Xenophobia: Scope and Motivations
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Abstract

To treat foreigners nicely or nastily is attributed to traditions and norms of host society because some societies are friendly, others are not. The bad attitudes towards outsiders are expressed in forms of either physical or verbal behaviour. Various motivations encourage native citizens to create images to label non-natives or outsiders. Continuous contact and education can bridge the gap between the two groups. Also, they develop positive and mutual understand that might help them to work for the good of all and live peacefully. It is the responsibility of governments and individuals of society to work hard to dispel fears of foreigners especially in places where violence is expected to happen.

This paper tries to lay an outline (model) for the phenomenon of xenophobia in language so that definition, classification, motivations, and lists of xenophobic expressions are presented. It is hypothesized that certain factors are behind generating hostility and xenophobic expressions in society. Additionally, attitudes can be changed to create an appropriate and suitable environment for society members.

1. Introduction

All societies, no exception, have their own attitudes while they are in contact with others. Some of them have prejudicial attitudes and negative sentimental feelings, whether conscious or unconscious, which are expressed in various forms such as physical violence and verbal behaviour; the latter is commonly used by individuals. Xenophobic prejudice, exaggerated hatred towards foreigners, has significant costs for the targeted group because of these negative attitudes. What makes the matter worse is when these attitudes extend to the next generation(s). As a result, host or receiver countries generate derogatory terms and expressions to stigmatize individuals of out-group. Less hostility can be

shown toward out-group members depending on values, norms, and the religious and cultural gap between members of the two groups (in and out-group). Cultural, political, religious, and economic factors manage the situation when groups communicate. The similarity and closeness in behaviour they share are helpful to understand each other. The researcher tries to probe into these factors to explore the dimensions of this topic, xenophobia in language. Also, he tries to draw a model to this topic so that elements and constituents would be studied in certain languages, or even comparatively, to show the points of similarity and difference between two linguistic communities.

2. Definition

The idea of fear is the cornerstone of the concept of xenophobia according to the literature written on this phenomenon. According to Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2004:502), it is defined as "a strong feeling of dislike or fear of people from other countries". For Licata and Klein (2002:330), xenophobia is seen "as hostility or hatred towards foreigners'. Yakushko (2009:43) concentrates on the psychological angle of this subject, so he defines it as "a form of attitudinal, affective, and behavioural prejudice towards immigrants and those perceived as foreigners." Unlike the above foresaid definitions which focus on foreigners as human, Denton (2010:37) definition includes human and non-human under xenophobia. She sees it as "the fear or dislike of things or individuals considered foreigners." Collins Internet Linked Dictionary of Sociology (2000:689) definition considers exaggeration in negative sentiments a requirement for xenophobia; it seems that mild hostility is not included in the concept of xenophobia, so it is defined as "an exaggerated hostility towards or fear of foreigners."

Accordingly, these concepts given to xenophobia bring to the reader's attention the fact that citizens of nations are divided into two groups: native citizens and those who are considered foreigners. The latter are viewed as anti prototype of the natives due to differences in language, customs, and behaviour. These differences create certain attitudes and images towards strangers or foreigners. More importantly, based on these perceptions, native citizens of a nation respond negatively when interacting and dealing with the others who do not belong to their nation, colour, belief, and race. Additionally, as fear is the essence and core of xenophobia, it is broadened or expanded to address any source of fear that forms a threat to individual or society equally.

3. **Etymology of 'xenophobia'**

Generally, English has the tendency to borrow words from Latin and Greek because of their scientificness and euphemistic dimension. In this way, the emotional effect of unpleasant words is avoided. As the word 'fear' in English triggers bad connotations, it is replaced by 'xenophobia'. This word is derived from the classical Greek roots 'xenos' and 'phobia' which mean 'stranger' and 'dread of something' respectively, according to Hughes (2006:515) and Gabay (2005:440). Due to human tendency to generate negative attitudes towards outsiders or aliens, the history of practising this matter cannot be traced back easily.

Terms like ethnic slurs, ethnic insults, aliens, nicknames, and hate speech are either used interchangeably with 'xenophobia' or this topic is discussed under them. Giving more terminologies to refer to this sensitive issue is attributed, according to the researcher, to the variety of motivations behind the increase of fear, sensitive feelings, and intolerance of foreigners. The foresaid terms denoting xenophobia, if examined

deeply, reveal the fact that fear stems from the differences embodied in a group of people (non-natives) in a given society. Later, when xenophobic expressions are discussed, the background of and motivations behind some terms are stated. All stereotypes and idea about those considered aliens or foreigners rest on the notion of fear.

4. Features of Xenophobia

Xenophobia, for sensitive aspects and use, has certain characteristic features. Crush and Ramachandran (2009:6-7) and Yakushko (2009:44 & 49) discuss them:

1- xenophobia is multidimensional and multicultural in nature as it holds the notion of nationalism and ethnocentrism which means that one's nation-state has "dominance and superiority over another". According to this belief, national identity is given to individual based on birth rather than cultural or civic bases.

2- Xenophobia is not an attitudinally-oriented phenomenon. It is associated with brutal and violent acts towards a certain group of people like immigrants.

3- It tends to aim at marginalizing and excluding non-native groups in social and national situations because it shares with racism and nationalism its political and social dimensions.

4- Xenophobia is at the disposal of racism and exclutionary nationalism because they are segregation processes. They play a vital role in shaping its resilience.

5- "The mixed outcomes of immigration for host population make xenophobia an exceptionally difficult and sensitive issue."

6- Time is a crucial factor in characterizing xenophobia. If a country is politically and economically unstable, then groups of that community will influx into countries with prospects of higher

earnings. Such waves of migration "result in the host community's reaction of feelings threatened by the newcomers."

7- Xenophobia is crucially linked to nation-building and nationalism, in particular its aggressive forms.

8- Practices and acts of xenophobia are common all over the globe. They share racial features created by native-born towards non-native citizens.

5. Classification of Xenophobia

This study attempts to lay a foundation to classify xenophobia in language. It is believed that there are two types of xenophobia; they are local and out-xenophobia.

5.1 Local xenophobia

By local xenophobia means the hostility or fear that targets a racial group or minority in a local community though this group is originally native or a part of in-group community. Ethic and racial slurs originated to stigmatize groups in UK, for example, help readers understand it. Wales, according to Allan and Burridge (2006:188-9), was used for anything substandard or of an inferior grade during the 17th and 18th century. This reference to Wales represents a bit early linguistic xenophobia, as Burridge (2002:244) believes. Expressions like a 'Welsh comb' (you comb your hair with your fingers) and a "Welsh pearl" (a counterfeit pearl or one of inferior quality) and a 'Welsh cricket' (a louse) make it clearer.

The Irish, on the other hand, are featured by some inferior slurs too. The motivation behind that is ascribed to their physical separation from the rest of the British Isles, and they are predominately Catholic and speaking Ersa (a variety of Celtic), as Hughes (2006:254) mentions. He adds that images and stereotypes were generalized since the 14th century to include even those who were inside what was called the English Pale, a palisade

built by the English colonist to demarcate their territory. Similarly, the Scot was viewed as an alien and an outsider. It is attributed to "the post-union influx of needy Scots in search of fortune and promotion", as Schweizer (1997:9) explains. As a derogatory term, 'homophobia' is used to fear or hate the homosexuals within a society.

Sex-based hatred is practised by all societies even civilized ones. They prefer boy over girls. This preference encourages them to generate sayings and proverbs that show status of boys versus girls. Not only do these proverbs depict this preference, they even put forward reasons of this act, as Schipper (2004:89) describes. Proverbs generated by societies express explicitly negative images about status of girls since their birth. Consider these proverbs in various cultures given by Schipper (2004:87-89):

- Who leaves a son behind is not really dead. (Danish)

- Three things a man prefers not to have: weed in his garden, a girl among his sons and vinegar in his wine. (Hebrew)

- A son counts as one; ten daughters do not count at all (Vietnamese)

- A girl is worth one-tenth of a boy (Chinese)

- Those who spread lies will give birth to daughters. (Indian)

- Many sons, many blessings of God; many daughters, many calamities. (German)

- When a girl is born even the roofs cry. (Bulgarian)

- When a wife gives birth to boy even the walls of the house rejoice. (Armenian)

- Better nine sons than one daughter. (Estonian)

Thus, it is possible to find a group of natives who demean another native group members and show bad sentiments towards them. Showing such a type of attitudes is not confined only to outsiders.

5.2 Out-Xenophobia

Out-xenophobia means the hostility and negative sentiment directed towards foreigners for political, religious, economic, cultural, or military rivalry. Historically, all nations entered war or any type of conflict with other nations outside their boundaries. These wars kept them engaged in fighting and fostering hostility and images to the enemies. The Dutch, for instance, as Burridge (2002:232-233) states, were the military and commercial rivals of the English. As a result, the latter, because of the strong negative attitudes to the former, generated a huge number of derogatory expressions to the Dutch. Of these anti-Dutch slurs and insults are the following:

- Dutch courage: false courage found by drinking alcohol.
- Dutch bargain: a one-sale bargain
- Dutch feast: the host gets drunk before the guests do

Similarly, the French are associated with sex. This matter encouraged the English to develop derogatory expressions for things pertaining to sex. Consider these examples:

- French kiss: deep kiss or a kiss during which the tongue is inserted into another's mouth
- French ache/ disease/pox: syphilis
- French postcards: pornographic pictures

6. Xenophobia Vs Racism

If examined closely, xenophobia and racism have their certain distinctive features depending on their target, origin, and motivations in spite of the similarity in forms of oppression. Compared with each other, the boundaries of each can be demarcated as they are defined differently in

their context. The following are the most important differences between them.

1- Due to historical facts, according to Yakushko (2009:48), racism in Western Europe is associated with the anti-Semitism and the Nazi era and Holocaust. Whereas xenophobia is associated with negative attitudes to foreigners.

2- He adds that only who are considered foreigners in a particular community are targeted under xenophobia irrespective of their visible differences, like skin colour, compared with the native citizens. Racism, on the other hand, is typically associated with 'individuals found on a socially constructed notions of group differentiating visible phenotypical markers" like colour.

3- Crush and Ramachandran (2009:5) believe that xenophobia is a "spontaneous natural biological reaction" directed towards foreigners or strangers. In contrast, racism, , as Joseph (2006:128) explains, is a conscious process. It is represented by policies that give superiority or preference of one race over others.

4- Xenophobia is influenced by times of economic and political instability or imbalance. Times like these result in the migration of large groups of people seeking for either opportunities of job or asylum. Because the newcomers are viewed as a threat to the host community, the latter will react negatively and feel badly towards the former. Racism, on contrary, is related to the histories of slavery, colonialism, and segregation, as Yakushko (2009:49) states.

Yet, both xenophobia and racism mutually support forms of prejudice, xenophobia does not always include racial attitudes. Yakushko (2009:48-9) mentions that prejudices of both share much in common. The

immigrants in Europe through history "enter the stratified racial social order that relegates people who appear non- White to secondary status." Thus, the bases on which xenophobia and racism are differentiated are apparent, though they share mutually forms of prejudice.

7. Motivations

The reason behind the rise and generating hostility and bad feelings to outsiders are various. All these motivations are subject to values and traditions of native citizens of the host country where foreigners influx into. Each motivation draws a road map to the reader or depicts how nations respond and react towards non-native citizens, whether they crossed the boarders and entered the receiving country legally or illegally. The explanation given, when motivations are discussed, helps us present the roots and origins of xenophobia. Accordingly, to deal with foreigners nicely or nastily depends on values and attitudes of the natives of community. The following are the most significant factors that generate xenophobia.

7.1 Social and Biological Issues

The socio-biological approach to xenophobia, as Crush and Ramachandran (2009:40) note, maintains the idea that human beings are biologically predisposed to favouring their own and discriminating against outsiders. This human tendency seems innate and central in human make up. When meeting strangers, infants feel shy away from them. So individuals attempt to create in-group identification which is sometimes positively linked with prejudice towards out-group members. They favour their identity over those who are considered out-group, (Licata and Klein, 2002:7). Race or colour-based discrimination plays a vital role in this process.

7.2 Contact

Contact is another factor that affects xenophobia positively or negatively depending on the type of contact itself. It can diminish to a great extent prejudice when the two groups maintain and preserve communication with each other. But the question is who is to be blamed for not keeping contact with the other? Though Tara (2009:161) points out that the two groups in various areas blame each other, we believe that in-group should get the ball rolling because contact in this respect is a social initiative and the host group has to do that as a duty. Also, out-group members do not know who is who and what is going on around them as they are newly exposed to the new society with its culture. Contact can bring into a real and fruitful harmony and understanding between them (natives and non-natives). The more they contact and deal with each other, the greater harmony is gained. The perception of having equal status, being effective, meaning the groups should work together and rely on each other to fulfill mutual and common goals, to co-operate rather than to compete, and contact should be supported by authorities on clear guidelines that shape interactions are the four conditions and elements under which, as Crush and Ramachandran (2009:41) advise, a constructive effect on attitudes of natives in shaping and perceiving others is guaranteed. As a result, inter-group prejudice is decreased, and considering out-group a threat is reduced.

7.3 Nativism/Nationalism

Nativism or nationalism is another element that increases xenophobia. It is the belief that national identity is based on birth not civic or cultural bases (national identity is based on voluntary commitment to institutions), (Yakushko, 2009:45). This belief highlights the notion of the superiority of a nation over other nations. It leads to negative attitudes towards

foreigners because this notion reinforces the concept that certain races and ethnicities, whose "national community is formed through birth and descent", has occupied a prestigious geographical area, according to Crush and Ramachandran (2009:47). Consequently, foreigners, like ethnic minorities and immigrants, should be excluded. To avoid any conflict based on this perception, Turns (2000:49-50) argues that "there is no specific offence of xenophobia per se in English law", as an example. This means that laws and rules should be enacted to decrease or avoid conflicts. To sum, as xenophobia is associated in some cases with nationalism, the stronger nationalistic members of a community are, the more xenophobic feeling to non-native citizens is shown.

7.4 Immigration

Waves of immigration increased all over the globe especially after World War II. These waves originated contradictory situations and stances toward immigration and its relation to xenophobia. As a destructive factor to democracy and liberal values represented by equality, fairness, and social justice, immigration in this case results in discrimination against and ill-treatment of immigrants or non-natives. This stance allows the natives to refuse and abuse immigrants so that they will suffer and be treated badly in view of this situation. For example, they are employed in undesirable and unskilled jobs where they are paid low wages, compared to the natives, and "there is little possibility of upward mobility", as Crush and Ramachandran (2009:62) state.

On the contrary, supporters of immigrants in host countries believe that immigrants participate positively in the utility of economy because they are willing to be employed in low wages jobs like garbage collection, (Yakshko, 2009:43). It seems that pro-immigrants movements are helpless, and they have nothing to do as immigrants are linked with

crimes and unemployment. As a sensitive issue in countries that suffer from instability in economy, negative feelings and hostility are generated towards immigrants who are blamed for these matters. Metaphorically, as Ana (2002:266) describes, 'water' is used to portray immigration in the eyes of individuals of host communities. Of these metaphors is 'immigration as dangerous waters'. This means that immigration is the source of danger.

Thus, immigrants are viewed as a threat, and they are associated with bad matters in society like crimes and unemployment which encourage the natives to dislike them.

7.5 Religion and Culture

Both religion and culture are sources from which xenophobia emerges or stems. As societies have their own beliefs, norms, traditions, and customs, members, in general, tend to preserve and perform their heritage. The rise of hostility and hatred emanates from how different and divergent the beliefs and culture of the two groups (in and out-group) are. Yakushko (2009:47) explains that threat in such a situation begins when out-group members challenge the belief and culture of in-group. This type is always associated with conflict like what was referred to by Taras (2009:154) as 'clash of civilizations'. Denton (2010:37) emphasizes the role of religion in xenophobia when referring to Elizabethan people who sought for their origin (where they had come). Their end "led to distrust anyone considered foreigner", especially when the difference between the groups is salient. The word 'barbarian' has a glorious history in this context, as Hughes (2006:147) comments. It was used by Greeks, Romans, and Christians to describe the culture of foreigners as it holds prejudicial connotations about the superiority of in-group culture and inferiority of foreigners'. The schism of the Church of England from

Rome in 1536 is brought to attention when xenophobia in English is discussed. Since that time, "Italy became the home of a hostile religion and a political enemy", Hughes (2006:257).

In the Era of Globalization, when immigrants are considered a threat to receiving countries, they are demanded by the natives to give up and put off their own culture behind. Likewise, their children are obliged to leave it at the door of school. Otherwise, they are not welcomed and hostility is shown towards them, (Yakshku, 2002:47). By the same token, Muslims are treated aggressively, especially after 11 September events. They, according to Reza (2011:234), are depicted as "underdeveloped, illiterate, homeless, and out-of-control persons." Joseph (2006:128) gives the reason behind the French worries about what they call "face of pure and hard Islam that might cross the Mediterranean." Though it is a duty in Islam, Muslim women in France are not allowed to put on 'hijab' (headscarf) outside home because it is banned in law. In the religious respect, Taras (2009:154) describes how some countries put pressure on aliens to assimilate into local culture.

In Brief, religion and culture are a main source in igniting negative attitudes towards foreigners. The more the two groups are different in beliefs and culture, the more possibility of conflict and fear is expected.

7.6 Education

The lack of education contributes greatly in igniting xenophobia. Denton (2010:37) relates level of ignorance in Britain to kinds of intolerance and oppression for foreigners. What makes things even worse is to create images and stereotypes for foreigners depending on stories and myths not on authentic and objective literature. Media in this context influences all people, well-educated people are not excluded. As the only source of knowledge for ignorant people, media , if managed negatively, adds fuel

to the fire of hostility and increases the gap between groups and vice versa. Ignorance in this context, as Shaheen (2000:37) describes, is "the handmaiden of bigotry." To avoid bad images for foreigners, their background (religion and culture) should be taken into account. Thus, the more education in-group members have about out-group ones, the less xenophobia emerges and arises to the surface. Educated persons can suppress hostility through various ways.

7.7 Terrorism

The event of 11 September is a landmark and a turning point in history because it has left geopolitical impact all over the world. It sparked a wildfire in fostering xenophobia in 21st century to be age of fear. If immigrants, asylum seekers and refuges have been a threat to jobs and social issues in in-group societies, they became after 11 September a threat to citizens' life. Moreover, refugees are viewed as "terrorists and that enemy within", as Fekete (2001:39) mentions. Because the accused in the event were Muslims, Islamphobia spread and media coverage attempts to link Islam with that tragic event. The gap between the West and Islam has expanded so that governments in America and Europe close their eyes and leave the door open to media and filmmakers to portray and depict Islam in a wrong way.

According to Aguayo (2009:43), Hollywood cinema presents Muslim bodies as "dangerous, pre-modern and uncivilized in American popular culture." He adds that Arab community is vilified by presenting Arabs as "money hungry, dangerous men or eroticized women or maidens." He concludes that these stereotypes are intentionally and politically motivated towards Arabs and the Middle East. As a result, linking the Middle East with terrorism triggers hostility and fear towards people in this part of the world.

7.8 Rivalry and Power

Another contributing factor is rivalry- political, commercial, religious, cultural, and marital. Wars usually give an opportunity to coin terms and nicknames that participate in forming bad images or emerging hostility towards others. Hughes (2006:147-8) attributes the hostile nicknames given to Germans, for example, during the World War II to military rivalry. The same is applied to hostile expressions given by Americans to their business and military rivals. It seems that ethnic slurs and nicknames, if analyzed from a historical point of view, are ascribed to ancient rivalry and conflicts. They are authentic data and record to probe motivations behind this coinage.

Instability in politics and economy leads to hostile attributes and feelings. It is a political threat if immigrants, for instance, challenge political issues. Muslim community in Europe and America challenges decisions over birth control so they are a threat in the eyes of politicians and decisions makers. They would be the majority in population against the natives so the demography in these two parts of the world is threatened as non-natives, like minorities and Hispanic in America, grow big families. The natives are concerned about the loss of power eventually, by the same token, economic problems, like recessions, would be a chance to give jobs to minorities. This, as Yakushko (2009:46) stresses, increases "racist and sexist belief." To avoid fears and threats like what has been mentioned earlier, nations should work together and neglect their rivalries behind, as Kumar 92006:10) suggests.

8. How Xenophobia Spreads?

Derogatory expressions and negative attitudes and feelings to those considered aliens are not created and coined over night. The natives should have direct contact or previous experience to foster such kinds of

hostility. What fans flame of hostility is government to achieve certain purposes. This step, though being contradictory to values, traditions, and norms in some cases, is pre-organized and managed by decision makers to serve their agendas. However, this section endeavours to investigate the ways adopted to ignite and spread xenophobia.

8.1 Stereotypes and Images

To understand and perceive something is to have an image about it, this image might not be true as it is in reality. This is what is meant by stereotype. What if having images is done intentionally and they are negative in the same time? As explained earlier that xenophobia is something conscious. Feelings and sentiments are generated and reinforced in mentality of hearers to achieve a particular goal. It is the case with immigrants, asylum seekers, and migrant labourers. Crush and Ramachandran (2009:45) state that these people are associated with unemployment and crimes so that they are viewed as criminals, carriers of diseases, and job-stealers. They are a source of threat to national identity and national security as well. Because they are the target of prejudice, immigrants, for example, are depicted as lazy and uneducated in the popular culture. This depiction reflects the atmosphere of hostility where immigrants settle in certain countries, (Yakushko, 2009:50).

Another example is Islam and the West. Historically, according to Ridouani (2011:2) , there is a change in the image of Muslims in the West. The old image depicts Muslims and Arabs as erotic, primitive, ignorant, and slave traders, whereas the recent one portrays them as terrorists, fundamentalists, and blood thirsty. The sexy sheiks of 1920s are viewed differently in the 1970s and 1980s in Hollywood. Shaheen (2000:26) explains that their prominent features have become "fundamentalist, bombers, uneducated, ruthless, and threat to the world

economy." Not only are Muslim belief and culture targeted, Muslim symbols are even included. Hijab (Muslim female headscarf), though it is obligatory in Islam, it is associated with the Dark Ages. The West believes that if Muslim symbols like hijab is banned in Europe, for example, Islam will disappear eventually, as Abraham (2001:184-5) explains.

8.2 Media

What adds fuel to the flames of antagonism and hatred is media too. The gap and negative attitudes, if constructed, are increased through media, whether audio or visual. TV shows, newspapers, news analysis, articles, radio, movies, etc, are prepared and presented in a wrong way to deceive viewers, listeners, and readers. They combine to spread an intended message via keeping people under constant bombardment and campaigns propaganda including images. Misinterpretation and unreliable disseminated information are submissive and yielding ways of media. The influential role of media that harnesses in society should be controlled to put an end to hostility towards others. Referring to the role of media, Aguayo (2009:44) confirms that media texts are a "site of struggle." The absence of censorship, as Reza (2011:237) sees, is the shortcut to do so. Governments have to be, if truthfully and sincerely done, involved in the process of censorship so as not to extinguish hope of living and working all over the world peacefully.

8.3 Literature

Beyond dispute, literature mirrors society and its sides. Culture, norms, and attitudes are depicted in literary genres- novel, short story, poetry, and plays. The attitudes of the 17th century English society or the Elizabethan Age are portrayed in its literature, especially in the works of William Shakespeare, as Denton (2010:39) believes. She says

"Shakespeare's characters illustrate much about what the prevailing xenophobic attitudes of the large majority of light-skinned, uneducated, and Christians English citizens would have been during Elizabethan times."

This fact about the contributing role that literature plays in xenophobia is espoused by Schweizer (1997:10). Being the victim of xenophobia in 18th century England, bitter satire at the expense of the Scottish characters found in English poems, journals, and dramatic literature. As a literary device, metaphor is employed in depicting and portraying immigrants in many countries. Of these metaphors are 'immigration as dangerous waters', 'SOS: save our state)', 'flood', 'waves', 'pour', 'stream', 'and 'unwanted natural disease.' In his discussion of the phrase 'elimination of foreigners', Zagar (2006:226) criticizes the word 'elimination' as it is associated with non-human and undesirable things. For example, it is used with elimination of insects, filthy, litter or garbage, stain, heaps of snow, peel, pips, stalks, tumours, or some other malfunctioning or useless body parts.

9. Xenophobic expressions

The social context is the source of generating hostility and hatred so that images and expressions are given to label races and nations. The in-group society is responsible for creating and coining images, bad feelings, and attitudes towards others, since societies are divided into two types: friendly and hospitable or unfriendly and not hospitable. The first kind shows intimacy and duties towards strangers, whereas the second is the opposite, according to The Cambridge Dictionary of Sociology (2006:243). Pillars of rivalry are contributing factors in encouraging a community to foster hostility and express it via images or media or

literature. It seems that xenophobia deals with the weak point that features a targeted community from the perspective of others.

The English through their history, according to the examples below, have tried, and still try, to demean and humiliate who were considered aliens or foreigners. Possible xenophobic expressions given by the English are listed. They explain to the readers the motivations and history of England directly or indirectly. These examples are excerpted from Rawson (1981), Rawson (1989), Hughes (2006), Burridge (2002), and Collier (2007).

Chinese

Speaking poorly of the Chinese dates back to World War I. Hostile labels were given to them like moon-eyed leper, squint-eyes, yellow-belly, yellow-peril, and yellow bastard. And just like the Japanese dislike 'jap', as a derogatory term, 'Chinaman' and 'Chinee' as ethnic slurs denoting the Chinese are greatly disliked by the Chinese, according to Hughes (2006:76). These titles suggest incompetence, fraud, and disorganization. Also, they act in an intelligible way. Consider these epithets.

- Chinese blow: an accident or luck hit, in baseball

- Chinese compliment: not a real compliment, but pretended deference to another

- Chinese copy: a production model stolen from another's design

- Chinese deal: a pretended deal

- Chinese parliament: a disorganized group

- Chinese puzzle: one without a solution

- Chinese three-point landing: a crash

- Chinese tobacco: opium

Dutch

As the Dutch were the commercial and military rival of the English of the 17th century, many derogatory expressions were used to label them, the

huge number decreased in the course of time, according to Burridge (2002:233). These are some expressions.

- Dutch defense: fake defense, retreat or surrender

- Dutch, do a: run away, desert

- Dutch, get up one's: to become angry

- Dutch grocery: an ill-kept grocery store

- Dutch shout/to go Dutch/Dutch treat: you pay for yourself

- Dutch talent: something requiring brute strength and no intelligence

- Dutch gold: an alloy of copper and zinc (therefore not gold at all)

- Dutch wife/husband: either an artificial sexual partner or a bolster for resting the limbs in bed

- Dutch window/wife: a prostitute

French

Most of slur and xenophobic expressions labeled the French are linked with sex. In fact, as Hughes (2006:186) mentions, the French were the military rival for the English so that their relationship was problematic. This type of relations was the source of hostility and to create more stereotypes to refer to the French. However, the 16th century was a landmark in generating xenophobic and derogatory expressions for the French; it was the time when gentlemen started acquiring sexual diseases like the French disease/gout/pox (syphilis), though it was called 'the Neapolitan disease', 'the Polish disease', 'the Spanish disease', and even 'the English disease' because each nation blamed another. The history of this disease appears in Collier (2007:49-50). These are the most prominent terms.

- French letter/tickler: condom

- French Lunar Pills/ Renovating Pills: miscarriage

- French pig: a venereal swelling

- French prints: pornographic pictures

- French vice: sexual malpractices

German

Since the 18th century, some ethnic slurs were given to the German. In spite of troubles and crisis upon other nations due to the German, it did not inspire many slurs in their own name, (Rawson, 1989:171). Hatred titles surfaced after 1900, of which are 'bucket-head, cabbage-head, dummerhead, Johnny-squarehead, and nazi'. These are the expressions generated to refer to the German.

- German duck: half a sheep's head boiled with onions

- German comb: the fingers

- German gospel: boasting

- German measles: not a real measles

Greek and Roman

Both of the Greeks and Romans are associated with sex or heterosexuality, irrespective of their glorious civilizations and contributions to human knowledge and life. It seems that sex was a part of their interest. Clarke (2003:12) states that images, pictures, paintings, and good translations of sexual graphic poets are enough to depict this side of life at that period of time. These images presented pictures of Roman ' erotic', paintings, mosaic, metal works, and sculpture, although all illustrated books ignored ancient Romans' attitudes toward sexual imagery. He adds that even the term 'pornai' was passed down from the Greek literature to describe men who wrote about famous *pronai*- highly skilled women who entertained men at drinking parties with music, dance, and sex. This motivated early social scientists to borrow the word 'pornography' which has the same meaning it had in the time of the Greek

writing about prostitution. Thus, these are some slur expressions linking Greek and Roman to sex not their civilizations.

- Greek arts/culture/way: homosexuality

- Roman culture: orgies, group sex

- Roman season (a): lust in the elderly

Irish

Due to their physical separation form the rest of the British Isles, the Irish were described as wild, thieving, lawless, blood-drinking, savage, barbarous, and naked. Also, negative qualities, like stupidity, backwardness, idleness, and dirt, are the stereotypes given to them, as Hughes (2006:254) states. To refer to their backwardness, slurs in below denote it.

- Irish fever: typhus

- Irish hurricane: a flat calm sea

- Irish clubhouse: jail or police station

- Irish promotion: a reduction in wages

- Irish toothache: being pregnant

Italians

The English feelings and sentiments towards the Italians were a mixture of admiration and repulsion attributed to cultural affiliations and religious divisions, (Hughes, 2006:257). Italy was associated with sodomy and homosexuality. Consider these expressions.

- Italian fashion/vice: sodomy

- Italian pathic: homosexuality

Japanese

The lack of contact, due to geographical and cultural distance, between Japan and others countries like Britain and the United States was an element to limit epithets given to the Japanese. After Pearl Harbour

attack, the situation and feelings towards the Japanese became something different; they were associated with treachery. Thus, war and economic competition were the motivations to show hostility towards the Japanese. Phrases like the following explain this fact.

- to pull a jap: to take by surprise

- to jap: to sneak/ to ambush one's rivals

Mexicans

They are linked with inferior things in many combinations, consider the following expressions.

- Mexican breakfast: a glass of water and a cigarette

- Mexican silver: paint

- Mexican money: foreign currency

- Mexican raise: promotion with no increase in pay

-**Muslims and Arabs**

The first contact between Muslim and the West, especially in the Middle Ages, was the motivation to create hostility as a consequences of the Crusade War in which Muslims defeated the West. Since then till these days, the gap between the two parties expands due to religious and cultural differences. So whenever the West looks back to the past, it brings to their mind the Crusade War of the 12th century and its consequences, (Reza, 2011:235). The writers in the West present Islam in an antagonistic way; their knowledge on Islam was acquired to twist and falsify the truth. Ridouani (2011:1-2) asserts that the West used to fabricate the way Muslims and Arabs should be presented because this issue is deep-rooted in the West conceptualization.

Surprisingly, the West depends on fictional and non- fictional writings to create images and concepts about Islam. These images are subject to a constant change, but they are similar in disparagement. For example,

Muslims and Arabs were viewed, according to Ridouani (2011:2), as erotic, primitive, ignorant, and slave traders. Whereas terms like terrorist, fundamentalist, and blood-thirsty are recently given to them. The sexy sheiks of the 1920s in Hollywood are viewed differently in the 1970s and 1980s in Hollywood, as Shaheen (2000:26) explains; 'fundamentalist, bombers, uncultural, ruthless, and threat to the world economy are the prominent features. Not only are Muslim belief and culture targeted, their symbols are even included. For example, as a Muslim symbol, 'hijab' (Muslim female headscarf) is associated with the Dark Ages not mandated in Islam. The West believes that if Muslim symbols, like hijab, is banned in Europe, for example, Islam will disappear eventually, (Abraham, 2001:184-5). Compared with non-Muslim bearded persons, bearded Muslims are linked to prehistoric and barbaric human, (Ridouani, 2011:3). The image of Arab women is contradictory in the West writings and literature. In one place, they are depicted as uneducated, unattractive, and enslaved being who attend sheiks lowering their heads, (Shaheen, 2000:26). By contrast, they appear as eroticized women or maidens or even totally naked. This image contradicts with the previous one, (Aguayo, 2009:43). Ridouani (2011:7) presents in the following lines how the Western painters portray the image of Muslim woman:

> "the Western painters' representation is largely pornographic, presenting the harems as totally naked. It is against logic to believe that an Arab Muslim who is haunted by the secrecy of his wife's name can condescend to allow a stranger to make a pornographic portrait of her. To deal with this issue from another angle, the pornographic portrayal of Arab Muslim

women confined them strictly to sexual commodity while
stripping them from all sorts of social roles."

All in all, the image of Muslims and Arabs is featured in the legendary fictitious figure of Ali Baba.

- Ali Baba: he is an Arab in origin and a Muslim of faith. His reputation does not consist in "his thoughtful, wise, generous, altruistic intentions as he is famous for his mean, deceptive, spiteful gluttonous inclination," (Ridouani, 2011:8). This term was employed by American soldiers in 2003 when they invaded Iraq. It was used to refer to 'looters'

Russian

Russians are featured by fierceness, brutality, and difficulty. Also, as food-based insults are used as abuse terms, 'cabbage-eaters' denotes Russian.   The following expressions reflect the foresaid attributes.

- Russian boots: leg chains

- Russians law: a100 blouses on his bare shins

- Russian love: sadomasochism

- Russian socks: rags bound about the feet of soldiers on a march

Spanish

The English rivalry with Spain as a world power in the 16th and 17th century was the motivation for giving titles. Compared with other nations, these epithets tend to be less derogatory in nature.

- Spanish bath: a sponge bath, not much water is used

- Spanish coin/money: fair words, from the exaggerated courtesy of them

- Spanish gout: syphilis

- Spanish padlock: a kind of girdle contrived by jealous husbands of the nation to secure the chastity of their wives

- Spanish practices: regular cheating by employees

- Spanish trumpeter: as ass when braying

- Spanish tummy: diarrhea

Turk

Negative and stronger features like fierceness, wildness, rigour, tyranny, and cruelty were given to label the Turks. These features date back to the 16th century when the Turks threatened to overrun parts of Europe, (Rawson, 1989:394). The negative connotations of the word 'turk' are reflected in expressions like the following:

- Little turk/young turk: mischievous children

Welsh

Welsh is associated with anything of an inferior grade, its use denotes the early of linguistic hostility or hatred, (Burridge, 2002:244). Consider these expressions.

- Welsh pearls: a counterfeit or one of inferior quality

- Welsh rabbit: not rabbit, a dish was eaten when meat was not available

Conclusion

To sum, xenophobia, the strong hatred towards foreigners, is a universal phenomenon, regardless of society to be friendly and hospitable or not. This hostility is expressed in various ways; verbal expressions are the most commonly used. Physical violence sometimes is involved in. Not only is it confined to outsiders, natives are even targeted and treated badly by some in-group members. The structure, semantics, and context of these expressions are clear. The lack of education, difference in faith and culture, lack of contact between groups, waves of immigration to countries instable in economy, and rivalry are contributing constituents in igniting prejudicial attitudes. The less educated and more different in faith and culture members of in and out-groups are, the more hostility emerges to the surface. Strikes launched by media and bad images created

through literature based on fictional writings make the matter worse and fan flame of intolerance. So as to extinguish fire of hostility is the responsibility of governments and educated members of the two groups who have to work for the good of all and dispel fears of others.

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خوف الغرباء: المدى والدوافع

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الخلاصة

معاملة الغرباء بلطف او بغض يعزى الى تقاليد واعراف المجتمع المضيف لان بعض المجتمعات ودودة والاخرى ليست كذلك. الاتجاهات السلبية نحو الغرباء يعبر عنها بأشكال سلوكية منها الجسدي واللفظي. هناك دوافع عدة تشجع المواطنين الاصليين لتكوين صور ذهنية عن المواطنين غير الاصليين او الخارجيين. التواصل المستمر والتعليم تستطيعان ان تجسرا الهوة بين المجموعتين (الاصليين والاجانب).كذلك ينميان فهما" ايجابيا" ومشتركا" الذي ربما يساعدهم للعمل لما فيه خير الجميع والعيش بسلام. ان مسؤولية الحكومات وافراد المجتمع العمل بجد لتبديد الخوف من الاجانب وخصوصا" في اماكن حيث العنف متوقع ان يحدث.

تحاول هذه الدراسة اقتراح اطار(نموذج) لظاهرة خوف الغرباء في اللغة لذا فالتعريف والتصنيف والدوافع وامثلة لتعابير حول كره الاجانب تقدم. تفترض الدراسة ان عوامل محددة هي خلف توليد العداوة وهذه التعابير في كره الاجانب لدى المجتمع. علاوة على ذلك؛ فالاتجاهات يمكن ان تغير في خلق بيئة صحيحة ومناسبة لأفراد المجتمع.