

This paper shall not be reproduced in whole or part by any means without permission of the author.

This paper does not represent the views of İstanbul Bilgi University.

**IR-472**

*Final Paper*

*“Fear of Islam in Europe”*

*Nejat Berkay Şensoy*

**10513078**

Objective of this study to show the reasons and results of the fear of Islam in Europe. This subject achieved its highest point in the Europe after 9/11 events, Madrid and London bombings. There is a big separation between Europeans and Muslims in the Europe. Welfare

of society effects from these clashes. There is a generalization of Muslims and terrorists. Europeans want to establish a connection between violence and Muslims. This paper includes the meaning of Islamophobia, socio-economic conditions of Euro-Muslims, Islamists, securitization of migration and governmentality.

### ***History of Islamophobia***

Problems between Europeans and Muslims came to exist with the results of the globalization and international migration. Lots of Muslims migrated to the Europe. Europeans had to face with the different cultures and identities. So they felt to need the protection of their European identities. Fear of Islam or Islamophobia emerged in the Europe.

Islamophobia means that fear of Islam. It became an important subject in the Western countries after the 9/11 events. Islamophobia came to exist with the Samuel Huntington. He wrote the book which name is Clash of Civilization. He mentioned that, Islam is a potential enemy of Western Culture. In addition to this, the conflicts between Islam and Western Cultures would arise in the process of the globalization. International politics entered a new period end of the Cold War. Huntington pointed out the clash of Civilization will be the new conflict of world. So Huntington's opinions effected the Western societies. Because lots of Muslims lived in the Western countries. Huntington's arguments would become true by Bosnian War. Because there was a conflict between Muslims, Orthodoxies and Catholics. These conflicts caused a big genocide in the Europe. Many Muslims killed in Srebrenica. According to Nilüfer Göle, Bosnian War was a sign of the Islam problem in Europe.

Until 2001, fear of Islam was not a main problem of Western Countries. After the 9/11 events fear of Islam increased its effect around the all non-Islamic countries mostly in US and Europe. Because terrorists who were planners of 9/11 attacks, were Muslims. These terrorists are radicals and define themselves as a fighter for Islam or Jihad against the Western countries. Their aim is to establish an ideal Islamic state so they use of religion for political

purposes. Western countries are targets for them. They killed lots of people by violence. After the 9/11 events, there were two attacks against the civils in the Europe. First event was the 11 March 2004 Madrid Train bombings and second event was the 7 July 2005 London bombings. Actors of these events were Muslim terrorists who were the members of al-Qaeda as same as 9/11 events.

All of these bombings affected the Europe and American society badly. Islamophia started to increase in these societies. “European Monitoring Center on Racism and Xenophobia reports that after September 2001, Muslims have become targets of increased hostility and have faced increased physical and verbal abuse. Mosques and Islamic centers and people with visual identifiers such as turbans or headscarves have become targets.”<sup>1</sup> Media assisted to rising of this fear and reached to the peak during these years. “When the Muslim world is portrayed in the Western media, the picture is frequently one of backwardness, religious fanaticism, suppression, lack of freedom and human and women’s rights, even terrorism.”<sup>2</sup> In Denmark, lots of cartoons published in the newspapers for insulting of Islam. These cartoons caused many reactions from Muslim countries. Lots of Muslim organized mass meetings around the World.

### ***Euro-Muslims***

---

<sup>1</sup> Erdenir, Burak : The Future of Islamophobia p.3

<sup>2</sup> Gündüz, Yeşilyurt, Zuhul, Europe and Islam: No Securitization, Please! P.5

Lots of Muslims live in Europe with Europeans for many years. “Muslims currently constitute approximately 5 percent of the European Union’s 425 million inhabitants.”<sup>3</sup> This 5 percent of people are equal to 4.5 millions of Muslims live in Europe. They migrated mostly from former colonies, Turkey, Arab countries and South Asia. They are EU citizens and live there for a long time. Life conditions of Muslims are under the average of Europe. They have social and economic disadvantages and live in suburban areas. Unemployment rate is higher than non-Muslim societies. For example, “In the Netherlands, non-Western immigrants had an unemployment rate of nine percent, Western immigrants four percent, and native Dutch three percent.”<sup>4</sup> After the terrorist attacks in Europe, they became a target of non-Muslim population so there are many attacks to the Muslims properties, cemeteries or worships. There were conflict between Muslims and Europeans. Some Muslims attacked to the anti-Islamic supporters. Theo Van Gogh was a film director and author. His works were mostly about anti-Islam and he killed by the Muslim extremist. Rightist parties started to rise their popularity by the islamophobia. For example, “The French National Front has adopted an electoral strategy that associates Islam with terrorism. Jean-Marie Le Pen described the potential radicalization of Muslim immigrants in terms that implicated him for inciting hatred, but his party still came in second in the 2002 French election.”<sup>5</sup> These conditions caused the alienation of Muslims from the European society. Thus, they feel themselves as alone and they do not want to lose their means. This situation causes to increase the rate of conservatism in the Muslim community. So, they move away from the European society and can not integrate themselves to the society. Most of Europeans look to Muslims as terrorists or supporters of violence. And this point of view effects society integration in the EU.

---

<sup>3</sup>Cesari, Jocelyne, GSRL-Paris and Harvard University (2006) “*Securitization and Religious Divides In Europe Muslims In Western Europe After 9/11: Why the term Islamophobia is more a predicament than an explanation.*” p. 10

<sup>4</sup>Cesari, Jocelyne, GSRL-Paris and Harvard University (2006) “*Securitization and Religious Divides In Europe Muslims In Western Europe After 9/11: Why the term Islamophobia is more a predicament than an explanation.*” p. 17

<sup>5</sup>Cesari, Jocelyne: *Securitization of Islam in Europe* p.6

When we look at the published articles in Europe, we can see heavy criticism of Islam in these articles. For example, an Italian journalist and novelist, Oriana Fallaci wrote many articles and books about Islam.” Fallaci talks about ‘Eurabia’, a country that is incapable of defending its identity, and makes a comparison with Europe in 1938 and Hitler’s time. She condemns ‘new Nazism’ and calls it ‘Nazi-Islamism’.”<sup>6</sup> In addition to this, there is an article of Fallaci which includes very hard criticism:

*“... I say: Wake up, people wake up! ... You don’t understand, or don’t want to understand, that what is under way here is a reverse crusade. Do you want to understand or do you not want to understand that what is under way here is a religious war? A war that they call Jihad. A Holy War. A war that doesn’t want to conquest of our territories, perhaps, but certainly wants to conquer our souls... They will feel authorized to kill you and your children because you drink wine or beer, because you don’t wear a long beard or a chador, because you go to the theatre and cinemas, because you listen to music and sing songs”<sup>7</sup>*  
*(cited in Kaya, 2009: page 6)*

This article is written very hard for me. There is a generalization of Islam because it shows that every Muslim wears a long beard or chador and every Muslim does not go to theatre or cinemas. There are many Muslims who go to cinema and theatre or who do not wear a long beard. Turkey is a Muslim country and many Muslims go to enjoy the cultural activities. There are people who can not enjoy these cultural activities because they have not got facilities. Such this generalization is very wrong. There are different kind of Muslims in the world and differences within the Muslim society. “the Islams of North Africa, Sub-Saharan

---

<sup>6</sup> Cesari, Jocelyne, GSRL-Paris and Harvard University (2006) “*Securitization and Religious Divides In Europe Muslims In Western Europe After 9/11: Why the term Islamophobia is more a predicament than an explanation.*”p.311

<sup>7</sup> Kaya, Ayhan “Islam, Migration and Integration: age of securitization “(2009)

Africa, Turkey, and the Middle East all display different levels of personal agency, emotion, and sentiment in their practice and self-characterization.”<sup>8</sup> So Muslims migrated to Europe from different countries and these countries have different national cultures and Muslim cultures or faiths. “Universal Islamic rituals such as prayer and fasting can have different significance in different cultures.”<sup>9</sup> Religion of Islam has different kind of sects and these sects have different kinds of faith which is connect with their cultures. For example, Berbers, Arabs, Sunnis or Alevis are different sects of Islam and they are very different from each others. There are cultural and religious differences between Muslims and Europeans too. Islamic culture and Western culture are very different. This difference prevents the full integration of these groups. But when we look at the Muslim immigrants in Europe, they can not return to their home countries. Most of them want to live in Europe. But cultural differences are important obstacle for integration. Important differences are gender equality, tolerance, secularism, democratic values. These are the cornerstones of Western culture and most of them are incompatibility with Islamic culture. Only Turkey is a good example for the harmonization of Western and Islamic culture. Official religion of Turkey is Islam although it is a both secular and democratic state. There is a gender equality in the country.

There should be a separation terrorist Muslims and innocent Muslims. For example, a Muslim terrorist believe that if he explode himself, he will do it for god. But when we look at another Muslim, he believes that killing people is a sin in Islam. So this difference shows to us the separation of innocent Muslims and terrorists. But most of European could not see this difference. If they saw, fear of Islam could not rise in the Europe. Istanbul bombings are important events for understanding of these differences. Targets of terrorists were British

---

<sup>8</sup> Cesari, Jocelyne, GSRL-Paris and Harvard University (2006) “*Securitization and Religious Divides In Europe Muslims In Western Europe After 9/11: Why the term Islamophobia is more a predicament than an explanation.*” P.14

<sup>9</sup> Cesari, Jocelyne, GSRL-Paris and Harvard University (2006) “*Securitization and Religious Divides In Europe Muslims In Western Europe After 9/11: Why the term Islamophobia is more a predicament than an explanation.*” P.14

embassy and a British bank. But victims of these bombings were different from these targets. Many Muslim civilians death in these attacks. These results show to us, victims of terrorism are not only non-Muslims, Muslims are victims too.

Al-Qaeda was responsible for bombings in USA and Europe. Taliban or Al-Qaeda attacked to the Western targets for take a revenge of Arab conflicts in the Middle East. They want to establish an ideal Islamic state. These extremist religious groups use the internet for announce their ideas or acts to the World. There are Islamic symbols, signs or statements in these videos. When Europeans watched these videos, innocent Muslims would become a terrorist or supporter of violence. Because innocent Muslims use these symbols or statements in their life too. But there is a difference they use them for their religious purposes not political like terrorists. Islamists and Muslims are different. Islamists use the religion for their political purposes. Implementation of *shari'a* is the aim of the Islamists. Koran is a constitution for them. So Islamists wants to establish an Islamic State. There are not any values of democracy in this state. Islamists supported by the USA during the Cold War era against the SU in the Afghanistan. They turned their guns to the Western countries after the Gulf War in 1990s. With the Al-Qaeda Islamists became more radical in their acts. They wanted to reach their aims by remobilize the masses and transnational terrorism. They educated in camps or Western countries that they attacked to the targets by using Western technology. Former politicians of Western bloc were not estimate big growths of these terrorist groups. So these terrorist groups were out of control. I think, the wrong started with the Western bloc countries. Because they used Islamists for their interests. When they use them for their purposes there were not any problem but when they became a enemy victims were both Muslims and Western society. Many European and Muslim people died by the attacks of these terrorists. Muslims who live in Europe for a long time, want to live in safety and healthy life but these people became target



for anti-Islamic groups. I think Europeans should understand the differences between innocent Muslims and terrorists.

### *Governmentality and Securitisation*

Security issue of states was boundaries or territories in the past. Perception of security issues have changed by the end of bipolar structure between SU and USA. Protection of society started to gain its importance in the new era. Migration issue connects with the protection of society so it became important too. "The securitisation of migration, or in other words stigmatization of migrants, became a vital issue after the 9/11 attacks in the United States and related ones in other places, notably Madrid (11 March 2004) and London (7 July 2005)."<sup>10</sup> There were strict controls over the immigrants. For example, Schengen Agreement. This agreement has brought significant limitations for migration issues. They want to establish a Fortress of Europe. "Fortress Europe, which excludes other cultures and societies both at political and societal levels; and on the other, a dependent but hesitant Europe, that has to revise its cynical attitude and strict policies against outsiders for the sake of its own political, psychological and social interests."<sup>11</sup> In addition to this, Muslims became security issue for European countries. Because after the bombings they started to review their migration and security policies. EU member states review their domestic laws and made important changes in their domestic security policies. For example there is a new immigration law in France. This law made in 2003 and includes many limitations for immigrants such as limits on family reunifications, increasing of illegal migrations punishment. Another important example is, "In Germany, a number of organizations were also banned, mosques faced searches with little justification and a new data-mining technique was instituted for formerly private personal

---

<sup>10</sup> Kaya, Ayhan "Islam, Migration and Integration: age of securitization" (2009) p.9

<sup>11</sup> Erdenir, Burak "The Future of Islamophobia" p.9

records to identify the ‘quiet’ radicals.”<sup>12</sup> .Many Muslim took in the custody because of they would be terrorists but most of them were not.

Governmentality issue is important point for immigrants. “Governmentality is the art of governing a population rather than a territory.”<sup>13</sup> So subject of migration is important for governing a population. Because immigrants have different cultures and this situation will cause very different type of problems in the societies. Most of immigrants always do not live in a good conditions in every country. If the integration of migrated people is unsuccessful, this situation causes very big problems in the society. Governments have got a important role in migration subject. If a government accepted migrations from another country, this government would provide good life conditions to the migrated people. There should not any discrimination between migrated person and its citizen. Freedom, justice are cornerstones of idea of governmentality. But when we look at the Europe during the 2000s, there was a starting of discrimination between Muslims and Europeans. This discrimination rised by the power of fear. Power of fear comes to exist with in the society by the internal or external threat for peace or social order. Bombings in the Europe were against the peace and social order so effected the society is very badly. They started to interrogate the Muslim society in the Europe.

### ***Conclusion***

Fear of Islam came to exist with the Huntington and became current issue after the attacks of 9/11. European society deeply influenced from these attacks. Events which occurred in Iran, Iraq or Afghanistan reflected the Muslims as supporter of violence like savages. This idea was much strengthened with the terrorist attacks in USA and Europe. Europeans started to interrogation of Muslims who live in Europe for many years. With this interrogation,

---

<sup>12</sup> Cesari, Jocelyne “Securitization of Islam in Europe” p.14

<sup>13</sup> Kaya, Ayhan “Islam, Migration and Integration: age of securitization” (2009) p.10

extremist right parties started to rise their supporters by the anti-Muslim acts. So they gained many votes from the society. The publications and prints in media were always about anti-Muslim articles or videos. Muslims were under attack by the anti-Muslim person or groups in their daily life. There were some attacks to the anti-Muslim persons by the Muslims. Western bloc countries did important mistake in the Cold War. I think this mistake is a starting point of Islam problem in USA and Europe. This mistake is a supports of USA to the Islamists in the Afghanistan against the Soviet invasion. USA supported the Islamists for interests of Western Capitalist countries. But these Islamists became enemies of Western World after the First Gulf War. Supports of USA in the past became threat for Western countries. This threat growth day to day until 9/11 events. Radicals made a big attacks to the USA on the USA soils. Then these attackers continued with the Madrid and London bombings. Victims of this chain were civilians. Muslims who live in Europe for many years are victims too. They try to live with the socio-economic disadvantages although they are in struggle with discrimination. In addition to these difficulties, governments made changes in their security policies and migrant laws for prevention of terrorist attacks. These changes caused pressure over the Muslim immigrants and restricted them.

Muslims are like an internal enemy for many Europeans. “They were looked at with suspicion because of their “different” culture and language, and because they bore the burden of all the socio-economic difficulties attendant upon economic migration and family reunion, especially among low-skilled laborers.”<sup>14</sup> These difficulties causes the prevention of full integration in Europe. Politicians should governs their societies by the equality, freedom, justice. If they implement these issues fully, both Muslims and Europeans will be live in more safety and peace. There should not be any discrimination. If this discrimination continue in the Europe, some Muslims will become supporters of the transnational terrorist groups. Results of such a

---

<sup>14</sup> *Silvestri, Sara, Radical Islam” Threats and Opportunities” p.3*

this situation will cause big new conflicts in the Europe and this is a beneficiary situation for terrorists. Both Muslim and Western countries should act together against the transnational terrorism. They should think the interests of human beings not state interests.

Last years, there were not any big terrorist attacks in the Western countries. We can see the Islamophia started to slowdown. NGOs organized some international conferences for reduce the effects of fear of Islam. International Conference of Islamophia organized in Istanbul, 2007. Islamic Anti-Defamation League in Italy and The Muslim Council Of Britain in UK are important NGOs. There are new policies in Netherlands for prevention of racism and discrimination. These conferences and fighting against racism should continue for promotion of multiculturalism. Conflicts between Muslims and Europeans can not solve this problem. If politicians use the dialogue method for integration of differences between Muslims and Europeans, there will be a peaceful order. According to Prime Minister of Spain, Zapatero, “We want to stand together against extremists. We want to ensure respect for all religions. We will not let the extremists. Walls between the religions will collapse”<sup>15</sup>. Respect for all religions and cultures should provide the peaceful order in the Europe. In addition to this, migration issues should not be issue of securitisation. Because they have rights to live in a equality with other people.

---

<sup>15</sup> <http://arsiv.ntvmsnbc.com/news/459433.asp>

## ***Bibliography***

Erdenir, Burak “*The Future of Islamophobia*” (2005)

Cesari, Jocelyne, GSRL-Paris and Harvard University “*Securitization and Religious Divides In Europe Muslims In Western Europe After 9/11: Why the term Islamophobia is more a predicament than an explanation.*” (2006)

Cesari, Jocelyne “*Securitization of Islam in Europ*” (2009)

Gündüz, Yeşilyurt, Zuhul, “*Europe and Islam: No Securitization, Please!*” (2007)

Kaya, Ayhan “*Islam, Migration and Integration: age of securitization*” palgrave macmillan (2009)

Silvestri, Sara, “*Radical Islam: Threats and Opportunities*”(2007)

<http://www.ntvmsnbc.com>