Exclusivist Approaches
Toward Muslim Immigrants in The West

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Abstract

This paper examines the exclusivist approaches of certain Western countries toward Muslim immigrant populations. In this respect, the background of the Western prejudice is primarily clarified as a source of exclusion followed by an analyses of the immigrant policies in general and Muslim immigration issues in particular. Islamophobia which has been a growing phenomenon mainly after the 9/11 attacks in the US, has become a base for the justification of the unduly critics against Muslims in both US and Europe. This paper is an attempt to cover the long history of migration and to provide a contribution to the debate of immigration.

Keywords: Muslim, Immigrants, September 11, Assimilation, Racism.

Batı'da Müslüman Göçmenlere Yönelik Dışlayıcı Yaklaşımlar
Öz

Bu makalede Batı ülkelerinde yaşayan Müslüman göçmenlere yönelik dışlayıcı yaklaşımlar üzerinde durulmuştur. Öncelikle Batılı önyargının arka planına yer verilmiş; ardından kimi ülkelerin göçmen politikaları ve bu politikalar çerçevesinde Müslümanların durumu incelenmiştir. Bazı Avrupa ülkelerinde ve ABD'de yükselişe geçen İslam karşıtlığının analiz edildiği makale, özellikle 11 Eylül sonrası süreçte Müslüman göçmenlerin durumunu değerlendirmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Müslüman, Göçmen, 11 Eylül, Asimilasyon, Irkçılık.

The history of Islam in Europe is long. According to Jorgen Nielsen, Europe faced large scale Muslim communities in three distinct phases.[1] The first one was the period of Islamic Spain and Muslim rule in Sicily; however the Spanish *reconquista* terminated the Islamic rule in 1492. The second period was caused by the spread of the Mongol armies during the thirteenth century and left permanent Muslim communities; and the third phase was the period of Ottoman expansion into Europe. Today, it is possible to see the Muslim communities as were constructed by the Ottoman rule in for instance Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Romania. For Nielsen, Europe is experiencing a fourth recent phase, which he calls "the establishment of Muslim communities in the western world".[2] This fourth phase is principally a twentieth century phenomenon and regarded as a

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1 Jorgen S. Nielsen, *Towards a European Islam*, London 1999, p. 1.
2 Jorgen S. Nielsen, *Muslims in Western Europe*, Edinburg 1992, p. 1.

feature of the great period of immigration after the Second World War. As a result of the fourth period, the prevalence of Muslims has increased in European countries. However, people of Muslim heritage have been excluded from the economic, social and political benefits offered to the majority populations of EU member states and those situated in France, Germany and the UK.[3] In fact, in the minds of these people, Islam has not had a bright representation for centuries. During the Cold War years, it was communism that was seen as the major threat against the liberal values of the West. Not long after, Islam became the dominant threat for the Western civilization.

Today, Muslim minorities in a number of Western countries have gained both public and academic attention. Islam is the second largest religion in France and some other Western Countries. The Muslim population in 2010 was 4.704.000 in France and 4.119.000 in Germany; while there were 11.297.000 in Western Europe in totality and 44.138.000 in all around Europe.[4] Furthermore, the number of Muslims in 2030 is projected to increase to 6.860.000 in France, 5.545.000 in Germany; while the projected number is 16.398.000 in Western Europe and 58.209.000 in all of Europe. On the other hand, the Muslim population in the USA is projected from 2.595.000 in 2010 to 6.216.000 in 2030, substantially because of immigration and high fertility rates among Muslims.[5] With these numerical data, we may infer that we are not talking about a religion coming from a different world, but that we are facing Islam as a quite Western religion. As a research made by the *Pew Forum* states that if current trends continue, Muslims may constitute as large a share of the US population as either Jews who today represent 1.7% of the adult population or Episcopalians who represent 1.4% do today.[6] Therefore, people in the US and Europe need to come to terms with that Islam is equal to Christianity and Judaism in terms of its representation and history.[7] However, it is obvious that gaining such a perception is not an easy process. The difficulty is mostly rooted in the conceptualiza-

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[3]   Robert J. Pauly, Jr., *Islam in Europe*, Burlington 2004, p. 2.
[4]   Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, "The Future of the Global Muslim Population", January   2011,   p.   125. http://www.pewforum.org/uploadedFiles/Topics/Religious_Affiliation/Muslim/FutureGlobalMuslimPopulation-WebPDF-Feb10.pdf
[5]   Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life,"The Future of the Global Muslim Population", p. 141.
[6]   Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life,"The Future of the Global Muslim Population", p. 141.
[7]   Jocelyne Cesari, John Esposito, *İslamdan Korkmalı mı?*, Ahmet Aydoğan (çev.), İstanbul 1999, p. 46.

tion of "Europe" by "Europeans".[8] Although it should be noted that the composition of European identity refers to some historical, social and political motives; the concept of "the West" and the European identity is ideologically established in contrast to Islam and the Muslim identity. The well-known scholar, Talal Asad tried to find an answer to the question: "How is Europe represented by those who define themselves as authentic Europeans?"[9] He found that the discourse on the European identity is a symptom of anxieties about non-Europeans. He points out that Turkey, as a country with its population of Muslim people, would never be accepted as a part of the West by Westerners. However, even a tragedy like the Holocaust did not lead Western people to suspicion or anxiety about whether Germany belonged to Europe or not. Moreover, it would be too naive to think that European identity is defined by geographical position, as Bosnia Herzegovina, a country located in the heart of Europe- is still not conceived as truly European due to its Muslim character.

To express my argument in a more scientific manner, I will start by referring to the consciousness of westerners about Islam. In this part, it is my intention to firstly examine the sources of the exclusivist approaches toward Muslims. At this point, it is wise to recall the *clash of civilizations* thesis as a basis of the victory of a new paradigm, which has dominated the era remarkably since the end of the Cold War. Secondly, I will point out the immigration issue which includes three periods and also immigration policies of some European countries. Here, Germany and France will be taken as entities for a convenient comparison for their vital migration policies. In the closing discussion, I will set down the main conditions of contemporary racism toward Muslims that have been an important area of focus after 9/11.

The Sources of Western Opposition towards Islam

The negative image of Islam was enforced by Christian theologians of the early middle ages in the Near East and the Islamic Spain. The aim of those theologians was to deliver evidence of the superiority of Christianity to Islam. Therefore, the prophet of Islam was perceived as a pseudo-prophet and an instrument of the devil as well as the predecessor of the anti-Christ.[10] Moreover, the well-

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[8]   Talal Esad, "Muslims and European Identity: Can Europe Represent Islam?" *In The Idea of Europe: From Antiquity to The European Union*, Anthony Pagden (ed.), Cambridge p. 209.

[9]   Talal Esad, "Muslims and European Identity: Can Europe Represent Islam?", p. 210.

[10] W. Shadid, P.S. van Koningsveld, "The Negative Image of Islam and Muslims in the West: Causes and Solutions" 2002, p. 178: http://www.interculturelecommunicatie.com/download/image.pdf

known story of the Crusades incorporated the unpleasant image of Muslims during middle ages.[11] Due to the most crucial moments of interaction between the Christian and the Muslim worlds such as the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the move of the Turks to the heart of Europe, the negative image of Islam and the Muslim figure was reconfirmed. What Nabil Matar states about the English perception of Muslims in XVII. century is that although government documents show little racial or moral stereotyping of Muslims, the construction of the enmity was chiefly undertaken within literary and theological contexts. Their popular and widely read works included stereotypical depictions of Muslims.[12] Matar also points out the motives of the categorization of Muslims as "Barbarians" by English and other European writers: "This use of "barbaric" is not, however, difficult to explain: just as the association with barbarity denigrated the American Indians in the discourse of the New World, it was now brought into use to denigrate the Ottomans and the inhabitants of the "Barbary" states. Also, as the alleged barbarity of the Indians justified for the Europeans the domination of the natives, so too did the barbarity of the Muslims legitimate the hope of dominating them."[13] In the colonial period this negative image was used as a means to legitimate the European exploitation of the "barbarian" peoples of the world. The Muslim world was then defined as uncivilized and it was viewed as the white man's burden to civilize them.[14]

This perception is supported by different stratums of societies such as intellectuals, politicians, and theologians. For instance, Max Weber had an image of Islam as a religion of warriors: "The ideal personality type in the religion of Islam was not the scholarly scribe (Literat), but the warrior."[15] Moreover, Weber claimed that Islamic tradition was keen on booty, luxury, and sexual desire: "The religious promises in the earliest period of Islam pertained to this world. Wealth, power and glory were all martial promises and even the world beyond is pictured in Islam as a soldier's sensual paradise."[16] Here, Weber reflected a deeply Orientalistic approach toward Islam although he had offered a new approach "*verstehende*" in order to understand the social phenomenon instead of the more positivist approach to social sciences that tried to explain social facts like the

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[11] Norman Housley, "The Crusades and Islam", *Medieval Encounters*, 2007, pp. 189-208, p. 198. http://web.clas.ufl.edu/users/ncaputo/euh4930-08/articles/hously.pdf

[12] Nabil Matar,*Turks, Moors and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery*, New York 1999, p. 13.

[13] Nabil Matar, Turks, *Moors and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery*, p. 15.

[14] Kadir Canatan, *Avrupa'da Müslüman Azınlıklar*, İstanbul 1995, p. 319

[15] Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich (ed.), Berkeley 1978, p. 626.

[16] Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, p. 625.

facts of physics with set rules and laws. His method of "*verstehende*" reflected the necessity of taking into consideration the ideas of the social actors about the conditions they are in. However, by ignoring Muslims' interpretations of the world and by accusing the prophet Muhammad of sensualism, Weber totally countered to his own methodology and repeated the old reductionist explanations of the 19th century.[17]

During the Cold War period, the World had witnessed a polarization between communism and liberalism. When the communist system had collapsed scholars such as Fukuyama who was influenced by Hegel's thought, claimed that history came to an end, because liberalism had no rival in the new era.[18] On the other hand, in 1993, Samuel Huntington, a very influential scholar in the US, argued that in the 21st century, world- wide conflicts would arise on the basis of culture and civilization: "Nation- states will remain the most powerful actors in world affairs, but the principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations. The clash of civilizations will dominate global politics."[19] For Huntington, people in the post-Cold War era would reflect their identities with cultural and civilizational references. Therefore, conflicts would be inevitable as differences between civilizations are not only real, but also fundamental. Moreover, different civilizations would not be inclined to cooperate, but on the contrary have a tendency to conflict. Huntington's conception of Islam as one of the most prominent rivals of the Western civilization led him to believe that the new era would be marked by the clash of the civilizations of the West and Islam.

Huntington's point of view reflects a conflictual explanation of the post-Cold War era. Interestingly enough, the new policy of the US, *the New World Order*, also portrayed Islam as the most important threat for the Western civilization since the collapse of communism. Moreover, the political developments of the 1990s gave support for the legitimacy of the view of Huntington. Particularly the terrorist attacks which Al-Qaida took responsibility in New York, London, and Madrid persuaded most people in Western countries to blame Islam for breeding terrorism. Although Islam was infamous in the West prior to the 9/11 attacks, things got even worse afterwards. The unjust and brutal actions Muslims en-

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[17] Bryan S. Turner, *Max Weber ve İslam*, Yasin Aktay (çev.), Ankara 1997, p. 55.

[18] Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History" *The National Interest*,1989 (Summer).

[19] Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash Of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs*, no. 3, 1993 (Summer) http://www.foreignaffairs.org/19930601faessay5188/samuel-p-huntington/the-clash-ofcivilizations.html.

countered in various Western countries have been justified on the basis of a racist argument rooted in the Orientalist discourse and the enduring denigration of Muslims.[20] Many Muslim people were arrested and accused of being members of al-Qaida without sufficient evidence to support the allegations. Many of them were sent to specially designed prison units such as the Guantanamo Bay, Abu Gharib Jail, where humiliation and torture were practiced systematically. As Tony Judt's well known analysis rephrases, there are many respectable people who favor torture in the US. Moreover in 2004, Charles Schumer, a democratic New York Senator stated that "there are probably very few people in this room or in America who would say that torture should never ever be used."[21]

Immigration Policies and Muslims as Immigrant Figures

The aftermath of the Second World War, witnessed a large scale of immigrants mainly as laborers from Muslim countries to Western Europe. During this period, social presence and the visibility of Muslims in Western societies increased.[22] Labor migration was important for the post-war era where the reasons and types of migration increased.

It is possible to distinguish three main periods of migration in Europe in the post-war period.[23] The first period was the primary labor migration between the 1950s and the early 1970s. There were two strategies of labor recruitment; the first was recruitment of labor from colonies and former colonies by countries such as France, the Netherlands and the UK, while the second one was the "*Gastarbeiter*" system or "guest workers" that was developed from agreements between European states and Muslim countries, mostly in southern Europe and North Africa. In this period the recruited labors were mostly men and considered as workers and temporary residents who would one day return to their homelands.

The following period was the secondary and family migration from the mid-1970s onwards, which became the dominant form of migration after the labor recruitment migration decreased. This type of migration involved both the

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[20] Iftikhar H. Malik, "Response to Ali A. Mazrui" *Displacement, Asylum,Migration*, Kate E. Tunstall (ed.), New York 2006, p. 134.

[21] Tony Judt, "What Have We Learned, If Anything?", *The New York Review Books*, 2008. http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2008/may/01/what-have-we-learned-if-anything/?pagination=false

[22] Tomas Gerholm, Yngve Georg Litman (ed.), *The New Islamic Presence in Western Europe*, London 1990, p. 1.

[23] David Gowland, Richard Dunphy, Charlotte Lythe, *The European Mosaic*, London 2008, p. 447.

reunion of families and the application of the already married partners as settled migrants. However, labor migration into Europe did not stop entirely in this period, narrowing instead to recruitment of highly skilled labor that continues to the present day and a new politics of national belonging regarding race and ethnicity emerged. This period also included some forms of asylum migration, but these were generally circumscribed by European states via a quota system offering only to accept specific numbers of refugees. The political focus of this period up to the 1980s was very much around the issues on the implications of European countries for permanent settlement of migrants and their families.[24] The third period of migration (third wave of migration) regenerated after the end of the Cold War in 1989-1991. This period included some other distinctive forms of migration besides the ongoing migration of highly skilled migrants for the economy of Europe. The increasing significance of asylum-seeking migrants added with illegal migration was other forms which dominated the period of the "age of migration". That is to say, throughout the third wave of migration, Europe was affected by the general trends of the global migration, and met with differentiated forms of new migration.

The Muslim immigrant issue requires a careful scrutiny to analyze the socio-cultural and political dimensions of the phenomenon that has been the agenda of some part of the world for some time now. The presence of Muslims in the Western countries is a relatively new phenomenon that created problems. As the social visibility of Muslims has increased, the European population's awareness about residential and citizenship issues has provoked various and contradictory reactions.[25] These populations were accentuated as only migrants seeking for work and they were projected to return to their home countries one day. The economic crises of 1973 increased the social visibility of the Muslim immigrants and problems of integration as well.[26] As Muslim people increasingly organized themselves in various areas of public domain, they gave a concrete form to their agendas which included the construction of mosques, the educational matters, freedom to exercise religion, the pursuit of political representation and the granting of official recognition.[27]

Furthermore, politicians and academics have tried to find strategies in order

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[24] David Gowland, Richard Dunphy, Charlotte Lythe, *The European Mosaic*, p. 449.

[25] Tariq Ramadan, *To be a European Muslim*, Leicester 1999, p. 181.

[26] Gilles Kepel, "Islamic Groups in Europe: Between Community Affirmation and Social Crisis", *Islam in Europe*, Steven Vertovec, Ceri Peach (ed.), New York, 1997, p. 48.

[27] Steven Verto, Ceri Peach , "Introduction: Islam in Europe and the Politics of Religion and Community", *Islam in Europe*, Steven Vertovec, Ceri Peach (ed.), New York 1997, s. 23.

to integrate the increasing population. For this purpose, sociologists have tried to classify the strategies and have proposed a typology of possible approaches. The three well-known approaches are: the *assimilationist* pattern which suggests a total amalgamation between the Muslim and Western cultural way of living, secondly, there is the *isolationist* pattern, which is based on the preservation of the identity through the creation of an organized and cultural community; last but not least, there is the *integrationist* approach that suggests a protection of Muslim identity as well as individual status of citizenship.[28] However, as the concepts of integration and identity are defined differently by sociologists and politicians, these approaches of migration issues are not able to cope properly with the challenges. The French model of integration, for example, was considered an assimilationist one by the majority of other European countries, whereas the British multicultural society is considered isolationist in France. Therefore, it seems necessary to draw a more accurate and experimental picture of this reality.

The French type of integration demands assimilation of the migrants as an aspect of the French civilizational project through language, laicism, modernism, state-centrism, western-centric universalism and rationalism.[29] In the case of France, politically defined citizenship has always had a primary place over culture-centre nationality and integration refers to the acculturation of foreigners. On the other hand, German politics of immigration differentiate itself from the culturalist and particularistic approach. This way represents a traditionally less assimilationist, more ethno-cultural understanding of nationhood. Brubaker states that the state-centered, assimilationist understanding of nationhood in France automatically transforms second-generation immigrants into citizens by legally assimilating them to French men and women. On the other hand, the ethno-cultural and differentialist understanding of nationhood in Germany is expressed in a definition of citizenship which is remarkably open to ethnic immigrants from Eastern Europe and Soviet Union, but remarkably closed to non-German immigrants.[30]

The immigration policies of certain Western countries such as England, the US, Ireland and Holland have changed in time, thus the countries that were known to have democratic and inclusivist regimes toward migrants have turned out to be more restrictive and exclusivist Germany on the other hand, known as

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[28] Tariq Ramadan, *To be a European*, p. 182.

[29] Ayhan Kaya, Ferhat Kentel, *Euro-Turks: A Bridge or a Breach between Turkey and the EU*, Brussels 2005, p. 45.

[30] Rogers Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*, Cambridge 1994, p. 3.

being exclusive, ethno-nationalist, particularistic in terms of citizenship policies has become more democratic and inclusivist since 2000.[31] Therefore, the new discourse led German-Turks to represent themselves with their cultural identities in the public space. The growing numbers of German-Turks in cultural, economic and political spheres indicate that Turks are integrating into the German public sphere. The research which was carried out by Ayhan Kaya and Ferhat Kentel among German-Turks also demonstrates that the facts contradict the stereotypical belief that Turks do not integrate in Germany.[32] In fact Turks are integrated throughout German political, cultural and economic levels of social life. On the other hand, German-Turks in particular and Muslim minority in general have crucial problems in Germany. The Neo-Nazi movement that aims to frighten and expel the minority groups burnt houses, threatened and killed innocent people. In February 2012, the German leader Angela Merkel declared her apologies to the immigrants because of the incompetence of the German state in saving its people from the harmful activities of the extremists. The right-wing extremists, consisting of two men and a woman killed eight Turkish men and one Greek man, who were all running small businesses or fast-food stands, between 2000 and 2006. However what caused further disturbance was that during the investigation a death list which contained eighty-eight names was found by the police.[33]

The issue of present-day racism and Islam in the West needs a special scrutiny as Michel Wieviorka suggests. He points out two types of attitudes of racist approach which perceives Islam as dangerous.[34] The first attitude refers to a national identity of the dominant group and an attack on Islam in the name of this identity. Nationalism functions as an ideological resource in the service of the war on Islam in this form which is the most usual and recognizable phenomenon. On the other hand, the second attitude refers to universal values to heighten opposition to cultural characteristics in general, and Islam in particular. In this form of attitude, any form of concession to these characteristics causes a threat to human rights and to those universal principles, which assume individuals as the basic unit of the public sphere.

The violent attacks on racial minorities have increased in time. The data es-

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[31] Ayhan Kaya, Ferhat kentel, *Euro-Turks: A Bridge or a Breach between Turkey and the EU*, p. 44.

[32] Ayhan Kaya, Ferhat Kentel, *Euro-Turks: A Bridge or a Breach between Turkey and the EU*, p. 70.

[33] "German Official Under Fires in Neo-Nazi Terror Case", Spiegel Online International, http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0,1518,797572,00.html

[34] Michel Wieviorka, "Race, Culture, and Society: The French Experience with Muslims", *Muslim Europe or Euro-Islam*, Nezar Ali Sayyid, Manuel Castells (ed.), Berkeley 2002, s. 140.

timated by the anti-racist groups in Spain showed that in 2004 more than 1000 violent racist incidents occurred each year and that the problem was growing worse.[35] The boom of racism in the present day is understandable in some economic and social terms. The economic recession which is a big challenge seems to be one of the prominent factors of the resentment against immigrants. Those who are defined as different are targeted as scapegoats for the frustrations of both ordinary people and political actors. For instance, the former French President Nicolas Srakozy who aimed to take advantage of the minority issues in elections, followed an exclusivist policy toward immigrants and ethnic minorities such as Muslims with North-African origin and Gypsies as well. The oppressive and exclusivist manner of his approach, thus led him to a policy of the expulsion of Gypsies from France.[36] Such a policy set off a heated debate in France and other countries on whether it is convenient to the EU principles or not. On the other hand, Muslim people were oppressed in many ways, for instance Muslim women's veil (the niqab) was banned in France in 2011. Sarkozy said that the niqab was "a sign of debasement and subservience".[37] Although not more than 2000 women wear veil in France, it seems that Sarkozy thought it as a big threat for France. While addressing the niqab issue in France the headscarf legislation of 2004 should be noted. This law was a response to the recommendations of the *Stasi Commission* appointed in 2003 by French President Jacques Chirac. The Commission was composed of prominent politicians, scholars who came together in order to examine the issue of laicité. The Commission issued its recommendations, among them a ban on wearing headscarf in public schools on December 11, 2003.[38]

Exclusion of Muslims as a Policy after 9/11

One of the important results of the 9/11 has been a tightening of immigration policies in the US and many European countries. Reactions to the terrorist attacks around the world since 9/11 indicate that migration is not considered a

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[35] David Gowland, Richard Dunphy, Charlotte Lythe, *The European Mosaic*, p. 478.

[36] "France Sends Roma Gypsies back to Romania" (20 August 2010),
http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-11020429

[37] Andrew Gilligan, "Why Banning the Veil would Only Cover up the Real Problems for British Muslims", *The Telegraph*, 16 April 2011. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/journalists/andrew-gilligan/8455884/Why-banning-the-veil-would-only-cover-up-the-real-problems-for-British-Muslims.html

[38] Elisa T. Beller, "The Headscarf Affair: The Conseil d'état on the Role of Religion and Culture in French Society", *Texas International Law Journal*, Vol.39, 2004, p. 582,
http://www.tilj.org/content/journal/39/num4/Beller581.pdf

universal security risk, but it is most frequently associated with terrorism in the wealthier parts of the world.[39] The terrorist attacks in New York, Madrid and London were immediately associated with migrants in the press with no proof. In the US, on September 13- two days after the attacks on the world trade center- Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell, who are very influential fundamentalist evangelical preachers in the USA had a talk broadcasted on the 700 Club. Falwell said:

> "We are about the same age, December 7, 1941, when we entered the war against Japan, Germany, Italy. Hitler's goal was to destroy the Jews among other things, and conquer the world. And these Islamic fundamentalists, these radical terrorists, these Middle Eastern monsters are committed to destroying the Jewish nation, driving her into the Mediterranean, conquering the world. And, we are the great Satan. We are the ultimate goal. I talked this morning with Tom Rose, Publisher of the Jerusalem Post, and orthodox Jew and he said, 'Now America knows in a horrible way what Israel has been facing for 53 years at the hand of Arafat and other terrorists and radicals and barbarians.'"[40]

Here, we clearly see that Jerry Falwell has not even attempt to draw a line between terrorists and one and a half billion Muslims all around the world. He also did not care about the situation of Muslim immigrants who were also US citizens.

The 9/11 attacks by al-Qaida have been used for justifying the general exclusions of all immigrants in Western countries. For instance, Tom Tancredo, a Republican member of the *US House of Representatives* and member of the *International Relations Committee*, described migration as a 'silent invasion'.[41] On the other hand, a US conservative Timothy Savage claimed that 1-2 percent of the continent's Muslims have been involved in some type of extremist activity although no source was provided for this assertion. It is obvious that these arguments, made without sources or proofs, only add to the confusion; increase the uncertainty and lead to growing suspicion and exclusion of Muslims in general.[42] A report of the Illinois Advisory Committee to the US Commission on Civil Rights showed the deterioration of the conditions of Muslims and their civil rights in US. The Committee led by James E. Scales informed that after

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[39] Michael Collyer, "Migrants, Migration and the Security Paradigm: Constraints and Opportunities" *Transnational Islam and Regional Security*, Frédéric Volpi (ed.), New York 2008, p. 120.

[40] Bruce Lincoln, *Holy Terrors*, Chicago 2003, p. 105.

[41] Michael Collyer, "Migrants, Migration and the Security Paradigm: Constraints and Opportunities", p.125.

[42] Michael Collyer, "Migrants, Migration and the Security Paradigm: Constraints and Opportunities", p. 125.

September 11, the number of hate crimes against Muslim people had increased. For instance, there were thirty-two reported hate crimes perpetrated against Muslims in Illinois, most of them occurred in the Chicagoland area between September 11 and September 17, 2001.[43] However this was not solely due to 9/11. When the US Congress passed and President Clinton signed the federal *Anti-terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act* of 1996, as a response to the terrorist attacks in Oklahoma City, the law empowered the federal government to hold secret hearings, using evidence that cannot be challenged on legal immigrants for deportation proceedings. It was chiefly Muslims who were affected because much of this law concerned immigration restrictions although the terrorists in the Oklahoma incident were American citizens.[44] After September 11, 2001, US Congress has passed and President Bush signed into law the USA *Patriot Act* which has strengthened the 1996 anti-terrorism law by expanding the government's ability to conduct secret searches while minimizing judicial supervision over surveillance of telephones and Internet. The aim of this Act was defined as "to deter and punish terrorist acts in the United States and around the world, to enhance law enforcement investigatory tools, and for other purposes."[45] However, the Act was criticized for ignoring civil liberties, especially for immigrants as it legalized searching of houses or businesses without the owner's or the occupant's permission or knowledge. Similarly, it allowed the US Intelligence services to tap telephones, go through e-mails, and financial records without the need to obtain a court order.

The statistical data also shows that discrimination is widely exercised against Muslims. *The Council of American-Islamic Relations* has seen a rise in civil rights abuse cases since the 9/11 attacks. It received 1,522 reports of abuse in 2004, and the number of unreported cases is likely to be far higher.[46] On the other hand, according to the report of "*International Helsinki Human Rights Federation*" in March 2005, the rate of the Muslims who stated that they had to face discrimination in society because of their religion is 80% in 2004, whereas it was 35% in

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[43] "Arab and Muslim Civil Rights Issues in the Chicago Metropolitan Area Post-September 11", Illinois Advisory Committee to the US Commission on Civil Rights, May 2003, p. 7, http://www.usccr.gov/pubs/sac/il0503/il0503.pdf

[44] "Arab and Muslim Civil Rights Issues in the Chicago Metropolitan Area Post-September 11", p. 5.

[45] "Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism (USA Patriot Act) Act of 2001", *Public Law*, 107-56-OCT.26, 2001. http://fl1.findlaw.com/news.findlaw.com/cnn/docs/terrorism/hr3162.pdf

[46] Jenny Cuffe, "US Muslims alienated by the Patriot Act'", *BBC News*, 4 July 2006. http://www.rinf.com/columnists/news/us-muslims-alienated-by-patriot-act

1999. Moreover, it was reflected in the same report that more than 80% of the German informants related the concept of "Islam" to "terrorism" and "pressure on women".[47]

In the case of France, too, negative perceptions of immigration widely exist in society. In 1993, Charles Pasqua, who was the Interior minister addressed a warning to Algerians by stating: "They must respect our laws. They should not carry out any political activities on our territory that run contrary to French interests. They would be well advised to listen carefully to the warning that I give." Moreover, Jean-Marie Le Pen who reflected his negative approach to the rights of the immigrants received 11% of the votes in the 2002 French parliamentary elections.[48] Another indicator of this unpleasant trend is the immigration laws which were legislated in some of the European countries. For instance, a law which was legislated in the parliament of Holland in May 2005 requires all immigrants to attend language examinations.

Conclusion

Terrorism has been equated with Islam and it is Muslims who are on the losing side. I argue that in order to make a just interpretation of the reality; first of all we have to realize the distinction between what Islam is as a religion and what goes on at the global political arena. As Edward Said says, we need to see the similarities between Bin Ladin and Jim Jones or Aum Shinrinkyo instead of equating Islam and Bin Ladin.[49] If Christianity or the Christian world were blamed for the violent fundamentalist movement of Jim Jones; it would certainly be wrong and unfair. Similarly, everyone should agree that Al-Qaida or any other terrorist group should never be perceived as the representatives of Islam or Muslims in the world.

In closing the discussion, a close examination of the issue of migration has

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[47] Ramazan Kılıç, "Islam ve Avrupa Entegrasyonu" *Liberal Düşünce Dergisi*, no. 44, 2006, p. 7. https://www.msu.edu/~kilinc/site/Publications_files/Kilinc2006b.pdf

[48] Ramazan Kılıç, "Islam ve Avrupa Entegrasyonu", p. 7.

[49] Edward W. Said, "Cehaletler Çatışması", *Küreselleşme, Kültür ve Medeniyet*, Musa Ceylan (çev.), Ankara 2007, p. 317. Jones and Shinrinkyo are the founders of their own religious movements. Jim Jones was a Christian preacher and a member of the *Social Gospel Movement* in the USA before he organized his marginal religious movement. He preached his followers in the Jonestown, 200 km from Georgetown. Jones was accused of immoral sexual relations and hiding weapons. In 1978, Leo Ryan, the member of the Congress was killed by a member of that group during his investigation trip to this sect. In the end, Jim Jones convinced his followers to commit suicide and 918 followers were found dead. (Ali Köse, *Milenyum Tarikatleri*, İstanbul 2006, p.69.)

pointed out that Western Countries has adopted strict policies toward immigrants and their citizens with Asian/Muslim origins, particularly after the attacks on 9/11. Consequently, the growing wave of Islamophobia has affected both civil society and the political actors in such a destructive manner that Muslim communities are being excluded by insultation in their daily-lives and unjust applications of governments in the name of security in administrational processes. Moreover, although underlining the impossibility of simplifying Muslims into one category, because of their evident diversities, different nationalities, ethnic groups and religious approaches, a vast majority of people in the West are not reluctant to talk about a monolith, particularly the stereotypical fundamentalist view of Muslims. Yet, the marginalization and the victimization process mobilize Muslims and strengthen their sense of belonging to the Muslim Umma, Muslims in Europe still stand with a great deal of diversity.[50] Their social, economic and educational backgrounds, world views as well as their religious approaches differentiate considerably.

Another important point is that the exclusivist policies of Europe and the US have been undermining the very premises of the Western values of human rights, freedom, and democracy. It has become difficult to persuade people who suffer from the actions and attitudes that the human rights are the basic values of the Western countries which express their sincere conviction of them. Therefore, it will be correct to say that Western countries need to revise both their perception of Islam and their policies on Muslim minorities in their own countries.

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[50]   Talip Küçükcan, *Politics of Ethnicity, Identity and Religion*, Aldershot 1999, p. 247.