

*“The ‘Islamophobia’ of the media has damaged Muslim communities in the UK.”
Discuss this statement and its validity (or not), illustrating your response with
examples drawn from your own reading of media sources.*

‘Islamophobia’, listed within the Oxford English Dictionary as of 2006¹, and emerging as early as 1997², has certainly proved favourable and indeed most favourable to current socio-political rhetoric, both in the United Kingdom, and throughout the world.

Non-specific to Islam, the concept of ‘identity politics’, meanders on the fringe of every such kin-group; both consequentially and foundationally, delineating the tribal prerogative that is cause for continuous developments in human demography. Due to the individual nature of each being, social-groups are susceptible to dispute, both inward and outward; i.e., amongst one’s “own” and in unity against a “common enemy,” regardless of what appearances may suggest to be a seemingly distinct and cohesive bond. Commonality is the favourability of others attributes toward the interest of the self; thus when scaled, those who exhibit less benefit, are resultantly less favourable within the social arena.

The pattern of human migratory behaviour draws from the necessity to preserve the self, with communities deriving in-turn from that common desire. Thus, growth and degrowth are ostensibly consequential to the necessary requirements of each social-group, and for which there is no set rule. The narrative which allows for such developments is initiated through social-contract theory in the form of laws, which are incentivised as a method of control to dissuade disunity. In-short it is in the interest of the self to adhere to the perceived outlook, for strength; generally, a derivative of majority, equates to personal survival.

If indeed a state of people retains autonomy for long enough, it is suggested by Plato that it will enter five distinct regimes, of which “democracy”, succeeding from oligarchy, is eventually subsumed by tyranny; a cycle which is evidenced throughout history; notably with the fall of the Roman civilisation and the subsequent transition to the dark ages. The relevance of the above should be duly noted as a prerequisite to the forthcoming discussion on the notion of so called, media-led “Islamophobia” and the accusation that it has propagated “damage” to U.K. Muslim communities. Returning briefly however to Plato’s theory - it is the manic of liberalism, birthed from the putridity of democratic notions of self-driven fairness and equality that has allowed for a pandemic of subdivision known as “identity politics”, whereby ‘nationalities’ are de-commissioned as former representative terms for a large and distinct populace, and are instead, now ever-increasingly connotated to the undesirable likes of “conformative” and “replicative” traits - and thereby replaced under the inherently

¹ Oxford English Dictionary, *Islamophobia* (2006)

<<https://public.oed.com/updates/new-words-list-september-2006/>> [Accessed 28 November 2019].

² Jocelyne Cesari, *When Islam and Democracy Meet*, pb. edn. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006)

narcissistic self-endedness of unbridled and undirected self-interest, the dogma of which invariably erupts into clannism. The latter, although visible amongst all of the Earth's peoples, has not, I would argue, been politicised to the extent that we may now find it at, both in the United Kingdom, United States, and throughout much of the so-called "progressive" western hemisphere. Resources, rather than being fought over through use of physical prowess, with clan victory awarded to the supreme combatants, and for reaping of arable land, trade-routes, or general plunder; have instead shifted to that of aesthetic consumption, with claim of "marginalisation" seated at the forefront. The skill-set of the mass-mind has been condensed to that of gender, race, sexuality and even the sodomisation of science through the contestation of the former, with appraisal for the mentally decrepit, who seek victimisation as a method of social progression (for the laws of self-interest are the laws of opportunity). The "media", enveloped in the corporatisation of global affairs, dictates trends accordingly to favour the supreme command of business, consequently inducing the very nature of our desires, and thus, the method/direction of the 'self'.

***'LGBT criticism of fast-food chain's first Scottish outlet.'*³**

***'Not all leave voters are racist but Brexit undoubtedly is.'*⁴**

***'If joker is just another celebration of a toxic egotistic male justifying his bad behaviour, I'm not here for it.'*⁵**

***'Man wanted over anti-Semitic abuse on the Northern line.'*⁶**

³ 'LGBT Criticism of fast-food chain's first Scottish outlet', *BBC*, 29 October 2019.
<<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-highlands-islands-50220337>> [Accessed 28 November 2019].

⁴ Nora Baker, 'Not all leave voters are racist but Brexit undoubtedly is', *The Independent*, 3 April 2019.
<<https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/letters/leave-brexite-home-office-settled-status-racist-a8852676.html>> [Accessed 28 November 2019].

⁵ Clémence Michallon, 'If joker is just another celebration of a toxic egotistic male justifying his bad behaviour, I'm not here for it', *The Independent*, 5 April 2019.
<<https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/joker-movie-cast-joaquin-phenix-dc-toxic-masculinity-a8857441.html>> [Accessed 28 November 2019].

⁶ 'Man wanted over anti-Semitic abuse on the Northern line', *BBC*, 23 November 2019.
<<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-50529467>> [Accessed 28 November 2019].

***'I had to submit to being exoticised by white women. If I didn't, I was punished.'*⁷**

***'In praise of short men: will the rise of 'short kings' spell the fall of toxic masculinity.'*⁸**

***'New statistics confirm what we already knew - Islamophobia is thriving in all parts of British society.'*⁹**

***'100 women: I transitioned and lost my male privilege.'*¹⁰**

***'Talk of anti-white sentiment 'distracts from the fight against institutional racism.'*¹¹**

So how is societal separation enacted? Through whom and by what mechanism is negativity through the likes of "Identity-Politics" interred, and for what end? Typically, powers are overstretched, understaffed, and thus needful of a remedy to ensure maximum control with limited force and resources. *Posner, Spier and Vermeule* state that, in such arenas, divide and conquer proves an attractive method, due to its cost-effectiveness at setting factions within a latent opposition, to fighting between themselves, and if necessary defeating them piecemeal; rather than the more taxing alternative of combating a unified enemy.¹² Suitably, it is the media that act

⁷ Courttia Newland, 'I had to submit to being exoticised by white women. If I didn't, I was punished', *The Guardian*, 27 February 2019.

<<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/feb/27/white-privilege-is-used-by-women-against-black-men-as-a-tool-of-oppression>> [Accessed 28 November 2019].

⁸ Adrienne Matei, 'In praise of short men: will the rise of 'short kings' spell the fall of toxic masculinity', *The Guardian*, 21 June 2019.

<<https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2019/jun/21/praise-short-men-king-toxic-masculinity-jaboukie-jonas-brothers>> [Accessed 28 November 2019].

⁹ Rosie Carter, 'New statistics confirm what we already knew - Islamophobia is thriving in all parts of British society', *The Independent*, 16 July 2019.

<<https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/islamophobia-new-statistics-hope-but-hate-british-muslims-society-a9006516.html>> [Accessed 28 November 2019].

¹⁰ '100 women: I transitioned and lost my male privilege', *BBC*, 5 October 2017.

<<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/av/world-41502661/100-women-i-transitioned-and-lost-my-male-privilege>> [Accessed 28 November 2019].

¹¹ 'Talk of anti-white sentiment 'distracts from the fight against institutional racism', *The Guardian*, 28 October 2019.

<<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/oct/28/agree-racism-anti-white-racial-harassment-eherc>> [Accessed 28 November 2019].

¹² Eric A. Posner, Kathryn E. Spier & Adrian Vermeule, 'Divide and Conquer', *Discussion Paper No. 639.*, *The Harvard John M. Olin Discussion Paper Series*. John M. Olin Centre For Law, Economics, And Business, Harvard, May 2009, Rev. November 2009, p. 26. Available at:

overwhelmingly as the utmost method for effectively penetrating the public eye with informative, and indeed, mis informative address.

As Prof. Stuart Soroka compiles; negative coverage sells (which is an ironic plus for any enterprise); as duly demonstrated in his reference of data pertaining to sales of negative and positive news from 2001-2009; the former of which enhanced magazine readership by approximately 30%; with figures attributable to an analysis of weekly newsstand covers by Canadian firm; 'Maclean's', whilst furthering this claim; Russian news outlet, 'The City Reporter', deciding to publish only "good news" for a day, saw similarly, a decline of roughly 66%.¹³¹⁴ Anger has been found to evoke information seeking to a large degree, avers *Assoc. Prof. of Political Science, Timothy Ryan*,¹⁵ with *Asst. Prof. of Psychiatry, Jean Kim*, perorating that, anger, overriding 'moral and "rational" brakes in the brain...trigger dopamine reward receptors...that can lead to similar "rushes" as thrill-seeking...or other addictions such as gambling, extreme sports, even drugs...that may lead...people to follow impulses in the moment without regard to the big picture.'¹⁶ Revenue-gain may well be the obvious indicator of the media's promotion of "quick-fix-rush" articles that degrade traditional value systems; however, perhaps a more elusive motivation exists? The nine headlines I latterly posted are by British media giants; *The BBC, Guardian and Independent*, ranked by viewer/readership, respectively as, first, third and seventh, according to *Ofcom*¹⁷ and *YouGov*¹⁸ data. These headlines highlight the vicissitude in their agency to disintegrate social cohesion, as *Prof. Tahir Abbas* concurs, when asserting that:

A great number of aspects of Islamophobia are reinforced by various media and political discourses that maintain the view that Muslims are not just a threat to forms of

<http://www.law.harvard.edu/programs/olin_center/papers/pdf/Spier_639_2.pdf> [accessed 15 December 2019].

¹³ BBC News, 'News From Elsewhere', *Russia: 'Good News Day' decimates websites readership*, 4 December 2014. <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/blogs-news-from-elsewhere-30318261>> [accessed 15 December 2019].

¹⁴ Stuart Soroka, 'Why do we pay more attention to negative news than positive news' *British Politics and Policy Blog*, 24 May 2015 <<https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/why-is-there-no-good-news/>> [accessed 15 December 2019].

¹⁵ Timothy J. Ryan, 'What Makes Us Click? Demonstrating Incentives For Angry Discourse with Digital-Age Field Experiments', *The Journal of Politics*, 74.4 (2012), 1138-1152 (p. 1138) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1017/s0022381612000540?read-now=1&refreqid=excelsior%3Aa3ea7d5da0ac6692e77f960c37a731&seq=12#page_scan_tab_contents> [accessed 15 December 2019].

¹⁶ Jean Kim, 'Anger's Allure: Are You Addicted to Anger?' *Psychology Today*, 25 August 2015. <<https://www.psychologytoday.com/gb/blog/culture-shrink/201508/angers-allure-are-you-addicted-an>> [accessed 15 December 2019].

¹⁷ Ofcom, *News Consumption in the UK: 2018*, (2018) <https://www.ofcom.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0024/116529/news-consumption-2018.pdf> [accessed 15 December 2019].

¹⁸ YouGov (2019) <<https://yougov.co.uk/ratings/media/popularity/newspaper/all>> [accessed 15 December 2019].

multiculturalism but in more recent periods a threat to the very security of the nation itself.¹⁹

A paper from Harvard Law School entitled '*Divide and Conquer*' gives insight into the grounding behind media spin, perhaps providing answers to Abbas' view? It speaks that:

'In one well-known model of constitutionalism . . . the incumbent sovereign or government confronts two or more major political entities: . . . political parties, socioeconomic classes such as capitalists and workers, status groups such as nobles and commoners, or ethnic groups such as Hutus and Tutsis. The incumbent requires the support of at least one of the groups to remain in power, but if the two combine forces, the incumbent is deposed. Given this, the incumbent must decide whether to transgress against one or both groups by violating their rights. It is assumed that doing so will benefit the incumbent, but reduce social welfare overall. The groups' choice is whether to challenge the incumbent's transgression or instead to acquiesce.'²⁰

As summarized on the second page, the method of subjecting society to constant controversy, allows those with a vested interest in retaining the status quo, to further the object of their desires. *Hume* made clear that 'the "balance" of the British constitution as a byproduct of executive corruption, effected through divide and conquer tactics'²¹, just as with Britain's colonial policy in India, which had exploitatively pursued existing divisions within the indigenous monarchies, and likewise, in the colonies of the American southeast as well, where the seeds of mistrust were sown by informing 'Charibs that "runaway negroes,". . . would plunder their settlements';²² tactics that allowed the Governor to lay "the grounds of . . . jealousy, and distrust."²³ It is apparent also that 'divide and conquer' has been a time-honored strategy of many other imperial and colonial powers as well.'²⁴

What then might be the underlying cause for the present tirade of vehemence in the British media? Providing an answer to this question is a theory known as 'The Great Replacement', which has been expectantly branded with the ravishment of atypical aspersion from those to whom the theory attempts to direct its exposé, with its claim that European natives are being systematically replaced under the conduct of elite centres of control.

From an economic standpoint, such a claim, characterised as bold, conspiratorial, and even "white-supremacist" - is a seemingly rather commonsensical truth, is it not? Europe's ageing population is attributable to the natural condition of societal development as an evolutionarily necessary stimulus, germinating in correlation with the heightening of domestic security and resource abundance, which thus inaugurates

¹⁹ Roberto Tottoli, *Routledge Handbook of Islam in the West*, (London; New York: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group 2014, 2015), p. 272.

²⁰ Posner, Spier & Vermeule, '*Divide and Conquer*', 2009, p. 20.

²¹ Posner, Spier & Vermeule, '*Divide and Conquer*', 2009, p. 23.

²² Posner, Spier & Vermeule, '*Divide and Conquer*', 2009, p. 26.

²³ Posner, Spier & Vermeule, '*Divide and Conquer*', 2009, p. 26.

²⁴ Posner, Spier & Vermeule, '*Divide and Conquer*', 2009, p. 26.

said societies onto the higher rungs of humankind's developmental index. In-short, fertility declination is a derivative of prosperity.

However, prosperity for some, is a detriment for others. With our “Western” political economies so heavily subsumed in consumption, any decline in fertility equates to a reduction in purchasing power; therefore, to allow for the political economy of subscribed nations to adhere to such intrinsic patterns, would ensure the undermining of the GDP metric, which is appreciable, and all-out reliant on continued consumer presence. The free market Capitalist venture where prices are dictated by the consumer through the rule of supply and demand, has constricted all entwined populaces, since it is very much the case that in a globalised world, causality can be noted at every juncture, as is especially evident when looking at financial market collapses, conflicts, and natural disasters. Any depreciation in demand on a seemingly small scale, will no-doubt have a multitude of corresponding repercussions; known in macroeconomics as the ‘Ripple Effect.’ To this effect, political economist and demographer, Thomas Malthus wrote that it is in the:

‘Interest of the rulers, and the rich of a state, to force population, and thereby lower the price of labour, and consequently the expense of fleets and armies, and the cost of manufactures for foreign sale.’²⁵

It is thus imperative for the profiteers to ensure that a steady influx of “fresh meat” refills any voids left spare by the ageing and deceased. The housing market, pharmaceutical industry, oil, natural gas, livestock, lumber and fishing - such industries (to name a few), are entirely dependent upon human surplus; which brings me back to the United Kingdom, its citizens, and in particular - Muslims. In an interview with ‘*The New Yorker*’, *Renaud Camus*, a French academic and writer to whom ‘The Great Replacement’ theory is largely attributed, spoke the following:

“Individuals . . . can join a people, integrate with it, assimilate to it,” . . . “But peoples, civilizations, religions—and especially when these religions are themselves civilizations, types of society, almost States—cannot and cannot even want to . . . blend into other peoples, other civilizations.”²⁶

Supporting *Camus*’ idea is a statement made by *Prof. Jocelyne Cesari* who says that, ‘there is . . . a “clash of civilisations”, in which Islam and the West face off in a constant . . . battle. The prize is the complete . . . dominance of one system . . . over the other.’²⁷ ‘Therefore, whilst acknowledging *The Great Replacement* theory as an actuality, it is however indiscriminate as to the creed, culture, or religious affiliation of the incoming settler. The distinction that capitalist philosophy brings to the table, perhaps more than any other political ideology to-date is the lack of visceral agenda - for it is an

²⁵ Thomas R. Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population*, (Empire Books, 2012), p. 48.

²⁶ Thomas C. Williams, ‘The French origins of “You will not replace us”’, *The New Yorker*, 27 November 2017.

<<https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2017/12/04/the-french-origins-of-you-will-not-replace-us?ver-so=true#>> [accessed 15 December 2019].

²⁷ Cesari, *When Islam and Democracy Meet*, p. 3.

economically grounded approach, hence why the said theory cannot be open to dispute, for it is a necessarily absolute chapter in what is overwhelmingly a globalist ideology.

Upon that which has already been discussed I will suggest that the concept of 'Islamophobia' is in no way a phenomenon solely within the British-media, and moreover, that the contrary is in-fact wholly true. Enacting the social division to which I earlier discussed, media coverage of the topic of Islam is one lacking in critique, generally displaying an orchestrated opposition to public opinion. Rather than damaging British Muslims, the effect has only sought to enforce existing self-segregation whilst bolstering shared cultural and/or Islamic religious unity.

In an *All-Party Parliamentary Groups* report outlining the "definition" of "Islamophobia"; the following has now been endorsed as a "workable" definition by *The Muslim Council of Britain, The Labour Party* and *Liberal Democrats*. 'Islamophobia is rooted in racism and is a type of racism that targets expressions of Muslimness or perceived Muslimness.'²⁸ In opposition to such, German Imam, *Ms Ates*, called for the UK government to reject the stipulated definition, stating that: 'it will capture so much reasonable and well-intentioned criticism of certain aspects of Islamic teaching, and so it raises questions on the motivations of its advocates and whether this issue has been hijacked for political purposes.'²⁹

Naturally, the government responded by denying any curtailment of free speech in the form of criticism of the Islamic faith, yet as an adopted non-inherent concept, any attempt to implement restrictions on criticism, is indeed exactly that. Censorship is the implemented prevention of an expression; therefore, through the application of penalty in regard to it, would it not wholly contradict the core principles of an individual's freedom to express opinion? It appears however that this is seemingly the motivation for said discourse!

Former conflict journalist *Terry Anderson* is in agreement with the above, arguing that lengthy media coverage of Islamic Jihad, with 'its hatred of Israel and the West and its reliance on fundamentalist interpretations of Islam' gives "Islamic Jihad" legitimacy. In his opinion, such reports on kidnappings, and assassinations are 'a first victory for the terrorists', for without coverage, such acts would lose their political edge.³⁰ Right up until September 11th, the UK itself was a hotbed for extremist Islamic ideologies, 'due to an explicit policy of non-repression', and ultimately, as a result of this provision, London became the epicentre for 'almost all the national jihadist movements, including

²⁸ Definition of Islamophobia (2019) <<https://islamophobia-definition.com>> [accessed 15 December 2019].

²⁹ Edward Malnick, 'Islamophobia definition will silence moderate Muslims, says imam', *The Sunday Telegraph*, 8 September 2019. <<https://www.pressreader.com/uk/the-sunday-telegraph/20190908/281745566075587>> [accessed 15 December 2019].

³⁰ Terry Anderson, 'Terrorism and Censorship: The Media in Chains', *Power of the Media in the Global System*, 47.1 (1993), pp. 127-136 (p. 128).

Hamas in Palestine, GIA in Algeria, the Taliban in Afghanistan, and Jamaat-al-Islamiyya in Egypt.’³¹

As discussed earlier in this paper, Plato’s understanding of how democratic liberalism is but an end to itself, aligns to the events that have unfolded in the UK, as a direct result of the allowances granted to the Islamic community. The ‘*Great Replacement*’ succeeds in enacting economic security for big-business, whilst simultaneously dividing society by pitting each side against the next through use of media methodology. The reality is that Muslim communities in the UK are being enabled towards heightened cohesion through a combination of systemic propagandistic publications, aimed at triggering cultural sentiment, whilst the same-such sources continue to invariably censor public reproach for Islamic tendencies, as well as any oppositionist response to the multitude of Muslim led barbarity.

Given the depth of our governments political aims (with which the media is in cahoots), it is of no surprise when “small-fish” Saudi millionaires like *Ehsan Abdulaziz* are acquitted for rape with such claims as ‘accidentally tripping and penetrating’ a victim,³² or that over 1500 children may have been abused for as long as a decade in Rotherham,³³ with the assailants comprising almost entirely of men from Pakistani and Bangladeshi Muslim heritage, whilst their victims were primarily of Caucasian British background - just as with figures attained in Bradford, which estimated that white victims composed 70%, which in addition our up-and-coming census, will likely earmark a substantial racial bias, with demographic data expected to place “whites” at roughly 50% of the city’s population. Consequently, there is strong evidence to suggest that these crimes have racially induced motivations; a story which all-too similarly describes the Rochdale child-abuse-ring, of which all 19 of convicted participants were again of Pakistani origin³⁴. *Lord Mcdowell* stated such grooming to be a profoundly racist crime, alongside sacked MP, *Sarah Champion*, who voiced that “Britain has a problem with British Pakistani men raping and exploiting white girls”.³⁵ As factual as this may be, the problem lies in the authority of powerful Islamic financial bodies who hold influence over the shortcomings of investigations concerning criminal Muslims. ‘The UK is

³¹ Jorgen Nielsen, *Muslims in Western Europe* Nielsen, 3rd edn. (Edinburgh: University Press Ltd, 2004). P. 106.

³² Emma Henderson, ‘Ehsan Abdulaziz: Saudi millionaire who said he ‘accidentally tripped and penetrated’ teenage girl cleared of rape’, *The Independent*, 16 December 2015. <<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/millionaire-ehsan-abdulaziz-who-said-he-accidentally-tripped-and-penetrated-teen-is-cleared-of-rape-a6774946.html>> [accessed 15 December 2019].

³³ Lizzie Dearden, ‘Rotherham grooming gangs may have abused more than 1,500 victims, investigators reveal’, *The Independent*, 20 February 2018. <<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/rotherham-grooming-gangs-1500-victims-investigation-police-national-crime-agency-pakistani-white-a8219971.html>> [accessed 15 December 2019].

³⁴ Tom Barnes, ‘British-Pakistani researchers say 84% of grooming gang members are Asian: ‘It’s very important we talk about it’, *The Independent*, 10 December 2017. <<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/quilliam-grooming-gangs-report-asian-abuse-rotherham-rochdale-newcastle-a8101941.html>> [accessed 15 December 2019].

³⁵ Lizzie Dearden, ‘Grooming gangs ‘are abusing girls across the country’, victims and investigators warn’, *The Independent*, 8 October 2017. <<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/grooming-gangs-asian-muslim-across-country-uk-girls-children-women-bradford-rotherham-newcastle-a7987381.html>> [accessed 15 December 2019].

Qatar's single largest investment destination, with £35bn in place' according to the *BBC*,³⁶ whilst Saudi's total investments stand at over £60bn.³⁷ Concluding therefore, I feel that based upon my own research, some of which I have expanded upon within this piece; 'Islamophobia' proves to be a term that may cordon legitimate criticisms concerning the UK Muslim "community", a "community" which has arguably gained benefit from much of the media coverage awarded them; the consequences of which will allow for an intensified Politicalization of Islam within the UK, with dangers largely applicable to those British citizens of non-Muslim faiths.

³⁶ Jamie Robertson, 'Qatar: Buying Britain by the pound', *BBC News*, 9 June 2017. <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-40192970>> [accessed 15 December 2019].

³⁷ Noor Nanji, '£65 billion investment in Britain unlocked by Saudi Crown Prince', *The National*, 20 December 2019. <<https://www.thenational.ae/world/mena/65-billion-investment-in-britain-unlocked-by-saudi-crown-prince-1.711508>> [accessed 15 December 2019].

Adrienne Matei, 'In praise of short men: will the rise of 'short kings' spell the fall of toxic masculinity', *The Guardian*, 21 June 2019.
<<https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2019/jun/21/praise-short-men-king-toxic-masculinity-jaboukie-jonas-brothers>> [Accessed 28 November 2019].

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<<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/blogs-news-from-elsewhere-30318261>> [accessed 15 December 2019].

Catherine Bliss, 'The Marketization of Identity Politics', *Sociology*, 47.5 (2013), 1011–25.
<DOI:10.1177/0038038513495604>.

Clémence Michallon, 'If joker is just another celebration of a toxic egotistic male justifying his bad behaviour, I'm not here for it', *The Independent*, 5 April 2019.
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<<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/feb/27/white-privilege-is-used-by-women-against-black-men-as-a-tool-of-oppression>> [Accessed 28 November 2019].

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