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**POST 9/11 ISLAMOPHOBIC PREJUDICE IN THE
AMERICAN MEDIA**

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May 2014

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DEDICATION

This Thesis is dedicated to my late Parents: Muhammad Gwadabe and Khadija Ahmad Dan'amarya.

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The material included in this thesis has not been submitted wholly or in part for any academic award or qualification other than that for which it is now submitted.

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ABSTRACT

Nasa’i Muhammad Gwadabe

MAY 2014

POST 9/11 ISLAMOPHOBIC PREJUDICE IN THE AMERICAN MEDIA

This research seeks to find out how the old Islamophobic prejudice was tilted towards a more negative direction in the United States following the 9/11. It is hypothesized that, the 9/11 attacks in the United States reshaped the old Islamophobic prejudice through the reinforcement of a strong social identity construction of Muslims as “out-group” and the dramatic rise in the critical discourse about them.

Empirical data were gathered through content analyzing relevant documented sources to see the influence of 9/11 in the out-grouping process of Muslims in the United States, through critical discourses and from the political and social dimensions.

To test the hypothesis, two categories were created: the prejudice (out-group) and the tolerance (in-group) categories. The Prejudice (out-group) against Muslims category was coded to include six attributes: (Terrorist, Threat, Women's Rights violation, Undemocratic, Backward and Intolerant); while the tolerance (In-group) for Muslims category was also coded include six attributes: (Peaceful, civilized, educated, partners trustworthy and honest)

Data are generated from the archives of three American newspapers: The Los Angeles Times, New York Times and USA Today using specific search terms and specific date range; from 9/11/1996 to 9/11/2006, that is five years before and five years after the 9/11. An aggregate of 20595 articles were generated from the search of the three newspapers throughout the search periods.

Conclusively, for both pre and post 9/11 periods, the articles generated under the category of prejudice (out-group) against Muslims revealed a higher frequency, against that of tolerance (in-group) for them, which is lesser. Finally, The comparison between the pre and post 9/11 periods showed that, the increased Prejudice (out-group) against Muslims was highly influenced through libeling them as terrorist, which signaled a sky-rocketed increase from pre to post 9/11; which showed the highest increase among all other search terms of both categories.

Key Words:

Out-group, In-group, Prejudice, Tolerance, The 9/11, Islam, Muslims, Islamophobia, and Terrorism.

KISA ÖZET

Nasa’i Muhammad Gwadabe

MAYIS 2014

Amerikan Medyasında 11 Eylül Sonrası İslamofobik Önyargı

Bu araştırma, 11 Eylül’den sonra, daha önceden Amerika’da var olan İslamofobik önyargının ne şekilde daha negatif bir yöne kaydığını irdelemektedir. Bu çalışmanın dayandığı ana fikir, Müslümanların grup-dışı olarak nitelenmesi ve Müslümanlar hakkındaki eleştirel söylemin çok hızlı bir biçimde artmasıyla oluşan bir sosyal kimlik algısının da desteğiyle 11 Eylül saldırılarının Amerika’da daha önce var olan İslamofobik önyargıları yeniden şekillendirmesi ana fikridir.

Bu çalışmanın deneysel verisi, Amerika’da Müslümanların 11 Eylül saldırılarından sonra grup-dışı görülmesinin etkisini ölçmek amacıyla konuyla ilgili belgelerin içerik analizi sonucunda elde edilmiştir.

Hipotezlerin test edilmesi için iki kategori oluşturulmuştur: önyargı (grup-dışı) ve hoşgörü (grup-içi) kategorileri. Önyargı (grup-dışı) kategorisi altı alt gruba bölünürken: (Terörist, Tehdit, Kadın Hakları İhlali, Demokratik Olmayan, Gelişmemiş ve Hoşgörüsüz), Hoşgörü (grup-içi) kategorisi de aynı şekilde altı alt gruba bölünmüştür: (Barışçıl, Medeni, Eğitimli, Paydaş, Güvenilir ve Dürüst).

Tezde kullanılan veri, 9.11.1996’dan 9.11.2006’ya kadar olan dilimde, yani 11 Eylül’den beş yıl öncesi ve beş yıl sonrası içindeki zaman diliminde belirli arama ölçütleri kullanılarak üç farklı Amerikan gazetesinden toplanmıştır: The Los Angeles Times, New York Times ve USA Today.

Sonuç olarak, 11 Eylül öncesi ve sonrası dönemde Müslümanlar hakkında önyargı (grup-dışı) kategorisinde bulunan makaleler, hoşgörü (grup-içi) kategorisi altındaki makalelerden daha fazla tekrarlanmıştır. Netice olarak, bu çalışmanın 11 Eylül öncesi ve sonrası dönemlerin karşılaştırılmasıyla ulaştığı bulgular, Müslümanların 11 Eylül saldırıları sonrasında çok hızlı bir şekilde artan biçimde, çalışmanın araştırdığı diğer önyargı ölçütlerine nazaran özellikle terörist olarak yaftalanması neticesinde, Müslümanlar hakkındaki önyargıların arttığını göstermiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler:

Grup-içi, Grup-dışı, Önyargı, Hoşgörü, 11 Eylül, İslam, Müslümanlar, İslamofobi, Terörizm.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The terrorist attacks in the United States on September 11 2001 by people who claimed to be doing it in the name of Islam, and the reaction in the United States has jeopardized the safety of innocent Muslims within the American Society; which resulted into the framing of Muslims as terrorists, barbaric and uncivilized, that further tarnished the image of Muslims and resuscitates the old Prejudice (out-group) against them in the United States, popularly known as Islamophobia. (Esposito and Kalin 2011, 11)

The Prejudice (out-group) against Muslims (Islamophobia) in the United States is not a recent phenomenon; but the terrorist attacks of 9/11 have caused it to become more deepened. The 9/11 has recreated and revived the old enmity for Muslims in the United States. The United States viewed the 9/11 attacks as an Islamic attack; while on the other hand; Muslims in the United States perceived the response from various angles of the American society as a deliberate and coordinated move to crush Muslims and Islam. (Bodden 2008; Fisher and Wicker 2010)

In the same vein, in this study it is observed that, the American media as the vehicle of information dissemination, and also as the agenda setter of its audience, help in projecting an unbalanced picture of the reality The negative language of reporting in the American media such as “Islamic terrorism,” “Islamic threat,” “militant Islam”, “Jihadists”, “fundamentalists”, “extremists” and so on; has immensely shown how deepened the prejudice (out-group) against Muslims is in the post 9/11 United States.

On this ground, this study will attempt to compare between pre-9/11 and post-9/11 to see how the 9/11 aggravated Islamophobic prejudice (out-group) against Muslims in the United States; and also will try to display some objective picture of the whole phenomenon based on some empirical data. This will be achieved through answering the research question generated from the area of study and by testing the validity of the hypothesis through the lens and scope of the theoretical framework.

1.1 Problem Statement

In Huntington's book "Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order", apart from the West, he identified seven other civilizations, and he revealed that the major opponent of the West among them is the Islamic Civilization. (Huntington 1996, 183-186) Islamic values and ideologies are the most widely misconstrued in the World, and in the United States in particular, due to the historical rivalry between Europe (which the United is a descendent country) and Islamic World coupled with contemporary dissemination of distorted information about Islam by Islamophobes, that usually based their arguments on the acts of a spoonful misguided Muslims and make generalization about Islam as a whole.

Considering some of the historical encounters between Muslim and non-Muslim armies as early as seventh century, up to the series of Crusades beginning in eleventh century, it will be understood that this opposition between Muslims and the West did not originate in recent years; it is nearly as old as Islam itself. (Crowe et al 2011, 44)

As the Islamic empire was growing, many territories fell under the control of Arab Muslims under the Rashidun Caliphate, among which is Jerusalem in 638 C.E. Jerusalem is one of the places in the World where Judaism, Christianity and Islam claim to be the rightful custodian of the city, due to their historical and religious connections with the place. The city fell under Islamic forces, which centuries later, coupled with other factors triggered the first crusade in 1095; led by the western Christendom under the spiritual leadership of Pope Urban II. Though, as highlighted above, the beginning of the Crusades was not the first encounter between Muslim and Christian's forces, but it is considered as the conflict that set them on the track of strong hostility and perpetual hatred. (Hardy 2010, 13)

Another remarkable event is the Siege of Vienna by Muslim Turks under the Ottoman Empire in 1529, which is regarded as one of the major events that aggravated rivalry between Muslims and the West in addition to the dominion of the Ottoman Empire over most parts of Eastern Europe. Consequently, this coming of Islamic forces into the heart of Europe was perceived by the Western World as a serious threat to their

faith (Christianity), social and civilizational identities. (Hattaway 2010, 549)

In the contemporary time, Shadid and Van Koningsveld observed that, in the past few decades, there has been a significant growth in the scientific and journalistic publications about Islam and the Muslim World, especially the image and status of Muslims in the West. (Shadid and Koningsveld 2002, 174) They further analyzed that this considerable increase in these publications is to a large extent related to some national and international events such as the Iranian Revolution, the Iran Hostages Crisis,¹ the war in former Yugoslavia, the Rushdie Affair,² the revolution in Afghanistan, the Gulf War, and the growth in the influence of Islam in shaping the political and socioeconomic structures in the Islamic World.

More critical in the timeline of events that reshaped the old phobia of Muslims particularly in the United States was the 9/11 attacks by al-Qaeda, that claimed to have done it in the name of Islam; coupled with the response in the United States which took the construction of Muslims as out-group to a more negative dimension. In the United States, the 9/11 was problematized and a generalized frame that helped in portraying Muslims as terrorists, a threat to the American society, barbaric and uncivilized was created without much exceptions. At this juncture, Lagendijk and Wiersma claimed that in the United States, “since the 9/11, there has been an atmosphere in which all Muslims are tarred with the same brush and are victims of Islamophobia.” (Lagendijk and Wiersma 2008, 88) This constructed and generalized negative image of Muslims, as pointed by Ali et al, is coordinated and executed by some groups of “conservative foundations and wealthy donors” which are considered to be the “lifeblood” of the anti-Muslim sentiments, and are also responsible for the propagation of the unbalanced and subjective information about Islam and Muslims in the United States. (Ali et al 2011,

¹ The Iran hostage crisis was a diplomatic conflict between the United States and Iran. After the 1979

² The Rushdie Affair, also known as The Satanic Verses controversy was the retaliatory reaction of the Muslim world over a blasphemous novel written by Salman Rushdie in 1988. As a result, in 1989 Ayatollah of Iran passed a religious verdict ordering the execution of Salman Rushdie. See Daniel Pipes, the Rushdie Affair: The Novel, the Ayatollah, and the West. (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2003)

27)

Though, Islamophobia in the United States is a phenomenon with deep historical root, but the 9/11 made it to be a distinct phenomenon in the contemporary United States. In the post 9/11 United States, the phobia of Islam and Muslims is influenced by a strong social identity categorization of Muslims as “out-group”, which materialized in various guises of Islamophobic prejudice and critical discourse about Muslims and Islam. In the post 9/11 United States, there are countless number of stereotypical discourse against Muslims, but this study identifies and discussed the 3 major ones: Muslims are “terrorists”; Muslims are a “threat”; Muslims are “violators of women’s rights.” On this ground, the current study undertakes a comparative frequency analysis between the pre and post 9/11 Islamophobic Prejudice in the United States to see how it has been exacerbated and at what rate, and provide possible policy recommendations towards abating it.

1.2 Research Question

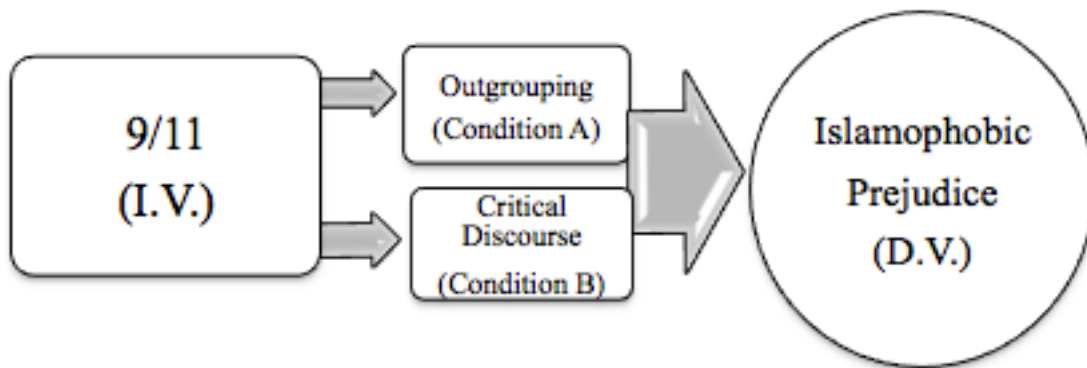
This study seeks to find: How did 9/11 reshape existing Islamophobic prejudice in the United States?

1.3 Statement of Hypothesis

In this study, it is hypothesized that: The 9/11 attacks in the United States reshaped the old Islamophobic prejudice against Muslims through the reinforcement of the strong social identity construction of Muslims as “out-group” and the dramatic rise in the critical discourse about Islam and Muslims.

The hypothesis and the relationships among variables can be visually represented as:

Figure 1: Visual representation of hypothesis and the relationships among variables.



1.4 The Social Identity: A Theoretical Perspective of Prejudice (Outgrouping) against Muslims in the Pre and Post 9/11 United States

The “social identity theory” will be the guiding principle in handling and explicating the out grouping of Muslims, which led to Islamophobic prejudice against them in the United States.

The origin of social identity theory can be attributed to the scientific work of social psychologist Henry Tajfel and associates in 1970 published in “Scientific American” journal titled “Experiments in Intergroup Discrimination.” The experiments seek to understand the sources of favoritism and tolerance among people that belong to the same group (in-group favoritism), and the reasons for prejudice towards group of people that do not share similar characteristics with them (out-group). (Tajfel 1970, 96-102)

Tajfel described “social identity” as “that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership.” (Tajfel 1981, 255) Therefore, the social identity theory explains sentiments, attitudes and behavior between and amongst groups of people in a society from the social psychological perspectives and processes. (Tajfel 1981, 24)

The key assumption of social identity theory is that the sense of being a member of a particular group through self definition and categorization, creates a sense of belonging and commitment to the group (in group) and usually, this sense of belonging to a defined group create a dichotomy leading to the definition and categorization of non members of the group as others (out group) (Tajfel and Turner 1986, 9). Thus, the conception of self as member of a particular group, usually influences how those members of the group define, perceive and interact with members of other group; either in a negative or positive way.

In the light of above perspectives, in this study, it is assumed that the majority of non-Muslim people in the United States could be regarded as the in-group; while they perceive and treat Muslim minority group as the out-group or others; which in turn generate prejudice towards them (out-group/Muslims); since Muslims have some distinct norms, values and religious identity, and sometimes noticeable characteristics that distinguish them from the majority of people in the United States.

Going by the above theoretical perspectives, this study further presumed that, the groups of Muslim people in the United States more especially after 9/11, are framed and labeled as dangerous and as a threat to the norms, values, belief and cultural foundations of the American society. As a result of this misconception, mostly amplified by the critical discourse of Islamophobes, innocent Muslims are increasingly becoming easy target, victims of hostilities and various human rights and civil liberties violations.

1.5 Discourse Representation: A theoretical Perspective to Discourse change from Pre to Post 9/11 United States

The genesis of the contemporary and widely used discourse representation Theory is attributed to the Dutch Philosopher Hans Kamp, developed in 1981. Since then, the theory received further developments from various scholars in the field. The Theory of discourse representation assumes that all objects and actions have meanings attached to them; and those meanings emanate from long constructed specific system rules mostly emanated from historical factors and language usage. (Howarth and Stavrakakis 2000, 3)

Discourses are the practices and usage of language that gives desired identification and meaning to target “subjects and objects.” Thus, “discourses are concrete systems of social relations and practices that are intrinsically political, as their formation is an act of radical institution, which involves the construction of antagonisms and the drawing of political frontiers between ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’.” (Howarth and Stavrakakis 2000, 3-5) Therefore, discourse representation theory explains how interaction, language selection and usage between and among social forces recreate reality.

Therefore, in the light of the above theoretical perspectives, it is assumed that a shift in the usage of language occurred against Muslims in the post 9/11 United States. In the pre 9/11 era, discourses about Muslims and Islam were mild and in most cases, stories about Muslims and Islam were told in a manner that depicted the Muslims as the far away dangerous others, and mostly under the rhetoric that “they” are inferior to “us,” therefore “their” barbarity cannot reach and harm “us” here. (Runnymede Trust 1997, 5) But this study observed that, the 9/11 reshaped and tilted this usage of language to new direction. New rhetoric of “they” are now here, in “our” land to terrorize and dominate “us” by imposing “their” “draconian” Shari’a law on “us” were created, which endangered the safety and liberties of the Muslim American, Muslim Immigrants and other Muslims looking people in the United States. (Geller 2010; Marsden 2008, 62)

“Each of these discourses is a social and political construction that establishes a system of relations between different objects and practices, while providing (subject) positions with which social agents can identify.” (Howarth and Stavrakakis 2000, 4) Therefore, a combination of the in-group/out-group and the discourse representation theoretical perspectives would be used to explain and analyze the pre and post 9/11 Islamophobic prejudice in the United States.

1.6 Methodology

1.6.1 Content and Frequency Analyses

Content analysis is a set of procedures in research that are used as tools to determine the meaning of recorded text or the presence or frequency of certain concept or theme within a texts. “Texts can be defined broadly as book, articles, newspaper headlines, historical documents, [or] advertising but also non-text-based materials such TV segments, photography, the performing and visual art, or any communicative language,” can also fall under the category of text according to this definition, as long as it is a documented or recorded format. (Klenke 2008, 89)

A comparison of the frequencies of out-group and in-group attributes between pre and post 9/11 will be conducted to see if 9/11 intensified the out grouping of Muslims in the post 9/11 United States. Therefore, content analysis will be utilized in this research as a tool for decoding meaning from the gathered data; and comparative frequency analysis to see if there is increase or otherwise in the out group and in group attributes from pre to post 9/11.

1.6.2 Data Collection

Empirical data will be gathered through content analyzing relevant documented sources to see the influenced of 9/11 in the out grouping process of Muslims in the United States, through critical discourses and from the political and social dimensions.

Three print American media are used as an avenue to test the validity or otherwise of the hypothesis. Therefore, a comparative frequency analysis of out group and in group attributes for Muslims is made from the archives of three American newspapers: The Los Angeles Times, New York Times and USA Today covering a period of ten years (9/11/1996 to 9/11/2006), that is five years before 9/11, and five years after 9/11; using specific search terms. These three Newspapers are selected as the source of data collection due to their status as the first three American Newspapers with highest circulation after The Wall Street Journal. (Alliance for Audited Media 2013)

1.6.3 Coding Scheme

“Coding represents the way a specific meaning is assigned to a response within previously edited data. Codes represent the meaning in data by assigning some measurement symbols to different categories of responses. This may be numbers, letters, or word.” (Zikmund and Babin 2013, 363)

The major target of this study is to determine the rate at which 9/11 deepened existing islamophobic prejudice in the United States. It is hypothesized that, 9/11 attacks in the United States reshaped the old Islamophobic prejudice through the reinforcement of a strong social identity construction of Muslims as “out-group” and the dramatic rise in the critical discourse about them.

Here, increased Prejudice (out-group) against Muslims, which is the effect of 9/11 according to the assumption of this study, was coded to constitute six codes or attributes derived from the analysed critical discourses against Muslims (see chapter III). The attributes are: (terrorist, threat, Women’s Rights violation, backward, intolerant, undemocratic). These six prejudice attributes are further developed into search terms format in accordance to the search tips of the three newspapers’ archives in order to produce accurate result. The attributes were further coded as: (Muslims AND terrorist; Muslims AND threat; Muslims AND women’s rights violation; Muslims AND backward; Muslims AND intolerant; Muslims AND undemocratic)

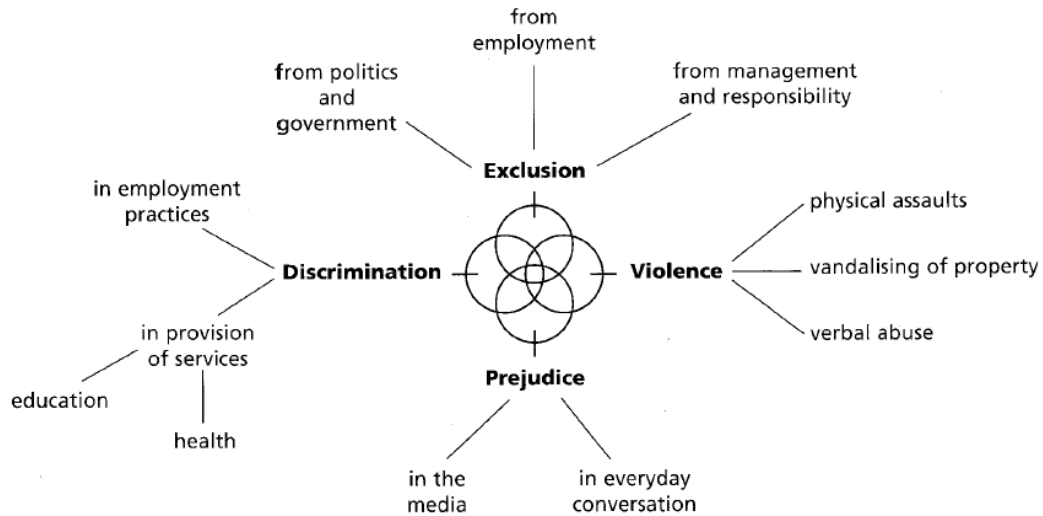
Apart from the Prejudice (out-group) category, the Tolerance (in-group) category was also created, which was also coded to include six attributes: (peaceful, civilized, educated, partners, trustworthy, honest), which were further developed as search terms: (Muslims AND peaceful; Muslims AND civilized; Muslims AND educated; Muslims AND partners; Muslims AND trustworthy; Muslims AND honest). Though, the sourcing of this tolerance (in-group) data is not required in answering the research question and hypothesis testing, but it will help in having a clearer and balanced picture of the phenomenon under study.

This method and techniques will enable the study to test the validity of the hypothesis and will also allow the study to look for correlation or otherwise between/among variables within the hypothesis, which at the end will facilitate the answering of research question within the confine of the theoretical frames.

1.7 Scope and Limitation

Islamophobia is obviously a vast phenomenon with branches and sub branches as can be seen from the diagram below. Therefore, the scope of this study is the prejudice aspect of Islamophobia following 9/11, otherwise known as Islamophobic prejudice.

Figure 2: visual Summary of Islamophobia.



Source: Runnymede Trust 1997.

The Limitation faced by this Study is in the searching of the three newspapers' archives, where in the process of searching the out-group and in-group attributes for Muslims, it became impossible within the time limit and available resources allocated to this study to purely generate articles that promote prejudice only in the out group category by omitting the negation term (not terrorist) for example in the search. By omitting this negation term, all articles bearing both words (terrorist and not) will not be retrieved, which means only articles bearing the word (Muslim) will generated; since the study did not look into individual article one by one, it only dealt with the frequency of the articles generated by the search terms. Same limitation was faced in generating articles for other search terms in the category, and also for tolerance attributes in the in-group category.

1.8 Operationalization

Operationally in the context of this research, **out-group** refers to the deepening of the existing social categorization of Muslims in the United States after 9/11 as others; and the perception about them as posing a threat to the larger non-Muslim American society (in-group), which turn created a more stronger Islamophobic prejudice; while the **in-group** is the tolerance for the Muslims.

Operationally, in this study **Prejudice** involves the out-grouping of Muslims and subsequent hostilities against them as a result the 9/11 attacks in the United States; while **tolerance** refers to the their in-grouping. Hence, in this study the word prejudice would be used concurrently or interchangeably with the word out-group, same applies to tolerance and in-group.

In this study, **Islamophobia** refers to the prejudice against Muslims; and stereotypes against them in the wake of 9/11 in the United States. The “Runnymede Trust” in its 1997 research report, described Islamophobia as a tree with four major branches: Prejudice, discrimination, violence and exclusion. (See figure 2) Therefore, the focus of this study is on the prejudicial aspects of Islamophobia. Hence, Islamophobia and prejudice would be used interchangeably or simultaneously in this research.

Here **Islam** refers to the monotheist religion revealed by Allah through the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in the year 610 C.E. In Islam, Allah is the only deity worthy of worship and the Qur’an is the divine revelation and the book of guidance to all Muslims. While **Muslims** in the context of this research refer to all the followers of this religion (Islam) in the United States; citizens or immigrants irrespective of their sects, cultures, race, language or other categories.

The **9/11**, also known as the September 11; operationally, refers to the tactically planned and coordinated terrorist attacks in the United States on September 11th 2001, that destroyed the Twin Towers of the World Trade Centre and parts of the Pentagon

which claimed over 3500 lives; by al-Qaeda, a terror group headed by Osama Bin Laden. While the events of 9/11 refers to this series of attack and the response of the United States to the attacks. (Englar 2007)

In the context of this study, **terrorism** means those violent acts that are deliberately targeted towards non combatants, intended to create fear, coercion or to kill; which are usually done to achieve political, religious, socioeconomic or other ideological aims; which 9/11 form part.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 European Historical Roots of American Islamophobic Prejudice

Before dwelling into the core genesis of American Islamophobia which started with the European Puritans world view, which is carried over to the new world (United States); this chapter will first visit the seventh through eleventh centuries earliest encounter between Europe and the expanding Islamic Empire.

First, the earliest clash that happened between the West and Islam was “as a result of the Arab expansion in the eighth century [which] was mostly political, economic, and cultural.” The more religious like conflict between the Western Christendom and the Islamic Empire started with the commencement of the Crusades in 1095. (Chahuan 2006, 25-32) In *Covering Islam*, Edward Said portraying the picture of the period of the expansion of Islamic Empire, where he said, “real events in the real world made of Islam a considerable political force. For hundreds of years great Islamic armies and navies threatened Europe, destroyed its outposts, [and] colonized its domains.” (Said 2000, 171)

As early as 715 C.E, the Muslim Arabs under the Umayyad Caliphate were present in Europe (Russell, 2013, 15). For six hundred years, the Umayyad ruled the Iberian Peninsula (Spain and Portugal); and years later, the Muslim Turks were “knocking at the doors of Vienna,” and “It looked to many as if Islam could not be stopped and that the days of Christianity were numbered.” (Ba-Yunus and Kone 2006, 109). This coming of Islamic forces into the heart of Europe was perceived by Europeans as a serious threat to their faith (Christianity), social and civilizational identities.

In response, the western Christendom launched series of Crusades under the spiritual leadership of pope Urban II to take back the “holy land” and curb the rapid

expansion of Islam. This rivalry between the Western and Islamic civilizations continued throughout history. (Combs and Stann 2007, 157) Though, as highlighted above, the beginning of the Crusades was not the first encounter between Muslim and Christian's forces, and it was not purely motivated by religion, it has a greater political and economic aims but the perceived "threat and encroachment of Muslim armies therefore provided a convenient scapegoat, a much-needed and necessary enemy against which the Vatican and its supporters could wage war." (Allen 2010, 27) This marked the beginning of the process of "othering" of Islam and Muslims. Still, the Crusades are considered the conflicts that set Muslims and the West on the track of strong hatred and perpetual prejudice. (Hardy 2010, 13)

The crusades massively contributed in the "out grouping" and "othering" of Muslims not only as political other, but as religious other as well. Crusaders brought back to Europe tales and myths that strengthened "the misconceptions already in existence about Muslims and Islam." (Allen 2010, 28) After the Crusades and the Reconquista, a strong subjective orientalist scholarship about Muslims began. Most of the Polemical discourses we are experiencing today stemmed from there. (Allen 2010, 27; Chahuan 2006, 50) Crusaders brought to Europe stories about the "promiscuity, wealth, and luxury of Muslims" compared to the life of Christian in Europe at that time which was characterized by "inherent bleakness." They also brought myths about the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) describing him as "fake Prophet," "anti-Christ," "violent," "barbaric", and "merciless".

The Crusades had caused a significant political, economic and religious damage to the Islamic World. The end of the Crusades in the late 15th century, and the commencement of Europeans quest for colonies in the 16th century, coupled with technological and industrial breakthrough and advancements in many areas of human endeavors marked the beginning of the rise of European power. This power gave them the opportunity to push away the dominance of Muslims from Europe; and started a quest for territorial expansion and exalted its influence not only on the weakened Muslims World but also across the globe. (Ba-Yunus and Kone 2006, 110)

This Europeans ascendancy was used as a legitimacy for them to colonized most parts of the then powerless Muslims' world and the newly discovered world (United States) whose inhabitant where described by Europeans missionaries as “ ‘heathen savages’ or indigenous peoples of North America, who needed to be civilized, according to divine mandate.” (Maira 2011, 110)

This inferiority complex was later used against Muslims, which again reinforced the “out grouping” process. This mindset of European superiority and the belief in the inferiority of “others” or “out-group” was carried over to the United States by European immigrants; where “Christian missionaries from Europe transplanted ideas of ‘barbaric infidels’ to North America.” Therefore, “American Orientalism and Islamophobia have long history that can be traced to the foundational Holy Land Myths of the Christian settlers.” (Maira 2011, 110)

2.2 Pre-9/11 Era: The United States in the 17th through 20th Centuries

The European immigrants and Colonizers of the New World (United States) therefore emerged out of above mentioned belief and mindset, taking with them those libeling of Muslims and Islam to the United States. This initial transplanted stereotypes of Islam and Muslims in United States by those early immigrants from Europe is believed to have a direct connection with today's American Anti-Muslims sentiment. Ba-Yunus and Kone said that, “most Americans, being descendants of European immigrants, grow up with a folklore in which negative images of the people, cultures, and religion of the Middle East persist,” and they added that, “Now that Western colonialism is a past history, it is replaced by a big-brother type attitude toward Muslims,” (Ba-Yunus and Kone 2006, 110) which means the American Islamophobia has now grown to a level that Ba-Yunus and Kone described as “big-brother” Islamophobia.

Unlike the Islamophobia experienced in other parts of the World, the American Islamophobia has its own distinct historical roots that laid seed of the contemporary one.

Therefore, this section will explore and examine how the beliefs and mindsets of those early European immigrants, which resulted into the birth, and perpetual germination of Islamophobia in the United States today. The key most important factors that will be treated here are the **Puritan perception of the World**, and the **Orientalists Literature**.

The Puritans' Beliefs: The immigration of Puritans from Europe to the United States in the 1929, taking with them their perception and understanding of humanity is one of the greatest and earliest roots of Islamophobia in the United States. (Berkin et al 2011, 61) Puritans' belief on religious, political and social mode of life are considered to be the building blocks of the American religious and non-religious thoughts, how the United States conceived itself and it also laid the foundation of American "out-grouping" of others which Muslims form part. (Shaban 1991, 3)

The early American puritans believed that "they were the elect, God's chosen people." And they "considered America as a sacred place of refuge where they could finally realize the ideal covenant people in church and nation." And they also believed that, the New World is a place where "the Lord will create a new heaven, and a new earth in, new Churches, and a new Commonwealth together." (Rogers 1995, 49) Stepping on this belief, the Puritans embarked on a mandatory mission of re-establishing and enforcing the will of God on the New World and the world in general.

This Puritans' belief of being chosen by God and had entered a covenant with Him to re-establish and strengthen his kingdom on earth gave them the spiritual zeal and mandate to evangelize the native Americans and other out-groups; and also the puritans felt obliged especially later in the 19th century to expand their evangelism and missionary activities to Arabs, and Muslims in general, that eventually shaped the American perception about Muslims and Islam, which had a serious impact on the out-grouping process of Muslims and eventual Islamophobia in the United States. (Shaban 1991, 5)

Orientalist Literature: Apart from the Puritans religious belief, early orientalist literature also immensely influenced how the United States perceived Islam and Muslims. First, the early European immigrants to the United States brought with

them the already established stereotypes in Europe to the United States, and secondly, these Stereotypes of Islam and Muslims were reinforced by orientalist writings and talks. One of the popular and famous of these early orientalist literature, is the book written by the well known British American explorer captain John Smith, titled “The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captain John Smith,” which is considered to be the first popular and well circulated Islamophobic literature in the early American society. (Esposito and Kalin 2011, 150)

One part of the Smith’s tale, is about what he described as a “sensational encounter with ‘barbaric Muslim Turks’ ” which is believed to be based on Smith’s anti-Muslims sentiment that he brought with him from Europe to the New World. In the story, he recounted that in 1602 while battling against the Muslim Turks in Hungary, Smith was defeated and he was sold as slave to a Turkish nobleman. Then the nobleman offered Smith as a gift to his lover, where according to Smith, the lady later on fell in love with him and she sent him to her brother to be trained for imperial service. Smith claimed to have killed the bother an escaped from the “barbarism of Muslims” and went back to the New World. Thought the book is criticized to have no literary value, but the book stalked many popular contemporary American Islamophobic fictions. (Esposito and Kalin 2011, 150-151)

Additionally, beside the Puritans beliefs and the early orientalist Literature, the translations and commentaries of the holy Qur’an, the distorted account of the life of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) by Islamophobes, stereotypical accounts of adventures to the Muslims world, stories and writings brought by missionaries from Muslims’ World were instrumental in the formation of American Islamophobia and the tagging of Muslims as out-group. Shaban added that, “Americans continued to be influenced by European, especially British treatments of Islam and the Prophet Muhammad well into the nineteenth century.” (1991, 27) Therefore, these European literatures coupled with earliest puritans beliefs, is recorded to have a serious influence on the negative perception of Muslims and the unfavourable attitudes towards them in the United States today. (Shaban 1991, 30) However, in the 20th century the othering and out-grouping of

Muslims went through a state of hibernation as a result of the Cold War, where the Soviet block is regarded in the West and in the United States in particular as the new “other;” but reawaken after the collapse of the Soviet Union in late twentieth Century, and fully revived with in the early twenty first century by the events of 9/11.

2.3 In-group/Out-group and the Source of Prejudice

In Social psychology, prejudice is related to identity formation and identity differentiation within the societal macro level. As Aviram put it in his book “The Relational Origins of Prejudice: A Convergence of Psychoanalytic and Social Cognitive Perspectives,” the whole process of in grouping of self and out grouping of others always begins with the self inquiry of “who am I?” knowing who one is, will lead to another similar inquiry of “who else is like me?” the answers to this basic questions forms the basic of social categorization of in-group which is the definition of self and the recognition of other social elements that share some defined social characteristics with you as members of a particular social group. The formulation of the in-group social category leads to the construction of others that do not belong to the group as out-group. “These are the basic components of upon which prejudice plays out in human relations. In simplest terms, the prejudice differentiates between two identity groups: an in-group and an out-group.” (Aviram 2009, 2)

Allport in Brown and Zagefka said “One of the most frequent sources, perhaps the most frequent source, of prejudice lies in the needs and habits that reflect the influence of in-group memberships upon the development of the individual personality” (Brown and Zagefka 2005, 54). Again, Allport in Dovidio et al described prejudice and the social categorization of in-group and out-group as something “normal and inevitable byproducts of how people think;” but still, he opined that prejudice is a “fundamentally irrational hatred, born of ignorance and the ego-defensive maneuvers of people with weak personality structures.” (Dovidio et al 2005 1-2) here, Gordon Allport one the greatest social psychologists of the century solely blamed the social conception of self

and the in-group formation of social group of people that share similar interest and characteristics as the major genesis and source of prejudice to all other social groups that do not belong to the group. Those constructed and out-group social classes are usually defined or perceived to be a threat to the survival of the in-group, which in turn create hatred and subsequent prejudice against them. Brown and Zagefka further explained that:

Prejudice is ultimately an intergroup phenomenon. That is, it involves relations between a person's (or people's) in-group and some out-group(s). Second, prejudice carries with it an implication that the in-group should be regarded or treated in some more favorable way than the out-group. (Brown and Zagefka 2005, 54)

Batson and Stocks, based on Allport's ideas, identified religion as one of the social affiliations that helps in defining self and the construction of others; that is, the categorization of in-group and out-group which eventually results into prejudice. "All major religions teach universal tolerance and compassion. In practice, however, these same religions often promote intolerance and hatred." It is further argued that, sometimes religion plays a dual role in relation to prejudice: it can promote prejudice, and at the same time, some cases helps in deescalating prejudicial attitudes towards the out-group. (Batson and Stocks 2005, 413)

The argument that religion promotes social categorization of in-group and out-group was based on the finding of a study that revealed that, "individuals with no religious affiliation showed less prejudice" compared with those with religious affiliation. While on the other hand, another study revealed the other positive role of religion in lessening and blunting the sharpness of the social categorization of in-group and out-group dichotomy, which is believed to deflate the level of prejudice against the out-group. (Batson and Stocks 2005, 413) Whether one's religion increases or decreases prejudice, the major point is that, a person's religion is very much likely to help in creating a sense of self conception for him, and the definition of other people that share same believe with him as members of in-group; and the likelihood of social construction of all that do not belong to the in-group as out-group.

Again, the fact that all major religions promote tolerance to non-members as stated by Batson and Stocks above, should not be a ground upon which to establish a stand that religions promote tolerance in societies. Of course, dominant religions promote tolerance of out-group in their teachings, but the core issue is compliance by the members of the religions. If for instance Christianity condemned prejudice against the out-group, the issue is that: are the majority of Christian adhering to this teaching? Same thing applies to all other religions. This point is crystal clear in the aftermath of 9/11 in the United; where, due to the religious affiliation of the suspects of the attack as Muslims, other innocent Muslims suffered prejudicial atrocities just because they belong to the same faith group with those terrorists. Another point is, both in history and contemporary time, non-Muslims have committed atrocities similar or even worse than the 9/11 terror attacks (as will be discussed later), but innocent people that share same religious believe with them were not put in the same basket as it was done to innocent Muslims. This succinctly explained the in-group tolerance and out-group prejudice relations.

2.4 The Conception of Xenophobia

“...Islamophobia, [is] a form of Xenophobia that involves prejudice against the religion of Islam and discrimination against all those who classify themselves as Muslims.” (Bordeau 2010, 10) The main focus of this thesis is Islamophobia, but since Islamophobia is a subset or branch of xenophobia as pointed out above by Bordeau, the conceptual aspects of xenophobia are going to be concisely discussed in order to have a wider and clearer understanding of the phenomenon of Islamophobia.

Xenophobia, as a concept, is a derivation from two Greek words – “Xénos” and “phóbos” meaning “foreigner” and “fear” respectively. Therefore, in a plain language, Xenophobia refers to “an irrational fear or distrust of foreigners.” (Bordeau 2010, 4) The term has various definitions and conceptualizations from different scholars; but most definitions features some key and similar words, such as fear and hatred, while some

definitions of the concept went further to include the consequences of such fear and hatred; such as: violence, hostilities discriminations and other forms of human and civil rights violation.

Tucker defined xenophobia as a situation where “An individual or group attitude characterized by an extreme fear, dislike, or hatred of strangers or foreigners.” (2009, 707) Similarly, Berezin defined xenophobia as “the fear of difference embodied in persons or groups.” (Berezin 2006, 273) While another definition described xenophobia as “an unreasonable fear or hatred of foreigners or strangers, or that which is foreign or strange.” (Motyl 2001, 593) But for Harris in James, the identical terms that mostly feature in the definition of xenophobia such as hatred and fear are not enough to describe what really xenophobia is; because those definitions are not revealing the consequences of that fear and hatred, which according to Harris, the anti-immigrant sentiments (xenophobia) results into “violence, cruelty, tension and marginalization.” (James 2008, 66)

Therefore, xenophobia can be described as a situation in a given society where the original settlers feel threatened by the presence of new comers; which they believe might endanger their political dominance, economic benefits, social and cultural values or/and religious identity. This lack of tranquility from the original settlers usually results into hostile and discriminatory attitudes towards the so-called new comers in order to push them away. Bordeau blamed economic factors, nationalism/nativism, and in recent years the issue terrorism and security as the major factors responsible for the perpetration of xenophobic acts on newer settlers in a society. (Bordeau 2010, 6, 7, 10)

First, in most societies the control over economic resources and benefits from it are reasons for conflicts even within a group of people that share same identities. It turns into clash when strangers or latecomers come and try to benefit from the economy especially in the employment sector. As in most cases, immigrants are willing to offer their labor and services at a cheaper rate than the indigenes, this usually leads to an increase in the demand for their services and a decrease in the jobs opportunities for indigenes, which naturally turns into jealousy and hostilities towards the new comers. As

Wakolbinger clarifies that “in situations of increased xenophobia, for instance during economic recessions or when there is a substantially increase number of asylum seekers, the differentiation according to social status losses importance, and visible racial characteristics become the main criteria for foreignness.” (Wakolbinger 1995, 10)

Second, extreme nationalists/nativists feel that the influx of foreigners is a threat to the creed of their nation, while people with strong sense of conservatism and nativism usually promote the superiority of indigenes at the expense of the strangers and usually try by any means possible to impede the integration of the newcomers into the main society. In same vein, Gellner said, “By linking dislike of the other to citizenship rights, nationalism turns xenophobia from what may, in favorable circumstances, be a mere human foible, into a destructive, dangerous force.” (Gellner 1995, 6)

Third, is the issue of terrorism and security. In recent years, the activities of terrorists mostly carried out by foreigners in the US has pushed the American government to strengthen its fortress to immigrants, and this has made the innocent foreigners that have already settled in the United States to suffer more xenophobic prejudice, hostilities and discriminations. Salama added that, the contemporary fight against terrorism has resulted into the violations of “Human dignity and basic human rights and fundamental freedoms have been compromised, racist trends and xenophobia are rampant against migrants and minorities in virtually all parts of the world.” (Salama 2009, 293)

2.5 The Conception of Islamophobia

The term Islamophobia is believed to have first featured in 1922 in an essay written by the French orientalist Étienne Dinet in “*L’Orient vu de l’Occident*,” but it was in the 1990’s that it became a popular parlance amongst academicians, commentators, and the media to describe the vilification of Islam and Muslims. The term become more popular in international discourse with the publication of the famous report of the Runnymede Trust in 1997 (*Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All*). (Cesari 2011, 18)

The report defined Islamophobia as “unfounded hostility towards Islam. It refers also to the practical consequences of such hostility in unfair discrimination against Muslim individuals and communities, and to the exclusion of Muslims from mainstream political and social affairs.” (Runnymede Trust 1997, 4)

The report further came up with some eight ingredients that made up the anti-Muslims prejudice and hostilities (Islamophobia): First, Islam is regarded as a single monolithic bloc, static and does not respond to situations and new realities. Second, Islam and Muslims are seen as others and separate from the popular cultures, values and orientation. Third, Muslims and Islam are considered to be inferior to the West. They are regarded as barbaric, primitive, irrational, sexist etc. Fourth, Islam and Muslims are perceived to be violent, threatening, aggressive, and supportive of terrorism. Fifth, Muslims are seen as manipulative in using Islam for political and military advantage. Sixth, Islam and Muslim criticism of Western cultures and societies are rejected out of hand. Seventh, Hatred and Hostilities towards Islam and Muslims used to justify discriminatory practices towards them and their exclusion from mainstream political and socioeconomic spheres. And lastly, Islamophobic acts are seen as normal and natural, not as a dangerous or problematic. (Runnymede Trust 1997, 5-10) According to the report these eight components are the constituents of Islamophobia in the Western societies.

Similarly, Ramberg defined Islamophobia as the “fear of or prejudiced view point towards Islam, Muslims and matters pertaining to them.” He clarified that, this dislike of Muslims is not a new phenomenon in the United States, and further testified that following 9/11, many Muslim communities are increasingly becoming victims of a range of “Islamophobic acts; ranging from social hostilities, suspicion, deep prejudice, ignorance, and in some cases accompanied by physical and verbal harassment.” (Ramberg 2004, 6)

A 2004 report of “The Commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia,” also observed that the ‘irrational fear and prejudice directed against Islam and Muslims (Islamophobia) is not a new phenomenon. This phenomenon of Islamophobia according

to the report comes in different forms and in different times and it has resulted into a variety of outcomes. For instance, the report revealed that the degree and level of prejudice and hatred displayed in the fifteen century in Spain differs from the prejudice and aggressions expressed and coordinated during the series of crusades. Also, the hatred and prejudice against Muslims during the era of the Ottoman Empire or the one that has been perpetuated during other previous Islamic empires or during the era of colonialism were different. It is therefore more appropriate to talk about Islamophobia as a general phenomenon rather than as a single one, because each and every historical phase of Islamophobia has its own characteristics as well as similarities, which intersects it to other previous versions and incidents of Islamophobia. (CBMI 2004, 7)³

However, the outcome of the report further revealed some of the major factors that triggered the re-emergence of Islamophobia in the West. First, in the 1960's there was a growth in the Muslims population in the West. In Western European Countries alone, there were fifteen million Muslims. Second is "the increased economic leverage on the world stage of oil-rich countries, many of which are Muslim in their culture and traditions." Third is the violation of human rights in Muslim countries headed by dictators who claimed to be inspired and justified their acts by Islamic injunctions. Lastly, is the "emergence of political movements that similarly claim to be motivated by Islam and that use terrorist tactics to achieve their aims." (CBMI 2004, 7)

Again, Esposito and Kalin's claim tallied with the above findings, where they said Islamophobia did not first emerged as a result of the September 11 attacks, it has long and deep historical genesis like other hate crimes, such as anti-Semitism and xenophobia; like Ramberg, they also associated the recent resurgence of Islamophobia with a number of key national and international events in the twentieth century such as the drift of Muslim population to the West, the "Iranian revolution, hijackers, hostage-taking and acts of terrorism in the 1980's and 1990's, attacks against the world Trade Centre and Pentagon on 9/11 and subsequent terrorist attacks in Europe." (Esposito and Kalin 2011, XXII)

2.6 The Conception of Terrorism

The attribution of terrorism to Islam is the major weapon contemporary Islamophobes use to demonize all Muslims, which create phobia for them in the United States. This linking of terrorism to Islam has impeded the true position of Islam on the acts of terror in reaching the generality of people, especially the average Americans whose major sources of information about Islam and Muslims are the writings and talks of those Islamophobes. This section will briefly discuss terrorism as a concept, examine and the relativism that lies in it.

There is no universally accepted definition of terrorism, because the term is a relational one. As the saying goes, “one person’s terrorist is another’s freedom fighter.” For example, to Palestinians, HAMAS⁴ is a legitimate organization that fights for liberation from Israeli Occupation, while to Israelis, the Organization is defined as a terror group. This relativism made the concept to elude a unified and accepted definition universally.

Notwithstanding, several states, scholars and pundits have attempted to provide several definitions for the concept. The United States for example, defined terrorism as “the calculated use of threat or violence to inculcate fear, intended to coerce or intimidate governments or societies” (Townshend, 2011, 3), or as “premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clan-destined agents, usually intended to influence an audience.” (Weinberg and Eubank 2006, 4); while the United Kingdom defined it as “the use of threat, for the purpose of advancing a political, religious, or ideological course of action, of serious violence against any person or property.” (Townshend 2011, 3) Ganor said, “terrorism is a form of violent struggle in which violence is deliberately used against civilians in order to achieve political goals (nationalistic, socioeconomic, ideological, religious,

⁴ HAMAS is an acronym derived from the Arabic phrase “Harakat al-Muqawamah al-Islamiyyah” which means “Islamic Resistance Movement.” It is a Palestinian Islamist Organization founded in 1987 with the aim of liberating and protecting the Palestinian territory from Israeli Occupation. The Organization is defined by most Western countries and Israel as a terrorist Organization.

etc.)” (2005, 17) According to Wellman, terrorism is “the attempt to coerce an indirect target by means of terror produced by the use or treat of violence against a direct target.” (2013, 16)

Some scholars opined that, instead of trying to give a comprehensive definition of terrorism which had appeared to be difficult due to the relativism and vagueness associated with the concept as explained above, they suggested that it will be more objective and appropriate to provide some acts that are considered to be terroristic, irrespective of who perform them – be it states, non state actors, individuals or any other entity. A study of 109 different definitions of terrorism has been conducted, where 22 key elements that mostly appeared in those definitions were sorted out; some major 5 out of those 22 elements are as follows: first, terrorism must include the application of violence and force; second, it should inculcate fear in the minds of the direct and indirect targets; third, it involves the usage of coercion; fourth, there should be civilians/non-combatants or innocent casualties; and fifth, terrorism is characterized by unexpectedness of occurrence of the violence. (Schmid and Jongman 2005, 5-6) Here, the issue of the “monopoly on the legitimate use of violence” does not hold ground as United States’ definition postulates that “subnational groups or clan-destine agents” are the perpetrators of terrorism. Going by this definition, if a state performs an act similar to that performed by a group which is considered to be a terrorist organization, that state cannot be accused of committing an act terrorism; which is very self-centered and subjective; because an evil act remains evil irrespective of who is/are the perpetrator(s).

Unfortunately, these barbaric and inhuman acts of terror are in most cases knowingly, sometimes unknowingly perceived to be an Islamic value in the United States. This misperception led to the definition of all Muslims as inherently violent and barbaric; and it resulted in the categorization of Muslim people living in the United States as out-group and dangerous. This perception of Muslims as threat within the American society sounds unnecessary alarms and creates panic about the presence of the so-called “folk of devils,” which resulted into xeno-Islamophobic prejudice against them.

2.7 Islamic View on Terrorism

Unless in situations of self defense, the religion of Islam has vividly prohibited the use of force and all forms of violence, torture and any evil act on individuals, groups or state regardless of their religious affiliation or racial background. Islam even went further to enjoin Muslims to choose patience instead of retaliation when they are offended. Evidence of all these Islamic teachings are clearly stated in the Qur'an which is the supreme book of religious and moral guidance in Islam; and the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH)⁵. The Qur'an, says:

If anyone kills a person not in retaliation of murder, or (and) to spread mischief in the land – it would be as if he killed all humankind, and if any one saved life it would be as if he saved the life of all humankind.
(Qur'an 5: 32)

From the above Qur'anic verse, the importance of human life will be understood, where a single life is equated with the whole humanity. This expression is done to emphasize on the value of human life and the magnitude of taking human life in Islam, contrary to anti-Islam selective interpretation of Islam. Even in the case of retaliation as revealed in the above Qur'anic verse (5:32), it should be done by constituted authorities (law enforcement agencies/courts) not by individuals or groups as clarified by the Qur'an (6:151).

Furthermore, the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) warned Muslims that:

Beware! Whoever is cruel and hard on a non-Muslim minority, or curtails their rights, or burdens them with more than they can bear, or takes anything from them against their free will; I (Prophet Muhammad) will complain against the person on the Day of Judgment. (Abu Dawud).
(Schneier and Ali 2013, 187)

Therefore, the killing of innocent people and other evil acts that most terrorists

⁵ PBUH-means: peace be upon him. It is added at the end of the name of Prophet Muhammad as a symbol of reverence and honor.

do today is an act of transgression and a clear violation of Islamic injunctions; which means any misguided person irrespective of his religious affiliation or racial background can commit acts of terror. One does not have to be a Muslim, for him to be a terrorist. It is obvious that some well known terrorist acts both in history and contemporary time were committed by non-Muslims such as the Crusades which has been described as “one of the greatest Crimes” in the history of mankind, (Nicholson 2004, 2) the Holocaust that claimed the lives of approximately 6 million, (Bergen 2009, VII-VIII) the Sabra and Shatila Massacre which exterminated over 3500 Palestinians, the activities of some non-Islamic terrorist organizations such as the Lord Resistance Army (LRA), which at a point in time their activities resulted into the death of four hundred people and displacement of hundreds; (Bahr 2004, 171) and some reoccurring individual acts of terror by non-Muslims such as the case of Anders Breivik that massacred 76 civilians. (Ali et al 2011, 1) The question here is that: why are the religions of those people not blamed for their terroristic acts just the same way Islam is blamed for the acts of some few misguided Muslims? Going by the in-group tolerance and out-group prejudice perspectives, it will be understood that innocent Muslims are regarded as out-group, which is the source of prejudice towards them.

2.8 Jihad in Islam

Jihad is usually interpreted subjectively by Islamophobes; and in most cases, the acts of some misguided people who are claiming to be killing innocent people in the name of Islam serve as supporting evidence upon which they rely to condemn the whole religion and its followers, rather than to consider the actual teaching of Islam; and how the prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and his companions related and treated non-Muslims as explained above.

Literarily, jihad, which an Arabic word by origin means, “to struggle.” (Stephenson 2010, 274) In Islamic sense, Esposito defined it as “the effort to lead a good

life, to make society more moral and just, and to spread Islam through preaching, teaching, or armed struggle.” (Esposito 1999, 30) While Stephenson revealed that:

The greatest jihad is the jihad of *nafs* (self, psyche), to fight your own desires, your own soul, [and] struggle not to do wrong things. If you want to steal something, try not to, that’s jihad. If someone harms you, try to forgive [him or her,] that’s jihad. (Stephenson 2010, 274)

Therefore, from the above definitions, we will comprehend that there are several categories of jihad; which means jihad does not involve warfare only as Islamophobes portray it to be. The mainstream Islamic scholars have divided jihad into four major categories as follows: first, jihad of the heart that is the struggle against self from performing evil, and does not involve action. Second, jihad by tongue which means to commend good deeds and conducts, and condemn or prohibit wrong and evil deeds by words of mouth through educating people and counseling. Third, jihad of the hand (Development of civil society and material progress), this includes the struggle of nation building economically, politically and socially. Fourth, jihad of the sword (Combative War); this is the form of jihad that most people are acquainted with, it means fighting the aggressor that attacks you in a combative war. (Hilmi 2001, 29; Kabbani 2007, 208-209) This form of jihad includes self-defense as revealed by the Qur’an.

2.9 Sayyid Qutb and the revival of Contemporary “Offensive Jihad”

The point of contention here is that, since Islam has clearly condemned terrorism, violence, bloodshed and any other evil act as discussed above, then who are those people that are claiming to kill innocent people in the name of Allah? Who are those people that tie explosives round their bodies and say “Allahu Akbar” (meaning Allah is Great) before killing themselves and innocent people (both Muslims and non-Muslims) around them in public places? If these people are Muslims, as they claim to be, then what has been inspiring them to commit these acts of terror and other evil acts?

The mainstreams Islamic scholars have provided answers to these questions. They argued that these misguided people that commit atrocities and claim to be doing Jihad are the Kharijites.⁶ While in some cases, the whole phenomenon can be viewed from a different angle and be dissociated from religion, and blame political and economic frustration to be the causal factor, which usually generate aggressive reaction and response from the oppressed and frustrated group, as in the case of Palestinians and Israeli. The Kharijites are the group of people that emerged during the political dispute; between Ali bin Abu Talib 4th Caliph, and Mu'awiyya bin Abu Sufyan Governor of Syria over who is the rightful successor of the assassinated Caliph Uthman; which led to the first civil war in Islam.

During the War, the set of people that later became known as the Kharijites were on Ali's side; but Ali's submission to negotiation with Mu'awiyya to avoid bloodshed amongst Muslims discontented them, as a result, they rebelled against Ali (who was the Caliph at that time) and they eventually assassinated him, (Rane 2010, 37) and declared all Muslims that disagreed with their stand and those that participated in that process of that negotiation and peace making as unbelievers and declared the shedding of their bloods legitimate.

Contemporary Kharijism is believed to have been revived by a number of thinkers, key among them is the 20th century Egyptian cleric known as Sayyid Qutb; who developed a radical theory and interpretation of Islam similar to that of the original Kharijites, by legitimizing and calling for "offensive jihad" against any regime and government that is not governed by pure Islamic Law all over the world. Qutb's ideology is based on three major concepts, which are:

First, Hakimiyyah (sovereignty) implies that Allah is the sovereign, and his sovereignty (Hakimiyyah) is the Shari'ah (Islamic Law); which means there is no law

⁶ Literarily, the term Kharijites which is Arabic by origin means those that quitted or exited or those that have deserted. In Arabic, the term is pronounced as khawarij in plural, and khariji in singular. The term is used to describe the set of people that rebelled against Ali bin Abu Talib and later killed him. The term also refers to those Muslims that share same ideology with them even in the contemporary time.

other than that of Allah. He emphasized that sovereignty is a divine attribute, which should not be exercised by man (ruler), whether by implementing any Law or ideology against the divine one. Second, Ubudiyyah (worship or servitude to Allah alone) To Qutb, since leaders are devising laws and ideologies other than the Shari'a (Islamic Law) and people are abiding by those laws and systems, this has created a kind of relationship similar to that of Allah and his servants; a relationship where the ruled are worshipping the rulers. Third, Jahiliyyah (ignorance of Allah's guidance), Qutb used this term to describe the contemporary society that shifted the sovereignty (hakimiyyah) from Allah to man (leaders), and subsequently abiding by their fabricated laws and system against that of Allah which according to Qutb, is just like worshipping the leaders even if those people are Muslims and believed in Allah. (Khatab 2006, 35)

Therefore, to Qutb, this makes no difference with the original pre-Islamic system of Jahiliyyah where people worshipped other deities rather than Allah. Qutb argued that, "those systems that do shift values according to whim, no matter how high minded, are merely *jahili* systems." (Toth 2013, 176) To him no matter how advanced, educated or religious (Islam and others) a society is, as long as that society placed sovereignty to man, and followed man-invented laws against that of Allah, that society is in a state of ignorance (Jahiliyyah) and must be restructured and reformed; and to him, the only way to reform is through offensive and bloody jihad. (Qutb 2005, 14)

In today's world, this call is believed to have led to the creation of many terrorist organizations that claim to be doing "offensive jihad", killing innocent people in the name of Islam, just as the original Kharijites did. Such organizations include the al-Qaeda, the Taliban, the al-Shabab in East Africa, Boko Haram in West and Central Africa, and many other terror groups that are affiliated to them and carry out their terror activities globally.

CHAPTER III

THE DIMENSIONS OF PRE AND POST 9/11 ISLAMOPHOBIA IN THE UNITED STATES

3.1 Pre-9/11: Critical Discourses about Islam and Muslims in the United States

Four year before 9/11, the Runnymede Trust report, titled “Islamophobia: A Challenge For Us All”, defined Islamophobia as “unfounded hostility towards Islam. It refers also to the practical consequences of such hostility in unfair discrimination against Muslim individuals and communities, and to the exclusion of Muslims from mainstream political and social affairs.” (Runnymede Trust 1997, 4) The report further came up with some eight major topics that dominated discourses about Islam and Muslims at that pre-9/11 era; but this Study will discuss the three major ones among them, which are: Islam is “**monolithic**,” Islam is “**separate**,” Islam is “**inferior**.”

Islam is “monolithic”: First, Islam is regarded as a single monolithic bloc, static and does not respond to situations and new realities. (Runnymede Trust 1997, 5) This also means in the discourse about Islam and Muslims, islamophobes lumped all categories of Muslims in one basket and give them a unified treatment without recognizing the diversity within Islam and disagreement among Muslims, (Sajid 2006, 5) that means moderate Muslims are not differentiated from the Extremists. While in reality Islam is a diverse and contemporary religion with freedom of interpreting and adopting new things that will lead to the societal development. (Runnymede Trust 1997, 2) which means, Islam is not a static and rigid religion; it is chameleonic in nature, it respond to changes, conditions and accept new things that does not violate the orthodox creeds of the religion.

Islam is “separate”: Second, Islam and Muslims are seen as others and separate from the popular cultures, values and orientation. (Runnymede Trust 1997, 5) Here,

Islam is believed not to be affected by other values nor Islam influences them, which created a sharp othering and out-grouping between “we” and “others.” This type of discourse about Islam and Muslims portrayed Islam as an alien and isolated block with no historical connection, shared culture or heritage with other faiths. While in real life, Islam is a religion that interact with other faiths which means Islam is a religion that has some elements of shared heritage with other faiths and cultures and sometimes having certain values and objectives with that tallied with other civilizations. (Runnymede Trust 1997, 5; Sajid 2006, 7)

Islam is “inferior”: Third, Muslims and Islam are considered to be inferior to the West. They are regarded as barbaric, primitive, irrational, sexist etc. (Runnymede Trust 1997, 5) but from open view angle, “Islam is seen as distinctively different, but not deficient, and as equally worthy of respect.” This inferiority, includes all other unwanted and uncivilized behaviours that are attributed to Muslims such as the maltreatment of women, being skeptical or total rejection of some social, economic and political practices. (Runnymede Trust 1997, 5; Sajid 2006, 7) In the West and in the United States in particular, Muslims are regarded “as inferior politically, economically, morally, intellectually, in every other way.” (Goldschmidt 1984, 150) While in reality, religious affiliation does not determine the mental capacity of a person or societal advancement. Backwardness occurs as a result of the interplay of some negative political, economic and social phenomena.

The above critical discourses about Islam and Muslims remained in a mildish state up to the end of the Cold War in the late twentieth century. The collapse of the Soviet Union means that, the United States would need a new enemy as a scapegoat for the fulfillment of its foreign policies and national interests. Therefore, the tagging of Muslims as out-group was resuscitated by the end of the Cold War; coupled with events such as the Lockerbie Plane Bombing, the Gulf War, and more gigantic is the 9/11, which reshaped and intensified Islamophobic prejudice in the United States.

3.2 Post-9/11: Critical Discourse about Islam and Muslims in the United States

When it comes to talks about Islam and Muslims, scholars, writers, or advocates are usually divided into two major categories; the “**open view**” and “**closed-view**” camps. The category of people whose writings and perspectives are in defense of Islam are known as “open view” scholars while on the other side, the group of scholars whose writings, perspectives and advocacies are against Islam and Muslims are tag as “closed-view” scholars. (Runnymede Trust 1997, 4)

After the 9/11, there are a number of issues that are debated and discussed in relation to Islam and Muslims; as the documents analysed by this study found. Prominent among those issues are the perception of the acts of terror as an Islamic value, the phobia of Muslims as a threat, and the misperceived discrimination of women in Islam. These three phenomena are mostly used by closed-view thinkers to libel and demonized the generality of Muslims. Therefore, this section will explore and analyze contrasting viewpoints about these three issues that contemporary open and closed view thinkers mostly debate upon; and see how Islamophobic prejudice is being institutionalised and grounded in the United States as a result of these misconceptions.

Muslims are “terrorist”: The Attacks on the United States on September 11 in 2001, by some people who identified themselves as Muslims, re-awakened the fear of Muslims and the resurgence of moral panic about the group of Muslims living in the United States. Thus, innocent Muslims are perceived to be barbaric, irrational and dangerous in the United States. These subjective labellings of the generality of Muslims gave rise to a number negative publications, comments, lectures about Islam and Muslims.

The terms ‘Islamic terrorism’, ‘jihadist terrorism’ and ‘Islamist terrorism’ have been used very frequently in the media and by the security establishments throughout the World. It has created an impression in the minds of a large number of people that terrorist who happens to be

Muslims are to be found in the world because their religion drives them inexorably towards terrorism and that an approval of terrorism is integral to Islam. (Asthana and Nirmal 2009, 23)

In the contemporary era, there are a number of writers, advocates, commentators who dedicated their time and energy in portraying Islam and Muslims in a stereotypical and demonising way. Some of those people include: Robert Spencer, Pamela Geller, Ayaan Hirsi Ali, David Horowitz, Marion Gordon Robertson and many others. This group of people can be classified as leading figures in the contemporary closed-view perspectives. Due this negative impression created in the mind of the majority of people about Muslims especially those living in the American society, Islam is now used synonymously with terrorism and Muslims with terrorists. It said that:

The purpose of the suffix in the term 'Islamophobia' is to suggest that any fear associated with Islam is irrational – whether that fear stems from the fact that its prophet and current-day imams call on believers to kill infidels, or because the attacks of 9/11 were carried out to implement those calls. (Horowitz and Spencer 2011, 2-3)

Here, Spencer and Horowitz start by criticizing the conception of the term Islamophobia and try to justify the fear of Muslims; because to them, the teaching of Islam is the driving force inspiring Muslims to act belligerently. They further emotionally and ignorantly attributed barbarism to the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and the present-day Islamic clerics and accused them of being the source of modern day terrorism.

Similarly, commenting about Muslims and Islam, Pat Robertson said "These people are crazed fanatics, and I want to say it now: I believe it's motivated by demonic power. It is satanic and it's time we recognize what we're dealing with". And he went further to generally condemned Islam by stressing, "Islam is not a religion of peace."

No act of terror is accepted in Islam and the tradition of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) as discussed in chapter two. On this point, Said argued: "to say that terrorism is

Islamic is an absurdity in the sense that Islam is a religion like other religions with ethical and moral standard, and is opposed to terrorism as such.” (Viswanathan 2001, 307) Khan further clarified: “the Islamic view on terrorism has been stated in the Koran and also by the prophet Muhammad. According to Koran, the taking of one innocent life is equivalent to the killing of all mankind.” (Khan 2002, 108)

Therefore, how could a religion with such a principle be blamed for being the genesis of modern day terrorism? To be objective, it is not argued that some few misguided people who identified themselves as Muslims are not involved in the some acts of terror, as do some misguided non-Muslims as discussed on chapter two, and it is equally unfair to place the faults of those few misguided people on the generality of the followers of that religion or the religion itself. The findings of the Runnymede Trust revealed that, “Any episode in which an individual Muslim is judged to have behaved badly is used as an illustrative example to condemn all Muslim without exception,” which is very unjust and illogical. (Runnymede Trust 1997, 5)

Muslims are a “Threat”: The rapid spread of Islam in the United States is one of the factors that are triggering the phobia of Islam. Looking at the history of the fast growing of Islam, which started with the birth of Islam in the Arabian Peninsula and its relentless growth and presence in the heart of Europe and the Iberian Peninsula; this created fear in the mind of Europeans, which is the major factor that triggered the crusades. Today, similar fear of Islam dominating the United States is one of major factors that exuberate Islamophobic prejudice in the American society. (Heitzig 2010, 157)

Contemporarily, strong phobia is usually expressed on the fast spread of Islam in the United States. A good example of such phobia is the strong opposition and condemnation of the proposed use of Islamic law by some courts to pass judgments, and

the increasing number of mosques in the United States, particularly the proposal of building an Islamic Centre, which include a mosque very close to Ground Zero.⁷

Pamela Geller in her book “Stop the Islamization of America” argued and generalized that, “The vast majority of mosques are backed by groups that are linked to the Muslim Brotherhood, the group that is dedicated to ‘eliminating and destroying Western civilization from within’.” (Geller 2011, 24) This standpoints and fear expressed are the type of issues that create panics about Muslims in the United States; that lead to the definition of the Muslims as a separate group and enemies, which in turn lead to Islamophobic prejudice.

Some leading closed-view thinkers participated actively in supporting and pressurizing the banning of courts to decide cases using Islamic Law in Oklahoma. In 2010, when the people of Oklahoma State eventually voted in a referendum to ban the usage of Shari’a law in courts; Geller triumphed and commented that “Oklahoma became the first state to stand up for and protect the Constitution by passing a proposition that sharia-based court decisions and foreign law should be banned an idea that our founding Fathers and any patriot could love.” (Geller 2011, 100)

This statement has clearly shown the “othering”, discrimination and marginalization of Muslims in that society. A nation like the United States that championed in advocating and forcing other countries to give basic human freedoms, rule of law and liberty to people, has consciously and deliberately denied Muslim-Americans their basic right of practicing their religion without hindrance.

Similarly, Robertson publically said "the goal of Islam, ladies and gentlemen whether you like it or not, is world domination". (BBC 2006) An influential person like Robertson with a massive Christian followers speaking recklessly and subjectively about Islam and Muslims showed how vulnerable Muslims living in the United States are. Marsden quoted him (Robertson) in one his programs the “700 Club”, broadcast by

⁷ The space created after the 9/11 attacks, which is the former site of the World Trade Centre in New York.

CBN, saying: “Ladies and gentlemen, we have to recognize that Islam is not a religion. It is a worldwide political movement meant on domination of the world. And it is meant to subjugate all people under Islamic law.” (Marsden 2008, 62)

Logically speaking, this fear expressed by Robertson can clearly be defined as irrational. No single religion can dominate the world, because naturally, people are created to see and belief in things from different angles and perspectives, which means Islam, is not meant to convince all people to be Muslims. Therefore, to say Islam is aiming at dominating the world is a fairytale. However, Robertson might be using this technique to instigate fear and hatred of Muslims in the mind of his listeners and followers in order to breed as many Islamophobes as possible not because he really meant what he saying.

In the same vein, Geller further condemned the Islamic legal system by saying, “in reality, Islamic law is the most radical and intolerant system of governance on the face of the earth. It denies the freedom of speech, the freedom of conscience, and legal equality for women and non-Muslims.” (Geller 2011, 104) She conclusively asserts and warns that, if Islam continue to grow and eventually dominate the United States, “The choices for unbelievers are thus to convert to Islam; or submit as inferiors to Islamic rule, paying the tax and accepting the discrimination that Islamic law mandates for non-Muslims in the Islamic state; or die.” (Geller 2011, 110)

According to Geller, these are the only three options for non-Muslims living in Muslim dominated states; and she further warned that, this is what is going to happen if Islam is not stopped from growing in the United States. This assertion can easily be falsified because in today’s world, we are all witnessing numerous countries where Muslims are the majority, but non-Muslims in those countries are not forced to convert to Islam, they are not treated as second-class citizens nor are they murdered just because of their beliefs.

In Contrast, Ramadan clarified what Islamic law (Shari’a) means, against the orientalist and Islamophobes description of Shari’a. Ramadan argued:

In Europe and in North America, [or elsewhere,] as soon as one pronounces the shahada, as soon as one “is Muslim” and tries to remain so by practicing the daily prayers, giving alms, and fasting, for example, or even simply by trying to respect Muslim ethics, one is already in the process of applying the Sharia, not in any peripheral way but in its most essential aspects. (Ramadan 2004, 33)

He further expatiates that Shari’a means abiding by the rules and universal principles of Islam mentioned above; and he sadly revealed that due to the activities of some close-view thinkers which miseducate the public and policy makers, “the idea of Sharia calls up all the darkest images of Islam: repression of women, physical punishments, stoning, and all other such things.” (Ramadan 2004, 31)

Concerning the over-emphasis of the rigidity and incompatibility of Islam to American values by Islamophobes in the United States, Ramadan responded that, the religion of Islam is one universally; and “the fundamental principles that define it are those to which all Muslims adhere, even though there may be, clothed in Islamic principles, an important margin allowed for evolution, transformation, and adaptation to various social and cultural environments.” (Ramadan 2004, 9) This explanation has clearly shown the chameleonic nature of Islam, which can cope and adapt to any ideological setting and environment. In similar manner, Talib reaffirmed the true principles of Islam as a peace loving religion, and made arguments that could serve as response to some Islamophobic accusations. He said:

The holy source of Islam is the Qur’an; and the model of morality in the Qur’an is completely different from the image of it formed in the minds of some westerners. The Qur’an is based on the concept of morality, love, compassion, mercy, modesty, self-sacrifice, tolerance and peace, and a Muslim who truly lives according to these moral precepts is highly refined, thoughtful, tolerant, trustworthy, and accommodating. (Talib 2005, 19)

As history proved, when the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) came with Islam, the corrupt leaders and the bourgeoisies of his city of Makkah went against him and subjected him and his followers to a series of tortures and maltreatments, which forced the Prophet and his followers to migrate from their home town to the city of Madinah in search for a peaceful settlement. Still, when the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and his followers migrated, those people that forced him out of his home did not allow him to live in peace there, they continued to oppress them; which forced the Muslims to revert and fight in order to have a sustainable peace. Therefore, from this proven and undeniable history, sword was used in Islam for self-defense not for offensive purposes as against modern day Islamophobic narrations that usually tell one side of the story without balancing it by informing their audience why the sword was truly used.

Muslims are “violators of women’s rights”: In recent time, Islam is portrayed as a religion that does not value and recognize the rights of women. Islam is perceived in the United States as a religion that does not consider women as free humans but as properties or some beings created to supplement the male gender only; and sometimes, some harsh cultural practices, such as forced marriage, the female genital mutilation (FGM), etc. are ignorantly and emotionally attributed to Islam. This study understands that these assertions are among the key factors that fuel Islamophobic prejudice in the American society. Ali argued that:

A Muslim girl does not make her own decisions or seek control. She is trained to be docile. If you are a Muslim girl, you disappear, until there is almost no you inside you. In Islam, becoming an individual is not a necessary development; many people, especially women, never develop a clear individual will. You submit: that is the literal meaning of the word Islam: submission. The goal is to become quiet inside, so that you never raise your eyes, not even inside your mind. (Ali 2007, 94)

Ali’s arguments could be said to be too flamboyant; because most of her arguments are based on cultural maltreatment of some few women; and she put the blame on Islam instead of attacking the traditional and cultural principles that inspired

those people to treat women that way. She further argued that, “Quran schools girls learn that God requires them to obey, that they are worth less than boys and have fewer rights before God.” (Ali 2010, 129) These accusations have no base, because they failed to point a specific verse from the Qur’an, the Hadith, the Ijmah, the Qiyas⁸ or any other Islamic source of jurisprudence where the discrimination of women hails from.

It is revealed that, most people in the United States are convinced of the brutality of Islam especially on women; and “already understand that Muslim immigrants create specific social problems in their countries and that they often involve the oppression of women.” (Ali, 2010, 129) These, and similar misconceptions are key factors that massively create illogical fear of Muslims, which result in situations of moral panics in the American society. In contrast to this type of arguments, Syed counter-argued that:

Islamic law has always upheld the rights of Muslim women. The Quran and the Hadith are particularly concerned with the husbands’ treatment of their wives. The Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) was extremely sympathetic to Muslim women and was conscious about the special rights of Muslim wives in matrimonial relationships with their husbands. (Syed 2004, 49)

Unlike Ali’s arguments, which are backed up mostly by the personal stories of some few people, Syed arguments are based on the original text of the Qur’an the authentic sayings of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). He quoted one of the authentic saying of the Prophet Muhammad (PHUH) about sympathy of Women, where the Prophet said: “The most excellent of you is he who is best in the treatment of his wife.” (Syed 2004, 49)

In same vein, Nasir argued that, “whether they are Muslim or not, women under

⁸ The Qur’an: is the Holy Book revealed to the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) as the book of guidance that contains the dos and don’ts in Islam. Hadith: is a collection of the sayings and actions of the prophet Muhammad. Ijmah: this is the general consensus of the Islamic clerics about a particular phenomenon in Islam cannot be found vividly in the Qur’an or the sayings of the prophet. Qiyas: this is the analogical deduction made by Islamic scholars on issues that are not clearly stated in the Qur’an or hadiths. Both Ijmah and Qiyas are based within the confines of Qur’an and hadiths. In Islam, the Qur’an and Hadith are the primary while Ijmah and Qiyas are the secondary sources of Islamic Law, moral conduct and all other Islamic precepts.

Islam are not the powerless followers of men that much of the non-Muslim world would have us believe.” (Nasir 2009, 2) However, Nasir objectively confessed and clarified that:

There are pockets within the modern Muslim world where the lives of women appear to fit exactly the misconception that Muslim women are some kind of second-class citizens, subordinate to their fathers, husbands or brothers, but these are in a very small minority. It must be remembered that such small areas where fanaticism rules are not to be confused with the true Islamic world. (Nasir 2009, 2)

Nasir’s explanation fits exactly as a direct clarification to Ali’s confusion and people with similar misconception of the position of women in Islam; because she made a generalization from a sample collected from her Somali community, where in reality, there are disparities between Somali cultural norms and what Islam teaches. In the end, all these misconceptions are attributed to lack of knowledge of the true teachings of Islam and the propaganda of some people that are not based on facts and reasons; Nasir clearly stated that “This conception originally resulted from ignorance and prejudice, and yet there are many historical facts that show quite the opposite to be true.” (Nasir 2009, 3)

All in all, this study critically observed that, in every instance of the above arguments and counter arguments, it is understood that, Islam is always at the defensive side, while the Islamophobic writers and orators are at the offensive side; from there, it can be judged who are the attackers and who are the defenders. These stereotyping and slanderous writings/talks about Islam and Muslims usually generate hatred, which translate into Islamophobic prejudice towards Muslim minorities in the United States.

3.3 Post-9/11 Era: Political and Social Dimensions of Islamophobia in the United States

Bearing the earlier historical trends of the manifestation of Islamophobia in

the United States in mind, and the pre and post 9/11 critical discourses about Islam and Muslims, this section will compare and see how the 9/11 reshaped and created a more deepened Islamophobia in the post-9/11 United States from **Political dimension** and **social dimension**; where the government of the United States itself, become the perpetrator of Islamophobic atrocities on innocent Muslims.

3.3.1 Political Dimension

The 9/11 has affected so many angles of American society ranging from tilting its domestic and foreign policies to new dimensions more especially in relation to Muslims living in the United States, both citizens and immigrants. This section will look at some major changes and shifts that occurred in the political arena in the post-9/11 United States. The major themes that will be discuss here are the **Immigration laws and policies**, the **USA Patriot Act**, and the controversy over **banning courts to pass judgments based on Shari'a Law** for Muslims in the United States.

Immigration laws and policies: Bali revealed that, “Since September 11 2001, the Bush administration has developed a series of mechanisms, by-passing due process protections, to indefinitely detain immigrant men, predominantly of Middle Eastern background, on a civil immigration pretext.” (2006, 1)

Additionally, in the winter of 2001-2, the Justice Department officially selected 5,000 young immigrants men for interviews *not* on the basis of any specific information regarding possible link to terrorist activities, but solely on the basis of their age, date of arrival in the United States, and country of origin, most of which were Muslims/Arabs countries. (Norgren and Nanda 2006, 249)

In the aftermath of 9/11, immigration laws and policies became the most effective weapons to dealt with Muslims immigrants in the United States. Immigration courts were used by the government freely in such a manner that the accused persons have limited or no any legal protections. (Chishti et al 2003, 9 &13) Considering the

fact that suspects of the 9/11 attacks were Muslims, in the United States the faults of those few Muslims affected innocent Muslims and they were tagged as group of potential terrorists and dangerous enemies from within.

Consequently, as an initial move to deal with these so-called “Folk of Devils,” the American Government manipulated the immigration Laws “to craft a system of preventive administrative detention, imprisonment, and ultimately deportation of thousands of Muslims/middle Eastern immigrant men.” (Bali 2006, 42) In 2003, thousands of Muslim immigrants were arrested, detained, tortured under utmost coercion and eventually deported. (Norgren and Nanda 2006, 249)

Thus, those Muslims detained were deprived from their rights of access to lawyers and other rights, and in many cases, detention were prolonged even after granting bail to the suspects by court. (Chishti et al 2003, 9) In same vein, it was observed that, law enforcement agents gravely punish minor offences committed by Muslims, while ignoring similar offences committed by other “millions” of non-Muslims immigrants. (Ghazali 2012, 7) These merciless attitudes towards Muslims were aimed at traumatizing and get rid of Muslims community, as they are perceived to be aliens and internal enemies within the American society. Under the pretext of national security interests, the attorney General ordered the secrecy of this violation of legal due process and rights from the Public, the press, Legal observers and he families of the detainees which is in contrary to the Laws and Constitution of the United States. (Norgren and Nanda 2006, 249-250)

The USA PATRIOT Act: Apart from the above misuse of immigration Laws and Policies in the post 9/11 United States, the American Government moved deep into the most secretive issues of its citizens, where Muslims became the prime target. In less than 60 days after the 9/11 attacks, the United States Congress summarily passed the crafted USA PATRIOT Act (Uniting and Strengthening America by providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism) and signed into Law by president Bush just two days later. (Cainkar 2009, 123) The USA PATRIOT Act

Expanded the U.S. government to use surveillance and wiretapping without first showing probable cause, permitted secret search and access to private records by government agents without oversight, authorized the detention of immigrants on alleged suspicions and the denial of admission to the United States based on person's speech, and expanded the concept of guilt of association. (Cainkar 2009, 123)

The Act washed away many civil liberties previously enjoyed by the people of the United States and abrogated many constitutional rights of the citizens. Also, the law enforcement agents were given more power to act summarily and without following due process and without much restriction. (Brasch 2005, 169-173)

Furthermore, the USA PATRIOT Act expanded the authority of the secretary of treasury to investigate and regulate financial transactions related to both foreigners and citizens of the United States. (Smith and Hung 2010, 119) But it is observed that, since the passage of the Act into law, "the provisions of the PATRIOT Act have been principally used on Arabs and Muslims in the United States and on their community institutions, charities, and businesses." (Cainkar 2009, 123)

The provisions of the Act were extensively applied to Muslims as if the Act is mainly crafted to deal with only Muslims, which deprived them from their civil and constitutional rights. The PATRIOT Act affected both American Muslims and Muslims from other nations that have some business, academic or some private connections with the United States. One of the popular incidents that happened as a result of the provision of this Act was the denial of visa into the United States to the renowned Oxford Islamic Scholar Tariq Raman to attend an academic function in 2004, "on the Ground that he espoused or endorsed terrorism – advocacy that was prohibited under the USA PATRIOT Act," (Zick 2014, 4) an act that received criticisms from many angles from within the United States, including a law Suit by the American Civil Liberties Union.

The Move on Sharia Law Ban: In the United States, the Phobia of Islam and Muslims in the post 9/11 did not only stop on core National issues, it went further to deprived Muslims one of their most basic constitutional right of practicing their religion

without any hindrance. In November 2010, the Oklahoma States in a referendum voted to amend the state constitution to ban court from consulting Shari'a in passing Judgments for cases affecting Muslims in the State. The amendment reads: "The courts shall not look to the legal precepts of other nations or cultures. Specifically, the courts shall not consider international law or Sharia law." The person that initiated the move, Rex Duncan, was a state representative and had argued that the move "was not intended as an attack on Muslims, but was rather a 'pre-emptive strike' preventing the application of Sharia law." (BBC 2012)

The move is not only restricted to Oklahoma, other 20 states were also on the brink of following suit, (NBC 2012) before a law suit was filed by Muneer Awad, an American Muslim and Chairman of the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) in Oklahoma, where the court declared the amendment as unconstitutional and subsequently supported by the decision of the court of appeal in January 2012, which rejected the appeal by Oklahoma States. (CNN 2012) Again,

All of the 2012 presidential candidates in the republican field have worked to instill fear of Muslims and Islam generally, claiming that there is a concerted effort to impose Sharia law in the United States. In a November 2010 speech, representative Michele Bachmann told the conservative Family Research Council that Sharia 'must be resisted across the United States.' In a June 2011 debate, Mitt Romney said 'we're not going to have Sharia law applied in U.S. courts. That's never going to happen.' Herman Cain declared in March 2011 that he would not appoint a Muslim to a cabinet position or judgeship because 'there is creeping attempt to gradually ease sharia law and the Muslims faith into our government. It does not belong in our government.' And Rich Santorum refers to Sharia as 'an existential threat' to the United States. (Henry 2012, 250)

From the above cases and statement, ranging from opinion of common individuals who voted against Shari'a law and Islamophobic Statement from political

figures who are key players in shaping the political and social atmosphere in the society, one could understand the extent to which the 9/11 has dramatically reshaped the political arena, and how more vulnerable the Muslim Americans are in their own country. From the Islamophobic statement made by key politicians above, such as one made Herman Cain, where he openly declared that if he find himself in power, Muslims American are going to be isolated and are not going to participate in the decision making and other political affairs that would affect their lives, which signified disaster for the Muslim community. Furthermore, the statement of each of the above politicians has some elements of alienation and out-grouping of Muslims from the larger American society by describing them as some dangerous elements in midst of the society, which instilled fear, hatred and prejudice towards them.

3.3.2 Social Dimension

Besides the increased in the Islamophobic prejudice blow Muslims are receiving from the political angle in post 9/11 United States, the social live of Muslims in the United States is also hijacked by islamophobic prejudice; but this time around unlike the pre-9/11 era, the Islamophobia is being perpetrated by authorities themselves backed by laws and federal policies. This section will look at some key social aspects bedeviling the social life of Muslims such as **excessive surveillance and interrogation, racial Profiling** and **social prejudice**, that are crafted in the aftermath of 9/11 exposing innocent Muslims to vulnerability and deprived them from their most basic civil liberties; all under the pretext of national security interests.

Excessive Surveillance and Interrogations: “Following the 9/11, 2001, Muslims in the United states became the focus of unprecedented levels of government surveillance, public scrutiny, and media attention. [Also,] Islam and ordinary Muslims became closely associated with terrorism in the minds of many Americans.” (Pohl 2011, 188)

Just some few weeks after the 9/11 attacks, some unbecoming developments stated to surface, among which is the national policy that Muslims/middle Easterners should be place under intensive security surveillance and constant interrogation at any moment and place all under the pretext of homeland security. (Lyon 2003,103) Pohl added that, “the surveillance of Muslims communities were approved as part of new law enforcement guidelines established to counter terrorist threats. These new provisions were seen by many as being implicitly targeted at Muslim Americans.” (2011, 188)

The Muslims community in the United States at that time were perceive to solely be responsible for the 9/11 atrocities that claimed the life of more than 3,000 people on American soil. Therefore, the situation turn into a scenario of social categorization where Muslims and Muslim looking people are lumped in one category and tagged as the evildoers. Barely two months after the 9/11, the Justice Department made its decision known, to interrogate some 5,000 Arabs/Muslims. By April 2005, almost five hundred thousand Muslims were recoded to have gone through series of interrogations related to what happened on 9/11. (Cainkar 2009, 125)

FBI investigations into Muslims, particularly those from Middle East, have caused strains and hardship for families. Some have been targeted again and again. Some have been interviewed by the FBI six times, and asked the same questions that were asked the previews five times; some were visited at their homes at 2:00 A.M ... everyone is suspect. You don't know who's going to knock at your door. (Cainkar 2009, 125)

The excessive social pressure experienced by Muslim community in the post 9/11 United States all in the guise of securing the homeland has significantly curtailed the civil and legal rights of many innocent Muslims and their lives were placed under threat and uncertainty. These double standards domestic policies accompanied by aggressive foreign policies towards Muslim majority countries, more especially the Middle Eastern countries, under the slogan of “global war on terror” violated so many international laws and conventions; which in turn created a severe feeling of animosity

between Muslims and non-Muslims Americans, and between non-Muslim Americans and Muslims at international level.

Racial Profiling: Racial profiling is the act of considering the racial affiliation of a person or group to suspect him or to place a suspicious eye on him without any visible or rational reasons to do so. The 9/11 attacks in the United States involving Muslims as suspects has instilled an unprecedented fear in the minds of all categories of people in the United States, which made the government to enact new laws and policies giving the law enforcement agents extra power to carry additional checking and discriminatory scrutiny on suspicious elements, specifically Muslims and Muslim looking people with the cautious intent and assumptions that they might be terrorists and may perhaps be coordinating other deadly attacks.

In the pre 9/11 era, African Americans and other racially out-grouped class of people were victims of racial profiling in the United States; but the 9/11 attacks tilted this discriminatory act towards Muslim Americans and immigrants from Middle East and other Muslims majority countries. Many Muslims Americans at one point or another after 9/11 went through racial profiling by the law enforcement agents, not because they are involved in any suspicious act, but just because they are Muslims. (Maira 2008, 38)

Though, the government described the profiling of Muslims as a necessary part of the domestic counterterrorism measures, and expressed its readiness to halt the profiling as soon as terrorist threat is subdued, but most non-Muslims Americans expressed their support and perpetual continuity of the process. Consequently, this “governmental racial profiling and preventive law enforcement practices carried out in the form of airport profiling, secret arrests, race-based immigration policies, and selective enforcement of immigration laws of general applicability legitimize private biases against Muslims, Arabs, and South Asians.” (Banks 2004, 17)

This harsh and discriminatory profiling of Muslims in the aftermath of 9/11, throw many Muslim families in a state of turmoil and uncertainty of their safety due to this domestic counterterrorism tactics by the government. Numerous Muslims left the United States through deportation, while others left voluntarily for their safety and

security, because of the multiple Islamophobic prejudice and assaults received from several angles including the law enforcement agents who are ideally suppose to protect them.

Social Prejudice: The post 9/11 era in the United States was characterized by unimaginable social prejudice against Muslims and even non-Muslims that look like Muslims physically were not spared. In that era, several studies recorded several cases of unprecedented prejudice, verbal, physical and psychological violence, discriminations and exclusion from the main society. These prejudices were not only restricted to adult Muslims men alone, it is extended to Muslim women and children, where several studies recorded the cases of physical or verbal assaults of Muslim women in public places wearing hijab or headscarf. Muslim children too were not spared from prejudice by their mates at schools and in the neighborhood. In October 2006, a survey revealed that in the United States (New York), a twenty-four-year old innocent Pakistani Muslim was assaulted by a group of five teenagers. They beat him up, spit on him and called him a “terrorist,” and hurling “Go back to your country.” (Human Rights First 2007, 6) Also, a similar case was recorded where “a Muslims woman was asked to remove her hijab in public before boarding an American airlines flight.”(Alsultany 2008, 211) These are few out of thousands cases, and other worse incidence happened; some are recorded while others remained unnoticed. In post 9/11,

The atmosphere is very tense for Muslims in the country’. Fearing violence, some families kept children out of school and a number of mosques and Islamic academics remained closed for more then three months. As reports of the hate crimes against Muslims and south Asians rose sharply across the United States, many Muslims, even those who did not practice the religion, felt deeply insecure. (Rizvi 2005, 169)

Prior to 9/11, the perceived “threat of Islam” is regarded as a far away phenomenon usually depicted in films, orientalist literatures and media stories. Thought, the 9/11 was not the first attack in the United States, but due to tactics used and well coordinated manner of the attack which casted fear and vulnerability in the mind of

Americans, it broke that mindset of far away “threat of Muslims” and created a new one similar to the one created in the 16th century by the approaching of Muslim Turks into the heart Europe, that sound an alarm of “they are here” right in our land to hunt us; and we need to defend ourselves by fighting them back, which further strengthen the “we” and “they” dichotomy.

After the 9/11 attacks, a rise in negative representation of Islam and Muslims in the American media was recorded by a number of studies; where Muslims are usually portrayed as terrorists and uncivilized. A study of some print Media disclosed that, in all the news items that talked about Islam and Muslims in in the wake of 9/11, “91 per cent of all representations were deemed to be negative.” (Allen 2012, 9)

However, some few findings showed that in some few cases the positive sides of Islam and Muslims are shown by the media; but Professor Evelyn Alsultany of the University of Michigan, argued that, the positive portrayal did not help much in abating the Muslims’ situation, it rather increased the “negative understandings of Muslims and therefore perpetuate biases.” It is again observed that, that sympathetic portrayals of Muslims by the media in the United States, did not prevent the occurrences of “hate crimes, work place discrimination, bias incidents, and airline discrimination targeting Arab and Muslim Americans increased exponentially” (Alsultany 2012, 39) Cashin added that, after the incident of 9/11, there was “a growing cadre of activists, writers, and media pundits intentionally propagate Islamophobic statements and misinformation.” (2010, 131)

In the wake of 9/11, the media serve as the vehicles in conveying and disseminating the distorted image of the reality about Islam and Muslims to the publics in the in the United States and to other targeted audiences across the Globe. The bias nature of the most American media in reporting Muslims related stories is not only regarded as a violation one of basic ethics of journalism of “balance and fairness,” but also, an act of labeling that has reached the extent when terms such as terrorist are uttered the first thing that comes to peoples’ mind is the image of a Muslim looking person. Due to this miseducation by the media, some Americans even mistake terms such as terrorism to be

synonymous to Islam or use them interchangeably; while some perceived most barbaric acts as Islamic values. At the long run, the activities of Islamophobes, coupled with perpetual day-to-day language-usage by the mainstream media and the unbalance reporting promoted and increased the rate of Islamophobic prejudice on innocent Muslims in the post 9/11 United States.

CHAPTER IV

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA AND FINDINGS

This study seeks to find out how did 9/11 reshaped existing Islamophobic prejudice in the United States. It hypothesized that, the 9/11 attacks in the United States reshaped the old prejudice against Muslims through the reinforcement of the strong social identity construction of Muslims as “out-group” and the dramatic rise in the critical discourse about Islam and Muslims. To test this hypothesis, two categories were created: the prejudice (out-group) and the tolerance (in-group) categories. The Prejudice (out-group) against Muslims category was coded to include six attributes derived from the analysed critical discourses against Muslims; (see chapter III) they are: (Terrorist, Threat, Women's Rights violation, Undemocratic, Backward and Intolerant); while the tolerance (In-group) for Muslims category was coded include six attributes as well: (Peaceful, civilized, educated. partners trustworthy and honest.) Though, the tolerance (in-group) category is not required in testing the hypothesis, but it will help in having a clearer and balanced picture of the phenomenon under study as explained earlier.

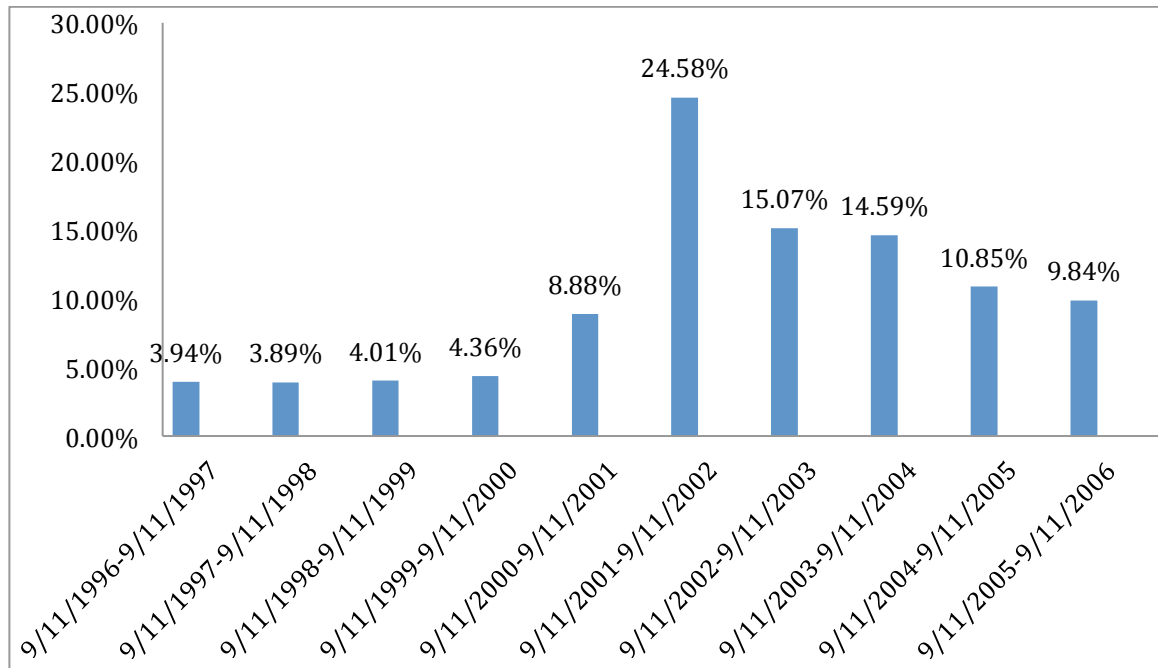
Three American newspapers are used as an avenue to test the hypothesis. They are: The Los Angeles Times, New York Times and USA Today using specific search terms (explained under methodology) and specific date range from 9/11/1996 to 9/11/2006, that is five years before and five years after 9/11. An aggregate of 20595 articles were generated from the search of the three newspapers throughout the search period. The period after 9/11 has the highest number of articles with 75.23%, while the period before 9/11 produced only 24.77% of the total articles generated. The articles generated under the category of prejudice (out-group) against Muslims stood at 75.53%, while that of tolerance (in-group) for Muslims reveal a lesser rate of 24.47% of the total articles.

4.1 Frequency

Table 1: Frequency of Articles for Each Period Range with both in-group and out-group attributes for Muslims.

Period Range	Frequency Of Articles	Percentage (%)
9/11/1996 to 9/11/1997	811	03.94 %
9/11/1997 to 9/11/1998	802	03.89 %
9/11/1998 to 9/11/1999	826	04.01 %
9/11/1999 to 9/11/2000	897	04.36 %
9/11/2000 to 9/11/2001	1828	08.88 %
9/11/2001 to 9/11/2002	5062	24.58 %
9/11/2002 to 9/11/2003	3103	15.07 %
9/11/2003 to 9/11/2004	3004	14.59 %
9/11/2004 to 9/11/2005	2235	10.85 %
9/11/2005 to 9/11/2006	2027	09.84 %
Total	20595	100 %

Figure 3: Frequency of Articles for each Period Range.



From the data displayed in Table 1 and Figure 1, it is found that the period between 9/11/2001 and 9/11/2002 has the highest frequency of articles, with 5062 articles representing 24.58 % of the entire articles. While the period range between 9/11/1997 to 9/11/1998 is found to have the lowest frequency of articles, with 802 articles representing 03.89 % of the entire articles generated. It is also found that there was a steady decline in the number of articles for each year in the post 9/11 period but still higher than the pre 9/11 periods.

Figure 4: Total Frequency of Articles Published in the pre and post-9/11.

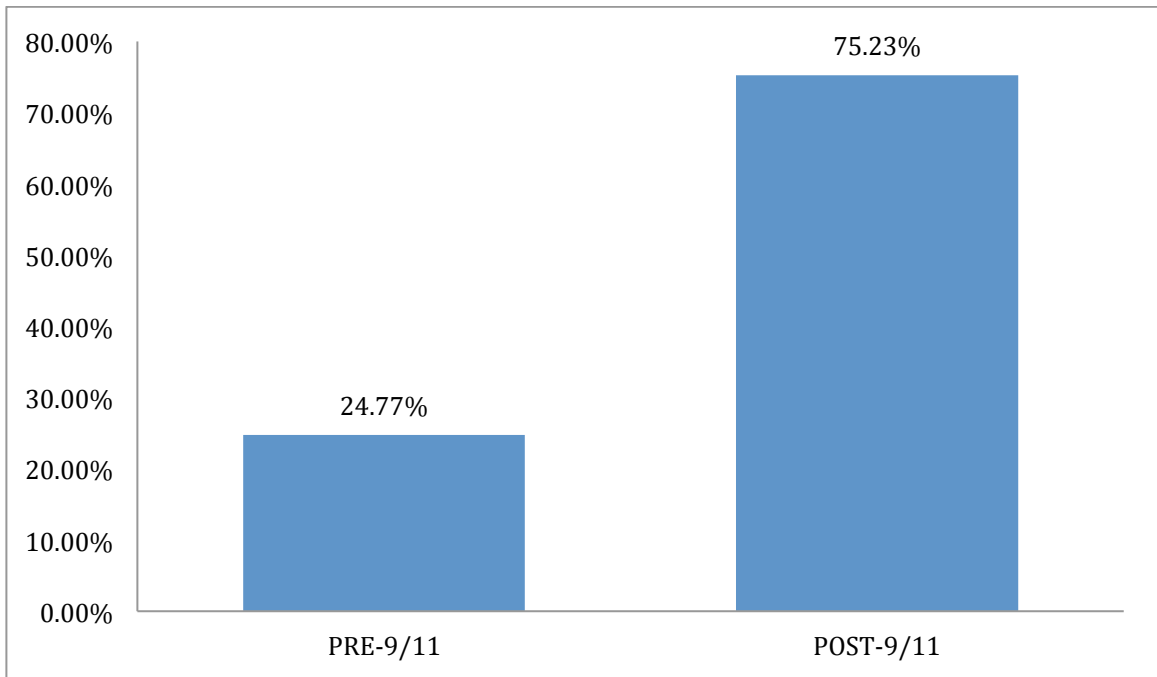


Figure 2 reveals that, throughout the search periods, the periods after 9/11 has a dramatically higher number of articles, with 15494 articles representing 75.23 %, while the period before 9/11 has only 5101 articles representing 24.77 %.

Figure 5: Total Frequency of Articles Published by each Newspaper.

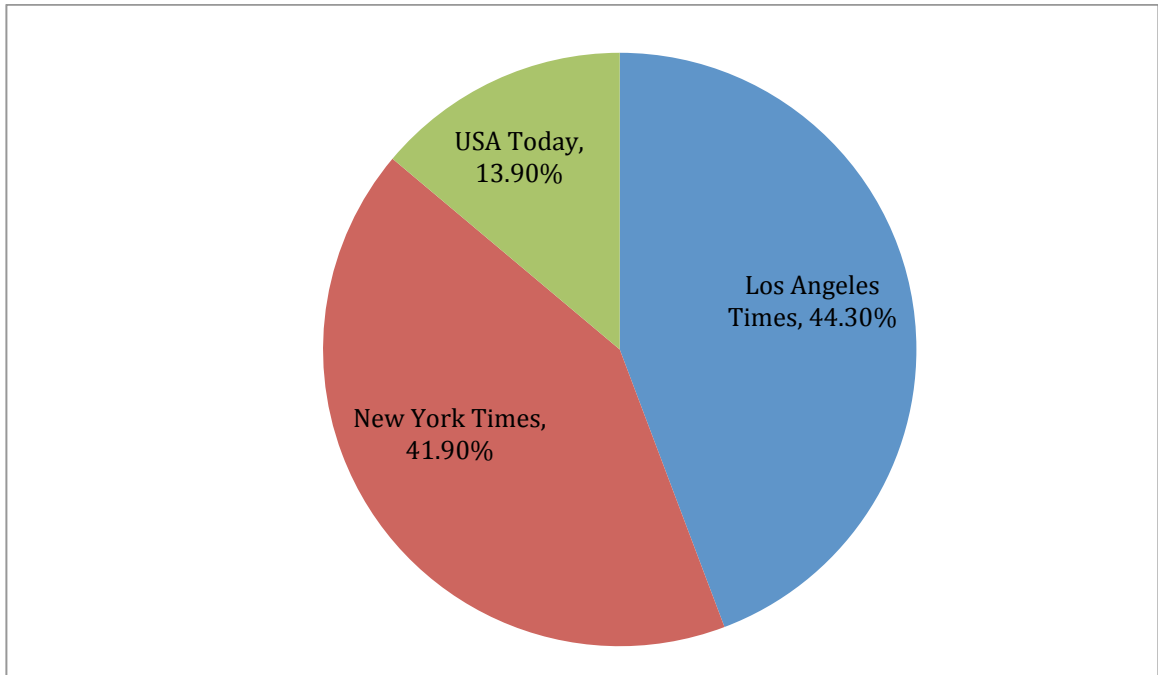


Figure 3 shows that, from the samples drawn from the three newspapers, the Los Angeles Times has produced 9114 articles, representing 44.30 % which is the highest, followed by the New York Times, which produced 8624 articles representing 41.90 %. The USA Today is found to have produced lowest number of articles with only 2857 articles representing 13.90 % of the entire articles generated.

4.2 Prejudices and Tolerance (out-group & in-group)

Table 2: Frequency of Articles that Featured each Search Term for both Prejudice against Muslims and Tolerance for Muslims (in-group and out-group) in Descending Order.

Search Terms	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Terrorist	9116	44.26 %
Threat	4880	23.70 %
Peaceful	1452	7.05 %
Partners	1378	6.69 %
Educated	1124	5.46 %
Women's Rights Violation	869	4.22 %
Honest	570	2.77 %
Civilized	448	2.18 %
Backward	372	1.81 %
Intolerant	169	0.82 %
Undemocratic	149	0.72 %
Trustworthy	68	0.33 %
Total	20595	100 %

Figure 6: Frequency of Articles that Featured Prejudice (out-group) against Muslims out of the entire Generated Articles

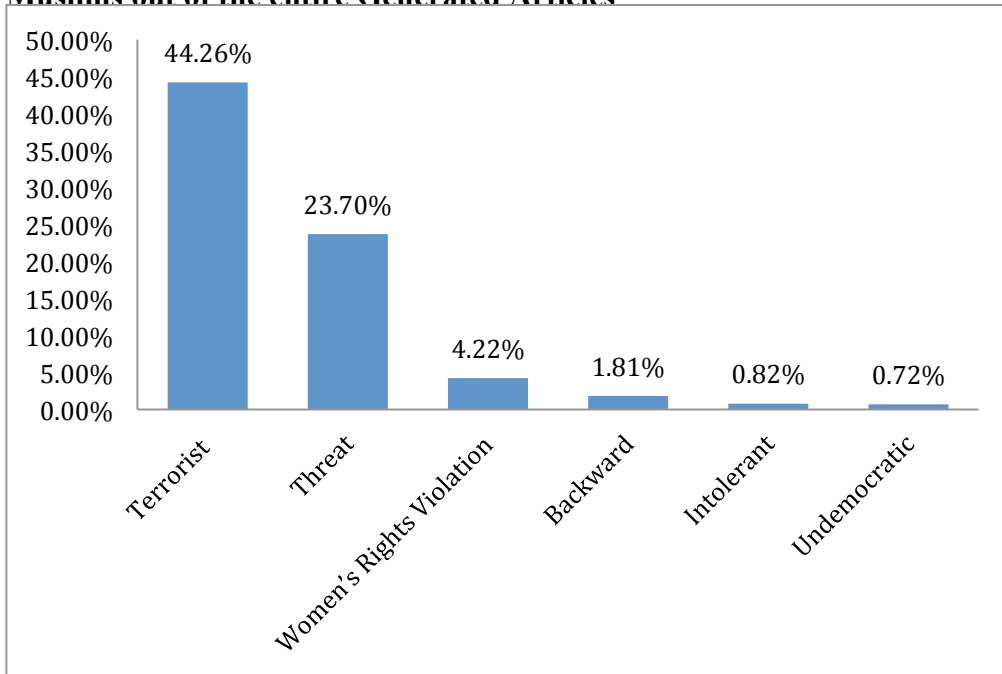
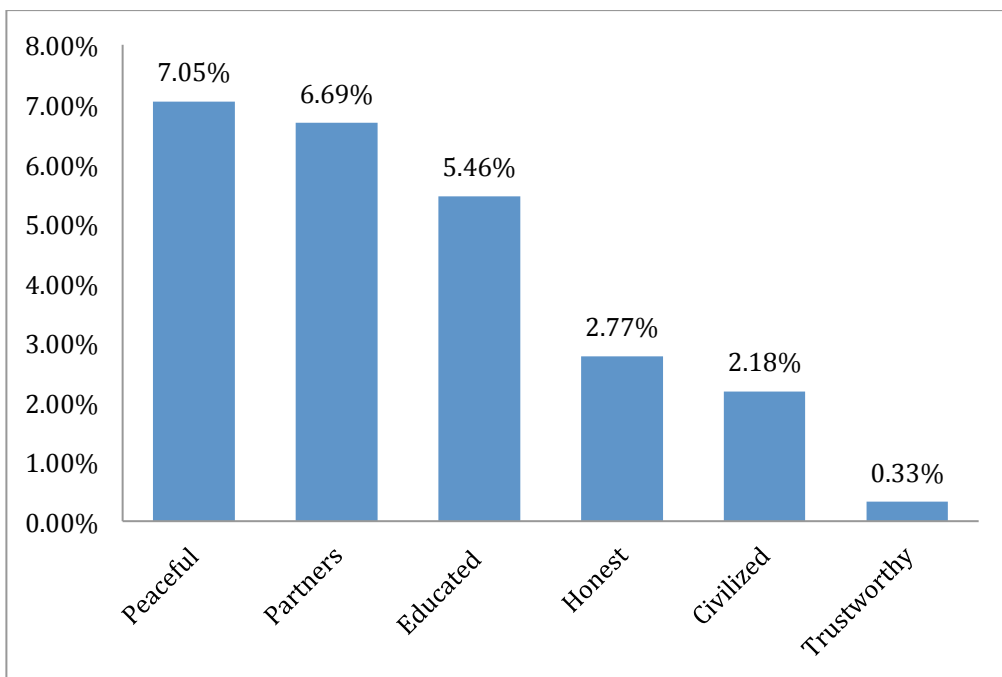


Figure 7: Frequency of Articles that Featured Tolerance (in-group) for Muslims out of the entire Generated Articles.



From the data displayed on table 2 and figure 4, it is found that articles that featured under the search term “Muslims AND terrorist” have the highest frequency with 9116 articles representing 44.26%, followed by 1452 articles that featured the search term “Muslims AND threat” representing 7.05%. The articles that are generated under the search term “Muslims AND women’s Rights violation” has the third highest frequency with 869 articles representing 4.22 %. The remaining three prejudice (out-group) terms, “Muslims AND undemocratic”, “Muslims AND intolerant” and “Muslims AND backward” produced insignificant results.

4.3 Prejudice (Out-group)

Table 3: Compared Frequency of Articles that Featured Prejudice (out-group) against Muslims for both Pre and Post 9/11 periods.

Search Terms	PRE-9/11		POST-9/11	
	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Terrorist	1656	48.85 %	7460	61.32 %
Threat	1251	36.90 %	3629	29.83 %
Women’s Rights Violation	262	07.73 %	607	4.99 %
Undemocratic	42	01.24 %	107	0.88 %
Intolerant	52	01.50 %	117	0.96 %
Backward	127	03.75 %	245	2.01 %
Total	3390	21.79 %	12165	78.21 %

Figure 8: Compared Frequency of Articles that Featured Prejudice (out-group) against Muslims for both Pre and Post 9/11 Periods.

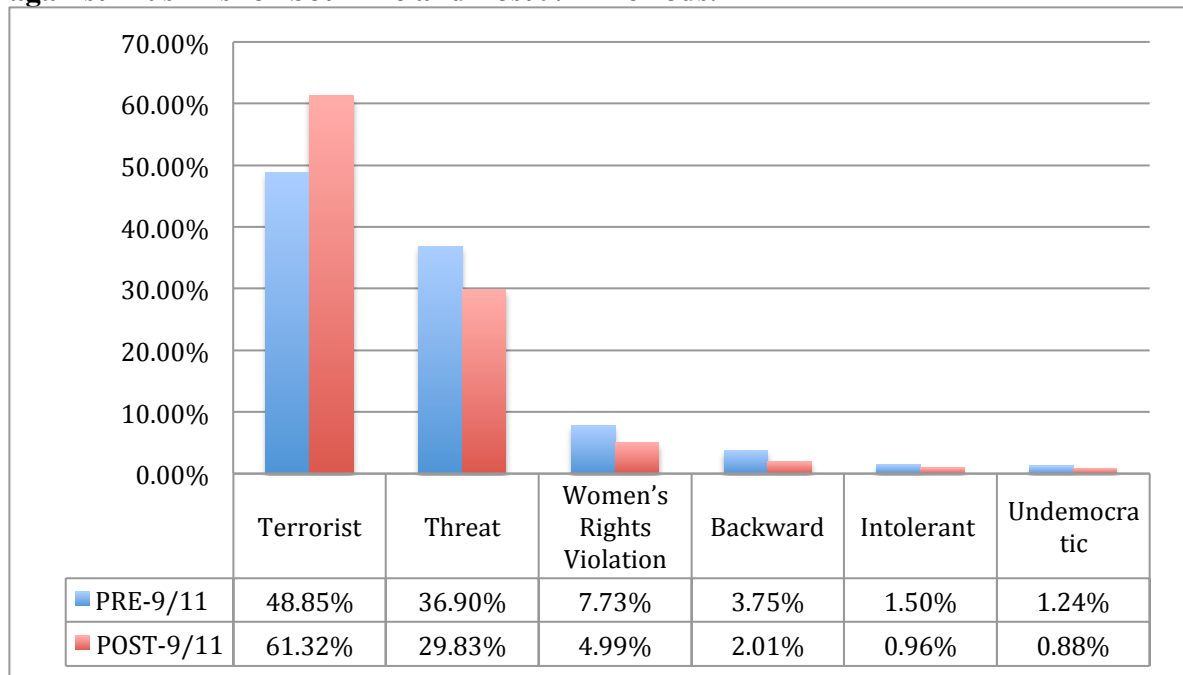


Table 3 and figure 6 display compared data for each Prejudice (out-group) search term in the pre and post 9/11, to see which term that played key role in reshaping the existing prejudice (out-grouping) against Muslims in the post 9/11. The search term “terrorist” appeared to have the highest frequency of 1656 articles representing 48.85 % and 7460 articles representing 61.32 %, for pre and post 9/11 respectively. All the remaining five search terms showed a decrease instead to ideally increase in the post-9/11 era. This means libeling of Muslims as terrorist played the key role in generating prejudice (out-group) against them in the post 9/11 United States.

4.4 Tolerance (In-group)

Table 4: Compared Frequency of Articles that Featured Tolerance (in-group) for Muslims for both Pre and Post 9/11 Periods.

Search Terms	PRE-9/11		POST-9/11	
	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Peaceful	442	25.83 %	1010	30.34 %
Civilized	142	8.30 %	306	9.19 %
Educated	367	21.45 %	757	22.74 %
Partners	508	29.69 %	870	26.13 %
Trustworthy	21	1.23 %	47	1.41 %
Honest	231	13.05 %	339	10.18 %
Total	1711	33.95 %	3329	66.05 %

Figure 9: Compared Frequency of Articles that Featured Tolerance (in-group) for Muslims for both Pre and Post 9/11 Periods.

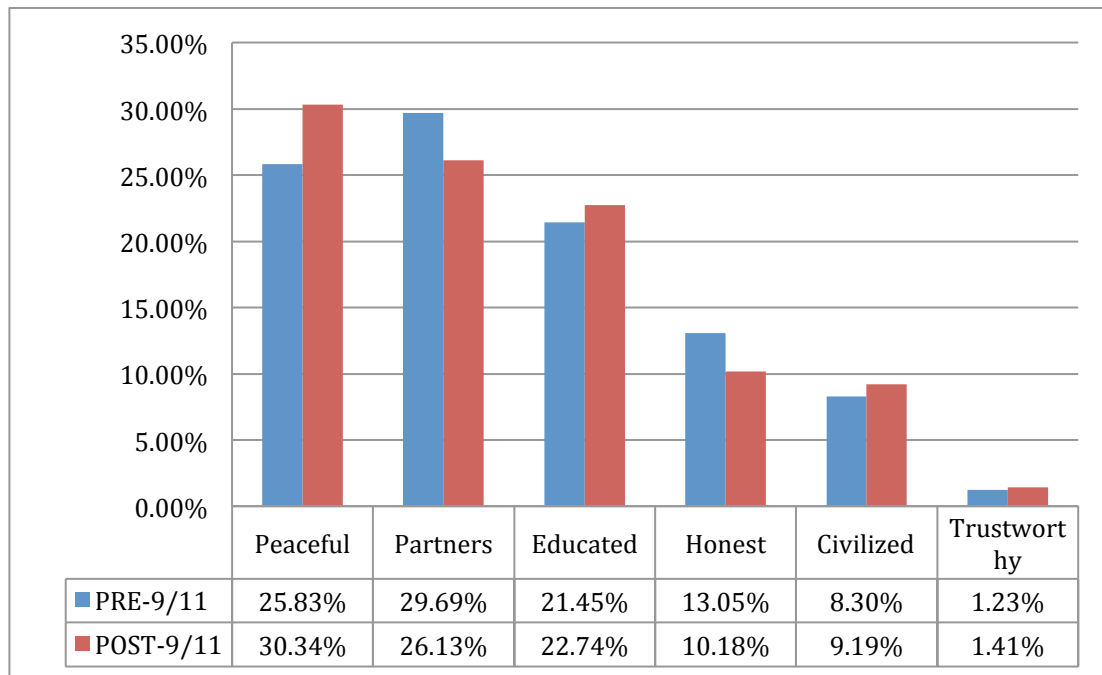
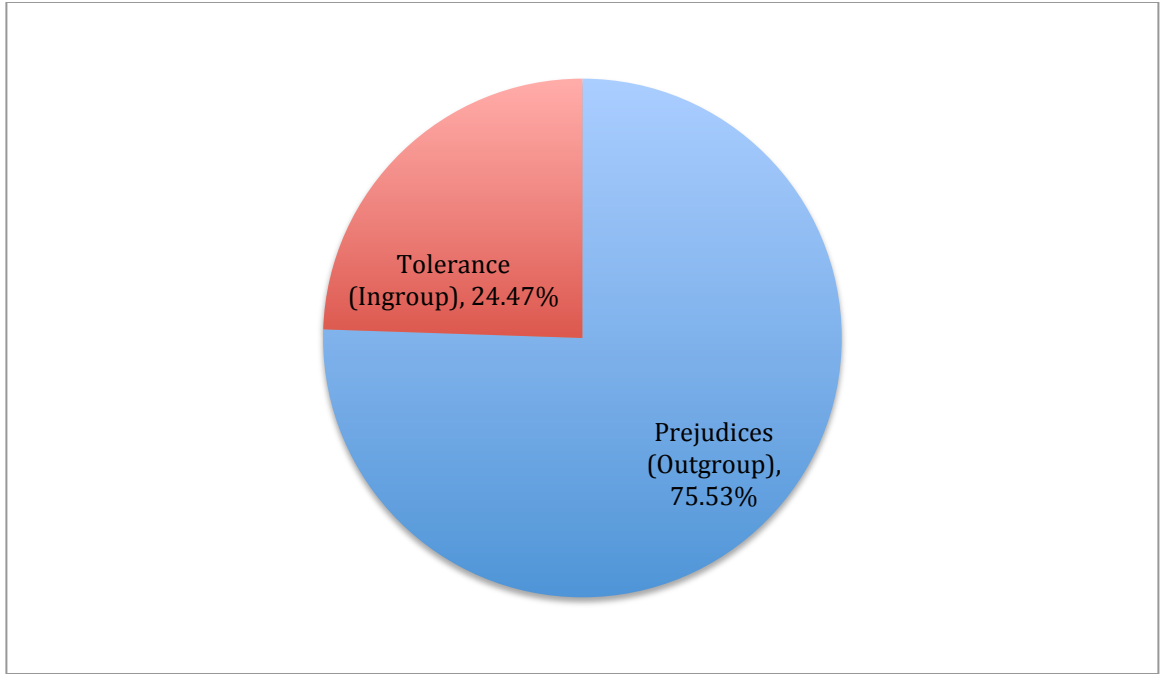


Table 4 and figure 7 display compared data for pre and post 9/11 for each search term under tolerance (in-group) category to see if 9/11 has caused a decrease in the level of tolerance (in-group) for Muslims in the post 9/11 United States. From what the data revealed, it is clear that only two tolerance (in-group) search terms “partners “and “honest” slightly decreased in the post 9/11 eras. All other remaining four-search terms increased after 9/11. The search term in the prejudice (out-group) category with highest increase in the post-9/11 is “Terrorist,” with a 25.53% increase from pre to post 9/11. While in the tolerance (in-group) category the search term with the highest increase is “Peaceful” with an increase of 17.46% from pre to post 9/11. Which means the increase in the tolerance (in-group) was lesser compared to the increase recorded in the prejudice (out-group).

Figure 10: Total Frequency of Articles that either Featured Prejudice against Muslims or Tolerance for them.



Conclusively, figure 8 showed the aggregate result of the findings for both pre and Post 9/11, where the level of prejudice (out-group) against Muslims is higher with a share of 75.53% compared to the level of tolerance (in-group) for Muslims with only 24.47% of the studied population. Though, increases were recorded in the articles that featured tolerance (in-group) for Muslims, but it is insignificant compared to the increases recorded in prejudice (out-group) against Muslims. Finally, the analysed data and the findings proved the hypothesis to be valid.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The focal point of this research is to find out how 9/11 reshaped existing Islamophobic prejudice in the United States. In attempting to answer this question, it was hypothesized that the 9/11 attacks in the United States reshaped the old islamophobic prejudice through the reinforcement of the strong social identity construction of Muslims as “out-group,” and the dramatic rise in the critical discourse about Islam and Muslims.

The post 9/11 period was approach and analysed from two different dimensions: the political and social dimensions of Islamophobia (prejudice) in the United States. Under the political approach, the prejudice (out-grouping) against Muslims in the post-9/11 was heightened in three major political dimensions, which are crafted through the immigration laws and policies, legislations such as the USA Patriot Act, and the Moves to ban courts from consulting the Sharia Law in deciding case for Muslims.

While on the social dimension, the 9/11 has reshaped the existing Islamophobic prejudice through three major social issues, that were used in alienated Muslims from the main American society and promoted prejudice (out group) against them. They were: excessive surveillance and Interrogation of Muslims whom have not shown any sign of threat, profiling of Muslims mostly based on their racial affiliations and lastly, there was a deepened social prejudice against Muslims both from the public and in the media. The interplay of all these factors reawakened of the hibernated phobia of Muslims in the United States, as a result of attributing these negative traits to them, which exposed Muslims in the United States to series of Islamophobic violence, ranging from physical and psychological assaults, vandalization of properties, verbal abuse and Prejudice in day to day conversations and in the media.

To ascertain the validity or otherwise of the hypothesis, data were generated from three major American Newspapers with high circulation in the American society. The Newspapers were: The Los Angeles Times, New York Times and USA Today. To see the effect of 9/11 on the existing prejudice against Muslims in the United States, a comparison study of five years before and five years after 9/11 was made.

The Los Angeles Times has produced 44.30% of the sampled articles, followed by the New York Times, which produced 41.90%. The USA Today had produced the lowest number of articles with only 13.90% of the entire articles generated. The period between 9/11/2001 and 9/11/2002 has the highest frequency of articles, with 24.58 % of the entire articles. While the period range between 9/11/1997 to 9/11/1998 had the lowest frequency of articles, with 3.89% of the entire articles generated. After September 11th 2002, there was a steady decline in the number of articles after each year, but still higher than the pre 9/11 periods.

Libeling of Muslims as terrorist was the key factor in promoting prejudice against them in both pre and post 9/11 with 44.26% of the entire sampled population; followed by perceiving them as a threat with 23.70%; and the depiction of Muslims as women's Rights violators which stood at 4.22%. The remaining three prejudice (out-group) terms, undemocratic, intolerant and backward, influenced the out grouping of Muslims very insignificantly with only 3.35% all combined.

The comparison between the pre and post 9/11 periods showed that, the increased Prejudice (out-group) against Muslims was highly influenced through libeling them as terrorist, which rose from 48.85% to 61.32% signaling an increase of 25.53% from pre to post 9/11; which appeared to have the highest increase. All the remaining five search terms showed a decrease instead to ideally increases in the post 9/11 era, which means attention was shifted from all other libeling terms and focus more on the act of terror issues; hence, this libeling of Muslims as terrorist played key role in deepening prejudice (out-group) against them in the post 9/11 United States.

In the post 9/11 United States, there was an increase, instead of decrease in articles that advanced tolerance (in-group) for Muslims. Only two tolerance (in-group)

terms “partners” and “honest” slightly decreased in the post 9/11 eras. All other remaining four terms increased after 9/11. This means, as there was increase in publication that defamed Muslims, there was also an increase in publication that defended Muslims. As explained above, in the prejudice (out-group) category, the term “terrorist” has the highest increase of 25.53% from pre to post 9/11. While in the tolerance (in-group) category the term “Peaceful” has the highest increase of 17.46% from pre to post 9/11. This means defenders of Muslims also rise to show that Muslims are peace lovers; but the increase in the tolerance (in-group) was not significant compared to the increase recorded in the prejudice (out-group).

Conclusively, the prejudice (out-group) against Muslims was dramatically higher with 75.23% compared to the tolerance (in-group) for Muslims with only 24.77% of the entire sample population. The analysed data and the findings proved the assumption of the study to be valid. Though, increases were recorded in the tolerance (in-group) for Muslims, but it is lesser when compared to the increases recorded in prejudice (out-group) against them. Finally, the analysed data and the findings proved the hypothesis of this research to be valid; which means 9/11 has really shifted the old Islamophobic prejudice (out-group) towards a more unfavourable direction for Muslims.

Finally, this prejudice (out-group) against Muslims in the United States and its dangers and social consequences is not only restricted to Muslims alone, but to non-Muslims as well. It is argued that Islamophobic prejudice “also affects non-Muslim Americans and Europeans by fuelling a sense of insecurity.” (D’apollonia 2010, 131) So many cases have been recorded of some Muslims retaliating on the damage Islamophobes are doing to Muslims; such as the assassination of the Dutch Islamophobe and film Director Theo Van Gogh, in retaliation of his Islamophobic movie, the kidnapping cases of westerners especially Americans abroad and assassination attempts and death threats to Islamophobes such as Pamela Geller, Robert Spencer and many other. Though, the negative effect of Islamophobic prejudice is much more higher on Muslims, but it also affects and exposes some non-Muslims to social and psychological insecurity and to the dangers of retaliation.

5.1 Tripodal Approach: Policy Recommendations Towards Abating Islamophobic Prejudice in the Post 9/11 United States

Obviously, Islamophobia is not a religious conflict in its entirety, or a phenomenon characterized by clash solely between Muslims and Christians. However, the fact that people who identified themselves as Christians are the majority in the United States, and the atrocity of 9/11 is attributed to Islam and Muslims, it is therefore very crucial to use religion as a tool of combating this anti-Muslims sentiment in the United States. Thus, It will be necessary to use interfaith dialogues to combat the phobia of Islam, not only dialogue between Christians and Muslims but as many as other faiths should also be included in the dialogue. This Study identifies three major mechanisms through which Islamophobia can be countered; and named it a tripodal approach because it has a three-leg stand just like a tripod. The three issues that are recommended are: first the **interfaith dialogue**, which will include some three major approaches: the **get to know you**, the **theological exchange**, and the **ethical exchange** approach. Second, is the **intra-Islam dialogue**, and third the **mass media awareness programmes** through the **behaviour change communication**.

5.1.1 Inter-Faiths Dialogue

The religious otherness of Muslims in the United States is one of the key reasons to Islamophobic prejudice; this argument could be supported with the fact that, act of terror which is key factor in deepening the hatred of Muslims after 9/11 is also committed by non-Muslims in the United States and around the world, as in the case of the act of terror that claimed the lives of many civilians committed by Anders Breivik who is a non-Muslim, and “self-described Christian conservative,” (Ali et al 2011, 1) but the action of this misguided Christian did not affect other innocent Christians, as that of some few misguided Muslims is affecting harmless Muslims in the United States. Therefore, since religion otherness is one of the key factors in fuelling Islamophobic prejudice, it is therefore very crucial to use religion and influential religious opinion

leaders in the effort of abating Islamophobic prejudice since its negative effect is not only limited to Muslims. Thus, well-structured interfaith dialogue among various influential religious leaders will cushion the effect of Islamophobic prejudice and its consequences in the United States.

In its special report, the United States Institute for Peace described interfaith dialogue as a process that “involves people of different religious faiths coming together to have a conversation. ‘Conversation’ in this sense has an expansive definition, and is not limited to verbal exchange alone.” The institute clarified that “The notion of interfaith dialogue encompasses many different types of conversations, settings, goals, and formats ... [but] is not intended to be a debate. It is aimed at mutual understanding, not competing; at mutual problem solving, not proselytizing.” (USIP 2004, 2) Therefore, under this section three major approaches to interfaith dialogues as presented in professor Jane Idleman Smith’s book on interfaith dialogues in the post 9/11 United States are going to be adopted; they are: the “**Get to know you**,” the “**Theological Exchange**”, and the “**Ethical Exchange**” approaches.

The “Get to Know You” Approach: the “Get to Know You” is the prelude to most interfaith dialogues and most common information sharing among members of different religions; and is described as the safest approach to interfaith dialogues. “Both before and after 9/11, Christians have wondered about the nature of this religion [Islam] that seems so threatening in the international.” (Smith 2007, 67) as a result, most non-Muslim American became more curious and eager to make inquiries to about the religion of Islam.

It is precisely because of the pluralism of America and the growth of the American Muslim population that people are beginning to notice Muslims in their neighborhoods, in their children’s schools, and even in local political groups. That notice is generating questions, which in turn triggers a range of attempts to begin the process of getting to know who our Muslim neighbors really are. (Smith 2007, 67-68)

Usually, in this approach of interfaith dialogues, a Muslim speaker is invited in a

gathering of non-Muslims to deliver lectures answer questions about some basic themes on Islam and Muslims. Alternatively, a convert to Islam can be invited to do the talking and answering parts; for instance, in a case of gathering between Muslims and Christians, a former Christian and a convert to Islam can be the speaker, because he “can speak the language of Christians as well as explain Islam.” (Smith 2007, 67)

Despite the popularity of this approach to interfaith dialogues in the United States after 9/11 as Smith revealed, its life is usually short lived. It usually lacks some specific aims and objectives, and structures and continuous programmes and gathering, which eventually make the participating parties to eventually “fade away or never have a second meeting. Dialogue can be fun and even exciting, but the reality is that to be successful it also requires a serious dose of intentionality.” (Smith 2007, 67)

The interactive nature and the friendly environment usually created in this sort of interfaith dialogue made it popular especially after the atrocities of 9/11, which draw the attention of most non-Muslim American to what really Islam is all about. Thus, since this approach gained popularity and acceptance, it should therefore be well organized with specific goals to be achieved and adequate representation from as many faiths as possible, which will inevitably yield fruitful result.

Theological Exchange Approach: In most cases, after the “get to know you approach” the theological approach follows. This is an intensive conversation among different members of different religions. It is not a debate, but a detailed and more advanced talks about some contradicting or conflicting phenomenon or issues of the opposite faiths. This approach involves participants “exchanging scholarly papers, and responding to [inquiries,] so as to seek out similarities and differences in position.”

Unlike the previous approach, where any person including new convert, can be the speaker as long as he knows the most basic tenets of the faith he is representing, the theological exchange approach requires well grounded and well equipped theologians to be the participants as it involves crucial and fragile issues. Smith revealed the opinion of Sayyid Hossen Nasr, a long time and experienced participant in interfaith dialogues, where he clarified that, when it comes to theological exchange, “those who have

theological and metaphysical qualifications should certainly attempt theological conversation. But others should simply settle for respect.” Nasr further warned that, “if people participating in theological debates are without the qualifications necessary to do so,” the targeted result of understanding the controversial phenomena within the religious traditions of the participants might not yield the desired result. (Smith 2007, 71-73)

This approach has been in use in the United States particular in post 9/11 eras concerning the theological stand of Islam on terrorism, the right of women and many other similar issues that Islam is accused of. This has recorded many desired results in the post 9/11 United States, because before the participation of Muslims in such kind of gathering, the only source most non-Muslim Americans are getting information about is Islam is from Islamophobic advocates such as Robert Spencer, Pamela Gella, Pat Robertson and many others; but when Islamic theologian like Muhammad Tahir-ul-Qadri, Tariq Ramadan, Zakir Naik and many others flow into the discourse to disassociate Islam with such false accusations, revealed the true position of Islam, and disassociate Islamic teachings with the acts of those few misguided Muslims, many non-Muslims understood the religion of Islam better, even to the point of absorbing many converts. (Haddad 2006, 19)

The Dialogue about Ritual Approach: This is a kind of advanced approach to interfaith dialogues where as part of the dialogue, lets say between Muslims and Christians, one of the parties will demonstrate some basic acts of worship to the other party. After the demonstration, the observing party is usually given the opportunity to inquire as why a particular act or ritual in the worship is performed the way it is performed; and the theological reasons behind the performance of each and every elements performed are expected to be given by the performing party. (Smith 2007, 76)

In the post 9/11 United States, Smith testify that in the relentless effort to bridge the huge misunderstanding between Muslims and Christians, Muslims do “invite Christians to visit a local mosque commonly include as part of the [interfaith] program an opportunity for the Christians to sit at the back of the prayer hall and observe worship

at one of the specified prayer times;” and in some cases before the prayer, the Christians invitees are given the basic theological instructions on how the prayer is performed and how are prayer positions properly done. Also, in extremely rare cases as pointed out by Smith, the invitees may even be given the opportunity to participate in the act of worship itself by allowing them “to join the ranks of Muslims—men in front and women in the back or in another room—in actually performing the prayer.” (Smith 2007, 77)

This advanced interfaith programme is described by liberal religious people as “an interesting and quite new way to at least look across, if not actually go across, the boundaries between the faiths.” (Smith 2007, 79) However, this approach to interfaith dialogues and programmes is the most criticized by conservative and skeptical religious people, which they regard it as comprising. For instance, in a situation where Muslims are invited to attend to or even to participate in church services where rites such as “in the name of Jesus our Saviour” are invoked, or the issue of trinity, which are directly in contradiction to the creed of Islam, it will be very difficult more especially for observant Muslims to feel comfortable in such a setting.

Therefore, this study does not totally condemn this approach, but suggests a middle ground where none of the participating parties will feel that the basic pillars of his faith has been violated or compromised. Participating in the act of worship itself will definitely be disturbing to many participants, which may end up in disrupting the progress of the dialogue/programme. Thus, limiting the programme to observation and discussions only without participating in the act of worship itself will hopefully yield much more desired result.

5.1.2 Intra-Faith Dialogue

Though, Smith package of dialogues did not include intra faith dialogue, which is a dialogue among members of same faith, let say between Muslims and Muslims, but this study feel that dialogue among Muslims belonging to different sects and with

different ideologies and interpretations of Islam is very crucial in combating Islamophobia in the post 9/11 United States.

This study observed that, all the dialogues taking place between members of various faiths are just effort that are completed without supplementing it with intra-faith dialogue; because in most interfaith dialogues, those people that have misinterpreted Islam are not taking part, it only involves right thinking main stream Muslims. Therefore, people that are brain-washed especially the younger generation that are used by some misguided Muslims to achieve their personal adulterated aims in the name of Islam should be involved. Those type of Muslims should be drawn closer, motivate them and let them be part of all the dialogues. First within Islam and subsequently between them and members of other faith, by adopting the above mentioned approaches and models of interfaith dialogues.

The phobia of Muslims in most cases is the result of how those misguided Muslims perceive and interpret Islam, as discussed in chapter two of this study, where the ideology of Sayyid Qutb was discussed on how he interpreted Islam, which led him to call for “offensive Jihad” against both non-Muslims and Muslims that are against his ideology, which resulted in the acts of terror we are experiencing today in this world. Such interpretations of the scriptures have made the world passed through misery and recorded unfavourable history.

This subjective interpretation of the Scripture is not only limited to Islam, is almost a problem of all faiths if observed critically. Going back into history, we have seen the atrocities committed by the crusaders all in the name of Christianity. Contemporarily, we are witnessing what Christian terrorist organizations such as the Lord resistance Army (LRA) are doing all in the name of religion and subjective interpretation of the scriptures. Even Osama bin laden, who carried the largest share of blame in the 9/11 attacks is a vehement reader of Qutb writings, which instigated him to do what he did on 9/11, by putting Qutb’s theory into practice. Therefore, there is a serious need to create avenues and fora for continuous intra-faith dialogues, not only within Islam, other faiths should also do the same and let those brainwashed young people that tie explosives

round their bodies and kill innocent people know that, what they are doing has no ground in the religion they are claiming to be defending.

5.1.3 Mass Media Behavioural Change Programmes

In addition to the above approaches to inter and intra faith dialogues, this study further introduce the incorporation of the mass media as a supplement for combatting Islamophobia in the post 9/11 United States. The mass media in the United states played a role in constructing the Muslims as others and out-group, it can as well play the role of deconstructing that mindset by creating some awareness programmes that will educate and sensitize the general public about the true teaching of Islam and how an ideal Muslims should be, which will deescalate the heightened hatred of Muslims in the post 9/11 United States.

After recording a success in both inter and intra faith dialogues, there should be a structured and systematic mass media awareness programme that will include the non-Muslims as part of the program. For instance, a television programme may be produced, where a pastor will be anchoring the programme that will talk about the negative effect of Islamophobic prejudice on both Muslims and non-Muslims; stressing some theological prohibition of harming and discriminating innocent people. Such programmes will have more effect in hostile behavioural change of Christians towards Muslims, because the call is coming from a person occupying a position of authority and respected by many Christians. This process should also be vice versa for imams to call on Muslims that are targeting innocent Christians, perhaps as retaliation for what has been done to Muslims elsewhere in the world.

Therefore, to achieve this countering of Islamophobic prejudice via the mass media in a more constructive way, this study will adopt the **behaviour change Communication** model. Though, in-depth discussion of behaviour change communication is beyond the scope of this study, as it is a wide area of study on its own, however, key techniques of the model are going to concisely be discussed below to see

how the behaviour change communication model can be utilized in combating Islamophobia in post 9/11 United States.

BCC [Behavioural Change Communication] is a research-based, consultative process of addressing knowledge, attitudes, and practices through identifying, analyzing, and segmenting audiences and participants in programs and by providing them with relevant information and motivation through well-defined strategies, using an appropriate mix of interpersonal, group and mass media channels, including participatory methods. BCC is about changing specific behaviours. BCC approaches recognize that behaviour change is more about identifying the causes and barriers to behaviour change and overcoming the barriers. It is about understanding the communities, contexts and environments in which behaviours occur. ... BCC is about integrating new practices into long standing social, cultural and communication systems. (NRHM 2008, 9)

Traditionally, BCC strategies are used in the health sector to tilt the behaviour of people in a particular environment from a negative to positive one. This study suggest the adoption of same behavioural changes strategies via the usage of the mass media to abate the negative attitudes towards Muslims in the post 9/11 United States. Therefore this research will adopt the five BCC stages as provided by Salem et al in the “INFO Project,” for Johns Hopkins Center for Communication Programs. They are: **Analysis, Strategic Design, Development/Pretesting, Implementation/Monitoring, and Evaluation.**

Analysis: This is the first step in BCC strategy where a statement of problem will be developed, here an in-depth analysis of the causes of Islamophobic prejudice will be made, and the targeted audience will divided into various segments, such as ethnicity, race, religion etc. Under this stage, most rampant anti Muslims behaviours and their causes have to be clearly identified, and ways of countering them have to also be provided. A preliminary research has to be conducted about the target audience about

their attitude and feelings towards Muslims, and to identify the factors that are affecting their behaviors towards the Muslims, find out their media habit and access to it. At this stage, it is very crucial to conduct participants analysis to find out the categories of influential people that can be part of the program, such as “nongovernmental organizations, professional associations, schools, faith-based groups, and the media,” and lastly to conduct and analysis of which mass media is suitable in reaching the target audience. (Salem et al 2008, 2)

Strategic Design: At the second stage of BCC, the targeted behaviour to be changed in the targeted audience has to be clearly defined. It could be prejudice, discriminations against Muslims at work place, or physical assault against them etc. Here, a conceptual framework has to be developed for how the laid down activities are going to help in achieving the stated targets. Also, a creative brief has to be developed “to share with people and organizations involved in developing messages and materials. Draw up an implementation plan, including activities, partners’ roles and responsibilities, and timeline.” (Salem et al 2008, 3)

Development and Pretesting: This is the stage where the findings generated above will be used to developed a comprehensive mass media message programme; by considering the type of audience, their current mindset and attitudes towards Muslims and their media habit. After this, the type of appeal to be used in the message will be selected, still considering the profiles of your target audience; it has to be determined whether the appeal is going to be humorous, sympathetic patriotic or even authoritative. And lastly in this stage, before launching the developed planned into implementation, it has be to tested on some sampled people to see their reaction and the effectiveness of the plan on them in order to make some adjustments where necessary so as to avoid wastage of time and resources. (Salem et al 2008, 3)

Implementation and Monitoring: This is where the real action takes place. All the findings and materials gathered from stage one to two are going to be put into actual practice. It also includes the managing and monitoring the progress of the laid down activities, which will include the “responses of the audience and other stakeholders.

Make midcourse adjustments to the program based on monitoring results.” (Salem et al 2008, 3)

Evaluation: This is the final stage of combatting Islamophobic prejudice using the BCC model. After the proper interplay of the above stages, another study has to be conducted to “measure outcomes, assess impact. Disseminate results to partners, key stakeholders, the news media, and funding agencies. Record lessons learned and archive research findings for use in future programs. Revise or redesign program based on evaluation findings.” (Salem et al 2008, 4)

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