Continuing legacies in Post-Saddam Iraq

Leah Asquith

Introduction

The current political climate in Iraq makes clear the difficulties the country has with tackling processes of racialisation, reaffirming the historical examples of racialisation which continue to maintain prominence. These processes of racialisation, defined as categories based upon biological differences, such as skin colour and differences in lineage, created and embedded in areas of social life, can have a disproportionate affect on residents of particular communities, with the perfect example being Iraq. Consequently, it seems that whilst the Iraqi government is taking steps to tackle processes of racialisation, factors such as the emerging militant group the "Islamic State", where as of September 2014, 650,000 people had been displaced in Iraq due to their presence (International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 2014), are making this endeavour increasingly difficult. Similarly, the lasting effects of Saddam Hussein's regime are still being felt, where many of the atrocities are being replicated in the modern day, aided by systematic government processes aimed at suppressing the truth (UN Commission on Human Rights, 2004). Therefore, to begin understanding why Iraq continues to have problems with processes of racialisation, studies must question and aim to understand why governments seem to have overlooked these issues for so long; no doubt the regime, and later downfall, of Saddam Hussein played a key role in solidifying continuing racist ideas, where centuries old processes of racialisation had the potential to thrive.

This study will aim to explain to critically explain and examine 4 key areas where processes of racialisation in Iraq are clearly seen - the continuing discrimination against people of Kurdish descent, racially motivated discrimination against Black Iraqis, an analysis of Roma life in Iraq and the increasing power of IS and it's links to the regime of Hussein, which has contributed to an increasing sectarian society (International Convention, 2014), with some contextual analysis of historical examples and a clear focus on the present day. These 4 overriding themes will uncover and evaluate whether equality in Iraq has improved, or whether processes of racialisation have received a revival from new threats. Furthermore, Iraq's future can be seen as unclear, due to the increasing power of the IS threatening to reinstate the discriminatory policies seen under Hussein's regime, diminishing the effectiveness of any steps the government of Iraq has taken to improve processes of racialisation. As Goldberg (2002) explains, the state is key in reproducing national identity, through the communication of race, gender and class, therefore making it interesting to see what changes may be occurring to national identity due to the forceful nature of the Islamic State, and what we could expect for Iraq's future; whether ideas of race will grow in their discriminatory influence following the rise of the Islamic State, if they continue to maintain their growing stronghold on the country.

Interestingly, Iraq's problems with processes of racialisation help to disprove critical race theory, which has a basis in the failures of the Civil Rights movement, "questioning the foundations of liberal order" (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012, 3), and suggesting in part that racism is a product of colonialism and Western modernity. Instead, a shift is needed from

critical race theory to a global race theory, in order to encompass racisms which exist across the world. Contributions to this theory will hopefully be made through an analysis of Iraq, encouraging a more detailed account of how complex systems of racism occur and thrive.

The rise of the IS and the future of Iraq's indigenous peoples

The meteoric rise of the Islamic State has received much attention in the past couple of years, leaving many wondering how the group has managed to create such a devastating impact in a small amount of time. Whilst the media enjoys to suggest religious extremists are the creators of the hateful group, recently leaked documents, discovered by Christoph Reuter of Spiegel News suggest that it was actually created by a small group of men who had been high ranking officers under the government of Hussein (2015). The original leader of the plot, Samir Abd Muhammad al-Khlifawi, was recently killed and it was only after his death that the blueprints for IS were revealed, meant to be kept confidential, showing the steps needed to be taken in order to take over a government and state, clearly mimicking the repressive and barbaric techniques seen under Hussein. The documents explain the rapid rise of ISIS and that its initial takeover in Syria was planned in order to make possible the advances into Iraq. Consequently, in 2010, Bakr (al-Khlifawi's pseudonym) made Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi the official leader of the Islamic State, most likely to give it a religious face (Reuter, 2015) and a religious justification for their violent assaults. The religious fanaticism therefore could be a front for a different and potentially more sinister plot; the takeover of Iraq and returning the country to a regime similar to that seen under Hussein, which was known for repressive regimes against people of a different race. It can therefore be argued that the people of Iraq who suffered under Hussein have a very uncertain future; if the extremists gather more power, it is likely these people will become threatened once more. Similarly, the Iraqi government will have its resources focussed on overcoming the advancement of the group - which will affect their ability to implement policies of equality throughout Iraq, in order to tackle processes of racialisation.

Under the regime of Hussein, processes of racialisation and overt discrimination were commonplace, with an example being people of Assyrian heritage, who were persecuted despite being the indigenous people of an area of land which incorporates Iraq (Assyrian International News Agency). The processes of racialisation which occur against this group of people are based upon this heritage, as it is different to the heritage of Hussein, creating an ethnic identity which is used as a justification for discrimination, illustrating the need for a global race theory, as these tensions are hundreds of years old, with no roots in western modernity. Applying ideas from Dikötter (2008), in this instance racism and racial processes are equated with nature, where the socially constructed idea of Assyrian heritage becomes a discriminating category based upon the assumption that any perceived differences are natural and part of biology. Critically, this biological difference is tenuous at best: the Assyrian empire fell around 620 B.C., suggesting that modern day Assyrians are treated as a race different to the majority population, yet most likely hold biological links to many different ethnic groups. Classifications based on lineage are identified by Banton (1987), who suggests that people were differentiated because they had "migrated to different regions", which inevitably creates notions of inferior/superior and is used as a justification for the processes of racialisation becoming embedded in everyday life (Banton, 1987, 11). This reflects one of the reasons Iraq has a society deeply embedded in racial conflict, with the government overlooking Assyrian racism, as perceived differences in lineage are just as important as physical differences, leading to discrimination and violence for many minorities, not least Assyrians. Controversially, it can be argued that the real difference between Assyrians and other groups in Iraq is their Christian faith, causing tension with the Muslim proportions of society, not least the Islamic State. In a similar way to Assyrian discrimination, there is a small community of Armenians

mostly in Baghdad, who are Christian in faith, finding themselves targets of attacks from IS, adding to the suggestion that processes of racialization have categorised Christians into an inferior group predominantly because of their faith and their deviation from the norm of Islam.

Applying Spickard's (2005) explanation of nationalism, it can be argued that the reason that Assyrians are seen as an inferior group despite their long history in Iraq is down to the unstable nature of Iraq's national identity, as a particular ethnic group creates the foundation for a nation state; therefore, other ethnic groups who do not adhere to this foundation will inevitably suffer (Spickard, 2005). Furthermore, Assyrians have faced processes of racialisation for many years, even facing genocide during World War I; thousands were slaughtered by Turkey, with an attack on Simele, a village in northern Iraq, following soon after the fall of the Ottoman Empire. Under Hussein, a policy of 'Arabization' was implemented, which argued and taught that all indigenous people of Iraq were Arabs (Human Rights Report on Assyrians in Iraq, 2013). Clearly, violence against Assyrians has been long running and whilst it may not be as overt as it once was, these racialised issues are still apparent and the rise of the Islamic State threatens to intensify the situation (Centre for the Study of Genocide and Human Rights). Even if those at the centre of this new militant group can overlook their heritage, the extremist face given to the group will definitely not be able to overlook the vast amount of Assyrians who are Christian; this all suggests that the future of Assyrians in Iraq looks to be very unstable and increasingly worrying. Indeed, the current climate for Assyrian's in Iraq is bleak; as McQuade has shown, Assyrians are currently being persecuted by IS in obvious ways - "execution of women for refusing to veil; church desecrations; rape of a mother and daughter for being unable to pay jizya (per capita tax levied on non-Muslims under Islamic Law)...and even cutting off clean water supply to Assyrian towns in the Nineveh Plains" (2014). Furthermore, processes of racialisation mean that despite Iraq claiming to be a democracy, Assyrians are not properly represented in politics and many claim that they are discriminated against in employment; a 2013 Human Rights reports published by the Assyria Council of Europe and the Assyria Foundation suggests that Assyrians hold jobs which Muslims do not apply for, due to their inferior status, making them a target for threats from Muslim extremists.). However, McQuade proves that there may be some hope remaining, as the Iraqi government is currently debating whether to make Nineveh Plains a province, which is composed largely of Assyrians, which would give them some autonomy from persecution (2014).

Maintaining the painful legacy of slavery

Contextually, Iraq has a history of slavery, with Basra being one of the most profitable slave ports in the region during the 19th century, meaning that there is now a great minority of Black Iraqi's, numbering between one and two million (Flintoff, 2008); many of them are descendents of slaves and reports suggest that some Iraqi's still refer to them as "abeed", meaning slave (Aljazeera, 2010), a term the Free Iraqi movement are hoping becomes banned, due to its dangerous connotations (Al Arabiya, 2008). Whilst obviously hurtful, these comments highlight something deeper in the framework of Iraq; Black people often hold the more menial jobs in Iraq society, which suggests that the common belief held throughout Iraq, possibly more prominent in Basra, has affected processes of racialisation significantly; as Flintoff (2008) notes, civil rights in an issue of increasing distinction for Black Iraqis. Indeed, despite slavery being abolished in the 19th century, Black Iraqis face constant discrimination in society; 95% of Iraqis from African descent are illiterate, meaning they have no choice but to take up these poorly paid jobs, reaffirming their low position in society (Flintoff, 2008). The long history of a subordinate class made up of Black Iraqis means that in the modern day Iraq, recovering from the affects of war, groups which hold the lowest positions in society will struggle more than ever to push through boundaries which limit them so severely in areas such as education and politics.

Interestingly, the majority of Black Iraqis adhere to an Islamic religion and speak Arabic, which suggests that the discrimination they experience is solely down to the colour of their skin and not the difference in religion. Indeed, it would seem that there are many Black Iraqis who consider their heritage solely Iraqi - their mother tongue is Arabic and they have no known connections to where their ancestors originally came from (Simmons, 2004). Furthermore, there is little evidence of outright violent discrimination against Black Iraqis under the regime of Hussein, suggesting that processes of racialisation did not categorise them as a threat. Applying the 'common-sense model' theorised by Dikötter (2008), the processes of racialisation which prohibit the social mobility of Black Iraqis seems to be heavily based on the notion that differences in race - i.e. differences in biological characteristics - are real, and therefore are used to justify the position of African people around the world, not just in Iraq. Interestingly, it has been suggested that Black Iraqi's do not face discrimination in Iraq, most likely because it is not overt discrimination; there are few accounts of racial violence, but this does not mean that discrimination does not exist (Al Arabiya News, 2008). It shows that the potency of processes of racialisation are such that they have become completely hidden from those who do not directly experience the discrimination, often justified by weaker excuses - some suggest that any discrimination Afro-Iraqis do face is caused by their lack of tribe, rather than their skin colour (Al Arabiya News, 2008). Again, it is clear that these processes of racialisation are not caused by the foundations in which equality is based on, pioneered heavily by western colonialism, but were caused by the economic positives of slavery, a worldwide phenomenon, in which Iraq was heavily involved in, reinforcing the notion that a global race theory would be most useful when analysing processes of racialisation, despite critical race theory having links with American Civil Rights. It also reinforces Dikötter's (2008) suggestion that racism has become interlinked with science and nature - that the colour of a person's skin is evidence in differences between races and therefore justifies inequality.

As mentioned above, Afro-Iraqis have high levels of illiteracy, suggesting that education is a non-existent luxury. According to UNESCO (2004), Iraq has historically maintained high levels of literacy for its residents, yet it is now estimated that around 5 million people are now illiterate in Iraq; often those in poverty or in rural areas, which would explain why so many Black Iraqis are unable to read or write. Politically, Black Iraqis face the same discrimination as in education; despite the large Black Iraq community, no one from this background holds a political seat, signifying yet another way the community are disadvantage, reproducing their inferior position in societal hierarchies. Similarly, a document leaked from WikiLeaks in 2010 displayed how the plight of Black Iraqi's is acknowledged, but no improvements are made; "Ramon Negron...reported that 'the black community suffers disproportionately under the government's patronage-based political system'", before suggesting that there are enough Black Iraqi voters to win a seat in Basra's Provincial Council (Zurutuza, 2011). Salah Ruhais Salman, Vice President of the Free Iraqi Movement, suggests that the victory of Obama as president was celebrated as a time to begin pushing for the rights of Black Iraqis (Zurutuza, 2011), yet the racial processes which are so ingrained in Iraqi society means that they may not be easily overcome.

The future for Black Iraqis remains uncertain, despite the induction of Barack Obama. Despite many Black Iraqis being Muslim, their heritage has meant that they may still be under threat from the Islamic State; whilst confirming their allegiance with Boko Haram, and celebrating their expansion into West Africa, many analysts have downplayed this new development as propaganda (France-Presse, 2015). Even if this alliance develops into strong links in the future, it is unlikely that Black Iraqis will be free from persecution due to this tenuous link; as Ostebo (2015) suggests, both groups have their specific localities and histories, which are likely to be more influential in policy than ties with a group in a difference locality. Whilst this new networking creates the potential for a united and stronger group, Boko Haram has not yet distanced itself from Al Qaeda, with whom IS has previous tensions with (Ostebo, 2015). Therefore, it would be wrong to assume that Black Iraqis may receive new opportunities under

IS, as historical processes are likely to be just as prominent in the group as they are in society, with the potential for the discrimination to become deadly as it has a militant force behind it.

Fighting for Kurdish autonomy

After World War 1, allied forces denied the existence of Kurdistan as an independent nation state, through the treaty of Sèvres, and later Lausanne, despite many arguing that people of Kurdish heritage are the largest ethnic group without their own state (KurdishRights.org). Whilst suffering discrimination throughout the Middle East, processes of racialisation in Iraq occur with as much fervour today as they did under the regime of Hussein, with the legacy of discrimination perpetuating processes of racialisation. Under Hussein, the Ba'athist regime meant that people of Kurdish descent were discriminated against violently, leading to genocide, where in just once example, 8,000 members of a Kurdish tribe were massacred (KurdishRights.org). Following this was the Anfal genocide, in which the Ba'athist regime began to exterminate thousands of Kurdish Iraqis through the use of chemical weapons and mass shootings during the late 1980s (BBC News 2007). Many argue that this genocide was just the culmination of years worth of discrimination and shows yet another lingering problem that modern Iraq will struggle to overcome, especially if the IS take hold of Iraq. Applying theory by Dikötter (2008), whilst the Kurdish face discrimination in other areas such as Turkey and Syria, the local difference in their discrimination was partly based on the fact that Iran was implicated in support for the Kurdish rebels in Iraq (Cashman and Robinson, 2007), causing Kurdish and Iranian people to be seen as an inferior race by the Ba'athist regime.

Post-Saddam life for the Kurdish looked positive; many regions where people of Kurdish heritage lived were peaceful and prosperous and there have been agreements for new oil exports from Kurdish regions, which Harding believes has helped to transform these areas (2014). However, this was short lived, and tensions soon arose due to the demands placed on the Iraqi government by Kurdish groups, who wanted greater economic and political autonomy. Indeed, in 2009, Kurdish militias and government forces were on the edge of violence after Kurdish representation was reduced in two provinces which held largely mixed populations (Katzman, 2009). The small improvement in Kurdish life shortly after the fall of the regime proves that Iraq had the potential for equality in politics; for the first time ever, Kurds entered national politics on the same footing as Iraqi Arabs, through their participation in an occupation administration led by the US (Katzman, 2009). Furthermore, when the "Transitional Administrative Law" came into force in 2004, the "Kurdistan Regional Government" was preserved, another indicator that political improvements were occurring for this group of people. Processes of racialisation continue to prevail however, due to the fact that the increased political demands given to the Kurdish was perceived by others as a threat to the national integrity of Iraq, weakening the potential for a multi-cultural Iraq (Katzman, 2009). Referring back to the work of Dikötter (2008), it is clear to see that these processes of racialisation are different to those aimed towards Black Iraqis, as the political agenda against these people seems to much more aggressive, potentially as they pose more of a threat to the highest levels of society, illustrating Dikötter's (2008) suggestion that by taking an interactive approach, it is apparent that this racist belief system has been transformed according to the historic context of Hussein's regime, showing they are not static ideologies.

Tensions between IS and the Kurdish are also at a peak, as in 2014, Islamic State fighters had invaded the northern part of Iraq, a largely semiautonomous Kurdish region. Within weeks, the Islamic State fighters had been pushed out of the territories they had claimed, with the help of America; Obama had ordered shipments of arms to be sent to the Kurdish. This all seems incredibly positive for those in Kurdistan; yet there is still much resistance for it to become independent, mainly due to processes of racialization which mean the Iraq government continue to oppose the move towards Kurdish autonomy. Similarly, tensions between IS and Yazidi Kurds is becoming increasingly violent, where as recently as 2nd May

2015, 300 Yazidi captives had been killed by the Islamic State (BBC News, 2015); this incident is one of many, labelled a "'forced conversion campaign'" (Dhiman, 2015, 149), as Yazidi Kurds are compromised of many faiths; this leads them to be labelled and considered infidels in the eyes of the Islamic State, given the opportunity to "convert to Sunni Islam or die" (Dhiman, 2015, 150). Interestingly, "forced conversion campaign" can be likened to forced assimilation, something which was a part of Ba'athist policies, destroying the infrastructure of Kurdish ways of life, in order to deter them from turning to Iran for help in any potential uprising (Bruinessen, 1997). Furthermore, whilst discrimination is heavily based upon differences in religion, this group have been heavily persecuted throughout the history of Iraq, which suggests that heritage most definitely plays a significant part. Similarly, the discrimination faced by the Yazidis is turning more sinister, with women being forced into the sex industry (Bar'el, 2015). Their enslavement has also been justified through rulings from early Islam (Spencer, 2014), showing that the religion of Yazidi women has played a large part in their racial categorisation. The use of sex slavery is particularly astonishing due to Islam's conservative attitudes towards sex and contraception, showing how processes of racialisation can have a disproportionate effect of people of different races, as for Yazidi women, sex slavery can be justified as they are considered polytheists, yet for those the IS perceive as heretics, enslavement is not permitted (Spencer, 2014). Consequently, processes of racialisation have meant this diverse group of people have been grouped together on the basis of heritage and their difference to Arab society, linking back to Banton's (1987) argument that differences in lineage lead to beliefs of inferiority. Therefore, if the prominence of the IS in Iraq rises dramatically, Iraq will see a hugely negative shift in attitudes towards Kurdish people and it is not unlikely that a similar crisis to Anfal may occur.

The Roma's everyday life is becoming a skill of survival

People who are of Roma heritage face discrimination across the world, with Iraq being no different. Estimates suggest there are around 60,000 people of Roma heritage in Iraq, many of whom suffer extreme discrimination, due to the country's strong beliefs about the inferiority of Roma life (minorityrights.org). Dikötter's (2008) suggestion that racial processes are not universal can be critiqued by the analysis of Roma people; Goldberg's (2009) work, however, seems to describe Roma experiences more accurately, by suggesting that localised beliefs in one area help to shape beliefs in another area, as their experiences across the world have little variance. It seems that racial processes involving the Roma have been transferred to Iraq with increasing fervour; similar to Black Iraqi's, people of Roma heritage are often illiterate, which isolates them from mainstream society and this is unlikely to change in the near future. Whilst some improvements have been made recently, such as an allocation in the 2015 budget for a school to be built for a Roma community in Iraq and a 2011 policy which meant literacy centres were created (UN Human Rights Report, 2014), the processes of racialisation which have led to these terrible realities for Roma people are so deeply ingrained in the rhetoric of everyday life, making them much more difficult to overcome. Unlike the improvements in civil rights in America, people of Roma heritage still face overt discrimination across the world, which suggests that this type of discrimination will be most difficult to overcome, linking back to Goldberg's (2009) argument that racial ideas in one area are partly reliant on racial ideas in other areas. Whilst the UN may question Iraq's policies towards helping Roma people, few improvements will create a better quality of life for Roma people if the universal nature of discrimination against them is not tackled on a world-wide basis.

Iraq has an under developed welfare system, often allowing the most vulnerable to remain in poverty, whilst their ridiculously bureaucratic application process is criticised heavily (Latif, 2013), most likely because it provides yet another barrier for minorities in Iraq. A key criterion to qualify for social care is to provide proof of Iraqi nationality, something which many Roma people are unable to do, despite Hussein's governmental policy which offered them nationality

in a bid to settle down in Iraq (Tamimi, 2011), potentially a move towards forced assimilation. Whilst not having access to welfare services, their residences often lack water and electricity supplies and their housing is very basic, with their villages hugely neglected ruins. Furthermore, because Roma people are seen as an inferior race, their ability to own land is prohibited, leading them to set up life in areas which are completely unfit for living purposes, making them less likely to warrant attacks from locals. The relative silence of the Iraqi government on the violent attacks against Roma people shows how processes of racialisation in Iraq have gripped the country thoroughly, as media outlets lack reporting on these events, despite the attacks being cruel and devastating. Latif's (2013) research suggests that thousands of Roma people have died at the hands of Iraqi's, of course leading the Roma people to believe that the government supports the terrible events, due to their unresponsive nature. Just one example of this situation is the settlement of Fuwwaar, which once had over 1,500 gypsies as residents, yet now has fewer than 200, due to attacks and displacement through unemployment and such. The racialization of the Roma people has meant that attacks that affect settlements to this extent go largely unreported, impacting on the Roma way of life to an even greater extent. The attacks in Iraq came soon after the fall of the regime, when Islamic extremists gained power; "violence against Roma settlements were among the first recorded post-invasion sectarian incidents, but only few Coalition officials paid attention because they are such a small community in Iraq" (al-Khalidi et al, 2006, 24). As al-Khalidi illustrates, processes of racialisation seek to ignore the difficulties faced by this community, marginalising them further through refusal to admit there is a severe problem.

Similarly, under extremist Islamic groups which gained prominence after the US invasion in 2003, the Roma's persecution increased, with the justification of "spreading virtue", limiting their opportunities to an even greater extent and pressuring Roma women into sex (Tamimi, 2011). Interestingly, it has been suggested that under Hussein, people of Roma heritage had slightly better lives, earning a living through singing and dancing (Tamimi, 2011), with the occupation escalating their poor treatment. This would suggest that the future for the Roma does not like entirely positive; whilst the government may be making small improvements, the power of the IS threatens to create a inherently violent society for people categorised as Roma. Their racialisation in Iraq is partly down to the jobs they held under Hussein, which the IS would deem as too provocative for their strict Islamic religion, suggesting that the Islamic State are promoting a national identity based solely on strict Sharia law, justifying their extreme discriminatory practises in the name of God. Similarly, the discriminatory nature of Iraq's media means that this discrimination is still going largely unreported, making it unlikely that the situation will change anytime soon. As Banton (1987) explains, both personal and social identity is influenced by perceptions of ethnicity; therefore, how an individual sees their own personal identity may be different to how another individual sees their social identity, both identified by race, changing patterns of behaviour from one person to another. Therefore, the extremist Islamic groups are largely made up of people of Arab descent, meaning their physical features differ to those of Roma descent, adding to this notion that the Roma are unwelcome in Iraq - continuing legacies of Hussein's 'Arabization' means that Iraq's national identity and the national identity of the IS is influenced mainly by ideas of what it is to be an Arab, leaving anything which differs from this 'norm' open to hostility.

Conclusion

By analysing processes of racialisation in Iraq, it has become apparent that racism extends much further than the emphasis placed on the Islamic State by western media. This shows how important it is to create a global race theory, through the analysis of racisms across the world, as the complexities of race mean one theory which concentrates on questioning the foundations of equality is not enough. Indeed, the Islamic State have only intensified racial processes which have existed for hundreds of years, many of which received a revival under the regime, particularly against the Kurdish. The occupation of the Iraqi government after the US invasion provided the opportunity for improvements to be made; indeed, conditions

improved, and small steps are being taken to tackle the existing racism, with the slow progress most likely down to lack of funding and the ongoing goal of tackling religious extremism, supporting the idea that Iraq's future may involve yet another repressive regime under the Islamic State.

A global race theory will also help to uncover the intersectionality of racisms across other countries in Western Asia, proving that focussing solely on western colonialism ignores the complex nature of the construction of race. The case of Iraq compounds this suggestion, as both historical and modern day examples show that centuries old beliefs about heritage still play a huge part in maintaining hierarchy; as the study has shown, this can be seen with Assyrians, Black Iraqis and the Kurds. Furthermore, the analysis of different processes of racialisation shows that changes to national identity need to be positive and inclusive for the future, but are unlikely to be; the Islamic State threatens to push Iraq into a repressive and hugely disjointed state, similar to what was witnessed under Saddam Hussein. The government must focus on overcoming the difficult presented by the IS, and uniting the country through a common national identity would help to do this; despite Kurdish autonomy, there is still potential for a united front against religious extremists, which would improve life for everyone in Iraq, and start to rebuild the country through policies which try to overcome the barriers for many ethnic minorities. The whole history of Iraq has been dogged with racial discrimination, yet they are yet to start the process of making amends; unlike the West, their limited resources and turbulent past 20 years have made it very difficult to improve everyday life, with many of the poorest in society being those who are classed as a racial minority. As Dikötter (2008) expressed, there is a parasitic link between race and science, where 'science' will no doubt turn to 'God' if the Islamic State continue to gain power within Iraq, justifying their violent assaults through belief in a higher being.

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