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The Institutionalization of Islamophobia in the United States Post

9/11

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Dedication

I dedicate my dissertation to:

My beloved parents Ahmed and Habiba for their support.

My dearest brother Walid.

All my intimate friends and classmates.

(HEBIRECHE Hakima)

I dedicate my work to my Parents, the source of our strength, confidence and ambition

Hamid and Arbia

To my family members

Besma, Mounira, Amel, Hassina, Razika, Lazhar, Rafik, Mohamed and Kamel

To my friends

Hakima, Sara, and Achwak

To all teachers especially Dr. TOLGUI Ladi

To my lovely babies

Hakim, Ahlem, and boutheina

To all those who know us

And to anyone who believe in

“Have the end in mind and every day make sure you are working towards it”

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Abstract

The current study aims at investigating the process of institutionalizing Islamophobia in the United States in the era following the attacks on the New York Twin Towers on September 11, 2001. Networks of nongovernmental organizations exploited the tense climate to launch a well-planned anti-Muslim propaganda campaign. The fear and hostility towards Islam is a phenomenon that can be traced back to the earliest encounters between Muslims and Americans. This clash re-appeared prominently through the influx of Muslims' immigrants to the United States. During the 20thc, the American society witnessed a huge number of terrorist events which the US media and cinema linked to American Muslims. Since the events of 9/11, Muslims' situation hardened especially with the declaration of the global war on terror which targeted Muslims within the American ground as well as abroad. The post 9/11 era was characterized by the emergence of a number of anti-Islam institutions which played a big role to promote the negative image of Islam and Muslims. The institutionalization of Islamophobia is a new dangerous phase in its development in America. As a reaction, Muslims established their own institutions in order to challenge the proclaimed stereotypes which impacted their lives negatively.

ملخص

تلقي هذه الدراسة الضوء على مرحلة جديدة من تطور ظاهرة الرهاب الاسلامي (الاسلاموفوبيا) في الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية حيث لم تعد هذه الظاهرة مجرد شعور يشترك فيه الكثير من الأمريكيين بل تم إضفاء الطابع المؤسسي لهذه الظاهرة في فترة ما بعد هجمات 11 سبتمبر 2001 حيث تشكلت شبكة منظمة من المؤسسات غير الحكومية و استغلت الوضع المتوتر لإطلاق حملة دعائية مغرضة ضد المسلمين. الخوف والعداء تجاه المسلمين هي ظاهرة تعود إلى الصراعات القديمة بين المسلمين والأمريكيين. ظهر هذا الصراع مجددا وبشكل بارز غداة تدفق المهاجرين المسلمين إلى الولايات المتحدة. شهد المجتمع الأمريكي خلال القرن 20 عدد من الأحداث الإرهابية التي نسبها الإعلام الأمريكي للمسلمين الأمريكيين. منذ أحداث 11 سبتمبر ساءت وضعية المسلمين خاصة بإعلان حرب شاملة ضد الإرهاب³ حيث استهدفت المسلمين على الأراضي الأمريكية وكذلك خارجها. تميزت الفترة التي تلت 11 سبتمبر بظهور العديد من المؤسسات المعادية للإسلام والتي لعبت دورا كبيرا في تعزيز تشويه صورة الإسلام و المسلمين. يعد إضفاء الطابع المؤسسي على الاسلاموفوبيا مرحلة جديدة وخطيرة جدا في تاريخ العداء للإسلام في أمريكا. و كردة فعل قام المسلمون في أمريكا بإنشاء مؤسسات خاصة بهم تسعى الى الحد من التشويه المتعمد لصورة الاسلام و المسلمين الذي أثر على حياتهم سلبا.

List of Abbreviations

AMP: American Muslims for Palestine.

CAIR: Council on American Islamic Relations.

CIA: Central Intelligence Agency.

CSP: the Center for Security Policy.

DSEA: the Domestic Security Enhancement Act.

EDS: Explosives Detection Systems.

FBI: Federal Bureau of Investigation.

IIC: the Islamic Information Center.

IPT: the Investigative Project on Terrorism.

IRTP: the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act.

ISIS: Islamic State in Iraq and Sham.

NSEERS: the National Security Entry- Exit Registration Act.

MEF: the Middle East Forum.

SANE: the Society of American for National Existence.

SIOA: Stop Islamization of America.

SJP: Students for Justice in Palestine.

TWA: Trans- World Airlines.

UMMA: the Universal Association of America.

UNIA: the United Negro Improvement Association.

U.S.A: the United States of America.

USA PATRIOT Act: Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools
Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act.

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Introduction

The term 'Islamophobia' is a relatively recent neologism that is used to draw attention to normalize prejudice and unjustified discrimination against Muslims. The term had been popularized because of 'resurgence' in Post Cold War and Post 9/11 events in United States of America (Gottshalk and Greenberg). Moreover, In 1997, the Runnymede Trust Commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia discussed the idea of islamophobia in that report entitled " Islamophobia : A Challenge for us all", Islamophobia includes discrimination against Muslims in employment practice, the provision of health care and education; exclusion of Muslims from government, politics, also violence including physical assaults, verbal abuse and damaging of property, in addition to prejudice against Muslims in the media and in every day conversation. In short, Islamophobia referred to as unfounded fear and bigotry against Islam and Muslims in America.

Regardless of one's feelings towards Islam, Muslims and the term Islamophobia itself, anti-Muslims sentiment is an important issue for American to address. Professor of religion Peter Gottshalk and his former student Gabriel Greenberg in their book " Islamophobia : Making Muslims the New Enemy", discussed one of the most important reasons of Islamophobia phenomenon. First, the American Muslims population often is increasingly the target of hate crimes and discrimination. Second, the lack of differentiation between moderate and extremist Muslims is symptomatic of a broader danger not only to Muslims but also to American society in general. Third, foreign Muslims population feel increasingly threatened by American foreign policy and expanding global interests, thus the forth reason is why Americans need to address anti- Muslim feelings is that American must develop more nuanced understanding of Islam. Accurately understanding Islam and Muslims world will enable American to identify and react to real threats appropriately and not waste time and energy on scapegoating.

Islamophobia is usually used to refer to unfounded fear, hatred, and bias towards the religion of Islam and Muslims. Islamophobia is a new name for a very old phenomenon. The first chapter seeks to identify the prejudice and animosity towards Muslims that has existed for centuries. In the United States, the early Muslim immigration waves to America boosted the pressure and anxiety between Islam and Christianity. In the early 1900s, the unexpected numerous terrorist attacks that targeted the United States' soil were attributed to Islamism and this brought out a real fear of American Muslims Communities. In this period, the Cinema and Media played a role in distorting the image of Islam by representing Muslims as terrorists and this had an impact on the American perception of Islam and Muslims.

The second chapter highlights the 9/11 incident and its surrounding effects in the United States. The 11 September 2001 attacks were the beginning of a new era of hostility toward Islam and this was shown through the widespread changes in the United States legislation and foreign policy. Shortly after the events, the president George, W. Bush declared "War on Terror" on Afghanistan in 2001 and on Iraq in 2003 with the goal of bringing Bin Laden to justice, and preventing future terrorist activities. The events ushered also in new generation of policies like the "Patriot Act", aiming at regulating and securing Americans' life. However, these policies have deeply altered the American vision of Islam and American-Muslims, and thus worsened their lives.

The last chapter investigates the famous anti- Islam organizations and American Muslims' reactions. In the post-9/11 era, misunderstandings, prejudice and hatred become more pronounced through the appearance of a network of Anti-Islam institutions in the United States. The latter implemented serious programs under the pretext of saving American national security extending the fear of Islam and Muslims and the US through subjecting them to aggression physically and emotionally, detention, deportation, hate crimes,

harassment, burning Quran and Mosques. This led the American Muslims to construct their own voices by establishing organizations to challenge the stereotyped images about Islam by showing the real image of the religion of Islam .Islamophobia is one of the most dangerous threats in the contemporary climate that would highly affect the future presence of Muslims in the United States.

In conducting our research, the use of a historical analytical approach is needed in order to explore different facts and reasons of the subject under investigation. In addition to the use of qualitative method since the topic requires a deep, rich, and vast explanation of Islamophobia in the American context in the aftermath of 9/11 era. The present study tends to investigate how Islamophobic activists contribute to the spread of the stereotyped image about Islam and Muslims in the United States and try to show how Islamophobia is managed in America through a number of funded organizations and networks.

Chapter One

Historical Background of Islamophobia in the United States

The beginning of the 21 century witnessed what can be depicted as a new wave of friction and animosity between Islam and the western world. Actually this hostility is not new but deep-rooted .It can be traced back to the time of the first crusades which were launched in 1096 to take the holy lands from Muslims and Jews. In 1272, Western Christianity conducted nine crusades to fight against the Arabs and the Muslim World. Later the 15th C was full of tense encounters with the fall of Constantinople and the expulsion of Jews from Moorish Spain 1492.

These violent encounters helped shaping Western relations with the Islamic world. Anti-Muslim sentiments, thus, are not the creation of the twentieth century or 9/11. US perceptions of Islam and Muslims have always been negative .America has always been hostile to the presence of Muslim individuals and communities.

The presence of Muslims in the United States gained the attention of the larger society in the early 1900s. The Iran hostage crisis during the Islamic revolution in 1979, TWA hijacking in Lebanon of 1985, and many other events brought out a real fear of Islam in the American society. Mainstream media outlets reflected a growing awareness about Muslims in the United States. The first Gulf war in 1991 and the first attack on the World Trade Center in New York in 1993 have led to the increase of violence against Muslims and Muslim institutions.

Islam is widely presented to be a foreign creed through the media and cinema and they have affected negatively Americans' thinking toward Islam and Muslims in the United States as being terrorists, cruel, and savages and so on. Anxiety and fear over terrorism have gradually become a part of Muslims' daily lives.

I.1- The History of Muslims Immigration to America

The predominant Western misconception is that all Muslims are Arabs. The history of Muslim immigration to the United States ought to demolish this fallacy. Actually, the reality reveals that many Arabs are not Muslims and not all Muslims are Arabs. Muslims in the United States are more diverse in national origins and cultural backgrounds covering approximately sixty five countries not only in the Arab world but also South Asia like Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, as well as Europe, Africa, China, Iran and Turkey are concerned. From that point, more than a billion persons in the world are Muslims, whereas less than 15 percent of Muslims are Arabs (Kathleen M. Moore, 8). The common negative perception against Muslims and Arabs in the United States had appeared since the early ages. It contributed to construct stereotypes and prejudice shaping their presence there.

Muslim immigration has taken place over a long time in the American history. Muslims came first as slaves in the 17th, 18th and 19th C. The end of the 19th C and the beginning of the 20th C marked a mass immigration of Muslims who arrived to search their 'fortunes' and then return back to their homes but many of them settled in the United States (Curtis IV). Nevertheless, those immigrants have experienced racial discrimination in housing and employment, or even harassments on the streets since they were regarded as foreigners. In this context, Howell who is an American actor and director claimed that African Americans in the United States began to embrace Islam in the 1920's and 30's partially in response to the radical dislocation and racism they experienced prior to and during the great migration (46). As a response to American treatments, Muslims began to form their Islamic community organizations in America, and the most known organization was 'Marcus Garvey's Negro World, the newspaper the United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) established in 1914 in New York which established a contact between Africans and Islam (Howell, 53).

The United States received immigrants from Muslim countries in waves due to struggles and hardships stemming from specific periods of war or discrimination in their mother

countries. According to the American authors, Moore, Haddad and Lummis, the Muslims Immigration to the United States passed through five waves. The first wave of Muslim immigrants arrived to the United States from 1875 to 1912; came mostly from Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and Palestine which were under the Ottoman Empire of the great Syria. The majority of them settled in urban communities of the United States (8). Thus, these immigrants came to escape the hard conditions they used to suffer from because of the Ottoman dominance over their region. They saw the United States as a haven to achieve their dreams.

The second and third arrivals were during 1918, 1922, 1930 and 1938. Immigration slowed greatly due to the restrictive quota system¹ and the great depression² from the late 1920s to the end of the 1940s. They came from the Middle East and Eastern Europe. They were much diverse ethnically and geographically and were mostly well educated (8). At that period of time, the Muslim Immigrants came as refugees to the United States in quest of a better life, searching for good opportunities for themselves and their families. They also needed to practice their religion freely since they saw America as the country of freedom of expression, religion, justice, that offers greater opportunities in all domains. These waves of Immigrants differ slightly from the first one because they came under less oppressive conditions in their homelands.

The Fourth arrival to the United States came from multiple national origins between 1945 and 1960. They were from the Middle East, South Asia, Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union as well as other parts of Islamic countries that had experienced the disruptive effect of the post Second World War period. The Immigrants of that period came to America to search for a better life, technological achievement and a higher education or advanced technical training in addition to specialized work opportunities (9). During this time, America saw a huge

increase in the number of Immigrants from different parts of the World who were from higher classes.

The fifth wave started in 1967 and continued to the present day. At that time, the mass Immigration to America had been highly influenced by the creation of the US Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965. The latter phased out an earlier quota system based on national origins and built up a new Immigrant policy which focused more on skills and family ties. Carol Stone's research of the U.S. immigration estimated the number of Muslims from 4% of all immigrants in 1968 to 10, 5% in 1986. They had diverse levels in terms of their education, range of professions in medicine, engineering and other technical domains. The Immigrants of that phase came from the South Asia Subcontinent and Arab countries. Others were from Iran and Afghanistan who arrived because of the Iranian Revolution in 1980 and the War of Afghanistan in 2001 (9).

The waves of Muslims immigration to America were mostly come from various national and geographical origins with different goals. The early period of immigration was mostly from the Middle East or Eastern Mediterranean region and this wave was predominantly characterized with laborers, uneducated, unskilled people, and they came to this country for economic reasons. This group was more or less assimilated into American society. Recent Immigration from the Muslim and Arab world, however, is much diverse ethnically and geographically, and are primarily Muslims and most well educated. After period of time, the newer groups were arrived to the country in favors to create an "American Muslims" identity; they are more confident than the earlier generations that the assimilation is their goal and constructed their own organizations and institutions to preserve the faith.

The growth rate of Muslim population in the United States comes as a result of a high flow of Immigrants which increased through time. An American sociologist William in his article "Pew Research Center" discussed the size of the Muslim population living in the

United States arguing that the U.S. Muslim population grew faster than both the Jewish and Hindu ones in the following years. By 2040, Muslims will become the second-largest religion group in the United States after Christians, and there will be 8.1 million Muslims living in the country, or about 2.1% of the total population in 2050. This showed that the quick spread of Islam in the United States over the other religions particularly Christianity threatened the mainstream society and the American life. It created a kind of anxiety towards the existence of Muslims and many other minorities who seem to be Muslims.

Islamic signs were present and apparent in every city in the United States. New York had been the home for a diversity of racial groups of Immigrants which had included merchant seamen, tradesmen, and owners of major businesses and so on. It was the state where mosque building flourished and the National Islamic organizations were founded so that Muslims could expand their activities. Furthermore, Chicago and Illinois were considered the early refugees of Muslims' Immigration. They had more Muslim inhabitants in the early 20th century than other American states where they had freedom to practice their faith, providing services to Islamic community and contacting other Muslim and non-Muslim groups. There were more than 40 Muslim groups settled in Chicago (US Department of State's Bureau...).

The number of the first Muslim Immigrants to the United States was very small. It was very difficult for them to establish their places of worship; that is why they practiced their religion at home or in buildings intended for other uses. The first mosque was opened in 1921 in Highland Park, Michigan. In the following years, Mosques were being built across the United States in 1925 in Michigan City, Indiana which is still in use till now. In the present day, there are hundreds of Arab mosques found in every city of the United States. For example, the Detroit metropolitan area (including the city of Dearborn) has about 60 Muslim prayer space, whereas Houston has aplenty of 100 Mosques. But in reality, the Muslims communities in the United States have faced some difficulties from some neighbors in

expanding their mosques or centers or even starting a new building in the cities of the United States Chicago (US Department of State's Bureau...).

I.2- Early American perceptions of Islam

The traditional animosity between America and Islam has always been a crucial issue in world history. It contributed to the creation of that distorted images in Americans' mind about Islam and Muslims all over the globe, especially North Africa. In this context, George Washington for example, depicted the North African Muslim states as "Little Piratical States". Thomas Jefferson called them "Nests of Banditti" and called Algiers "Pettifogging Nest of Robbers". In addition to John Adam who described the Muslim rulers as "Unfeeling Tyrants" and James Madison portrayed them in his campaign literature as "Petty Tyrants" and their system as "Capricious Despotism" (Maameri, 189, 190). In this case, the western (America) stereotypical views of the people of the Barbary Coast as being cruel, savages and subhuman was deeply embedded in their mind even before they came to enter into formal contact with them.

The first Barbary war between 1801 and 1805 was the first and foremost declared war the United States fought on foreign land and seas against Barbary pirates. This war began when Thomas Jefferson refused to pay the high tributes demanded by the Barbary States. At that time, they were seizing American ships and enslaving the crews for high ransoms. In response to them, Thomas Jefferson sent a clear message to barbaric states to say that the United States will never tolerate their demands and they will never submit (James). The conflict between Muslim world and the United States or Jefferson's response to Muslims is more important today than ever in the history of mankind and remains as a symbolic episode of the enmity between Islam and America.

The war of religion between two different hostile camps; Muslims (North Africa and Algiers particularly) and Christian (Americans) was shaped by religious antagonism and

struggle to control the Mediterranean basin. It brought much prejudice, distortion and hatred; in fact it revealed that much of the early clashes with Barbary States stemmed from American ignorance about Muslim culture and traditions without any apparent reason. This is due to the fact that America inherited the misunderstanding of Muslim world from the European visions. In other words, the mistaken generalization and hostile attitudes of the European world about Islamic world were ultimately transferred to the Americans.

I.3- Islam and Muslims in U.S Media and Cinema in the Pre- 9/11 Era

The pejorative depiction of Muslims in U.S media existed before the 9/11 events took place. Media affects and shapes the public opinion easily. In this way, media contributed to distort American- Muslims reputation; whereby the latter became considered as terrorists. This image was constructed over time and in relation to many events. American public opinion is influenced by media and received what they present as a reality to the point that they reject to have any contact with American- Muslims seeing them as dangerous criminals and terrorists who threaten their lives and security (Butler). Thus, media played a key role in the spread of the stereotypes constructed against the American- Muslims. This prejudice was based on their religious identity and targeted all of them without exceptions.

Media, indeed, have not always reflected the reality; and the best example is the old myths about the indigenous population in the American literature. It was proved that the hostility against Muslims is not something new; rather it dates back to the 1980's (Elver 119, 130). Muslims were depicted as the "others" and more than that as the "enemies". According to the American perspectives, since the Muslims present a threat for the mainstream society; Americans can use any kind of media to fight and defend their status. In an attempt to destroy the Muslims' image, Americans relate Islam solely to Jihad; associating it wrongly with violence and the use of suicide operations (Ridouani). Americans limited the principles of

Islam in a way that fits their goals. This would lead American- Muslims to be rationalized and deprived from their rights entirely.

American media is used as a weapon to reinforce the negative representation of Islam through an extensive and subjective comparison between mainstream Americans and Muslim- Americans at several levels as: attitudes, life styles, religious practices...etc. It also tends to use harsh and subjective terms to characterize Muslims as “extremists” and “terrorists”(Haque, and Mahjabeen 3).

Media misrepresented the nature of Islam and succeeded to persuade Americans to hold this faulty perception, because people pursue blindly. This propaganda confirms that Islam always used crimes and bloodshed, and claims that it had stretched through this barbaric way. In reality, the nature of Islam is different from what media describes, that is, Islam is “a peaceful religion” and its spread was through conviction. In contrast, people did not have a background knowledge about it; so they trust media and consider it as a reliable source that mirrors reality authentically (Haque, and Mahjabeen 5, 7).

Cinema is another tool employed in the deformation of Muslim- Americans image. Vanhala saw that the American cinema and politics are interrelated in a way that cinema represents, supports, and justifies American policies against foreigners. This was through picturing the consistent clash between Americans and foreigners in the American films. The phenomenon of introducing foreigners openly as terrorists appeared obviously in the 1980’s, and American cinema is deemed to be a “commercial film industry” (1, 3).

Vanhala also stated that the American- Muslims was a major group of foreigners that was misrepresented by Hollywood particularly after the end of the Cold War with the occurrence of many attacks targeting the U.S.A. The rapid spread of Islam throughout the United States threatened the existence of the dominant religion there. Hollywood films represented a kind

of Muslims who are violent, and strange towards Americans. This vision was generalized to all Arabs who can include non- Muslim people as well (60, 119).

The American films have always depicted Muslims as a kind of people who are savages, “anti- American”, and inferior. “True Lies” in 1994 and “The Siege” in 1998 are two major examples that contain a lot of discriminative signs towards American- Muslims. In these two pre- 9/11 films, Muslims had no morals and destroyed peace within the United States through planting bombs everywhere ending the life of innocent Americans. Throughout the films, all Islamic attitudes and “practices” are depicted from a negative perspective and thus the whole religion was criticized. They are also a reflection of the real attacks that happened in America at that time (Abdullah 52, 54, 55). Hollywood introduced a persuasive distorted image of Muslims to the American audience in order to make them sensitive against their presence.

Several terrorist attacks actually took place in the United States and ended the life of many victims who can be either Americans or Muslims. The reality is that these criminal activities were committed by groups of extremists who interpret and use Islam’s principles in a wrong way. That is, they misunderstood Islam and justified their actions under its name. This made terrorism associated with Islam and extended to encompass all Muslims. The American media and cinema made all Muslims subject to this portrayal not only the responsible ones through their propaganda. They also neglected that Muslims are ordinary citizens who live a simple life, and portrayed them as having terrorist projects in their minds.

Media and cinema influenced Americans’ opinions and thus their attitudes against Muslims in the social life. They have been the most effective tools of the anti-Muslim Islamophobia³ in the United States .This resulted in all kinds of discrimination and violence that have spread among the communities of Muslims.

I.4- The Pre- 9/11 Major Events that Contributed to the Rise of Islamophobia in the United States

The pre 9/11 era was marked by the happening of several incidents that acted as a support for the American belief of viewing Muslims as terrorists and extremists; and pointing out that Islam is the religion of violence. Due to this reality, these events effected the position of Muslims through mistrusting their attitudes by swamping them within the realm of the “Others”. So, their presence in the United States became considered as the first threat to the state and a great burden at the Americans’ side. This led to the creation of dichotomies in order to show Americans’ superiority over Muslims.

I.4.1- The Islamic revolution in 1979

Before the Revolution in Iran, the United States had a kind of authority over the Iranian rule by controlling Mohamed Reza Shah who was a dictatorship and preserved a good relationships with Israel though the Iranian population’s opposition. This created an emotional hatred of America by Iranians since the ruler was in favor of the United States. With the Iranian revolution in 1979, led by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini which aimed mainly at privatizing oil industries, refusing Iran as a Westernized society, and neglecting any Western intervention as well, this feeling of hatred against America’s dominance was embodied and externalized. Consequently, Shah’s government was overthrown and Khomeini came into power (Wise 1, 4).

Gottschalk and Greenberg in their book stated that the American media depicted this event as a revolution against the United States not a reaction against the regime (124). The American cartoons negatively depicted Khomeini and his followers as extremists whose behaviors are very aggressive. This portrayed all Muslims not only Iranian- Muslims (125). It is apparent that the United States related any event to Islam as a negative factor that creates tensions between countries, and has always contributed to international issues.

I.4.2- The TWA 847 flight Hijacking in Lebanon in 1985

A plane was flying from Athens to Rome and it held mainly Americans. The hijacking was projected in order to free prisoners from Israel and Spain by a group of Lebanese Shi'a headed by Mohammed Ali Hammadi and Hassan Izz-Al-Din. While some interpretations suggested that the hijacking was a result of tensions between Shi'a groups, it was agreed upon that it was committed by Hezbollah because the latter was interested in this release. It happened after the occurrence of many similar hijackings and it demonstrated to have the same goals of the previous ones (Forest 40, 42).

This hijacking targeted the United States aiming to arrive at its subordinate Israel and its proponent Spain. The hijacking came to an end with many interventions and negotiations. The event attracted the media interest throughout the World more than all the prior kidnappings (Forest 43, 44). As usual, the terrorist event influenced Arab and Muslim-Americans because it caused an American backlash against them ("A History of Backlash Attacks ...").

I.4.3- The First Gulf War in 1991

It happened on August 1990 after the end of the Cold War, and it tested the American policy towards external conflicts. It started when President Saddam Hussein conquered Kuwait under the pretext of Basra as an Iraqi territory. But, it was an attempt to pay back Kuwait's credits after its war with Iran and to control the whole Gulf. At first, the United States entered under the umbrella of the United Nations. As unexpected, the United States interfered to end the conflict and to free Kuwait. Although, Hussein turned his attention into Israel in order to practice a significant pressure on the United States, he was forced to retreat from Kuwait on February 1991 (Best, et al 489, 491).

According to Elver, Muslim-Americans suffered a lot especially when the war started. The war's aftermath intensified the tension between Muslims and The USA, and this resulted

in a declaration of harsh laws against Muslims and the organizations which regulate their lives in the United States (136).

I.4.4- The Terrorist Bombings of the United States in the 1990's

A series of attacks were prepared and targeted the United States before the prominent 9/11 events. There were two major ones: the First World Trade Center Attack in New York in 1993 and the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995.

I.4.4.1- The First World Trade Center Attack of 1993

It was considered as the most serious attack in New York City on February, 1993. The catastrophe caused several human casualties and many operations were taken in order to reduce its losses (Fusco 1). Horowitz and Poe in their book stated that the bomb was set at northern part of the construction in order to be hit which caused automatically the collapse of the other tower. Yet the bomb did not realize what was expected. Many Muslims were jailed after an extensive and a deep research which proved that they were indictment for this terrorist activity and many others within the United States (6, 8).

This event attracted the attention of the American media which had extensively depicted it. The First World Trade Center Attack of 1993 put a great focus on Muslims in the Middle East after the catch of Mohammed Salameh accusing him to be an activist member of terrorists there. Many stories were created by US media surrounding the attack. American investigators claimed that the terrorists and their activities, tactics, and power are of a great rise. In the sense an expert named Ghassan Salame stated: "They differ from the older generation in three crucial ways. First, their impatience with the status quo is stronger. Second, their willingness to use force is palpable. Third, their list of enemies is much longer". Accordingly, the depiction of the rise of terrorism reflects the rise of Americans' hate and discrimination against Muslims (Storin 5).

The attack of 1993 resembles many other previous and after attacks in America which affected the Muslims' situation and gradually destructed the image of Islam. In the same sense, the event supported greatly the idea of Islamophobia in the American context.

I.4.4.2- The Oklahoma City Bombing of 1995

It happened on April 19, 1995, and targeted the "Murrah building" in which part of it was destroyed. The explosion was not only limited to the building, but it extended to reach many locations throughout the Oklahoma City. The destruction resulted in a number of human casualties ("the Oklahoma City Bombing..." 1, 16). According to Haque and Mahjabeen, although it was proven that the attack was committed by American Christians, Muslims and Arab- Americans were eventually accused to be responsible for it. Statistics showed that 'approximately 220 attacks' were directed against them (6).

One day after the atrocity, the Wall Street Journal commented and criticized Muslims-Americans stating that: "Growing Muslim communities in other areas of the US, such as in New York, Detroit and Oklahoma City, also include some extremist members who could have provided support for terrorists "(Haque and Mahjabeen 16). Muslims in the United States were perceived as a rejecting American values.

All these events and many others contributed in a way or another to the rise of Islamophobia in the United States. They are major factors that resulted in a re- consideration of issues about the presence of Muslims in the American society. These American negative sentiments against Muslim- Americans have been directed towards the rejection of Muslims' attitudes and Islamic practices because they threatened the validity of American norms and values. Although America is known as the country of liberties, it is clear that there is no respect for individual differences and a freedom of religion there; which hardened the Muslim- Americans situation and life conditions.

In short, the fear from Muslims is an old and a deep- rooted phenomenon, and it seems to be a pre- planned Western project which have been developed through history. Muslim groups have been always perceived as a source of fear and insecurity since the early wave of immigration. In the pre- 9/11 America, Islamophobia had been issued within the United States and had appeared merely as an ideology which attracted the attention of US Founding Fathers who transferred a big sense of rejection against Muslims and Arabs in general, and encouraged the American population to face and fight their presence throughout the United States.

With the various terrorist attempts which were directed against the US soil and due to several events that America related to terrorism and Islamism, this sense was reinforced and the American- Muslims were accused of being responsible for them. America called for an urgent need to raise this sense of fear and hatred of American- Muslims based on their religious affiliation.

The anti- Muslim emotions were easily transformed through the effective US media and cinema which identified Islam as well as American- Muslims according to the American biased views towards the Muslim World. Thus, Islamophobia was not only linked with American population but also with US governors who had a strong influence on American policies and the public opinion.

The issue of Islamophobia has an endless circulation in the American context and has a direct impact on American- Muslims life and stability. When the 9/11 hostage crisis happened, this ideology was undoubtedly confirmed and a new phase started when Islamophobia was framed in a new way under new conditions and excuses.

Endnotes:

¹Quota system: a policy of limiting by nationality the number of immigrants who may enter the U.S. each year.

²The great depression: the economic crisis and period of low business activity in the United States and other countries, roughly beginning with the stock market crash in October, 1929, and continuing through most of 1930' s.

³Islamophobia: the prejudice against, hatred or bigotry towards the religion of Islam and Muslims.

Chapter Two

Islamophobia Post 9/11

The 9/11 atrocities were a turning point in the American history especially as regard to the Muslim- American minority. These events have intensified the dangers of Islamophobia and brought Muslims to the forefront. The focus will be on the immediate post- September attacks' consequences. The current chapter presents the immediate public and governmental reactions against American- Muslims after the attacks, and how their reactions affected and worsened their situation at that time. This era was characterized by considering openly any Muslim as a potential terrorist. Americans in the post 9/11 period expected that an explosion can happen whenever, and wherever a Muslims is found. As a result, the Muslim- Americans suffered heavily from the American vision and worryingly from the hate- crimes against them.

The declaration of the War on Terror was the principal and most harmful decision taken against Muslims which resulted in the deployment of American forces in both Afghanistan and Iraq. Additionally, many operations and laws were put aiming at regulating and securing Americans' life from the surrounding Islamic danger at the expense of Muslims' comfortable life. These policies were the final result of the Global War on Terror which had influenced American Muslims life though the detention and deportation cases. The Muslims became the first target of American government enhanced by the public support for the aggressive actions. All the new declared laws were against the American principles of justice, freedom, equality, and dignity. The new body of legislation led the US government and population to pose greater pressure on Muslims in a legal way.

II.1- US Muslims at the Down of the Attacks

September 11, 2001 witnessed the occurrence of a series of terrorist attacks in New York and the Pentagon through the hijacking of four aircrafts which were flying into California. The two first planes had successively destructed the Twin Towers, and the third destroyed the Pentagon's Western section. In addition, the fourth one had dropped close to Pittsburg that had probably indicated the kidnapper's failure to reach their exact goal. Consequently, many

people died including passengers and people in the targeted structures; with several missing others. The attack affected other near buildings where a lot of attempts were done to save people's lives and to reduce the losses. The area witnessed a considerable damage leaving people shocked because the event was unexpected (Schmemmann). As a result; the Americans faced a big shock during and after the attack. The trauma had been later translated into an unfair backlash against American- Muslims transforming their lives considerably.

Yaser Ali who is a managing attorney at Boutique Estate in his article "Shariah Citizenship_ how Islamophobia is Creating a Second- Class Citizenry in America", saw the 9/11 events as the main factor that led Americans to feel more angry about the existence of Muslims in the United States. So, the negative perception of Muslim- Americans at the shadow of the attacks became much bigger, because the destructive and criminal actions were really framed in front of the Americans' eyes rather than at a Cinematic screen. The Bombing marked the beginning of a new phase of Islamophobia, when the American population denied any person who was perceived as a Muslim to be an American citizen; and this resulted in the restrictions of Muslims' rights in the country (1035).

Thus, there was a radical change in the Muslim- Americans life under the pretext of preserving the American national security. Muslims lost their American identity and became categorized as betrayals. At the social level, a number of US Muslims lost their lives because of the criminal actions committed by Americans as a reaction or revenge; even though few of those crimes had been recorded (Ali 1048). 9/11 was a tragedy for Muslims in the United States who became regarded as foreigners more than any time before.

The blast made Muslims subjected to all kinds of discrimination that can be either emotional or physical. The United States considered "al- Qaeda members" responsible for the hostage. Islamophobes targeted people who seem to be Muslims or who belong to the same religion or nation of the terrorists. The American crimes against Muslims pre- existed before

the events, but what makes them different is that they increased in both their number and seriousness and spread everywhere. These violent acts against American Muslims show a clear violation of the founding principles of the USA. The American government created special laws concerning the violence practiced against Muslims in the United States in order to consider these actions as a special kind of crimes or to motivate the penalty against the criminals in case the act was based on a particular alignment (United States “we are not the Enemy” 3,5,6). The American Muslims lived difficult situation in the post 9/11 period.

The problem of citizenship has prominently increased during this era to deprive American Muslims from getting their full rights and prevent them from having any voice in politics and decision making. Thus, they faced many obstacles and difficulties to alienate and to push them to return back to their homelands. The rising public and governmental opposition against the establishment of the Muslims’ mosque “the Park 51 Islamic Center¹” exemplified the case of many other mosques throughout the United States that clarified the discriminatory signals of Muslims’ alienation as noncitizens (Ali 1052).

After 9/11, Muslims unlike the other minorities were deprived from the religious rights and freedoms they used to have. The issue appeared through the American population violent manifestations to forbid these Islamic projects. This reflected the transcendence of the First Amendment² principle because of the exclusion of Muslims to practice their religion freely (Ali 1055). The US law contradicted itself when it came to be applied with American Muslims.

Christopher Smith, the US representative of New Jersey’s 4th congressional district and a member of the Republican Party in “Anti- Islamic Sentiment and Media Framing during the 9/11 Decade” article; showed that September, 11 was appropriate for Americans to empower their stereotypes thought against Muslims, though they sympathized with them at first due to the media way of coverage. Thus, their reactions were flexible to change according to the media perception. Many Americans who were not previously concerned with the Islamophobic

discourse; interpreted the event on the basis of this traditional belief. It resulted in a natural and spontaneous violence against Muslims (1).

Although there was a rise of consciousness about the essence of Islam at this time, the anti-Islamic sentiments were of a great growth. This refers to the media role to inspire people more than any other instrument. As a way to provoke American Muslims to react, there was a distortion of Muslims' Prophet through the publication of offensive "cartoons". The Muslim reactions were used by Americans to confirm their prejudice and to show them as a savage people who cannot ever assimilate to the Americans' life (Smith 9). Americans had a big desire to disintegrate Muslims from the American society via forcing their reactions to come out in order to justify their negative attitudes and generalize the perception to the Islamic faith as a whole.

In an article entitled "Federal Civil Rights Engagement with Arab and Muslim American Communities Post 9/11", it was mentioned that the pejorative vision against Muslims continues to spread until the present time. A good example that sheds a light in the sense is the black list that Americas put in order to accuse any person who is included in this list as responsible for any older or future attacks. The American exclusion of Muslims is mainly concerned with Arab Muslims as the Islamic group that represents a great majority in the United States. Eight years after the tragedy, the FBI data recorded 1,552 violent actions against American- Muslims. It was proven that this number is lower and it did not reflect the reality, because only few of them have been reported. Only one year later, these hate crimes increased by 50%.

II.2- The New Challenges

II.2.1- The War on Terror

The 9/11 consequences were not only limited to the popular backlash against Muslims, but also many severe reactions were set by the US government. For Jenkins and Godges in their

book *the Long Shadow of 9/11: America's Response to Terrorism*, the US first governmental goal after the 9/11 was to protect security within the United States via fighting terrorists. In this context, this could happen not only by keeping safety at the American ground, but it extended to fight terrorists at their homelands outside the United States; as it was announced by the Bush administration's War on Terror strategy. The War should touch every corner in the World; preparing the member states that could participate to face terrorism. However, the reality showed that the new war was declared against the religion of Islam, and it was set in terms of political matters. The new "democratic" regimes in the Islamic countries paved the way for the United States to spread and practice their war freely.

Stephen Van Evera who is a professor of Political Science in an article entitled "Assessing US Strategy in the War on Terror"; argued that the Bush new policy aimed at eliminating any existence of al- Qaeda globally. This was through ending up many political systems that allowed the terrorists to hide at their soil. The war in Afghanistan in 2001 is one example of the War on Terror in which its system was removed since it used to be a refuge for many terrorists. This has affected al- Qaeda in a way that its leaders became unable to contact their followers over the World and their "training bases" elsewhere.

These bases were meant for the preparation of eager extremists, and al- Qaeda deprivation of them means a disaster. Thus, when these leaders have been blockaded to move, this caused stagnation for the group to operate globally as it used to be. So, the Taliban system's disposal was one victory of the War on terrorism (12). The United States could always find ways and excuses to enter Islamic countries that are tolerant towards any US practice.

Van Evera also stated that the US war in Afghanistan did not achieve an entire success because of the lack of resources and a bad leadership at times. The US was lucky when it defeated al- Qaeda at Tora Bora in Afghanistan in 2001, yet it was later mishandled that led the leaders to flee. The successive American failure to end al- Qaeda presence and the weak newly

established government allowed al- Qaeda and the former Taliban regime to retrieve their power status. Al- Qaeda was also able to extend its power into Pakistan, and the US forces became incapable to move and hinder its work in Afghanistan and in Pakistan. The US forces' failure to eradicate al- Qaeda wholly was due to the fact that it shifted its interest into Iraq (12).

The President's proponents created many excuses under which the idea of entering Iraq became acceptable. But the World opinion could not be convinced that Iraq had relations with terrorists or that Hussein possessed "weapons of mass destruction". As a result, they declared that their advocacy for this war came to an end (Tucker 486). The War in Iraq had catastrophic consequences on them; the defeat of the Iraqi military forces, the catch and the execution of Saddam Hussein, in addition to many injuries and deaths (Bassil 29). The War in Iraq looks as an unnecessary war that was declared under unconvinced goals in order to reach hidden ones.

The War on Terror was a state of combating all kinds of terrorism and their supporters by the United States and many other countries. It was also named "the Long War" by Robert Gates the Secretary of Defense who served during the Bush government. It involved taking many procedures at many levels to face terrorists. It ended the life of an uncountable number of people, since it had spread into Afghanistan in 2001 and later into Iraq in 2003 (Tucker 487).

Bush's aim was not only to end the terrorist activities rather he wanted to impose and expand the US dominance over the Islamic World, and to overthrow regimes that were not in favor of the US interests. Thus, the American system has always followed the appropriate path to achieve further political goals.

The Global War on Terror affected Muslims outside as well as inside the United States, that is; it influenced American foreign and domestic policy. In *Islamophobia: the Ideological Campaign against Muslims*, by the Criminal Defense Attorney in Fairfax Stephen Sheeht, Louis Fisher talks about how the Muslims' rights were violated through the Bush unfair policy

which was based upon the declaration of violent acts. The policies that were set under the Bush Cabinet were directed against American- Muslims.

In the sense, Philip Giraldi, a former CIA officer and Army Intelligence Officer; stated that the new acts: "will be primarily directed against Muslims and Muslim organizations...". The Muslims and everything that was related to them were oppressed by the new legislation. The legal bias practiced by the American administration against Muslims went and progressed through three successive stages from the Clinton government passing into the Bush administration and then the present Obama Cabinet. As a result, it seems that the regulating laws towards the existence of Muslims in the United States appeared even before the tragedy.

II.2.2- The New Federal Government Legislation

In the wake of the attacks, the USA PATRIOT Act was passed in 2001 by the American federal government. Muslims in America were the scapegoats of this legislation. The acronym refers to Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act, and the declaration of the new laws were considered as a continuation of the War on Terror (Ali 1042).The new law aimed at protecting safety, and granting authority for the federal government to debrief those who were dubious for any terrorist activity through conducting an "electronic surveillance".

This act was an override for the American previous constitutional standards and for freedoms gifted to all inhabitants in the United States. The vague analysis of the PATRIOT Act led to be implemented in a wrong way. This gave rise to a clash between Americans and Muslims and an extension of violent actions against Muslims (The USA PATRIOT Act 4, 6). Lewis and Mayle in their article "Son of the Patriot Act we Have to Destroy this Village to Save it" indicated that the PATRIOT Act made Bush able to take urgent decisions in case a particular attack takes place in the US. It also required the expropriation of possessions owned to people suspected to be involved in the blitz. It worked to intensify control over financial

transactions to prevent any illegal activity or any investment of the terrorists. This policy acts to make the collected data about terrorists by the FBI part of “local law enforcement agencies”. The PATRIOT Act affected the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) which was set during the Cold War period in 1978. It permitted its investigation and control under less pressure and difficulties.

The Professor Emeritus Howard Ball reported that when the Act was interpreted, it may mean two things. The first is that the US had proclaimed its confrontation to the terrorists, but in fact it violated the American- Muslims civil liberties under the name of fighting terrorists. The second as it was criticized; is that the encroachment of their liberties came as a result of the declaration of a set of policies. The PATRIOT Act deprived Muslims of their rights in the US more than eliminating the terrorists at both levels: domestic and international. Governor Gilmore in his letter to Bush and lawmakers called for a need to make the war against terrorism correspond with citizens’ rights (3, 4, 7, 24). As a result, the PATRIOT Act received a big opposition by numerous politicians, since it contradicts the principles of the American political system.

The rise of fear among Americans towards Muslims pushed Attorney General John Ashcroft to set the NSEERS. It stands for the National Security Entry- Exit Registration System. He introduced a much distorted image of Muslims who had come to the US and broke into the indigenous populations’ life. The system targeted the US visitors as well as American- Muslim residents. The US visitors from particular states should pass through many operations including “fingerprinting, photographing, and questioning”. Thus, all Muslims whether tourists or citizens were victims of this program (83, 84).

According to Climent and Radzilowski in their book *American Immigration: an Encyclopedia of Political, Social, and Cultural Change*; this policy was declared in 2002 when a wide range of Muslims were expelled without any previous proven terrorist guilt against

them. The program did not achieve the intended goals. It ended the existence of only a small number of terrorists living the US, and it have just increased the members of prisoners who were either accused for simple crimes or “visa over stayers” (305).

Another American security measure that appeared in the post 9/11 tragedy was the Domestic Security Enhancement Act in 2003. It was called the “the Patriot Act II”and was proposed by Attorney General John Ashcroft. It was not declared formally as a law by the Department of Justice since it was suggested by an anonymous source. The DSEA aimed to strengthen the governmental capacity to exterminate terrorism (Lewis and Mayle). It contained sweeping new law enforcement powers even beyond those contained in the PATRIOT Act in order to facilitate the collection of information as much as possible. According to this act, even people who opposed any law passed by the government were also considered as terrorists. The act also required secrecy about the collected information upon jailed suspects (Kumar 131).

In Abbott and Hetzel’ book *A Legal Guide to Homeland Security and Emergency Management for State and Local Governments*; the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act (IRTPA) that was concerned with “aviation security” became an official legislation in 2004. This policy required to set up Explosives Detection Systems (EDS) device to check the passengers’ staff at airfields. It aimed to realize this goal quickly through the rise of funds (27).

The post 9/11 era was characterized by the introduction of a set of several acts under the excuse of securing Americans’ life and security in country. The reality proved that these policies did not reach the stated goals. On one hand, it exceeded American Constitutional Principles of freedom and equality. On the other hand, they violated American Muslims rights and did not end terrorism in the US that is: many cases of Muslims detention have been documented during this period.

The new laws following the traumatic attacks were positively received by the US population. They had been regarded as the suitable solution that could restore peace within the United States. The enactment of these laws did not encounter any kind of opposition by Muslims before they came into practice. Some of the American public called for more serious acts. The new legislation was actually practiced against the weak people, the new comers, and those who have lower status in the United States.

Since the post September laws were based on a discriminative differentiation, they encompass all groups of people who are considered as “non- Whites”; including: “Arabs, Muslims, and South East Asians” (Bazian 86, 87).

II.3- The Impact of the War on Terror on US Muslims

Many cases of arrested people’s torment after the September 11 led to the deformation of the American reputation. But this did not deter Americans to continue their hostility against Muslims as an attempt to protect their country (Jenkins, and Godges 8). Geneive Abdo who is a journalist, scholar, and author in her article “Mecca and Main Street: Muslim Life in America after 9/11” had discussed the current Muslims’ misery in America after the 9/11 and how they behave in order to live a respectful life (3).

As a solution, they wanted to build their own and separate religious identity. This became apparent around the country in which Muslims practice their religion publicly, that is; headscarves were worn everywhere and also taskmasters advocated Muslims’ rights to get free time to worship. US Muslims rejected to be completely assimilate within the American society and they sought to create a balance between their American economic and social life and commitment to Islam regardless the American’ perception against them (4).

Three years after the attacks, the collected information by the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life showed that one half of the American population saw Islam as the most dangerous

minority religion in the United States. This was largely the result of the media and political discourse towards Muslims.

A huge number of detainees were recorded by Human Rights Watch, and this action violated the US constitutional rules towards criminals. The prisoners were arrested without a tangible proof against them, and they were isolated and deprived from having any kind of communication. In addition, they faced all kinds of torture in jail as it was marked by the Department of Justice's inspector general. The reality proved their innocence from any terrorist action, but the majority of them were either got their freedom or expelled. There was a high increase of the violent actions' rate after the 9/11, as it was documented by the Hate Crime Unit of FBI. Many people were killed; among them non- Muslims who were assassinated by mistake because their appearance resembled the Muslims (Abdo 6, 84, 85).

In an article entitled "Detained without Cause: Muslims' Stories of Detention and Deportation in America after 9/11", Irum Sheikh who is a filmmaker, oral historian, and a scholar; stated that the lawmakers' announcement of many laws was an extortion of Muslims' legal rights. The post 9/11 American principal belief was that the reaction against Muslims through exclusion and retention was an inevitable process to protect the land from more terrorists' raids (2).

According to Sheikh, this led to accuse Muslims of being involved in the attacks without any evidence rather basing on the religion to which they belong. There was no exact number of detention cases because of the complete privacy. But later, it was recognized by government officials that more than one thousand cases of detention occurred after only fifteen days of the 9/11 in order to interrogate them. After this, there were no statistics to show the number of these cases because it became difficult to count them (8). Muslims were persecuted because of the new phenomenon of detention to the point that their huge number became uncountable.

Although it was declared that the majority of terrorists were from Saudi Arabia, Pakistanis were the most depressed group after the attacks. Those Pakistanis occupy low status in the United States (Sheikh 9). Thus, the oppression was applied upon weak Muslims regardless their involvement in the aggressive actions. Sheikh stated also that all minorities alike Muslims, Sikhs and others who had resembled the kidnappers' appearance were seem to be in charge of terrorism. Muslims were also arrested for the lack of legal papers for their existence in the United States. Furthermore, others were jailed despite the fact that they live in the United States legally.

The illegal residents in the United States were the real victims of the war on terror because no one had showed compassion for them. This initiated immigration limitations to the United States and ended with the jail of them since their existence was a skip for the US laws (11, 13, 15).

Sherifa Zuhur who is a research professor of Islamic and Regional studies in her article « Precision in the Global War on Terror: Inciting Muslims through the War of Ideas » explained that the US treatment of prisoners was very cruel and humiliating to the point that it became an unsuitable action in the United States. This was also reflected when the United States tried to practice these inhuman actions in countries outside the US when they can practice more torture in a legitimate way (50).

The war on terror extended to include also a war of words; for example the prohibition of the use of the term "Allah". This war described as a vague enemy (Zuhur 18, 23). The war on terror has influenced Muslims at the educational level because their schools became considered as a tool that convinced students of extremist and terrorist ideologies. Islamic institutions as mosques were also targeted around the United States. So, prayers were hit as well. A great opposition appeared against any Islamic project whether it existed before or it was in progress (Zuhur 40, 82).

In Michael Welch's book *Scapegoats of September 11th: Hate Crimes and State Crimes in the War on Terror*; in searching for peace within the United States, the American society saw many changes at several levels in which the war on terror was the most appropriate solution. In fact, this war achieved more than what was expected at the social level. This means that it was not only limited to the prevention of more attacks, rather it extended to the murder of a large number of American Muslims who had no link with the attacks.

Thus, the war against Islam was harmful for Muslims at two main points. Primarily, it was an unfair decision against Muslims who were just victims of their religious affiliation. Next, it violated the American constitutional basics that preserve all citizens' rights and lives. So, these destructive actions in corporation with the US PATRIOT Act contributed to decay the US equity. The essence of the war on terror was ambiguous since it did not reach its stated goals. For that, the author believed that the support for this war involves an imaginative power of contemplation (4, 5).

Muslim previous prisoners refused the idea that the United States practiced the actions of detention and expulsion lawfully under the argument of religious affiliation. Different racial experiences against Muslims led to create doubt and raised many questions about Islam which resulted in detentions. All the circumstances that surrounded the detainees proved that they were victims regardless of their release and secrecy about them, because they had stayed for a long duration at jail, lived all kinds of torture, and depicted as extremists.

The US victimized even Muslims who had been proved having no relation with any terrorist activity and who lived in the US legitimately. The very harsh life that Muslims had experienced at prison led them to confess their detainers' claim in exchange of their release (Sheikh 19).

Jeffrey Rosen is an American academic and commentator on legal affairs wrote an article entitled « the Naked Crowd: Balancing Privacy and Security in an Age of Terror» in which he

described the harms of the new technological instruments that were used at the airports to check passengers through the detection of any dangerous objects. One of these tools was called “the naked machine” because it acted as a full body scanner. Thus, it displays the body of a person unclothed. There were people who viewed this tool as shameful since it shattered their confidentiality. There was worry about this operation to the point that some people refused to travel in order to avoid it. Another technological tool that harmed Muslims’ privacy in the post 9/11 era was the examination of the online collected data. Roger Clarke named this process as “mass dataveillance” which was used to detect any planned terrorist action from this analyzed data. Yet, this procedure had been previously unauthorized by the Fourth Amendment³ (608, 610, 611). American Muslims had no longer any kind of privacy within the American sphere.

The United States employed a variety of ways to control Muslims. This can be better understood with making reference to the PATRIOT Act when it legitimized spying upon Muslims’ phone calls. In the same context, the US interfered in Muslims’ personal life. It is a matter of disturbing their autonomy and honors more than a matter of violating their ownerships. More than that, any applied way of dataveillance was not an issue of intervening in one’s personal life, rather it was a case of racism which created an unfair situation, that is: to foresee the Muslims’ attitude basing on the collected data led to a special treatment of them at different locations. Thus, they will suffer from an unjustified alienation and discrimination. (Rosen 612, 613, 615, 617). The post 9/11 implementations against Muslims to bother their stability everywhere created difficult conditions under which they became rationalized and victimized.

The 9/11 terrorist acts were the major 21st Century event that led to the emergence of new climate. Islamophobic politicians and journalists used the events of 9/11 to spread fear and hatred of Islam. The American population and government related the event to Islam and Muslims including those in the United States. So, the number of Islamophobes has increased

after the terrorist attacks. For that, the era witnessed a violent American backlash against American Muslims at both public and state levels.

The rejection of Muslims' presence in America became a matter of American national security. The US response to the events have also affected Muslims outside the American ground; because of the War on Terror policy that targeted Afghanistan and Iraq as secure havens for al- Qaeda network.

The Global War on Terror has also marked a dramatic change of the American policy against American Muslims as a response to perceived threat from terrorism. This resulted in the declaration of various severe laws to eliminate Muslims' rights in the United States. Thus, the United States made the Islamic religion the focal point in counterterrorism efforts and Muslims faced the dilemma of finding their identity.

The war on terror influenced negatively Muslims life whether in the United States or abroad. Muslims witnessed all kinds of torture either verbally or emotionally. The war on terror was incompatible with US constitutional principles of justice and equality since it violated the civil liberties of Muslims as American citizens. This violation made the entire country a jail for the American Muslims.

Islamophobic treatment of American Muslims did not stop at this level. It developed into a more dangerous phase in which this phenomenon infiltrated institutions and became an organized agenda. Muslims are targeted under special and framed network of laws and organizations.

Endnotes:

¹The Park 51 Islamic Center: or Ground Zero Mosque, is an Islamic community center in Lower Manhattan including a Muslim community center and a mosque.

²First Amendment: guarantees freedom concerning religion, expression, assembly, and the right to petition.

³Fourth Amendment: protects people's right to privacy and freedom from arbitrary governmental intrusions.

Chapter Three

Institutionalizing Islamophobia

September 11, 2001 caused a dramatic change in American domestic and foreign Policy. Concurrently, unfounded fear, hatred and hostility toward Islam and Muslims resulted in bias, discrimination, marginalization and exclusion of Muslims from social, political and civic life. At that period, the widespread mistrust of Islam in the United States also raised prejudices and hate crimes against American Muslim communities.

This created an atmosphere in which all American Muslims felt as they were suspects. In the aftermath of the 9/11 events, Islamophobia was formally constructed in the Americans mind through the rise of a network of anti-Muslim institutions in the United States. The latter implemented special programs with hope of countering the terrorism and enemy combatants, at the same time, they sought to spread the false facts and images about Islam and Muslims both at local and international level.

Though American Muslims have moved toward having their own voices by establishing organizations and institutions to break down the misrepresentation of Islam and raise consciousness among Muslims to create alliances with their non-Muslims in pursuit of the common goals of social justice and freedom, they are now living in the aftermath of the 9/11 and the hysteria, fear, political instability and religious extremism associated with Islam. After decades of living in the United States, many Muslims believed they have removed the stereotypes, biases and misunderstanding of Islam and Muslims, but in fact they were facing the new age of identity and social negotiations, and they still suffer from the false images and views that would impact their future.

III.1- The Famous Anti-Islam Institutions in the United States

Anti-Muslim sentiments existed in the early 1900s long before the incident of the 9/11 terrorist attacks. However, The Post 9/11 period noticed a new age of the American hostility toward Islam and Muslims in the United States. This was marked by the emergence of several Islamophobia activists who spread myths and lies about Islam and American-Muslims. They always represented Islam as a fundamentalist and terrorist religion. They had influenced negatively Americans' minds about Islam and Muslims in the United States, and this led to the increase of the discriminatory acts and hate crimes against the American Muslims communities. Those anti-Muslim institutions comprise the so called misinformation experts, grassroots organizations and so on, that tend to produce, distribute and extend unfounded fear of Islam and Muslims.

The roots of Islamophobia date back to five “misinformation experts” groups and their Organizations. The latter included Frank Gaffney of the Center for Security Policy, Daniel Pipes at the Middle East Forum, Steven Emerson of the Investigative Project on Terrorism, David Yerushalmi at the Society of Americans for National Existence, Robert Spencer of Jihad Watch. These groups were actively promoting the deeply mistaken images of Islam,

and they tried to ban the Sharia law or Islamic religious code that was accused of being the source of terrorism and violent extremism.

As a result, these groups continued their political campaigns, and entered the public sphere in a significant way after the events of 9/11. They peddled the fear and hate in the form of books, websites, reports, blogs and media outlets.

III.1.1- The Center for Security policy (CSP)

This center was formed in 1988 by the former Reagan Defense Department official Frank Gaffney. It was responsible for the United States National services issues through the broader lens of what was threatening the United States of America inside and outside. This islamophobia network covered a series of traditional security issues that encompassed military readiness, transformation, the threats posed by China and Russia, terrorists, Operation Iraq Freedom and energy over independence.

Then, it went beyond these issues to emphasize more the threat carried out by Islamist world (Jihadist movement) (Watso 233). It was considered as the main driver of anti-sharia campaigns that ultimately increased bias among the public, and endorsed the idea that the American Muslim charities and organizations tended to replace the US Constitution with Islamic law.

CSP's 2010 report "Shariah: The Threat to America" alleged that the United States was under serious threat of coming under Islamic religious law. Frank Gaffney employed CSP as a vehicle to develop and promote his paranoid conceptions, namely that mosques shroud Muslim sedition and that Sharia is a "totalitarian ideology" that is committed to destroy western civilization.

In June 2012, CSP posted a 10-part video series, "The Muslim Brotherhood in America," which essentially laid out their entire unfounded theory of the threat posed by American Muslims (Center for American progress...). However, this anti-Islam Institution have been

criticized by a wide range of extremism monitoring organizations, including the Anti-Defamation League¹, and Center for Democratic Values at City University of New York (Trumps' Muslim Lockdown...). To sum up, CSPs promoted increasingly paranoid mischaracterization of Islamic laws, and spread an irrational fear of Muslims as being hostile to the United States and its constitution.

CSP enrolled several people to contribute to the report "Shariah: The Threat To America.", including Tom Trento, founder of the anti-Islam group, the United West (Florida Security Council) who had a record of peddling anti-Islam conspiracy theories. Trento once addressed a crowd in Florida in December 2015, he said: "What the hell is going on that Scott Israel [the sheriff] hires a terrorist". Diana West was another contributor. An author and columnist said that it is really the basic teachings of Islam not "some peculiar strain called 'Islamism' or of an organization such as the Muslim Brotherhood or ISIS," that posed a threat to Americans' constitutional liberties (Center for Security...). The rise of anti-Islam movement shaped the public opinion with false facts about the sharia law

III.1.2- The Middle East Forum (MEF)

It was established in 1990 by Daniel Pipes, it is an independent non-profit organization that set up to define and to promote American interests in the Middle East and to protect the constitutional order from Middle Eastern threats through publication, research, Media network and public education. The forum realized that region was branded as dictatorships, existential conflicts, corruption, political violence, and produced the weapons of mass destruction as the main cause of the problem for the United States welfares.

U.S. assistance in the Middle East include fighting radical Islam; working for Palestinian acceptance of Israel, developing strategies to deal with Iraq and Iran and checking the spread of Islamism in Turkey. At the same time, the Forum combats lawful Islamism; protects the freedom of public speech of anti-Islamist authors, activists, and publishers; and works to

improve Middle East studies in North America. After 9/11, it turned to be more Islamophobic network through various projects including Campus Watch² in 2002, Legal Project³ in 2003, and Islamist Watch⁴ in 2005(Deeper 181). The Middle East Forum is another small Islamophobic organization that inclined the untruthful realisms about Islam and its principles.

Pipes' recommended the increase of profiling of American Muslims and Arabs to cope with an imminent exaggerated threat of "militant" Islam⁵ and accused the President Barrack Obama of being a former Muslim who practiced Islam. In response to President Barrack Obama's interpretations about ISIS as not being a representative of Islam or Muslim, Daniel Pipes said: "In the end ... neither U.S. presidents nor Islamist apologists fool people. Anyone with eyes and ears realizes that the Islamic State, like the Taliban and al-Qaeda before it, is 100 percent Islamic."

Daniel Pipes' MEF is one of numerous Islamophobic networks and was responsible for spreading hatred of Islam and Muslims (Deeper 190). Daniel Pipe's vision toward Islam was always represented in pejorative way, and he believed that Islam was naturally the source of viciousness, oppression, and racism.

III.1.3- The Investigative Project on Terrorism (IPT)

It is a non-profit research group that was founded by the author, media pundit and the journalist Steven Emerson in 1995. It was documented as the world's most comprehensive data center on Militant Islam and the Middle Eastern Terrorist groups. For more than two decades, the Investigative Project on Terrorism has studied the operations, funding, activities and network of Islamic terrorist and extremist groups in the United States and around the globe. The anti-Islam organization took information from a wide range of sources, comprising websites, informants, publications, government records and so on. It provided insights to law enforcement agencies⁶, government offices, and the U.S. congress as well as

several public policy forums (Annaviatson, p233). This organization has been largely affected by the American way of thinking about Islam and Muslims inside and outside America before and after 9/11 events.

Emerson's the Investigative Project on Terrorism was recognized as the first and the only Islamophobia group that has affirmed and warned about the danger of Islamic Militant networks in the United States and their connection worldwide. IPT has testified the congress lots of time on terrorist financing and operational systems of al Qaeda, Hamas, Hezbollah, Islamic Jihad, and also the radical Islam.

Steven Emerson and IPT launched a campaign against American Muslims groups, especially the American Muslims for Palestine⁷ (AMP) and Students for Justice in Palestine⁸ (SJP). His organization has been mentioned in hundreds of Newspapers and Television stories since 9/11 (Sheeki 1978). This non-governmental group was considered by the United States' governmental policies as one of the most important sources of accurate and timely information on the real goals and objective of the prevalent and powerful Islamic movement.

III.1.4- The Society of American for National Existence (SANE)

The fourth Islamophobic network was the Society of American for National Existence; it was founded by David Yerushalmi in 2006. The anti-Muslim organization tried to promote the idea that Islam was inherently seditious and the Islamic religious law was criminal conspiracy to end the U.S government. This organization has not only sought to put an end to Sharia Law in the United States governmental courts but has launched campaigns fueled by suspicion of all Muslims and they portrayed all Muslims as threat to America.

Its well-known campaign was "Mapping Shari's in America: Knowing the Enemy", it sought to identify the type of sharia that was practiced in every single mosque, and that was advocated by the Muslim religious institutions. SANE also proposed legislation under the slogan "sharia shall be felony punishable by 20 years in prison", it demanded the Congress to

declare a war on the “Muslims Nation” which was identified as “Sharia adherent Muslims”. Moreover, it called the congress to consider Muslims’ illegal immigrants as “alien Enemies’ who were subjected to immediate deportation (Benazir 245). David Yerushalmi’s Society of American for National Existence was one of the driving forces to restrict the use of Sharia law and was targeting all Muslim communities of being threatening the United States’ constitutions.

III.1.5- Jihad Watch

The last misinformation expert groups called ‘the Jihad Watch’; it was headed by the Anti-Islamic activist Robert Spencer in 2007, and it was also a program by David Horowitz Freedom Center. This blog was designed to follow up any attempts of the radical Islam that devastate the western culture, and was devoted to bring the public attention to jihadist role in the modern world and to correct the widespread misunderstanding about the role of the jihad and religion in the modern world conflicts.

In addition to this blog, Spencer created another blog on the Jihad Watch sites which was called Dhimmi Watch; it is based on targeting non-Muslims in defend of Muslims worldwide. The Jihad watch has been quoted in many publications, including the New York Time, the New York Daily News, the Christian Science Monitor, USA Today (Norwitz166). The Jihad Watch sites extended the misrepresentation of Jihad. It denied the real meaning of Jihad and related it to violence, cruelty and so on, besides it alarmed several websites, TV shows, and radio shows about the threat of Islam and its attempt to destroy the western culture and their forcible integration into the Islamic world.

For the last decades, Robert Spencer as the director of Jihad Watch appeared in various TV channels, discussing his vision towards the Islamic Jihad role in the current day struggle

by providing inaccurate concepts and myths about the principles of Islamic laws. In September 12, 2011, in an interview with the Conservative Television Station Sun TV, Spencer claimed that the notion of terrorism is unique to the religion of Islam. In this context, he said “we don’t see Christian groups, we don’t see Jewish groups....we see the violent Islamic Jihad groups all over the world”.

On December 2, 2011, during his “Convenient Truth Tour” in Australia, Robert Spencer stressed the point that all various forms of Jihad, both violent and non-violent were directed to the same end: the Islamization of the world and the imposition of Islamic law over the unbelieving societies (Norwitz, p 171). Robert Spencer’s misconceptions about Islam showed that he made efforts to create and convey the message that Islam is not a religion of peace rather it was a violent extremism, it was inherited throughout the history of Islam which threatened the U.S national security.

This small and tightly network group of misinformation experts were highly supported by numerous foundations and wealthy donors, which provided them with funds to propagate their increasingly paranoia, fear and hate and as wide as they can. For instance, the Donors Capital Fund donated Emerson’s Investigative Project on Terrorism \$400,000 and nearly \$2.5 million to Daniel Pipes’ Middle East Forum. He also received \$100,000 from the Russell Berrie Foundation, which also donated almost \$300,000 to Pipes’ Middle East Forum.

Additionally, the Scaife Foundation contributed over \$3 million dollars in funds to CSP, while the Fairbrook Foundation donated over \$20 million dollars between 2002 and 2009(Hillary). Altogether received 42.6 \$ million as funds from the seven foundations between 2001 and 2009 (Wajahat et al, p24). The five organizations used these funds to spread Anti-Muslim sentiments.

The five misinformation expert groups contributed to the emergence of other anti-Islam organizations in public sphere which were called the anti- Islam grassroots organizations. The

latter harness paranoia and hatred spread in society. The leading groups of the anti-Islam grassroots network were increasingly successful because they borrowed tactics from the most innovative political movements for the last decades.

The prominent and fastest growing grassroots organizations that are dedicated to national security issues and precisely, to mobilize against political Islam, sharia and close the doors for the Muslims immigrations to the United States, including both the Act for America by Brigitte Gabriel in 2007 and Stop Islamization by Pamela Geller and Robert Spencer in 2009. They conducted campaigns, books, and film to exploit the fear and bigotry toward Islam and Muslims.

ACT for America is an American conservative political organization that was launched in 2007 by Lebanese born Brigitte Gabriel. The organization is dedicated for combating what it described as "threat of radical Islam" to the safety of America and democracy. ACT for America sponsored the idea that Islam was backward and seditious political ideology and that Muslim immigration to the United States must end (Anti-Defamation League). It has been described as "a central player" and a "force multiplier" in promoting state laws banning Sharia (Islamic law) in the United States. It describes itself as a "non-profit, non-partisan, grassroots organization" with "nearly 300,000 members and 890 chapters".

Its website lists consist of "Our issues": "Confronting Terrorism", "Preserving the Constitution", "Securing the Border", "Energy Independence", and "Empowering Women ,Protect Children", and "Support for Israel"(Act for America 12). Act for America was one of the well-known anti-Islam grassroots organizations in the United States. It claims that its role is to provide a comprehensive look at the threat of terrorism and how the individual could play a role in prevention of terrorism, ultimately enhancing the public safety.

Gabriel's organization websites published a variety of articles which targeted American Muslims communities and Muslims Immigration. It posted an article entitled "Stop Muslim

Immigration to the United States”, it directed the reader to online petition calling for prohibition of the Muslims coming from the Islamic world. In the same article, she said “We have no way for determining which Muslims subscribe to pure Islam...The reason this matter in that pure Islam is seditious...We should stop all immigration into free countries by Muslims while we can”.

Likewise, in Act for Americas’ publications, even Gabriel’s’ speeches debated Gabriel’s personal story of growing up as a Christian in Lebanon and as "a survivor of Islamic terror"(Anti-Defamation league). Other organization websites claimed that Muslims had sought to invade America and spread sharia laws (Wajahat et al 67). The anti-Islamic grassroots organizations made efforts to distort the image of Islam.

Stop Islamization of America (SIOA), also known as the American Freedom Defense Initiative; is another Anti-Muslim group that was known primarily for its Islamophobic advertising campaigns (Ernest and Carl). It describes itself as a "human rights organization dedicated to free speech, religious liberty and individual rights (Stop Islamization of America). SIOA was founded in 2009 by its current leaders, Pamela Geller and author Robert Spencer. It supported the conspiratorial anti-Muslim agenda under the guise of fighting radical Islam. The group sought to raise public fear by consistently vilifying the Islamic faith and insuring the existence of an Islamic conspiracy that is designed to destroy American values.

The organization warned of the spread of the sharia law in the United States and encouraged Muslims to renounce and leave the falsity of Islam. This organization extended its ideologies through books, blogs, ad campaigns and films (Wajahat et al80). Stop Islamization of America was one of the most well-known groups that increasingly led massive public information campaign with myths and misinformation about Islam and Muslims.

Gellers' SIOA launched many ad campaigns against Mosque building, anti-Jihad, and even prompted Muslim Americans to leave their religion. In 2010, it posted an ad campaign called "Refuge from Islam", stating that Muslim Americans who "long to be free" from their religion were in danger of being killed, and the ad offered houses for those who wanted to be 'out'. At the same year, it sponsored an ad for New York City taxis, entitled "Honor Killing Awareness campaign", it warned the young Muslim women about the coming danger or threat from their Muslims families, and thus, they had to leave their Muslim values and became Americanized.

In addition to that, Geller was one of the extremists who opposed the building of mosques because she thought that they were the center of terrorism, particularly the building of Park 51. That is why, in February 2011, SIOA released a film "the Ground Zero Mosque: Second Wave of the 9/11 attacks", aimed at stopping the plan to build this mosque (Stop Islamization of America 5, 6). This Anti-Islam grassroots organization conducted those campaigns in order to fight and weaken the presence of Islam in the United States.

After the September 11, 2001 trauma, the United States of America witnessed the rapid spread of prejudices and bigotry toward Islam, and American- Muslim citizens due to accretion of a set of the anti-Islam networks. They mutually mischaracterized facts about the threat of Islam and Muslims in America. These groups highly affected American governmental policies and Americans citizens as well. They led to unexpected attacks from American groups and even the public toward Muslims ranged from physical attacks, nasty gaze, and casual comments, to work place harassment, burning mosques and the Quran. Muslims have witnessed the ever-growing marginalization of their communities (Ghazali). The backlash against Muslim Americans was shocking and led them to worry about their future in this country.

III.2- Confronting the Anti-Islam Organizations

After the 9/11 attacks, Muslim American communities, organizations, and even individuals mobilized to fight against the dangerous stereotypes and their damaging effects in various ways. A growing number of Muslim organizations attempted to educate the media and the public about the real truth of Islam and encouraged Muslims in their local communities to speak out against discrimination, hate crimes, and harassment. The Muslim organization that have played a significant role in raising the profile of Islam in America was the Council on American Islamic Relations(CAIR) and other organizations like the Nawawi Foundation, Islamic Information Center (IIC), and the universal Association of America (UMMA).

In addition to these Muslim organizations, Muslim Individuals and communities were searching ways to reinforce their strategic positions to counter the danger of Islamophobic concepts and accusations through creating new alignments and alliance with non-Muslim American groups.

The Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR) was founded in 1994 by Omar Ahmed and Nihad Awad in Washington. D. C. Its mission was to authorize Muslims politically and socially through activism by giving an Islamic viewpoint on issues concerning the American public. To do this, CAIR has created several means of distributing information. First, they worked closely with the media to provide positive images of Islam and Muslims while challenging negative stereotyping by local and national television, radio channels, websites...etc. CAIR held conferences and seminars to educate the media, government officials, and the public on unknown information related to Islam and Muslims.

Also, CAIR published a newsletter called “Faith in Action” and handbooks to aid Muslim leaders and activists. Finally, CAIR issued “Action Alerts” to inform communities of issues so that they may take action and create a larger voice to be heard. (Barkan1815).The Islamic

organization was regarded as the most visible public representative of American Muslim communities and was taking various roles both in local and international affairs.

After 9/11 Attacks, the Council on American Islamic relation (CAIR) conducted investigations, reports, campaigns, held press conferences, and organized political events as response to Anti-Islam activists through raising the awareness among American Muslim citizens. In 2005, CAIR initiated “Explore the Quran” campaign which aimed at providing free copies of the Quran to any person who requested it (Tariq Ghazi 119). In 2006, as reaction to the Cartoons depicting Muhammad, CAIR conducted an educational program titled “Explore the Life of Muhammad” to bring people of all faiths together to learn more about the Islamic prophet (Explore the life...).

In January 2013, CAIR launched a campaign to convince the media to stop using the word “Islamist” a term used for those supporting the imposition of sharia as governmental system. CAIR justified its call by saying that it is currently used in almost exclusively pejorative context (the Council on American Islamic...12). CAIR is an Islamic organization that made great achievement to fulfill American Muslims’ needs in the American society.

The other Islamic organizations encompassed the Nawawi Foundation, Islamic Information Center (IIC), and the universal Association of America (UMMA) that challenged the misinformation of Islam and Muslims and tried to provide the real truth about Islam to their American neighbors. The Nawawi foundation was established in 2000 and it has focused on understanding the American Muslim cultural experiences within the parameters of Islam. It provided them with such topic as “Gender and Islamic Law in 2003”, “Exploring the Ottoman Legacy in 2004”, and “Principle Imams” and their Schools” in 2005. It also provided weekend retreats throughout the United States on specific issues like: “Ethnic Jihad: The struggles of Muslims in America” which was held in Santa Clara, California and “The

Culture Imperative: Our Islamic Identity in the Modern World” which was held in Washington. D. C.

In addition to that, the Islamic Information Center was formed in Washington .D. C in 2003 and it focused on promoting positive images about Islam and Muslims. The Universal Muslims of America was founded in 2003. It encouraged political participation of the Muslim American society and addressed the stereotypes and misconceptions about Islam (Barkan 1815, 1818).

The increase of awareness among American Muslims was not only fostered by these Islamic organizations, but also many Muslims individuals and communities played considerable roles to be innovative and made big efforts to drive out some of the stereotypes that are perpetuated about Islam.

Mosques across the country held to open houses and invite non-Muslims to lectures about Islam or to attend Friday prayers. Muslim students groups were hosting “Islam Awareness Weeks” on their college campuses. Individuals too have attempted to educate non-Muslims about various traditions of Islam.eg. Imam Khalid Latif, Muslim chaplain at New York University, wrote an article entitled “a Ramadan Reflection” in Huffington holy month of Ramadan in 2011 and 2012, where he emphasized the Muslim tradition “fasting” in order to teach the non-Muslims about Ramadan (Norwitz). Besides, all Muslims still suffer from the disruptive effects of the 9/11 events.

In 2014, all American Muslims organizations united together under one umbrella body “US Council of Muslims organization USCMO”, aiming to resist the anti-Islam campaign and give a better image of Islam. Besides, the U.S. Muslims communities and their allies continued to counter the negative images of Islam in America which was one of the most widely, discussed issues. Non- Muslims communities also cooperated with American Muslims to put an end to this dilemmatic vision and to encourage Muslims to make their

voices heard in the American society, but in fact, a big responsibility fell on both U.S government and Muslims institutions.

III.3- The Future of U.S. Muslims in the shadow of rising Islamophobia

In the post September 11 era questions like: why do Muslims hate us? What are the causes of Muslim extremism and terrorism? Is Islam a violent religion that has been posed? The persisting phenomenon of terrorism committed by some extremist groups or fringe in the name of Islam and the negative portrayal of Islam directed by media outlets that misled the American public about the reality of Islam. All these factors tended to obscure the understanding of Islam and to promote Islamophobia among the American (Bakar, the Post 9/11). Consequently, this will affect the future of American Muslims in all the sides of life.

Today, despite the fact that American Muslims have built their own communities and organizations in the United States, they remain the subject of unjustified discrimination and prejudice. 9/11 was the darkest period in American history, and it has left lasting and damaging impacts on American Muslims who are still fighting stereotypes and negative images. Arab and Muslim Americans increasingly feel targeted by negative media portrayal, and the growth Anti- Islam institutions.

Moreover, what happened in the Muslim world especially the war in Syria, Palestine, and so on, would threaten the security of Muslims living in the west as well as it would create a worse relation between the West and Islamic World (Bakar). The phenomenon of Islamophobia has changed American vision toward Islam and Muslims inside and outside America.

To conclude with, the aftermath of 9/11 period was characterized by the creation of new negative images about Islam and Muslims who were perceived as barbaric, violent, uncivilized, terrorists, easily targeted, accused, prosecuted, convicted and imprisoned – not

for wrongdoing, but for their faith in America at the wrong time. This was due to the emergence of Anti- Islam groups who opposed Islam for ideological reasons. As a result, The Muslim community has responded to these odd circumstances with political and social activism. For them, the best way to protect their civil rights and to end the stereotypical images is to become more active politically and socially.

American Muslim communities tried to reduce the challenge of Islamophobia through establishing organizations, organizing seminars, reports, campaigns and more, but in fact they are not going to achieve it overnight. American Islamophobia is a much more complex phenomenon than many Muslims have so far realized. Islamophobia is not simply a result of widespread American ignorance of Islam. There is an ideological dimension to the phenomenon which will help it to survive for a long period of time. American Islam has to face political challenges of a more enduring nature emanating from this ideological dimension. Thus, the phenomenon of Islamophobia would influence the future of American Muslim life in America as in the western world.

Endnotes

¹Anti- Defamation League: was founded in 1913 to stop the defamation of the Jewish people and to secure justice and fair treatment to all. Now the nation's premier civil rights/human relations agency, ADL fights anti-Semitism and all forms of bigotry, defends democratic ideals and protects civil rights for all.

²Campus Watch: a project of the Middle East Forum, reviews and critiques Middle East studies in North America with an aim to improving them

³Legal project: an activity of the Middle East Forum, works to protect the right in the West to freely discuss Islam, radical Islam, terrorism, and terrorist funding.

⁴Islamist Watch: is an organization which confronts the ideas and institutions of non violent, radical Islamist fronts which have embedded themselves in the United States and other Western countries.

⁵Militant Islam: An Islamist may claim to be a Muslim, wear Islamic clothing, and engage in Islamic rituals.

⁶Law enforcement agencies: is one of the components of justice system of the United States .It operates primarily through governmental police agencies and it investigates suspected criminal activities.

⁷The American Muslims for Palestine: is an American Muslim organization providing anti-Zionist training and education to students and Muslims community organizations in the country.

⁸Students for Justice in Palestine: anti- Zionist, pro- Palestinian college student activism organization in the United States, Canada and New Zealand that has campaigned for boycott and divestment corporations that deals with Israel.

Conclusion

Issues related to the rise of Islamophobia have been the subject of continuous controversy in Europe and the United States in the post-9/11 era. The consequences of this phenomenon have been so destructive that some argued it is the new face of anti-Semitism. The spread of fear and hatred of Muslims and their faith in the United States have considerably affected their lives and added to the pressures already exerted upon them. Demonizing a part of the fabric of the American society would logically have negative consequences on social rest and the overall stability in the country. Islamophobia for sure affected social stability in the United States and becomes one of the biggest challenges facing US decision makers.

What is more threatening is that Islamophobia in the United States has infiltrated some governmental and non-governmental institutions in the last decade. The process of institutionalizing Islamophobia is a new dangerous development of this phenomenon. Islamophobia is no longer a mere irrational fear of Islam and Muslims, but a belief system used by some organized networks for political and ideological ends.

This problem appeared as early as the phenomenon of mass immigration of Muslims to the US started. The American-Muslims with different ascendants had suffered discriminative treatments and prejudice since their early coming to the United States. They had been classified in the United States as foreigners because of their religious belonging. This faulty perception was not new yet it can be traced back to old American tension with the Muslim World over some territories. Islamophobia have progressively developed into a constant belief among Westerners and Americans in particular.

In recent years, the United States tended to use media and cinema entities to spread the Islamophobia through their propaganda. This latter succeeded in distorting Muslims' image

as well as their religion at the shadow of many terrorist events that Americans related to every Muslim.

From the American perspective, the September 11 attacks reaffirmed the validity of all accusations and misconceptions directed towards Islam and Muslims who suffered horrible types of violence and disrespect in their daily lives. Therefore, the situation of Muslims became worst because they were seen as potential terrorists. The 9/11 attacks served the American expansionist goals in performing the war on terror at an international level. Post 9/11 declared acts legalized the commitment of hate crimes against Muslim- Americans under the prominent slogan of protecting the US from future attacks and the weapons of mass destruction. Americans have clearly dehumanized Muslims and made Islam as the World's greatest enemy .Political arrests and detentions characterized the post 9/11 era. Accordingly, the stereotypical images have been practiced in disfavor of Muslims.

Another phase of Islamophobia was initiated when Americans established activist institutions to frame the biased ideologies against Muslims through different plans and great financial funds.

In response, Muslims established parallel organizations to resist the stereotypes and to give the real image of Islam and Muslims. Despite Muslims' efforts to fight the prejudice against them, they still suffer from it until nowadays and their future is ambiguous.

Islam is a peaceful and tolerant faith, and this reality contradict the Islamophobic allegations. Just because few extremists who happened to be Muslim committed some atrocities does not mean to accuse a whole religion and its followers.

Institutionalizing Islamophobia is the most dangerous phase in the evolution of this destructive phenomenon. If the United State does not work seriously to stop the networks that work to spread fear and animosity, the consequences would not only affect American Muslims but for certain the stability of the whole country would be at stake.

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