of, 55–57, 183, 207–8, 249, 257–58, 271. *See also* 9/11, 2001  
terror(ism)  
alert system (US Homeland Security), 123  
Anti-Terror Act (Bill C-36, Canada), 242–43, 298  
Canadian fears of, 249–252  
Canadian profiling in Muslim communities, 264–267  
defined, (as instilling fear), 19  
in fiction, 127, 136–37, 138–39  
labelling, 245  
racialization in Canadian immigration discourses, 256  
social science understandings of, 16, 19  
terrorist(s)  
psychological profiling of, 22–23  
terrorography, 252  
theft  
in Islamic law, 40  
time  
news event as generational marker of (ie. 9/11, Kennedy killing, Pearl Harbour), 124  
noeme of television, 122  
Toews, Vic (former Canadian Minister of Public Safety), 187, 190, 191, 199  
Tomkins, Silvan, 122  
Toronto 18, 261–64, 267  
torture  
of prisoners, in fiction, 127, 136  
trace(s), present and non-present, 77  
trafficking  
human, 187  
trauma  
9/11 mediated through tv, 120  
tribal people  
as described in Iranian textbooks, 99–101  
trope(s)  
security, 20, 188  
truth, regimes of, 18

## U

*ulama* (Iranian clerics), 78–80, 82  
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), 146, 147–49, 152, 154  
United Nations, 221  
Human Rights Council (HRC), UN Refugee Agency, 183, 189  
United States  
conspiracy as dominant cultural lens, 211  
exceptionalism, 210, 215–17, 221, 224, 233  
isolationism of, 219–220  
universities  
Islamization process in, 80  
urban space, 270, 276–77  
USSR. *See* Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

## V

veil, 30, 37–38  
CNN documentary on Afghani women, 117  
court testimony while wearing, 33  
European governments' rejection, 35–36  
treatment in Iranian textbooks, 87  
veil. *See also* headscarf; hijab  
*velayat-e-faqih* (Islamic Republic juridical religious guardianship), 74, 78–79, 92  
VERA (Violent Extremism Risk Assessment), 19, 21–22  
vigilante(s), 126, 227, 275, 285  
violence, 11, 108. *See also* VERA, 277, 297

## W

war  
permanent, in military metaphysic, 244–45  
West Wing, The (NBC TV show), 127–28  
whiteness, discourses of, 73, 94–97  
women  
bodies as sites of Islam v. West conflict, 89  
in Iran, fear/suspicion of political involvements, 85–87, 107  
in Iranian religious-nationalistic discourse, 85, 87, 89–91  
World Trade Center, 117  
Wright Mills, C., 244

## X

xenophobia, 175, 180, 192, 193, 199, 217, 229,

**Y**

Yeltsin, Boris, 150, 154

youth

Greece, killed by police, 277

Russian, nationalist, 144–45

**Z**

Zionism, 92–93, 157

Zionist Occupational Government conspiracy  
theory, 224–25. *See also* anti-Semitism

Žižek, Slavoj, 120