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I. Introduction

The term "*Terrorism*" emerged during the late 18th century which has shaken modern societies worldwide. It can be defined as the use of violence to intimidate individuals or groups for political, ideological or religious objectives. It involves threatening or the use of violent acts to spread fear in a society to achieve specific goals. Terrorism can take various forms such as bombings, armed assaults or hostage-taking. This term is also seen as a global phenomenon which is not easy to define, because those impacted by social and economic problems see terrorism as a societal conflict between the privileged and the underprivileged people, while some other see it as a mean to gain political advantages.

Terrorism is a major issue in today's world, to understand it, literature plays an important role in achieving that since it provides a space to explore terrorism and its background, inviting readers to make connections between different cases of terrorism and understanding it from multiple perspectives. Fiction has much to offer in terms of exploring terrorism, because countless are the authors that examined terrorism such as John Updike's *Terrorist*, 2006, Slimane Benaïssa's *The Last Night of a Damned Soul*, 2003 and Mohsin Hamid's *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, 2007. Following this same thinking optic, and desiring to explore other narratives dealing with terrorism, we have decided to select *The Good Terrorist* by Doris Lessing and *The Unknown Terrorist* by Richard Flanagan.

In their novels, both authors show the experience of hard life and oppression caused by terrorism, relying on two tragic events which are the bombing of the Harrold's department store in London in 1983 and the attacks of 9/11. In Lessing's *The Good Terrorist*, the society is surrounded by extremist and communist force where in Flanagan's *The Unknown Terrorist*, we see a society which is diving in the fear of terrorists threats.

1. Review of Literature:

Doris Lessing's *The Good Terrorist* a pure British literature work, and Richard Flanagan's *The Unknown Terrorist* is an Australian literature novel but are two novels that explore the theme of terrorism and its consequences in contemporary society. Both novels explore the depths of human behavior, illustrating the motivations and consequences associated with acts of terrorism. These two novels have received a considerable attention and have been studied from different perspectives.

To start with, Lessing's novel *The Good Terrorist* (1985) has gathered a significant amount of reviews from numerous critics. One of these critics is Vickie Leonard's review "*The Good Terrorist*", 1987, he analyzed the novel and highlighted the style and her dedication while writing her novel: "She accurately portrays the way political ideas both rule one's life and, at the same time, disappear in the minutiae of daily living. Further, Lessing understands how radicals are driven by a deep sense of injustice." *Vickie Leonard*, 1987, p. 20. Vickie has pointed out Lessing's intelligence and how she portrayed the political background of the novel and her description of the radicals' life and the challenges encountered by Alice. The critic also pointed on how the social and political injustice has influenced Alice's group to perpetrate terrorist acts.

Lessing in her novel uses a wide variety of literary genres when telling us her story, as mentioned by Howard Canaan in his review where he claims: "Doris Lessing has addressed the major social, political and ideological concerns of the past..." (Canaan, 1991, pp. 239-241). In other words, Canaan highlighted the importance of Lessing's contribution to literature, by her accurate style of addressing social, political and ideological apprehensions of the past, which has made her one of the pillars of terrorism genre in literature.

Another critic about Lessing's novel is Denis Donoghue's journal article *Alice, The Radical*

Homemaker (1985). He focuses on the way Lessing uses to narrate the story of Alice, and from what she endures within society and the people she encounters throughout the plot. He underlines how Lessing created the world around Alice and how she sculpted Alice's character and her ideological side. He also put stress on the psychological mindset of the other characters that Lessing created and how she structured them, their lives and mentalities:

In her novels and stories, Mrs. Lessing is alert to the capacity of some people to live, for a moment, a decade or a lifetime, inside an idea; and live there with insistence enough to make the idea stand for the world. She knows, too, the cruelty practiced by people who live within an idea and deceive themselves into taking it for a conviction. In "The Good Terrorist" she gives Alice a small idea and forces her to live in it... (Denis Donoghue, 1985, Sec 7, p 3)

Similarly, Richard Flanagan's *The Unknown Terrorist* has also received considerable attention. To start with, Richard Carr in his article "*More than a Potboiler*" (2007), aims to show how the characters' progress in the novel such as the Doll who was nobody to become the most wanted person in the country by the media propaganda, which made her a target for the public fair, that led to the examination of her life deeply, as explained in the following quotation:

Police and media campaign against the doll works because the public now has a concrete target for their fair [...] Flanagan, in the Doll, creates a surprisingly involving character who in her flight starts examining her life in deeper ways but whose epiphanies are restricted by a life-long disconnection from anything beyond herself and the moment" (Richard Carr, 2007, p.185)

Through this quotation, it is evident that the media plays a major role in the evolution of the Doll who represents the lower class of society. This article has also studied Gina's character, where we see her develop through the plot and how society influenced her behavior.

In addition, Tony Smith, in his article *Poles Apart* (2008), explored the theme of dystopia through many events in Flanagan's novel *The Unknown Terrorist* (2006). He made a demonstration of race, class, gender relations, refugees, authoritarianism and human life, by telling the story of the Doll,

the main character in the novel. Smith portrays Gina's character through the eyes of Flanagan: "In Richard Flanagan's *The Unknown Terrorist*", Gina Davies or the Doll, makes a precarious living as a pole dancer in Sydney." (Tony Smith, 2008, p.37). Through this character, Flanagan indicates the story of oppression of David Hicks, who was imprisoned for five years without trial, because of aligned links to a terrorist organization which reflects the life of the Doll in the novel, which is demonstrated in the article by saying: "Gina is portrayed in a manner that is complex, credible and powerful. Following an encounter that is potentially no more than a one-night stand. The Doll becomes the prey of the security forces." (Tony Smith, 2008, p. 37).

In another article entitled *Unusual Suspect*, Uzodinma Iweala (2007) reviews *The Unknown Terrorist* focus in the issue of terrorism and the manner in which the author subverts its meanings and the familiar "us vs them" distinction. Iweala refers to the plot's branding of its white protagonist a terrorist. He describes her situation as surrealist because of how fast her life changed after her steamy nightstand with a complete stranger. Uzodinma Iweala's review illustrates from the novel the manner in which the authorities and media outlets react to the main character who herself become the victim of an insidious institutional terrorism. In this regard, he claims:

On the night of Sydney's Mardi Gras parade, she sleeps with a man she has just met, an attractive Syrian computer programmer with a cocaine habit. A day later, after his sudden disappearance, she has been turned into Australia's most hunted woman — or, as a newspaper would have it, the "Dancer of Death" (Uzodinma Iweala,2007, p1)

2. Issue and Working Hypotheses:

A considerable amount of research has been conducted to analyze Lessing's *The Good Terrorist* and Flanagan's *The Unknown Terrorist* from many perspectives. However, many studies remain fragmented, focusing on one novel in isolation. To our best knowledge, no work has tried to undertake a comparison between the two texts. Our aim is to analyze critically the phenomenon of terrorism, and in order to reinforce this research, we use the two theories of “Intersectionality” and “Propaganda of the Deed” which turns about causes of terrorism, class, gender, use of violence and manipulation. These theories will be applied in both novels to understand how the protagonists experience oppression and terror. The application of "Intersectionality" and "Propaganda of the Deed" theories to these two novels will provide a more complex understanding of the background surrounding terrorism. The theory of “Intersectionality” is illustrated in *The Good Terrorist* and *The Unknown Terrorist* where an individual or a group of people are oppressed and marginalized, which pushes them to terror. Since “Propaganda of the deed theory” suggests that acts of terrorism or violence are used as a form of communication to draw attention, it provides the right tools to analyze how the novels are linked to violence, media, and the terrorists' motivations.

3. Methodological Outline:

Our work will be patterned on the IMRAD format, with an introduction, methods and materials, results and discussions chapters. The general introduction gives a general insight about terror. Then, we have reviewed the two novels. This has been followed by methods and materials, and results. Besides, in the discussion part, our work is divided into two main chapters, which will be divided into two parts each, one will be dedicated to Lessing's *The Good Terrorist* where the other one will deal with Flanagan's *The Unknown Terrorist*. In the first chapter we will cover the main aspects of

intersectionality theory that appears in both novels which are class, gender, and causes of terrorism, and separately *The Good Terrorist* has also underlined identity which is also a major factor of this theory, where *The Unknown Terrorist* focuses on religion and sexuality. However, in the second chapter we have dealt with propaganda of the deed theory aspects which appears in both narratives such as media, manipulation, and the use of violence. Separately, *The Good Terrorist* addressed passive revolution, while *The Unknown Terrorist* focused on government impact. Finally, we shall move to the conclusion part where we bring the different findings that we have reached.

II. Methods and Materials

1. Methods:

The two theories that we are going to apply in our research thesis are *Intersectionality* and *Propaganda of the Deed* theories since they both have a close link with terrorism; they will provide our analysis the evidence and a coherent theoretical foundation which is very relevant when it comes to compare the two novels *The Good Terrorist* and *The Unknown Terrorist*. *Intersectionality*, on the one hand, provides a framework for understanding how various forms of oppression and discrimination interconnect. It is important in the context of terrorism, as it can clarify the complex relationship of factors such as race, gender, class, religion and causes of terrorism that contribute to the motivations and experiences of both terrorists and their victims. On the other hand, *Propaganda of the Deed* theory named after the "Propaganda by the Deed" movement is essential to study novels about terrorism because it is a theory that focuses on specific political action involving violence, such as bombings and assassinations, meant to cause a change or inspire others to similar acts. This theory is linked with acts of violence perpetrated by supporters of rebellious anarchism and has been often used by terrorists to spread their message and inspire fear. These two theories will provide us with relevant tools to cover and analyze the two novels.

First, intersectionality theory, was developed in the late 1980s by the theorist Kimberly Crenshaw, an American civil rights defender born on May 5, 1959, who is also known to be a leading scholar of using critical race theory focusing on race and gender issues. In her theory she focuses on how intersecting social identities, particularly minority identities, relate to systems and structures of oppression, domination, or discrimination. Intersectionality is an essential framework within social sciences, has forever transformed the understanding of identity and general oppression. It is a

sociological analytical framework that aims to understand how groups and individuals' social and political identities result in unique combinations of discrimination and privilege. These factors include gender, race, class, sexuality, religion. This theory also analyzes social issues and helps to understand inequality from its causes to its consequences.

However, long time before Crenshaw, W. E. B. Du Bois had already founded the first basics of intersectionality. He is an Afro-American sociologist, socialist and historian who theorized that the intersectional paradigms of race, class, and nation might explain specific aspects of the black political economy in the 1970s. Du Bois claims in his theory that it is not the personal identity that matters in shaping status of power and poverty but the hierarchies as explained in the following quotation extracted from Patricia Hill Collins study where she claims: “Du Bois saw race, class, and nation not primarily as personal identity categories but as social hierarchies that shaped African-American access to status, poverty, and power” (Collins, 2000). To sum up, intersectionality stands as a foundation of modern social theory, intensely reshaping our understanding of social inequality, identity, and power.

After that, Kimberlé Crenshaw in the late 1980s, has developed and created the new intersectionality to show the way that African Americans are treated and should be interpreted or studied. At its core, intersectionality stresses on the reality that an individual's identity and experiences cannot be reduced to a single dimension but are multifaceted, shaped by factors such as race, gender, class and more. It is also an approach the tool that analyzes the links and connections within a particular society and between different societies, as explained in this following quotation from Doyin Atewologun: “Intersectionality is a critical framework or approach that provides the mindset and language to

examine interconnections and interdependencies between social categories and systems.” (Doyin, 2018, p1)

In order to provide this study a more reliable analyze we will also be using another theory. Also closely linked to terrorism, the propaganda of the deed will be our second theory while conducting this research. This theory has been developed in the 1870s, in the opposite of the first theory (intersectionality); this one wasn't the result of one theorist but as but created by the Italian anarchists. In the 1880s and 1890s, the term “propaganda by the deed” became associated to individual acts of assassination and terrorism. The "propaganda of the deed" theory revolves around the use of force, often militant actions as a means of catalyzing revolutionary consciousness and inspiring public mobilization. The term itself, initially coined by Italian revolutionary Carlo Pisacane, who stipulated that propaganda of the deed is a mean that encompass a wide array of actions, including assassinations, symbolic gestures, acts of sabotage, and public demonstrations in order to reach a certain objective. These acts also influenced and affected a plenty of people and even countries as clarified in the quotation that follows: “That same year Russian populists assassinated Tsar Alexander II, an act that helped inspire a wave of anarchist violence that shook Europe and the Americas over the following decades. Anarchists carried out bombings in Germany, France, Spain, Italy, and elsewhere,” (Zimmer, 2009, p.01). Zimmer has a vision about propaganda of the deed which is not far from Pisacane's one, seeing in it a way to bring a change. By the quotation above, he showed how the consequences due to propaganda can be devastating.

The theory suggests that these actions intensely dramatic in nature serve as powerful symbols, rapidly disseminating revolutionary fervor and inspiring the wider societies to embrace the cause of radical change. The anarchists and activists even believed that these dramatic manifestations would

profoundly disrupt the status of society and provide power structures to them. Another important facet of this theory is the role of media in spreading information about these acts. By linking these two theories we can achieve comprehension on how acts of terrorism are intended to communicate a message and create a wider impact through media, clarifying the relationship between terrorism and the media.

2. Materials

2.1 Doris Lessing's Biography:

Doris Lessing (1919-2013) is a British writer born on October 22, 1919, in Kermanshah, Persia (Iran nowadays). She grew up in Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) where her family owned a farm. Despite receiving little formal education, Lessing developed a love for literature and began writing at a young age. In the 1940s, she began publishing stories and poetry but also publishing novels, plays, and non-fictional works. She gained international acclaim for her works, which explored themes such as feminism, politics, and the impact of colonialism.

One of her most notable works is *The Golden Notebook*, published in 1962, which is considered as a feminist novel. Lessing's writing also touched on socio-political issues, inspired by her own experiences living in Africa and witnessing the effects of Apartheid and colonialism. In 2007, Lessing was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature for her deeply insightful and courageous writings. She was the eleventh woman to receive this prestigious honor. Throughout her life, Lessing continued to write and publish prolifically. Her commitment to exploring and challenging societal norms made her a prominent figure in contemporary literature. She passed away on November 17, 2013, leaving behind a rich and enduring literary legacy.

2.2 Richard Flanagan's Biography:

Richard Miller Flanagan is an Australian author known for his powerful and acclaimed novels, he was born on January 23rd, 1961 in Longford, Tasmania, Australia he is considered by many to be the finest Australian novelist of his generation. Flanagan left school at the age of 16 but returned to study at the University of Tasmania where he was president of the Tasmania university union in 1983, and

has received numerous literary awards and recognition for his work including the Man Prize in 2014 for his novel *The Narrow Road to the Deep North*. Flanagan's writing often explores themes of identity,

history, and the human condition. His works frequently draw inspiration from his Tasmanian heritage and the natural environment. *The Unknown Terrorist* (2006) was published during the height of the War on Terror, just five years after the September 11 attacks on the United States and is written and published during the Howard era where fears of terrorist attacks dominated Australian society as a result of the attacks in United States 2001, the Bali bombings in 2002, and the terrorist attacks in Madrid in 2004 and London in 2005. *The Unknown Terrorist* was one of three Australian novels that focused on terrorism, the others are Andrew Mc Gahan's *Underground* and Linda Jaivin's *The Infernal Optimist*.

2.3 The Summary of *The Good Terrorist* (1985):

Lessing claimed that she was inspired to write her novel by the bombing of the Harrods department store, which is a terrorist attack that happened in London in 1983 in London on the hand of The Irish Republican Army, causing significant injuries to more than ninety civilians. The story is narrated by the protagonist of the novel, Alice Mellings, a thirty-year-old schooled graduate of politics and economics who is unemployed. She spends some time living with her boyfriend Jasper in her mother's home. But later, she moves of her mother's house to live in a squat with the Communist Center Union that she and Jasper have found. Alice, Jasper, Bert, and a lesbian couple named Faye and Roberta were the only characters living inside the squat. With more people joining, the squat fills up. The house is damaged at first, and Alice gradually put everything in order and tried her best to renovate it. The members of the group are revolutionary warriors who participate in pickets and marches while Alice

spends most of her time maintaining the home and providing food for them. Jasper and Bert attempt to join the Soviet Union in Ireland but got refused. The squat is a channel for arms used by revolutionaries. The group decides to take independent action and plans a vehicle bomb where they targeted a market hotel in Knightsbridge. As a result of their inexperience the bombing was a complete failure, it killed Faye and made a lot of injuries. The members of the group were shocked after this tragedy, and decide to leave the squat; however, Alice remains there since she cannot abandon the house for which she sacrificed for a long period. Though, Alice wants to justify the act of bombing and telling the truth, she knows that no one will believe her, so she hides it. Alice ends in a psychological illness when she recognizes that she is a terrorist.

2.4 The Summary of *The Unknown Terrorist* (2006)

The Unknown Terrorist is a novel written by Richard Flanagan, published in 2006. The story revolves around an ordinary woman named Gina Davies, nickname The Doll. The novelist calls the Doll in his novel because she is a beautiful and pretty woman; she is a small dark woman; her fine-featured face an almond eye was set off by woolly black hair. The Doll works as a nude dancer at the Chairman's Lounge. She dreams of holding her own establishment and saves money by hiding it in her ceiling. She enjoys covering her body with the bills, but she still needs a few more to achieve her goal. One night, Gina meets a man named Tariq, and they spend the night together. However, when she wakes up the next morning, Tariq has left, and Gina's life takes a radical change. Shortly after, it was declared that five bombs had been found. The media focused on repeatedly broadcasting videotapes of Gina and Tariq as the prime suspects in Australia.

The media becomes swept up in the frenzy, using provocative interpretations of archived images, questioning Gina's friends, and engaging in debates based on unproven facts. This creates

anxiety and paranoia among the public. Fear seems to justify the accusations, making Gina a scapegoat and victim viewed as a terrorist. Gina feels she has no choice but to run away and escape from police and community. Some doubt her guilt, but her orders are clear, and she has no room to back down. Sacrificing them becomes the preferred option in order to maintain a sense of control and avoid admitting mistakes caused by the media frenzy. Gina from her side struggles to clear her name and stay out of the shadows of suspicions. She draws attention to the vulnerabilities and injustices of society in which people are easily influenced and controlled by misinformation. The novel explores themes of media manipulation and the impact of fear on society, it highlights the power of the media in shaping public opinion and the loss of civil liberty. Although the title *The Unknown Terrorist* is explicitly used in the novel, it refers to the unidentified individual who is wrongly accused of being terrorist.

III. Results:

From analyzing Doris Lessing's, *The Good Terrorist* (1985) and Richard Flanagan's *The Unknown Terrorist* (2006) on the basis of the two theories of intersectionality and propaganda of the deed, we have reached the following findings. In the first chapter, our analysis of *The Good Terrorist* and *The Unknown Terrorist* reveals that both authors illustrate the difficulties faced by their characters but in different ways. In the first novel Alice and her group lived in an unjust society where they were oppressed by government and higher classes, which lead them to respond with violence, but in the second novel the difficulties came to Gina by themselves; she was accused falsely of being a terrorist after the bombings attempt on the Olympic Stadium in Sydney. Additionally, the use of intersectionality theory provided us with the main tool to analyze the two works deeper and understand that these two novels have affinities when it comes to the aspect of class and gender of the two protagonists, but differs from one another in the plot background and the causes behind terrorist acts.

In the second chapter, our research shows the impact of propaganda on the course of the events in both novels. In *The Good Terrorist* it is Alice and her group who have resorted to propaganda which came in the shape of riots and bombings. However, *The Unknown Terrorist*, where this time propaganda came from the government against the main character Gina Davies, they used power dynamics to make of her a scapegoat to act like they have put danger away and shape society opinion. The two novels turn around media manipulation and its impact on the course of events, but we can notice again that the two narratives differ in the plot and in their backgrounds. In *The Good Terrorist* the protagonist and her group were the one active in propaganda acts, but in *The Unknown Terrorist* it came against the protagonist from the government.

IV. Discussion:

This chapter aims to compare between the two narratives *The Good Terrorist* and *The Unknown Terrorist* using Intersectionality theory in order to examine the different aspects of terrorism, since this theory studies general oppression and identity, we shall study the subsections that connect it to the two novels, such as race, gender, identity, class, sexuality and causes of terrorism. The two authors narrate about their protagonist's societies experiencing hard life, oppression and lack of freedom. Blending this with intersectionality theory, we aim to understand how characters evolve in the two novels and how they have developed following the stories starting by *The Good Terrorist* where the novel narrates about being a perpetrator and then *The Unknown Terrorist* where the protagonist is a victim of terrorism.

Chapter One: Intersectionality in Doris Lessing's *The Good Terrorist* and Richard Flanagan's *The Unknown Terrorist*:

1. Intersectionality in *The Good Terrorist*:

In Doris Lessing's novel, "*The Good Terrorist*" the character of Alice Mellings is profoundly influenced by many factors that we will discuss throughout this part of the first chapter. Using intersectionality theory, it becomes clear that class, gender and causes of terrorism plays a pivotal role in shaping Alice's beliefs, choices, and opportunities. Intersectionality theory recognizes that individuals experience multiple forms of oppression and privilege that intertwine and interact with one another, including race. The class aspect is probably one of the most fundamental pillars in shaping the identity of Alice Mellings, the protagonist of our first selected novel.

1.1 Causes of Terrorism:

The central theme in *The Good Terrorist* is with no doubt terrorism and even more precisely the causes behind it. This part will analyze the motivations that hides behind terrorist acts. The reasons

which pushed the protagonists of the novel to use violence and go through terrorism. The causes behind terrorism are numerous but in this part the ones that will be explored will be the political, economic, ideological and most importantly psychological reasons.

Even in real life, politics has been shown to be a factor in radicalization, particularly in states where political tyranny is widespread. The struggle of Alice and her comrades is the ideal illustration of the novel's evident hostility for politicians and the government. They were so marginalized and disempowered that they began to visualize about the destruction of the governmental structures that ruled them. Their careless protests against political and government tyranny drives them to engage in terroristic act, setting off bombs in a crowded precinct London, in the words of Jasper: "We all know the criminal, the terrible condition of Britain. We all know the fascist-imperialistic government must be forcibly overthrown!" (Lessing, p.248). As shown through Jasper's words, Alice's group was oppressed and annoyed by their government, to a point that they wanted to get rid of them by any way possible.

The financial state of the group was also a cause behind their acts in the novel. Apart from Mary and her husband, no one from the rest of the group was financially stable, the fact that they were poor motivate them to make a change or cause it by any mean they could. Starting by just protestations to finish with exploding two bombs. They hated the class that were above them, Jasper even after all the comfort Dorothy provide him he was constantly insulting Alice's parents because they are bourgeois.

There is an immense change in the group behavior from the beginning to the end of the novel turning from non-violent to extremely violent acts. The group at first was only contenting of doing protestations and claiming their rights, but things have changed after the group received bombs which were supposed to be just kept until someone take them back, but they have decided that enough is enough, the passive method did not bring change and that they should see things bigger. The change of ideology

was one of the main reason that led to terrorism. Even the fact of having respect for the Irish Republican Army has changed, while at first Bert and Jasper were dying to join them and have a prestigious place in their eyes, but after they have refused the idea they had of the organization has changed, especially when they have received the bombs as pictured in the following quotation: " This struck them all with the force of some obvious and ineluctable truth that inexplicably had not been seen by them till this moment. Of course! Who were the IRA, to tell them what to do?" (Lessing, 1985, p.320)

Not far from behavior, the psychological factor is also one major cause that hides behind terrorism. It can be caused by the feeling of alienation or trauma. This is the most important cause of terrorism because it contributes to an individual's vulnerability to extremist propaganda. Psychological vulnerabilities, combined with the search for belonging and significance, can make individuals inclined to extremist behavior that promise prosperance and progress through violent actions. Alienation is the state which describes Individuals who feel marginalized or excluded from society, these latter may be the ones usually vulnerable to extremist speech. This sense of alienation can create an appropriate background for radicalization and recruitment by terrorist groups seeking to exploit these feelings of social isolation. Alienation is also the reason behind individuals' trauma, violence, or victimization. Those experiences may make an individual vulnerable to extremist acts that promises revenge and rebalance justice. Trauma can falsify perceptions of reality, intensify feelings of anger or injustice.

1.2 Class:

Intersectionality theory is as an analytical tool that determines how individuals react and act within a particular group. In Lessing's novel, the individual in question is Alice Mellings, a lower class woman living in London, is constantly constrained by her socioeconomic status. She is aware of the limitations and disadvantages that come with her class background, which drives her to seek social

change and revolution. Her membership in a group of activists reflects her desire to challenge the oppressive structures that perpetuate inequality and marginalization. The following quote demonstrates Alice's awareness of her class identity and how it shapes her view of the world. She clearly feels a sense of disillusionment and even contempt towards the middle-class values and behaviors that she encounters. This suggests that Alice's actions and choices are influenced by her class background and the beliefs she holds as a result:

But she said, after a while, in a pause that was there for her to fill, "I can't, Andrew." And suddenly, arising from her depths, "about bourgeois life? You want me to live a middle-class life?" And she sat there laughing at him—sneering, in fact— all alive with the energy of scorn, of contempt. (Lessing, 1985, p.188)

This intersection between class and aspiration highlights the complexity of Alice's situation. It demonstrates how the class aspect of her identity can both motivate her to challenge the status quo and also influence her desires for upward mobility. We can notice Alice's longing for a better life is not simply an individual craving, but rather a reflection of the systemic inequalities she faces as a lower class woman. It is obvious that Alice hated deeply rich and middle class people. Throughout the novel, the class aspect of Alice's identity becomes intertwined with her growth and self-discovery. Her experiences within the political organization serve as a crucible, forging her identity and forcing her to confront the complexities of her own beliefs. The following quote expresses how intensely she hated the rich and middle classes " God, how she hated them, the middle classes, penny pinching, doling out their little bits, in their minds always the thought of saving and accumulating" (Lessing, p.174)

The novel explores the intricacies of class identity and demonstrate how it serves as a driving force behind Alice's passions, choices, and personal development. Through her journey, the novel

illuminates the intricate relationship between individuals and their social environments, challenging readers to contemplate the ways in which class shapes our perspectives, aspirations, and capacity for change. This excerpt from the novel shows how Alice rejects the idea to change for any other class which she could easily do. She says “I don’t understand why you are always wanting me to do such middle- class things.” (Lessing,1985, p.257)

In conclusion, the portrayal of Alice Mellings's class identity as a pillar in shaping her beliefs, desires, and actions in *The Good Terrorist* is evident through the lens of intersectionality theory. Her experiences of economic deprivation and social marginalization drive her towards radical activism and revolutionary ideals. Understanding the relationship between class and other social categorizations helps us understanding Alice's role and motivations in the novel.

1.3 Gender:

But class is not the only essential element within intersectionality theory; gender is also one of the most important component of it and the subject of the following subsection. Throughout this part, we will focus on the struggle of the female protagonist. Alice Millings, the main character of the novel, is a member of a group of political activists who is mostly composed of male figures in the story. From a feminist point of view, she is considered as an insignificant member, exploited and abused, who has to follow the orders and instructions of the other male members. She is never allowed or asked about giving her opinion in any of the actions they have done, she is defined as a member who is at the service of her male leaders. Within the plot her father is also a patriarchal figure from which she solicited help many times when being in financial struggle but never got what she wanted from her father.

Alice was constantly exploited, oppressed and mistreated by her boyfriend Jasper and his mate Bert in the squat. She was responsible for nursing, housewifery and cleanings, just what society taught a woman to do, and that serving men before herself is the right path and destiny of every one of them. Alice was suffering from the traditional point of view which claims that a woman should make her husband, father or any patriarchal figure as their priority and take care of home and chores: "...she stood in the kitchen working at her soup while comrades came in and out to sample it, or to make sandwiches..." (Lessing, 1985,p.245) The previous quotation was one of the various examples within the novel that shows the tough situation in which Alice was placed in and the huge amount of responsibilities and things she was forced to take care of since her comrades did not see in that an importance while conducting their revolution or that can contribute to the success of that political movement.

This idea has been stuck to her mind and finds herself forced to play the role of a housewife since the other members did not care about where they were living, but from her side she was continually stressed about her future, the house, and those who are residing in it. Whatever good happened or changes made to the squat was thanks to Alice. She was the one that prevents police from destroying the house and the one fighting to keeps it as safe and livable possible. She also convinced by herself the council to give them a second chance to save the house which she did throughout the plot. Even Jasper who is supposed to be her boyfriend did not care to help her; in his eyes Alice was the one responsible of paying for their needs and also get this money alone, as determined in this following quotation: "Until then only Alice had brought in food. Real food, that is, not a pizza or some portions of chips. Only Alice had trudged in with loads of fruit, of vegetables, had stacked the refrigerator with butter and milk, piled a cupboard with pastas and pulses." (p.323) Through this quotation, the role that Alice Millings

plays gets clearer in Lessing's words, and how Alice was attributed tasks that no one else wanted in the group. They prefer being on the field and in the heart of action, conducting protestations or being present the most possible to meetings with other activist groups.

In a patriarchal society, a woman often faces multiple forms of oppression and struggles with challenges that are distinct from their male counterparts. Alice's experiences as a daughter is not different from the squat one, where she suffers from the grip of her father. He was influencing her mother in order to break the link with Alice, because he hated the dependency that Alice and Jasper had toward her mother. This is evident throughout the narrative, especially in the passage that follows and shows Alice asks her parents for assistance: "She stopped herself, sighed. "No, of course it wasn't that. Your father said he had had enough. That was the reason. Cedric said: Enough! And I don't blame him." (p.365). The last quotation clarifies the effect of patriarchal figure oppression on Alice's mother decision. He forced her to ignore her daughter distress call and even convinced her that it was the right decision to make.

As a conclusion to this part, Alice's character has been in a constant political and masculine oppression; she found herself in the position of a housewife in a house that she was the only one caring about. The other comrades did not only not pay attention to her but also treat her poorly and consider her a secondary member. They did not care about how she was feeling or ask for her opinion in any statement they have made; she was also the one that was struggling the most with government and was running to every office that needed to be seen to convince them to not demolish the house and also make it the most livable possible, the one that was running to any house and persons that could help her by any mean possible.

2. Intersectionality in Richard Flanagan's *The Unknown Terrorist*:

The Unknown Terrorist is the fourth novel of the Australian novelist Richard Flanagan. It examines innocence of the protagonist in the modern world. After three unexploded bombs are found at the Olympic Stadium a pole dancer known as the Doll when surveillance camera captured her entering to the apartment of Tariq, a man that has look of an Arab Muslim. Then, in the morning, the Doll found herself accused of terrorism. Utilizing the theory of intersectionality, as developed by Kimberlé Crenshaw, can help to understand and analyze the novel *The Unknown Terrorist*. This theory permits us to examine the multiple identities and experiences that interconnect to shape an individual's perspective and choices. In this part, we will explore the ways in which the terrorist is portrayed and how intersectionality is evident throughout the novel. Flanagan's text provides a nuanced portrayal of the terrorist. By employing the theory of intersectionality, we can begin to understand the various factors that contribute to her supposed radicalization in the eyes of the public. Crenshaw's theory underlines the importance of considering race, gender, class, and other intersecting identities when examining an individual's experiences and actions.

2.1 Causes of terrorism:

The concept of causes of terrorism are explained in Richard Flanagan's *The Unknown Terrorist* is a complicated exploration of the ideological, political, and psychological factors that contribute to the emergence of terrorist activities. The novel explores the experiences of those caught in a post-9/11 world where terrorism has become more common due to manipulation, fear, and an erosion of civil liberties. "He had risen rapidly in the security services as they swelled post-September 11" (Flanagan, 2006, p227). "Sure, she's not Muslim," said Siv Harmsen. "Sure, she's Australian. But she's a loser, Tony, and she wants to settle scores and prove something, and she fell in with the wrong crowd, who have shown her how to get back at the world." (Flangan,2006, p 228),

From this quotation, it is deduced that being a Muslim is commonly associated with terrorism, the western world often refers to terrorism through the religious aspect in order to serve their own objectives and policies. Western countries like to classify Arabs and Muslims as terrorists for a variety of reasons. They may wish to influence public opinion or instill fear in their societies for their own goals (D. Ridouani, 2011, pp3-4). Such activities can have major effects, including prejudice against innocent people, increased violence, and hatred. Caroline Mala Corbin in her article argues that: “two common though false narratives about terrorists [...] We see them on television, in the movies, on the news, and, currently, in the Trump administration. The first is that “terrorists are always (brown) Muslims.” The second is that “white people are never terrorists.” (Caroline,2017, p2). The novel *The Unknown Terrorist* portrays the story of an innocent woman who becomes a suspected terrorist and is hunted down relentlessly by the media, police, and the public. Gina Davies accused by terrorism because meets an Arabic man who called Tariq who is suspected by terrorism when they found three unexploded bombs.

The politics that are used by government and media is used for many reasons which are; to incite hatred towards Islam religion and encourage conversion to another religion or to their own religion like Christianity, as well as for political and economic motives, is a manipulative strategy and creating conflict with other countries. Political leaders may scapegoat one minority and blaming it for societal problems and fear that caused to deflect attention from government failures “I am the victim here” (Flanagan, 2006, p 126). Additionally, it seems to be suggesting that not only being a Muslim, but also simply having associations or relationships with Muslims, can lead to accusations of terrorism by the government and media due to religious affiliation (Corbin, 2017, p5). Furthermore, Politicians utilize terrorism as a tactic to keep the populace under control and incite fear, underscoring the political reasons for fabricating a terrorist narrative, as Flanagan illustrates in his text:

And above all, what her hyped-up body could sense was fear—that this same fear that had hold of her was in everyone. It seemed so tangible, she felt she could smell fear and taste fear, all this fear they were breathing in, drinking up and eating, all this fear they lived by and with. And then she wondered: what if people could not live without such fear? What if people needed fear to know who they were? (Flanagan,2006, p 231).

From this passage, we understand that fear is planted and began to be taken seriously by the majority of people through Gina's story which invented by journalist, and we understand the role of media in manipulating public opinion, that made him achieve his goals with the help of the politicians. Also, the fear becomes as an essential part on Gina's life. and demonstrates that fear in not just a feeling but she can taste, smell, and sense. This physical feeling of terror reflects to the atmosphere of anxiety and paranoia that dominates the society portrayed in the novel.

Moreover, the novel explores the psychological effects of living in an environment of anxiety and fear, where people suffer from the psychological effects of being considered terrorists and being sought after by the community, as Gina Davies does. In addition, the influence of psychological manipulation by political authorities and the media on public views and individual behaviors is important, as it underlines the success of psychological strategies in creating an atmosphere of fear and control. The narrative suggests that in order to keep people under control and defend authoritarian policies, it is necessary to use fear and create paranoia in the society.

The theory of intersectionality holds that there is no single cause for terrorism; rather, there are several factors that contribute to it. Terrorism is not just connected to one particular group or ideology, but also originates from complex systems of oppression. It challenges the idea that terrorism is only connected to radical Muslims by putting a stress on the fact that terrorists come from a variety of ideological origins, races, genders, and other identities. By underlining topics like women's roles in

terrorism and the participation of people from different backgrounds, intersectionality helps us understand the motivations behind terrorist attacks. When it comes to the examination of the link between identity, oppression, and discrimination, intersectionality offers a more sophisticated viewpoint on the principal causes of terrorism, as it is explained by Crenshaw 1991, in the article written by Amiera Sawas “Intersectionality emerges from a feminist analysis of the multiple forms of oppression affecting marginalized groups in society. The concept initially engaged with the intersection between gender-discrimination and racism in the US legal system (Amiera Sawas et al, 2019).

2.2 Gender and Sexuality

One aspect of intersectionality that is evident in *The Unknown Terrorist* is the intersection of gender and sexuality that has an important role in the experiences of the main character Gina Davies. As a female dancer and stripper, Gina is subjected to gendered expectations and stereotypes. Her profession is often seen as naturally sexual, leading to her objectification and devaluation. Throughout the novel, Gina faces discrimination and judgment based on her gender and occupation. She is often seen as an object of desire, rather than as a living human with her own desires and ambitions as it is reported in the novel: “the Doll’s body was more rounded, her arms and thighs and buttocks fuller, and her movements were somehow similarly rounded and full” (Flanagan, 2006, p.10).

From this quotation, it seems that the author draws attention to the physicality of the fool and uses it as a means of characterization. Furthermore, her depiction can also be seen as a commentary on societal perceptions and expectations of femininity. Flanagan’s text demonstrates the idealization and sexualization of the Fool's body, reflecting how Gina Davies's body is often objectified and judged based on its appearance. Also we have another argument that demonstrates sexuality and gender: “Tariq leant over her and ran circles of coke around her nipples. He kissed her, then, after snorting the powdery circles,

softly drew each nipple in turn into his mouth and ran his tongue around and around them.” (Flanagan, 2006, p. 73). This quote explores the intersection of sexuality between the two characters, Tariq and Gina, portraying a sexual encounter in which Tariq engages in intimate activities with Gina’s body. The use of illegal drugs, such as cocaine, adds a layer of forbidden desire to the scene. Even though it was not her first intimate relationship, with Tariq, she experienced a strange feeling something she had never felt with anyone else. It was the most romantic night of her life. She found herself falling in love with the person who would change her life for the worse, “The Doll was humming “Crazy in Love”, and her belly gave a little flip when she thought back on Tariq’s head between her legs...Her eyes jolted open to see police swarming around the apartment block where she had spent the night with Tariq” (Flanagan,2006, p78).

Additionally, the author uses other terms as “dancing naked...naked woman” (p49), through the analysis of this short quotation, we understand that Flanagan in his text describes and focuses on the physical appearance of the Doll, as he mentioned “naked body”, may serve to amplify her sexual allure or appeal. When she becomes the target of a nationwide manhunt, her gender and profession are used against her, creating a narrative that portrays her as suspicious and dangerous specially based on her gendered role as a stripper, as it is mentioned in the novel “that woman, the stripper Krystal” (p162).

The intersection of gender and sexuality is evident in the way Gina is treated by the media, the government and society at large. She is objectified and sexualized, with her appearance and sexual history being used against her. This is particularly evident in the way the media portrays her as a "slut" and a "whore," which is a common form of gender-based discrimination, as it is mentioned in the novel “Listen, lady, your slut mate is in shit like you can’t believe. It’s not soliciting or joke offences. This is terrorism we are talking about” (Flanagan, 2006, p. 187). Furthermore, Gina's sexuality intersects with other

aspects of her identity, such as her social and economic status, race, and the societal response to terrorism. For example, her sexual affair is used against her in the context of the terrorist investigation, with her being portrayed as a promiscuous woman who is involved with terrorists. This intersection of gender and sexuality with other aspects of her identity creates a complex and unique experience for Gina.

In conclusion, Gina is objectified and sexualized by society and confronted to many difficulties and discrimination in her life. When analyzing the gender and sexuality aspects of the novel *The Unknown Terrorist* through the lens of intersectionality, it becomes evident that the protagonist Gina Davies' experiences are shaped not only by her gender and sexuality but also by other intersectionality's factors. Thus, Gina also suffers from class, that will be studied in the following part about her socio-economic.

2.3 Class

The intersection of class refers to the ways in which social class intersects with other social identities and systems of power to shape individual's experiences and opportunities and the social class refers to the hierarchical division of society based on economic factors, including income, wealth, occupation, and social status. Women, for example, may face additional challenges and forms of discrimination in the workplace, such as the gender wage gap. As we see in the novel *The Unknown Terrorist*, the intersection of class plays a major role in which the main character, Gina Davies is a working class woman who experiences marginalization and discrimination, because of her social and economic standing.

Kimberle Crenshaw speaks during New York women's Foundations "*Celebrating Women*" written by Katy Steinmetz 2020, about intersectionality of now days and women experiences, that when we speak about disparity, usually refer to material differences in conditions of life. Examine the

disparity in income. Many studies demonstrate that women continue to get paid less for the same work, there is also a term called the feminization of poverty which speaks to all the ways that life circumstances and hard work that women do throughout the week for a better future.

Gina Davies is a working class woman living in Australia; she adopted another nickname, "The Doll," when she began working as a pole dancer in an expensive night club called The "Chairman's Lounge" and described as a prestigious and exclusive club. This exclusivity is often associated with higher social classes. In contrast, the protagonist Gina refers to her lower class, as it is mentioned in the novel:

How the chairman's Lounge held on to its reputation as one of the most upmarket pole dancing clubs in Sydney was an achievement not easily explained... it was one of the best clubs in Sydney and therefore worth every vanishing dollar (Flanagan, 2006, p. 15).

The Doll strives to improve her life by working as a dancer in a club to earn money. Each night, she attempts to manipulate men for private shows in order to increase her earnings, and she is driven by her dream of purchasing or saving an apartment and creating a better future for herself. Being in an environment where men hold themselves in a position of superiority, she believes that money can bring about significant changes and provide solutions to the challenges she faces. Despite her determined efforts, The Doll feels lonely and discouraged by her circumstances.

Flanagan in his novel illustrates how the protagonist needs money: "She just needed to make a few more hundred dollars" (Flanagan, 2006, p. 37). The narrative provides explanations and multiple arguments about the belief that money can purchase various things, including freedom, but that without money the situation will be more difficult and the Doll is very afraid to lose her money because it is the only solution to resolve her problems and buy everything:

My money, the Doll said then. "I'm not going to lose my money". On this, if nothing else, the Doll was determined. And as money had once been the solution to her life, now it would be the solution to her problems. With my money I can buy my way out of this (Flanagan,2006, p.140)

In Richard Flanagan's novel, he looks at the lives of working-class women and how their stories connect. Gina spends time in the Chairman's Lounge, where the main character works very hard. The author shows that this character has a lot of work, earns little money, and is trying to save. Flanagan describes working-class women as people who put in a lot of effort at their jobs, often working six or seven nights a week. This highlights their strong work ethic and determination, as they go the extra mile to make a living. Their busy work schedule also makes their lives more complicated, as they try to balance earning money with other responsibilities' as it is mentioned in the novel: "Sometimes she worked six or even seven nights a week, spent less on clothes and living, and she was able to make her target." (Flanagan,2006, p.50). As it is explained in the theory of intersectionality.

The intersectionality theory is the study of intersecting social identities and related systems of oppression, domination, or discrimination. Jean Ait Belkhir and Bernice Mc Barnett argue in their article "Race, Gender and Class Intersectionality", in Flanagan's text Race, gender and class are the most important aspects which represent the life of the Doll:

Race, gender and class represent the three most powerful organizing principles in the development of cultural ideology worldwide. Even though each culture constructs views of race, gender and class differently, there is always some social construction around these three particular differences and similarities, and thus far, that construction has almost always resulted in structured inequality [...] social class scholarship explored class from the perspective of intelligentsia (middle-class). (Jean and Bernice, pp1-2)

If we analyze this passage from the novel *The Unknown Terrorist* and connect it to the theory, we see that Flanagan introduces another important character, Tariq. Tariq, a wealthy man from the Middle East, highlights the theme of race. His interactions with the Doll show how her gender and class intersect, emphasizing that the upper class often takes advantage of the lower class. The relationship

between the Doll and Tariq was sexual as we mentioned in previous segment entitled gender and sexuality. In addition, Tariq is an important character who plays a significant role in the plot. This highlights the challenge she faces while interacting with higher class individuals and her financial needs.

The story starts when Tariq asks the Doll to come to his place for coffee, which might mean something more than just coffee. The Doll asks Tariq for the time, and he takes a long time to show off his fancy Bulgari Ipno watch which is a luxury timepiece, this watch demonstrates Tariq's class status and his ability to afford luxury goods. This shows that Tariq wants to impress the Doll with his wealth and make himself seem superior because of it and to take attention of Gina and attract her to his apartment. Also Tariq uses his power and wealth to manipulate a working class woman like Gina. The Doll's reaction of looking away and up at the ceiling shows her uncomfortable in that situation. This reflects the experiences of working-class woman who often face power dynamics where they feel vulnerable and have little control. As it is mentioned in the novel:

Tariq said if the Doll liked she could come back to his apartment for a coffee. "What's the time?" asked the Doll. Tariq lifted his arm and looked at his watch for some moments. It was hard to know whether he was looking at it for so long just to read it, or so that the Doll might see what a beautiful, expensive watch he had, a Bulgari Ipno.

The Doll is seeking financial gain., it is easy to guess her reaction when seeing the watch of Tariq, attracted by material things of life, she accepts the proposition of Tariq to go to his apartment. She saw in that, an opportunity to maybe get money from him to change her life for better and by the same way create a relationship with a wealthy man. The Doll's job in an expensive place and the power dynamics and class differences with Tariq highlight the difficulties working-class women face. It shows how they have to navigate situations that reinforce social hierarchies and economic differences. Overall, Flanagan demonstrates how working-class women's experiences intersect with power dynamics and socio-

economic disparities. It shows the complexities and challenges they face when dealing with interactions in a society that perpetuates inequalities based on class and power.

In this regard, the following passage illustrate this class interaction:

Tariq said if the Doll liked she could come back to his apartment for a coffee. “What’s the time?” asked the Doll. Tariq lifted his arm and looked at his watch for some moments. It was hard to know whether he was looking at it for so long just to read it, or so that the Doll might see what a beautiful, expensive watch he had, a Bulgari Ipno. The Doll looked away and upwards, to where all that seemed to be preventing the sagging ceiling from collapse was a fan staggering through the smoky babble. (Flanagan, 2006, p. 57)

To conclude this part, the aspect of working class in Flanagan’s novel plays an important role in the narrative. The protagonist of the plot comes from a lower socioeconomic background, also the novel portrays the disparities between different social classes in Australian society. Furthermore, the plot explores themes of inequality and injustice that are often linked to socioeconomic status. In this perspective Omar Aguilar et all argue:

One approach to the analysis of inequality is based on the concept of intersectionality, which is also known as “intersectional discrimination.” In this approach, it is assumed that economic and social inequalities are not solely a consequence of a person’s position within the production structure (i.e. a person’s class position) but are also a result of other factors and categories, such as gender, according to which people can be classified. (Omar et al, p2)

Class is probably one of the most important facet of intersectionality theory, but still there is other important aspect that cannot be ignored which is the feature of religion.

2.4 Religion:

Religion plays an important role in many aspects of human life, including culture, politics, ethics, and social interactions, particularly outside Flanagan’s novel. However, religion can also be an aspect that influence individuals’ beliefs and values, which may cause conflict and division; it has been used throughout history to justify acts of violence, discrimination, and oppression, and it can perpetuate

harmful stereotypes and prejudices by shaping individuals lives realities.

Indeed, Flanagan's text explores different aspects of religion and also subjects such as religious extremism, media manipulation, and surveillance, as well as the impact of these variables on people's lives. The novel explores the use of religious ideas for political and personal advantage. The media utilizes the second figure, Tariq, as a way to spread fear and reinforce prejudices about Islam and terrorism. The novel portrays the story of Gina, an aboriginal Australian woman and Tariq an Arabic Muslim man as Flanagan said: "Why would an Aussie girl allow herself to get mixed up in all this madness?" (Flanagan, 2006). In addition to this, the narrator in his novel explains to the reader how an aboriginal woman was falling in love with Middle Eastern man and he gains the confidence of the Doll to join into his apartment: "...The Doll was humming "Crazy in Love", and her belly gave a little flip when she thought back on Tariq's head between her legs. She closed her eyes: she could smell his musky odor." (Flanagan,2006, p72).

This passage shows us the degree of infatuation that the Doll was still feeling for the man named Tariq. They had previously had a sexual encounter that still resounded in her mind, even as she sat in that place alone. In fact, she was only snapped out of it once she heard the police flock the building. We can observe here numerous aspects of Crenshaw's theory. Significant symbols are implicated in the description of Tariq, which serve to cast him as an Arab stereotype often related to terrorism. Tariq having a "musky odor" denotes middle eastern belonging because musk is often associated with Arabs and Muslims. The novelist uses many illustrations about intersecting social identities about religion, casting Tariq in a stereotypical manner as Arabs are often depicted. This shows the inequality of racial representations and the social perception of minorities:

And so standing together they watched the same footage run again—the same bomb in the same kid’s backpack; the same bad photograph of the same bearded man in Arabic-looking dress; the same slow-motion grainy images of Tariq and the Doll hugging each other. The repetitive images clicking over filled the tv like loose change filling an empty pokie (Flanagan, 2006, p.138).

In above quotation, the Doll and her friend Wilder are watching TV together, where an interview is playing between an anchor and a politician denouncing terrorism. The author mentions the passage above to highlight the fixation of the news on the image of the Arab as a terrorist, and the footage reinforces the association of terrorism with Middle Eastern appearances. Tariq and the Doll embracing, an image of an aboriginal woman with an Arab, the utilizations of these racial and religious prejudices that reinforce the complexities arising from intersectionality. Both characters process intersecting identities beyond their relationship, with Tariq the Arabic Muslim and the Doll a white woman. This serves the media in creating hatred over the protagonist in the eyes of public:

it was a Middle Eastern phenomenon; next it spread to countries like Chechnya. Then in Britain we saw English-born Muslims turning into suicide bombers [...] it is why Gina Davies is viewed by the authorities also dangerous.” “It’s shocking to think an Australian—one of us—could do this, Richard”. (Flanagan, 2006, p. 233)

In this quotation, we understand that “one of us” (Flanagan, 2006, p. 233) being involved in acts of terrorism as the journalist Richard Cody explains is a new phenomenon. Everyone thinks it normal to have terrorists in the Middle East as it is generally regarded as the home of terrorists. This is one of the ways in which prejudice spreads, as shown in this quote, which also brings into focus the contrast with the white Australian people. The danger thus lies in the intersection of this judged Muslim minority by the majority of people in the continent. Once an aboriginal becomes a Muslim and turns into a suicide bomber, society is threatened, and that is why the Doll’s relationship with Tariq was so broadcast across national television.

To conclude, in the novel *The Unknown Terrorist* the aspect of religion plays an important role in the character's motivations and actions. In which Gina Davies becomes most hunted woman in Australia after a man she sleeps with, an attractive Syrian computer programmer. Flanagan used Tariq as character from Middle East, an Arabic Muslim and Gina Davies an aboriginal woman to mention racism towards Muslims. In the last part of our chapter the aspect "causes of terrorism" is the most important feature that we should analyze in Flangan's novel and to explain more about the life of Gina Davies.

To conclude, the two novels *The Good Terrorist* and *The Unknown Terrorist* that we have analyzed by using the intersectionality theory, to examine the complex factors contributing to terrorism, by interlinking themes or aspects of gender, class, religions, search for identity, and causes of terrorism.

First, Alice Mellings, in *The Good Terrorist*, was the victim of oppression from society from one side and also from her group, who treated her like a maid and was constantly manipulated and ignored, even by her beloved boyfriend. Second, Gina Davies in *The Unknown Terrorist* was the victim of accusation by the authorities as terrorist, they have used exploitation of fear and religious prejudices to further their own plans was brought into focus, with emphasis on using media as a weapon to manipulate public opinion and create terror in society. In the upcoming chapter, we will focus and use "the propaganda of the deed" theory, which plays a major role in the second chapter, helping us to understand the purposes and impacts of terrorist acts and the role of media in the two narratives.

Chapter Two: Propaganda of The Deed Theory in Lessing's *The Good Terrorist* and Richard Flanagan's *The Unknown Terrorist*:

The following chapter will analyze the role of media a tool of manipulation in novel *The Good Terrorist* and *The Unknown Terrorist*. The major objectives of this analysis are to compare the two novels using the theory of propaganda of the deed, focusing on its different aspects within both narratives.

1. Propaganda of The Deed Theory in Doris Lessing's *The Good Terrorist*:

The propaganda of the deed theory as defined in the materials section is the most reliable theory when dealing with novels about terrorism, as it provides a solid structure to understand the use of violence, and many other aspects of it to bring a change, spreading a message or express an ideology. *The Good Terrorist* explores the world of a group of radicals who seek to bring about revolutionary change through acts of terror and manipulation whether it's psychological, ideological or strategic. The aspects of propaganda of the deed are numerous but in the following chapter, we will explore terror, media, manipulation and finally symbolic/passive revolution. The first section of this chapter will discuss the most important aspect of this theory which is the acts of terror in Lessing's novel which have been used as a way of disruption.

1.1 Terror and Media as Tools of Disruption:

Terror and media are probably the most important features of propaganda of the deed theory. In this chapter, we will show how they have been used by the novel's characters to achieve disruption. This term can be defined as causing a situation of disorder, disturbance and creating a sort of separation between society and government, by the same way rallying people to their cause. Scholars have

also provided a definition to it such as Conrad Hughes where he claims: "The idea is that old systems and structures need to be challenged if not overhauled for some progress to be made" (Hughes, 2023).

The characters in *The Good Terrorist* after being mistreated by their government find themselves constrained to use terror attacks to overthrow social conventions and confront established power systems. These actions, which include public disturbances, sabotage, and explosions, are all meant to incite terror and draw attention to the injustices that they are trying to correct. These actions aim to produce a disruptive force that attracts media attention and political pressure in addition to causing bodily harm. Their aim by that is to make the acts the loudest possible and the most talked about through media and people speeches. As showed in the following quotation, the group of radicals were seeking to make the most damage possible, targeting the most sensitive location in order to ensure that their message comes across the ears of people and more precisely the government one:

[...] joking about how they would like to use this bomb or that. Tower blocks of flats. Police-computer information storage. Any information storage systems, for that matter. Certain housing estates. Any nuclear shelters that had been built anywhere, for it was only the rich who would benefit from them[...]" (Lessing, p.343)

However, these actions have complicated repercussions and effects. Even though the activists see themselves as heroic figures in fighting for social change, innocent people frequently find themselves in the wrong place and the wrong time. The novel highlights the ethical dilemma of defending a just cause through unjust means. The line between legitimate political activism and terrorism becomes almost invisible, raising the question of whether the ends truly justify the means.

The group was very conscious and completely convinced that terror is the strongest tool they have in their hands in order to have results and been heard as mentioned in the following quotation "...The paragraph on terror should be formulated as widely as possible, since only revolutionary consciousness

of justice and revolutionary conscience can determine the conditions of its application in practice.” (Lessing, p.404) In the quotation above, it’s obvious that they did not care about the losses they can cause as soon as they achieve their objective which is being considered and heard and start a weave which will bring a change to their situation.

The role of media cannot be neglected in perpetuating terror as a tool of disruption. The group of activists in *The Good Terrorist* rely on the media to amplify their actions and spread their message. They understand the power of media coverage in shaping public opinion and use it to their advantage. Its role was very essential to them since it can fuel and condemn acts of terror, stressing the intertwined relationship between terrorism and the public's perception of it as shown in the following quotation: "...In it they found this piece: A bomb exploded at the corner of West Rowan Road early on Friday morning. A cement post was destroyed and another chipped. The blast damaged the brickwork of nearby houses, and blew the windows out of four of them..." (Lessing, p.350). In other words, Lessing expressed the importance of media in the eyes of the activists of her novel, where after the first bombing act they went to bring the newspaper the next morning excited to know how they were described and the damage they have done.

To conclude this part, the combination of media and terror as disruptive instruments that links between power, influence, and exercise control over society and information sharing. By acknowledging the connection between terrorism and the media, a relationship between communication and manipulation is also obvious through the psychological effects of terror. The combination of these two is necessary to achieve the goals in the propaganda of the deed, since it helps to bring a change through act of violence and rely on media to spread these acts and make them visible in the eyes of people and government. As these two are generally relying on manipulation, this will be the next aspect

of the propaganda of the deed theory to deal with in the following part.

1.2 Manipulation as a Manifestation of Power:

One of the major aspects of propaganda of the deed theory which is also part of *The Good Terrorist* is manipulation. It is often explored in the novel, employed by many characters to achieve their goals. The protagonist Alice, along with her comrades' activists, uses various tactics to manipulate and influence not only those around them but also between them and beyond their group. As soon as that they believe that their cause is just and that any means used can be justified. We will try in this part to uncover this subject of manipulation through a psychological lens and understand the relationship between it and propaganda of the deed theory.

For example, one of the most common uses of manipulation in the novel was Alice's one, she applies it specially to provide money to the squat where we've seen Alice stealing money from her father, taking advantage of her status of daughter to enter the office of her father where money was counted and took the opportunity to steal some money from her father's office:

But to become a thief, a real thief—that was a step away from herself. How could she describe herself as a revolutionary, a serious person, if she was a thief? Besides, if she was caught, it would be bad for the Cause. No. Besides, she had always been honest, had never stolen anything, not even as a child."
(Lessing, p.210)

As expressed in the previous quotation taken from the novel, Alice uses some sort of manipulation to encounter her father's employees, using the fact that everyone knows her there to finally achieve her goal of stealing money and bring money to the squat by any means possible even by the use of tricks and manipulation. Additionally, manipulation is also noticed to be present in the relationships between characters. The two leaders of the radical group, Jasper and Bert, exert a strong influence over Alice and the other members. They manipulate their beliefs and actions, convincing them that their acts of

terrorism are necessary for societal change. Lessing explores the psychological manipulation that takes place within this group. She also presents a world in which individuals are easily influenced by charismatic leaders. For example, Jasper who is taking advantage of the love that Alice has towards him to get what he wants "... an envelope with "Alice" scribbled on it, and under that "Have a nice day!" And under that "Love, Jasper." Her money was in it. She quickly checked: he had been known to keep half, saying, we must make sacrifices for the sake of the future..." (Lessing, p.118). As noticed in the quotation above, Jasper after taking of the money she stole plays with her feeling in order to calm her anger before it even begins, with the use of sweet and tender words, which he knew will affect her and manipulate her reaction.

This type of manipulation is again present in the novel but this time applied by Alice herself. The activist group is known to employ propaganda techniques to manipulate public opinion and bring in support. They exploit people's fears using persuasive ways and emotional appeals to influence public sentiment. This manipulation of the masses can be seen as a double-edged sword, as it allows the group to gain support and traction for their cause, but also raises questions about the ethics of manipulating public sentiment for personal gain. Alice who is living with this group was also influenced by their way of achieving their needs and this can be noticed when looking to the kind of relationship that she has with her mother, she was most of the time trying to manipulate her by the means of sensibilizing and playing with her feelings so that she can help her. Alice uses the same way that Jasper used on her to achieve her own goals, we can notice it in the following quotation: "... Another silence. Alice then, in a full, maternal, kindly, lecturing voice, began, "Mum, why aren't you like us? We share what we have. We help each other out when we are in trouble." (Lessing, p.23)

Jasper and Bert were not the only characters of the novel manipulating people, Andrew, also masterfully

manipulates other characters' convictions and emotions, since he was again shaped as a charismatic leader within radical groups which exploit individuals' vulnerabilities, beliefs, and desires to achieve their objectives. Thanks to Andrew, Lessing portrays the ways in which ideological dedication can blind followers to the manipulative tactics applied by those who are in position of power, illustrating the seductive allure of radical ideologies and hiding behind them the danger of the acts that should be perpetuated by those who are vulnerable to manipulation. (Iren Gonzalez, 2022, p2-3). The statue of leader that he occupied provide him power to attract and influence people: "...She simply hadn't had any idea before! All over the country were these people—networks, to use Comrade Andrew's word." (Lessing, p.279) this is clear proof of how influential comrade Andrew was, it was very easy for him to touch and convince people by his speeches, the leader figure provides him the credibility symbol required to easily pass messages and ideas and make them seem right and just causes.

Moreover, the novel stresses the role of manipulation in shaping perceptions of reality and building justifications for violence. The whole group was blinded and lost rational thinking and this is what lead them to participate in terrorist acts. This reflect the ways in which manipulation interferes with human morals and erasing the limits between right and wrong. Lessing forces readers to confront uncomfortable truths about the allure of power and the dirty nature of manipulation.

In conclusion, Doris Lessing's *The Good Terrorist* provides an exciting exploration of manipulation as a manifestation of power which is another pillar of the propaganda of the deed theory used to describe this aspect of it within the context of radical activism. She relied on character portrayals, ethical dilemmas, and morality, to uncover the importance of manipulation throughout the story and to show how it's essential in any propaganda novel. Through her novel, she focuses on the ways in which manipulation operates within extremist movements and how it affects the perception of the just cause.

Propaganda of the deed theory is full of many other aspects, and when manipulation does not work its perpetrators often turn to symbolic violence or passive revolution which will be examined in the next sub- section.

1.3. Symbolic Violence Vs Passive Revolution :

On the one hand, symbolic violence can be defined as the concept of using violence as a symbolic act to deliver a political message or attract people to a certain movement. It regroups the use of force and intimidation that can go beyond physical. On the other hand, there is passive revolution, which is in itself almost the same as the symbolic violence but with a slight difference which is at the level of the violent acts. It is a strategy employed by activists to overthrow a governmental or political system through strikes, boycotts and many other forms of non-cooperation.

Symbolic violence is almost omni-present in Lessing's novel, its main characters, especially Alice Mellings and her housemates, commit terrorist acts as symbolic gestures aimed to challenge the higher structures and inspiring resistance. The use of violence is justified as being the only way left for them to achieve social transformation. In a world characterized by social, political injustices and the never-ending pursuit of justice, the characters aim to use violence as their weapon for resistance and rebellion by coordinating their actions with the propaganda of the deed theory ways as explained in Markus's "*The Good Terrorist* manages to raise our alertness for destructive interpersonal relations as well as for the nooks and crannies of ideological thinking — a thinking that, like in the novel, can result in the participation of terrorist activities". For example, their bombings and revolutionary actions are all meant to provoke a shock and draw attention to their radical ideals. The terrorists' acts perpetrated are positioned as symbolic acts to demand attention, push people to confront the sad reality of social inequalities and convince them to join the resistance against oppressive forces: "Jasper would go up to

the police station now. He would kill that fascist. He would burn down the police station. He would blow the place up” (Lessing, p353). What the quotation introduces is that the violence of the group can be sensed, and the fact that they do not have limits when it comes to revolution and provoking the higher structures, they could challenge anyone as soon as their goals are achieved.

Passive revolution, which is the second segment of this section, can be also found within the novel. In the passive revolution, the acts are known to be less violent or even completely passive sometimes. Indeed, the propaganda of the deed can also include a range of actions which are meant to be beyond violence such as expropriation and revolutionary riots. It’s often considered to be the first step before violence, it aims to create conditions for revolution. The plot of the novel is not an exception to that, when following the story beyond the novel before the group of activists decide to resort to attacks, they were acting in a passive and rarely violent way to bring revolution and make their ideologies known in the eyes of authorities as portrayed in the following quotation: “...the atmosphere would get thick and electric, and how when the armored vans the symbol of everything they loathed started to move, the crowd would struggle together and become like a wall against which the police...” (Lessing, p.93). Jasper, Bert and all his companions beside of Alice all went to what they call “pickets”, where with other activists they meet to riot and help each other to protest against structures, politicians and government throwing tomatoes at them and chanting in the name of revolution: “all together, shouting in unison, “Thatcher out, out, out!” shouting “Blacklegs out, out, out!” She could hear them chant, “The workers united shall never be defeated!“(Lessing, p.92)

Another difference between these two aspects of propaganda of the deed theory was that symbolic violence could be done alone or by a countable amount of people, but the passive revolution needed the presence and voice of a large number of people united against repression and oppression. The

more people they gather to their cause the more impact they have on either society to follow them and also the government to bring a change and succeed in getting their ideas accepted and executed.

In conclusion, the exploration of symbolic violence and passive revolution in the novel through the concept of the propaganda of the deed theory provides a deep understanding of the radical activism and moral using violence and passive revolution as forms of political resistance to reach a societal change, challenging power structures, and restructuring people consciousness in a world marked by struggle, conflict, and injustices. Through the characters' involvements with these two types of revolution, the novel explores the heart ideologies that characterize the conflicts between resistance, power, and the ongoing fight for freedom against oppressive and unequal systems.

2. Propaganda of the Deed in Richard Flanagan *The Unknown Terrorist*:

The novel *The Unknown Terrorist* focuses in the life of an Australian woman, who works as dancer named Gina Davies, who is unjustly accused of being participated in a terrorist plot that worsens the protagonist's life and makes her the focus of a frenzied media attention. In the beginning of the story, she sought a better life when she works as a pole dancer in night club because she came from a lower class background. However, when she meets Tariq in his apartment, media accused her by terrorism. Unfortunately, Gina's dreams shifted to clear her name, and showing the truth and her innocence to the public and her ultimate objective was to be free from false accusation and regain her reputation.

Flanagan uses the novel to criticize the media's power to shape public perception and manipulate public opinion and deconstructs the role of media as a propaganda of fear, showing how it can distort truth and reality. In this chapter's second part, the novel of *The Unknown Terrorist* will be analyzed by using the theory of propaganda of the deed. The most important aspect of this theory is the role of media in manipulating public opinion.

2.1 Media as a Tool of Manipulation:

Media is a means of communication that reaches or influences people, or in other words, anything that can convey information from one person or place to another. We can spread information by using many forms, for instance, newspaper or magazines, social media, radio, television. Media has negative and positive effects, unfortunately, journalists and government use it as a tool of manipulation which means that media manipulation is powerful tool used to influence public opinion through various tactics and strategies used by organizations and governments for their own goals, such as spreading false information, also using tactics of repeating messages to manipulate public attitudes and beliefs. In the new report published in September 2019, “The Global Disinformation Order: 2019 Inventory of Organized Social Media Manipulation,” Professor Philip Howard, claimed:

The manipulation of public opinion over social media remains a critical threat to democracy, as computational propaganda becomes a pervasive part of everyday life. Government agencies and political parties around the world are using social media to spread disinformation and other forms of manipulated media. Although propaganda has always been a part of politics, the wide-ranging scope of these campaigns raises critical concerns for modern democracy. (Philip Howard, 2019)

Richard Flanagan’s novel, *The Unknown Terrorist* does not only depict terrorism and violence, but also the influence of media in the Australian society. In this analysis, we focus on the two main characters, the first is the protagonist Gina Davies, a twenty-six years old pole dancer who uses the stage names Krystal, the Black Widow, the Russian Doll, and the most often the Doll: “To Gina Davies he gave the working name Krystal and, after a few months, the nickname the Russian Doll [...] she was simply the Doll” (Flanagan.2006. p38). Then, the second character is Richard Cody, a middle aged man and the famous television journalist who is considered as the most fearless journalist in Australia: “his work in uncovering a terrorist network in Australia showed Richard Cody to be not only Australia’s

foremost journalist but its most fearless.” (Flanagan,2006, p101).

In the *Unknown Terrorist* novel’s, the aspect of media manipulation aligns with the theory of propaganda of the deed and represents a key aspect that perpetuates false accusation and fuels hysteria. Specifically, in terms of how it contributes to the spread of fear, terror, anxiety, misinformation and manipulation. In addition, fear, anxiety and paranoia reached new levels in Australian Society. The Bali bombings, which took place on October 12, 2002, in the town of Kuta on the Indonesian island of Bali, killed 202 people and injured 209 more in the years that followed the September 11 attacks on the United States. The majority of the victims were foreign tourists, primarily Australians; of whom 88 were killed. (Investigator Allen LeLievre, 2023). In the 2004 Madrid bombing, which left 190 people dead and ten bombs detonated in 2005 London bombing, which left 53 people dead. Flanagan discusses all of these terrorist acts on multiple occasions in his novel, as he notes in the following quotation: “Richard Cody began talking with passion of the atrocities committed in London, at Beslan, in Madrid and Bal” (Flanagan,2006, p32). From this quotation and statistics, we understand that the years between 2001 and 2006 fear and terror took place in the heart of Australian society, especially when Bali bombing occurred in Indonesia which caused 88 victims from Australian origin. Media and government took advantage of the opportunity to manipulate opinion public for their own goals, as Robbert Dixon in his analysis of the fear that lived by Australians after 9/11:

the years between 2001 and 2006 may be perceived as an era in which fears of a possible terrorist attack within Australia reached their zenith. Indeed, Jean Francois Vernay and I argued in 2009 that fear as a subject matter for Australian literature became more pervasive after the September 11 attacks, [...] the role of the media in provoking citizens’ fears, the measures that government should take to maintain security, and external threats. (Dixon,2018, p156)

In the context of the propaganda of the deed theory’s, the quote demonstrates the important role that the media and government play in inciting and manipulate public fear. By dramatizing and

exaggeration, the potential dangers of terrorism, they contribute to spread fear and anxiety inside society.

In this sense, Neville Bolt, David Bitz and Jaz Azari claim:

Propaganda of the Deed is fraught with contradictions. Indiscriminate violence against civilians is a technique of war intended to cause 'shock and awe'; it is deployed by non-state and state actors alike. Yet historically it is viewed as the tool of the underdog, under-resourced and denied a voice in the political arena. By universal agreement it is an act of terror. (Bolt et al,2008)

In *The Unknown Terrorist*, the use of propaganda of the deed theory is reflected in the repetitive news cycle and repetitive stories as bombings in Baghdad, threats to attack Sydney on al Qaida websites, are all expressions used for create a climate of fear in society. The concept of propaganda of the deed theory is also exemplified in the report of unexploded bombs in Sydney's Home Bush Olympic stadium, this creates an atmosphere of tension and anxiety in public mind, as it is mentioned in the following quotation: "A nearby radio ran the same news it always seemed to run and its repetition of distant horror and local mundanity was calmly reassuring. More bombings in Baghdad, more water restrictions and more bushfires; another threat to attack Sydney on another al-Qa'ida website" (Flanagan,2006, p16). This repetition can be seen as a tactic to instill fear and it also draws into the broader narrative of terrorism, the propagation of fear through media channels, Flanagan used Radio as a way to repeat news aligning with the goals of propaganda of the deed in term of influencing public view and reaction. Flanagan portrays how the media, represented by the character Richard Cody, uses the tactics of repetition to plant and spread fear among the Australian community, this fear can be focused towards various subjects, such as terrorist attacks, Muslims, immigrants. Flanagan writes his novel to question the media's role in propagating information in a way that creates and spreads fear in public, as it is mentioned in the next passage taken from the novel:

He had continued saying the same thing over and over with his stupid hair and the studio dropping in and out, while a string of so-called experts mostly

consultants wanting a job as an expert in security, terror, politics commented on each other's remarks, which in turn repeated and elaborated the few brief comments made by the police and government spinners, all pretending that in this vortex of nonsense might be found some sign predicting what might next occur. (Flanagan, 2006, p 24)

Indeed, the media is a pivotal aspect presented in Flanagan's novel, continually influencing the characters' lives through its various manifestations, including television, radio newspaper, magazines and the internet. Bruce Bennett argues that Flanagan's "principal target" in *The Unknown Terrorist* "is the Australian media, whose journalists and their employers fall too readily for government propaganda and make their ratings based reputations on vastly exaggerated projections of violent threats to people and property" (Dixon, 2018, p 160).

In a confidential discussion between Cody and his television network superior Jerry Mendes, which takes place outside of the house during a lunch party, Mendes describes people who care about the reality and truth in journalism as "fuckwits", Mendes also clarifies that from the viewpoint of a television manager, the use of fear is necessary to create an effective narrative or story. Cody takes his boss advice and begins using the discourse of fear to further his own professional life:

These fuckwits who think it's about the truth, you know where they go wrong?" Jerry Mendes said, neither waiting for nor wanting an answer. "They think the truth has power, that it will carry everything before it. But it's crap. People don't want the truth, you know that, Richie?" [...] Find that sort of story, ginger it up with a few dashes of fear and nastiness, and you've hit gold. True gold." (Flanagan, 2006, p28).

This passage illustrates how propaganda and truth manipulation are key themes in the text and how reality can be manipulated and used to captivate and control public opinion. Then, the journalist Richard Cody begins to create his own story in which he talks about the atrocities committed in London, in Madrid and the Bali bombing and three bombs that had been found, each in a kid's backpack. Cody declares "Our civilization is under attack" (Flanagan,2006, p32). Cody feels the fear sets in Australian

society when his audience listens in silence “Richard Cody feel the fear take hold. He sensed the pull of the story, the power of its telling [...] there was no story other than three unexploded homemade bombs at Home Bush Olympic Stadium” (Flanagan, 2006, p33). Here, Flanagan provides some of the motivations for Cody's before framing several stories about the Doll being an “Unknown Terrorist”. The hardest time of Gina Davies begin when Cody leaves the meeting with his boss Jerry Mendes, wanting to make a lasting impression on every one “He would get a story up that no one would forget” (Flanagan,2006, p 34). Cody visits the Chairman Lounge, the club where the Doll works a dancer, a few hours later. The Doll and Cody leave the club together, in which Cody recognizes the Doll on the street, he remembers that she works as dancer in the club, he proposes paying her for sexual relation but Gina refuses his proposition. Cody takes the Doll’s refusal as a personal insult, how a nude dancer rejects a famous journalist in Australia. The following evening, after seeing the Doll’s in video recorded by security cameras which in frequently showed on television, Cody starts working on the story about her. “His instinct was to create a story in which he more and more believed, in order to allow him to further create that story (Dixon, 2018, p 164). He did not say to himself: “all he needed now was to persuade Jerry Mendes to give him a special to take such an amazing story to the country. It was, he told Jerry Mendes, now a race between Six and Gina Davies as to who got the story out first—her with her bombs...” (Flanagan, 2006, p100).

He is partially inspired by her refusal for sex and partially for his own goals to raise money and he wants to be more famous in the world, his objective is to convince millions of people by creating a story that no one can forget: “He wanted to do the same again, but this time mesmerizing not a dozen people, but millions. And so he saw the story as if he were sitting in a lounge room watching his own plasma screen as the shocking tale slowly unfolded” (Flanagan,2006, p94). Tariq suspected in attempted

bombing of Home Bush Olympic Stadium with Gina, who is considered as an accomplice. Since, he is a Muslim, he is used to convince the public that the story is real by involving race and religion as a main argument. “He would identify one of the figures in the footage as an Islamic fundamentalist who happened to be Tariq al-Hakim’s uncle” (Flanagan,2006, p105). There is no evidence that Gina Davies knows anything about Islam, but Cody his only goal is to create a story that will be believed by everyone, he says:

His [Richard Cody] instinct was to create a story in which he more and more believed, in order to allow him to further create that story. He did not say to himself: “Although there is no evidence of any guilt or wrongdoing, I am going to stitch this woman up with concocted assertions.” He did not think any such thing, because he would have despised himself if he had ever thought himself capable of making up such monstrous lies. (Flanagan, 2006, p 99).

According to Robert Dixon’s analysis, Flanagan usually criticize the role of media and government more broadly, plays in creating and disseminating fear, terror. In addition, eroding civil liberties and dominating citizens within democratic societies. Although, the journalist Richard Cody plays a central role in Flanagan’s text and Television is not the only form of media that is used to spread and reinforce fear, terror, and paranoia. In addition, radio and newspapers are also utilized by the government as a way of propagating its objectives and creating terror. (Dixon,2018, p162).

In the days that follow, the media keeps and continue creating the new personality of the Doll as a terrorist figure through imagery in television and discourse in radio, to spread fear and stress in viewers or audience. In the days after Gina’s encounter with Tariq and the invention of the story by the journalist Cody, which leads to her being considered “The Unknown Terrorist”, the television creates, develops, and continues using their strategies of repeating the same footage and same scene to persuade the public that the Doll was complicated in terrorist attack at the Olympic Stadium. In one significant passage the Doll and Wilder watch television together:

run again—the same bomb in the same kid’s backpack; the same bad photograph of the same bearded man in Arabic-looking dress; the same slow-motion grainy images of Tariq and the Doll hugging each other. The repetitive images clicking over filled the tv like loose change filling an empty pokie. The Twin Towers fell again; the same children’s bodies were laid out once more in Beslan [...]. And there were new scenes—a murky London tube train moment after it had been bombed; the Sari nightclub burning after the Bali bombing; wounded being taken away from the Madrid train bombing (Flanagan, 2006, p138).

The passage demonstrates how media coverage is repetitive and replaying the same scenes and images over and over. The aim of this repetition is to implant in the minds of viewers a sense of panic, shock, and felling the danger in the society. Furthermore, the text links the images of the Doll and Tariq to numerous instances of international catastrophic events, including the bombings in London, Bali, and Madrid, as well as the fall of the Twin Towers. Journalist’s and politician’s objective is to spread fear in Australian society and to convince the legitimacy of the government and media. Moreover, Silvia Albertazzi argues that by broadcasting Gina’s image continuously “television creates a state of fear and anxiety around her face, which, with every new appearance, loses humanity and eventually becomes the face of evil itself” Also, she notes that “She is guilty only of being caught with the wrong man in the wrong place by a surveillance camera” and the Doll main character becomes “the convenient scapegoat for a world of globalized terror and trade” (Silvia, 2016, pp 20-21).

To conclude, media manipulation is a powerful tool that can shape public opinion, influence emotions. Flanagan in his text used many examples about media, that have influenced and changed the life of person into misery, panic and the power they have to destroy anyone for their own goals. Moreover, journalists can manipulate millions of people and changing the truth by giving misinformation to the viewers, Flanagan in his text illustrates that: “A little journalist is a dangerous thing” (Flanagan, 2006, p34). The media is not only the unique aspect of the propaganda of the deed theory, that we can

study in *The Unknown Terrorist* but also the use of violence is another tool used by the government in the life of the protagonist and other characters. Therefore, violence is another mechanism used by the propaganda of the deed theory.

2.2. Violence and Government:

Governments is responsible for creating and enforcing rules of a society and protecting citizens in their countries. In this part, we will explore the aims of the government in using Gina as a scapegoat in the novel and the government used this strategy for many objectives. Also, the government collaborates with media to manipulate public perception to construct a narrative of fear, paranoia and used Gina as a victim to deflect attention from systemic issues or failures in security measures and creating narrative that justifies heightened security measures, surveillance and public vigilance. In the novel, we understand that the media and government exercise power and control to manipulate everyone in Australian society and Flanagan shows how it is very easy to stole liberty of an individual and convince people by giving them misinformation. In addition, Flanagan's text illustrates how government stole freedom of Gina Davies: "Her freedom, about which she had never thought, now seemed to her the most precious thing in her life" (Flanagan, 2006, p230) it means that the accusation of terrorism changes her life from being free to look for freedom. Jaroslav Kushner argues in his article "Media, Simulation, Freedom and Control" in Richard Flangan's novel:

The access to alleged democracy and freedom provided by these means can soon become an illusion when an individual realizes that he/she is only playing a role in the game of democracy imposed on him/her through the consumerist and business relationship this individual is manipulated by in their role as consumer or commodity (Jaroslav, 2018, p3).

In this quote, we understand that government consider people as toys it means that people are given the illusion of democracy and freedom through consumerism. However, this freedom is not real because individuals are manipulated by these systems to play a role in the game of democracy. This

means that people are not truly free. In other words, the passage argues that the freedom and democracy offered by consumerism are not real. Instead, they are a frontage that hides the reality of how individuals are controlled and manipulated by these systems.

From a political point of view, the aim of the Doll's story invented by the media is to reassure Australians that the police and the government do their best to protect them against terrorism in their own country. Her story as presented in the media can win the people's trust in politics, politicians and the government; it can improve the careers of police officers such as SivHarmsen and Richard Cody to get a better job: "After the Counter Terrorism Unit summit meeting, Tony Buchanan went for lunch with SivHarmsen, who was there as ASIO's delegate on the committee" (Flanagan, 2006, p227).

Flanagan in his novel used many governments institutions: which are the ASIO is the Australian Security Intelligence Organization, ALP is the Australian Labor Party which means the major center political party in Australia and one of two major parties in Australia politics and SWAT is Special Weapons and Tactics. All those corps used violence against the Doll and her best friend Wilder, as Flanagan illustrates:

Ms Wilder. We can just continue renewing the warrant. But if you continue to refuse to answer our questions, you can go to jail for five years. If you lie to us, same deal. Jail for five years [...] I'm imagining Max is crying and then I'm crying too, I'm so upset, and I say that I'm not talking until they put us back together. But they won't[...]you go to jail for five years. Besides,' he says, 'under the ASIO Act the media isn't allowed to run any story about your arrest and detention or they go to jail for five years too. (Flanagan, 2006, pp189-190)

In the above passage, we understand that the ASIO uses violence against wilder by using psychological violence, also emotional violence and threaten her by taken the most important in her life which is freedom. Furthermore, Flanagan in his text mentioned the power and strength of ASIO when he says that media can get to the jail if they publish anything about her imprisonment. The authorities

have taken Wilder's son and forcing her to answer questions about her friend Gina. But Wilder always defends her friend by saying that she is innocent and she is not a slut: “She’s not a terrorist and she’s not a slut” (Flanagan, 2006, p187). In addition, Gina’s decided to go to the police just to end the nightmare that happen to her, but she was very afraid because it is difficult to trust someone who accused her by terrorism and they know that she is a scapegoat:

she had been standing in a police station about to give herself up. Whatever was she thinking? Was she insane? Trust cops in this town? [...]. And then they’ll have to kill me,’ thought the Doll. ‘It’s obvious, because I’m the only one who can prove how wrong they are. Just like the tradey, they’ll pull a gun on me. (Flanagan, 2006, p129)

From this passage, we understand that the violence is symbolized through the fear of the Doll to be killed and mistreated, that led her to confess a crime that she has never committed. Furthermore, Gina’s give up and felt that she becomes as devil and she says “I’m the Devil!” she was crying” (Flanagan, 2006, p143). This scene describes the harsh situation lived by the protagonist in her own society, which full of misery and paranoia, and how it is difficult to be alone in such situation.

The Doll tries to do everything to regain her freedom, and she is very tired by running out and changing her ID and haircutting to be different, Tariq is only the one who can help her and solves her problems. Unfortunately, she found Tariq dead “Tariq’s corpse lay curled up in the boot” (Flanagan, 2006, p135). The death of Tariq solved problems of Cody and his boss Siv Harmsen. Tariq was not a terrorist, the media that created this personality to convince a public that Gina also is a terrorist: “He was a man called Tariq, continued Wilder. He was computer programmer. He worked on the side as a mule bringing in heroin and coke.” (Flanagan, 2006, p214). In this regard, Neville Bolt claims:

We have argued that POTD takes full advantage of its symbiotic relationship with global media. It creates a dramatic act of political violence which works on different levels, addressing different audiences. Initially it shocks its victims

and immediate populations. Rapidly it provokes state governments in the full glare of watching cameras. And as governments are drawn into violent retaliation, they undermine their own credibility and ability to preserve the security and ordinariness of daily life by resorting to extraordinary strategies.” (Neville Bolt et al, 2008, p15).

The most important part that symbolizes violence in the novel is the killing of Richard Cody a reporter and media constructor of the whole story by involving Gina as terrorist. Gina thinks that by killing the responsible of her story, the misinformation will disappear and will be replaced by reality and truth. Contrary, the media and government arrived to create a new personality of the Doll as a terrorist and murder (Jaroslav Kusnir, 2018, pp 53-54). In other meaning, the Doll becomes killer and slaughter, this personality was created by media and became reality, when she killed Richard, Flanagan argues:

The minister tells Zoe LeMay on *Undercurrent* how he wishes to add his tribute to the many that have been pouring in all day honouring a courageous journalist and great Australian, Richard Cody. He announces the government’s intention to establish in his honour a multi-million-dollar journalism scholarship scheme. He tells the nation that “Gina Davies’ murderous actions prove what we’ve been saying all along. We can only be grateful that the possibility of a far greater tragedy was averted by the courage of Detective Sergeant Nick Loukakis.” (Flanagan, 2006, p 273)

According to the analysis of Patricia Muñoz Andrés in her article “*A Mirror of the World after September 11th Attacks; Richard Flanagan’s The Unknown Terrorist*” Nick Loukkakis the courageous Detective Sargent is the only one who tried to help the Doll because he knows that she is an innocent but it was already too late, when she has shot Cody and committed suicide when he arrived at the club. Richard Cody also is going to be honored by the minister for the reason that was a person who brought all the worst details of her past life to light in order to made her look like a real terrorist. (Muñoz, 2012, p06).

To conclude, propaganda of the deed theory contains many features and this theory provided a

deeper analysis of both novels; *The Good Terrorist* and *The Unknown Terrorist*. First, Lessing explores the relationship between media, terror and psychological effects of terror which is a key concept of this theory. In addition to that, the novel explores manipulation as a manifestation of power which is also one of the major aspects of the propaganda of the deed theory, which is indispensable tool when focusing on character portrayals, the dilemmas they encounter, and also the role played by their morality. Another feature of it, which is present in the novel is symbolic violence and passive revolution as forms of resistance, challenging the highest structures and reshaping people's ideas and ideology in order to fight oppressive systems. Second, Flanagan's explores the role of media and government in which they manipulate public opinion for their own goals. Furthermore, he describes the madness and stress that Gina's lived. Tariq dead and her son Liam Davies dead before it was born, and she loses her freedom, money, family everything she dreams is broken. All those events are symbolizing violence in the story of Gina Davies.

V. General Conclusion:

Throughout this humble study, we have tried to provide the reader with a possibility to bring together two authors from two distinct countries, in different periods of time, but who have dealt with the same theme. This study has explored the issue of terror by examining the two selected works *The Good Terrorist* by Doris Lessing and *The Unknown Terrorist* by Richard Flanagan, using the two theories of “Intersectionality” and “Propaganda of The Deed”. By doing so, we concluded that terror is a global phenomenon that can happen to any country and any society. The two authors share the same view towards the shocking causes and results of terror. Both Lessing and Flanagan deal with the problems that their societies face and the existence of corruption in the world in different ways.

In the first chapter, we have analyzed the two narratives using intersectionality theory, to define its key concepts that are also present within the two novels. *The Good Terrorist* narrates the life of character’s suffering during a period of harsh capitalism and oppression, it’s the fact that leads them to be together and to build a great force to join “The Communist Center Union. Alice, the protagonist of the novel was the one that suffered the most not only from oppression but also from the mistreatment of the group and her parents toward her. However, *The Unknown Terrorist* serves as imagery of nowadays’ society and the resulting loss of civil freedom. Gina was a scapegoat of system and media. By exploring the novel, we understand that Flanagan exposes the danger of media in which it manipulates public opinion and create fear in a society for their own goals. By studying both works in relation to the issue of terrorism using intersectionality theory, we deduced that the two narratives are similar when it comes to class and gender of the two protagonists, but differs in the causes of terrorism in their plots.

In the second chapter, we have studied the two novels using propaganda of the deed theory. Both novels protagonists suffer from life conditions. From the two works, we conclude that the main reasons behind acting violently is to improve life conditions, justice, and rights. We have noticed that terrorism is an anarchist work that is caused by group motives or orchestrated by hidden figures. Lessing and Flanagan succeed to picture a clear image of the chaos in which their two countries lived. They inform the reader about the danger that terror causes as well as the reasons and consequences that violence can result. From the second chapter, we have concluded that propaganda of the deed theory aspects is also present in both novels such as media, manipulation and use of violence.

In the scope of this research, we could not deal with all the themes that Doris Lessing and Richard Flanagan develop in their works *The Good Terrorist* (1985) and *The Unknown Terrorist* (2006). Therefore, we encourage other students interested in this type of literature to investigate and examine the two narratives further, as they are full of research issues that demand to be explored, such as feminist and racial perspectives.

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