

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Significance of the Issue and Background

Islamophobia is a new term used to refer to an irrational fear or prejudice towards Muslims and the religion of Islam. Some believe that prejudice against Muslims has increased since the *September 11, 2001 attacks and the US war against terror*. Many human rights organizations have documented this recent increase in Islamophobic events and hate crimes against Muslims and Islamic organizations have done the same. Secretary-General Kofi Annan told a December 7, 2004 UN conference on the emergence of Islamophobia that "(when) the world is compelled to coin a new term to take account of increasingly widespread bigotry that is a sad and troubling development." Such is the case with 'Islamophobia'.¹ American journalist Stephen Schwartz has defined Islamophobia as the condemnation of the entirety of Islam and its history as extremist, denying the existence of a moderate Muslim majority, regarding Islam as a problem for the world, treating conflicts involving Muslims as necessarily their own fault, insisting that Muslims make changes to their religion, and inciting war against Islam as a whole.²

Post "9/11" has changed our world dramatically and significantly affected relations between the West and the Muslim world, the lives of many Muslims in the West, and the state of Muslim-Christian relations. The continued threat and response to global terrorism in a post "9/11" world must walk the fine line between distinguishing between the faith of Islam and violence and terror in the name of Islam, between the majority of mainstream peaceful Muslims and the acts of a minority of

¹ Kofi Annan, Secretary-General, Addressing Headquarters Seminar on Confronting Islamophobia, Stresses Importance of Leadership, Two-Way Integration, Dialogue, "Confronting Islamophobia: Education for Tolerance and Understanding," *United Nations Press Release*, December 7, 2004.

² Kenan Malik, "Is Islamophobia a myth?", *Prospect Magazine*, issue 107-108 (February-March 2005).

Muslim extremists and terrorists. Blurring these distinctions risks the adoption of foreign and domestic policies that promote a clash rather than co-existence of cultures. Islamophobia is not simply a Muslim problem; it is 'our' problem.

B. Scope of study

Area of study: this research will be focus on the rising of Islamophobia after "9/11" incident and the declared US war on terror, how many actors get involved and how they respond to this issue.

Period of study: this research will study the rising of Islamophobia after the "9/11" incident up to the present.

C. Objective

1. To study and analyze the rising of Islamophobia after the "9/11" incident.
2. To analyze how the US war on terror relates to the rise of Islamophobia.
3. To analyze the impact of Islamophobia towards state and international arena and how those actors respond to the issue.

D. Research Question

1. What is Islamophobia?
2. What is the US war on terror?
3. Why does Islamophobia arise after the "9/11" incident?
4. How does the war on terror relate to the rising of Islamophobia
5. How does Islamophobia affect state actors and the international arena and how those actors response to the issue

E. Hypothesis

The September 11 incident and the American ‘War on Terrorism’ are raising Islamophobia issues among the Muslim and non-Muslim world.

F. Theoretical framework

‘Closed’ and ‘Open’ views of Islam: A framework³

Closed Islam frame work

- i. Islam is seen as a single monolithic bloc,
- ii. Islam is seen as separate and
 - (a) not having any aims or values in common with other cultures
 - (b) not affected by them
 - (c) not influencing them.
- iii. Islam is seen as inferior to the West – barbaric, irrational, primitive and sexist.
- iv. Islam is seen as violent, aggressive, threatening, and supportive of terrorism, engaged in ‘a clash of civilizations’.
- v. Islam is seen as a political ideology, used for political or military advantage Criticisms made by Islam of ‘the West’ rejected out of hand.
- vi. Hostility towards Islam is used to justify discriminatory practices .towards Muslims and exclusion of Muslims from mainstream society.
- vii. Anti-Muslim hostility is accepted as natural and ‘normal’.

Open Islam frame work

- i. Islam is seen as diverse and progressive, but its internal organization is static and unresponsive to new realities differences, debates and development.
- ii. Islam is seen as interdependent with other faiths and cultures having certain shared values and aims and is affected by them and is enriching them.

³ *Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All* (London: Runnymede Trust, 1997).

iii. Islam is seen as distinctively different, but not deficient, and. equally worthy of respect.

iv. Islam is seen as an actual or potential partner in joint cooperative enterprises and in the solution of shared problems.

v. Islam is seen as a genuine religious faith, practiced sincerely by its adherents. Criticisms of ‘the West’ and other cultures are considered and debated.

vi. Debates and disagreements with Islam do not diminish efforts to combat discrimination and exclusion.

vii. Critical views of Islam are themselves subjected to critique, lest they be inaccurate.

Clash of civilizations

Samuel Huntington’s thesis of the ‘clash of civilizations’⁴ came to global attention after the publication of an article on this theme in the summer of 1993 in *Foreign Affairs*, after the September 11 terrorist attacks on America and became a bestseller. The author seeks to offer ‘...an interpretation of the evolution of global politics after the Cold War’. It aspires to present a framework, a paradigm, for viewing global politics that will be meaningful to scholars and useful.

Huntington posits ‘seven or eight’ civilizations that make up the post-Cold War era, but he focuses on the implications of the interactions of the West with Islam and China. The cultural determinism of Huntington’s framework stems from the view that ‘efforts to shift society from one civilization to another are unsuccessful’. In a multi-civilization world, the West should give up ‘universalist pretensions’. Modernization, he contends, is distinct from ‘Westernization’ and is not producing a universal civilization in any meaningful Sense. Western universalism, if left unchecked, will find itself ‘...in conflict with other civilizations, most seriously Islam and China’ It is interesting that Islam, a religion is compared with China, a country.

⁴ Samuel Huntington, *The clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996).

He has two concerns: (a) how to preserve the survival of the West; and (b) how to avoid a global war of civilizations. This will entail a reaffirmation of Western identity by America as a 'core state' of the Western civilization and 'Westerners accepting their civilization as unique not universal and uniting to renew and preserve it against challenges from non-Western societies. It will also entail 'world leaders accepting and cooperating to maintain the multicivilizational character of global politics to shift non-Western societies to a Western civilization mode because it will trigger a 'Clash of civilizations'

His cultural determinism is reflected in his view that 'in the modern world, *religion is a central, the central, force that motivates and mobilizes people in the world*'⁵ It is perhaps not surprising, given such a view, that Huntington is driven, as if by default, to adopt a model of the collective behavior of Muslims that is historically determined, culturally ordained and doctrinally embedded. It yields attributes of a 'closed' view of Islam that abstracts from debates and diversity within the Islamic faith as well as the notion of shared values with the West. He draws attention to an 'Islamic Resurgence' that has swept the Muslim world over the last twenty years, but is generally pessimistic that it will yield a democratic dividend.

Transnational Media or Media Democracy⁶

This concept tries to explain how international relations are influenced by mass media. Traditionally realism in international relations thinking saw relations between states as being determined by the interests of national governments, but not by those of the mass media. Liberalists, globalists, postmodernists – they all believe that the media is an important vehicle for all kinds of Transnationalization processes, but they hesitate to consider the media core actors of international relations. They are

⁵ Samuel Huntington, "Two Wests," *New Perspectives Quarterly* 20, no. 4 (2003).

⁶ Prof. Dr. Kai Hafez, "European-Middle Eastern Relations in the Media Age," (lecture, St. Antony's College / Middle East Centre (MEC), 15 November, 2005).

quite right to do so, because, despite all the ongoing debates about globalization, about connectivity, the ‘media age’ or even ‘media democracies’ mostly governments – have been pushed aside by the media or that it is corporate transnational media that rules world politics. Some argued that the mass media can certainly influence international relations but that transnational media connectivity is still too underdeveloped to escape the logic of the nation state and to create global interdependence

After 11 September 2001 viewing the attacks of 11 September 2001 and their aftermath on television generated deep emotional responses in viewers. Many people experienced a sense of trauma; these events forced viewers to think about the unthinkable violent and painful death at the hands of terrorists and the consequences of enduring political conflict over issues of security and terrorism. In thinking through the causes, meanings and consequences of these events, viewers offered accounts of other potential ‘ground zeros’. They compared and contrasted coverage on a range of channels such as BBC, Al-Jazeera and CNN, and actively sought alternative news sources because of perceived bias in Western reporting.

For Example the reaction of the United States speaks volumes about the real nature of the new programme of indiscriminate targeting of the entire Muslim world. Former spokesman for the U.S. State Department James Rubin outlined the future vision on *BBC 2’s Newsnight*: ‘We lead. We go around the world and we make people be counted whether they’re on our side, or on the side of the terrorists.’ In other words, the U.S. solution is to categorize ‘people’ around the world into two types: those who support U.S. and Western terrorism around the world whether they know it or not and who are thus ‘on our side’ and those who do not, who will inevitably be labeled those ‘on the side of the terrorists’. And accordingly those who are not ‘on our side’ will be targeted indiscriminately. This view has been adopted uncritically by the media: ⁷

⁷ BBC 2, *Newsnight*, London, 11 September 2001.

American exceptionalism

Has been historically referred to as the perception that the United States differs qualitatively from other developed nations, because of its unique origins, national ideas, historical evolution, and distinctive political and religious institutions, The term was first used by Alexis de Tocqueville in 1831 American exceptionalism is the idea that the United States and the American people hold a special place in the world, by offering opportunity and hope for humanity, derived from a unique balance of public and private interests governed by constitutional ideals that are focused on personal and economic freedom .

The term has also come to describe the belief that the United States should not be bound by international law except where it serves American interests. This position is driven by an idea that the United States cannot violate international law, especially international human rights norms, because it has long defined those norms and led international efforts to advance human rights. In the wake of the events of September 11, 2001, this strand of American exceptionalism has come under stress as the international community has condemned US human rights practices relating to detainee treatment and other aspects of the War on Terror.

This view of American politics is currently changing rapidly under the pressure from national companies (particularly in entertainment) who are anxious to enforce tight and uniform controls on customers' behavior, and political neoconservatives who are anxious to establish dictatorial powers using the excuse of the war on terror.

On another hand Prof. Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu, observed quite correctly that 'any conflict in relations between Islam and the West is not a conflict between the religions and cultures but between the political motives and economic interests. The latter can change whereas the religions and cultures are eternal'

Human Rights

On December 10, 1948 the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights the full text of which appears in the following pages. Following this historic act the Assembly called upon all Member countries to publicize the text of the Declaration and to cause it to be disseminated, displayed, read and expounded principally in schools and other educational institutions, without distinction based on the political status of countries or territories.

“Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world, Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people, Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law, Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations, Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms, Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge”⁸

⁸ <http://www.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrcouncil/>.

General Assembly resolution 60/251 covered the issues concerning the mandate of the Human Rights Council. The Council had to take forward the mandate of the Commission, but with a new focus, leaving behind confrontation and sterility and seeking to work better with the cooperation of States to ensure implementation of the commitments entered into by Governments. Any resolution taken in future had to be consistent with the main objective of the promotion and protection of human right.

According to that resolution all human rights had to be succeeded - that meant civil and political rights, as well as economic, social and cultural rights, including the right to development.

OIC countries were deeply concerned about the intensification of Islamophobic ethnic and religious profiling of Muslims in recent years. Manifestations of that phenomenon were expanding and its implications growing. Hate speech targeting Muslims, physical attacks on them and their business', cultural centers, mosques and religious symbols were on the increase.

G. Research Methodology

The methodology for this research proposal focuses on Descriptive Analysis which involves the study of facts and relevant information about the rise of Islamophobia after the "9/11" incident. Interpretation with statistics will be used. The information in this research proposal is from primary and secondary sources received from the Documentary Research Method. This information comes from various sources including books, articles and official documents, e.g. documents from the OIC, the Associated of World Muslim website, and other websites and additionally, interviews with academic persons such as university instructors who have an expertise in the Middle East issue.

Literature review

1. Literature review of: Larsson, Göran: The impact of global conflicts on local contexts: Muslims in Sweden *after “9/11”* the rise of *Islamophobia*, or new possibilities? 1. Islam & Christian-Muslim Relations; January 2005, Vol. 16 Issue 1, pp. 29-42, 14p

Presents the most important data from a Swedish interview survey on the situation of Islamic communities in Sweden following “9/11” and also discusses how global conflicts affect local communities, even though the latter may be separated from the former in time and space.

The need for more empirical data that can be analyzed and used for comparisons with other minority groups in Europe and the United States in order to avoid either positive or negative generalizations about Muslims and Islam in the West.

What this research finding is, it is clear that “9/11” created a new situation for Muslims living in Sweden. On the one hand, the attack on the United States seems to have stimulated a climate of discussion that accepts more open forms of Islamophobia and stereotypical presentations of Islam and Muslims resembling the debates taking place both elsewhere in Europe and in the United States

The examples of Muslim and Jewish communities in Sweden discussed in the text indicate that local communities are severely affected by global developments. From this point of view, Robertson’s idea that the world is one place seems true. With the aid of modern information and communication technologies, such as the broadcasting media and the Internet, news is traveling faster and faster, regardless of time or space. As a result it is almost impossible to avoid the increase in media flows, through which we are mostly compelled to analyze and grasp the world.

A complex picture of the position of Islam and Muslims in Sweden emerges. Irrespective of their small numbers and geographical distance from the heartlands of Islam in both the Muslim majority world and the larger Muslim enclaves of Europe and the United States Muslims in Sweden are clearly being both affected by and linked to global developments.

2. Literature review of: Banaji, Shakuntala: 'Neutrality Comes From Inside Us': British-Asian and Indian Perspectives on Television News after 11 September. Journal of Ethnic & Migration Studies; August 2006, Vol. 32 Issue 6, pp. 1005-1026, 22p

This paper focuses on responses to the viewing of television news channels during and after 11 September 2001 by a sample of Indian viewers in Bombay and British-Asian viewers in South-East England. Viewers' perceptions of neutrality, bias, reliability and vested interests within news channels and organizations are discussed, alongside the manner in which issues of gender, age and religion impact on the meanings made from and imputed to the news coverage of the attacks on America and Afghanistan. As well as considering the ways in which multilingual and sometimes transnational families experience television news in the contemporary arena, the paper addresses questions about the political significance and social impact of news broadcasts within communities with pre-existing beliefs and world views. We argue that the ways in which many so called 'international' news channels covered issues of blame, evidence and retribution with regard to the Twin Tower and Pentagon attacks raised levels of tension, increased communal dislikes and reinforced pre-existing animosities against Muslim communities across the world.

From the research most viewers from all three communities were keen to stress that their initial responses to the visual images of the attacks in America on 11 September 2001 were ones of shock, surprise, compassion and/or dread. But some of the Hindu viewers interviewed in India also expressed the immediate fury they felt against the 'terrorists'. With hindsight, these Hindu viewers represent themselves as having 'known' that the perpetrators of the attack were 'Muslim'. The 'evidence' of news broadcasts on Star News, itself taken from Fox News and CNN, about the Koran, flight manuals, Arabic connections and Afghanistan, served to justify righteous anger against Muslims worldwide and support for the bombing of Afghanistan, which was on-going at the time of the interviews. Meanwhile Muslim viewers in India, cognizant of the political context of right-wing Hindu nationalism within which they exist, were understandably cautious about expressing their

criticisms of the news. However, they did express the fear that the types of broadcast they had been watching on CNN might instigate further violence against Muslims in India and the diasporas. They also questioned statements made on CNN, Star News and BBC World about American motives for bombing Afghanistan.

Most viewers over 10 years of age, from all communities, expressed the opinion that the television channels available to them are manipulated by dominant political interests, usually British or American ones. A strong sense was expressed that it is important and informative to watch channels broadcast by one's 'enemies' or by those political conglomerate one distrusts most. For almost every member of the sample, news viewing was a deeply and constantly political activity.

3. Literature review of Matar,Dina: *Diverse Diasporas, One Meta-Narrative: Palestinians in the UK Talking about 11 September 2001*. Journal of Ethnic & Migration Studies; August 2006, Vol. 32 Issue 6, pp.1027-1040, 14p

This paper considers the implications of 11 September 2001 and its mediation in UK and Arab/Muslim news media for the ways Palestinians in Britain, as an ethno-national minority and diasporas, think through questions of identity and difference, exclusion and inclusion, memory and belonging. Despite great differences in the socio-economic, religious/secular and educational backgrounds of informants, one over-arching discourse dominates their interpretation of the attacks, as well as understandings of their causes and consequences—the historical and ongoing conflict between Palestinians and Israelis. This constitutes a meta-narrative and ethical-political framework through which mediations of September 11 are interpreted. This meta-narrative also happens to be the dominant ethical-political framework of Arab news media, Al-Jazeera especially. This article explores how an apparent consensus was formed between the Arab/Muslim media and its Palestinian Diasporas audience about the root problem of conflicts between the Western and Arab/Muslim worlds. Tackling the root problem effectively through political action is also perceived to hold the key to a solution and to greater prospects of future security and peace.

To understand the respondents' engagement with coverage of September 11 and beyond, their particular and distinctive position in the host culture must be taken into account, their migration to Britain are varied: some came for economic reasons or to pursue an education, others are political refugees. Many said they felt comfortable in Britain; many strongly identified with Western values, particularly human rights and respect for international law. Most also said that, within the British context, their presence was relatively invisible. Palestinians do not live in clusters and are generally indistinguishable from other Arabs or people of Middle-Eastern descent. September 11, however, changed this relative invisibility. September 11 was a media event not only in the way it brought audiences together, but also in its disruptive effect on audiences. The Palestinians who were interviewed found themselves under scrutiny and were made to confront the religious and political dimensions of their identity. In some this produced closed notions of what it means to be Palestinian and to be Muslim, while there were also complex and contradictory feelings about those notions.

Transnational Arabic television's adoption of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as the consensus narrative of Arab society as a whole made it difficult for Palestinians to engage with news from the perspective of critical distance. This comes across strongly in respondents' over-identification with that one narrative, which incidentally was also adopted by Osama bin Laden and his al-Qa'ida associates. But despite the 'unifying' aspect of the common narrative, talk amongst and between families revealed the complex nature of media experiences, particularly when people talked about the choices they made about which programmes they watched and their reactions to them. Making sense of the news story is a complex social, familial and political activity, and understanding it requires taking into account the historical, social and political contexts surrounding such events.

4. Literature Review of: Elia, Nada: Islamophobia and the "Privileging" of Arab American Women. NWSA Journal; Fall 2006, Vol. 18 Issue 3, pp.155-161, 7p

In the present climate of powerful *Islamophobia*, various U.S. circles are nevertheless opening up to Muslim and Arab American women. This phenomenon must be understood as a contemporary manifestation of colonialist patriarchal racism, which views ‘other’ women as powerless victims of their own culture, while casting the men as threats that must be kept at bay. as a result, many Arab women are delaying addressing critical gender issues, as they deal with the imprisonment, deportation, and ‘disappearing’ of their male kin.

The September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the symbols of United States world hegemony catapulted Arab and Muslim Americans into the floodlights, their presence magnified by the unique brand of American paranoia and aggravated by legalized racial profiling. Disparage in the popular media, the government, and academia, Arab Americans are subjected to a multi-pronged campaign of hatred, generally laced with the accusation that, as Muslims, they are always-already hostile to “democracy,” which is proudly represented in the West by the United States, and in the Arab world by Israel, “the region’s only democracy.” More seriously, the racial profiling of “men with Middle Eastern features” is not only legal today; it is fully embraced by many Americans, as an “acceptable price to pay for security.” “Middle Eastern features” are conflated, in the eyes of these same Americans, with Muslim dress. In the immediate aftermath of “9/11”, thousands of Arab American men were rounded up, arrested, deported, or otherwise disappeared. Ironically, the women gradually became more visible, as mainstream American culture sought to “liberate” them from their oppressors.

5. Literature review of: Gillespie, Marie: This Transnational Television Audiences *after* September 11. Journal of Ethnic & Migration Studies; August 2006, Vol. 32 Issue 6, pp.903-921, 19p

This *article* introduces and sets out the theoretical and methodological framework of a collaborative research project into news-viewing in multilingual families and households in the UK on and *after* 11 September 2001 upon which the articles in this special issue are based. Viewing the attacks of 11 September 2001 and

their aftermath on television triggered deep emotional responses in viewers. Many people experienced a sense of suffering; these events forced viewers to think about the unthinkable—violent and painful death at the hands of terrorists—and the consequences of enduring political conflict over issues of security and terrorism. In thinking through the causes, meanings and consequences of these events, viewers offered accounts of other ‘ground zeros’. They compared and contrasted coverage on a range of channels such as BBC, Al-Jazeera and CNN, and actively sought alternative news sources because of perceived bias in Western reporting. The research examines the extent to which different patterns of news consumption reinforce or relativise0 understandings of terrorism and political violence.

The increased dislocation since “9/11” felt by many ethnic and linguistic minorities in Britain and other Western countries is well-captured in Aksoy’s article, which immediately follows this one. She describes how a ‘transnational sensibility’ felt by Turkish-speaking migrants in London simply escapes the boundaries of modern, national political systems. Active viewing was a strategy used to cope with being doubly or even triply dislocated (neither fully Turkish Kurdish nor British) to gather information and make sense of events and their own position in relation to them. The article lays out how, in the wake of September 11, the ‘morality of exclusion’ was articulated in the UK and Germany in terms of questioning the national loyalty of all migrants. Watching Turkish or Kurdish television was associated with disloyalty and became the focus of fierce political debates about the politics of recognition: the right to difference, tolerance and multiculturalism on the one hand, and polarization, fragmentation, self-segregation and dangerous difference on the other. The article looks at dogmatic and flexible modes of reasoning mobilized by Turkish and Kurdish audiences to make sense of events.

6. Literature review of: Shaimiev, Mintimer: *Islamophobia Pays No Dividends*. International Affairs: A Russian Journal of World Politics, Diplomacy & International Relations; 2006, Vol. 52 Issue 4, pp.115-118, 4p

The article discusses issues related to religious toleration and islamophobia in the Russian Federation. Islam was adopted by the ancestors of the Tatars in the 10th century which made the Tatars the northern outpost of the Islamic world. Islam and Orthodox Christianity have been coexisting for 1000 years. The mass media plays a significant role in depicting Islam as a rigid and cruel religion. However, Islam is fundamentally flexible and it responds well to democracy and liberalism.

The mass media have contributed to an image of Islam as being something carved in stone, rigid and even cruel. In actual fact, Islam is remarkable for pluralism. There are Sunnites, Shiites and followers of different other schools. Living thought has been in evidence in Islam for many centuries. Before the 17th century, it was the most advanced in the world because it was absorbing and spreading superior knowledge. European Renaissance began with the great theologians,

The whole world is concerned today over the tensions flaming up in relations between the West and the Islamic world. Islamophobia pays no dividends, it only aggravates the situation. The Secretary General of Organization of the Islamic Conference, Prof. Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu, observed quite correctly that any conflict in relations between Islam and the West is not a conflict between the religions and cultures but between the political motives and economic interests. The latter can change whereas the religions and cultures are eternal. There are 1.3 billion Muslims around the world today, or nearly 20 percent of the planet's population. They are the majority in 50 countries. According to forecasts, the number of Muslims by 2025 will reach 30 percent, or more than the number of Christians. This is yet another evidence of the need for us to learn to live in harmony and understanding for the good of all nations.

7. Literature review of: Hopkins: Minority group members' theories of inter group contact: A case study of British Muslims' conceptualizations of '*Islamophobia*' and social change. British Journal of Social Psychology; June 2006, Vol. 45 Issue 2, pp. 245-264, 20p

In this paper author focus on how minority group members construe such interventions, especially as they affect their abilities to act in terms of their collective identity to realize social change. In addressing this issue, author focus on a minority's beliefs and theories concerning the inter group dynamics lying behind their marginalization. The data are qualitative and concern British Muslims' analyses of the dynamics of Islamophobia. Specifically, we explore two theorizations of Muslims' marginalization. Both share a concern with improving Muslims' collective position in Britain. However, they interpret the dynamics to Islamophobia in very different ways, and this shapes their approach to inter group contact and dialogue. This article analysis is informed by, and seeks to complement, social psychological theorizing on social change and inter group contact.

This recent work concerning the effects of tokenism and the role of stereotyping in motivating collective action is important and alerts us to how interventions designed to minimize the psychological distance between a majority and a minority, could be experienced by the latter as disempowering. However, the need for the detailed investigation of group members' constructions of contact and its implications for the future of inter group relations remains pressing, author report qualitative material obtained from a field study of an increasingly marginalized minority group. Our primary goal is to illustrate the importance of addressing minority group members' concerns about contact and its implications for their ability to act collectively to realize social change.

Moreover author realizes a state of affairs in which Islam and the Muslim community were accorded a more prominent and respected place in the public sphere. Neither subscribed to an ideal of equality that simply implied excluded groups should be able to assimilate and live by the norms of the majority. Rather, both positions were informed by a view of equality that held that 'a positive self-definition of group.

In an important sense both can be characterized as possessing beliefs that encourage minority group members to achieve parity with the majority whilst retaining their identity and distinctiveness. Certainly, neither advocated strategies of individual mobility nor ‘passing’. In fact, it is hard to imagine any faith group adopting such a belief. However, if this much is common, they differed in their theorizations of the inter group dynamics constituting Islamophobia, and the strategies of collective action necessary for realizing change. Moreover author address their divergent theorizations of Islamophobia; second, he consider their characterization of the social relations between Islam and the West; third, we explore the strategies of collective action that these theorizations imply; and finally, we consider how the strategies of collective action that were being promoted were construed as expressive of (Muslims’) collective identity.

8. Literature Review of: Coon, Carl : *Islamophobia*. Humanist; May/June 2006, Vol. 66 Issue 3, pp. 4-5, 2p

The author expresses an opinion on existence of Islamophobia in the U.S. He contends that the administration of President George W. Bush avoided condemnation of Islam but still follows inconsistent policies. He believes that many of Muslims are hostile towards Western policies and attitudes. He cites that the perceptions of injustice and resentment against Americans are common among Muslims.

Islamophobia is raising its ugly head in the United States as in Europe. It's beginning to metastasize into a virulent form of xenophobia, an eruption of the atavistic human tendency to pick sides and then if necessary fight to the death for the side one chooses, and to not reason why. The administration of George W. Bush has tried to avoid condemnation of Islam as a religion. But it follows inconsistent policies and has been caught in a web of its own contradictions. The excessive national reaction to the news that Dubai Ports World was going to take over management of twenty-two U.S. ports is an example of how sowing so many seeds of fear have backfired. The administration reacted to the “9/11” outrages by declaring that the

United States is a nation at war with international terrorism. But what has been attempted is more like international police action than out-and-out war in the old-fashioned sense. Never mind, it suited the Bush administration's purposes to whip up war fever in order to muster flagging support for its other policies. That effort was successful enough to enable Bush to launch his ill-prepared and unjustified adventure in Iraq, but it had the inevitable collateral effect of persuading many Americans that they weren't just fighting a few Muslim terrorists and an evil despot in Baghdad, they were fighting an implacable enemy and its name was Islam. Some before we decide that the world of Islam is the enemy and start mobilizing for a full-scale "clash of civilizations," let's take another look at this fifth of humanity that seems so bothersome. It's true that many of the billion plus Muslims in today's world are unfriendly towards Western policies and attitudes. This stems in part from a long history of colonial subjugation. And even since that period ended there's been subjugation by other means, leaving many Islamic countries precious little nourishment for their self-respect.

Any objective observer of the recent history in the Middle East would have to conclude that perceptions of injustice and resentment against the West are common what should be the proper stance of Humanists? Humanism means confidence in human beings, a sense of belonging that includes all humanity. This worldview will hopefully persevere beyond the competing views of the old religions because of the fact that we are all one people, one society, enjoying our diversity while coexisting in peace. It follows that if anyone is to set an example of international good manners for the rest of the world, it should be, first and foremost, the Humanists. We are teetering on the brink of a kind of mass hysteria—Islamophobia— that can set us back a generation or more in our quest for a world at peace. Let's stand back and let cooler heads prevail air.

9. Literature Review of: Hussey, Andrew: NOT A FANATIC AFTER ALL? New Statesman; 12 September 2005, Vol. 134 Issue 4757, pp.16-17, 2p, 1c

Review of how the British newspaper "The Sun" views Ramadan as dangerous and of how he is barred from entering the United States; Discussion of how Ramadan has recently been appointed to two prestigious posts in Britain; Comments from Ramadan regarding his reputation and the increase in Islamophobia worldwide.

For a relatively young man (he is in his early forties), the academic and writer Tariq Ramadan has an impressive collection of enemies. In France, where he keeps an office and publishes the books and tapes that have made him a hero to Muslim youth in the francophone world, he is regularly attacked as an Islamist troublemaker and anti-Semite.

Ramadan is also appalled by the climate of *Islamophobia* in London. "I have been coming to the UK for over ten years and I noticed that the atmosphere has changed dramatically over the past two months. After the first attack, I thought that people responded properly and well: there was a sense of community. But the second attack changed everything. There was a new kind of fear which I have never seen here before. British people have always been proud of multiculturalism, but they realized that they knew very little about Islam, and they were frightened. "But multiculturalism is a patchwork that cannot well survive 9 a period of crisis, as terrorists know. People started to link the bombs to Iraq -- which is politically the case, but it was ethically wrong of the bombers to make this link and act upon it. The first danger of this kind of action is that the Muslim community retreats into itself. But this is the wrong way. It only confirms prejudice and makes matters worse."

10. Literature Review of: Sway, Mustafa Abu; Islamophobia: Meaning, Manifestations, Causes. Palestine - Israel Journal of Politics, Economics & Culture; 2005, Vol. 12 Issue 2/3, pp.15-23, 9p

The article focuses on Islamophobia. The term Islamophobia is defined as the unfounded hostility towards Islam and fear or dislike of all or most Muslims. The word was the result of increasing anti-Muslim prejudice that has grown rapidly in recent years. The term was coined by way of analogy to xenophobia and characterized by the notion that most Muslims are religious fanatics. They have violent tendencies towards non-Muslims. It is also believed that they reject concepts such as equality, nevertheless, tolerance, and democracy.

The term "Islamophobia" was first used in print in 1991 and was defined in the Runnymede Trust Report (the Runnymede Trust Commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia, 1997) as "unfounded hostility towards Islam, and therefore fear or dislike of all or most Muslims." The word has been coined because there is a new reality which needs naming — anti-Muslim prejudice has grown so considerably and so rapidly in recent years that a new item in the vocabulary is needed so that it can be identified and acted against.

The term "Islamophobia" is, admittedly, not ideal. It was coined by way of analogy to "xenophobia" and can be characterized by the belief that all or most Muslims are religious fanatics, have violent tendencies towards non-Muslims, and reject such concepts as equality, tolerance, and democracy. It is a new form of racism whereby Muslims, an ethno-religious group, not a race, are, nevertheless, constructed as a race. A set of negative assumptions are made of the entire group to the detriment of members of that Group. During the 1990s many sociologists and cultural analysts observed a shift in racist ideas from ones based on skin color to ones based on notions of cultural superiority and otherness.

11. Literature Review of: Verkhovsky, Alexander: Who is the enemy now? Islamophobia and antisemitism among Russian Orthodox nationalists before and after September 11. Patterns of Prejudice; June 2004, Vol. 38 Issue 2, pp.127-143, 17p

In this article Verkhovsky focuses on Russian nationalist groups who base their ideology on the Russian Orthodox tradition. These Russian Orthodox nationalists should be distinguished both from those nationalists for whom Orthodoxy is clearly overwhelmed by the ideological demands of ethno-nationalism, as well as from those who use Orthodoxy simply as a popular symbol of national identity. Orthodox nationalists, moreover, are fairly independent of the Moscow Patriarchate and its ideology. The ideology of Orthodox nationalism focuses both on its principal enemy, the Antichrist, and on those enemies subordinate to the Antichrist: Jews, Catholics, the West, the New World Order and so on. In the mid-1990s Islam had no obvious place among this set of hostile forces.

The Moscow Patriarchate and moderately nationalist politicians, relying to some extent on Eurasianist ideas, saw the relationship between Orthodoxy and Islam in Russia as a harmonious one, and, on the whole, Orthodox nationalists did not disagree, although individuals occasionally claimed that the Jews, using the West, were setting Islam against Orthodox Russia. The situation began to change during the second Chechen war, when Orthodox nationalists began to issue warnings of an Islamic threat. This was related not only to the situation in former Yugoslavia and in Chechnya, but also to an increase in the immigration of Muslims to ethnically Russian regions of the country. For Orthodox nationalists, this Islamic threat was part of the larger threat coming from the Jews and the West. Islam, they claimed, was being used as a tool by the Antichrist not only because it was a flawed religion, but because it, being less godless than the West, would produce radical Islamism as a synthesis of western technology and eastern passion. In the intense debates that followed in the wake of the attacks of 11 September 2001 most Orthodox nationalists in Russia supported adopting a neutral position in the supposed 'clash of civilizations' between Islam and the West

12. Literature review of: Frum, David: Deadly Dangerous. National Review; 23 December 2002, Vol. 54 Issue 24, p. 60, 1p

This article presents views of the author on relations between Americans and Muslims in the light of recent terrorist activities of Muslim extremists. The September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks have put American tolerance against Muslims. Americans have reacted violently towards the incident. In a 2001, there were 554 victims of anti-Islamic offenses in the U.S. In 2001, there were three murders in the United States motivated by anti-Muslim prejudice. Writers across the world from Pakistan to Great Britain, face death threat.