The Growing of Islamophobia after the 9/11
Case Study: Muslim Americans

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by

Rabhi Ahlem

Board of Examiners:

Mrs. Ghennam F., Director

Mr. Filali B., Member

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Dedication

To my parents, family and to all my friends
Acknowledgement

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Abstract

With the increase of Muslim immigrants in the Western countries in the last few decades, hostility and discrimination toward Muslims enlarged in a large scale especially after September 11. So, the concept of Islamophobia, the general fear from Islam and Muslims, becomes deep-rooted in the West and this concept is used to justify the unreasonable acts of Non-Muslims toward Muslims. Though the term Islamophobia is new, the Western hatred and rage toward Muslims were found in the early contacts between Islam and Christianity. This contact shaped the negative stereotypes toward Muslims and strengthened hatred toward them; therefore, normalizing the unfair treatments toward Muslims in the West. Thereby, this research aims at clarifying the meaning of Islamophobia and its origins. It also describes the real situation of Muslim immigrants in the West before the attacks of the 9/11 and the impact of these events in the growing discrimination and violent acts toward them. The research attempts to unveil the situation under which the Muslim Diasporas live especially American Muslims through explaining how Islamophobia is interpreted. Thereafter, the dissertation focuses on the reaction of Muslims in the West toward others’ discrimination and prejudice. Moreover, it suggests some solutions and strategies proposed by scholars to eliminate the wrong stereotypes toward Muslims and decreasing tensions between the two societies to build intercultural dialogue between the West and Islam and therefore lessening Islamophobia in the Western societies.
List of Abbreviations

EUMC: the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia

PSI: Police Studies Institution

CAIR: the council on American-Islamic relation

FBI: Federal Bureau of Investigation

MENTORS: Muslims Educational Network Training and Out Reach Service

ACLU: American Civil Liberties Union.

OAPE: the Organization of the Arab Petroleum Exporting
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General Introduction

In the last few decades, Muslims presence in the Western Multicultural societies increased to a large extent. In the West, Muslims are often harassed, insulted and discriminated. This negative treatment is often due to their religion or ethnic belonging. the Western hostility and fear toward Muslims and Islam increased especially after the 9/11 to become a phobia because the attacks were, as the Westerners believe, led by Islamic terrorist organization “al Qaida” . The aftermath of the 9/11 was too bad on Muslims’ Diaspora. Violence and discriminatory acts culminated and reached their pick. Hence, with the increase of such illegal treatments, the concept of Islamophobia emerged to justify these unfair acts. In both Europe and the U.S.A, Islamophobia became the issue of the day especially after the September 11 and the recent event which happened in Britain (22 May 2013) when a British Muslim beheaded a British soldier (Lee Rigby) and claimed that he took the revenge of all Muslims. This event led to grew anti-Muslim sentiments which manifested in protests and attacking mosques, Islamic institutions and authorities in London. It also burnt the Westerners and gave them the opportunity to insult Islam and likewise intensified Islamophobia. So, Islamophobia, today, becomes the main characteristic that describes the relationship between Muslims and Non-Muslims.

Islamophobia is a complex phenomenon since it has many definitions and aspects. But it is understood as an irrational fear and hatred toward Muslims and this outrage is interpreted in various kinds of attacks, abuses, insults and crimes against Muslims. The term Islamophobia is a new word but the fear and hostility against Islam and Muslims are rooted in the Western mind. This hatred and fear are traced back to the early confrontations between Islam and Christianity. So, the present thesis seeks to
explore how the early contact between the two religions produced negative stereotypes, myths and stories that still exist in the Western perspectives and which are the main cause of Islamophobia.

On this basis, this research identifies the real meaning of the term Islamophobia and it's the Western discourse and also tries to identify the reasons behind its expansion in the Western World. In addition, it seeks to explore the real conditions under which Muslim immigrants faced it in the post 9/11.

So, the main questions with which this thesis deals with are:

1. What are the main previous myths and stereotypes of the West toward Islam and its followers?
2. How these stereotypes helped to forge the fear and hatred attitudes toward Muslims?
3. Was Islamophobia a direct result of the 9/11 attacks?

This research then aims to provide a deep understanding about Islamophobia and describes the social and political treatments of the West toward Muslims’ Diaspora after 9/11 i.e. how Islamophobia is experienced by Muslims in the West. It aims also to reveal the reality of Islamophobia: whose responsibility? How to cope with this dangerous phenomenon? It provides some suggested solutions to lessen if not diminish Islamophobia.

The research paper relies on the primary and the secondary sources whenever possible. The primary sources include American documents; journals, American government publications, presidential speeches and other official documents. The secondary sources are also utilized in this research. These include a variety of books, articles, thesis, surveys and relevant reports for instance, EUMC and CAIR reports.
When managing this research, some books were too useful and the research was based on them. These include; *Muslims in the West* by Jocelyne Cesari, *Islamophobia* by Chris Allen, *Islamophobia and Islamophilia: beyond the political enemy and friend* by Andrew Shryock, and *Western Views in the Medieval and Early Modern Europe* by Michiel Frassitto and David R.Blanks.

The research depends on two approaches: the descriptive and analytical approaches. Through the descriptive method, the thesis attempts to describe the situation of the Muslim Diaspora while the analytical one aims at analyzing the main surveys and reports which are linked to the 9/11 and its impact on Muslims’ lives especially American Muslims.

The thesis consists of three chapters. The 1st chapter is divided into three sections. The first section is an introduction to what is known as Islamophobia and its origins. This section aims at giving a clear definition for the term in the Western discourse. The second section investigates the image of Muslims in the Western views and the impact of these views in intensifying the fear toward Muslims. This section also aims at giving a brief description about the nature of the relationship between Muslims and Westerners in the past. The third section explains the role of media in increasing Islamophobia and rage against Muslims especially its role after the attacks of the 9/11.

The second chapter provides a historical overview about Muslims in the West and the 9/11 events impact on Muslims’ lives in the Western countries. The chapter provides a general view about Muslims in the West and illustrates how some shining events changed their situation. The chapter focuses on the early contexts in which the Muslims’ Diaspora was discriminated and violated. It tackles two events: the Iranian revolution and Rushdie affair and the way these events affected European Muslims in
general and British Muslims in particular. It also describes the impact of the Oil crisis on the French Muslims (1971-1974). The second part explains how the 9/11 attacks served as a turning point in both: the European and American history, politics and economics, on one hand, and on the situation of Muslim immigrants on the other. It also portrays the economic and social conditions under which Muslims live after the 9/11. The third part emphasizes on the American Muslims minority and the way in which they were treated after the 9/11. The last section analyzes the American political and social reaction toward Muslim citizens and how these reactions contributed on extending the violent acts and discriminatory practices toward Muslims.

The last Chapter examines Muslims’ reaction toward the attacks of the 9/11. It also provides the several attempts in the world by Non-Muslims and Muslims alike to decrease the criminal treatments, prejudices, insults ... against Muslims and give a real picture about Islam and Muslims and therefore, ending Islamophobia in the world.
Chapter one

From fear to Islamophobia

Introduction

In the late Twentieth century, Muslims presence in the multicultural societies increased to a large scale and the influx of Muslims to the West became so noticeable. Today, the situation of the Muslim Diaspora is challenged by many difficulties and obstacles especially when these obstacles are linked with harassment, abuse, discrimination and several kinds of insults. This unfair hostility toward the Muslim community is simply justified by the general view that portrays Muslims as a total backward, barbarians, terrorists and criminals.

In the post 9/11, Islamophobia spread overwhelming and became the basic feature that describes the relationship between Muslims and Non-Muslims in the Western community. The anti-Muslim sentiments are used to explain the unfair treatment toward Muslims. As a result of this, Non-Muslims transformed their rage and hatred in different manners; discrimination, assault and abuse. The examples in this context are several and the good example which is considered as a direct insult to Islam and its followers is the depiction of the Prophet Mohammad by the Danish cartoons. The Danish painting is regarded by the Islamic world as a clear imager of hatred and hostility toward anyone who bears the Islamic faith.

I. Defining Islamophobia and its Origins

There are many terms and international phrases that are used to express the hatred and the negative feelings against Islam and Muslims. Among these terms that are widely used; Anti-Muslimism, Anti-Islam, Muslimophobia … ¹ All these terms
express the same feelings of hatred, hostility, prejudice and fear toward a specific minority in the Western world known as Muslims. In the USA and Europe, the most used term by journalists, politicians, and intellectuals is Islamophobia.

The concept of Islamophobia can be understood in any context where Muslims are discriminated and violated against in the workplaces, in educational, religious institutions and in the social accommodations (Shryock 5). The definition of the term “Islamophobia” is still debatable. The general meaning of the term reflects the general fear of Islam and Muslims, thus, some critics refused to compare it with psychological illnesses such as acrophobia, xenophobia or arachnophobia (CAIR). Fred Halliday explains that the term Islamophobia is ambiguous and is not suitable to the reality. He states that using anti-Muslim is better because it is associated with concepts like; racism, xenophobia, and others (Edvardsson 13). Although others believe that Islamophobia is closed to xenophobia, irrational dislike or fear of people from other countries, the two terms are understood as a form of racism. That is to say, xenophobia and Islamophobia indicate the same feeling which is hostility toward foreigners and aliens.

The term Islamophobia is not just used in English. The term is also found in other languages and it may express the same or different feelings. In French, the term Islamophobia is not widely used by French scholars but there are other terms utilized in the context of racism- such as racism Anti-Arab, racism Anti-Maghreb … The difference between Islamophobia and racism Anti-Magrebian is that the later is related to the refusal of immigrants who live in France (including Algerians and Tunisians), while the former is directly linked to “Islam” as a religion and its culture (Shryock 6). In other words, it means the total denying of both Muslims and Islam. In France, Muslims are not studied as Muslims themselves but they are seen as immigrants,
North Africans, or Arabs. In addition, the use of the word Arabs there immediately means Muslims. So, the word Islamophobia is rarely mentioned by French scholars.

The term Islamophobia has been discussed from various perceptions, but it is rarely understood. Islamophobia is divided into two terms; Islam and phobia. From this division, it seems that Islamophobia as a word has a pejorative meaning because scholars argued that it is not suitable to use phobia, which is a mental illness, as a synonym of fear and hatred. Thus, many critics raised the question if phobia is suitable to be linked to hatred and hostility.

It is agreed that the first use of the word Islamophobia was in 1997 by Runnymede Trust in his famous report written to the British Commission “Islamophobia a challenge for us all” (Allen 5). The report was written as a reaction to the growth of British hostility toward British Muslims after Rushdie affairs in 1989, the first Gulf War (1990-1991) and the Iranian revolution (Shryock 4). These events led the British to consider the British Muslims as Alien and therefore it increased the anti-Muslim sentiments especially after the affair of Selman Rushdie when he wrote his novel “the Satanic Verses” which insulted Islam in general and the Prophet Mohammad in specific. In his report, Trust states that:

The term Islamophobia refers to unfounded hostility toward Islam. It refers also to the practical consequences of such hostility in unfair discrimination against Muslims individuals and communities, and to the exclusion of Muslims from the mainstream political and social affair. (qtd. in Edvardsson 7)

Trust’s report established a set of concepts that aim at normalizing the manifestation of Islamophobia (Kaya 7):
1. Islam is a monolithic and static religion i.e. it cannot be adapted to new realities and contemporary situations. Islam is viewed as inflexible, not indented to accept changes in the world.

2. Islam does not share the same values with others’ religions. Here Islam is seen as alien and foreign to the West. This view stresses the idea that “Islam is isolated from other cultures and religions”, it neither accepts influence nor affects others.

3. Islam is seen as inferior, barbaric and irrational. This explains the idea of “us” vs. “them”, which means that the distinction is made between the West as “us” and the Muslims as “them”. In fact, this represents Islam as the “other” who is inferior to the West.

4. Islam is a religion of violence and the main supporter of terrorism. Islam is presented to the West as an enemy and alien. This view is taken from the previous perception that Islam has spread through the sword.

5. Muslims are seen as “manipulative not as sincere”. Islam is seen as a tool used by Muslims to enforce strategic, political and military advantages. Thus, what makes them, according to this view, far from being honest and sincere is their faith.

6. Racial discrimination against Muslims was justified rather than challenged. It means that hostility toward Islam and its supporters is used as a justification of unfair actions and practices. That is to say, Islamophobia becomes normal in any context and the hostility in the workplaces and schools becomes something normal and clear.
Accordingly, Trust’s report provides a clear picture about Islamophobia and its features. These features or beliefs are used to normalize the hostility and discriminatory practices toward Muslims. So, because Islam is a monolithic, inferior, alien, religious of violence and the main supporter of terrorism, Islamophobia is not seen as problem rather it is as something usual.

Moreover the European Council’s report (Islamophobia and its consequence on young people) in 2005 gives a similar definition to Trust’s report:

The fear of or prejudiced viewpoint toward Islam, Muslims and matter pertaining to them whether it takes the shapes of daily life forms of racism and discrimination or more violent form, Islamophobia is a violation of human rights and threat to social cohesion. (qtd. in Kaya 8)

Robin Richardson; however, provides a different opinion concerning the meaning of Islamophobia. According to him, Islamophobia is a confused word because it does not express the real meaning of the unfair treatment toward Muslims. He distinguishes between anti-Muslims and Islamophobia in a way that the anti-Muslim sentiment is linked to violent actions, crimes, abuse, rudeness and harassment, whereas Islamophobia is just used by the Western discourse to justify the unfair treatment toward Muslims (1).

In addition to the previous definitions, other scholars, such as Andrew Shryock, offer more details about the use of the term Islamophobia. Besides this, they bring new concepts for more illustration. Those scholars believe that the term “Islamophobia was both misleading and inaccurate” (Allen 135). In other words, it shows the growth of intolerant actions toward Muslims and it describes Islam and Muslims as potential enemies of the West. This is not the truth in any context since there is no evidence that
prove that. In contrast, the concept “Islamophilia” gives a new affection for Islam and its community (Shryock 9). Accordingly, this opinion argues that there is a difference between the concept that criticizes religion and stigmatizes the followers of this religion. Hence, this view differentiates between the enemies and friends or the so-called good and bad Muslims. On one hand, the good Muslims are the real Muslims who want peace and security and work to reach these values. On the other, the bad Muslims are the ones who want to destroy Islamic beliefs and try to spread evil (Shryock 10).

A. The Origins of Islamophobia

Although it is widely recognized that the term Islamophobia originated in Britain in 1997 by Runnymede Trust and it is rare to find documents that mention or use this term. Some critics refuse this view since there is no evidence to prove that. As a consequence, many theories appear to defend its argument. The first belief is suggested by Oxford English Dictionary which states that the term Islamophobia was firstly coined by the American periodical, Insight, in 1991. The second theory neither proposed that the term Islamophobia originated in Britain nor in America but rather it believed that it was created in France by Etienne Dinet and Slima Ben Ibrahim in their report “Acces delire Islamophobe” in 1925. What is important to be mentioned in this report is that they declared that usage of Islamophobia is different; it is not used to express the same attitudes as today i.e. discrimination and violence (Allen 5-6).

The third opinion claims that the term Islamophobia was used by “Mullahs” during the Iranian revolution. The usage of the word appeared when the Iranian women refused to wear the “headscarf” or “hijab” (Allen 5-6). The last view suggests that the usage of this word was introduced by Muslim researchers at the Policy Studies Institute (PSI) in the late 1980’s. This claim has found some acceptance and support.
by the French source European Minority Center on Racism and Xenophobia. The French source provides more details by stating that Tarig Modood, a member of Muslim researchers (PSI), introduced the term. Theories about the origin of the word do not stop here. They vary from one source to another but the popular opinion supports the first claim which states that Islamophobia was coined by Runnymede Trust in Britain in 1997 (Allen).

After all, although the different terminology that is used to express hatred and fear, all of them refer to the same feelings and attitudes basically the neglect and exclusion of Islam and its followers. Islamophobia reflects the general hatred to Islam and Muslims. It occurred as a new social and political problem that is linked to the Western society (Europe and the Unites States). It is agreed that this phenomenon implies intolerance with others that is shaped into various ways: discrimination, abuse and hate crimes against Muslims.

II. The Image of Muslims in the Western World

“Islamophobia is a new word for an old fear” (qtd. in Iqbal 575). That is to say, Islamophobia is an outcome of serious events which spread along past centuries. Islam from the beginning was portrayed as a threat to the West and its dominance led to the raise of such hostility and fear toward its community. So the idea of Islam as an enemy is deeply rooted in the Western perception since the emergence of Islamic empire.

Eventually, the issues of Islam in the Western perceptions become a matter of interest in understanding the reasons behind the appearance of Islamophobia in both: social and political views. The relationship between the two civilizations, the East and the West, is often described as Samuel Huntington named it “a Clash of Civilizations”. According to some scholars, the clash is essentially between two poles; Islam as
represent of the Eastern world and Christianity as represent of the Western world. At first, we should indentify the two terms the East (the Orient) and the West (the Occident). The West is a geographical term in which it is opposite to the East. It also has another meaning which is Christianity. The term West then, includes different races and countries; North America, Europe, Latin America, Russia, Japan … The same thing applies to the word” Orient”. This latter has also two meanings Islam and Arab. Islam refers to Islamic countries and different Islamic sects (Sheit, Sunni, Turk…). Whereas, the word Arabs refers to the Arabic world and this does not necessarily mean embracing Islamic faith. Lebanon, for example, is an Arabic country but some of its citizens are Christians (30 percent) (Abid Aljabiri 95).

The image of Islam in the West witnessed serious changes. East- West views are “complex, dynamic and contradictory” (Kumar 10). The stereotypes that were drawn by the West did not come from emptiness. These stereotypes came as result of the early encounter between Islam and the West, and they still persist to shape contemporary Western thinking.

Islam is one of the most and powerful religion in the world. Islam is the second largest in religion the world after Christianity. Muslims consist of approximately 1.2 billion (Ali 2) in the world. The name “Islam” refers to the peace that comes from surrounding to the will of God. Islam appeared in the Middle East in the seventh century. The region where Islam appeared is Mecca which was known by trade activities and the Arabs had many contacts with their neighbors including, Byzantine and Persia (Kumar 10-11). After the death of the Prophet Mohammed, the Islamic faith started to spread more and more and the Islamic territory started to spread. Thus, Muslim armies started to move, they won new regions from the Sassanid Empire. The expansion of Muslims did not stop but they move forward. They also reached the
Byzantine Empire. This successful expansion of the Muslims was too vast and it attracted more members (Kumer 10-11). Under the Umayyad dynasty (661-750), the Muslims conquest expanded into North Africa and some parts of Europe. In addition, Muslims won the southern parts of Italy and Sicily. Meanwhile, the Christian fears began to appear because they worried that Islam would take their territories. Thus, Islam was seen as a danger and a threat (Kumer 10-11). When Islam had reached the Iberian Peninsula, Italy and Sicily, Christians started to write about Islam and the invaders (Muslims). During this period, Islam was nothing to the Christians and Muslims were seen just an invaders. That is Islam- as a religion -was not perceived as a real religion and what is agreed upon at that time is that this new religion was a threat to Christianity and this threat comes from a group of enemies from every direction (Shryock 30).

By the middle ages, the image of Islam in the West was not clear enough to be explained and Islam itself did not stir much curiosity but the image which was almost known was that Islam was Christian’s greatest problem and it should be stopped. Moreover, the lack of awareness about Islam and Muslims led others to shape an unclear picture about the new faith and its followers. At that time, the name Muslims was rarely used. Muslims were called “Saracens” which was somehow linked to the meaning of Barbarians (Blanks and Frassetto 15). According to some writers, the hostility and animosity toward Muslims had begun at this period of time. In his work “Raymon Lull: first missionary to Moslems”, Zwemer Samuel, famous journalist and historian, said that:

The morality of the middle ages presents startling contrast over and against each other, and not only in the same land, but often in the same
individual, we witness sublime faith and degrading superstition, angelic, purity and sign of gross sensuality. (Blanks and Frassetto 29)

In this quotation, Zwemer claims that with the emergence of Islam, the hostility of Non-Muslims against Muslims started to emerge but he also stressed that this hostility was unclear and ambiguous. As other scholars, he perceived the Western view in the middle ages as the “Age of Ignorance” (Kumar 42). Norman Daniel also describes the early contact (between 700 to 1100 c.e) as ”the age of ignorance” because Islam was just anti-Christianity and the Prophet Mohammed was seen as anti-Christ (Kumar 42).

The stereotypes of the Saracen “Muslims” as an enemy, evil and absolutely alien to God were widely spread in the Western writings; stories and Myths and it was also the main concern of the majority of poets and writers. The famous one is The chanson de Roland (The Song of Roland), old French epic poem probably written in the 12th century by Norman poet Turold (Frassetto and Blank 69). The epic presented Muslims as idolaters; meanwhile, it depicted them as an enemy to the Christians (Frassetto and Blank 69). Even the Muslims-Christians wars were not described as “religious wars” (Shryock 31). Thus, the Christian writings were not interested in Muslims as a religious’ followers i.e. Christians did not see Muslims from the religious angle but they perceived them as a cause of danger and harm.

In the Mid-ninth century, Christian views about Islam began to change. Because of many events, the negative portraying of the Prophet Mohammed came to the face. Prophet Mohammed was portrayed as a “demonian full of lies” who did not speak the truth, and one “enveloped in fallacies” who could not establish law. Prophet Mohammed was called “heresiarch” and “Anti-Christ” (Shryock 32).
Moreover, Rome had a great impact on the Christian view of Islam. Pope John VIII, a deacon of the Roman Church, gave a great hostile view of the Muslims. He refused to make agreements with Muslims. In addition, “Saracens” are depicted as “alien to God “who presents a great danger to Christians. That is why, they refuse to live in peace with infidels and enemies of God (Shryock).

Above all, during the Middle Ages, Christian hostility toward Islam and its followers remained unclear. Muslims were not treated as a real enemy. But the image that was widely spread in the Western writings was that Islam presents a threat before it became a problem and the Prophet Mohammad was not assumed a real Prophet instead they saw him as full of lies, polygamy and he dedicated his life for entertainment. In contrast, Christianity was a religion of peace and freedom. These contradictions in values and beliefs reinforced the incompatibility between the two religious.

With the beginning of the crusades, the Islam-West relationship started to take a new form. The hatred toward Muslims grew up to become so clear. Pope Urban II, who organized the first crusade, stated clearly that Muslims were “the focal point for Christian animosity” (Shryock 33). In this way, he removed the ambiguity of the previous years. As a result, the image Saracens as “heretic, enemy and infidels”, remained to exist in the Western writings. Guibert of Nogent argued that the hostility toward Islam had increased in the first crusades. Furthermore, in his writing, he gave the most negative description about the life of the Prophet Mohammad (Frassetto and Blanks 97).

In the age of the crusades, the leader of the Church attempted to unify Christians through using the religious excuse. In order to get rid of the enemies of God, the Popes, thus, put the image of “Muslims enemy” in the mind of people to justify the
crusades or as they called it “the holly wars”. Popes wrote about Islam, its values and the life of the Prophet Mohammed in order to push the popular opinion against Muslims and the work of Peter the Venerable\(^9\) is the best example (Blanks and Frassetto 22). Dana Carleton Munro, North American scholar, provides examples about how Islam was attacked by Peter the Venerable. According to him, Peter the Venerable considered Muslims as a “heretic and precursor of anti-Christian”. So, he played a great role in spreading the negative beliefs about Islam at that time. Additionally, at the time of the crusades, Islam was linked to violence: those who did not embrace Islam, should be defeated or enforced to convert the Islamic religion (Blanks and Frassetto 22). This image remains until now.

The crusades then had a significant impact in shaping the Christian hostility and uniting Christians to fight the so-called enemies of God. Even the so-called “Saracens” were replaced by Turks and Arabs. The Western animosity persisted and did not change. The image “Muslims enemy” became the fundamental concern for the only way to win over Muslims was by uniting Europeans together under the same religion and culture. “Europe then became identical with Christianity” and Europe became “the Christian's homeland” (Shryock 34). What is clear is that Muslims then were not just the enemy of Christians but the enemy of the whole of Europe. Indeed, Islam was perceived as a menace for all Europe.

In the era of the Ottoman Empire, Turks or Saracens were described as the “servants of the devil” while the Prophet Mohammed and the Turkish emperors were under “the control of the devil” (Shryock 38). Quran was also seen as “fool, shameful, abominable book that distorted Christianity even while it praised Jesus and Mary” (Shryock 38). According to the Christians, Turks did not belong to human beings. That is why they did not deserve to be respected.
In sum, during the Middle ages and until the end of the crusades, the Western hatred and fear were not easily understood. The Christian views of Muslims did not bear any religious concept; they just saw them as a group of enemies who tried to destroy the Christendom. Ambiguity started to change with the age of the crusades. The age of ignorance was replaced by the age of knowledge. Christians shaped themselves in a single unite. As a result, Islam and Muslims became a real threat not just for Christians but also for Europe. What should be noted is that there were three main pictures that Christian thought had about Islam and Muslims and these three images were always repeated among the Western writers who have a great role in shaping the Western society (Abid Aljabiri 111):

a) Islam is a polytheistic religion and the Prophet Mohammed is not real a Prophet. Therefore, Muslims are foreigners, strangers, and aliens because they are the followers of a wrong religion called “Islam”.

b) The second image is the result of the previous image. Because Islam was spread through the sword, Islam is a religion of violence and intolerance; whereas, Christianity is a religion of peace, tolerance and freedom.

c) The third view was about the life of the Prophet “Mohammed”.

Christian writers had dedicated their research about the Prophet and they put a set of views about him;

- They refused to accept that the Prophet Mohammed is a Prophet like Jesus. They said that he was an ordinary man and he could not tell the truth since he brought a new doctrine that is against Christianity. In a simple word, he was anti-Christ.
• He grew up in a backward environment which, according to them, produced a cruel, savage and violent society.

• He was a polygamist. While Christianity defended men to have just one wife and they should be separated only by death. Muslims permitted men to have more than one wife; they also have the right to divorce.

Such negative portrayal graved not only in the scholarly works but it has also a big impact on the popular attitudes which affected the relationship between Muslims and Westerners. So, this is a brief description about the nature of the relationship between Muslims and Non-Muslims and how this relation caused the increase of the Western hostility against Islam and Muslims.

In the modern age, the issue of Islam in the Western perceptions has found much interest especially by the Western Orientalism. Orientalism as a significant theory brings a new analysis about the Orient; however, it built its study from previous historical and cultural concepts. For Edward Said, “Orientalism is the historical construction of Eastern cultures as alien, the other, by the West” (Poole 18). Western Orientalists started their analysis from the idea that Islam is against the West. They also situate the age of hostility and hatred between the West and the Orient in the early encounters between them. This conflict between the poles brought two notions “Us” vs. “Them”. According to the Orientalists’ discourse, the West is “us” and the Orient is the “other” and what is the other from us is perceived as alien. Because the other has its own culture, tradition, religion and way of life which are different from “us” and presents a threat through corrupting the belief and way of life of “us”. From this point of view, what is “other” to the West should be excluded and then it is regarded as inferior, backward, threatening, and irrational (Poole 36).
Another important analysis given by Orientalism about Islam as a religion and the Muslims society is that “Christianity is the basis of Western culture” (Makariev 102-103). So, for Orientalists, the main reason for intolerance between Islam and the West is the nature of the Western civilization. The Western culture is based on Christianity which, according to this view, contains the truth and the one who gets outside Christian faith and doctrine will be rejected by his society (Makariev 102-103). In other words, Christianity is the only religion that is based on the truth. Thus, other religions which are different from Christianity are based on myths and lies, including Islam. In this way, Islam is considered as alien or anti-Christian because it poses a threat to the Christian faith. From this idea, Christianity excluded all religions especially Islam and its community. Therefore, the Muslim society is described as pagan, wrong, an empire of evil, and Christians should not deal with the enemies of God. The important thing that should be noted is that from the early encounters between Islam and the West to the modern age the religious side played an important role in misunderstanding of Islam.

Orientalism suggested another reason behind the negative perception of Muslims which is explained as “Eurocentrism belief” (Makariev 103). The belief asserts that Europe is the center of the world. It means that its culture, religion, principles and its way of life are superior over the others among them the Islamic world. As a result, this belief of superiority is the main factor that shaped the Western rage toward Muslims. Additionally, this belief asserted the right for Christianity to override the world and especially the barbaric Muslim society. Christianity is a religion of freedom, peace and democracy whereas Islam is a religion of violence, backwardness and barbarism. That is, Christianity's role in the world is to bring those barbaric societies under the Christian civilization. This idea has found scholarly supporters like Erenan and
Gilebon (Makariev103). Those writers believe that if the Islamic world wants to reach the real meaning of civilization, it should follow the Christian Ideals. This means, in simple terms, that Islam must be westernized to reach a state of being a civilization. Through this idea, the Western powers considered colonization as a means to bring those who are backward into the modern world and the Islamic world is one of them. The French scholar Ernest Ronan\textsuperscript{11} claimed that Muslims represent a “barbaric society” and the only way to remove this barbarity is just by one means which is the Western model (Makariev103).

Similarly, Bernard Lewis emphasizes the idea of the Islamic threat against the West. He argued that Islam as a power stimulates terrorist activities.\textsuperscript{12} He also adds that the history of Islam proves this, in a way that the manner that was used by Muslims in the past is still used by terrorists (Milton-Edward 57).

Fred Halliday gives a new explanation about the roots of Western hostility against Islam. According to him, the Western hostility and hatred does not lay in the religious and historical factors, as the Orientalists believe. He argues that the Western dominance in the world and the fear of loss of this dominance is the main reason behind the growth of such feelings. He states that the West is the main power that controls the Middle East, especially in the matter of oil, so if the West is defeated, this could lead to undermine its reputation as a leading power in the world (Poole 36).

Consequently, the Western animosity is caused by an economic factor and the religious side is just a part of the real problem (Poole 49). Further, after the attacks of the 9/11, the negative Western views about Islam and Muslims have reached the pick and the name of Islam was linked to terrorism. Petter Gottschalk and Gabriel Greenberg made a survey in the American public concerning Islam and Muslims. Gottschalk and Greenberg argued that most Americans, who were asked about their
knowledge concerning Islam and Muslims, directly linked the name Islam and Muslims to Osama Bin Laden, the 9/11 tragedies, suicide bombers, jihad, veil, the Middle East … (5). All These answers are mainly the excuse that is used by Non-Muslims to fight and dehumanize Muslims in order to exclude them from the mainstream societies in all Western countries.

After all, the hostility between Islam and the West is not a new phenomenon (it is believed that it emerged only after the 9/11). The earlier historical events were the main witness which emphasized that the conflict and the animosity between the East and the West or Islam and Christianity appeared before the 9/11. History traces back this animosity to the era of the emergence of Islam (Middle Ages), it developed during the era of the crusades, the Ottoman Empire and the age of colonization.

III. Media Presentation of Muslims

It is agreed then that Islamophobia did not appear after the attacks of the 9/11, it has roots in the past when Islam had emerged as a civilization and a dominant power. But the Western hostility increases day after day via many cultural instruments. Media with all its kinds (newspaper, TV, radio) plays a major role in intensifying this phobia against Islam and Muslims through representing false information about them or it can be said that it exaggerates in showing the image of Islam as a religion and Muslims as its followers especially, through perceiving Islam as the responsible for all terrorist attacks. Such a misleading picture is based on the negative image in the Western thought and the terrorist attacks after the 9/11 in which Muslims were allegedly accused of being responsible for them and the name Islam is absolutely linked to terrorism.

Today, media is not just a tool of entertainment; it becomes a source of knowledge and information in a way that it affects the public attitude and opinion. Western media
in particular have a significant function in intensifying the negative stereotypes in the public sphere. According to some writers, “… medieval anti-Muslim themes are still being represented in the Western media and in modern popular culture” (blanks and Frassetto 32). This means that the negative sentiment that appeared in the past is now adhered by the media in all its sections. Moreover, the matter of Muslims is the subject of all mass communication which represents Islam as a threat to the West. From this point, prejudice and misunderstanding toward Islam is normalized in all contexts (Poole 30). In his article “Islam and West; the need for mutual understanding”, Mohammed Abdul Yamini states that the wrong image of Islam was not widespread in the media in the past but nowadays it became unlimited in giving inaccurate information about it (Ali 20). He adds that this misrepresentation of Islam is programmed even in the children shows and movies (Ali 20)

Furthermore, a report published by the European Monitory Center of Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) on Islamophobia in the UK after 9/11/2001 suggests that Islamophobia in the UK has increased and is promoted by the European media. That is, media is responsible for the growing of violent acts and crimes against Muslims especially Muslims immigrants (Allen 97). Another source suggests that in the post 9/11, negative media portrayal of Muslims increased to become a part of it. More precisely, American media coverage of Muslim Americans is linked to fanaticism, fundamentalism, irrational … This negativity is supported by political circumstances and economic interests (Ali 91). Consequently, the negative image in mass communication totally affects the Western attitude in general and the American in particular towards Muslims. In addition, Edward Said in his book “Covering Islam” argues that the Iranian revolution (1981) was a turning point for the Western media. He asserts that since this revolution, the negative representation had increased
dramatically. Muslims were portrayed as being primitive, violent and aliens to the West (Poole 42-43). E. Said adds that the role of media at that time was to cover Islam and Muslims and show just the negative point in order to let the others know nothing about Islam. Thus, the public hostility and hatred grow unconsciously through riots, crimes, insults and all intolerant acts (Poole 42-43). Accordingly, media presentation of Islam and Muslims works hand in hand with political leaders which mean that the political interest is the major adherent of media misrepresentation of Muslims (Poole 42-43). Chris Allen, on the other hand, suggests that Rushdie affairs led to increasing the Anti-Muslims sentiment in the European media which depicted Muslims as absolutely terrorists and extremists (43). As a result, Islamophobia grew, largely as in, Britain by making the British Muslims the first target of change.

Runnymede Trust, also, highlights the role of media in representing Muslims through using cartoons (Edvardsson 14). He stresses that using imagery cartoons is the main feature of Western media coverage of Muslims to spread prejudice and hatred in public opinion since it is popular and have the ability to make its message succeed via a humorous style. This misrepresentation is legitimized by the right of freedom of speech and democracy. Hence, Trust claims that the idea of oppressed women in Islam is the widely tackled subject in the Western media (Edvardsson 14). He argued that media asserts that women, who wear the headscarves, do so not because they like it but because their fathers and husbands obliged them to do so. From these explanations, Western media shows Muslim men as violent, criminals and suicide bombers, whereas, Muslim women are presented as exotic, victims and who are under the oppression of their family (Edvardsson 14). Anne Sofie Roald supports Trust’s idea by claiming that oppressed women are a symbol of Islamophobia (Edvardsson 15). Likewise, Peter Gottschalk and Gabriel Greenberg claim that Muslims appeared
in the news and the press as perpetrators of violence and crimes. They add that the word jihad or holy war is the central point of focus in the Western media (6-7).

Through Western media, Muslims have a central belief, which is presented in the term jihad or the war against the infidels, and throughout this belief Muslims are ready to fight against those infidels even via suicide operations (Gottschalk and Greenberg 6-7). In fact, media emphasizes that Muslims act through their religious desire and no evidence claims the opposite. Hence, the Western audience directly assumes that the Muslim community works through its religious motivation and therefore, Islam is a religion of violence which threatens the Western security.

Besides this, the Danish cartoons of the Prophet Mohammed by Jullands Posten newspaper on 30/9/2005 serve as a reinforcing misleading representation of Islam and its legacy. After the publication of these cartoons, a conference was organized by Islamic channels in Copenhagen to confirm that printing these images is a sign of mushrooming Islamophobia over the Western media (Allen 117). Though, Jullands Posten regretted, he kept saying that he has the right to publish everything he wants because it is supported by the freedom of speech and democracy and these rights cannot be denied by Islamic fundamentalists (Allen 117). In the same context, Philip Knightly argues that media has become a useful tool in worsening the Muslim picture in the public mind and deepening the rage among Non-Muslims and therefore promoting Islamophobia in the world (Harb and Bessaiso 1064). Knightly underlines the method which the Westerns broadcasters employed in covering events and how it makes links between the event and the Muslim world; “stage one: the crisis; stage two: the demonization of the enemy’s leader; stage three: the demonization of enemy as individual; stage four: atrocities” (qtd. in Harb and Bessaiso 1064). Needless to say, the Western media deals first with the event as the main focus then it portrays the
Muslims as enemy in group after that it extends the image of enemy to Muslims as individuals.

Roald emphasizes again how media’s representation of Muslims is used in some literary works. He gives the example of a book written by Betty Mahmoody “Not without my daughter” (1988). In this book, the author stresses the difference between two societies the American society and the Iranian one by showing how Iranian husbands deal with their women and the oppression which these latter suffer from (Edvardsson 15). Actually, this treatment of Iranian men to their wives is a form of strengthening Islamophobia and its legacy. And from this view, the stereotypes which exist in the Western thought are emphasized and promoted by the media with all its types without forgetting the role of political leaders in encouraging media’s work.

Mohammad Abid Amiri shows the role of American Media in the post 9/11 in portraying Muslim Americans by four famous media institutions; CNN, FOX, New York Times and Washington Post. These four mass media institutions, according to Amiri, played a major role in affecting public opinion and attitudes toward Muslims a year after 9/11 through attacking the Muslim community in America and defending the right to invade Iraq (5-10). Needless to say, News and press articles use misleading information about Muslims to convince the American audience about the danger that comes from Islam and its supporters. Thus, American hatred and fear grew and public violence against American Muslims became unproblematic issue.

Moreover, Jack Shaheen in his book “Reel Bad Arabs: How Hollywood Vilifies a People” explains that the majority of American movies have treated Arabs not as ordinary people having a normal life; rather, they dehumanized Muslims by presenting them as terrorists and Islamic extremists (Mesic 2). Some scholars believe that the war on terror or the stereotype of terrorism in public mind is just an image created and
supported by mass media. That is to say, it is “the war of image” and the Western propaganda to confirm that Muslims’ existence is a threat to Western security (Mesic 2). For this reason, in the post 9/11, the two terms Muslims and terrorists became synonyms in the Western countries. Severin and Tankar support the previous idea by asserting that the media coverage of Muslims as terrorists leads to believe that they are really all terrorists (Abid Amiri 3). Further, another study reports that media coverage of the war on Afghanistan was not only linked to the context of terrorism but also media formed new stories and propaganda to justify the invasion (Yenigun 51). At that time, newspapers, magazines and TV channels did not justify the war in Afghanistan as a backlash of the 9/11 attacks but it was also, as the media claims, to free Afghan people who suffer from Taliban government especially, women (Yenigun 51). So, for them, war is the only way to civilize this nation, helped the oppressed people and spread democracy over this country.

A quantitative study of the newscast in two public service broadcasting, Kai Hafez and Carola Richter conclude that Islam is portrayed as a political ideology and a “totalitarian codex of moral values affecting the entire society rather than as a religion” (Cesari 201). They add that the depiction of Islam is too exaggerated by the Western media since it linked all terrorist violent acts to Muslims (Cesari 201). Another analysis done by Sabine Schiffer, does not only stress the absolute link in the media of Islam with “violence, threats, regression, and oppression of women”, but she also explains the effects of these links on the audience (Cesari 202). According to Schiffer, the relationship between Islam and violence is based on causality i.e. if any violent events are presented by media, the public will spontaneously link it with Islam.
Conclusion

Despite the hardness to understand the exact meaning of the term Islamophobia, it is agreed that it means the general hatred and fear toward Muslims. This hostility and hatred are interpreted to in unfair treatment, discrimination, racism, and hate crimes… toward Muslims. The term Islamophobia is new but the hatred and fear from Islam and Muslims existed in the early emergence of Islam and these beliefs emphasized by some scholars who believe that” contemporary Islamophobia is a mere-re-emergence of historical anti-Muslims, anti-Islamic phenomenon a continuum that stretches from before the crusades to the present day and no doubt into the future”.

In fact, Islam was perceived as a menace to Christianity this perception grew in the mind of many Christians and raised the feeling of fear from the new religion. The feelings of hatred of hostility toward Muslims were developed by the confrontation between the two religion Muslims and Christians. Meanwhile, it led the Westerners to draw negative stereotypes about Islam and its followers. That is to say, the Western animosity is traced back to the era of the emergence of Islam and was strengthened by the age of the crusades and the Ottoman Empire. The phobia toward Islam and Muslims is intensified by many cultural instruments. Media, as cultural tool in this age, has a strongest influence on the growth of this Western rage through its negative coverage about Islam and exaggerating in covering events. To sum up, the Western media has played a major role in shaping public perception about Muslims and therefore, increasing and strengthening Islamophobia among people.
Endnotes

1. For more information see Islamophobia or anti-Muslim racism – or what? Concepts and terms revisited by Robin Richardson.


4. In 1996 The Runnymede Trust, an independent research and social policy agency, established the Commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia. The Commission, chaired by Professor Gordon Conway, is composed of eighteen members, and is a multi-ethnic and multi-religious committee.

5. The American journal Insight on 4 February 1991 used the word Islamophobia to refer to hostility of the government of the Soviet Union towards its own Muslim citizens and regions: ‘Islamophobia also accounts for Moscow’s reluctance to relinquish its position in Afghanistan, despite the estimated $300 million a month it takes to keep the Kabul regime go in.’ (cited by Oxford English Dictionary, as reported by Runnymede Trust 1997).

6. Modood wrote about the subject matter of hostility towards Muslims and Islam in a number of articles throughout 1990 and 1991 in particular, the Independent, 5 February 1990 and The Times Higher Education Supplement, 30 March 1990. His first recorded use of the term ‘Islamophobia’ was in the Independent, 16 December 1991. For all articles, see: Tariq Modood, Not Easy

7. Another theory argued that the first use of the word Islamophobia in print appears by Edward Said in 1985. Said argued that Islamophobia is similar to Anti-Semitism, ‘the connection … between Islamophobia and anti-Semitism’ and criticized writers who do not recognize that ‘hostility to Islam in the modern Christian West has historically gone hand in hand’ with anti-Semitism and ‘has stemmed from the same source and been nourished at the same stream’ (Said1985: 8-9).

8. Zwemer Samuel was a journalist and historian. Zwemer was also a missionary with a good command of Arabic and a decent knowledge of the Quran. He worked at the Arabian Mission of the Reformed Church throughout Turkey and the Gulf. His famous work was Raymon Lull, First Missionary to the Moslems (New York, 1902). In the book, Lull (ca. 1232–1316) was missionary whose aim was to convert Muslims into Christianity

9. see James Kritzeck, Peter the Venerable and Islam (Princeton, 1964), and Petrus Venerabilis 1156–1956 Studies and Text Commemorating the Eighth Century of his Death, eds.

10. Orientalism: is the representation of the Eastern culture by the western world in criticizing them disrespectfully.

11. The French scholar Ernest Renan, who is one of Edward Sad’s bêtes noires, was nonetheless one of the first to concern himself with the impact on the West of Arab thought and philosophy with his Averroès et l’Averroïsme (1852).
12. Bernard Lewis (1916): is a renowned British-American Jewish historian of Orientalism, Islam, and the Middle East concentration in near and Middle East studies. Three years later, Lewis earned his Ph.D, also from SOAS, in Islamic history. Lewis subsequently returned to SOAS to become an assistant lecturer in Islamic history. He wrote several books about Islam and the Middle East including *Notes on a Century: Reflections of a Middle East Historian; The End of Modern History in the Middle East*; and *The Crisis of Islam: Holy War and Unholy Terror*.

13. Dr Christopher Allen is a Research Fellow at the Institute of Applied Social Studies, School of Social Policy at the University of Birmingham. With a book recently published entitled *Islamophobia* (Ashgate, 2010), Allen has published on that topic and other key issues facing Muslim communities in Austria, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain and Switzerland. He was also the co-author of the seminal EUMC report into Islamophobia in Europe after 9/11.

14. Rushdie affair: Salman Rushdie was a British novelist of Indian. His novel *the satanic verses* (1988) was condemned by many Muslims because it was treated religion in disrespectful way, he mixed fantasy with reality to deal with sacred thing. He also insulted the Prophet Mohammed through dealing with his personal life. The novel was banned in many Islamic countries and the Iranian leader, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini issued Fatwa that called for killing Rushdie. Khomeini stated that it is the right for every Muslim in the world to kill Rushdie.


Cited from, Zahera Harb and Ehab Bessaiso. *British Arab Muslim audiences*
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August 2006:1063-1076.
Chapter two

Muslim Diaspora in the post 9/11

“Whenever I think of Muslims, I think of terrorists”

Tom. Belfast

Introduction

Since the 9/11, the issue of the existence of Muslims in the West has become too important and Anti-Muslim sentiments have intensified. Thus, weeks after the 9/11, the political agenda and public attitude began to change, too much greater than before. These changes include the call for banning Quran, closing mosques, expelling Muslim citizens and stopping immigrants from the Muslim countries. The result was the growing of Islamophobia, the growth of prejudice, discrimination and hate crimes toward Muslims.

I. Muslim Immigrants in the West Before the 9/11:

• An Overview about Muslims in the West:

    The Islamic World is classify by many scholars into “six cultural zones”: the Arab world; sub-Saharan Africa; the Turkish zone, including Central Asia and even central Europe; the Persian Gulf; South Asia; and Southeast Asia. Muslim immigrants in the Diaspora produce a new cultural region of Islam. The responsible for creating this new zone are the Muslim immigrants; the second generation of the immigrants; and indigenous Muslims, such as African Americans, and White or Spanish Muslims. When these three groups of Muslim immigrants intermingle with each other and the members of the host countries, a new cultural zone of Islam can be appeared (Ahmed and Bukhari)
In the Second World War, the flow of immigrants to Europe and the U.S.A. has increased in a large amount. This increase has transformed gradually these nations (the U.S.A and Europe). Those immigrants included: Africans, Turks, Algerians, Palestinians, Chinese and Japanese. The most noticeable community in the West is the Muslim community. The majority of Muslims in the West originate from three regions of the world the largest group is the Arabs who consist 45% of European Muslims (Cesari 11). The increase of immigrants in the Western world was for two reasons; the first was the economic factor. i.e. Muslims came to the West as laborers to find suitable jobs and better lives. The second factor was the political. Muslims came as refugees fleeing from danger as war and persecution. So, Europe and the U.S.A, for immigrants, could improve their situation and give them peace and security. In the host countries, immigrants have played a major role not only in developing the economic side, but also the cultural side as making up multicultural society, and shaping relationships with other communities (Milton-Edward 75). Muslims presence in the West is too vast. According to the best estimates, Muslims constitute approximately 5% of the European Union 425 inhabitants (Cesari 10). They make up about 1 million in Italy, 3.2 million in Germany, 5 million in France, 1.8 million in the United kingdom, 5 million in the United States, 650000 in Canada and 300000 in Australia (Milton-Edward 75).

Living in the Diaspora became a significant problem and obstacle to the immigrants and their families. Though immigrants can help in the economic development of the host countries, their presence can also raise social troubles. Thus, in the last few decades, European nations restricted the influx of immigrants and enacted laws that restricted the number of immigrants and control their lives especially Muslim immigrants (Cesari 11).
Muslim immigrants in the Western world are always conceived as a problem and challenge to their culture, religion and security. In others words, the Islamic religion, culture and way of life are different from the Western ones and this makes Muslim immigrants alien to them or they are considered as “the enemy within” whose existence may corrupt their way of life (Milton-Edward 75). This incompatibility between the West and Islam caused the total refusal of Muslim immigrants in all Western countries and increased the tension and hostility against them. In addition, the matters of assimilation and integration persists a significant obstacle to immigrants since Muslims often maintain their cultural components which sometimes differ from the Western ones (Cesari 15). Nowadays, animosity toward Muslims grows to be the main feature of the Western societies. Indeed, introducing of the so-called “War on Terror” played a major role in excluding of Muslim immigrants, from the mainstream society and setting them apart from social and political life and because the European countries have a different religion, culture and identity, they perceived them as “others” or “aliens”. This belief in that case reinforces the direct association between Muslim immigrants and terrorist operations and people then are convinced that “Muslims even the ones who live here with us, as us, are really them” (Shryock 8-9).

Moreover, the identity issue persisted as a significant obstacle for both Muslims and Westerners. The latter believes that Muslims could not adopt Westerners’ values and norms so they cannot be good citizens and this is what Forza Nuova, Italian writer, believed when he states that “Italy is essentially catholic implying that Muslims cannot be good citizens or Italians” because they will protect their culture, religion and way of life (“Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal” 27).

In the past, the situation of Muslim immigrants was not clear. In other words, most Westerners ignored their existence but this position did not last because of
various events. The situation of Muslims have changed to become most terrible after serious of events mainly the Arab-Israel’ war that lead to the global oil crisis (1973), the Iranian revolution (1979), the Palestinian intifada (1987-1990), the Rushdie Affair (1987), Gulf War I (1990), Gulf War II, the first world trade center bombing (1993) … (Kaya 4). All the events and others worsened and hardened the presence of Muslims in Europe in specific and the West in general and increased fear from “the enemy within” among the Westerners. Additionally, these events shaped the way in which Muslims have been perceived by the Western society (Kaya 4). Hence, Islamophobia began to spread all over Europe and the U.S.A.

Muslims started to immigrate to the United Kingdom in the middle of the twenties century, most of them were from West Indies, India, Pakistan and other Commonwealth countries (Cordoba Foundation 17). The British Muslims and the presence of Islam in Britain were, until 1980, politically and socially unknowledgeable (Poole 17). At beginning of the 1980’s, the negative attitude toward British Muslims emerged because of many events (Abbas 31). The Iranian revolution had a great impact on Western Europe. The media coverage of the situation in Iran intensified the Western fears and hostility. The situation of Muslims, therefore, was brought under European focus and the Islamic revolution was seen as a direct risk to the West especially with the rise of “Anti-Westernism” attitude in the Muslim world (Poole 40). The result of these events hardened the position of British Muslims. Under these conditions, Muslims were brought sharply under restriction. Muslims’ presence, then, started to be observed and highlighted. According to Westerners, The Iranian revolution and Rushdie Affair present the resurgence of Islamic fundamentalism and this idea was asserted by Samuel Huntington in his book “Clash Of Civilization; Making The World Order”. Huntington stated that the Islamic resurgence is a great
attempt to challenge the Western countries (Poole 140). Similarly, Yasmin Ali states that:

At the beginning of the 1980’s communities originating in some of the countries of the old empire’ would have been expressed unselfconsciously as ‘black communities’… it was a usage predicated on the politics of anti-racism. As such ‘black’ became ‘hegemonic’ over other ethnic/racial identities in the late seventies and eighties. (Allen 7)

Yasmin Ali insists that Muslims were not noticeable in Britain and the name of Islam meant nothing to the British society but in the seventies and eighties, the Anti-Muslim sentiments emerged and spread among citizens and Muslims started to define themselves- “not as British citizens”- but according to origin (Allen 8). The result was that after the Iranian revolution, the public attitude toward Islam and Muslims began to change into a negative direction in the Western world (Ruthven and Nanji 169). A Survey about racism and harassment was made in Glasgow in the late 1980’s and found that the majority of Asian immigrants suffered from discrimination, insult and violence (Miller and Hussain 99). Additionally, Salman Rushdie affairs of 1989 played a major role in changing the position of British Muslims. Such a situation spread all over Europe. France, for example, after publishing the book (the satanic verses), suggested the banning of a neqab in public places (Cesari 42). The call for the death of Salman Rushdie and the Muslim strikes and rebellions in the Western world were understood and defined as the growth of Islamic fundamentalism. In Britain, the reaction against the publication of the book was strong. On 14 January 1989, Muslims in Bradford protested and expressed their refusal of insulting Islam and the Prophet Mohammed and they even burnt copies of the book. The British public and the Western media received this event as a resurgence of fundamentalism. The
consequence of these events was that the issue of Muslim immigrants was brought under spotlight and restriction. Furthermore, the Rushdie affair was as another significant incident that caused the feelings of fear and hatred toward Islam (Cesari 41). Hence, the British Muslims were recognized after these events (Rushdie affairs and the Iranian revolution) as fundamentalist and extremist. Indeed, the position of the Muslim Diaspora became unstable.

Similarly, Muslim immigrants in France a strong experienced anti-Muslims and prejudice. In 1973, the Organization of the Arab Petroleum Exporting (OAPE) prohibited officially the export of Oil. In 1974, the European countries, as a reaction, stopped the wave of immigration especially foreign laborers because of the growing of unemployment and the economic crisis at that time (Kaya 4). The organization also banned the export of Algerian Oil which at that time was under the French control. This decision burnt the French society who linked the economic crisis to the Arabs (Kaya 4). Between 1971 and 1973, the violent attacks increased among the French public toward Arabs. In this case, the subject of immigrants grew to be a crucial problem in the public space and the matter of the oil crisis led to re-thinking about immigrants. Hence, the European states enacted new laws concerning the immigrant issue. In 1974, Belgium forbade officially immigration which was based on demands of work (Kaya 4).

In brief, the Iranian revolution, Rushdie Affair, the oil crisis and other events were the underlying causes of worsening the situation of the Muslim Diaspora. Thus, Islamophobia emerged and spread all over Europe.
II. The Situation of Muslim Immigrants Since the 9/11:

On the morning of September 11/2001, the American world trade center on Twin Tower was attacked by a terrorist organization called “Al Qaeda” which led to the death of more than 3000 innocents. The attack had a great impact on the world economically, socially and politically. The attacks did not just destroy American economic, political and military power but it also created and intensified the mistrusted towards Muslims. Consequently, discrimination and violence against Muslims grew spontaneously as a reaction to the events. Weeks after the attacks, the Western politics, concerning national and international policies, changed especially when it is related to Islam and Muslims. The “War on Terror”, internal security measures and immigration policy became interdependent particularly concerning Muslims. The European Monitoring Center and Xenophobia (EUMC) quickly realized that the reaction might be a negative attitude toward Islam and Muslims in the fifteen members’ states of European Union (Allen and Nielsen 6). The 9/11 attacks have strengthened the question of immigration (Cesari 45). That is say, it strengthened the tension between immigration laws and the civil rights of minorities especially the Muslim minority who were deprived from their rights after these events.

So, it becomes an evident that the distance between the European societies and the Muslim minority grew rapidly in the post 9/11. In the late of 2010, a conducted survey made by Detlef Pollack, sociologist from Münster (Germany), in five European countries: German, France, Netherlands, Denmark, and Portugal asserts that these five countries have a negative perspectives toward Islam especially the German society, in comparison with the other communities, have more anti-Muslim sentiments (Kaya 17).
1. Political and Social Reaction of the Western World Toward Muslim Residents:

Following the 9/11, the European states have captured more than twenty times the number of suspect terrorists as the USA do. The European states did not distinguish between the innocent and the guilty. They considered all Muslims as enemies (Cesari 24). Such perception indicates the spread of Islamophobia in the Western world.

In the Post 9/11, European Monitoring Center on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) made a study on 15 European states in order to analyze and show the increase of discrimination and the negative attitudes toward the Muslim minority. EUMC’s report came to the conclusion that the Muslim Diaspora was perceived as a menace. As a result, Muslims became a target of aggression, discrimination and all intolerable acts. Here is a sample of the study on certain countries (Allen and Nielsen 15-29):

A. Belgium

After 9/11 attacks, although immigrant Muslims did not suffer from physical harassment, they were under verbal insults. The EUMC network of National Focal Points (NFPs) reported that in Belgium, in the aftermath of 9/11, the public attitude toward Muslims changed. Muslim pupils were attacked in schools and public places. They were also insulted by their teachers and their classmates particularly Muslim females who wear hijab. The report states that the intolerable acts targeted even Asylum seekers. Muslims received insults through phones and internet, abuse and insults in their workplaces as well as the public places. That is to say, though the lack of physical or direct violence against Muslims, the increase of oral abuse and insults
was remarkable. This means that Islamophobia became clear in the European public sphere.

B. Denmark

According to EUMC’ report, in Denmark, Muslims suffered from both physical and verbal attacks. The attacks on Mosques and religious places which belong to Muslims were also noted. In fact, the Muslim minority was not only the target community but also other ethnic groups experienced the same discriminatory acts. In Denmark, the issue of immigrants was debated before the 9/11 and the Dutch people refused the existence of foreigners in their country. So, the events of the 9/11 brought the animosity toward foreigners and Muslims as well. It also strengthens the anti-Muslim prejudice.

C. Finland

Though the report states that there were few changes in Finland’s attitude toward Muslims, there was a remarkable increase of violent attacks and verbal insults towards them in workplaces and streets. Women were almost the main target of insult because of their dresses. In general, the report states that Finland’s official action and reaction were approximately positive. The reaction of the Finnish Church was positive since it called for tolerating with Muslims and distinguishing between terrorists and Muslims. Besides this, several public institutions including universities and organizations prepared discussion groups in order to clarify the meaning of Islam in the public mind.

D. France

The EUMC’ report did not record any physical or verbal attacks but it pointed out some signs of change in attitude toward Muslims. The political framework concerning
anti-terrorism policy did not change but some laws were enacted. In November 15th 2001, the law on Everyday Security was enacted. This law gave the police more responsibilities and powers relating to public security: it gave them the right to stop and search in cars and trucks and searching in buildings and houses at any time without prior information. The laws also targeted the immigration police. In 2003, France put new laws that expel immigrants who perpetrate crimes or their presence endangers public security (Prince Alwaleed Ben Talal 24). Moreover, in 2006, the French president Nicolas Sarkozy suggested putting conditions for accepting immigrants. These suggestions were accepted and the president’s call was supported by the legislature. In addition, the French prime minister hinted at putting some legal changes concerning the Muslim immigrants even these changes offend them. He also added that Muslim women should accept making identity cards without a headscarf as well as accept the medical care by male doctors (Prince Alwaleed Ben Talal 24).

E. Germany

The report record some intolerant acts and insults toward Muslims and indicated the change of public attitude toward Muslim residents. The most targets of these insults were Muslim women and children. Germany passed new laws as a reaction to the terrorist attacks of the 9/11. These laws are related to individual security, immigrant policies and religious freedom.

F. Netherlands

The reaction of 9/11 was too harsh in Netherland. The EUMC reported that the prejudice and violent discrimination toward Muslims increased rapidly. The EUMC reported a number of violent incidents against Muslims and Arab immigrants. Muslim women, mosques, schools and Islamic institutions were targets of hostile attacks. The
Dutch people believed that the existence of Muslims within their country posed a real danger to them. So, they wished to expel Muslims and stop immigration from Muslims countries. Accordingly, these hostile reactions were sign of intensifying Islamophobia in Dutch society.

Allen and Nielsen conclude that, according to EUCM’s report, the Muslim residents suffered from several kinds of harassments and discrimination (Van Driel 64). Though there were a few physical attacks, Muslims were the target of many abuses and insults as being attacked in mosques and Islamic institutions. That is to say, in the post 9/11 Islamophobia has intensified to a great extent to become clear and noticeable through the increase of harassment and discrimination against the Muslim community.

G. The United Kingdom

Some violent acts as a reaction to September 11 were reported by media in the UK. Violent assaults, verbal abuse and hate crimes on Muslims were observed. Muslim women were the main target of these violent assaults (Allen and Nielsen 29). Mosques and places of worship created feelings of fear, anxiety and hostility among the European and British citizens and they also became the places of cultural and political conflicts. In April 2008, a member of the General Synod of the Church of England and former nurse and magistrate, Alison Ruoff, appealed for banning the building of mosques (Ansari and Hafes 7).

According to westerners, the attack on the World Trade Center is the proof that Muslims and terrorists are interconnected and the concept that Islam is counter to Christianity increased the Anti-Muslims sentiment. Thus, British far-right groups worked for dehumanizing Muslims and justifying the intolerant violent acts against them (Abbas 32).
After 9/11/2001 - between October and December-, a study was made on British Muslims to examine their experiences of British Muslims. The study focused on Muslims living in two towns; Leicester and Stoke-On-Trent (Van Driel 167).

Table 1: The Rise of Intolerant Acts and Discrimination in Britain

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of experience</th>
<th>Percentage of sample reporting post 9/11 increasing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hearing offensive or insensitive remarks.</td>
<td>66,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observing negative or insulting stereotypes in media.</td>
<td>63,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hearing about discrimination or prejudice toward others.</td>
<td>61,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observing exclusory or negative political practices.</td>
<td>56,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racial/religious tension or conflicts in community.</td>
<td>55,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observing exclusory or negative practices at work or school.</td>
<td>48,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being expected to conform to racial or religious stereotype.</td>
<td>47,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Witnessing discrimination or prejudice toward others</td>
<td>47,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observing exclusory problems regarding health, employment etc.</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hateful or mean-spirited behavior.</td>
<td>36,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict with person of different religion/race/ethnicity.</td>
<td>36,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hostile atmosphere due to racial/religious difference.</td>
<td>28,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others inferring paranoia over religious</td>
<td>24,7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The table shows that verbal abuse and unfair treatments toward Muslims grew in the post 9/11 among the British people. This indicates that Islamophobia which takes the form of offensive remarks and assault became a reality in the British environment.

Likewise, Miller and Hussain explain that in Britain and Scotland, Islamophobia is caused by many factors: feeling that Muslims: “take jobs, housing and health care from other people; could never be really committed to Britain/Scotland; are more loyal to other Muslims around the world than they are to his country; that England/Scotland would begin to lose their identity if more Muslims come; and that they would feel unhappy if a close relative married or formed a long-term relationship with a Muslim” (55).

The study also gives some examples where Muslim students experience racial discrimination after the 9/11. One Muslim student said that:

…In school, where nobody ever inquired on my racial background, students began to express curiosity on my race/religion. I was asked many times after 11 September if I was born in Afghanistan or had any links with the Taliban or Osama Bin Laden! I strongly believe that Muslims are being put under tension for irrelevant reasons. (Van Driel 174)

Another student adds that:
Since the attacks on the World Trade Center have taken place I have noticed that Muslims have been treated badly. I have witnessed events at school such as fights where the white students have always started and caused problems first. (Van Driel 174)

These two examples reveal that the British citizens, who before ignore Muslims’ racial background, changed totally their attitudes and treatments toward Muslim after the 9/11 and becomes more visible then before.

In addition to that, some Western educational programs went to insult and disrespect the Islamic values. So after 9/11, Muslim families worried about their children because they would not be taught in a suitable atmosphere. Hermans has made a research amongst Moroccan families about modern western educational programs and institutions in schools in Netherland and Belgium. Through his research, Hermans stated that:

Many Moroccan parents said that schools and teachers did not endorse those aspects of education that they considered important, such as respects, discipline and morality. According to them, although children may acquire knowledge and skills at school, they do not receive a moral education. Schools gave children too much freedom, did not value religion and did not sufficiently recognize the authority of parents. Moreover, children were encouraged to have their own opinions and to question everything too much, even the certainties they were taught at home. (Van Driel 174)

Hermans also adds that some Muslim families complained of the schools methods because Muslim students were not respect as Muslims. It means that some method does not go appropriately with their religious values and traditions (for example giving
sexual lectures to Muslim students in schools). In addition, some schools banned girls from wearing the Islamic dress and celebrating their religious festivals (Van Driel 9).

Furthermore, a study made by Asifa Hussain and William Miller, using questionnaire data, meetings and interviews, proclaims that the event of the 9/11 brought the end of multiculturalism, in Scotland and Britain, and led to the growth of Islamophobia. Muslim minorities were criminalized and they were marginalized. A lot of Muslims were randomly jailed without trial (3 per cent in prison). In Britain, some strategies were put to limit multiculturalism by the government, such as encouraging faith schools. Additionally, the rise of immigrants and asylum seekers in England and Scotland led to the increase of Islamophobia in both countries (66).

In the UK, the street violence and unfair treatments became so clear. In 2010, Robert Lambert and Jonathan Githens-Mazer made an interview with Muslim women in the UK about their experiences (19). One woman said that while she returned to home with her daughter on a public bus, she was beat by a man in front of her daughter. The woman said that the reason behind hitting her was wearing the niqab. She added that the people who were in the bus did not help her but they were satisfied by the man’s work (Lambert and Githens-Mazer 19). Likewise, other Muslim mother experienced unfair treatment in Barking. She said:

In barking market … as I was pushing…as I was browsing the stores with my baby in the pram, there was a white tall man who was running past me and swearing: Get out of my way! Get that pram out my way!’ In a threatening, hostile manner. That was not very pleasant. That was really quit unpleasant. (Lambert and Githens-Mazer 122)

In this quotes, Muslim women stated clearly about the unfair acts against them in the public places. They declared that they were insulted by others without a clear
motive. In this context, it can be understood that British treatments toward Muslims, through these incidents, is a clear evident of the growth of Islamophobia in the British society.

2. Economic Situation

In the Western countries, the Muslim community suffered from poor economic conditions which led them to be marginalized by other groups. What should be known is that the poor social and economic conditions were the result not only of the religious factor but also because Muslims were not well-educated or mature enough to be good citizens (Cesari 17). For this reason, Muslims are discriminated. In 2003, EUMC conducted a report about the rate of unemployment in some European states. The report reached the following results; in Britain, more than 20 percent of the Asian minority (Pakistanis and Bangladeshis) have no jobs comparing with 6 percent of the whole people. In Germany, the rate of unemployed Muslims was 21 percent in opposite to the national rate which is only 8 percent. In Netherland, the rate of unemployment of non-Western immigrants was 9 percent, Western immigrants was 4 percent, whereas native-born Dutch was 3 percent (Cesari 19).

EUMC made another report concerning the conditions of accommodation under which Muslim immigrants live. According to the report, despite some enhancements in immigrant’s lives, Muslims still suffer from poor housing conditions, discrimination and intolerants acts. Immigrant minorities live in inferior crowded areas and they also were the target of segregation and violence in Germany (Cesari 20).

III. Muslim Americans in the United States

Nowadays, Muslims represent many races and ethnic cultural groups in the world. They speak many languages and adopted many different Islamic values and often
wish to present themselves in very different ways. After the World War II, the wave of Muslims started to immigrate to America. Most of them were well educated and economically sufficient. In addition, asylum seekers were brought to the United States from Africa, Asia, the Middle East and Eastern Europe. South Asians and Arabs consist of the majority of immigrant Muslims besides Iranians, Sub-Saharan Africans, East Asians, former members of the Soviet Union and many smaller communities (Cesari 29-30). Muslims usually live in Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Massachusetts, Iowa, Louisiana, New York, and Pennsylvania (Ruthven 168). According to Richard Crockatt, Muslim Americans were treated as other immigrant groups. Muslims are well educated and they have obtained good incomes comparing with Americans. Thus, they do well economically and socially (71).

In the last few decades, the negative stereotypes toward Muslims reshaped their image in the American public. The Iranian revolution, the attacks of 9/11 and other terrorists’ attacks on USA were the main cause for spread Islam Islamophobia in the American society.

a) American Political reaction toward Muslims:

In the post of the 9/11, the Muslim community in the United States became debatable. Many unfair acts and offensive treatments against them had enlarged. Many Muslims were imprisoned as a result of Anti-terror laws (Cesari 41-56). Arabs and Muslim Americans became the target of Anti-Muslim sentiment as a result of the Anti-terror policy and laws. One specialist observes that” Muslims have become America’s newest race, subjected to the same type of bigoted treatment that has been historically reserved for people of color such as Blacks, Latino, Asians, and Native Americans” (Cesari 56). Muslim Americans feel that the new laws and policies
unjustly target them (Cesari 180). That is to say, Muslims in USA believe that the war on terror is just a war on Muslims.

As a reaction to the 9/11, the U.S.A government interrogated almost 200,000 Arabs and Muslims, imprisoned and expelled thousands of Muslims and South Asians and closed many Muslim institutions and organizations. Because of governments’ policies and practices, the relationship between Muslims and Americans was defined as “binary opposites” (Alsultany 594). Furthermore, the government and media institutions depended on previous Orientalists’ beliefs that America is “democratic, modern and free” whereas the Muslims are “primitive, barbaric and oppressive” (Alsultany 594). This idea was understood in Bush speech when he said that the role of the United States, as a democratic nation, through invading Afghanistan and Iraq, is to prevent tyranny and spread freedom and democracy (Alsultany 594). His statement “they hate us for our freedom” and “you are either with us or you are with the terrorists” reflects the differences between American and Muslims (Alsultany 594). Additionally, Bush’s speech situated Christianity and Islam in opponent to each other. He also stated that the war against terrorism would be “a crusade against evil-doers” (Alsultany 594). Though Bush attempted to distinguish between Islam and terrorism, he stated that “the terrorists practice a fringe form of Islamic extremism . . . that perverts the peaceful teachings of Islam” and “the enemy of America is not our many Muslim friends” (Alsultany 594). Though this clear distinction between Islam and terrorism, the central discourse of the war on terror and the government’s actions changed confirmed the confrontation between Muslims and America and this appeared in the unfair treatment toward Muslims who were attacked, killed and their properties were destroyed.
In his first major speech to Congress after September 11, President Bush announced that “I want to speak tonight directly to Muslims throughout the world. We respect your faith. It’s practiced freely by many millions of Americans and by millions more in countries that America counts as friends. Its teachings are good and peaceful, and those who commit evil in the name of Allah blaspheme the name of Allah” (Crockatt 72). National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice stated clearly in a conference of Muslim Women Lawyers for Human Rights that “Islam is a great faith that inspires people to lead lives based on honesty, justice, and compassion, and reinforces the values of democracy and human rights” (Crockatt 72). These political reactions found disapproval by Members of the Christian right who portrayed Islam as “very evil and wicked, violent and not of the same God” (Crockatt 72).

The main consequence of the 9/11 was the issue of national identity in the United States against foreigners especially Muslims. The result of this was the emergence of various civil rights violations toward Muslims. New policies and laws were enacted by the United States government as anti-terrorism policy. The new laws granted the federal government new authority to limit individual freedoms in order to fight terror. Political and broadcaster figures were also involved in declaring their Anti-Muslim sentiment against Muslims (Crockatt 72).

In September 12, 2001, Ann Coulter, one famous conservative member, stated that:

We should invade their countries, kill their leaders, and convert them to Christianity. We weren’t punctilious about locating and punishing only Hitler and his top officers. We carpet-bombed German cities; we killed civilians. That’s war. And this is war. (Ali 1043)
Attorney General John Ashcroft, who was known for his negative opinion about Islam, stated clearly that “Islam is a religion in which God requires you to send your son to die for him. Christianity is a faith in which God sends his son to die for you” (Ali 1043). In the U.S. Conference of Mayors, he added that “Let the terrorists among us be warned: if you overstay your visa—even by one day—we will arrest you”. If you violate a local law, you will be put in jail and kept in custody as long as possible … (Ali 1044). Another politician went further, Senator Saxby Chambliss, a Republican Senator from Georgia, by stating that “homeland security would be improved by turning the sheriff loose to arrest every Muslim that comes across the state” (Ali 1044).

For the above it can be understood that the political side were so clear about its position and views concerning Islam through clear distinction between Islam and terrorism but what come after affirm the opposite i.e. the majority of politicians and prominent figures declared explicitly that Islam and Muslims were not the responsible for the attacks but The government policies and laws did not respect this claim since the most of these laws were, in a way or another, targeted Muslims and the Patriot Act and Material Witness Statute are the best example.

Further, The Bush Administration used the Material Witness Statute “as a tool in anti-terror investigations” to control Muslims (Heymann 8). The Human Rights Watch report and the ACLU states that under the Material Witness Statute, Muslims were arrested without being accused. Most of them were from the Middle Eastern and South Asian. Material Witness Statute was seen as a tool “to ensure preventive detention of Muslim terrorism suspects” (Heymann 8). Such a thing happens because this Material Witness Statute does not identify a time period for the imprisonment; it is especially
open to potential abuse as Heymann believes. Some detainees were kept for months or years without charge against them. (Heymann 9)

Although Bush administration insisted that the war against terrorism is not a war against Islam and some efforts were made to reduce popular anxiety and “Scepticism about the administration’s attitude to Muslims remains” and the Patriot act (25 October 2001) reveals the opposite (Crockett 24). It gave the government more powers to keep suspected terrorists under its protection for a long time especially Muslims who were put under extraordinary examination (Crockett 84). However, the U.S.A. Patriot Act states “Arab Americans, Muslim Americans, and Americans from South Asia play a vital role in our Nation and are entitled to nothing less than the full rights of every American” (Sec. 102) (Friedman 99).

Some analysts believe that the patriot act violated the rights of immigrants. The Fifth Amendment asserts that the government must respect person’s right. This right is not respected because immigrants are expelled or imprisoned each time without evidence. Under the Patriot Act, the Federal agents are permitted to arrest people without clear evidence against them. In addition, the immigrant who was arrested or called in trial, would be denied to have a lawyer (Friedman 98-102). This means that the American Attorney General and Department of Justice have given the right to capture anyone without giving any justification.

b) Social reaction toward Muslims in the U.S.A

Within two months following the 9/11, the violence and discrimination against Muslims increased in a large scale. In the eyes of many Americans, the events of the 9/11 affirmed that all Muslims have a tie with terrorists’ activity or are engaged in it (Ali 1048). Though Rudy Guliani, George W. Bush and other politicians claimed that Americans should not engage in ethnic violence and to avoid any kind of it. Muslim
Americans ‘civil rights were violated. In 2004, the Council on American-Islamic Relation’s report (CAIR) insists that the number of civil rights abuse increased to 1,522 reports of abuse (Cesari 57). According to CAIR’s report, after the 9/11, government policies have negatively affected 60,000 American Muslims (58). In 2004, another report was made by Cornell University which found that 44 percent of American citizens wished putting some restrictions on Muslim Americans’ civil liberties (Cesari 58).

Furthermore, The Federal Bureau of Investigation declared that the Arabs and Muslims living in the United States were the target of many hate crimes. This latter increased by 1,700 per cent during the 9/11 (Van Driel 145). In 2002, New York City Commission on Human Rights made a survey concerning discrimination against Muslims, Arabs, and South Asians in New York City since 9/11. The survey reveals that there was a noticeable increase of harassment and violence toward Muslims, Arabs, and South Asians days after the attacks (Van Driel 145).

In employment, the survey reported 26% incidents of employment discrimination. Some Muslims reported that they were abused in the place where they work by their managers and co-workers. They added that they were called “Bin Laden”, “terrorist”, or “Taliban”. Although Americans have accepted Muslim women who wear hijab, there were sometimes some discriminatory cases as in airport surveillance, in the workplace, in schools and other public places (Cesari 38). Muslim women were targeted by some insults. They said that administrators prevented them from wearing the Islamic dress or “Hijab”. Finding a job was also another obstacle for Muslim Americans. Most of them said that when the managers discover that they are Muslims, they would quickly refuse to be employed. One woman participant stated that when
she went to demand a job, at first she was treated in a good way. But when she was heard speaking Arabic, she was quickly kicked out:

“The lady at the temp agency was cordial at first. When she heard my accent and found out I spoke Arabic, she said there were no positions” (New York City Commission on Human Rights 11).

The survey also revealed that discrimination in public accommodations contained 25% of the reported incidents. Many Muslim participants declared that they suffer from discrimination in schools and public places such as restaurants and medical assets. One girl said that” I had my scarf on. I was going to my classroom, a black girl pulls it down, and a boy was with her, so the boy saw my hair. As a reaction, the girl complained to the administration about this behavior but no one heard her (New York City Commission on Human Rights 11).

Another case of discrimination was told by an Arab man who said that when he went to an Italian restaurant, he was asked to leave because he has an Arab background (New York City Commission on Human Rights 11). These poor conditions, under which Muslims live, became so difficult to handle; this situation led some of them to hide their origin. A Tunisian Muslim man states that his neighbors did not know that he is an Arab and he did not want them to know his origin (12).

The survey results confirmed that through Muslim voices, the discrimination and unfair treatments against Muslims had intensified since the 9/11. Through the report’s analysis, More than two-thirds of the Muslims respondents received harassment and prejudice. These discriminations were in employment, public accommodations and public places.
It is clear from above that these kinds of discrimination against Muslims in New York City, reveals the great extent to which Islamophobia was intensifying after the 9/11.

In 2004, Georgetown University and Zogby International conducted a survey about Muslim Americans’ experience. According the survey, 26 % of American Muslims have experienced racial or ethnic attacks whereas 70 % claimed the opposite i.e. they said that they did not face any kind of racial discrimination. More, 40 % of American Muslim affirmed that they suffered from racial discriminations since the attacks of the 9/11 in work, schools and public places (Heymann 4).

Another survey conducted by Cornell University indicated that American citizens accepted the intolerance toward Muslims. It discovered that 22% of American residents stated clearly that Muslims should be treated according to their origin. In addition, 26% of American claimed that it is better to observe carefully mosques by putting laws and agencies (Heymann 4).

Another amazing incident, which took place in the U.S.A in the Airways flight and is interpreted as a direct discrimination against Muslims, happened in 2006 when six imams were asked to depart from the U.S.A because they prayed before entering the airplane (Heymann 17).

Accordingly, though the USA proud of being the country of freedom and the land of just, this incident stated the opposite. Those two were asked to deport because they only practices the faith. So from this can it com be understood that was in Gametal see Islam and its adherent as source of trouble and Muslims’ existence might threaten the national security. So, discrimination and aggressive acts became normal in the public and political sphere.
In his book Anti-Arab racism in the USA, Steven Salaita, an Assistant Professor of English at the University of Wisconsin and author of various books about racism in the United States, provides a real picture about racism in the United States by joining his personal experience. He stated that because of his Arabic origin (Palestinian origin), other treated them in a bad way. He said that his childhood was overwhelmed with racism, he said that “I grew up inundated with racism” (2). In school, his colleagues always insulted him and even his teachers engaged in these intolerant acts. He also added that when he complained about students’ insults, his teacher either ignored him or insulted him. One teacher said “don’t ever do that again, you damn foreigner”. Such offensive treatments made, as Salaita stated, the life of Arabs in the United States so difficult and stand them in battle with racism. To add, Steven claimed that racism against Arabs was appeared with the arrival of first Arab to USA and not as other believe that come after 9/11(3).

In recent times, protests against Islamic institutions as building mosques raised in all American states. In Murfreesboro, Tennessee, residents tried to stop building a mosque project through various methods. First, people claimed that the place where the mosque will be built is not appropriate since it would cause traffic blocking. After that, Americans who disagreed with building the mosque began to gather attempting to threaten Muslims and obliged them to withdraw from building this mosque and they even burnt the construction equipment. For the FBI investigation, this incident was a clear example of a hate crime toward Muslims in the United States (Ali 1055).
Conclusion

The situation of Muslims before the 9/11 was not clear and Muslims were not visible. But after the 9/11, the Muslims in the West has dramatically changed and the American Muslims' relation was put under spotlight. According to many reports and surveys, Muslims suffered from several discriminatory practices in most of the European states: Germany, France, Belgium, Denmark and United Kingdom. Likewise, in the United States, Muslims were the target of intolerant acts and aggressions in the workplaces, public accommodations and in all public places. In the aftermath of these events, America Muslims were deprived from their citizenship and identity because they were considered as terrorist or have link with terrorism activity.

Indeed, Islamophobia grew to great extent in Europe and the U.S.A. American government reaction towards the 9/11 played a great role in intensifying it as well as depriving American Muslims from their basic rights especially through the Patriot act. American reaction, in general, destroyed the ideals of a multicultural egalitarian society that cherishes equality as its basic tenet.
Endnotes

1. There were also another events; affaire des foulard (headscarf affair) in France 1989, Bosnian war1992, Second Palestinian Intifada 2000...See Kaya Ayhan. *Islamophobia as a form of governmentality: unbearable weightiness of the politics of fear*. 4-5.

2. On 14 February 1989, Khomeini declared in a broadcast Iranian radio that it is the duty for every Muslims to protest against the writer and all who engaged in this affair. He said: “I inform all Muslims in the world that the author of the book, The Satanic Verses, which is against Islam, the Prophet and the Qur’an, and all those who have published it knowingly are condemned to death. I call on courageous Muslims to execute them as soon as possible wherever they may be” (Kepel 139). Cited from Allen Chris. *Islamophobia*. 42


Chapter three

Ways for Lessening Islamophobia

“On my honor, I will try to serve God and my country and to help people at time all times”

Introduction

Following the 9/11, the illegal acts against Muslims increased in a large scale. Westerners then declared their total refusal of Muslims in their country. They interpreted their hatred and outrage into various unfair acts and discriminations. Thus, this makes the issue of Islamophobia too clear in describing the relationships between Muslims and Non-Muslims.

This Chapter examines Muslims’ reaction toward the attacks of the 9/11 and their exclusion from the host countries. It also provides the several attempts in the world by Non-Muslims and Muslims to decrease the criminal treatment, prejudice, insults … against Muslims and give a real picture about Islam and Muslims and therefore, stopping Islamophobia in the world.

I. Muslims’ Reactions in the West to the 9/11 attacks:

Today, Many Muslim immigrants feel they are “out-of-place or displaced” in the West (Cesari 74). This feeling was often linked to the unfair treatment of the others toward them especially in the post 9/11 (Cesari 74). The reaction of the Muslim Diasporas to the terrorist attacks of 9/11 has been mixed. Some Muslims have chosen to withdraw from social and cultural life keeping their away from the negative atmosphere. Others, the second and the third generation Muslims, have felt bitterness
about the ill-treatment of the West toward Muslim minority. They also conceived that their religion “as a crucial source of their identity and culture” (Cesari 45). Others were so optimistic, they have discovered the possibility of restoring friendly relationships between the West and Islam through giving reasonable arguments that affirm the core of Islamic faith (such as equality, peace).

Concerning the social and political exclusion, Muslims responded to it according to the welfare states policies. More precisely, Muslims who have not a work or are deprived from having a work, education and qualifications because of their religious background, raise the question of the workfare states. Thus, Muslims and their descanters have raised the questions of unemployment, poverty, exclusion, discrimination and prejudice to the host countries. In addition, this matter of belonging to the Muslim immigrants became ambiguous. Muslims, now wonder whether they considered as citizens or not (Cesari 49).

The most public survey which is reported in the West conclude that the West do not perceive “Islam itself as the basic stumbling block” (Cesari 49). It means that westerners know the reality of Islam they do not put the blame on the religion itself but they blame politicians and extremists who try to misrepresent this religion. So, most of Non-Muslims believe that improving the relationship between Westerners and Muslims could be restored.

- American Muslims response

In the United States, The 9/11 attacks had a negative impact on both Americans and Muslim Americans. This feeling of mistrust among them was inflamed by the new policies that were enacted and which were regarded as direct discrimination toward Muslims and Islam (Cesari75). Social stigmatization and exclusion also helped in increasing the feeling of being isolated for the Muslim
community. Because of this feeling of isolation and rejection by the American society, Muslims lives in West become so difficult and Anti-Muslim sentiments worsened their relation with others.

With the increase of hostility and violent acts toward American Muslims after the 9/11, the Muslims community called for a reaffirmation of the Islamic ideals of peace and justice as well as showing strongly their total disapproval to violence and terrorism. In this case, Muslims are likely to fight against terrorism (Cesari 70). So many Muslim experts helped to work with the law enforcement and tried to prevent attacks. Among them, Sayed al-Hassan al-Qazwini, Imam of the Islamic Center of America in Dearborn, Michigan, who operated as a facilitator between government and military officials and the Iraqi Shi’i community in the Detroit metropolitan region (Cesari 70). Thus, Georgetown/Zogby made a poll in 2001, the poll concluded that 84% of America Muslims are willing to put laws to fight terrorism (Cesari 70).

Moreover, The U.S.A anti-terrorism policy obliged Muslims to come together and help to build and protect a unifying identity among different Muslim communities (Cesari 56). This policy and others helped to assist the American Muslims of different backgrounds. The diversity of backgrounds of American Muslims made them uncertain to build a single homogenous unit of American Muslims, however, Second- and third-generation immigrants and native-born Muslims made their effort to a link their faith with American culture and values. The dilemma of diversity within the Muslim community made their lives more complicated as F. Halim argues that, “The problem of how to live as Muslim in America is just as complicated as that of how to reconcile the diversities among Muslims” (qtd. in Cesari 57).¹

In this sense, Many Muslims in the United States disliked the manner in which others deal with Islam and Muslims. So, they took in the responsibility to show the
reality of the Islamic faith and eliminate the misrepresentation ideas such as radicalism, extremism and fanatic that they also try to redefine the meaning of being Muslims (Cesari 58). Thus, since the attacks of the 9/11, American Muslims became more explicit in practicing their faith through Islamic dresses, speeches and in any public engagement (Cesari 32). But the obstacle that Muslims faced is the choice that they faced .i.e. “Muslims must either be moderate (as encouraged by the government) or extremist” (Cesari 33).i.e. if you are not an American you are totally a terrorist.

There are many attempts to improve the relationship between Americans and Muslims from both sides Muslims’ community and the American one. After the attacks took place in the United States; American Muslims’ leaders and the Islamic organizations went quickly to express their disapproval on the terrorist attacks and proclaimed their sympathy with the American society. One of these organizations, The Council on the American-Islamic affairs distributed many reports on the internet which come from American Muslims and Muslim organizations around the world (Crockatt 72). Arsalan Tariq Iftikhar, Midwest Communications Director of the Council on American, claims that though the events of the 9/1 generated distrust toward Muslims, this does not mean that Muslims are not loyal to their country but they are as American as the other ethnic groups with the same sense of belonging insists their loyalty and a sense of belonging (Crockatt 73). He said that:

We are no less American than we were on September 10. I was born in the United States. I took my first steps on this soil … I and my 7 million Muslim brothers and sisters are contributing members of American society. Two members of President Bush’s cabinet are of Arab descent … Islam is the fastest growing religion in America. We are doctors,
lawyers, engineers, mechanics, teachers, and store owners. We are your
neighbours. (qtd. in Crockatt 73)

In these words, Tariq Iftikhar wants to assert that he is an American before and
after the September 11 and no one should doubt it. He also adds that the Muslim
minority is an integral part in the American society. He gives the example of two
Arabs who work in the Bush’s cabinet. In addition to that, famous Muslim leaders
declared their disapproval as well as refusal and condemnation the terrorist attacks
against USA. Hezbollah’ leader Sheik Muhammad Hussain Fadlallah, for example,
condemned the terrorist attacks on the United States (Crockatt 74). On this case,
Muslims, inside or outside America, are eager to work against Anti-terror acts and
keep away from terrorist activities.

The members of Santa Clara Muslim Girl Scout Troop have made a positive step
to enhance relation with Americans (Alsultany 603). They promised that it will serve
their community, their country and God. They also stressed the fact that there are
common Islamic American values such as charity and tolerance (Alsultany 603).

The Ad Council, nonprofit organizations which produce public service
announcements (PSAs),\(^2\) produced a wide publicity campaigns that were appeared on
mainstream network television. One of this brilliant announcement is “I am an
American” (Alsultany 603). This latter appeared as a reaction to the hate crimes and
unfair treatments toward Muslims which were broadcasted on TV after the 9/11. It
also called Americans to be tolerant with Muslims and persuade them to unite
themselves and accept the other minorities (Alsultany 593).

Muslim Women were also engaged in showing their opinion toward the events.
They insisted that they should be indentified as well as treated as Muslim Americans
which means that they are American citizens. One American Muslim woman states that:

My name is Aminah Kapadia … I’m studying for a Master’s degree in education ... Like many Americans, my husband and I face the challenges of raising our children in an unpredictable world … We believe the security of our nation is dependent upon the strength of our families, and Islam teaches us the values that provide that strength.

We’re American Muslims. (qtd. in Alsultany 506)

So from the woman’s point view, it seems that American Muslims are willing to save the national security. Through this announcement, the woman also presented the real picture of Muslim woman and removed to the idea of the oppressed women in the Western thinking. Additionally, woman stated that Islam is a religion of the peace and teach us how to live peacefully. In fact, Islam emphasizes on the national security and not as others believe that it poses a threat to it. Therefore, “the interconnection between Islam and security is emphasized by American Muslims” (Alsultany 605). Moreover, the woman’s announcement that she was born in the United States, is a direct pronounce that she has an American identity. In this way, she might able to face future obstacles.

Furthermore, CAIR’s advertisements seek to correct some Western stereotypes that were in the minds of many Americans. For instance, the idea that wearing the veil is obliged to women by their families. Another announcement is declared by Muslim woman who emphasized on the coexistence of the two identities; being an American as well as a Muslim. This woman declared that she proud of being an American with Islamic identity through wearing the headscarf. She said that:
My name is Manal Omar ... I’m active in politics, and I belong to several civic organizations … I am an American Muslim woman and I wear hijab. I choose to wear hijab—a headscarf and modest attire—because the practice is integral to my religious beliefs, and because I am proud to be a Muslim woman … To me, hijab is a symbol of my confidence and self-respect. “I’m an American Muslim. (qtd. in Alsultany 606)

Through the woman’s word that is educated, expert and an active woman engaged in the political life and her declaration that she wears hijab because she want that and no one obliged her to do that is the proof of the reality of the Islamic faith and it is also an attempt to remove the idea of oppressed women in the American perspective.

It is right then that American Muslims condemned the terrorist attacks on the United States because America provided them with better conditions for suitable lives (it gives freedom of speech and freedom to practice their religious). Additionally, Muslims recognize that their safety is linked to the America safety and what might harm this society, would be harmful for them as well (Alsultany 606).

Accordingly, Muslim immigrants in the West and American Muslims in particular have tried to exhibit their ability and willingness to integrate in the West in order to have an opportunity to become real citizens and American citizens for Muslims. CAIR played a major role in improving the image of Islam as well of especially Muslim Americans in the minds of Americans and therefore prevent further discriminations, harassments and unfair acts toward Muslims.
I. Ways for Lessening Islamophobia and Maintaining Intercultural Dialogue between the West and Islam

Islamophobia is then a serious problem that needs to be challenged and resolved. Ibrahim Kalin suggests three approaches to confront it (Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal 52). The first step is to understand the real meaning of the term Islamophobia. In other words, we have to distinguish between Islamophobia and discrimination. We should also answer some questions for a better understanding to this phenomenon and the numerous features of discrimination against Muslims for examples: what comprises Islamophobia, how we recognize Islamophobia (Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal 53). In addition to that, Muslims and Non-Muslims alike should be taught about the term itself in order to have one clear view or agreement about this term and how it should be used (Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal 58). The second step is examine the signs of Islamophobia. Kalin states that this depends on examining and reported programs to understand clearly the level and the nature of discrimination toward Muslims. The last step is drawing a method to eliminate this phenomenon (Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal 58).

A good number of scholars, organizations and association raised their attempts to eliminate Islamophobia. Alen Delic and Idriz Karaman, two enlightening Imams, tried to remove the negative perception about Islam (Edvardsson 25). Delic suggests that people who embrace Islamic religion are different i.e. Islam has different sects. So, there is Sunni, Shi’et ... In this case, Islam is not, as others believe, the religion of extremism and fundamentalism. Delic states that women who wear the headscarf or pray do not do that because they were forced by their husbands or their father, but they have chosen by themselves without any pressure. From this view, he insists that each one has the right to embrace the religion that he wants and practices it in the way that
he likes it. Moreover, Karaman adds a new explanation about Islamophobia. He claims that there is a difference between criticizing Islam as a religion and stigmatizing its followers. So, it is not necessarily mean that he who criticizes Islam, is Islamophobic (Edvardsson 25).

More, many Imams state Muslim immigrants should present a good image about Islam. Delic again said that “All Muslim immigrants that come to Sweden should act as ambassadors for Islam; one should reflect a positive image of Islam. Meaning, one should represent a good image of Islam …” (Edvardsson 28).

Thus, Muslims have to present Islam as it is i.e.to be as good as they should be as Muslims. They also serve as ambassadors in order to remove the negative perceptions of Islam from the Westerners. For example, in Bosnia, Imams tried to give speeches and show the reality of Islam in Mosques. They also educated people about the Islamic values and norms (Edvardsson 25). Delic emphasized that Westerners should get rid of the misinterpretation of Islamic laws and take into consideration that Islam has good morals that are similar to the Western ones. He adds that “Crimes of Honour” and other religious misinterpretations, as the Westerners believe, are not related to Islamic morals. From this point, Islam and Muslims must be seen as good (Edvardsson 29). So in this way, Islamophobia could at least be lessened.

Further, Karaman proposes another strategy. He argues that Muslims should react in a positive way to the others’ discrimination because if Muslim responded in an aggressive way, others will be really Islamophobic (Edvardsson 30).³ So,

If Islamophobic actions occur, for instance, such as the pictures in the Danish newspaper, Jyllands-Posten…there must be boundaries. But the important thing is how we react because if we react in a wrong way we actually do something against ourselves instead. Muslims did more
against themselves with their reactions than the pictures did. (qtd. in Edvardsson 30)

The European Commission and European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) suggest an important solution to decrease Islamophobia. According to the EUMC, education and media are the best way to diminish Islamophobia. It means that media and educational institutions should work effectively to alarm people about Islamophobia (Edvardsson 31). Therefore, they may diminish the discrimination against Muslims in Europe. Furthermore, Non-Muslims must establish common values to declare the differences and the similarities and to show the solidarity to those who suffer from discrimination and Islamophobia.

In addition, John Wrench emphasizes the role of managing diversity in decreasing the social exclusion of Muslims from the mainstream societies. He said that through managing minorities, we can include minorities in the social sphere and give them better lives. For instance, it gives them opportunities in the labour market (Edvardsson 31). Likewise, the European Commission and EUMC’s reports show that European labor market policies must be changed to permit Muslims to assimilate in European labor market and take part in the economic life of the European Union (Edvardsson 31).

The European Commission and EUMC highlighted another strategy to reduce discrimination against Muslims in Europe. They suggested that European Union must take the responsibility and its possibilities to reduce unfair attacks toward Muslims. It must, for example, provide a legal protection to those who face discrimination because of their religion (Edvardsson 31).

Furthermore, The EUMC’s report highlighted the role of education in lessening Islamophobia. That is to say, through knowing the others religion, culture and way
life, this can improve peoples’ understanding of the others, especially about Islam and Muslims who are perceived by the Westerners in a negative way (Edvardsson 32). So, the negative stereotypes about Islam and Muslims must be removed from the Westerners’ mind through educational institutions (such as schools). Also, the reports stress the necessity of intercultural dialogue between the West and Islam and establishing institutions and organizations to achieve this. In addition, politicians and political parties and leaders should avoid discriminatory language but they should call for equality between minorities and the rights of those minorities.

Similarly, Runnymede Trust suggests another strategy to avoid Islamophobia. He suggested to legislate a law on racial violence that is based on religious background. Trust wants to say that laws and rules must be put to reduce the social discriminations against Muslims (Edvardsson 33). Penalties must be set to reduce violence toward Muslims. Trust also states that the police have a major role in decreasing Islamophobia. For example, if the police notice an unfair attack on Muslims, they must analyze it in order to understand if it happened on religious grounds or not. In this way, the police should pay attention to the place where the events take place (Edvardsson 34).

More, Jocelyne Cesari suggests some political changes to decrease the negative stereotypes toward Muslims. He states open multicultural dialogues should be introduced between all religions; this would help to understand more others’ religions. He also argues that schools and educational institutions should give the opportunities to non-Muslims to learn more about Islam (Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal 31).

The Council of American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) is among the largest Islamic groups and organizations that tried to improve the relationships between Americans and Muslims. Its main purpose is to enhance the picture of Islam and its supporters in
the United States by media relations, lobbying, education, and advocacy (Alsultany 599). CAIR put some strategies to challenge Islamophobia in the United States. The Council states that Islamophobia as “close minded prejudice against or hatred of Islam and Muslims” gives a harmful impact not only on Muslims but on the whole American society (Horowitz and Spencer 51). The Council’s report also calls Americans to be tolerant with Muslims and work together to stop Islamophobia and this does not work if only Americans hold the concept of pluralism (Elever 172). Furthermore, In June 2011, CAIR published a report on Islamophobia in America. It was called Same Hate, New Target: Islamophobia and its Impact in the United States (Horowitz and Spencer 52). CAIR sates clearly in this report that criticizing Islam does not necessarily mean Islamophobia (Horowitz and Spencer 53).

CAIR defines Islamophobia as “close-mindedness “(Horowitz and Spencer 53). On this basis, it called for being open-minded and get rid of this negative thinking and therefore, preventing Islamophobia from spreading in the public sphere. It also blamed many figures who are responsible for spreading Islamophobia such as Daniel Pipes who is nicknamed as the grandfather of Islamophobia in America”, Robert Spencer who is famous for intellectualized Islamophobia” and Steven Emerson who is known as an Anti-Muslim propaganda mouth-piece (Horowitz and Spencer 54).

Hence, CAIR’s mission is an attempt to improve the image of Islam and understanding the bright sides of it. It also encourages building a dialogue which helps to develop a mutual understanding between Muslims and Non-Muslims, and protecting civil liberties (Alsultany 599). One of CAIR’s strategies after the 9/11 is their “National and Worldwide Condemnation of Terrorism” and “Not in the Name of Islam” campaigns which attempted to clarify the meaning of terrorism and remove the idea of Muslims’ support for terrorism from the public mind (Alsultany 599).
Another CAIR’s strategy was an advertising campaign which was called “Islam in America” (Alsultany 599). This aimed at opposing Anti-Muslim sentiments by promoting the understanding of Islam in the United States. One of its brilliant and significant slogans was “I’m an American Muslim”. CAIR’s effort, through this slogan, is to create compatibility within the two societies: American and Muslims (Alsultany 599). In addition to that, it tried “to draw a parallel between the diversity of America and the diversity within Islam” (Alsultany 599). That is to say, the slogan emphasized the concept of diversity in which American Muslims identify themselves as being citizens as well as patriotic.

Even though, CAIR announced its condemnation against the terrorists’ acts and tried to introduce the right image of Islam, it was attacked by conservatives and it was charged as being the supporter of terrorism (Alsultany 599).

Jacques Derrida, well-known French-Algerian philosopher, delivered a significant speech at the University of California in 2003 (Elver 172-173). In his speech, he questions the religion matter and asserted that rethinking of religion would require facing incompatible differences between people. For him, difference between the groups should announce to live peacefully together (Elver 172-173). So, the three monotheistic religions must recognize the differences between them in order to live well together. Hence, as human beings, we must accept that each group has its own religion, culture and way of life which is unlike to us. From that point, we should accept the existence of the” other” and cooperate with them to live in harmony.

Additionally, Will Kymlicka (2010) fairly asserts “where states feel insecure in geo-political terms, fearful of neighboring enemies, they are unlikely to treat fairly their own minorities” (Kaya 40). It means that states may give power and resources to minorities who might have relationships with outside enemies. Relations between
minorities and states are seen from the angle of national security. More specifically, a state should bound “the democratic processes of political participation, negotiation and compromise to protect itself” (Kaya 40). Thus, immigrant minorities became the objective of violence, hate crimes, racial discrimination and many other unfair attacks.

Muslim Education, Network, Training, and Out Reach Service (MENTORS), is another Islamic organization which attempted to decrease Islamophobia via preparing a program known as Toward Understanding: Moving beyond Racism and Islamophobia (Bullock 127). This program aimed at challenging Islamophobia in Educational institutions (like primary and secondary schools) through using posters, videos and lessons in schools to give more illustration and analysis to students about Islamophobia and racism and its effects (Bullock 127). In addition, The MENTORS provides lectures about the Islamic history and the brilliant aspects of Islam in order to gain more comprehension and knowledge about Islamic history, culture, society and everything impressive related to it (Bullock 127). The MENTORS’s program attempted also to break down the previous Western negative stereotypes from the minds of students. Giving an example of hijab, the students have to know the meaning of the Islamic dress and removing the image of oppressed women from their minds. Through the MENTORS’s touch with students, the majority of student described the woman who wears hijab as “terrorist, foreigners, and someone “escaping from her husband” (Bullock 129). So, through the MENTORS’s effort, the debate and dialogue between the West and the Orient may open the space to students who will have a clear picture about who are Muslims and their contributions to humanity and the world in general. An attractive academic way would be more fruitful in order to decrease Islamophobia and Anti-Muslim sentiments among them.
Conclusion

Many Muslims in the West and especially American Muslims today feel that their lives have become markedly more difficult. They feel that their businesses, homes, and mosques have come under surveillance. Their reactions to the 9/11 have been mixed. While many Muslims took refuge in their faith as being more devout, others retreated into their private lives and isolated themselves from the society. Some Muslim Americans protested against the 9/11 and expressed their opinion towards this events as well as declaring their sympathy with the American nation. Other Muslims chose to keep silent because they feared from expressing their opinion concerning the events since America’ war on terror will target Islam and Muslims under the scope in marginalizing and excluding them from the mainstream society. Though the increase of discrimination and the hostile American attitude toward Muslims, this did not prevent them from standing with the American victims and show their disapproval of such evil acts. So, Muslims called for a reaffirmation of the Islamic ideals of peace and justice and showing strongly a total disapproval of violence and terrorism. In general, Muslims response to the attacks was positive.

Many scholars asserted that Islamophobia is a danger phenomenon that should be eliminated by enhancing the image of Islam in the West and removing the previous negative stereotypes from the Western perceptions. Therefore, raising dialogue between the Western and the Islamic worlds will help to know more about each other and showing the shortcomings of Islamophobia. So, Muslims and Non-Muslims alike should cooperate with each other to get rid from Islamophobia and its consequences that jeopardize the whole world.
Endnotes


2. The Ad Council, which produces public service announcements (PSAs), created an extensive advertising campaign that was aired on mainstream network television.


4. CAIR is the leader of the anti-Islamophobia campaign in the United States. CAIR presents itself as a mainstream civil rights organization for Muslims. CAIR was created in 1994 as a spinoff of a Hamas front group, the Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP).

5. Pluralism: theory that reality of many parts and no single explanation or view of reality can account for all respects of life. But Pluralism here means the acceptance of many groups in society or the acceptance of the other within society.

6. MENTORS: a community-based group comprised of Muslim parents, educators, students, and community members that promotes projects supporting equity in education.
The General Conclusion

The main aim from this thesis is to explore the real interpretations of Islamophobia, how it is applied and how it affects the lives of many Muslim immigrants. Indeed, though Islamophobia is a complex term because it is perceived in different ways depending on how each scholar defines it. Islamophobia is shaped in different ways but what is common in the illegal acts conducted against Muslims. In fact, fear from Islam and the hostility toward Muslims are traced back to early the age of Islam when it was perceived as a menace to Christianity and the West in general. During the early contacts between Islam and Christianity, Westerners perceived Muslims as invaders and Islam was seen as a threat to their religion. The feelings of hatred and hostility were strengthened by the conflicts especially the crusades. These feelings and attitudes passed to age of the Ottoman Empire and the age of colonization and became reality in the Western perspective.

Nowadays, today, the Western animosity grew more and more each day because of many motivations. Yet, media plays a great role in intensifying this phobia toward Muslims via the negative portrayal of Islam and Muslims and exaggerating in showing the events; therefore, strengthening Islamophobia among the audience.

Actually since the 9/11, Muslims became the main target of discriminations, abuses, insults and all several kinds of illegal attacks. Islamophobia is used, in fact, to justify and normalize these unfair acts toward Muslims who are perceived as terrorists and criminals. In addition, they are conceived as the main doers and the responsible for this evil works. This research has demonstrated how the Muslim Diaspora was harassed, socially, economically and politically through various methods after 9/11. So, Islamophobia is translated in these various racial stigmatizations in schools, universities, public accommodations and all public places. Those made Muslims’ lives
in the Diaspora too difficult and, if we cannot say, impossible. Consequently, these
discriminations prejudice, social exclusion and violence led many voices and
organizations to stand and fight against them. Some scholars put strategies and
methods to eliminate Islamophobia among people. They called for a more of
understanding Islam and removing the negative image of Islam. Some called for deep
comprehension about Islamophobia and its impact in order to prevent it and eliminate
it from Westerners ‘minds through establishing a universal dialogue between Islam
and other religions. Lastly, we, as Muslims, should work hand with hand to show to
“the other” the reality of our religion and the amazing things of our faith rather than
standing a part where our religion and Prophet are insulted.


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