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"their motherland," regardless of which political ideology holds sway.

<div style="text-align:center">_____</div>

John L. Esposito and Ibrahim Kalin, eds. *Islamophobia: The Challenge of Pluralism in the 21ˢᵗ Century*. **New York: Oxford University Press. 2011. 236 pp. ISBN 978-0-19-975364-2.**

Reviewer: Quynh Yusuf, Postgraduate Candidate, ISTAC-IIUM.

"Islamophobia and the Challenge of Pluralism in the 21ˢᵗ Century" is a timely topic in a world in which there is increasing interdependence and coexistence among dissimilar peoples. Mutual acceptance and respect are requisites for social harmony in our interconnected world; thus, the need for the Muslim and the Western worlds to accommodate each other is especially urgent.

Islamophobia did not suddenly come into being after the event of 9/11. Like anti-Semitism and xenophobia, it has long and deep historical roots. The presently reviewed volume edited by John Esposito and Ibrahim Kalin addresses the growth of Islamophobia in Europe and America. It brings together new research and fresh perspectives on Islamophobia as a religious, cultural and political phenomenon. Experts from Europe and America discuss the status of Islam and Muslims in the West, the causes of the alarming increase and impact of Islamophobia in domestic and foreign policies, and the role of the American and European media. Analysis is combined with policy recommendations.

Kalin in the chapter "Islamophobia and the Limits of Multiculturalism" argues that the debate over Islam and Muslims in the West has been shaped and largely determined by the secular-liberal ideals of the European Enlightenment, which cannot accommodate a non-Western religion such as Islam. The existing conceptual frameworks at work in Muslim-West relations have so far failed to establish a common ground and inspire a shared horizon.

The different modalities of relation between religion and modernity are a point of contention not only between the larger Muslim world and the West but also between Western societies and Muslim communities living in the West.

Bombarded with negative depictions of the Muslim world on a daily basis, Westerners cannot differentiate between what is normative and mainstream Islam and what is a diversion. A troubling result of this ignorance is the treatment of Islamophobia as a non-issue by intellectuals, public figures, and policymakers. Kalin also argues that the current attitudes towards Islam and Muslims determine the limits of multiculturalism in Europe and the United States and that a proper understanding of such phenomena as Islamophobia, xenophobia and discrimination against Muslim is related in an essential way to the debate over pluralism and multiculturalism in the West. The nexus of Islamophobia, multiculturalism, and Muslim-West relations goes far beyond both 9/11 and the United States.

Kalin sees two major consequences of Islamophobia. First, Islamophobia creates parallel societies both conceptually and physically, whereby the civic cohesion of different ethnic and religious communities within the society becomes increasingly difficult to achieve. Second, the constant presence of pressure and intimidation bars Muslims themselves from self-criticism.

Jocelyne Cesari's chapter "Islamophobia in the West: A Comparison between Europe and America" explores the factors that influence the status of Muslims living in Europe and America, in particular the structural causes of discrimination. "Islamophobia," she contends, "overlaps with other forms of discrimination like xenophobia, anti-immigration sentiments, and the rejection of the validity of cultural differences." Two major features of Muslims in Europe stand in sharp contrast to those in the United States: Firstly, European Muslims are mostly immigrants; and secondly, they are socio-economically marginalized. Consequently, much of the discrimination against them may be due to their class situation rather than their religion, though religion and discrimination may also interact in the formation of "class" – as in the formation of underprivileged classes of British Asian Muslims or French North

African Muslims.

Cesari maintains that the connection in Europe of "Muslim" immigrants with Islam and terrorism is unique in contrast to America where the negative connotation of "immigrant" is typically associated with low-skilled Mexicans. Immigration is discussed in the United States in terms of socioeconomic factors and issues. The ability of European Muslims to integrate has been exacerbated by international constraints – in particular the fight against "Islamic terrorism" with the significant changes in immigration regulations and tightening of security legislation, influenced by the US Patriot Act and Secret Evidence and their equivalents in Britain and many other European countries.

Cesari does not believe that the media is overtly Islamophobic, but sensationalist news stories conflate foreign and domestic Islam and imply that all immigrant populations are radicals. This is compounded by certain public intellectuals whose hard-line critiques of Islam itself conflate the religion with the actions of a small minority of Muslim extremists and terrorists and thus contribute to Islamophobia. Cesari concludes that current European multicultural policies are in fact not promoting pluralism and equality and should be re-worked to include minority (Islamic) cultural values. This conflict between the European secular mind and Muslim religious values highlights the challenge to rethink and contextualize the principle of equality between cultures, thus bestowing on the principles of tolerance and pluralism a whole other resonance.

Sam Cherribi extends Cesari's study in his "An Obsession Renewed: Islamophobia in the Netherlands, Austria, and Germany." He demonstrates how the Dutch media affected the growth of Islamophobia in Germany and Austria since 2000. Islamophobia is apparent in these three countries based on data from the Eurobarometer, the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRD, the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, the European Network against Racism, Media Tenor, and the Racism and Extremism Monitor of the Anne Frank Foundation. Cherribi maintains that politicians, taking their cues from media reports across Europe about immigration and a lack of Muslim integration, have supported far-right, populist parties helping to

institutionalize distrust of Muslims.

To demonstrate the interconnectedness of xenophobia and Islamophobia in Dutch and Danish media, Cherribi compares and contrasts the Dutch movie *Fitna* produced by Geert Wilder, which caused an uproar among Muslim populations, with the controversial Danish cartoons' portrayal of the Prophet Muhammad. The result of these negative depictions was documented in a 2007 ERCI (Commission Européenne Contre Le Racisme et L'Intolérance) study of media coverage, which revealed an increase of Islamophobic incidents in the workplace and in education in the Netherlands.

Despite Britain's early and seemingly successful espousal of multiculturalism, Islamophobia has gathered pace in recent years not only as a lived experience but also in the way it is utilized as an analytical concept in various research and policy development arenas. In *Islamophobia in the UK,* Tahir Abbas explores this phenomenon and the extent of its theoretical and conceptual reach by using a case study methodological approach. His research highlights three case studies that have affected British Muslims and contributed to Islamophobia: Salman Rushdie's Satanic Verses, the Danish cartoons, and controversial comments by the former Home Secretary Jack Straw regarding Muslim women's dress. Interestingly, many advocates of freedom of speech argue that the Muslim reactions to *The Satanic Verses* and the cartoon depictions of the Prophet Muhammad are clear examples of excessive political correctness that assert the rights of people to express their freedom of speech. However, they fail to realize the distinct differences between freedom of speech and blasphemy. Britain represents a democratic, liberal society in which equality is promoted regardless of ethnicity, culture, or religion, but, crucially, British laws on blasphemy are anachronistic and fail to accommodate such principles in reality.

Straw's comments on the wearing of the face veil (the *niqab*) by Muslim women who sought his advice in his constituency surgery of Blackburn ignited controversy. Writing in the *Lancashire Telegraph* (October 5, 2006), he simplistically painted a picture of unwanted difference being exercised by British Muslim women who wished to wear the niqab when seeking his counsel. Straw argued that it was a "visible statement of separation and of difference." His

critics pointed out that it is simply not appropriate to dictate how people ought to dress in a still relatively tolerant liberal society. However, what was more worrying about Straw was that a well-informed person in a position of power and influence had reignited such a sensitive issue. His words served only to fuel the existing and rampant Islamophobia in society.

In "Islamophobia and Anti-Americanism: Measurements, Dynamics, and Consequences," Mohammad Nimer observes that Islamophobia and anti-Americanism are linked and reinforce each other. Islamophobia and anti-Americanism denote hatred of a faith community or a people because they are Muslim or American. Such hatred is expressed through vitriolic rhetoric and/or physical acts of violence and discrimination against objects or persons because of their association with Islam, Muslims, the United States, or Americans. Anti-Muslim sentiment can be measured by monitoring public views on Islam and Muslims. American pollsters have consistently provided data since 9/11. They have found no steady pattern of hostility. Yet, more recent opinion polls show that most Americans believe Muslim extremists distort rather than represent the teachings of Islam. While Americans harbour substantial fear and suspicion of Islam and Muslims, such sentiment is not pervasive; it is a minority sentiment that either did not change or slightly receded.

Nimer sees a circular cause-and-effect relationship between Islamophobia and anti-Americanism globally: when Muslim terrorists attack the United States, America engages in anti-Muslim rhetoric and policies. This reinforces anti-American sentiment among Muslims in the international arena and promotes more terrorist attacks. As Islamophobia increases, so does anti-Americanism. But anti-Muslim sentiment may recede as Americans learn to differentiate Muslim extremists from mainstream Muslims. Education and improved communication between Americans and the Muslim world can dispel stereotypes and erroneous perceptions.

Sherman Jackson's "Muslim, Islam(s), Race, and American Islamophobia" analyses the extent to which Islamophobia is a form of racism, with a specific spin that is rooted in the American experience. In fact, immigrants come to enjoy a mildly inscrutable advantage over the natives: They retain the advantage of being able

to avail themselves of the opportunities born of America's successful pursuit of its ideals, without having to see themselves as sharing any responsibility or ownership for America's moral failures. In this context, America comes to constitute an un-storied, historically empty abstraction, a mere ideological construct, filled not with historical blacks, Chinese, or Native Americans but with universal "human beings" who either do or do not avail themselves of American opportunity.

Jackson attributes many second generation of Muslims' not feeling "American" to their failure to deal with racial issues. Beyond the direct implications of racial agnosia for American Islamophobia, there is the less direct though equally potent contribution it makes via the alienation it spawns among second and third-generation "immigrant" Muslims. The net result of all of this is often a deep and vexing alienation from American society, which is often most expediently expressed in some or another form of Islamic radicalism.

Jackson warns that if Muslim immigrants do not carve out their own racial category in America, others will do it for them. He cites, as an example, Rush Limbaugh's calling Obama an Arab, not an African-American. By doing this, Limbaugh was putting Obama in a category of people to whom Americans feel no debt. This rhetoric placed Obama completely outside the category of "American." Thus, Jackson concludes: if Muslim immigrants continue to choose to a "racial agnosticism," America will assign them a race and this will only increase anti-immigrant Islamophobia in the future.

Sunaina Maira in "Islamophobia and the War on Terror: Youth, Citizenship, and Dissent" extends the discussion of the impact of Islamophobia and racism to Muslim youth. Images of Muslim youth are central to discourses on Islamophobia and Orientalism and to discussions of profiling, immigration, and national identity. This chapter draws on research that focuses on Muslim immigrant youth from South Asia who have been living in the United States after the events of September 11, 2001 and grappling with the implications of Islamophobia for their national, ethnic, religious, racial, and gendered identities. The study focuses on a group of working-class students from India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh in a public high school in a

small New England city that is called Wellford.

At first blush, the notion of the "good Muslim" citizen might suggest that Islamophobia can be countered by religious multiculturalism and tolerance. However, Maira maintains that Islamophobia and racism cannot be eradicated simply by greater religious tolerance, since Islamophobia is linked to U.S. foreign policy and its global involvement. The racism and Islamophobia of the domestic war on terror are not simply a problem of religious difference or multicultural tolerance within the nation but are linked to global histories of U.S. involvement in the Middle East and South Asia.

Juan Cole in "Islamophobia and American Foreign Policy Rhetoric: The Bush Years and After" looks at the interconnectedness of Islamophobic rhetoric during the administration of George W. Bush on American foreign policy, its influence on America's image in the Middle East and its impact on foreign policies as well as the 2008 elections. Though Bush spoke of Muslims as a peaceful people and distinguished Islam from the acts of terrorists, immediately after 9/11, he simultaneously linked the Muslim world to terrorism. By 2006, Bush's speeches bordered on "fear-mongering," shifting his rhetoric from the "global war on terror" to the struggle with "Islamofascism" which in turn set the tone for the Republican campaign and the 2008 presidential elections.

In 2006, around the midterm of the electoral process, Islamofascism became part of American political discourse, adopted by George Bush and members of Congress. Cole argues that the term Islamofascism is problematic. It would imply that the entire religion and all civilization whose citizens practice Islam are fascists. Bush could have said that a "Muslim" was a terrorist without implying that all Muslims are terrorists; in calling this terrorism "Islamic," however, he marked all Muslims as terrorists. Second, the term "Islamofascism" links European authoritarianism to Islam as a religion. "Even if one could establish that their ideas had any similarity to European fascism, they should be called Muslim fascists and not Islamic ones, since Islam as a religion is universalist in character and therefore anti-fascist."

Examining speeches given by George Bush and VP Dick

Cheney, Cole demonstrates how both depicted an imagined Islamic enemy that warranted US aggression. While the President and Vice President claimed to differentiate between proponents of "Islamic fascism" and "normative" Muslims, people in the Middle East were not convinced. US attempts at replacing the threat of the Soviet Union with Muslims did not align with reality.

In "Islamophobic Discourse Masquerading as Art and Literature," Anas Al-Shaikh Ali discusses the extent to which classics that entertained Western audiences for generations like "The White Man's Burden" by Kipling and Don Quixote conveyed an Islamophobic message and legacy whose xenophobic content remains influential globally. Fictitious thrillers and other contemporary literature like the religiously based and enormously popular Left Behind, are key vehicles whose Islamophobic messages have reached millions of readers. Ali's interest in this chapter is to examine, through key samples, the existence of a particular type of Islamophobia predominantly found in popular culture and the world of art and literature. The phenomenon has its roots in the realm of empire and imperialism, when hostility was justified under the pretext of bringing civilization to the uncivilized and when moral standpoints were reasoned away under the guise of "burden," responsibility, and mission, Kipling style.

Ali highlights the prevailing double standard. If the best-selling Left Behind series about Armageddon, the return of Jesus and the mass religious cleansing of the world had written by a Muslim suggesting a global religious cleansing would occur with the return of Muhammad, it would have been widely denounced. In contrast, this Christian series, received widespread coverage in Europe and America and was even distributed by the British army to its soldiers. All in all, the literary impact of the work helped transform U.S. policy, and the repercussions of that transformation are still felt around the world today.

Kate Zebiri, in "Orientalist Themes in Contemporary British Islamophobia" examines the relationship between contemporary British Islamophobia and Orientalist (academic scholarship, art and literature) themes of the past. She demonstrates that while contemporary British popular culture still reflects age-old hostilities

to Islam, it has nonetheless changed and evolved according to the nature of society today. Her analysis focuses on the three main themes — gender, violence, and foreignness — that emerged from her field research and study of the media. This chapter is based mainly on her interviews with British Muslim converts, who were asked about their experiences of hostility or discrimination, but it also includes some reference to the media, which will provide useful contextualization. Since converts are usually targeted as Muslims (rather than specifically as converts), this will shed light on contemporary British Islamophobia in general. Furthermore, the experiences of white converts (who made up approximately two-thirds of my sample) provide an opportunity to observe anti-Muslim hostility in its purest form, excluding (in theory at least) the ethnic/racial dimension.

Issues related to gender and sexuality, symbolized by the hijab, rather than religious concerns, epitomized Islam's Otherness when set against the norms of contemporary mainstream Western society. The subject of women in Islam is highly sensitized due to the long history of polemic between Muslims and non-Muslims on this issue, and it is not without political implications. In the colonial period, claims that Islam's teachings on women were evidence of its "backwardness" provided justification for political intervention in Muslim countries. The construction of Islam as "oppressive" of women continues to serve specific Western political interests; an example is the invocation of women's rights issues in connection with U.S. military intervention in Afghanistan in recent years.

While violence has been no less persistent a theme than gender in anti-Muslim discourse, the reasons for its prominence today are different from the past when Muslim-Christian relations in Europe were affected by the threat of Muslim military expansion. In recent decades, Zebiri maintains, the alleged violence of Islam is related more to the rise of political Islam, jihadist activism and so-called "Islamic terrorism'. So too, foreignness, the Otherness of Islam and Muslims – the perception of an alien culture, values, and way of life – have been constructed differently in a world of nation-states.

The last chapter in the volume is "From Muhammad to Obama: Caricatures, Cartoons, and Stereotypes of Muslims," by

Peter Gottschalk and Gabriel Greenberg. They find evidence of Islamophobia in their review of the past fifty years of American political cartoons, concluding that Muslims have been a foil for an assumed set of American norms and thus are not depicted as part of the "normal" American landscape. While some editorial cartoons do not reinforce an Islamophobic stereotype, Gottschalk and Greenberg maintain that the vast majority of cartoons do support Islamophobia and that editorials tend to emphasize the "normalcy" of an America in which Muslims are absent.

The book is a good source of information and reflections on the history of Islamophobia in the West. But it was published nearly ten years ago. Given that the phenomenon of Islamophobia is rapidly changing in its external manifestations, it is only to be expected if some of the book's observations and interpretations have been overtaken by events. But for students of the Islamophobia phenomenon, the book still serves as a good source of reference. It also can serve as a useful source of guidance if one were to undertake a comparative study of Islamophobia in the West and in Asia.

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Leslie J. Francis, Mandy Robbins and Jeff Astley, eds. *Religion, Education and Adolescence: International Empirical Perspectives.* **University of Wales, Cardiff, 2013. 244 pp. ISBN-13: 978-0708319574.**

Reviewer: Malick Elias, Postgraduate Candidate, ISTAC-IIUM.

This educational resource is divided into two main sections: The 'Religion and Values Survey' and 'Quantitative and Qualitative Perspectives.' Using research techniques from psychology, sociology and anthropology, the book brings together empirical studies of Christian, Jewish and Muslim educators and experts on the religious perception of adolescents at the senior school level.

The foreword is written by the late John Martin Hull, of

TRANSLITERATION TABLE

CONSONANTS

Ar=Arabic, Pr=Persian, OT=Ottoman Turkish, Ur=Urdu

	Ar	Pr	OT	UR		Ar	Pr	OT	UR		Ar	Pr	OT	UR
ء	'	'	'	'	ز	z	z	z	z	گ	–	g	g	g
ب	b	b	b	b	ڑ	–	–	–	ṛ	ل	l	l	l	l
پ	–	p	p	p	ژ	–	zh	j	zh	م	m	m	m	m
ت	t	t	t	t	س	s	s	s	s	ن	n	n	n	n
ٹ	–	–	–	ṭ	ش	sh	sh	ş	sh	ه	h	h	h¹	h¹
ث	th	th	th	th	ص	ṣ	ṣ	ṣ	ṣ	و	w	v/u	v	v/u
ج	j	j	c	j	ض	ḍ	ẓ	ż	ż	ى	y	y	y	y
چ	–	ch	çh	ch	ط	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ة	-ah			-a²
ح	ḥ	ḥ	ḥ	ḥ	ظ	ẓ	ẓ	ẓ	ẓ	ال	al³			
خ	kh	kh	kh	kh	ع	'	'	'	'					
د	d	d	d	d	غ	gh	gh	ğ	gh					
ڈ	–	–	–	d	ف	f	f	f	f					
ذ	dh	dh	dh	dh	ق	q	q	k	q					
ر	r	r	r	r	ك	k	k/g	k/ñ	k					

¹ – when not final
² – at in construct state
³ – (article) al - or 1-

VOWELS

		Arabic and Persian	Urdu	Ottoman Turkish
Long	ا	ā	ā	ā
	آ	Ā	Ā	–
	و	ū	ū	ū
	ي	ī	ī	ī
Doubled	يّ	iyy (final form ī)	iy (final form ī)	iyy (final form ī)
	وّ	uww (final form ū) uvv (for Persian)	uv	uvv
Diphthongs	و	au or aw	au	ev
	ى	ai or ay	ay	ey
Short	◌َ	a	a	a or e
	◌ُ	u	u	u or ü o or ö
	◌ِ	i	i	i

URDU ASPIRATED SOUNDS

For aspirated sounds not used in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish add h after the letter and underline both the letters e.g. جﮭ jh   گﮭ gh

For Ottoman Turkish, modern Turkish orthography may be used.

AL-SHAJARAH

Vol. 25, No. 2, 2020

Contents

9 771394 687009