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ABSTRACT

This research paper is testing the validity of the Necropolitics theory and how we can reintroduce its definitions in a modern lens. Though the theory of Necropolitics is extreme and historically was a terminology and paradigm that was used towards more catastrophic and traumatizing events. The main argument that this paper is discussing is how did the idea of Necropolitics evolved into a more institutional, systematic, and legalized manors of exclusion. This is made through critical discourse analysis of the text presented on the term Necropolitics to highlight on the history of this term and what it stood for in the past and how it continued to grow until the theory became limited in use due to the exitance of institutions such as the United Nations, and other international organizations, in efforts to abolish the discrimination and exclusion of groups. The question that is aimed to be answered through this study is How can the concept and theory of Necropolitics be used in analyzing the discriminative acts of our modern day? how can this theory act as a reference towards hate crimes and acts of violence towards specific groups in the society? The study does not focus on individual examples yet is focused more on the percentages and the collective number of deviant behaviors towards different groups, rather than individualist ascending and successful examples. The article is divided as the following first, there is a brief introduction about how the term Necropolitics is used. Second, there is an explanation of the different forms of exclusion and important terminologies towards studies of social exclusion. Third, highlighting on the different forms of violence that excluded groups face. Fourth is a discussion of how the classical theory of Necropolitics is reimagined in a modern lens. The idea of the paper is an attempt to contribute to how the political manor evolved in a way that acts of violence against racialized and excluded communities became more institutionalized and protected by institutions and under the umbrella of the law.

I. Introduction

Necropolitics is a term that was first introduced by Achille Mbembe; the definition of this term is simply having the power to determine who may live and who must die. It is a manifestation of power and extreme control over the constitutional limits of sovereignty. Necropolitics is a term that is commonly used in legal, war, and religious studies. However, there were two important concepts introduced through further research of this term. First, 'biopower' and second is the 'state of exception', which are both introduced and discussed by Michel Foucault. This theory is that the enemy becomes an absolute objective, and sovereignty is allowed to use its power and exercise power to kill this targeted group in effort of protecting itself, and the means of doing such is justified under the state of exception. Under the state of exception, everything is accepted, and the sovereign has absolute power. The state of exception was discussed by the philosopher Hannah Arendt as it is a state like the Nazi, totalitarian, terrorist, concentration camps ideas that were created by sovereigns that used the society's capacity to exercise their absolute power (Mbembe & Meintjes, 2003).

Sovereignty comes with a list of norms, creating a body of equality between the different groups living inside the boarders of this state, equality between the subjects of men and women. These subjects living inside shall be capable and their capability expands towards self-understanding, self-consciousness, and self-representation. For the sovereign to exercise the power they need reason, and it stands as a key element to transfer the absolute freedom to an element of autonomy and power over the sovereign state. Therefore, sovereignty here is defined as a two leveled process of self-institution and self-limitation to change one's limits for itself. The struggle of sovereign power is how it instrumentalizes the human existence into a material of destruction over human bodies and lives (Mbembe & Meintjes, 2003).

In the previous paragraph, it was stated that the powerful need reason over the population to have absolute autonomy over their destination. The concept of death is usually a negative concept, Hegel discusses the relation between death and becoming the subject in an interesting manner. To convince people that some must die, there are stages to follow, first to reduce their needs, and second negate the nature of elements towards their needs. Since death is usually voluntary, there must be a factor to reverse such nature. Man is separated from animal by having the power over their death, as destruction is scary for mankind and there is always an instant to survive and continue their existence. This brings the next idea inline to reverse manpower over death and give them power over other people's death the targeted group must be dehumanized or animalization of those groups. (Mbembe & Meintjes, 2003). Hannah Arendt discussed the dehumanizing constructions created to affirm that their death or accepting their death is acceptable as they're seen as animals or that these groups lack the characteristics of what makes them human. Separating humans into groups and subgroups creating boundaries and distinctions from one another (Petković, 2017).

George Bataille explains the insight and structure that is created between the idea of sovereignty, the political, and the subject. First, that sovereignty is the space where the power exchange dynamics take place and there is excess to death, and he explains further using Hegel's explanation that death is the exchange of life. Second, death does not always translate to a negative definition, death could be profiled positively. Third, he develops a correlation between death, sovereignty, and sexuality which is the taboos that drive the human instincts such as having power over death and polarized human impulses. The idea of death becomes a seductive mean and therefore it will be a point of interest and domain to be appropriated by humans (Mbembe & Meintjes, 2003).

The sovereign is the person who decides who is the exception and this is common in the political theology, it is a method of secularizing a concept rather that rationally explaining

it. Sovereignty gives the power of decision and domination. The sovereign decided what is problematic and labels it as the nature of law is that humans are working towards avoiding problems. There are two cases of gaining this power, first, genuine decision of a group of people to take a decision and become the powerful state of exception. Second, the sovereign already has the power and doesn't need permission of anyone defining the state of exception. Originally an individual is complete, unique, and exceptional but when the exception is generalized it loses its meaning. The decision of exception is a privilege as it gives the right of who defines. The sovereign creates the scenario of the friend and enemy to defeat the equality of human interaction and make it appropriate for exception, violence, and unjust behavior. (Gulli, 2009)

II. Profiling and Exclusion of Groups

The 'profaliation' and 'dehumanization' of people comes from the idea of splitting between several groups of people. It is an establishment to distribute and subdivide the population and create a biological caesura between the ones and the others. These ideas originated the ideas of racism, and the idea of race and racism makes biopower completely justifiable. Racism allows grouping and justification of death more acceptable as its politics suggest the superiority of one race over the other. Arendt explains claiming race as a reason for death creates an end to life not its beginning. Objectifying humans makes it subordinate to everything instrumental and mechanized, and therefore their death becomes rational excuse (Mbembe & Meintjes, 2003).

There are several tools to allow creating the state of exception and accepting the discrimination: necropolitical animalization, criminalization, and racialization (Petković, 2017). Racism was the beginning of different types of subordinating as it triggered stereotyping class-based racism and developed a pattern of false recognized profiles of people that became the stateless and savages of the society. These narratives of mastery and emancipation became a source of power to the political sphere and created a vehicle of self-creation and chosen narratives by the master. Power dynamics shape the communicative acts against others. It shapes who has the right over bodies and it also determines if this person is responsible for their own body. Race is a crucial concatenation towards the state of exception, biopower, and blurring equality lines. With having biopower, the sovereign is allowed to create the state of exception and exercise the power outside the law. The sovereign then creates frontiers and uses its power, army, people, and resources to protect the civilization believed in danger from the other. Raising the state of fear helps conquering power, moreover, the racial denial of any common bonds between one group of people than the other makes the racialized group dehumanized to the 'civilized' group.

> *"The classification of people according to different categories; resource extraction; and, finally, the manufacturing of a large reservoir of cultural imaginaries. These imaginaries gave meaning to the enactment of differential rights to differing categories of people for different purposes within the same space in, in brief, the exercise of sovereignty. Space was therefore the raw material of sovereignty and the violence carried with it. Sovereignty meant occupation, and occupation meant relegating the colonized into a third zone between subjecthood and objecthood".* (Mbembe & Meintjes, 2003, p.26).

These ideas originated and were spread by the colonizer/ occupier that gave them priority and supremacy over the occupied towards their spatialization. The colonial narrative gives itself the right to a particular identity and historical narrative, and it takes the right from the native to have power over their own space and they became a stateless population inside their state. In this narrative the occupier defines 'who matters', and in the occupation state

change and movement along the society is impossible as the state is rearranged into various cells that isolate every person from one another and it becomes a living state of constant apartheid. These are politics of verticality and the sovereignty here is called 'vertical sovereignty'. In the modern world history, the weaponized and colonial powers are rearranged and reframed to become acceptable to the human awareness level witnessed. The war of globalization reinforces groups into specific narratives, representations and profailation and the political space became globalized. Power becomes a superiority and global pressures forces population towards submission, the power of boarders created through false representation, profiling, stereotyping, and dehumanizing a specific group of people limits their movement or potential growth in any space. Technologies of destruction became tighter and reigned stronger controls over bodies. Creating a meaning of the body is the main factor towards including or excluding the self, and only the sovereign or the powerful political space is given such right to give meaning (Mbembe & Meintjes, 2003).

Joseph O'Connor introduced the 'politics of visibility' which is defined as "a complex system of permission and prohibition, of presence and absence, punctuated alternately by apparitions and hysterical blindness" (p.32). To elaborate further, it creates an account for some bodies to the hyper-exposed, visible, bright, and magnified and others remain missing, vanishes, hidden, and unseen. The politics of visibility gives the power to global stratification and social process to be taken into a specific manner. The more visible a person is the more likely they will have enough power towards change, as being visible is empowerment and autonomous. The way a person is being represented and becomes visible also has the power to illustrate the image drawn and the social role associated and viewed toward this person. Recognition is a human right and by dehumanizing the person as Arendt explains the right of being recognized and represented equally is taken away as the person's human character is gone. This type of politics explains the silent system towards the unjust of a group and a rebellious behavior towards the unjust another (Petković, 2017).

The normalization of a negative scenario and representation of a specific group of people makes it acceptable to exclude them and have negative relationship towards this group. The virtual images spread creates an idea representing this group and a type for the enemy or who is perceived an enemy, it is a presented mental enmification. The constant repetition of a specific image creates a logical fear from this group and exploits them to the worst narrative. These mental enmification that create the enemy image justifies their extermination and exclusion from the society. These images are spread through games, social media, television shows, news broadcasts, advertisements, headlines, and political speeches. It is an extension of necropolitical principle of exclusion and choosing one over the other. The new technologies of surveillance are manufactured to enclose and reconstruct humanity views and recognize the differential powers. The collective memory of a group makes the negative image remain categorized as a threat and it becomes collectively undesired, illegible, and threating bodies. Through racializing a group all these views come together to form systematic patterns of inclusion derived from a false representation and viewing this other race as worthless and dehumanized. The space that these individuals inhabit becomes unequal as the "othered" bodies become a target of being dismissed (Mahshid, 2021).

'Proximization theory' is where discourse of conceptual positioning and ideologies are integrated in a way to account for conflicting ideologies positions and public discourse. *"To construe a conflict between 'better' and 'worse' ideologies and/or identities. This is the case with the discourses of xenophobia, racism, nationalism, or social exclusion, all of which presuppose a rigid in-group vs. out-group distinction, arguing for a 'growing' threat from the out-group"* (p.292). This has been addressed through several dimensions such as xenophobia, national identity, gender identity, and inequality, media discourse, discourses of national vs

international politics. This positions them in different conflicting ideologies and identities, and it also helps in determining an understanding of events taking place. The conflict is always and excuse and justification to be used linguistically against others. (Cap, 2020).

Conceptualization, representation, and positioning are major factors of determining or identifying the threat or the how an individual perceives the other. the discourse of a sentence and the conceptual meanings divided into it sets the relationship status between one group to the other. the profile of representation is divided into two factors the imagery or image schema and the cognitive linguistic tools. These present the including/representing of worldviews and defined position within societies. The level of proximation towards a specific group in a textual or imagery form determines the level of closeness or furthermost to a specific group. For example, when a person is stating 'us' in a sentence they are creating a closer relationship than mentioning 'them' in a sentence. The closer the dimensions and proximities of the words chosen the closer the relationship and vise-versa. The symbolic self feels safer and trusting the closer the representation is in the sentence or the descriptive context. the self creates a relationship through three mediums the spatial, temporal, and modal. (Cap, 2020).

The spatial creating a discourse or meaning through concepts, second the temporal which is meaning through time and space and last, the modal is through the distance and the three dimensions are directed from the center of the symbolic self, which is I, We. From a pragmatic point of view how people create their ideas of representation is purely derived from the spread narrations and accomplished goals by the speaker. However, with the modernization and technological empowerment that people have today these demonstrations not only been presented in motion pictures, games, and platforms but any profiling that happens intensifies the visual and conceptual forms. The representation profiles created to communicate, persuade, legitimize, and outline social coercion towards a specific behavior and justifies and excludes or discriminates against a specific group. Language and written narrations are one of the most powerful instruments that were and still used methods of provoking a specific ideology (Cap, 2020).

III. Racism and Social Exclusion

In the modern world choosing a group to live or die comes into forms of systematic and institutional manner. It is not the choice of who will live and who will die but it is more of access points, gateway, power, and empowerment of groups (AbdulMagied, 2020). First to begin with, race is defined as a socially constructed concept based on the idea of othering people based on skin color, and as well as with other social issues such as gender, religion, and sexuality (Alemanji, 2016, 7). Racism is a social phenomenon inscribed through practices (forms of violence – contempt, intolerance, humiliation, and exploitation) in different contexts and actions which are articulated around the stigma of otherness (name, skin, color, religious practices) and results in irrational behavior and stereotyping of different groups (Alemanji, 2016, 14). Yet before highlighting on the following concepts and how they reflect on the philosophy of Necropolitics, the following terminologies are essential to understand the power dynamics in the studies of race and racism. This study is attempting to understand Necropolitics in the paradigm of racism, social exclusion, and hate crimes. The example that will be used and focused on is the African American community and police brutality against them inside American society. These terms might not all be used further in the discussion, yet they are essential for further understanding and research on issues of race and racism. Therefore, are stated here to help and encourage more knowledge about the important keywords inside the studies of race.

Assimilationist: One who is expressing the racist idea that a racial group is culturally or behaviorally inferior and is supporting cultural or behavioral enrichment programs to develop that racial group. (Kendi, 2019).

Biological racist: One who is expressing that the idea that the races are meaningfully different in their biology and that these differences create a hierarchy of value (Kendi, 2019).

Bodily racist: one who is perceiving certain racialized bodies as more animal-like and violent than others. (Kendi, 2019).

Color blindness (race): "I don't see color". Is when white people deny the racial privilege that still exists claiming that there are no differences based on the color of our skin, yet this behavior tends to support racialized structures and practices. In this, trying to be neutral is still being racist. (Kendi, 2019).

Culture Appropriation: Theft of cultural elements for one's own use, commodification, or profit, including symbols, art, language, customs, etc. often without understanding, acknowledgement, or respect for its value in the original culture. Results in the assumption of a dominant culture right to take other cultural elements. (Racial Equity tools, 2019).

Powerless defense: the illusory, concealing, disempowering, and racist idea that black people can't be racist because black people don't have power. (Kendi, 2019).

Race: A power construct of collected or merged difference that lives socially. (Kendi, 2019).

Racist: one who is supporting racist policy through their actions or inaction or expressing a racist idea. (Kendi, 2019).

Segregationist: One who is expressing the racist idea that a permanently inferior racial group can never be developed and is supporting policy that segregates away that racial group. (Kendi, 2019).

Whitely: People generally consider themselves [sic] to be benevolent and good willed, fair honest and ethical. The judge, preacher, peacemaker, martyr, socialist, professional, moral majority, liberal, radical, conservative, working men and women—nobody admits to being prejudiced, everybody has earned every cent they ever had, doesn't take sides, doesn't hate anybody, and always votes for the person they think best qualified for the job, regardless of the candidates 'race, sex, religion, or national origin, maybe even regardless of their sexual preferences. (Sayed and Ali, 2011).

White Fragility: The discomfort and defensiveness on the part of a white person when confronted by information about inequality and injustice. Minimum amount of racial stress becomes intolerant, triggering a range of defensive moves. (DiAngelo, 2011).

White Privilege: A right, advantage, favor or immunity specially granted to white people which is given to people of Europe or European descends. This concept was established during the colonial slave period. This privilege not everyone is granted only specific people that are positioned better than others. (Racial Equity tools, 2019).

White Supremacy: The ideology that white people behavior, idea, thoughts, policies, laws, actions, and beliefs are superior to those of people of color. This supremacy is on three different level: personal, interrelation, and systematic or institutional. (Racial Equity tools, 2019).

The example that will be used to highlight and reflect on is the racial profiling and social exclusion of the African American community by the police department inside the

United States of America (USA). The police have always targeted the African American population inside the United States. This has been there since 1700. The racial profiling of African Americans inside the police system has put the lives of thousands of black people and especially black men inside the United States in danger and it always puts their lives under threat. The killing of black people goes back to the slave narrative inside the USA, and it is a supremacist and racist system that undermines and dehumanizes black people and tends to look at them as inferior and less important than white lives. Black people have been victims of years of a white supremacist system and ideologies that has been ruling the world even before we were born. Yet only a selected population still benefits from this system and enjoys its privilege. The most influential institutions and power remains in the hands of white privileged, segregationist, and racist individuals and systems such as the police.

The starting point is not equal and different. There is a relation of powerless defense when a black person starts speaking the truth of the injustice and inequality that they are facing. White people do not think the same way black people do when they want to do or achieve something. As a person realizes that they are not white they start realizing the economic differences and the inferiority of their positionality within the human races. The society cannot escape human influences as man is the input of the society. the input of the society comes from the ideas, views, and structures established by a man; but the white man has the chance to put his input first in their so proclaimed *"Conquests to save the other world" but ended up with years of slavery, abductions, resource hunting, dehumanization, and colonization's* (Fanon 1952, p.4).

In the reality of the black man exists only for the white man as for the white man. A black man exists to serve the needs of the white man, and act in a way to please and confirm to the white standards of white assimilationists. That's why the white man wiped out his costumes, culture, language, and ignored his fact of blackness. In the science and philosophy of existence the body and the world are in constant struggle. A black body within a white society struggles development because of how conscious the others surrounding him make him/her feel. The body becomes uncertain and more resistant as the body is also surrounded by atmosphere of uncertainty. This uncertainty forced many for years towards "denegrification" and trying to find a cure for blackness and to avoid being black. How unjust, unfair, racist, and supremist could people and their systems are to dehumanize a human and push him to the limit to only minimize all his ambitions and needs in life just to be accepted as a man just like every other man. Just seeking the fact to be seen as a human, regardless to who they are, or who their ancestors were. All what was fair in this world was to build the world together, yet this was not the situation. the police system in the states tends to keep reminding every black person these stereotypes and alleged accusations, in addition they just protect the system and not the people (Schenwar, Joe, & Price, 2016).

The easiest way to exclude a specific group of people or to convince people that this group is a dangerous threat to the society, is creating a sense of fear from that group. crimmigration which is a term that is intersectional between immigration and criminalization of those groups. The way that different immigrants are perceived in several societies are put in the criminal profile or recognized in a way that is easier to be identified as a dangerous element and factor to the society. immigrants are considered outsiders to the communities that they inhabit, which makes them vulnerable to being stigmatized as a threat or problematic to the communities in different situations. The noncitizen is always easier to pin on any problem inside the community or any illegal issue than assuming that there is good inside the situation. In the United States they worked on criminalization of the immigrant law, and this has impacted the population and affected the deportation of different citizens whether they were born or not born inside the United States (US), the government of Trump viewed immigration as a threat

and made sure to legalize the act of othering and exclusion of immigrants inside the US boarders. The US detained the different camps for immigrants and refugees and divided them into ethnic groups and they created different camps to allow the process of their criminalization, and these camps were named "crimmigration camps" by the Washington post. There is a gap between criminal law and the law of immigration and in the situation of immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers the criminal law does not consider the situation of this individual and considers through all the different threats that they fall behind through. The criminal law treats the migrant as an individual regardless of the conditions and factors and focuses on resolving the conflict and protecting the citizens. Therefore, the need to crimmigration of the law became an essential element and to protect the following fronts: [1] The overlap between criminal and immigrant law. [2] immigration enforcement has come to resemble the criminal law enforcement. [3] The procedural aspects of prosecuting immigration violations have taken on many of the marks of criminal procedure. The events that also take place in one place take an impact on affecting the government decisions towards different migrant groups or their philosophy towards accepting them in the system. (Stumpf, 2006).

The African American population represents 13% of the whole population and 24% are attacked and killed by the police in 2019 statistics. There were only 27 days inside 2019 that the police did not kill someone inside the United States (Mapping police violence, 2020). The African American citizen is 2.9x more likely to be killed from the law enforcement than any citizen inside the USA (Mapping violence, 2023). The police brutality is a state sanctioned with protected rules and rights given to the system. After slavery was abolished, the new constitutional laws were insurance for the supremacist system to continue and stand its ground. The privatization of prison industries and increase number of prisoners only from the black population above one million is a highlight on that reality. Despite the police role to protect and serve the police only serves the powerful and protects his own and that's why the system needs to change (Schenwar, Joe, & Price, 2016). Hate crimes could be motivated by real or presumed identities based on what you believe this person is, or what his appearance shows or gives the impression off. Those assumptions make each one of us most likely could be a victim of a hate crime. The group that you represent or belong to, or you identify yourself as a member from could be the reason that you and other participants become a victim of a hate crime. (Chakraborti, 2015). The police constant attacks and racialization of the African American population is a hate crime against this group. Necropolitics has always been studied in politics of war, this research aimed to reconstruct its definition in a modern direction and into contemporary studies of social exclusion. (Chakraborti, 2015).

The George Floyd tragic incident and the protests taking place after are not new to the American community this has occurred several times through the modern American history and that's why every time the protests tend to become stronger and demanding. The shooting of Michel Brown (Mike) happened on 9 August 2014; another black person falls a victim for police shooting in the United States. This wasn't the first or last incident against African American population. This specific incident had a huge effect on the public and many black people went to protest in the streets. The police got aggressive with them, and started using tear gases, and the protestors got angrier by the judicial situation from Mikes case, and another victim's case. The police inside the United States holds a lot of crimes against people of color and they always manage to find a loophole to get away with it due to different laws that empower the brutal police there (Ferguson, 2019).

The following events that took place gained massive attention, and different States at that time acted and demonstrated against police violence. Social media became a strong tool that people use to influence, demand, organize, demonstrate, spread, and create change. There are different sites, forums, and methods for example: Twitter, Facebook, Vine, Tumblr,

YouTube, and Instagram could be the most influential and known sites. These tools became more influential as they are independent and uncensored forums. The mainstream media are managed by political and socio-economic agendas, and not everyone can participate and demand through them, it is managed, and only limited number of people have powerful voices through. The social media has no agenda, and it's an easier forum to find people that are like you, and to join groups and pages that are concerned with the same causes you are interested in (Merrill, 2020).

The technologies that we use keep track of the sites that we frequently use and observe the adds that we click on and concern us. As well as on a platform such as Facebook it keeps history of all the things that you share, who you accept to connect to, and which posts you get to interact through. Those topics that a person shows interest, or their activity shows interest similar pages start appearing to the user. The Facebook logic or keys to use is (Share, Post, Like, Hide, Block) when a user uses any of those it uncovers new information about that individual personality, likes and dislikes. By Facebook gaining all this information in their black-boxed communication interface is governed by hidden protocols. The existence of these media forums and online communication methods, triggered the emergence as well as of new language on the internet. Informal and new ways to communicate such as emoji, caps locked letters when angry, hashtags, trends, a whole new typology (Merrill, 2020).

#Justiceformike was a hashtag used after the Mike incident and the same name was used for a page on Facebook to raise awareness. The logic of hashtags works as more users use the same hashtag the more it gets trending and visible for more people near or concerned with the same kind of causes. These hashtags are so powerful that now on different television news there is a segment of trending hashtags or causes. The social media on Mike's case was trying to erase and establish a new identity for Mikes image that was defamed through regular media, and to bring justice to all the broken hearts after his death. The headlines and hashtags/typos used on Facebook was to insist and demand change in the system and in the minds of people, on how they think of the African American communities inside the United States. The different artwork posts, images, memories, letters from old teachers and page were all pressuring tools to the unfair political lies spoken through the media. The death of one individual was a revolution not just on ground but on social media as well and demonstrated a call for humanity stand (Ferguson, 2019).

The 13th is a documentary/film that was produced by Kandoo Films and Forward movement companies in October 2016. The director of the documentary is Ava DuVernay, an African – American director, producer, writer, marketer, and film distributer. It won the BAFTA Award and many other awards for best documentary and was an Academy Award (The 89th) 2017 nominee. The movie goes back to the beginning of the slavery in the United States of America, to the Regan era, the history of racism, and incarceration in the United States (Juarez, 2018). The documentary exposes the racist reality that is still occurring there in the United States. The reconstruction of racism in a legal amendment that gives the right to the police to abuse the black community in the US legally. The number of black prisoners increases dramatically every year. Using the 13th amendment as an excuse to spread and empower the police in the country, is against human rights and freedom. Prison culture became common, and stereotype associated to the black communities, and it is something that is shown in most of Hollywood movies, and crime TV shows. Through the documentary there is also 911 calls records that show the fear of the civilians from black people, and it leads sometimes of innocent killing due to "Stand your ground law". The "Stand your ground law" gives the right to shoot a person if you feel threatened (The 13th, 2016).

The documentary also introduced very important information about a group called ALEC, which is a group that joins corporations and politicians together. This group has been there for over than four decades according to the documentary. Though the question here is should corporates become involved in the introduction or influencing of laws? According to the facts presented through the documentary ALEC was responsible to pressure and introduce different bills to the American government. After the associations and bad reputation that ALEC has gained, a lot of the mass and big companies backed out and left ALEC. The media as well played a major role to influence such bad image and encourage to accept that black community Is guilty and that they should go to prison. The public has been educated that black people are criminals, and this is not only in white communities it is also something believed within the black communities (The 13th, 2016).

The nature of law shall be a method that people have used to limit the happening of a specific action. Though due to the false happenings, associations, and politics towards immigrant groups the role of law could be different and could affect the integration of the migrants into the society. the affirmations of law of international and national laws and policies, legal platforms, leading to affirmation of the rights of minorities, pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity, and equality. The anti-immigration right movements inside the European states and the United States created more pressure and normalized the nature of othering inside the society. the way they became viewed inside the society as outsides and the legal direction that was created became a 'governmental xenophobia' and the threat of having different cultures inside the society is marketed by the government and by the people. (Gozdecka & Kamak, 2018). Popularizing a specific culture over another culture alienates the new culture inside the society. There is a border line between immigration law and criminal law and yet they still overlap. The role of immigration border control and the criminalization of immigrants increases the societal doubts towards immigration reputations. The way the law and courts consider and convicts criminals from an immigrant background, and this puts the situation of the immigrant at risk and his position in front of the law is very threatened. (Kamak, 2018).

The way that the governments has legalized their exclusion and choosing who is being included and who is being excluded is a form of legalization and protection for the classical idea of Necropolitics, but it is protected under the institutions and the laws that shelter and nurtures these hateful and exclusive ideologies to protect the power hierarchy inside the societies. One could argue that the rise and election of a black president such as Barak Obama for the United States is a recognizable change and achievement inside the system. The election of Obama is a real achievement that shall be celebrated, and history will define how this created more tolerant towards the African American community, yet it also boosted opposition towards different issues of race and might have led more anger from racist communities. However, in the position of the president Obama had to lead a democratic and diplomatic role to balance his positionality as a representative of the whole country and not a specific group. Therefore, the idea of Necropolitics and systematic exclusion is still a valid argument inside the society. (WP Company, 2023).

This is a true change and success for the resistance and movements towards more equality and equal opportunities, yet this achievement is a unique distinctive but where do we go from this successful example? Where does the United States stand today in 2023? What do the rates of police violence and hate crimes are today in the United States? Obama created hope but the political and institutional agenda and exclusion towards people of color and black people inside the United States remained the same. Figure (1) shows and illustrates the different record and types of hate crimes that took place inside the United States in 2021, 52.3% were white offenders and 64.5% of the offences recorded were based on issues of race, ethnicity,
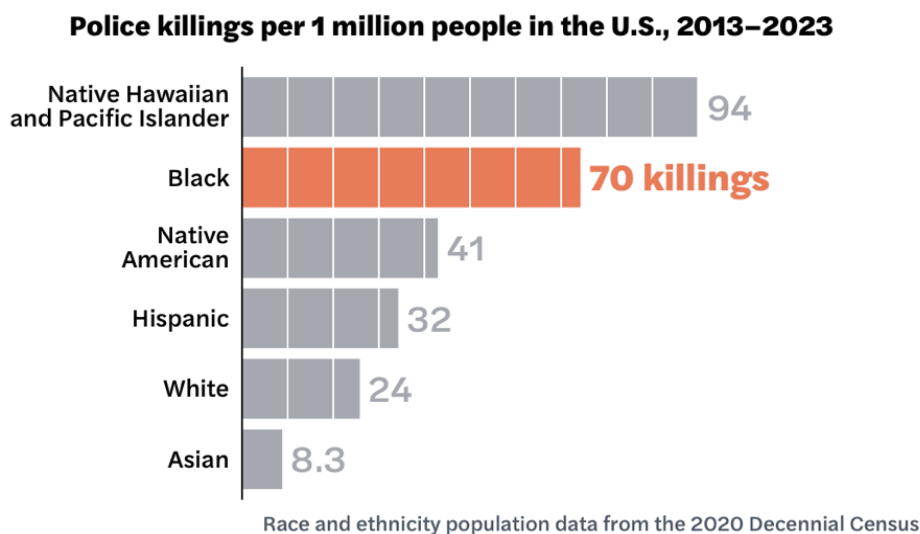
and ancestry (FBI Releases, 2023). Then Figure (2) shows the percentage of police violence and brutality towards different groups inside the United States, and how the people of color and black people are most likely to be subjected to this form of violence and unjust killings. It is 2.9 times more likely for a black person to be killed by policemen inside the United States than any other citizen inside the society (Mapping Police Brutality, 2023). These numbers and statistics are proof that the rise of one leader from an African decent does not mean that the system has changed, but it means that there is definite hope, but it also leaves a lot of room for more systematic change and that not only work on the institutional racism and exclusion and the society views and work further on the roots of the community that is building towards change. The reconstruction of the system post Obama's presidency is what the nation should focus on, because the election was a success, but the reality did not change for most, the power remained protecting white supremacy and serving the privileged ideologies of people on the top of this hierarchical racist system. Assimilationists remained expressing their views and encouraging more hate and hateful acts and speeches towards non-white societies. (Nesoff, 2017).

Figure 1
Bias-Motivation categories for victims of single bias incidents in 2021
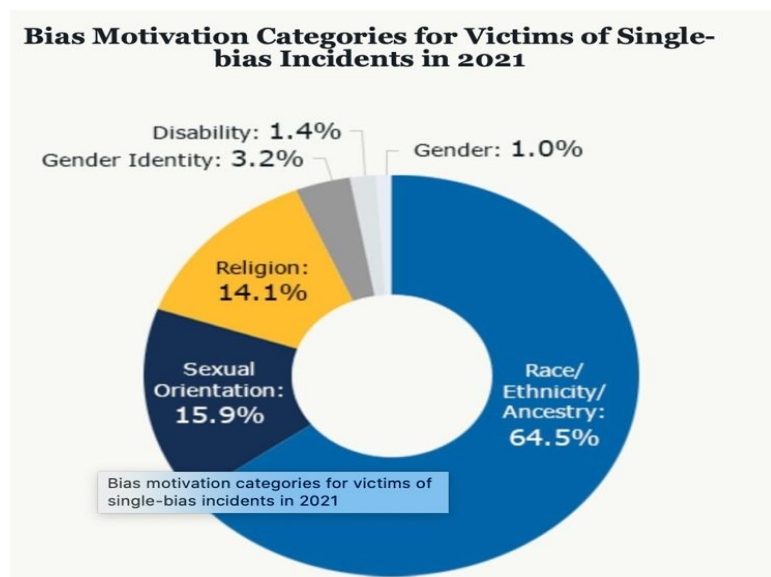
Source: *FBI Releases, 2023*.

Figure 2
Police Killings per 1 million people in the US 2013-2023

Police killings per 1 million people in the U.S., 2013–2023

Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander 94
Black 70 killings
Native American 41
Hispanic 32
White 24
Asian 8.3

Race and ethnicity population data from the 2020 Decennial Census

Source: *Mapping Police Brutality, 2023.*

IV. Discussion and Conclusion

Finally connecting all the different aspects of this paper and study together to help elaborate further what this article is contributing and adding to the literature. Though there must be a very important aspect to highlight on is that the demand for institutional and systematic racism is essential to create any tangible change. The future could look different than history by creating more inclusive and representative communities and societies. Reintroducing the concept and theory of Necropolitics is reimagining the extreme end of how aggressive and non-inclusive the modern society could be to allow more room of understanding how the past is still shaping the present and the future. The reimaging and representation of the necropolitical theory in the lens of racism is how some groups such as the African American population are viewed as less important lives or lives that are not as important as white lives. The system protects the people in power and the system is built based on how the white policeman could criminalize the African American population and justify how the first choice is falsely murdering them because they represent a threat. Demolishing these racist ideas is not an individual effort or an effort of the activist movements only. It is a collective manor and a collective effort that joints the efforts of policy makers, political institutions, parties, civil society, activists, educational platforms, social media, and society to highlight and protect each other's rights to avoid falling back to the necropolitical actions and views that were presented clearly in previous historical times. The hate crimes and aggression are not targeted towards one person or one individual experience, it is how this affects and represents a whole community and population. The positionality and Proximization of African American community are being criminalized and portrayed in a direction to raise fear and hatred towards them, the normalization of racist ideas and hatred reintroduces and raises the importance of how to look back on necropolitical ideas that were used historically against specific groups.

The conclusion of this article comes as a connecting element for both the necro politics and its relation to the social exclusion forms, which in this example was police brutality against African American community and in a form that could be defined as hate crime. Hate crimes are attacks, vandalism, assault, and different forms aggressive, violent, and intolerant behavior taken against a group of people that you don't accept, agree with, and fear within your society.

The Understanding of humanities and what creates emotional, social, ideological, geographical, and societal barriers and how that the misunderstanding of a human being negligent from any other ascribed identities or stereotypes is how change occurs. Understanding the importance of unique experiences and looking for the depth and meanings behind them for everyone. The boarders that are created between people are not only the work of histories and dominant culture but rather an accumulative work of histories, politics, pride, hatred, misrecognition, misunderstanding and fear of the other.

The positionality and negative profiling of certain groups leads to their social, political, and economic exclusion from the societies. The different levels of racism are interpersonal, internalized, and institutional, and this article highlighted on the institutional and internalized aspects of racism and exclusion. The system that determines a specific group as a threat and starts attacking them and profiling them not only to themselves but to the society that they function inside as the enemy (Mahshid, 2021). The classical necropolitical theories highlighted on who deserves to live and who deserves to die. The benefits of keeping one race over the other, and in this historical manor the systematic supremacy was applied based on the ideologies of the sovereign or the ruler. With the construction of modern states, governments, systems, and policies these classical forms became an obstruction of justice and crimes against humanity. This however did not change the reality of some groups being racialized, socially excluded, and facing violence through their lifetime (Alemanji, 2016).

Emotions are a public phenomenon and all members in a community are affected, they are a result of excluding groups and creating man made stigmatizations of specific groups, it is a common result of racializing and exclusion. Emotions of fear and how bodies are transformed to subjects as well as objects towards fear, but this emotion is worse towards black bodies. Fear is a shared emotion between humanity, yet fear has nothing to do with being protected or which group a person belongs to. Fear is an internal emotion that affects an individual and creates boarders between people and one another. Fear involves relationships of proximity "apartness" and repetition of stereotypes and produces insecurity. Establishing fear self as self is a threat to one's existence, survival, life separate a life of its own justify violence against others. (Ahmed, 2004).

The awareness comes in admitting the differences and granting space for each group to identify and recognize themselves freely and with respect to their histories and unique cultures. Creating liberal democracies that are respected through both political and personal lives. Expanding cultural and intellectual knowledge in educational systems to preserve the rights of minorities and different subcultures inside a specific community. Empowerment with real power and actual voice to discriminated groups, giving them their own right to characterize how they want to be recognized amongst others. Understanding the cultural heritage and not raising the idea of threat and fear from change and integration. This preserves the protection and survival of subcultures inside societies. Perhaps introducing those different methods of protection and enforcing them through the political, social, and educational institutions will decrease the level of sexism, racism, Eurocentric, bitterness, closed-mindedness, and tyranny in the systems that rule over the world and give or create more chances for others to rise and have an equal role inside the society. reconceptualizing the term and work of Mbembe's theory is a step closer to understand this extreme idea of disposable lives and the world view that some groups are just better than others. Reimagining and rethinking about the theory in a modern lens are a method of resistance to the reality and ideologies used against socially excluded groups.

Identity is defined as that which we use to relate and associate ourselves with different individuals, groups, objects, associations, and environments. It is a unique variable, and

everyone has their own identity. Identity takes different shapes at every stage in an individual's life. These several identities shape a unique individual identity for each person. These unique identities create ideas of what we think we are sharing with others. A process of identification with others that we assume is like us in different yet significant ways. Through an individual's different stages of life, there is a constant struggle of finding their true identities and their true selves. However, the process of identity development is constantly changing, as there is constant personal growth and a struggle for self-determination. The individual's social identity is marked by their relationship with the community and surrounding groups. It is the relationship that a person maintains with others with whom they identify themselves with. The person seeks affiliation to the things that they view as a representation of themselves. People like to assert that they are unique and different, however, they tend to seek acceptance from being involved and operating within social groups. However, if the person does not feel safe or protected, they will remain excluded and rejected from the society. Recognizing the different identities and lack of privilege that different groups have are essential to move forward and create change (AbdulMagied, 2020).

This article remains one step for different scholars and researchers that work towards the goal of eradicating racism, social exclusion, and discrimination against different groups of the society. However, there are many limitations and more work to be done for tangible change to happen. The theory of Necropolitics could be problematic and limited to be used in modern day yet reimagining and remodeling the philosophy in a more modern lens and testing its validity if we discuss it as a reference and historical connection to the repetition of events taking place today. Understanding the past and how the past was shaped helps in understanding the present and imagining what could take place in the future. The institutions that govern people today are a working progress and to combat racism, hate crimes, and social exclusion it is important to go back and study what affected and shaped the reality that is happening now. The systematic and institutionalized racism is a form of Necropolitics but in a modern model and representation to fit the societies and systems functioning through, yet the result is similar for some groups they are included and given access to live, strive, and grow into successful individuals and others are excluded and denied this right. There is so much to be done and raising awareness, breaking down the ideas is just one step ahead for a long living intersectional system of exclusion.

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