



People 's Democratic Republic of Algeria
Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research
Echahid Hamma Lakhdar University, Eloued
Faculty of Arts and Languages
Department of Art and English Language

Islamophobia in Britain: Causes and Effects

Dissertation submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for a Master Degree in Literature and Civilization

Submitted by :

GHEDIR MOHAMMED Chaima
SOLTANI Chaima

Supervisor:

Mr. CHOUCHANI Abidi Mohammed

Board of Examiners

President : Miss. NESBA Asma

University of Eloued

Supervisor : Mr. CHOUCHANI Abidi Mohammed

University of Eloued

Examiner : Mr. ANAD Ahmed

University of Eloued

Academic Year: 2018/2019

Dedication

*I, Miss Ghedeir Mohammed Chaima, dedicate this dissertation to:
My Mother, **Fadjra Ghedeir Ibrahim**, a strong and gentle soul who taught
me to trust Allah, believe in hard work and who has been with me in all
steps of the way through good times and bad. Thank you for all the
unconditional love, guidance and support that you have given me, helping
me to succeed and installing in me the confidence. Thank you for
everything.*

*To my friend **Lifa Sihame***

*To my respectful teachers, especially **Mr. Sib** who has encouraged me to
complete my study*

Dedication

I, Madam Soltani Chaima, dedicate this dissertation:

*to my parents **Soltani Youcef** and **Ben amour Sabah** for their unconditional and unlimited support and patience, to my husband for his encouragement to complete my study.*

*My sincere thanks to my teacher **Khalil Moudjib El-Rahmane** for helping me when I need him,*

*to my aunt **Wafa** and my friend **Safa Laoudj** for their support.*

Acknowledgements

The most rewarding achievement in our life is the accomplishment of our master dissertation.

Firstly, we would like to thank our Almighty God who provided us with strength, support and knowledge.

We would like particularly to express our thanks and greatest gratitude to our supervisor, Mr. Chouchani Abidi Mohammed, who was exceedingly generous with his time and support.

We are profoundly indebted to Mr. Khalil Moudjib Al-Rahmane for providing us with sources and helping us in the preparation of this work.

Special thanks to our classmates Alia Yasmina and Lifa Sihame for their collaboration. To each one was generous with his/her ideas and advice.

Our special thanks to the members of Jury for their acceptance to review this dissertation.

Last not least, an extent thank to our parents for their unconditional encouragement in all our steps of the way. Thank you for your sympathetic ear. Without them, we would not be capable of achieving this objective.

Nevertheless, all of this support, any errors or omissions remains merely ours.

Abstract

Islamophobia is a phenomenon that witnessed a rise in the entire world, particularly in Britain and that is linked with negative perspectives and prejudices against either Muslims or Islam, in which the latter is viewed to be the notion of terrorism. This dissertation examines the causes and the effects of Islamophobia in Britain. Through the existence of numerous causes and effects and by considering Islamophobia as a real phenomenon in Britain, this study aims at clarifying and assessing the causes and pointing out the effects. For that, there is a need to complete the missed gaps and to affirm the existence of Islamophobia to the sides who are denying it, and to raise awareness about the incentives of this phenomenon in Britain. To achieve the objectives of this dissertation, the descriptive and the historical methods are used. The study reveals that Islamophobia has numerous causes and effects which emphasizes the real existence of Islamophobia in Britain.

Keywords: Britain, Causes and effects of Islamophobia, Islam, Islamophobia, Muslims.

List of Tables

Table 1. Articles Containing the Word 'Muslim' (Saeed, 2007).....	p. 22
--	-------

List of Figures

Figure 1. Number of political claims regard to Muslims or Islam in the UK per month in the period 1999 – 2009 (Vanparys, Jacobs, & Torrekens, 2013, p. 213).....p. 20

List of Abbreviations

APPG: all-party parliamentary group

BNP : British National Party

BBC: British Broadcasting Corporation

DMA : Dudley Muslim Association

EUMC : European Union Monitoring Centre

EDL : English Defence League

IHRC: International Human Rights Commission

RRA76 : Race Relation Act 1976

NSC: National Security Council

US: United States

UK : United Kingdom

UKIP : United Kingdom Independence Party

USA : The United States of America

Table of Contents

Dedication.....	I
Acknowledgements	II
Abstract	III
List of tables	IV
List of figures	V
List of Abbreviations	VI
Introduction	1
• Aims of the Study	
• Statement of the Problem	
• Research Questions	
• Research Hypotheses	
• Significance of the Study	
• Methodology of the Study	
• Structure of the Study	
• Literature Review	

Chapter One

The Origins of Islamophobia

1.1.Introduction	5
1.2. History of Islamophobia	5
1.2.1. The origin of the word, Islamophobia	5
1.2.2. Emerging Identities	5
1.2.3. Mobilizing Muslims	7
1.2.4. The Notion of Islamophobia	7
1.2.5. The Decade ‘s Genesis	7
1.2.6. Beyond 11 September 2001	8

1.3. Definition of Islamophobia	8
1.4. Features of Islamophobia	9
1.4.1. Islam is viewed as Monolithic and Static.....	9
1.4.2. Islam viewed as Other and Separate	9
1.4.3. Islam is inferior not different	10
1.4.4. Islam viewed as Enemy	10
1.4.5. Muslims viewed as Manipulative	10
1.4.6. ‘ Racial ‘ Discrimination Towards Muslims Defended not opposed	10
1.4.7. Criticisms of Muslim to 'the west ' Refused not Considered	10
1.4.8. The Discourse of Anti-Muslim viewed as Natural not problematic	11
1.5. Islamophobia in the British Context	11
1.6. Conclusion	13

Chapter two

Islamophobia in Britain : Causes and Effects

2.1. Introduction	15
2.2. Causes of Islamophobia	15
2.2.1. Historical Events	15
2.2.1.1. The Iranian Revolution	15
2.2.1.2. Satanic Verses Affair	16
2.2.2. Social Movements	17
2.2.2.1. Neoconservative Movement	17
2.2.2.2. Pro-War Left and New Atheists	18
2.2.2.2.1. Pro-war Left.....	18
2.2.2.2.2. New Atheists	19
2.2.3. Terrorist Attacks	19
2.2.3.1. Attacks of 11 September 2001 and the Suicide Bombing of 7 July 2005 20	
2.2.3.1.1. Attacks of 11 September 2001	21
2.2.3.1.2. The Suicide Bombings of 7 July 2005	21
2.2.4. Media	22
2.2.5. The Dress of Muslim Women.....	23
2.3. Effects of Islamophobia	24
2.3.1. Discrimination, Violence and Social Rejection	24

2.3.1.1. Discrimination in Politics	25
2.3.1.2. Discrimination towards Muslim Organizations	25
2.3.1.3. Discrimination towards the Mosques and Islamic Centres	26
2.3.1.4. Discrimination by police.....	26
2.4. Conclusion	26

Chapter Three

Islamophobia in Britain Between Rejection and Reality

3.1. Introduction	28
3.2. Islamophobia as a Rejected Term.....	28
3.2.1. Refused Definition of Islamophobia by the Government.....	28
3.2.2. Community cohesion Policy.....	28
3.3. Islamophobia as a Real Phenomenon	30
3.3.1. Community Cohesion Policy Drawbacks	30
3.3.2. Governmental Policy	31
3.3.2.1. The Discourse of counter-Terrorism	31
3.3.3. British Political Practices	33
3.3.3.1. The British National party (BNP).....	33
3.3.3.2. English Defence League (EDL)	34
3.3.4. The Project of Dudley Mosque and Dudley News' Letters	35
3.3.4.1. The project of Dudley Mosque	35
3.3.4.2. Dudley News' Letters	36
3.4. Conclusion.....	36
Conclusion.....	37
References	39
Abstract in Arabic	

General Introduction

Since Britain is identified by multiculturalism and diverse culture, it polarized a great number of immigrants, either Muslims or any other ethnic group. However, after some events happened in the world as 9/11 and 7/7 and other factors like the media, especially newspapers, The Guardian and The Times, which have a dominant role in misrepresenting Muslims and/or Islam's image and in affecting the British community's perspectives and the government policy, the term Islamophobia became a vital phenomenon in the British social and political context. Quite recently, considerable attention has been paid to Islamophobia; its incentive and impact.

The term Islamophobia is combined of two words 'Islam' and 'phobia'. The former is "a religion of the Muslims, a monotheistic faith regarded as revealed through Muhammad as the Prophet of Allah" (Oxford English Dictionary, 2019). The latter is a strong fear towards something. Thus, Islamophobia is a fear and dislike targeting Muslims and Islam. Islamophobia is a kind of racism that is pre-existed and persistent (Allen, 2010b). It manifests in violence and discrimination against Muslims, like the discrimination in education and jobs

Aims of the Study

The study aims at clarifying and assessing the causes of Islamophobia and then pointing out its effects. It aims also to confirm the presence of Islamophobia in Britain through a number of governmental and political practices.

Statement of the Problem

Even though the causes of Islamophobia and its effects have previously been studied, it is possible to present this study in a different way and perspectives and to further investigate it. With these goals, this work seeks to gather and assess the causes and pointing out the effects of Islamophobia and ensuring its existence in Britain or not.

Research Questions

The two main questions that raise are:

What are the causes and the effects of Islamophobia in Britain?

Is this phenomenon existing or absent in Britain?

Besides, there are other two Sub-questions as follows:

To what extent does the phenomenon of Islamophobia exist in Britain? and what form it takes?

What are the features of Islamophobia?

Research Hypotheses

The basic hypotheses of this study are:

1. Islamophobia in Britain has numerous causes and effects.
2. Islamophobia in Britain tends to be a reality regarding the governmental and political practices.

Significance of the Study

Since Britain, on the general sense, is identifiable only by multiculturalism, there is a need to shade the light on this topic and to affirm the existence of Islamophobia, through official evidences, and the form it takes in the contemporary era to the academic community and who are interested in such subject. To raise the awareness about the incentive of this phenomenon in Britain, concerning the causes behind it and particularly its impacts on the image of Islam and Muslims there.

Methodology of the Study

The study uses the descriptive method in the first theoretical part because it deals with providing the different points and data relating to such a topic. The historical method is also employed through the official speeches, governmental policies and the project of Dudley mosque.

Structure of the Study

The research is made up of three parts; two theoretical chapters and a practical one. The first chapter of the theoretical frame presents the origin of Islamophobia; from the source of the term until the shaping of Islamophobia concept, in which the first definition of the word by Runnymede was provided. Moving to the dependable definition and its features that consisted of explanations to the expressions of static, otherness, inferiority, enemy and others which were directed to Muslims. The chapter ends up with the status of

Islamophobia in Britain. Focusing on the second chapter which discusses the causes and the effects of this phenomenon in Britain, and that are the main points of this dissertation. The first section, causes, tackles historical events and social movements. Then, terrorist attacks including the events of 11 September 2001 and the suicide bombing of 7 July 2005. In addition to the media and dress of Muslim women. The second section, the effects, demonstrates both discrimination and violence as well as the social rejection, where the discrimination is found in politics, by police, towards Muslim organizations, and towards mosques and Islamic centres alike.

The practical chapter goes throughout two cases. In the first case, Islamophobia as denial, there were discussions about a rejected definition of Islamophobia of a parliamentary group by the government and the governmental strategy of community cohesion. On the other hand, the second case highlights a number of evidences to Islamophobia as reality. These evidences are a governmental policy (counter-terrorism), British political practices; British National Party (BNP), English Defence League (EDL), and the project of Dudley mosque and Dudley news' letters.

In the end, we conclude by providing a summary of the three frames of the dissertation and results about whether Islamophobia in Britain has numerous causes and effects, and whether it exists or not.

Literature Review

As there were many studies about the phenomenon of Islamophobia all over the world, but our study took two books as the main sources; the first one: Islamophobia by Christopher Allen, and the second: Islamophobia in Britain: The Making of a Muslim Enemy by Leone B. Jackson. The two authors spoke about the phenomenon trying to invest it from all of its perspectives but they did not raise the question if it is really exist in Britain or not. They dealt with it from the point that it is existed not like what the British government said. Our study tries to make a comparison between the two points of view; existence and absence of this phenomenon, and what the British community, either Muslims or non-Muslims have to do in order to decrease its effects.

Chapter One

The Origins of Islamophobia

1.1.Introduction

The first theoretical chapter studies the history of Islamophobia in Britain; from the formulation of the term until the misrepresentation of Muslim's identity. Then, The definition of Islamophobia as an ideology, followed by its features and ends with Islamophobia in the context of Britain where Muslims are seen to be different from the British's culture and way of life. In order to shade the light on the history of Islamophobia, the form it takes in Britain particularly in the contemporary era and the way Muslims and Islam are seen.

1. 2. History of Islamophobia

Despite the contradictions that have been existing upon the origin of the word Islamophobia and its meaning, Allen (2010b) argued that the report of Runnymede, A Challenge for US All was the first that used it. From the birth of the term to the shaping of Muslims in terms of identity until the misrepresentation of Islam as a religion and Muslims as a community.

1.2.1.The Origins of the Word

Many have claimed that the concept and neologism of Islamophobia has its roots in Britain. While Oxford English Dictionary proposes that 'Insight', American Periodical, in 1991 was the first that used the word in a printed form, other reference in contrast referred it to France by Etieme Dinet and Slima Ben Ibrahim in their work "accès de délire Islamophobe" in 1925, but their meaning to the concept was not the same with the recent use. And this was emphasized by Chahdortt Djavan and Carla Amina Baghajati who claim that the concept and the context of Islamophobia is not similar to the contemporary use (Allen,2010b).

Accordingly, the word Islamophobia used firstly in France by Etieme Dinet and Slima Ben Ibrahim in their writing " accès de délire Islamophobe" in 1925 (Allen, 2010b, p. 5).

1.2.2 Emerging Identities

At first, Muslim communities' heritage was the basis on which they define and describe themselves, such as Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Hindus and so on . Then, Muslim communities were defined as 'Asian community' (Allen, 2010; Mughal, 2017).

But after the growth of their numbers and with the development of both social and family relationships, the initial age group of British born Muslims became belonging themselves to their parents (Allen, 2010b, p.7). In this sense, Bhikhu Parekh (as cited in Allen, 2010b) states that "while the parents would have said that they were Muslims, their offspring say that they have a Muslim or Islamic identity" (p. 8). Thus, there was a social change from Asian belonging to a 'Muslim' identity which is more dominant (Allen, 2010b).

Correspondingly, John Solomos notes that there is a transforming in the political discourse which is associated with immigration and the new migrant communities (Allen, 2010b) from colour in 1950s and 1960s to race and blackness between 1970s and 1980s (Abbas, 2007; Allen, 2010b). Until the point when anti-racism movement started to rise emphasizing on the markers of race and colour (Allen, 2010b). In other word, to the 'religion' in the contemporary context for Peach (as cited in Abbas, 2007).

In this sense, Miles and Phizacklea propose that the over control and limiting of the role of immigrant societies both politically and legally was a reaction to anti-racism movement, and this what led Asians to be politically marginalised (as cited in Allen, 2010b).

Modood, in this point, has given an example of the Race Relations Act 1976 (RRA76) that made and emphasized also on the term 'black' which is according to him a cause in the Asians' destroy and neglectation. RRA76, then, extended the dimension of 'racial group' and contained " race, colour, nationality and national or ethnic origin" (Allen, 2010b, p. 9). However, the act did not include the religion and belief . That is to say, it excluded the religious societies. Later on, Case Law on the basis of RRA76 in 1980s added them to this 'racial group'. Even though the Case Law added and protected the religious that are mono-ethnic, it failed to protect multi-ethnic ones such as Muslims and Christians (Allen, 2010b, p.9).

This lead to deduce that identity has become on the basis of religion rather than heritage or color. Thus, the emergence of Muslim and/or Islamic identity.

1.2.3. Mobilising Muslims

After the affair of Satanic Verses in 1989, many articles have been written about anti-Muslim and anti-Islam. Namely, in 'Muslim Wise' by Nahdi, and his later writings, The Muslim Update and Q News, and others that have been written by Khan and Nahdi. But the phenomenon was not considered to be Islamophobia (Allen, 2010b, p. 11).

Moreover, the acknowledgement of adjunctive anti-Muslim and anti-Islam phenomenon and the increased determination of Muslim identity was also a notion of motivation for Kalim Siddiqui's *The Muslim Manifesto: A Strategy for Survival* in 1990 (Allen, 2010b).

Siddiqui (as cited in Allen, 2010b) says:

The pressure of the government, all political Parties and mass media upon the Muslims communities and Muslims in Britain aimed at disparaging and oppressing them, and this what have enlightened them to the need of the manifesto. For that, Muslims in Britain Should clarify their objectives and look for a Unity... and for also the pure development of all Components of the community. In addition, their goals and their identity as Muslims (p.12).

The document, *The Muslim Manifesto: A Strategy for Survival*, and the Muslim Parliament gained the attention of the media however, since the media coverage was mostly negative, Muslim identity from the beginning was portrayed in a negative way and dramatically politicised as well."... Because it was... seen to be against the British establishment and fabric upon which Britain's institutions and values were founded..." (Allen, 2010b, p. 12).

1.2.4. The Notion of Islamophobia

According to Allen (2010b) Modood writings between 1990 and 1991 about the problem of anti-Muslim and anti-Islamic phenomenon was not meant Islamophobia, but socio-political experience of the British Muslim. Thus, referring the notion of the term, Islamophobia, to what Modood calls 'a cultural sickness' (Allen, 2010b, p. 15).

1.2.5. The Decade's Genesis

According to Allen (2010b)The Runnymede report did not only influence the way that Islamophobia was comprehend, but it also made certain that Islamophobia was

tolerating public and political acknowledgement. It was pre-dated by a consultation document in March 1997, which was the first principle to deduct a fixed definition of Islamophobia: "the shorthand way of referring to dread or hatred of Islam and, therefore to fear or dislike all or most Muslims" (p. 15). It indicates that British people's hate to Muslims was on the basis of faith.

1.2.6. Beyond 11 September 2001

9/11 was an international turning point (Mughal, 2017, p. 109). After the events of 9/11 according to Timothy Gartonash the anti-Muslim and anti-Islamic phenomenon witnessed a rise and has increasingly become identifiable. (Allen, 2010b). Several Muslim societies in Europe suffered opposed attitudes on them, featured by hostility and sometimes even the physical and verbal harassment (Ramberg, 2004, p. 21). Moreover, following this attack the link of terrorism to Islam became more apparent (Shryock, 2010, p.1).

1.3. Definition of Islamophobia

Runnymede linked Islamophobia to the closed views of Islam that regard it as "Monolithic bloc, as other, as barbaric and inferior to the west and as supportive of terrorism" (Catto, 2017, p.70). He defined it as baseless hostility towards Islam and also "the practical consequences of such hostility in unfair discrimination against Muslim individual and communities, and ...the exclusion of Muslim from mainstream of political and social affairs" (as cited in Shryock, 2010, p. 4). That is to say, Islamophobia is feeling of dislike that is targeted Islam and which results in discrimination and socio-political rejection of Muslims.

Whether it is a new phenomenon (shryock, 2010, p. 4). or not (Ramberg, 2004, p. 6) and whether it tolerates the daily forms of racism and discrimination or any other drastic forms, Islamophobia is a transgression of human rights and a threat to social cohesion as well (Ramberg, 2004, p. 6).

According to Allen (2010b) there are three different components of Islamophobia. First of all, Islamophobia as an 'ideology', which means that ideology supplies a contemporary meaning towards Islam and Muslims as it was previously in the historical sense. Thus, Islam and Muslims were thought of them in terms of different systems

including belief, symbol, and others which concern, affect, and impact on social action, the relationship, response and so on (p.188).

The second component is the 'Modes of Operation'; in which the meaning is accepted and continued. The Modes of Operation in relation to Islamophobia include: legitimating, dissimulation, unification, fragmentation and reification. Each one of them comprises of a number of strategies that participate in the acceptability and continuity of this meaning as rationalisation, universalisation and narrativisation., displacement, euphemisation and trope; and so on (pp. 188-189).

The last component of Islamophobia is 'practices'; which cause disadvantages and prejudice or discrimination towards Muslims and Islam in social, political and economic context, in addition to the violence which is viewed as a tool of exclusion (p. 189).

Accordingly, Islamophobia is an ideology which operates and aims at racism and other similar phenomena that sustains and perpetuates an evaluated meaning that is negative towards Muslims and Islam. This contemporary meaning is similar to the historical one (Allen, 2010b, p. 190).

In short, Islamophobia is a kind of racism that was pre-existed and still continues in the contemporary era and which appears through discrimination, violence, social rejection against Muslims.

1.4. Features of Islamophobia

According to Runnymede report, the features and the expressions of Islamophobia are in the following points. These features or characteristics are concerned in a number of negative expressions that have targeted Muslims on the broad sense.

1.4 .1. Islam is Viewed as Monolithic and Static

Islam is viewed as a single monolithic bloc, in which Muslims, whether in terms of differences between Muslims themselves or Muslims and non-Muslims, are marginalized. At the same time, they are viewed as static and not responding to the changes; the new and continuous challenges that appear (Allen, 2010b, p. 71).

1.4.2. Islam Viewed as Other and Separate

Islam is viewed as counter of the west because it did not share such relative values with the west or even with any other culture and religion. These views that Islam is separated from any other culture and religion in terms of effecting and affecting them in any way (Allen, 2010b, p. 71; Yilmaz, 2016, p. 21).

1.4.3. Islam Inferior not Different

The use of 'them' and 'us' are similar to 'Islam' and 'West' . Therefore, Islam is seen as inferior in which Islam is namely relative, violent, oppressive and barbaric (Allen, 2010b, p. 71; Yilmaz, 2016, p. 21). On the other hand, They view themselves as civilized, sophisticated and enlightened (Allen, 2010b, p. 71).

1.4.4. Islam Viewed as an Enemy

Islam is regarded as a means of violence, aggressive, supportive to terrorism (Allen, 2010b; Yilmaz, 2016, p. 21). The report includes Huntington and Worsthorne theories as an example in order to clarify their inappropriate use of Islam to describe Muslim communities, and it does totally the same (Allen, 2010b, p. 71).

1.4.5. Muslim Viewed as Manipulative

According to Allen (2010b), and Yilmaz (2016) it is suggested that Islam is used only for gaining strategic, political and military utility rather than as a religion of sincerity and honesty. And that Muslims are influential in using Islam as a political or ideological weapon (Allen, 2010b, p.72).

1.4. 6. ' Racial ' Discrimination Towards Muslims Defended not Opposed

Islamophobia is manifested through violence and abuses on the street and in also direct and indirect discrimination in the workspace because it is identified as it began by and involved with various forms of racism. In this respect, the media has a role in providing legitimacy to these racist emotions and expressions. This view is argued through highlighting the way in which 'Asian' and 'Muslim', in the Sun Newspaper, have become disoriented and blurred (Allen, 2010b). Thus, the absolute and acceptable hostility towards Islam indicates the discrimination upon and the rejection of Muslims from the social stream (Yilmaz, 2016, p. 21).

1.4.7. Criticisms of Muslim to ' the west' Refused not Considered

On the basis of Runnymede report, Muslims are in exclusion of being active participants in social civilized debates, dialogues and consultations (Allen, 2010b, p.73). Any criticisms made by Islam towards the west are rejected without any consideration or even consonantal reflection (Abbas, 2004; Allen, 2010b; Yilmaz, 2010). mainly those that are against liberalism, modernity, secularism (Allen, 2010b;Yilmaz, 2010).

1.4.8. Discourse of Anti-Muslim Viewed as Natural not Problematic

The anti-Muslim concept is considered to be as a natural and normal phenomenon (Abbas, 2004; Allen, 2010b; Yilmaz, 2010). Moreover, the " media are highlighted as being prone to this as indeed are 'Liberals' who the report suggest would normally campaign against such prejudices and discriminations if targeted at non-Muslims." (Allen, 2010b, p. 73).

1.5. Islamophobia in the British Context

Several commentators emphasizes upon the dramatical rise of Islamophobia in Britain since 9/11 (Moosavi, 2015, p. 46). After 11 September 2001 events, Islamophobia as well as its acknowledgment became more frequent and pre- dominant in British political and public settings. FAIK, IHRC and the Muslim News, for example, gathered files of evidence to the effects of 9/11 (Allen, 2010b).

On the basis of the findings of YouGov Poll, following this attack, the attitudes of British people towards Muslims are as the following:

- 84% of British people are suspicious about Muslims.
- 82% believe that were dramatically isolationist.
- 35% said that their opinion on British Muslims had gone down.
- 56% believed in the absent of any thing in common with Muslims.
- 63% suggested that Muslims rarely strengthening tolerance between themselves and others.
- One in six stated their 'disappointment' in case Muslims became their neighbours. (Allen, 2010b).

Moreover, lately, British Social Attitude Survey in 2010 suggested that 52% of participants believe that Britain is divided in depth into religious trends, and 45% of them believe in the negative influence of religious variety on society (Allen, 2010b, p. 84). In the same year, Exploring Islam Foundation survey have found that 40% of British adults feel that Muslims had not any positive impact on the British community, and half of the respondents linked them to the terrorism (Baker, Gabrielators, & McEnery, 2013, p. 2).

Furthermore, according to Allen (2010b) the events of 9/11 and also 7/7 have reestablished the idea of Muslims as delusive others. Therefore, British Muslims, as Sardar suggested, have been identified as "terrorists warring against the west or apologists defending Islam as a peaceful religion" (p. 86). In this way, all Muslims had haphazardly become characterized by negative and stereotypical qualities; either being terrorists or supportive of terrorists (p. 86).

Beyond this period, Islam and Muslims have been considered to be different from the bases and the way of life of British society. And this differences, according to the theories of Barker, is on the basis of culture and religion rather than colour (Allen, 2010b., Saeed, 2007). In this regard, Lamont's article (as cited in Allen, 2010b) concludes: "...becomes evident along the lines of new racist discourse where 'Islam' and 'Muslims' are seen to be incompatible with the dominant or perceived overriding culture and its heritage: that is, being 'British' and being 'us'" (Allen, 2010b, pp. 87-88).

British National Party sometimes called neo- Nazi British National Party (BNP) (Allen, 2010a., p. 224) exploited events of 9/11 and 7/7 to gain social and political legitimacy in order to affirm provocation and division using language and images that strength prejudice, discrimination (Allen, 2010b, p. 88) and fear (Allen, 2010a., p. 224). Nonetheless, the BNP has emphasised on the validity of its action referring that to the legislative anomaly which gave the chance to be directly anti-Muslim and anti- Islamic (Allen, 2010b, p.88).

BNP through its campaign, 'Islam out of Britain', stated objectives in which it wanted to display " the threat Islam and Muslims pose to Britain and British society" (as cited in Allen, 2010a; p. 224). Later on, its leaflet ' the truth about I. S. L. A. M. ' Where ' I. S. L. A. M.' was used as an acronym for "Intolerance, Slaughter, Looting, Arson and Molestation of Women". They see Islam as being a threat to their democracy, culture, values, and way of life (Allen, 2010b, p. 89; 2010a, p. 224).

1.6. Conclusion

This theoretical chapter discussed the origins of Islamophobia. The word firstly appeared in the writing 'accès de délire Islamophobe' (Islamophobic delusional access) by Etieme Dinet and Slima Ben Ibrahim in 1925. As the difficult Muslim socio-political experiences led to the emergence of the document of 'Muslim Manifesto: A strategy for Survival', it was also considered to be the notion of Islamophobia. It, then, provided the first definition of Islamophobia in history; to fear or dislike all or most Muslims, especially after the events of 9/11. In addition to that, this chapter included the features of Islamophobia in which static, otherness, inferiority, enemy and other expressions were explained. Finally, it shaded the light on the Islamophobia in the context of Britain where Muslims had considered to be culturally different and terrorists after the bombings of 7/7.

Chapter Two

Islamophobia in Britain: Causes and Effects

2.1. Introduction

The second theoretical chapter consists of two sections. The first section contains causes of Islamophobia which are four: Historical events; The Iranian Revolution and Satanic verses affair. Then social movements which provides Neoconservative movement, pro-war left and the new Atheists movements. In addition to 11 September 2001 events and the suicide bombings of 7 July 2005 that are considered as terrorist attacks. Ending with the Media and the dress of Muslim women. The second section ends up with the effects of Islamophobia that are discrimination, violence and social rejection in which discrimination in politics, against mosque and Islamic centres, towards Muslim organizations and discrimination by police are tackled. This chapter aims at clarifying and assessing the causes that led to both the emergence and the rise of Islamophobia in Britain, then pointing out its effects on Muslims.

2.2. Causes of Islamophobia

Islamophobia in Britain refers to numeral and different causes, including historical events, social movements, terrorist attacks, media, and Muslim women' dress (hijab).

2.2.1. Historical Events

The notions of the Orient as sensual, tyrannical, backward, a moral, aberrant, irrational and mysterious was more prominent in the last 20th century than that in the previous historical paradigmatic context, and the term 'the orient' had considered to some extent plus and misplaced (Allen, 2010b).

Furthermore, the use of appellations as political, militant and firstly 'fundamentalist' Islam, extremist and others has decreased a large number of the wide discourse and comprehending to what have a correlation only with political and military confrontation, and this is sub-categorised and showed through events as the outstanding condition in the Middle East or the 'War on Terror' (Allen, 2010b, p. 37).

2.2.1.1. The Iranian Revolution 1979

The Iranian Revolution was a very important event and indubitably integral to the ideas that have previously been made about Islam and Muslims in the west. It was a political and firstly a rhetorical resistance that has led by Ayatollah Khomeini against the Shah who, with British influence privy, declared for repealing the hijab and obligatory

wearing European clothes. The western interests in Iran remained protected during the Second World War and also the Cold War with Shah's son, Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlavi. Ayatollah believes that this continuity of the western influence was what advancing the Iran's subjugation to commercialism and secularism. From this point, he realized the necessity of the ideological fight and used a Marxist thoughts as a means for the purpose of defeating the 'Great Satan' which is America and its impact as well, and countering what was considered Islam's 'westoxification' (Allen, 2010b).

In this regard, Buckley (as cited in Allen, 2010b) writes that the unexpected fall of the Shah's regime astonished nearly all western observers. They became shocked (Abbas, 2004). In addition, the televised images of 3,000 Iranian students who stormed the American Embassy in Tehran, that were portrayed by an international television news networks, were the time when the conceptual threat of the recently rising Islam was bringing to the very epicentre of the west (Allen, 2010b).

The frequent views in the coverage of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, being Muslims as violent and barbaric was the same as it was before. Furthermore, the very contemporary suggestions, as little early Holiday view, was that London, in future, will be a Shariah state by 2025 or that Islam will drop the Christian Europe (Allen, 2010b).

Therefore, Muslims from this Islamic Revolution have become a notion of attention (Abbas, 2004, p. 31).

2.2.1.2. The Satanic Verses Affair

The Satanic Verses were one of the events in UK in 1989 that brought both the global and the local in dangerous process at the local setting. 1989 was the time when the conceptual and the physical space between Islam and the West was removed (Allen, 2010b).

The commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia considered the Satanic Verses affair as " one of the formative and defining events" (Allen, 2010b, p. 41) in forming the way Muslims and Islam have become known and understood. That was a result of Salman Rushdie's novel in 1988 which was considered by many as being structured on the basis of stories of the prophet, Muhammad, life. In this context, several Muslims construed the book as a blasphemous because of the identical storylines that denigrating Muhammad, his prophethood and wives . As a reaction, a huge number of Muslims and on the street of Bradford burnt book's copies (Allen, 2010b).

As a consequence, Khomeini issued a fatwa of the death of Rushdie (Allen, 2010b; Massoumi, Mills, & Miller, 2017). This fatwa, according to him, was targeted for all Muslims (Allen, 2010b).

On the Iranian radio in 14 February 1989 Khomeini (as cited in Allen, 2010b) informed all Muslims that :

The author of the novel, *The Satanic Verses*, which is against all of Islam, the prophet and the Qur'an, In addition to those who previously know about this production but have published it are convicted to death. He apostrophize on Muslims who are brave for implementing them when it is possible and wherever they may be (p. 42).

Following this event, according to Allen (2010b), the threat became much more closer, more real, by effect and more dangerous than in the past .

The exasperation about this book is the first turning point in the public perceptions of Islam and Muslims. That is to say that 57% in 1990 believed that the debate had negatively affected race relations in Britain. In addition to the deterioration of the relations of Britain with some Islamic countries due to Rushdie affair (Field, 2007, p. 451).

2.2.2. Social Movements

There are several movements that have helped in the rise of Islamophobia. Neoconservative movement, then Pro-war and New Atheists are three of them .

2.2.2.1. The Neoconservative Movement

According to Griffin, Miller, and Mills (2017) the neoconservative movement, that its neoconservatives are identifiable by the significant influence they had practiced in the administration of George W. Bush post 9/11 and their role in pushing for the conquest of Iraq in 2003, has a big role in the producing of Islamophobia in UK and other countries .

Since its arguments, about liberal statements relating to moral principle issues and the democracy deployment, are directed to elite publics rather than armies, Islamophobia is easily legitimated on the street (Griffin et al., 2017).

One of the centres of British neo-conservatism is the think tank Policy Exchange in 2002. Well known as 'favourite think tank' of David Cameron. Several reports have been published by Policy Exchange aiming at demonstrating evidence of extremism among British Muslims and apostrophizing on the government to sever any connection with some

individuals or groups ,in addition to the exception of its monitoring on Muslims. In one of its reports in 2007, for example, it claimed that 'extremist material' was existing in 25% of British mosques and called on these mosques to independent on 'greater regulation'. In this side, The BBC has exclusively found and shown an evidence of a number of receipts' says to support the fabricated findings of the report (Griffin et al., 2017).

Moreover, The Policy Exchange through 'Choosing Our Friends Wisely' report in 2009, apostrophized on the government to shift its policy from counter-terrorism to non-violent extremism. It clearly called for the processes of political counter-subversion through Britain's Secret Service. This calling has been considered to be as a " cold war on British Muslims" (Mills et al., as cited in Griffin et al., 2017, p. 224).

Policy Exchange, as an example, was a portion of a successful attempting by conservative tends and fundamentally by neoconservatives, in order to remodel counter-terrorism policy concerning the ideological war that was encouraged by the cold war, with the concentration of both political and cultural threats instead of security and public safety. The Counter-Terrorism and Security Act (2015) was compatible with the ideas of the British neoconservative think tanks. Thus, the neoconservative think tanks are trying to impact on the counter-terrorism policy of the government and own a relation with a number of negative consequences upon Muslims in the country (Griffin et al., 2017) .

Accordingly, the neoconservative movement has a significant role in the rise of both the ideas and practice of Islamophobia (Griffin et al., 2017).

2.2.2.2. The Pro-war left and The New Atheists

According to Massoumi et al. (2017) there are left and liberal groups and/or movements that have a fundamental role in Islamophobic politics. These social movements from above in the UK were a reaction to multiculturalism as a response to anti-racism; the Rushdie Affair; the early 'War on Terror' and the 2003 Iraq War; the domestic 'War on Terror' and the Prevent agenda following the London bombings of 2005.

2.2.2.2.1.The Pro-War left

Despite the wide range of opposition, according to a number of polls, of the UK public both liberals and lefts to the illegal 2003 Iraq invasion, some left dissenters have supported the warfare. These supporters and the contrariness to the anti-war movement led to the growth of new reactionary political alliances (Massoumi et al., 2017).

The pro-war dissenters comprised liberal supporters of 'humanitarian intervention' who considered that the US military as well as its allies force in the Global South could constrict political suppression and human rights violation there, and leftists who specified with a tradition of anti-totalitarianism and left internationalism. In addition to the proponents of 'regime change' in Iraq. Nick Cohen who is a journalist and author, and the Trotskyist intellectual Norman Geras were the most influential left supporters of the Iraq War in the UK (Massoumi et al., 2017).

Nick Cohen considered the absence of support from the other leftists to the conquest and occupation of Iraq as a sign of a deep political illness that "had set in the wake of the defeats of the radical left as well as the substantive gains won by more 'mainstream liberal-leftists' on civil rights" (as cited in Massoumi et al., 2017, p. 236). This what resulted, for Cohen, a confused and moral insolvent left to push "apologies for militant Islam" and the "fascistic governments and movements", and the "post-modern" advocates of oppressive practices in "traditional cultures"(as quoted in Massoumi et al., 2017, p. 236).

Thus, the pro-war left was, either more or less, uncertain of religion especially Islam (Massoumi et al., 2017).

2.2.2.2. The New Atheists

The New Atheists is pejorative term that was coined at the end of 2006, concerning a few number of anti-theist public intellectual who became notable in the initial period of the 'war on terror'. One of the most identifiable figure is the British evolutionary biologist Richard Dawkins who has written at that time a book under the title of 'The God Delusion' (Massoumi et al., 2017).

The New Atheists consider the religion as being a malign impact in the world that should be questioned politically and intellectually as well. They see it as a heritage of pre-scientific era that promote unreasonable thought, excuse illiberal ideas and practices and cause or at least raises violent discord (Massoumi et al., 2017).

2.2.3. Terrorist Attacks

In the twenty-first century, there were many terrorist attacks all over the world, which had an influence on international relations between countries. The following two attacks were considered as the most influencing ones.

2.2.3.1. Attacks of 11 September 2001 and the Suicide Bombings of 7 July 2005

Because of the events of 11 September 2001 and 7 July 2005, Muslim communities in UK affected negatively in poverty, youth identity, lack of employment, racism and anti-Muslim prejudice, still continuous issues, and effected the development of Muslim communities in the social side and on the relationship between state and Muslim communities (Mughal, 2017, p. 106).

Furthermore, the different causes that negatively have been affected Muslims in Britain following 9/11 and specifically post 7/7 includes rising in "the anti-terrorist measures, greater policing powers, racial and ethnic profiling in the criminal justice system ..." (Abbas, 2007, p. 292).

The following figure shows an increase in the debate around Muslims and Islam that happened in the UK after firstly the events of 9/11, then 7/7 which demonstrated the widest peak.

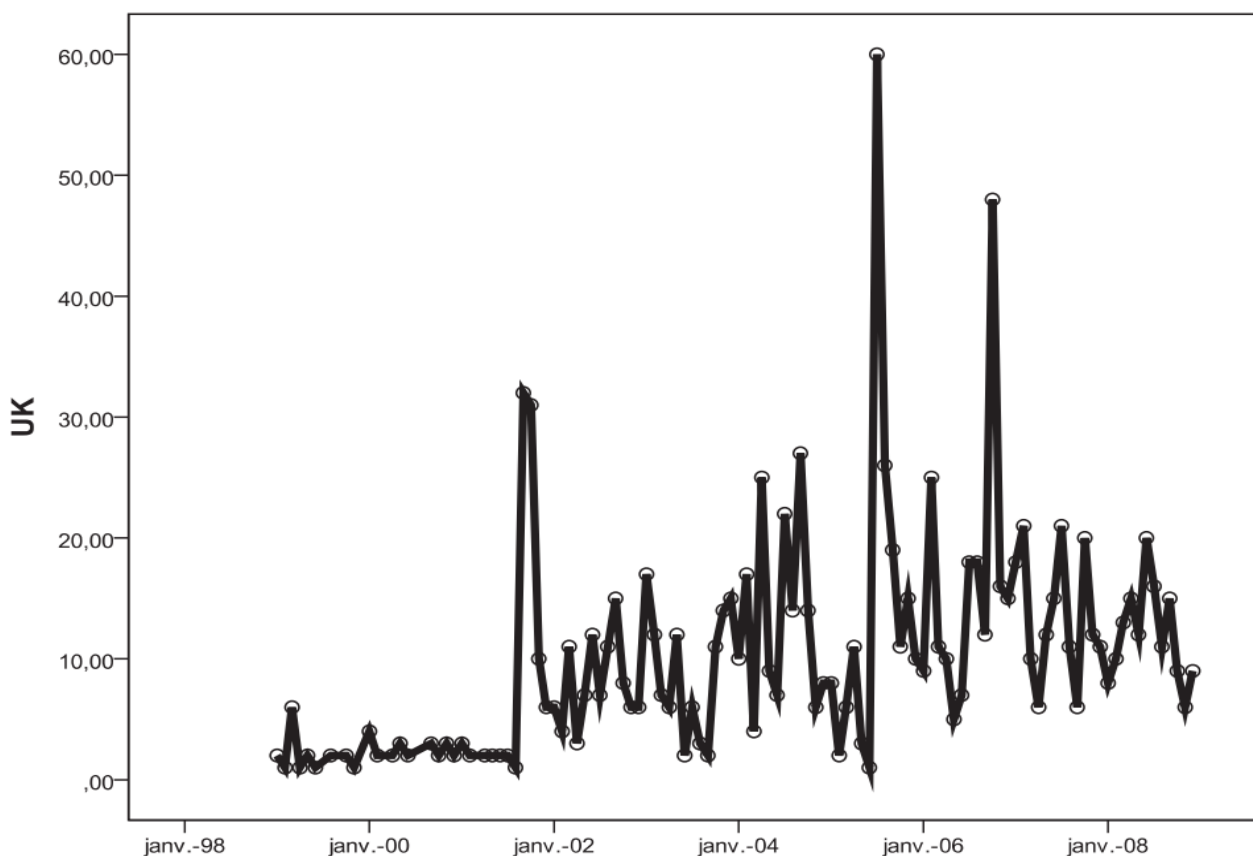


Figure 01: Number of political claims regard to Muslims or Islam in the UK per month in the period 1999_2009 (Vanparys, Jacobs, & Torreken, 2013, p. 213).

2.2.3.1.1. Attacks of 11 September 2001

9/11 was an attack on the public image of Muslim World Trade Centre and the Pentagon in USA in 11 September 2001(Esposito & Kalin, 2011; Jackson, 2018). Judge George B. Daniels, in one of his documents, assertively referred 9/11 attacks to Iran, Hezbollah, al-Qaeda and to many Iranian representatives. The 9/11 Commission Report in 2004 also emphasized upon the support of Iran and Hezbollah in some way to al-Qaeda (Shoebate & Barrack, 2013).

According to Poole (2011) 9/11 is one of the notions that have a role in forming the public image of Muslims. Following these global events, 9/11, Islamophobia saw apparent rise and one of the statistics of a YouGov poll shows that 84% of British people became more suspicious about Muslims (Allen, 2010b). Runnymede Trust in 2004 has also written that Islamophobia became a wide spread feature of British community (Esposito & Kalin, 2011).

since 9/11 a large number of ordinary politicians and media figures in the UK, unfortunately, have played a part in the untruthful and negative view of Muslims; being as terrorists, terrorist sympathisers, extremists and so on aiming at Islamification of the United Kingdom (Lambert & Githens-Mazer, 2010).

2.2.3.1.2. The Suicide Bombings of 7 July 2005

Summer of 2005 was a time when suicide bombings were executed by four British-resident Muslims on the London transport system and which resulted in the death of 52 innocent persons (Field, 2007). 7 July 2005 was a date that has shocked the UK (Mughal, 2017, p. 109). Several innocent Muslims were apprehended, questioned and freed without charge. This pattern continued even after the period of 7/7, especially when three of the four perpetrators of this suicide bombings were British-born Pakistanis (Abbas, 2007, p. 294).

The following number of polls show British attitudes towards Islam and Muslims in 2005. While 54% believe in the hate of Muslim extremists to democracy, and the way of life of the west; considering the use of these extremists to Iraq only as justification to their terrorist attacks, 72% linked between the participation of Britain in the warfare against Iraq in 2003 and its weakness in such an attack by Islamic terrorists (Field, 2007).

In addition to that, 68 per cent tented to the view that London bombings were contributed by imams and other Muslim leaders. Other statistics showed that 52% think that the limitation in speech freedom that was for the purpose of inhibiting the spread of radical Islamist standpoints was legitimate and natural (Field, 2007).

2.2.4. Media

According to Allen (2010b) it is argued that negative representation of Muslims and Islam were a component of all divisions of the media. A research findings suggested that 74% of Britons claim that they do not have any idea about Islam, and 64% of population claim that their knowledge is gained through the media. In addition to that European Union Monitoring Centre (EUMC) report concluded that "...despite there being no evidence to suggest otherwise, the media continue to play a major role in the formulation and establishment of popular perceptions in the public sphere" (as cited in Allen, 2010b, p. 96).

Moreover, a number of academic research refer to that newspapers have significant and well established influence on the public opinion. Lado (2006), as an example, showed that the negative representation of asylum seekers in the media had a direct as well as an immediate effect on readers' assumptions about asylum researchers (Baker, Gabrielatos, & McEnery, 2013, p. 5). With this, post 11 September 2001 more than 13 millions of national newspaper were daily boughten in Britain; The Times, Telegraph, Daily Mail and others added 2,5 million copies to their ordinary collection (Allen, 2010b).

Whittaker's research (2002) noted the unusual heightening in the number of articles that includes the word 'Muslim' (as cited in Saeed, 2007). The following schedule findings demonstrates more:

Newspaper	2000-2001	2001-2002	Percentage of increase
The Guardian	817	2,043	250%
The Independent	681	1,556	228%
The Times	535	1,486	278%
The Daily Telegraph	417	1,176	282%
Daily Mail	202	650	322%
Daily Mirror	164	920	561%
Daily Express	139	305	219%
The Sun	80	526	658%
Daily Star	40	144	360%

Table 01: Articles Containing the Word 'Muslim' (Saeed, 2007)

In this side, it is suggested that the preferred reading of these discourses indicates the 'otherness' of Muslims and/or Islam from the social stream. Whittaker (2002) suggested that Muslims are portrayed in the British press as being intolerant, misogynist, violent or cruel, at the same time, strange (as cited in Saeed, 2007). Either through photographs, other illustrations or text (Ramberg, 2004).

Runnymede Trust also described the reports of the media on Muslims and Islam in Britain as being biased and unfair (Esposito & Kalin, 2011).

Furthermore, Pool (as cited in Saeed, 2007; Pool, 2011) spoke about the image of Muslims in the British media and stated that "Muslims are a threat to British mainstream values and thus provoke integrative concerns; that there are inheritant cultural differences between Muslims and the host community which create tensions in interpersonal relations....".

In addition to that, Allen (2010b) mentioned that 12 national newspapers from 19 thoroughly portrays Islam and Muslims in a negative way, and 50% of total representations considered Muslims and Islam as a notion of threat. 84%, the majority, presented them as a cause of damage or danger.

On a specific sense, the strong Muslim women, who wear the hijab, according to Fatima Khan (as cited in Lambert & Githens-Mazer, 2010) in most cases are presented in negative way by Media which "...focused on just how timid and oppressed the Hijab/Niquab wearing population are" (p.64).

According to Abbas (2004) Muslims are always portrayed in violent language, concluding that even their movements are violent. He said that the Arabic words have been accredited into universal journalistic vocabulary that used new meaning that is extremist and aggressive one.

Therefore, the media, regrettably, had a considerable role in the rise of Islamophobia, since its coverage were dramatically Islamophobic (Ramberg, 2004).

2.2.5.Dress Of Muslim Women

One of the evidences that have been stressed in Abbas's research, which contributed to Islamophobia, is Hijab and the veil (Esposito & Kalin 2011).

Jack Straw, a government Minister, debated the clothing of the full veil and considered it as a psychological and practical obstacle to a better race relations as well as a notion of separation (Field, 2007).

Such statistics that agree with straw's view were in 2006; 59% in one and 53% in the other (field, 2007). The support of British Prime Minister, Tony Blair and a number of officials in the UK government to the statement of Straw have conduced, according to Muslim organisations, to the growth of abuses and attacks against the women that clothes the Muslim headscarves (Yilmaz, 2016).

2.3. Effects of Islamophobia

Islamophobia had and still many effects on the life of the Muslim community; Discrimination, violence against Muslims and social rejection tend to be its main consequences.

2.3.1. Discrimination, Violence and the Social Rejection

Islamophobia as Allen (2010b) said is in case of when someone is submitted to prejudice, discrimination or violence just on the ground of their Muslimness whether noticed or real. Even though Islamophobia is not new phenomenon, Muslims post 11 September 2001 in Europe, in general, faced a growing hostile atmosphere against them(Ramberg, 2004). Where in the UK after these events Muslims experience unprecedented grade of attacks and violence because of their Muslimness (Allen, 2010b). This hostility featured by uncertainty, inherent prejudice, ignorance. In addition to verbal and physical abuse in some situations (Ramberg, 2004). Thus, discrimination in any location like education, employment and housing, for certain, is an explicit consequence of Islamophobia phenomenon (Jackson, 2018).

Furthermore, the Muslim women dress, hijab, became a cause for being the women victims of Islamophobia practices (Ramberg, 2004).

The theory of discrimination has already occurred in the history, but now it holds distinct forms and aspects which basically demonizes communities, divides them, and reject totally human rights. In addition to the segregation of communities from the rest of the society. There are two forms to the discrimination: The open forms which includes the appearance of British National Party(BNP), increase in physical and verbal harassment, ethnic aggression and Arabizing Islam, the coverage of the media, and rising in the

processes of stop and search by police. The hidden forms, on the other hand, include discrimination in gaining a job, in educational articles, work refusals because of the dress, and access to financing (Ramberg, 2004, pp. 61-62).

In fact, there is a tremendous difference between a hate crime and discrimination. The latter is an activity that all people feel comfortable to engage in. The main point is that while engaging in a violent crime involves risk taking of the highest order, participation in discrimination activity entails law risks of sanction, i.e. discrimination is less risk taking activity. The latest activity is often called Islamophobic discrimination. For instance, Muslims are discriminated against in their neighborhoods, workplaces or in their engagements (Lambert & Githens-Mazer, 2010).

2.3.1.1. Discrimination in Politics

Muslims are the ones who greatly suffer from discrimination in all fields. As far as politics is concerned, Muslims ministers and parliamentarians confront, with a powerful lobby which argues forcefully against victim status for Muslims who face discrimination. In 2010, academics and activities held a meeting in the palace of Westminster to address the issue of Islamophobia and attempting to persuade parliamentarians to launch initiatives and an all party Parliamentary Commission on Islamophobia (Lambert & Githens-Mazer, 2010).

2.3.1.2 . Discrimination towards the Muslim Organizations

There has been political discrimination against Muslim organisations. For example, Policy exchange argued that government and police should put legitimacy aside to any Muslim organisation in the UK that base its political decision on Islam (Lambert & Githens-Mazer, 2010).

Therefore, Muslim organisations are unfairly treated by the government. To illustrate, both Muslim and Christian groups stern their principles from religious teachings and condemn homosexuality and yet demonstrate to treat their local gay communities with dignity and respect. Ironically, Muslim organisations have been stigmatised by the architects of Policy exchange policy, Godson and Moore. Stigmatisation is, without doubt, an acute form of discrimination. The latter often has influences on individuals and groups at the same time. One of the forms of Stigmatisation is to demonise Muslim organisations

and individuals as they represent threats and menaces to national security and social cohesion in the UK (Lamert & Githens-Mazer, 2010).

2.3.1.3. Discrimination towards the Mosques and Islamic Centres

Mosque and Islamic institutions in the UK have suffered from terrorist attacks since 9/11. Attacks contain fire bombings, vandalism, offensive attacks, serious attacks on staff, threatening and abuse. These attacks against mosques and Islamic institutions carried out by the help of the police in that evidence suggest that police actively discriminate against mosques and Islamic centers (Lambert & Githens-Mazer, 2010).

2.3.1.4. Discrimination by police

Muslims suffered from police discrimination in streets which led them to speak about an important and negative change in their interaction with some police officers. In many cases, Islamic dress becomes a contentious issue. Abdullah (as cited in Lambert & Githens-Mazer, 2010) continues " ...and I saw, you know, the high proportion that they were stopping two brothers with beards, people wearing religious attires, Islamic attires....the high proportion of people being stopped were Asian or people who looked Muslim..."(p. 141).

2.4. Conclusion

The second theoretical chapter was about the causes and the effects of Islamophobia in Britain. It started its discussion with the causes including historical events that were a turning point for Muslims in the public understanding. Then, social movements in which it helped in the rising of Islamophobia. The terrorist attacks that led Islamophobia to be not only ideas but also practice. In addition to the media which had the main role in spreading this negative image about Muslim and/or Islam. Finally, the Muslim women' dress was also a cause in making women victims of Islamophobia and caused many difficulties especially in the official locations. Moving to its effects; discrimination, violence and social rejection which involved on discrimination in politics, against Muslim organisations, against mosques and Islamic centres, and by police was the manifesto of Islamophobia.

Chapter Three

Islamophobia in Britain between Rejection and Reality

3.1 . Introduction

After discussing the two theoretical frameworks of the origins of Islamophobia and its causes and effects. This chapter deals with two sections; the first one tackles Islamophobia as a rejected term including a refused definition by the government and the community cohesion strategy, and the second section points out Islamophobia as a reality; drawbacks of community cohesion policy and a governmental policy (counterterrorism) are the two first evidences then, British political policies, where the British National Party (BNP) and English Defence League (EDL) are provided. Ends up with the project of Dudley mosque and Dudley News' letters. The chapter aims at investigating the existence of Islamophobia in Britain.

3.2. Islamophobia as a Rejected Term

Two official decisions represent the rejection of Islamophobia in Britain, including governmental refusing to a definition of Islamophobia and the policy of community cohesion.

3.2.1. Refused Definition of Islamophobia by the Government

There has been a definition made by all-party parliamentary group (APPG); stating "Islamophobia is rooted in racism and is a type of racism that targets expressions of Muslimness or perceived Muslimness" (as quoted in Douglass-Williams, 2019, Para. 1; " Government rejects Islamophobia definition ahead of debate", 2019, Para. 4) .which refers the phenomenon of Islamophobia to racism. However, the conservative party in both England and Wales refused the adaptation of this definition for a number of reasons; that it could negatively affect the freedom of speech and limit the rightful criticism of either Islam as a system of belief or Islamic countries (Douglass-Williams, 2019)

In this respect, a government spokesperson claimed by the complete unacceptability of any hatred towards British Muslims or others on the basis of the faith and heritage (" Government Rejects Islamophobia Definition Ahead of Debate", 2019, Para. 2).

3.2.2. Community Cohesion Policy

Community cohesion was fundamental to the approach of government inhibiting social disturbance after the northern uprisings in 2001. It is a strategy that has used a program of prevention, which fosters understanding and communication between

contrastive communities and puts values that would unite them, in order to avoid any violent rise in future (Jackson, 2018, pp. 35-36).

The report of the Local Government Association in 2002, 'Guidance on community cohesion', has defined a cohesive community as "one which had a common vision and sense of belonging, where people's diverse backgrounds and circumstances were positively valued, and where strong and positive relationships were developed" (Jackson, 2018, p. 36). Which means that cohesive community is when the community shares one identity and when there is a culture of cohabitation among their people.

Community cohesion focus were on the management of diversity for the aim of promoting a common sense of belonging, Britishness, at the national level, and on heightening communication among ethnic groups at the local one (Kassimeris & Jackson, 2012).

Concerning retrospective period, New labour service and policies concentrating on deprivation and poverty , which could be considered inclusive policies, were the shared theme of several Asian respondents, in terms of both their ethnic and British identity . As an evidence, a 35 years old man named Matloob says:

The government relation with the Asian community were extremely good throughout the country, as in the health centres, the hospitals and the schools. they were able to both integrate and fit in because of the government . He sensed the feeling that this country was as if it was his home and that people respected the disparateness and were not intimidated of it (as cited in Ahmed, 2018, para. 2).

The preservation of equality and the encouragement of society to a common identity, Britishness, were the state's role concerning racism, but with the account of diversity, Blair stated " Christians, Jews, Muslims, Sikhs and other faiths have a perfect right to their own identity and religion, to practice their faith and to conform to their culture. This is what multicultural, multi-faith Britain is about" (as quoted in Ahmed, 2018, para. 8). It means that non-British people have the freedom to practice their religion and way of life.

Nasrin, who is 25 years old woman, says:

Multiculturalism was not only a continued talk but truly a done and pride in the government, the media and all the country. There was a realization that good to be existed in such a country which is full of variety, where each group own its rightful setting and is appreciated in (as cited in Ahmed, 2018).

In relation to the freedom and religious identity, Matloob said that there was not any necessity to the law because they were free to practice their religion, to open a mosque or charitable organization and to do what they wanted. In addition to the sense of belonging... (Ahmed, 2018).

3.3. Islamophobia as a Real Phenomenon

The following governmental policies and political practices in addition to the refused project of the mosque in Dudley reveal the real existence of Islamophobia in Britain.

3.3.1. Community Cohesion Policy Drawbacks

Since the process of forming the concept, community cohesion, was derived from ignorance, suspicious and hostility between culturally predefined societies, it has overlooked significant and contributory factors, and has also changed the emphasize to cultural practices relating to complicated communities. Muslims, therefore, became seen as, in particular, hard to integrate, and mainly own the responsibility of lives of parallelism. In addition to that, requires the interfering of the state that would force them out of their alienation (Jackson, 2018).

Claire Alexander (as cited in Kassimeris & Jackson, 2012) emphasized this discourse was directed to Muslims since they needed further reformation, and the Home Secretary David Blunkett's speech is an evidence to this. On December 2001 Blunkett's stated that " ...communities needed social cohesion as well as social justice. Today's reports show that too many of our towns and cities lack any sense of civic identity or shared values" (as quoted in Kassimeris & Jackson, 2012, para. 5). That is to say, he blames the disintegration and emphasizes upon the necessity of both the social cohesiveness and justice among the communities as a solution. Even though Blunkett's did not mention Muslim communities, he could upbraid them by making nativeness as

contingent based on the necessity of speaking English and opposing the practices that have excluded women as a societal duty (Kassimeris & Jackson, 2012).

This policy, community cohesion, has upbraided Muslims for their alienation and considered the assumed failure to integrate a threat to "a unified 'British' identity" (Kassimeris & Jackson, 2012, para. 1).

3.3. 2. Governmental Policy

One of the policies that have negatively affected Muslims and was the manifestation of Islamophobia is the discourse of counterterrorism.

3.3.2.1. The Discourse of Counter–Terrorism

Counter–terrorism is a strategy called CONTEST . It is made up of Pursue, Protect, Prepare, and Prevent (Qureshi, 2017; Heath-Kelly, 2012). Pursue aims at detecting, exploring and prosecuting terrorism; Protect focused on safe guarding both infrastructure, overcrowded spaces and transport system; Prepare aims to reinforce the reaction of the emergency services; The Prevent area concerned with stopping people from both joining terrorism and encouraging sever extremism (Heath-Kelly, 2012). CONTEST, in other words, aims at preventing violent extremism, preparing the UK for and protecting it from any terrorist threat, and pursuing terrorists (Bonino, 2016).

The regulations and articles of this discourse were under a number of legislative proceedings as the Terrorism Act 2000, The Anti-Terrorism Act Crime and Security Act 2001. In addition to the Prevention of Terrorism Act 2005, the Terrorism Act 2006, the Counter- Terrorism Act 2008, the Terrorism Prevention and Investigating Measures Act 2011, The Protection of Freedoms Act 2012, The Data Retention and Investigatory Powers Act 2014, and the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act 2015 (Bonino, 2016).

The Terrorism Act 2000 included on forbidding the groups that are designated terrorists, incriminating those groups over even the non-violent activity and arresting anyone sensibly suspected to be implicated in terrorist activity without devolution. The Anti-Terrorism Crime and Security Act 2001 stipulated on arresting foreign citizens suspected their implication with terrorism without any charge or trial. The Prevention of Terrorism Act 2005 concerned with extending powers in order to proscribe groups, enacting on control order to arrest, without trial, foreign nationals and British citizens alike

and presenting new irregularities that provokes terrorism and publicizes its national, (Kassimeris & Jackson, 2012) .

The era of the 'war on Terror' of the UK terrorism policies was not because of 9/11 attack and Terrorism Act (TA) 2000, which was a replacement to the Prevention of Terrorism Act 1974, is an evident to that . (Qureshi, 2017).

CONTEST was evolved in The Home Office in 2003 but became publicly functioning only in 2006, then Was revised in both 2009 and 2011, with the aim of more distant modernization in 2016 "through a new National Security Council (NSC) committee on Counter –Terrorism, chaired by Prime Minister" (as quoted in Bonino, 2016, p. 225).

Counter– Terrorism policy is a structural violence format, in which an interdependent system serves for the reinforcement of threats, scaring and coercion (Qureshi, 2017). It has culturalised politics by making the 'Islamic terrorist' enemy as being an undomestic threat to both integrity and the nation existence (Jackson, 2018) .

According to Kassimeris and Jackson (2012) counterterrorism have considered Muslim culture "as particularly prone to extremism and existentially threatening to the security of Britain". Dysfunctionality of Muslim culture, Therefore, turned into a maximal illustrative discourse which regards both the local civil disturbance and international terrorism without the tackle of the difficult unfair racist problems, and the local and foreign policies that work on fostering the complaints. As Arun Kundnani words " to be 'Muslim' in the ' War on terror ' is to belong to a group with common origins, a shared culture and a monolithic identity that can be held collectively responsible for terrorism, segregation and the failure of multicultural Britain" (as quoted in Kassimeris & Jackson, 2012, para. 1). which indicates the link between Muslims and terrorism that have been made by such a policy and which resulted several difficulties.

Furthermore, the British government has widely been criticized by literature via the critical field, concerning sociology, criminology and security studies for directing its net to target not only terrorist groups but also Muslim communities and for stigmataizing and segregating only Muslims Through the wide monitoring. In addition to the furtherance of social cleavages, on the general sense, between 'us' and 'Them' being 'us' The modern liberal British who inhabit a "society' under attack" (Hickman et al., 2011, as cited in

Bonino, 2016, p. 226). 'Them' is Muslims who are graver and fundamentalist (Bonino, 2016).

In this sense, the counter terrorism nexus is a personification of Islamophobia, as a kind of racism (Qureshi, 2017, p. 75). Massoumi et al. (2017) also considered the UK state and "more specifically the sprawling official 'counter-terrorism' apparatus, to be absolutely central to production of contemporary Islamophobia –The backbone of anti-Muslim racism" (p. 75).

3.3.3. British Political Practices

Islamophobia considered also to be manifested through a number of socio-political members as BNP and EDL.

3.3.3.1. The British National Party

The British National Party is a far right party . Sometimes calling it neo-Nazi British National Party (BNP). It was the most effective party in exploiting the view of being Muslims and Islam a real and explicit threat to their culture, values, institutions and way of life, for political currency (Allen, 2010a).

It viewed Muslims as racial 'other' who do not own the "white Anglo-Saxon 'liberal gene'" That would genetically prepare the British to liberal as well as democratic culture, it depicted the 2005 London bombings as "genocidal race attaches by immigrant Islamic Faxists against White Christian British people..." (as quoted in Jackson, 2018, p. 91). The party's suggestions to close the borders, to terminate immigration, and to make a deporting and repealing program to multiculturalism as a solution to the Islamic terrorism issue, revealed its tendency to the ethical purity (Jackson, 2018). It means that Muslims genetically or in other words naturally terrorism; they do not have any civil traits because of their parents in contrast to British people.

Because of 9/11 attacks, The BNP post northern disturbances began its campaign named ' Islam out of Britain' revealing the intimidation of Islam and Muslims towards Britain and British society alike as obvious objectives . BNP then openly has publicized a leaflet called ' The Truth about I.S.L.A.M' where I. S. L. A. M stands for " Intolerance, Slaughter, Looting, Arson and Molestation of Women" (Allen, 2010a, p. 224).

Two other leaflets were produced by BNP; the first presented a demolish structure to the bus in Tavistock Square . decorated by message calling 'we told you so' and its end was by 'May be now it's time to start listening to BNP' (Allen, 2010a). The second leaflet was in the beginning of 2006, including one of the cartoons of Prophet Muhammad from the newspaper of Danish Jyllands-Posten beside a picture of a cartoons-inspired objection in London, in which extreme contemptible nameplates outrage violence towards those who offended Islam were held by definitely aggressive looking group of young British Muslims (Allen, 2010a).

3.3.3.2. The English Defence League (EDL)

The English Defence League (EDL) emerged in 2009 in Luton as a group of anti-Islamist street protestation (Jackson, 2018). It is a far-right ultraist group which was led by Stephen Lennon who is well-known as Paul Harris and Tommy Robinson (Mughal, 2017, p. 112). It could engage thousands to its national attestation. Although EDL's protest to be an organization of anti-racist human rights that was devoted to maintain the liberal freedom (Kassimeris & Jackson, 2014). It employs an evolved cultural discourse for denying Islam as a sociological barrier to accommodation, in which Muslims are considered to be acutely different from the rest immigrant communities in the UK. It suggested to introduce the truest facts relating to Islam to the public, and stressed the responsibility of Muslims to reform their religion as solution to the Islamic terrorism issue (Jackson, 2018).

The EDL, particularly, propagates popular stereotypes about Muslims across their arguments; being Muslims as " inherently violent; lie and cannot be trusted; want to covertly or overtly spread Shar'ia Law in the UK; are sexual predators...; and simply want to outbreed the ' indigenous' white population" (Mughal, 2017, p. 98).

Concerning the EDL News, there were 86 articles which tackled Muslims and or Islam from the whole number of publication; 117. Its three periodical themes: Firstly, Muslims being uniquely problematic, where they are seen as violent, anti-democratic propensity, hatred of the west and so on. Then, Muslims' behaviors viewed to be inherent, where the Qur'an is seen as a notion of Muslims' problems such as terrorism and extremism. In the last theme Muslims were considered to be responsible for their religion amendment, in which the EDL emphasizes on the idea that Muslims own the responsibility of correcting their religion, Islam, in order to be more passable (Jackson, 2018) .

In short, the EDL, to a large extent, has contributed to Islamophobia through the cultural differentiation that it has claimed, and the impact on the public sphere by its news themes.

3.3.4. The Project of Dudley Mosque and Dudley News' Letters

British Muslims had a project to establish a mosque in Dudley, but faced many objections from different directions such as the BNP and Dudley News.

3.3. 4. 1. The Project of Dudley Mosque

It was a project made by the Dudley Muslim Association (DMA) as a result of the insufficiency of subsistent mosques' utilities and the decreased number of worshippers (Reeves, Abbas, & Pedroso, 2009). The association obtained unfrequented land on Hall Street in 1999, after a number of ground swaps with the council, in order to construct a mosque and community centre in Dudley which is a societal town in the west Midlands that had. 45% of Muslims (Kassimeris & Jackson, 2012).

However, after the events of 11 September 2001, the community centre was disengaged from the mosque to be utilized by every member of the community for the purpose of fostering integration and understanding. In 2001 the project's plans were started. Khurshid Ahmed, who is the head of the association, stated "it is meant to be a celebration of our heritage and Christianity and Judaism are part of that heritage. we believe this will be the first mosque in the world to have half- Christian and half- Muslim architecture. we are very proud of that" (as quoted in Kassimeris & Jackson, 2012, para.2). This project, however, has locally faced a rising objections due to the campaigns of both the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) and the British National Party (BNP). Concerning the UKIP. Malcolm Davis made a petition that was signed by 22, 000 person opposing the building of the mosque and commented that the wants of their Christian society could not be catered by community building subjoined to a mosque (Kassimeris & Jackson, 2012).

It was also said that this mosque would seriously cause traffic overcrowding. In the end, The planning implementation was disapproved by the Council since the mosque's location was on lands appointed for the purpose of industrial use (Reeves, Abbas, & Pedroso, 2009).

3.3.4.2. Dudley News' letters

Dudley News is a local newspaper which own a popularity of more than 30. 000. Through Dudley Mosque's research, 160 letters were produced; Thirty from those letters involves three or more utilizes the terms Islam or Muslims (Kassimeris & Jackson, 2012).

Threat and Blame were the current themes that utilized. Muslims were seen as a violent and specially a terrorist as well as a threat to national identity because of their opposition and lack of accommodation, and blamed for their responsibility of other Muslims practices, and self-segregation as well, "...we are living in an era where so called Muslims will commit mass murder and suicide in order to make this world Islamic using whatever means they can get hold of " (as quoted in Kassimeris & Jackson, 2012, para, 2). That is to say, Muslims could be terrorists just for the purpose of spreading Islam.

In one of the Dudley News' letters, it was alleged that in case the mosque was built, it will be a sign, to the non-Muslims, of Muslims' domination on the territory, then town till country (Kassimeris & Jackson, 2012).

Accordingly, Dudley mosque is a refused project by the socio-political members as the British National Party and the Dudley News, which basically contributed to its rejection by the Council.

3.4. Conclusion

Practical elements were discussed in this chapter. It went throughout two main cases; Islamophobia as a refused term and as a real phenomenon. The first case tackled a parliamentary parties' definition that was rejected by the government, and the policy of community cohesion which aimed at promoting a united identity, Britishness. The second case pointed out three sections: The first one discussed the drawbacks of community cohesion discourse, in which the strategy is considered to be targeted only Muslims for their alienation then, a governmental policy; counterterrorism discourse which handled not only the terrorists but also Muslims and promoted the differentiation between Muslims and non-Muslims in Britain. Then the British political practices, BNP and EDL, that had a negative role in Islamophobia through the protestations and productions. The last section was the project of Dudley mosque that was refused by the council and Dudley News' letters which led to this refusing through its abetting against the mosque and Muslims.

General Conclusion

The present dissertation, *Islamophobia in Britain: Causes and effects*, attempted to describe and clarify the phenomenon of Islamophobia which marked an increase in all over the world, particularly in Britain. This phenomenon has affected negatively upon Muslims and the image of Islam. For that, the current study aimed at investigating the causes that have led to the emergence and, in particular, the rise of Islamophobia in Britain. At the same time, it aimed at casting the light on the consequences of this phenomenon on the daily life of Muslims as the discrimination in jobs and education.

The current study was organized into three chapters; two theoretical and one practical. After we introduced Islamophobia in the first theoretical part; by giving its definition, features and history. We spoke about its causes and effects in the British community. The practical chapter concluded with a comparison between the rejection of Islamophobia and its real existence, where the British government refused its definition and presented a policy of community cohesion. On the other hand, Islamophobia as reality was very clear in the governmental policy, British political practices, and in the case of Dudley mosque.

At the end, after investigating and discussing the causes and effects of Islamophobia through the collected data relating to several statistics about British public opinions and focusing on official policies, political practices and events happened in history from various sources (books, articles), we revealed that the issue of Islamophobia in Britain referred to several causes, as the social movements, historical events, terrorist attacks particularly, 9/11 and 7/7 events which had dramatical role in growing the phenomenon of Islamophobia in Britain and the media that has played a dominant role in affecting the British people and the government and where Muslims are represented negatively and considered other, difficult to integrate, their culture not compatible with the British one and terrorists. In addition to the women dress (hijab), and several effects as discrimination in all its shapes, violence and the political and social rejection towards Muslims which ensure the real existence of Islamophobia.

Thus, based on our hypotheses, Islamophobia in Britain has considerable causes and effects, and it is a reality there. Even though there were two points indicates Islamophobia as denial, like the policy of community cohesion, they were theoretical rather than practical procedures, and after known events as 7/7, this policy was abolished.

For a new and good Islamic image in future, Muslim organizations and even Muslims in Britain are required to use various strategies, forums, awareness campaigns that would define and clarify the real Islam and Muslims and their rejection of terrorism and violence in all its forms in order to impact the public perspective. Muslim organizations need also to emphasize upon the different movements that were made against terrorism and which included British people and Muslims alike.

References

- Abbas, T. (2004). After 9/11: British south Asian Muslims, Islamophobia, multiculturalism, and the state. *American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, 21(3), 26-38. Retrieved from <https://scholar.google.com>
- Abbas, T. (2007). Muslim minorities in Britain: Integration, multiculturalism and radicalism in the post-7/7 period. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 28(3), 287-300. doi: 10.1080/07256860701429717.
- Allen, C. (2010a). Fear and loathing: The political discourse in relation to Muslims and Islam in the British contemporary setting. *Politics and Religion*, vol. 4, 221-236. Retrieved from <https://www.researchgate.net>
- Allen, C. (2010b). *Islamophobia*. England, UK : Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- Ahmed, S. (2018, November 7). British Muslims perceptions of social cohesion: From multiculturalism to community cohesion and the 'war on terror'. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 1-15. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10611-018-9804-9>
- Baker, P., Gabrielatos, C., & McEnergy, T. (2013). *Discourse analysis and media attitudes: The representation of Islam in the British press 1998-2009*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. Retrieved from <https://www.researchgate.net>
- Bonino, S. (2016). The British state 'security syndrome' and Muslim diversity: Challenges for liberal democracy in the age of terror. *Cont Islam*, 10(2), (pp. 223-247). Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11562-061-0356-4>.
- Catto, R. (2017). Islam in Europe and the Amman Message. In M. Hardy., F. Mughal., & S. Markeiwicz(Eds.). *Muslim identity in aturbulent age: Islam extremism and Western Islamophobia* (pp. 64-97). London, England: Jessia Kingsley Publishers.
- Douglass-Williams, C. (2019, May 16). *UK u- turn: Government rejects working definition of "Islamophobia" because it would "restrict legitimate criticism of islam"*. Retrieved from <https://www.jihadwatch.org>
- Esposito, J. L., & Kalin, I. (Eds.). (2011). *Islamophobia: The challenge of pluralism in the 21st century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Retrieved from <https://books.google.dz>

- Field, C. D. (2007, October 15). Islamophobia in contemporary Britain: The evidence of the opinion polls, 1988-2006. *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, 18(4), 447-477. <https://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09596410701577282>.
- Griffin, T., Miller, D., & Mills, T. (2017). The Neoconservative movement Think Tanks as elite elements of social movements from above. In N. Massoumi., T. Mills., & D. Miller(Eds). *What is Islamophobia?: racism, social movements and the state*(pp. 215-233). London, England: Puto Press.
- Government rejects Islamophobia definition ahead of debate.* (2019, May 15). Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-48283337>.
- Heath-Kelly, C. (2013). Counter-terrorism and the counterfactual: Producing the 'radicalization' discourse and the UK Prevent strategy. *The Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 15(3), 394-415. Retrieved from <https://scholar-google.com>.
- Islam. (2019). In Oxford English Dictionary. Retrieved from <https://en.oxford> Dictionaries.com/definition/islam.
- Jackson, L. B. (2018). Good and bad Muslims in Britain: Community cohesion and counterterrorism discourse. *Islamophobia in Britain: The making of a Muslim enemy*(1st ed., pp. 31-58). Springer Nature.
- Kassimeris, G., & Jackson, L. (2012, May 8). British Muslims and the discourses of dysfunction: Community cohesion and counterterrorism in the West Midlands. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2012.684970>.
- Kassimeris, G., & Jackson, L.(2014, January 20). The ideology and discourse of the English Defence League: 'Not racist, not violent, just no longer silent'. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-856x.12036>.
- Lambert, R., & Githens-Mazer, J. (2010). Islamophobia and anti-Muslim hate crime: UK studies 2010 (1st ed.). UK: European Muslim Research Centre and University of Exeter.
- Moosavi, L. (2015). The racialization of Muslim converts in Britain and their experiences of Islamophobia. *Critical Sociology*, 41(1), 41-56. doi:10.1177/0896920513504601.

- Mughal, F. (2017). Islam in the United Kingdom and the impact of the Amman message. In M. Hardy., F. Mughal., & S. Markiewicz(Eds.). *Muslim identity in a turbulent age : Islamic extremism and Western Islamophobia* (pp. 98-109). London, England: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.
- Massoumi, N., Mills, D., & Miller, D. (2017). Liberal and left movements and the rise of Islamophobia. In N. Massoumi., T. Mills., & D. Miller(Eds.). *What is Islamophobia?: Racism, social movements and the state* (pp.234-267). London, England: Puto Press.
- Pool, E. (2011). Change and continuity in the representation of British Muslims before and after 9/11: The UK context. *Global Media Journal*. 4(2). 49-62. Retrieved from <https://scholar.google.com>
- Qureshi, A. (2017). The UK counter-terrorism matrix: Structural racism and the case of Mahdi Hashi. In N. Massoumi., T. Mills., & D. Miller(Eds.). *What is Islamophobia?: Racism, social movements and the state* (pp. 74-96). London, England: Puto Press.
- Ramberg, I. (2004). Islamophobia and its consequences on young people: European Youth Centre Budapest, 1-6 June 2004. Council of Europe.
- Reeves, F., Abbas, T., & Pedroso, D. (2009, November 24). The Dudley mosque project: A case of Islamophobia and local politics. *The Political Quarterly*, vol. 80, No. 4. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-923X.2009.02048.x>.
- Saeed, A. (2007, October 9). Media, racism and Islamophobia: The representation of Islam and Muslims in the media. *Sociology Compass*, 1(2), 443-462. doi.10.1111/j.1751-9020.2007.00039.x.
- Shryock, A. (Ed.). (2010). *Islamophobia/ islamopholia: Beyond the politics of enemy and friend*. Indian University Press.
- Shoebat, W., & Barrack, B. (2013). *The case for Islamophobia: Jihad by the Sword; America's final warning*(1st ed.). New York, NY: Top Executive Media.
- Vanparys, N., Jacobs, D., & Torrekens, C. (2013). The impact of dramatic events on public debate concerning accommodation of Islam in Europe. *Ethnicities*. 13(2), 209-228. Retrieved from <https://scholar.google.com>

Yilmaz, I. (2016). The nature of Islamophobia: Some key features. In D. Pratt., & R. Woodlock(Eds.). *Fear of Muslims?: International perspectives Islamophobia* (pp. 19-29). Switzerland: Springer.

المخلص

تشهد ظاهرة الإسلاموفوبيا تزايدا كبيرا في العالم أجمع وخاصة بريطانيا. حيث أصبح الإسلام مفهوما يرمز للإرهاب، و مرتبطا بوجهات نظر سلبية تجاه الإسلام و المسلمين على وجه الخصوص. انطلاقا من اعتبار الإسلاموفوبيا ظاهرة حقيقية ، تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى توضيح و تحليل أسبابها، و تقصي مدى تأثيرها على صورة الإسلام و المسلمين في بريطانيا. كما تسعى إلي إثبات حقيقة وجودها في المجتمع البريطاني. وبغية بلوغ هذه الأهداف، اعتمد البحث على المنهج الوصفي بتقديم تعريفات و شروح متضمنة في الفصل الأول و الثاني ، إضافة إلى المنهج التاريخي في الفصل الثالث المعتمد في تقصي السياسات الحكومية و الممارسات السياسية من واقع المجتمع البريطاني. و قد أظهرت الدراسة أن للإسلاموفوبيا أسبابا متعددة ومختلفة و أثارا واضحة و جلية مما يؤكد حقيقة وجودها في بريطانيا.

الكلمات المفتاحية: أسباب و نتائج الإسلاموفوبيا، اسلاموفوبيا، بريطانيا، الإسلام، المسلمين