Islamophobia and Surveillance
Directed at Muslims in the West

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Abstract:

Increasing surveillance directed at Muslims after 9/11 is among the mostly studied issues in the surveillance literature. Many studies show that surveillance directed at Muslims is intensified in the name of national security measures. Increasing surveillance makes the Muslims in the West live more anxiously and causes negative discrimination against Muslims. The Islamophobic practices affect the Muslims living in the West and Muslims who travel to West for various reasons.

Muslims are seen as the most "suspected" individuals especially in crowded places such as airports, shopping malls, entertainment centers. Muslims who carry Islamic symbols are searched more carefully or paid more attention in crowded places. The surveillance directed at Muslims is justified for the so-called national security necessities. Security forces and media claim that the surveillance directed at Muslims stems from "objective" reasons, however, the biased assumptions regarding religion and culture shape the sphere of surveillance. The discriminatory and accusatory "surveillance discourse" is also reinforced by the media images and populist politicians.

This study aims to figure out the intersection points of Islamophobia and surveillance practices. For this purpose, the surveillance practices directed at Muslims in the West are mentioned briefly in the article. The main axis of the study is the Islamophobic assumptions underlying the increasing surveillance of Muslims in the West. In this article, gender aspects of Islamophobia are also addressed. "Gendered Islamophobia" concept is elaborated in this context. The intensity and type of surveillance changes according to gender because of the different dressing styles. The Muslim women, who prefer to veil, become more easily identifiable because of the headscarf, hijab, turban etc. Moreover, in gendered Islamophobic discourses, Muslim women are usually portrayed as "oppressed", while Muslim men are presented as "oppressors".

Surveillance includes unequal power relations between the surveillant and the surveilled. Being the object of the surveillance reflects a power relation in which the person who surveils can exercise power on the surveilled. This article points out the role of Islamophobia in portraying Muslims as "threat" as well as attracting attention to hierarchical power relations embedded in surveillance practices directed at Muslims.

Keywords: Islamophobia, gendered Islamophobia, surveillance, terror, post-9/11 period.

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İslamofobi ve Batı'da
Müslümanlara Yönelen Gözetim

Özet

Gözetim sosyolojisi literatüründe özellikle 9/11 saldırıları sonrasında artış gösteren çalışma konularının başında Müslümanlara yönelik artan gözetim gelmektedir. Birçok çalışma ulusal güvenlik gerekçeleriyle artan gözetimin özellikle Müslümanlara yöneldiğini ortaya koymaktadır. Artan gözetim, Batı'da yaşayan Müslümanların gündelik hayatlarını daha kaygılı geçirmelerine ve ayrımcılığa uğramalarına neden olmaktadır. Bu durumun Batı ülkelerinde yaşan Müslümanları ve çeşitli nedenlerle Batı'ya seyahat eden Müslümanları etkilediği bilinmektedir.

Batı'da Müslümanlar özellikle havaalanları, alışveriş merkezleri, eğlence merkezleri gibi kalabalık ortamlarda en "şüpheli" kişiler olarak görülmekte ve güvenlik gerekçeleriyle gözetim özellikle Müslümanlara yöneltilmektedir. Müslümanlıkla ilişkilendirilen kıyafet ve simgelerin taşıyıcılarının daha fazla "aranması", bu kişilere "dikkat edilmesi", bu kişilerden daha fazla şüphenilmesi gerektiği algısı yaygındır. Güvenlik güçleri ve medya Müslümanlara yönelik artan gözetimin "objektif" nedenlerden kaynaklı olduğunu iddia etmekteyse de din ve kültüre dair önyargılı varsayımların gözetim alanını şekillendirdiği bilinmektedir. Müslümanlara dair yaratılan dışlayıcı ve suçlayıcı "gözetim söylemi" medyanın kullandığı imajlarla ve populist politikacıların söylemleri ile de desteklenmektedir.

Bu çalışma, islamofobi kavramıyla gözetim sosyolojisi alanını birarada incelemeyi ve kesişim noktalarını belirlemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Müslümanların Batı'da hangi gözetim pratiklerine maruz kaldıkları makalede değinilen konular arasındadır. Batı'da Müslümanlara yönelik gözetimin artmasının altındaki islamofobik varsayımlar makalenin ana eksenini oluşturmaktadır. Bu çalışmada, islamofobi ve gözetim ilişkisinin toplumsal cinsiyet boyutlarına da değinilmiştir. Literatürde "cinsiyetçi İslamofobi" kavramıyla ifade edilen süreçler de ele alınmıştır. Müslüman kadınlardan örtünmeyi tercih edenler kullandıkları eşarp, başörtü, türban ve hicab gibi kıyafetler nedeniyle daha ayırt edilebilir ve görünür olmaktadır. Kadın ve erkeklerin kıyafet farklılıkları nedeniyle günlük hayatta gözetime maruz kalma şekilleri ve sıklıkları değişmektedir. Cinsiyetçi İslamofobik söylemde Müslüman kadınlar genellikle "baskılanmış" olarak resmedilirken, Müslüman erkekler is "baskılayan"lar olarak temsil edilmektedir.

Gözetim, gözetleyen ve gözetlenen arasında eşitsiz bir güç ilişkisinin olduğu bir olgudur. Gözetimin nesnesi olmak gözetleyenin, gözetlenen üzerinde güç uygulayabileceği bir pozisyonu ifade eder. Bu makale, islamofobinin Müslümanları "tehdit" olarak göstermedeki rolünün yanında, Müslümanları gözetimin nesnesi olarak hiyerarşik olarak daha alt bir pozisyonda konumlandırdığına da dikkat çekmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İslamofobi, cinsiyetçi İslamofobi, gözetim, terör, 9/11 sonrası

Introduction

In September 2015, a school boy aged 14 was handcuffed and arrested in Texas, USA for bringing an alleged homemade hoax bomb to school[1]. His name is Ahmed Mohamed and the alleged hoax bomb was his science project, it was a homemade clock. After this tragic event, he received many invitations from politicians and public figures including Barack Obama, the President of USA, and many of others tweeted about him to give support[2]. He even met with the Prime Minister of Turkey at that time[3]. However, this event made it very visible that Islamophobia is embedded in the everyday life of the USA.

The attacks on September 11, 2001 (also referred to as 9/11) is usually stated as a turning point for Islamophobia and the surveillance studies. Especially after 9/11, one of the crucial elements defining the Muslim identity in the West has become "terror". Many individuals claiming a Muslim identity or carrying the symbols of being a Muslim (beard, headscarf, hijab vs.) feel the need to show that they are not "terrorists". The main motive of surveillance after 9/11 is "suspicion" (Lyon, 2001: 9). The fear and suspicion are closely related themes, Islamophobia as "fear of Islam" is one of the sources of the surveillance directed at Muslims. That is to say, Muslim communities living in the West are affected from 9/11 attacks in a negative way. 9/11 is the most important event that affects the Arab Americans. After 9/11, Arab community attracted a great deal of attention from public, people with Arab background needed to reconsider and reevaluate themselves in the society (Salaita 2005: 151). After 9/11, Arab and Muslim people are subjected to discriminatory practices in the USA such as detentions without charge and trial (Lyon, 2001:76). The security-based discourse regarding Islam is very much influenced from the statements of politicians and the media.

Along with this, terrorist attacks associated with Islamic State of Iraq and Syria[4] (ISIS) took many lives[5]. However, it is not just Western countries affected from terrorist attacks. In October 10, 2015 in Ankara, two bombs exploded and caused the death of 102 people, this attack is said to be associated with ISIS. In addition, in June 28, 2016, at the Atatürk Airport in Istanbul, 44 people were killed and many others

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[1] Follow the links for details: http://time.com/4079766/ahmed-mohamed-clockmaker-president-obama/ http://edition.cnn.com/2015/09/16/us/texas-student-ahmed-muslim-clock-bomb/index.html http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/ahmed-mohamed-texas-police-knew-he-didnt-have-a-bomb-but-arrested-him-anyway-10507254.html

[2] Follow the link for details: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/speaking-of-science/wp/2015/09/16/president-obama-tweets-in-support-of-istandwithahmed/?utm_term=.30121cffc2b0

[3] Follow the link for details: http://aa.com.tr/tr/yasam/davutoglu-elindeki-saat-bomba-sanilarak-abdde-gozaltina-alinan-musluman-ogrenci-ahmed-ile-bir-araya-geldi/320941?amp=1

[4] "DAESH" is the acronym of the arabic phrase al-Dawla al-Islamiya al-Iraq al-Sham (Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant). Some experts and the world leaders prefer to use this phrase. Since the more commonly used name of this group in the literature and the media is ISIS, ISIS is preferred in this article.

[5] Follow the link for details: http://edition.cnn.com/2015/12/17/world/mapping-isis-attacks-around-the-world/index.html

were injured, again these bombings are carried out by the alleged ISIS members. Lastly, on the New Year's Eve in 2016, 39 people were killed by a shooting in Reina night-club in Istanbul. Citizens of Tunisia, Lebanon, India, Jordan and Saudi Arabia were among the victims along with the citizens of Israel, France and Belgium.[6] The purpose of presenting these cases is to attract attention that the fear of terror is not limited to the western world. However, there is an unhealthy tendency to fear from the Muslims in general despite the fact that Muslims are also the targets of the terror. In line with this perspective, this study aims to present a discussion about Islamophobia and the everyday surveillance of Muslims in the West. A discussion on the intersection points of Islamophobia, the everyday surveillance and discrimination of Muslims in the West are presented in this study.

Islamophobia in the West

The term Islamophobia, simply meaning the fear of Islam and implying a form of xenophobic reaction against Muslims, is used frequently to describe the recent prejudice and antagonism towards Islam and Muslims (Rana, 2007: 149). In Islamophobic discourse, Islam is misevaluated as religion of terrorism and backwardness, as having an anti-democratic tendency, and a very patriarchal character.

Islamophobia emerged as a widely used concept in late 1990s with a report namely "Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All" by a British NGO Runnymede Trust in 1997 (Bleich, 2012:180). Although Islamophobia has historical roots, mostly latest developments increased its prevalence. Especially 9/11 attacks of Al-Qaeda are stated as a turning point that caused increasing discrimination acts towards Muslims and provoked biased opinion on Islam (Inman, McCormack & Walker, 2012:111; Doyle & Ahmad, 2013: 167). Today, ISIS threat further feeds the Islamophobia in all over the World. However, it must be added that although increasing terrorist attacks accelerate the Islamophobic sentiments in the West, it is not just related to terrorism but also to orientalist and ethno-centric assumptions about Islam and Muslims. Said (2016: 11-12) points out the place of East in defining European identity in orientalist thinking, stating that the East is the cultural opponent and the strongest "other" figure of the West. The East descriptions are useful in defining European identity because the East is presented as the opposite of the West (Said, 2016: 11-12). Since East and Islam are presented as the anti-thesis of the West, and the comparison of the East and West is used in the Western identity formation, blaming the "Middle Eastern" and "Muslim" for increasing terror threat becomes functional. Identification of the Islam and blaming Muslim people with organized terrorist activities become a

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[6] Follow the link for details: http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-38645787

way of protecting "Western identity" in the face of increasing unrest in the Western society.

Since there cannot be a single origin of Islamophobia, possible compound factors can offer some explanation on the issue of rising Islamophobia in the world. Along with the identification of terror with Islam and having orientalist tendencies, some other factors are also related to increasing Islamophobia in the West.

Migration is one of the important factors related to increasing Islamophobia. Poverty and other factors have accelerated Muslim migration to Western countries and this influx of immigrants increased the xenophobic hatred and discrimination directed at migrant populations, Muslims in particular (Rana, 2007: 149,159). Especially in recent years with the war in Syria, migrant populations try to reach Western countries in search of a better life. The cultural and religious confrontation, which is experienced because of the recent migration wave, are among the factors affecting rising Islamophobia.

Another factor contributing to intensification of Islamophobia is the populist discourse in the West. Right wing conservative political movements in Europe attack Islam and misinterpret some facts to enhance their political power (Havez, 2014: 479). They develop an anti-Islam discourse at the expense of increasing hatred and discrimination against Muslim minority. Blaming Muslim migrants for increasing unemployment and terrorist attacks is a way of gaining political support. Right wing populist politicians base their arguments on a kind of "clash of civilizations" argument once formulated by Samuel Huntington in 1998. Moreover, Bayoumi (2015) states that not only right-wing conservatives but also liberals and even some groups of leftists are using anti-Islam sentiments and arguments for political purposes.

Along with the increasing migrant population and populist tendencies, media discourse is also influential in increasing Islamophobia. The media is a powerful tool in shaping the public opinion and assumptions regarding the Muslim migrant communities. Continuous broadcasts on media about Islamist terrorist groups consolidate negative image of Islam and this results in discrimination of Muslims (Von Sikorski, Schmuck, Matthes & Binder, 2017: 826-827). The images of Arabs, Muslims and people with Middle Eastern origin are usually portrayed as "wholly evil and warlike" and there are rarely positive images of those group of individuals in the media (Perry and Poynting, 2006: 5). The image of Islam is harmed through Western media by ignoring the distinction between Islam and terrorism (Perry, 2014: 76). The impact of the media on shaping the assumption of the public is huge especially after 9/11. Spigel (2004: 242-245) gives an important example, a serial namely The West Wing, on the importance of media after 9/11 context. After 9/11, the episode of The West Wing, broadcasted on October 3, 2001, was about a group of high school students who caught in the White house because of a terrorist attack. During this episode, the Middle East's antagonism towards the West is mentioned.

Moreover, in this episode, some "cultural customs of Islamic fundamentalists" such as forced veiling of women, are confronted with the Western culture. Spigel evaluate this tendency on this important episode as "an ethnocentric celebration of American cultural superiority" (2004: 242-245).

Gendered Islamophobia

Although Islamophobia affects almost all Muslims in the world, the frequencies and the nature of discrimination and surveillance directed at individuals vary according to gender. That is to say, Islamophobia has a gender side. The concept *gendered Islamophobia* is useful to understand the different impacts of Islamophobia on women and men especially in Western World. This concept reflects the inter-sectionality of gender, race and religion, and in some contexts class. The bans on different forms of veiling in public spaces in the West are among the most visible forms of reflection of the gendered Islamophobia. Although the definition of veiling in Islam is a debated issue, some forms of dressing are usually directly seen as Islamic symbols in daily life. The veiling practices of Muslim women are usually seen in the form of the "hijab, burqa, and nikab, headscarves and shawls" and all these forms are recognized as ''veiling'' (Renne, 2013, as cited in Rasmussen, 2013: 237). But, veiling also may refer to a way of dressing in which "the face and body are wholly or partially hidden" (Rasmussen, 2013: 237). The veiling and dressing practices make Muslim women more identifiable and visible, therefore, more vulnerable to discrimination and surveillance in everyday life. Moreover, as Perry points out women are even more vulnerable to violence due to prejudice (2014: 79). Although there are some codes of appearance associated with being a Muslim man and having an Arabic or Middle Eastern origin, in general, Muslim men have less differentiable dress codes compared to Muslim women.

Gendered Islamophobia also refers to the way of thinking that Islam has a patriarchal character, as a result, it should be condemned. One source of suspicion against Muslim people is so-called 'undebatable oppression of women' in the Muslim community. Rasmussen points out a common way of thinking in the West that all veiled women are thought as oppressed or forced to veil, which implies a cultural deficit (2013: 238). Mirza makes a similar point and argues that in the West the heterogeneity, complexity, and individuality of Muslim women are ignored and biased categories of "oppressed" and "dangerous" created to define Muslim women (Mirza, 2013: 313). These arguments ignore the feminist movements in Muslim communities as well as personal meanings attributed to veiling. Especially in the West, veiling can be a form of expressing identity. As Mirza states, the veil is an "identity site" of Muslim women in Britain and Europe (2013: 313). Jailani expresses that the anti-veiling thoughts stem from the "white savior complex" in the West, which expresses the white western people's attempts of 'save' or help others with different color or ethnic origin (2016:54). However, the Muslim women, especially

those who prefer to veil, are subjected to discriminatory behaviors in the West such as the unequal access of employment and bans of veiling in public space. Stereotypes are affecting the lives of Muslim women in Europe (Mirza, 2013: 303). Muslim women, who are not in line with the Western codes of ideal women, considered as 'others' in Western World (Perry, 2014: 79).

Another aspect of gendered Islamophobia is the demonization of Muslim men. In the West, there is a tendency to see all the Muslim men as conservative, authoritarian, religious, violent, and oppressive, whereas Muslim women are seen as being oppressed in all spheres of life and always wearing a form of veiling (Sadek, 2017: 204-205). In this line of thought, two key defining elements of Muslim identity are "backwardness and danger" (Sadek, 2017: 204-205). "Backwardness" usually makes reference to alleged violent and oppressive character of Muslim men, and the strictly patriarchal culture among Muslim communities, whereas "danger" refers to suspicion towards Muslims as potential terrorists. Sadek argues that the heterogeneity and individual differences among the Muslims are ignored as well as the historical changes across time (2017: 204-205).

The discussions on Muslim women's oppression, veiling, and patriarchy in Muslim communities are very important for the transformation of Muslim women's position and community improvement. However, the discussions fed by gendered Islamophobia do not serve the positive purposes, on the contrary, it may cause reactionary responses among Muslim communities or hurt Muslim women by discriminatory practices. My aim is not to underestimate the oppression of women or ignore some problematic aspects of position of women in Islamic geography but just to express that the patriarchal practices and the oppression are not the only meaning of the veiling for the Muslim women or the problem of oppression of women is not exclusive to Islamic geography.

The Intersections of Islamophobia and Surveillance: Loss of Privacy, Social Sorting and Power Relations

Surveillance is a "routine and focused attention to personal details for the purposes of influence, management, care, and control" (Lyon, 2006: 403). The increasing surveillance with the help of developed technology is a worldwide issue. However, not all citizens and migrants are subjected to same amount of surveillance. Some categories of people are seen as more "dangerous" and subjected to greater amount of surveillance. As Levi and Wall (2004: 203) state security agencies lean on the public support for increasing surveillance and the opposition to it is usually silenced. What this study argues is that one of the sources that feeds the "public support" is Islamophobia in Western societies. Moreover, there is an institutional culture in which Islamophobic assumptions are embedded in.

While some authors see developing surveillance technologies and decreasing privacy as something concerning, some others argue that increasing surveillance and data-veilance (surveillance by data) are something positive because these technologies makes the life easier (Lyon, 2010 :20). Lyon indicates that the concept of privacy itself is "historically and culturally relative", in some cultures such as Chinese and Japanese personal space in western sense is limited (2010: 20). Although the sense of privacy is relative, the violation of privacy of individuals without their consent, is still problematic. Moreover, the cultural responses to violation of privacy in close family settings are very different from the violation of privacy by strangers or state. In this context, violation of privacy of Muslims reflects an unequal power structure based on ethnicity and religion. The unequal power relations are not only between state (and other organizations as surveillant) and the individuals (surveilled) but also between the surveilled groups of people because, individuals from different backgrounds are exposed to different levels of violation of privacy.

Privacy is the processes of "to decide when, how and to what extent that information is communicated to others" (Westin 1967, as cited in, Lyon, 2010: 20). Therefore, the context in which the privacy is discussed, is important. In some contexts, individuals can focus on the benefits in exchange for giving up the privacy. However, in some other cases, privacy is violated without any consent, as in the case of the period after 9/11. Giving up privacy on the information about the shopping tendencies does not have the same consequences with being forced to give information about the personal details in the context of terror threat. In some cases, personal information is retrieved without the knowledge of the person so the individuals even are not aware of the violation of privacy. Moreover, the only problem is not only violation of privacy of the Muslim individuals but also collection of personal details and classification of individuals into certain categories.

Social sorting and Reflection of Power Relations

Personal data collected through surveillance systems are processed and these systems identify certain groups. Sometimes these categories may be certain consumer groups who are being provided certain exclusive services and sometimes certain potential "treats" for society (Lyon, 2006). The surveillance systems' coding mechanisms use some categories fed by biased information (Lyon, 2005:2), meaning that these categories are not just technical issues. As Lyon states, power relations are embedded in all surveillance processes (2010: 3). The values prevalent in the society shape the information the assumptions of surveillance systems, and the target population from which the information to be collected. These systems and the processes are not free from the power relations. On the contrary, these are the reflection of hierarchies and power relations prevalent in the society. Race, ethnicity, class, gender and religion are the basic elements that shape the power relations in personal and institutional level. Concerning the Islamophobia debate, all these four

elements are very relevant in analyzing the power relations, and the reflection of these relations in the field of surveillance.

One reflection of the power relations is *social sorting*. Information collected through various surveillance mechanisms are sorted and some profile categories are created through this way. These categories are not merely data sets, they have social consequences (Lyon 2001), everyday life and life chances of individuals are affected by these categories (Lyon, 2005: 2), the groups which are created by social sorting "can be treated differently" (Lyon, 2006: 399). Lyon also points out the difference of the social sorting perspective from Foucault's surveillance understanding in which surveillance affect all citizens equally (Bigo and Guild, 2005 :3, as cited in Lyon, 2010: 10). Social sorting and surveillance are not only used for terror prevention activities, but also in sorting of individuals into categories of 'desirable' and 'undesirable', in a sense "who needs to be controlled and who is free of that control", the individuals who need to be controlled are usually foreign workers, immigrants and asylum seekers (Lyon, 2004, as cited in Lyon, 2010: 10).

One example of the different treatment by social sorting is 'no-fly-lists' which are created on the basis of information about ethnicity, religion, and country of origin (Lyon, 2010: 26-27). Lyon points out that after 9/11, Arab or Muslim travelers are paid extra attention. Especially young Muslim men's usage of internet, phone calls, financial transactions, travelling information are monitored, and as a result, the complaints regarding discrimination of young Arab men and Muslims has increased (Lyon, 2001; 100). For example, the monetary transactions are also monitored, sending money for the remaining family members and voluntary philanthropic organizations in the country of origin, is seen as problematic especially for Muslims because of the suspicion of funding terrorists in these countries (Lyon, 2001:51). Lyon points out that it is the discriminatory practices coming as a consequence of surveillance are more problematic that the surveillance itself (2005:2).

Today, surveillance systems are using biometrical information to create "biological profiles" to regulate traveling (such as creating 'no-fly-lists'), monetary transactions and employment information, these technologies are not free from racist and colonial 'anthropometric' tendencies (Lyon, 2010: 26-27). These surveillance policies create some advantaged categories such as "trusted travelers" or disadvantaged categories such as "people of Middle Eastern appearance" (Lyon, 2006: 406). That is to say, the people with "Muslim-Arab" origin are subjected to "'racial' profiling" (Lyon, 2001:50). One of the most striking examples of classification of personal data on "racial criteria" had taken place in South Africa under apartheid system, in this system population data had been used to exclude black population from opportunities in different structures (Lyon, 2010: 22). Lyon also points out that social sorting may not a have an ill intention at the beginning of surveillance process, however, it still have an effect on the life-chances of the individuals (Lyon, 2010: 24). The consequences of the social sorting can be very grave especially in the field of criminal justice because the new tendencies in criminal systems are assessing

'dangerousness' (Feely and Simon 1994: 180, as cited in Lyon, 2010: 25). That is to say, new trends in the justice system are based on the 'risk assessment' rather than the hard-core evidences especially after 9/11 (Lyon, 2010: 25).

Another dimension that makes the social sorting more problematic is that the categorization codes usually are not under public scrutiny, especially when these codes are presented as national security measures (Lyon, 2010: 31-32). This dimension points out the transparency problem in criteria setting process in defining who is suspected.

Surveillance by state is just one form of the suspicion directed against Muslims or people with Middle Eastern origin. Surveillance of everyday life by neighbors, co-workers, social workers or other people with whom those individuals have face-to-face contact is another form of being under scrutiny.

Lyon states that creating "categories of suspicion" has been augmented after 9/11, this process makes all individuals "surveillors" (2001:10). Since all individuals in the society have the potential to gaze other people, the individuals who are in the "categories of suspicion" are under constant surveillance of others in the daily life. As Lyon states, any behavior and even "doing nothing" can be seen as suspicious (Lyon, 2001:51).

An example of surveillance of Muslims in the daily life by face-to-face interaction is the Prevent programme in Britain. The program, Prevent, "The Preventing Violent Extremism" is stated to aim to identifying young Muslim who are deluded and inclined to radical Islamist ideologies and groups (Lavette, 2014: 495). This program implies that Muslims, especially young Muslims, are seen as potential terrorists and they are needed to be intensively surveilled by all agents of the society who can access them. This programme is implemented by two successive governments in Britain. The "Prevent' agenda enables us to see the "institutionalized Islamophobia" in Britain (Lavette, 2014:544). The Prevent programme reflects that Muslim communities are understood as "potentially problematic" so that constant surveillance should be exercised by encouraging involvement of social welfare workers, teachers, youth workers, voluntary sector organizations and other social local community members as agents to surveil any potentially suspicious case among Muslim community members (Lavette, 2014: 491-493). This program sets targets for people who have face-to-face interaction with community members to collect information about "people who were being influenced by 'Islamic extremism'" and demands reporting the intelligence to the government (Lavette, 2014: 505). However, Lavette also adds that the definitions of "extremist" behavior are not clear (Lavette, 2014: 547). With this policy perspective, British governments make welfare workers, health and education professionals and voluntary sector workers "'soft' policers" of vulnerable Muslim communities which include poor sections of society such as Pakistanis and Bangladeshis (Lavette, 2014:508, 547-549). These policies have the

potential to further estrange the Muslim populations who already experience problems due to the bias directed to them (Lavette, 2014: 547).

Conclusion

It is important to place the Islamophobia debate into a broader frame; this study aims to discuss Islamophobia in the context of surveillance and power relations embedded in surveillance practices. There are many Muslims who are citizens of Western countries, also, there are individuals who do not hold a citizenship status but live in the West or travel to Western countries for some reason. All these groups are affected negatively from the Islamophobic assumptions and practices. In this study, the concepts of Islamophobia and gendered Islamophobia has been addressed, and these concepts are elaborated in the context of surveillance directed at Muslim individuals in personal and institutional level.

After 9/11, increasing surveillance in the name of national security is discussed within the loss of civil liberties and loss of privacy. Increasing security measures harm the privacy of individuals, however, terrorism fear of the public is manipulated to justify the increasing surveillance. Security vs. privacy debate becomes more important for the Muslim populations in different countries because the increased surveillance mostly target Muslim population. Because of the the massive growth of surveillance systems in the world, the "end of privacy" debate became very common (Lyon, 2010:19). However, loss of privacy of Muslims individuals is more striking in the Western societies in terms of extent and prevalence. Negative representation of Islam on the media and political populism reinforce the negative images of Muslims and Muslims immigrants in the West, therefore increasing surveillance directed at Muslims is justified. In this respect, new extensive publicity is needed to renew global image of Islam.

All discussions regarding surveillance bring us to the issue of power relations. Surveillance of Muslims reflects unequal power relations and biases stemming from religion and country of origin. This perspective is very useful in catching the effects of racial, religious and ethnic differences in the society. In this article, the power dimension of surveillance practices is also addressed by making references to Islamophobia.

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