# *Rethinking Islamophobia: A Transnational Crisis of Identity for the Potential Terrorist*

Benjamin Okezie Kalu and Amarachukwu Onyinyechi Ijiomah*

*Abstract— This paper explores the complex dynamics of Islamophobia as it relates to the construction of the "potential terrorist" identity. Islamophobia, driven by media narratives, political discourse, and global security concerns, often labels Muslims as inherent threats, reinforcing the stereotype of the "potential terrorist." This stigmatization creates a transnational identity crisis for Muslims, particularly those who feel marginalized or alienated by society's perceptions. The paper critically examines how this identity crisis can push individuals towards radicalization by exacerbating feelings of isolation, distrust, and hostility toward systems that vilify them. By analyzing the historical roots of Islamophobia and the role of global events such as 9/11 and the subsequent "war on terror," the paper argues that the branding of Muslims as potential terrorists is a socio-political construct. Drawing on scholarly insights, the paper underscores the need to rethink these narratives, as they fail to address the underlying causes of terrorism, such as political grievances, socio-economic disenfranchisement, and Western foreign interventions in the Muslim world. The paper further investigates how global policies, surveillance, and media portrayals reinforce the "potential terrorist" identity, often leading to discrimination, racial profiling, and even violent backlash against Muslim communities. In response, the paper advocates for a reevaluation of security discourses and calls for approaches that prioritize deconstructing Islamophobic stereotypes, promoting inclusivity, and addressing the legitimate grievances that may drive some individuals towards extremist ideologies.*

**Keywords**: Islamophobia, terrorism, transnational identity crisis, media representation, globalisation.

1 Independent Researcher.

2* Faulty of Law, University of Calabar, Nigeria

## INTRODUCTION

When someone hears the word "terrorist", what comes to mind? A turban-wearing man? Brown skin and long beard? Women in niqab or hijab? Migrants from the Middle East? A refugee? "Terrorism is a complex term that evokes fear. It is a politically charged phrase that conjures up thoughts of mass murders, suicide bombs, and planes crashing into buildings (Nyarks, 2006; Nyarks, 2012). The attacks of 11 September 2001 and the discourses that followed crystalised this motif of Islamic terrorists in the collective imagination. The unprecedented attacks of 9/11 caused the loss of many American lives and left many more feeling vulnerable and exposed, not only in the USA but all across the western world. Terrorism has since become a term often used by the media, politicians, and security agencies. This chapter discusses the definition of the term "terrorism" and how its use has resulted in it being associated primarily with acts of violence perpetrated in the name of Islam. This chapter tries to answer some basic questions: What is terrorism? What exactly do we mean by terrorism? Did terrorism actually started after the 9/11 attacks? Or a new form of conflict carried out by globalisation? There is little agreement on the actual definition of the phenomenon, or ways to understand it. Alex Schmid (2011), a scholar of terrorism studies and Officer-in-Charge of the Terrorism Prevention Branch of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (1999-2005), analysed fifty terrorist phenomena in the 1980s to establish similarities and arrive at an exhaustive definition of terrorism. He concluded that there was no unanimity or singular form of terrorism.

Anti-Muslim sentiments are on the rise around the world, arising out of suspicion and fear of Islam and its followers, and exacerbated by the stoking of these fears by politicians and others seeking to exploit them to service their own agendas (Nyarks, 2022; Nyarks, et al., 2022). The term Islamophobia is used to understand this fear of the Muslim community and Islam's religion. It attempts to explain the phenomenon of Islamophobia that has put the Muslim world into the spotlight of transnational politics and its adverse impact on contemporary Muslim identities. It investigates the factors enabling the spread of anti-Muslim sentiments, its impact on the lives of Muslim peoples, and ways in which this can be countered.

## UNDERSTANDING ISLAMOPHOBIA

### *Historical Background and Etymology*

The terminology of Islamophobia has evolved over the last two decades. With etymological roots in the French language, the term describes hatred and suspicion towards Islam (Mirza 2019; Cesari 2014). The term "Islamophobia" first appeared in French in the early twentieth century, when scholars Étienne Dinet (b.1861-1929) used it in his books "The Pilgrimage to the Sacred House of Allah" (1930), a travelogue, and "The Orient Seen from the Occident" (1922) He discusses his role as an artist during the colonial period and his political and religious activities in Algeria during colonial rule after 1884. He lived in Algeria for many years and later converted to Islam in 1913. His book, completed in 1916 and dedicated to the memory of Muslim troops in the French

army killed in the First World War, offers a criticism of how French colonial officials saw the cultures of Burkina Faso, Mali, Benin, Côte d"Ivoire, Mauritania, Guinea, Senegal and Niger. Dinet believed that friendship between Europe and Islam wouldensure world peace but argued that "the entire interpretation of Islamic traditions is made in bad faith and is based on a biased selection of traditions that conform more easily tothe preconceived image of Islam" (Karaoglu 2018, p. 3 & 11).

There are several definitions of Islamophobia. These are;

1. A mindset or worldview that is based on an erroneous hatred and fear of Muslims,resulting in exclusionary and discriminatory practises (Runnymede Commission 1997);
2. Hostility or prejudice against Muslims; a strong dislike or fear of Islam, particularly as a political force (Oxford Dictionary n.d);
3. A type of bigotry and intolerance stoked by fear, mistrust, and hatred towards Islam and its believers. Racism, xenophobia, anti-immigrant sentiments, and religious intolerance are all manifestations of hatred against fellow human beingson grounds of colour, religion or citizenship (Balkan 2010).

The term "Islamophobia" gained currency after being referred in a report in 1997 titled "Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All", by the British think-tank Runnymede Trust (Runnymede Trust 2017). The Runnymede Trust was founded as the UK"s independent race equality think tank. Jim Rose and Anthony Lester established the trust in 1968 as an independent source for network building, a multi-ethnic Britain, through research and policy participation (Udoh & Umotong, 2013; Runnymede Trust 2021).

At the time of the report's publication, British politics was transitioning to a "New Labour" era. The government rectified perceived exclusions, notably the issues involving minority populations" roles. The Trust was an independent policy agency working for cultural diversity and race relations in Britain and Europe. This report drew attention to the phenomenon of discrimination against Muslims, argued for the need to combat prejudice urgently and compared such hatred to the phenomenon of anti-Semitism and racism. The report documented examples from the public discourse, media, and people's daily experiences. According to the report, the world saw Muslim cultures as threatening, isolationist, violent, and inherently hostile to the West. The report reintroduced the term "Islamophobia" into everyday public discourse (Runnymede Trust 1997).

Robin Richardson, who worked and edited the Runnymede report for the educational consultancy, acknowledged that the think tank borrowed the term from earlier sources of Étienne Dinet. Richardson also stated that Edward Said first used the word "Islamophobia" in the English language when he pointed out that anti-Semitism and anti- Islamism have historically gone hand in hand (Richardson n.d: 2-3; Basu 2014; Udo & Udoh, 2023).

According to the original 1997 report, Islamophobia can be understood as:

1. Based on an assumption;

2. Unfair discrimination against Muslims and their communities as outcomes ofsuch hostility; and
3. Muslims are kept out of mainstream social and political affairs (RunnymedeTrust 2017).

These defining characteristics were updated in the 2017 report that offered a more concise definition, ‑Islamophobia is anti-Muslim racism‖ (Runnymede Trust 1997: 7). By equating Islamophobia with racism, this definition provides a simple litmus test for identifying discrimination against Muslims and those perceived to be Muslims and seek to bring Islamophobic acts under the purview of existing laws to prevent racial discrimination (Udoh, 2013; Udoh, 2014).

The Macpherson report was accepted, and its most notable outcome was the Race Relations (Amendment). It acknowledged that fundamental institutions of British life, especially the police, could be accused of "institutional racism". It stated that all public authorities prevented discrimination and promoted racial equality (Pilkington 1999). Andrew Pilkington is a Professor of Sociology at the University of Northampton"s Faculty of Health, Education, and Society and works on equality, diversity, and institutional racism. The Macpherson Report (1999) supported inclusiveness in the Blair government. However, such an extension did not go as far as combating Islamophobia under the laws in place. As a result, non-ethnic religious identities were not recognised asneeding protection under existing provisions (Vellenga 2018: 176-177).

## WHAT DOES ISLAMOPHOBIA MEAN?

As noted above, the phenomenon of Islamophobia refers to the prejudice against Muslims (and those perceived to be Muslims) that see them as being aggressive, intolerant, and misogynists. This prejudice dehumanises them and fuels discrimination and mistreatment towards them. In addition, discrimination against Muslims can be based on their ethnicity, socio-economic conditions, race, cultural differences, and immigrant status (Udoh & Udo, 2022; Sadek 2017; Cesari 2014). Islamophobia is deeply rooted in Western history. Itoffers four conceptual lenses to understand Islamophobia, namely:

1. *Racism in a world-historical perspective*: Islamophobia is seen as a part of larger currents of colonialism and racism that have shaped the current world order.
2. *Form of cultural racism*: Cultural racism is a type of racism that does not use "race" at all. It focuses on a group of people"s cultural inferiority. It is framed interms of a group"s beliefs, inferior habits, behaviour, or values.
3. *Orientalism*: Islamophobia is understood in terms of Edward Said's concept of Orientalism - a tradition in which the West understands the non-western world, and the Middle East in particular, through prejudiced and patronising attitudes – which results in an essentialised view of Islam as being exotic, inferior andbackward.
4. *Epistemic racism*: Islamophobia is seen as being part of western hegemony those considers as inferior and downgrades any form of non-western knowledge (Grosfoguel & Eric 2006).

Racism directed towards Muslims manifests in the public sphere; schooling, the job market, the global economy, and the epistemological discourses over the definition of the term. It is necessary to use legal terminology such as religious and racial violence. It is necessary for race equality councils, housing agencies, police forces, and inter-agency monitoring bodies to recognise it (Okide, 2020, Okide , 2021, Okide , 2022; Vellenga 2018; De Koning 2016). The FBI"s definition of "terrorism" highlights the use of violence to for political change and should apply in equal measure to US foreign policy in Vietnam, Korea, Iraq, and Afghanistan. It is a good example to illustrate the ways in which Islamophobia hasshaped the global discourses on terrorism. However, the term terrorism is not used only when there is, or appears to be, some connection with Islam. What factors explain this? The issue of threat and fear is critical. According to the identity theory, fear does not usually emerge spontaneously in society (Tajfel 1982). However, framing and mobilisation activities are carried out by movements, associations, and the media. It appears that this is the case with Islamophobia.

## IDENTITY POLITICS AND ISLAMOPHOBIA

Erik Erikson, a Danish-German-American developmental psychologist, known for his theory on human psychological development, first introduced the term "identity crisis" in the 1930s (Okide, 2023). From his clinical, personal childhood struggles with differences and belonging, and his anthropological observations, Erikson concluded that identity formation was based on dislocation and marginalisation (Erikson 1970). He theorised psychosocial personality developments as occurring in the following sequential stages:

1. Industry vs inferiority,
2. Initiative vs guilt,
3. Autonomy vs shame/ doubt,
4. Intimacy vs isolation,
5. Ego Integrity vs despair
6. Identity vs confusion,
7. Generativity vs stagnation, and
8. Trust vs. mistrust (Erikson1970).

These stages are marked by crisis and degrees of conflict. These might be useful to understand the damage done by Islamophobia and the misunderstandings that give rise to it. Islamophobia emerges from perceived conflicts of identity between the "west" and the non-western "other", but it also plays a role in shaping these identities. For example, Donald Trump, the former president of the US, portrayed Muslims and Islam as un-American. The consequences of his unfiltered comments of hatred and violence against Muslims adversely impacted the lives of Muslims (primarily Muslim women) all across the globe. Hijabi and niqabi Muslim women in the US were often subjected to physical violence, hate speech, and emotional trauma because they displayed visible markers of their religious identity in public spaces (Mousa 2018; Godfrey, et al., 2024; Duru, et al., 2022; Duru, et al., 2023). For some Muslims, this crisis of identity and

uncertainty about their lives in the US and other Islamophobic societies, coupled with their feelings of "not belonging", turned into frustration, anger, and petty criminal activities, and also made them more prone to believe in extremist ideas and radicalisation. Identity crises are central to the discourses of radicalisation, and the vulnerabilities created by failed social integration that impels Muslims to search for their identity (Errico 2018; Ramakrishna 2016).

However, literature on Islamophobia is sparse and detailed studies are relatively recent. Only a few of these have looked at the psychological effects of Islamophobia on Muslims. A report titled "Coping with Islamophobia: The effects of religious stigma on Muslim minorities" identity formation" (2012) by Kunst[33], Sam[34], and Ulleberg was the first report to highlight the psychological effects of Islamophobia. The report demonstrated a connection between civic engagement and stronger religious identities in Germany and Norway (Kunst et al. 2012). Furthermore, the report also validated that religious prejudice is negatively linked to national identity. It highlighted the need to avoid religious discrimination, meta-stereotypes, and negative representations of Muslims in the social arena. Instead, it talks of nurturing intercultural relations to counter religious stigma and prejudices, develop a healthy religious and national identity, and increase Muslims peoples confidence (Suleiman 2017).

The rise of terrorism has magnified Islamophobia. It has already been present in the west and has become the scale by which the entirety of Islam and its followers are measured. This hatred only thwarts the process of assimilation for millions of Muslims who are innocent and believe in peace and harmony. This, in turn, may lead to a collapse of Muslim identity because of a sense of shame which may impact the psyche of Muslims, leaving them more prone to radicalisation (Sadek 2017: 200-205).

## STEREOTYPE AND PREJUDICE TOWARDS MUSLIMS

The most explicit demonstration of how the use of the term terrorist is prejudiced is the fact that when one hears of a terrorist attack, one automatically assumes that the perpetrator is a Muslim. However, the reality is that extremists can come from any religion, ideology, perception, and background. What do these stereotypes mean, how arethey constructed and circulated? In postcolonial studies, Homi Bhabha, in his essay, -The other question: stereotype, discrimination and the discourse of colonialism‖, suggests that stereotypes of this kind are at their core ideological and attempt to configure the "self" bycontrasting it with its "other" and are crystalised not by evidence but by constant repetition (Bhabha 1994: 66-84). In the case of the term "terrorist" the stereotype is created by employing it selectively to incidents that involve Muslims and never in incidents perpetrated by white Americans. One of the most voiced critics of this skewed use of the word terrorism is Noam Chomsky, who has repeatedly called out American acts of terror (Chomsky 2002a;2002b; 2003; 2014a; 2014b; 2015; Chomsky & Vltchek 2017), together with his colleague Edward Herman, has demonstrated how the media in the US serves a propaganda function. Their book *Manufacturing Consent* (1988) argues that a part of this propaganda model is the need to create fear and hatred

towards an "other". While in its early iterations, this "other" was found in "communism", after the end of the Cold War, it shifted to "terrorism" (Herman and Chomsky 2009; Herman & Chomsky1988). Chomsky even goes a step further, arguing that not only does the US narrative on terrorism not stand up to scrutiny, but neither make their claim of being against it.

Academic literature has also been party to the creation of this "fear ideology" that Chomsky speaks of, and no work has contributed more significantly to making Islam the target of this fear and hatred than Samuel Huntington"s theory of the "Clash of Civilizations". Huntington proposed that the major divisions among humanity, as well as the primary source of conflict, will be cultural. The most powerful actors in world affairs will continue to be nation-states. Simultaneously, the biggest worldwide political battles will be between groups of different civilisations and states. A battle of civilisations will defeat global politics. The fracture lines between civilisations will be the war lines of the future (Huntington 1993).

In an article and a book (Huntington 1996) that followed, he expands on this hypothesis and singles out Islam as the prime enemy of the West. This theory gained further currency after the strikes on 9/11, virtually becoming the foundation of US foreign policy during the Bush administration (Shahi 2017; Huntington 1996). The attraction of this theory was that it provided a familiar, simple, if not simplistic, explanation for the shocking events of that day. The basic framework of the West versus the rest did not change (Said 2001). In other words, one of the most dangers of Huntington"s thesis is that it mobilises the abstract idea of "civilisational identity" that is seductive for its facile explanation of lived realities by identifying an "other" that is to blame, however, in so doing it obscures the complexities of human identity formation and breeds hatred in its place. The resulting identity crisis takes the shape of the fear psychosis of Islamophobia in the west, which in turn results in a transnational identity crisis among Muslims worldwide.

## ISLAMOPHOBIA - THE GLOBAL SCENARIO

The terror attacks perpetrated in the name of Islam, such as those in Madrid, New York, Bali, London, Mumbai, inspired by a misrepresented religious ideology, have generated anti-Muslim sentiments globally. On April 3, 2018, the United Kingdom (UK) counterterrorism forces investigated a matter where several people received a leaflet titled "punish a Muslim". According to reports, several Britons in London, the West Midlands, and Yorkshire admitted that they received the leaflet through the post andsome even uploaded images of it on social media. The leaflet said, "They have harmed you, and they have caused your loved ones to suffer. They have brought you suffering and anguish. What are your plans to tackle it" (Cole 2018; Porter 2018). It also offers rewards for attackers;

4 Pull the headscarf off a Muslim woman – 25 points;
5 Verbally abuse a Muslim -10 points;
6 Acid should be thrown on the Muslim – 50 points;

7 Butcher a Muslim using knife, gun, vehicle, etc. – 500 points;
8 Beat up a Muslim – 100 points;
9 Torture a Muslim applying electrocution, skinning, use of a rack – 250 points;
10 Burn or bomb a mosque – 1000 points; and
11 Nuke Mecca - 2,500 points (Cole 2018).

Approximately there are 2.5 million Muslims in the UK. Also, Islam is the second-largest religion. Outrage and alarm have been expressed by politicians, religious leaders, and civil rights organisations over the rise of hatred against Muslims. Yasmin Qureshi, a barrister and Labour Party activist, was appalled to learn that extremists were sending anonymous letters encouraging people to attack Muslims (Anealla 2018). It is necessary to note that Islamophobia affects both the less educated people and educated people. Polarised stereotypes pervade the literary, media, visual arts, and public discourse. Positive aspects of Muslims and narratives of successful amalgamation in the West are frequently missing from these stories. Inherent prejudice against Muslims exists along with political viewpoints. According to Auestad, "hostility towards immigrants and refugees and people conceived of as "others" is no longer restricted to extremists, but taken up and endorsed by large swathes of the political centre". A New York Times article announcing Nike"s new female athletic attire for Hijabi women, titled "veiled" stereotype: Nike Reveals the "Pro Hijab" for Muslim Athletes", stressed a particular identity and supported the stereotype to target a particular customer"s base of female Muslim athletes. However, it is commendable that Nike included a strong representation of Muslim women (Safronova 2017; Auestad 2014: XIX-XX).

Muslims are undergoing an identity crisis that allegedly leads them to be intolerant and follow the path of radicalisation. The radicalisation discourse defines Islam as an opponent of the European and Western cultures. This labelling reflects the anxiety among Muslims, and they assume that their civil rights and freedom are under threat. This anxiety is fueled by extreme anti-Muslim. The public discourses and the fear have had severe consequences for how the Muslims see themselves at collective and individual levels after experiencing the hatred. Humans are affected by the physical and the social landscape in which they belong. Like spaces and places, physical geography determines the nature of one activity and outlines the opportunities available to them (Ali 2018: 15- 49; Mamdani 2002).

Biasness, prejudiced accusations against "another" or "others" is frequently conflated with guilt and shame. It is considered that Muslim women are submissive and Muslim men are violent. Thus, the "other" person is made to feel both guilt and shame. Prejudiced behaviour of the dominant culture onto a minority culture leads to labelling the Muslims as "dangerous and backward" (Auestad 2015: 83-95). The impact of Islamophobia on Muslims has led to, for example, denying difference with the dominant culture and squashing dissent. As a result of its intense connection to the idea of a borderless religious community, Islam is more vulnerable to hostility and Islamophobic attacks worldwide.

## ISLAMOPHOBIC INCIDENTS

In recent years, the frequency of Islamophobic attacks, mainly in the public sphere, has risen worldwide in countries like Canada, Australia, the United Kingdom, the United States, and several other countries across Europe.

### Australia

Islamophobia is a social issue in Australia that affects a large part of society. In these hate crimes, most incidents were verbal (about 60 %), some involved damage to property (11%), while physical attacks, at times, required hospitalisation (5%). According to the Australia Islamophobic Register 2017-2018, nearly 72 per cent of victims were female, while 71 per cent of perpetrators were male. There was a thirty per cent upsurge in harassment in places where surveillance and security guards existed. Public places, such as shopping malls are hotspots for anti-Muslim incidents (Noyes 2019). Muslim women, when they wear the easily identifiable hijab, have been ready targets. In October 2019, in a video that went viral, two police officers were verbally ill-treating two Muslim women in western Sydney and threatening them with charges of murder on false grounds. In November 2019, a pregnant Muslim woman was punched and stomped and the video circulated widely on social media. In these incidents, the victims were women who wore a hijab (a head covering), and the perpetrators were white men (Ruqiyaddin 2019).

### United States of America

Post 9/11, anti-Muslim sentiments have been rampant. In May 2017, two men were killed in the state of Oregon for inter-fearing when a man yelled racist remarks at two Muslim ladies on a train. The attacker was 35-year-old Jeremy Joseph Christian (Aljazeera 2019). On February 17th, 2019, a man was arrested in California on hate crime charges after punching a Sikh clerk and throwing hot coffee on him because he thought the clerk was aMuslim. He later confessed that he "hates Muslim" and attacked the Sikh clerk whom he misunderstood as Muslim (The Outlook 2019).

In 2018, the most recent year for which the FBI published statistics on hate crimes committed in the United States, anti-Muslim offences accounted for 14.5 per cent of 1,550 religiously motivated cases. As per a survey conducted by the Institute for Social Policy and Understanding, in 2019, 62 per cent of Muslims in the US, including 68 per cent of Muslim women, encountered religious discrimination. Most US adults (82 per cent) believe Muslims face at least some type of discrimination in America (Federal Bureau of Investigation 2018).

### United Kingdom

The increases seen in the UK in 2015 were replicated in 2016. 111 of the 437 verified incidents occurred on the street, a 326 per cent increase over 2014. Most incidents were categorised as "abusive behaviour," with the assault coming in second with 74. Women were the most frequently targeted, with 61 per cent. Online, there was a 9 per cent year

on year decrease (Armstrong 2016). Tell MAMA, a UK-based hate crime monitoring project reported that 705 incidents were registered to the goodwill between 1 January 2019 and 30 June 2019, with 529 of them being verified as Islamophobic in nature in the UK. Three hundred seventy-four of those verified occurred offline, while 155 occurred online (Walawalkar 2020). In June 2017, a 48-year-old man named Darren Osborne drove a van into a group of congregations (*Namazi*) who had just stepped out of a mosque, killed a 51-year-old man, and injured nine others. After the attack, the driver shouted, "I want to kill all Muslims – I did my bit" after the attack. On terrorism-related charges, he was sentenced to 43 years in prison (Aljazeera 2019).

**France**

Since the first headscarf cases in France in 1989, France has had a hostile attitude toward Muslims. Several Muslims have been directly or indirectly abused in public, political discourse and mainstream media for their religious attire, eating habits, and allegedinability to integrate. In 2004, the French Government banned the use of hijab or headscarves in public, and in 2011 it banned the niqab or face-covering (Ozcan 2021). These bans increased the conflict between French nationals and Muslim communities. France has approximately five million Muslim population in Europe, most of them from North Africa. The destructive style of French right-wing media news and their portrayals of Muslims have played a critical role in shaping Islamophobic perceptions in France. It has resulted in a rise in hate crimes against mosques and other places of worship (Incekaya 2020). According to a 2019 Foundation Jean Jaurès study, 42 per cent of French Muslims felt discriminated against because of their faith, with the figure rising to 60 per cent for Muslim women wearing a headscarf. According to Abdallah Zekri, director of the National Observatory of Islamophobia, 235 attacks on Muslims occurredin France in 2020, up from 154 the previous year, a 53 per cent increase. Most of the attacks took place in France's Ile-de-France (Greater Paris), Paca, and Rhones-Alpes areas (Ozcan 2021).

In April 2021, a caretaker and members of the local Muslim community found graffiti on a mosque and Muslim cultural centre in Rennes, France. Tags were insulting Islam and the Prophet Muhammad references to resuming the crusades, and a call for Catholicism to be made the religion of the nation were among the graffiti. Anti-Muslim threats and rhetoric have increased in France in recent years, fueled primarily by politicians (Aljazeera 2021).

**Switzerland and Spain**

In Spain, young Muslim students wearing hijabs face difficulties when taking high schoolor university exams. They are frequently forced to take the exam with their heads exposed. At least 17 such cases were reported to NGOs in 2020 by young women who were denied admission to their high schools on the first day of class. There is no formal legislation prohibiting the wearing of the hijab; it is enforced through the school's internal rules (Ali 2020). In Spain, religious discrimination and hate crimes are on the

rise. A 37-year-old Moroccan named Younes Bilal was sitting at a cafe with his friends on June 13 2021, in Murcia, Spain. An ex-military officer hurled racial epithets at them and insulted the waitress for serving Muslims. Bilal confronted the man and demanded that he respect them. The former officer shot Bilal three times in the chest at close range and killed him (Ramalho da Silva 2021). On July 7, 2021, in the Ibn Arabi mosque, a pig"s head was discovered at the door with a knife still plunged into it. They found messages on the walls that read "No to Islam" and "Stop the Invasion", as well as a large Spanish flag with the statement (Alexander 2021).

A 30-year-old man attacked a mosque in central Zurich in Switzerland in December 2019. He fired at a handful of men who were drinking tea after evening prayers. The suspect managed to flee but was discovered dead near a river close to the mosque. The same Islamophobic incidents happened in Spain, and the number of crimes was attributed to Muslims. Such episodes are not limited to Europe, the US or the UK but can be found as far as Canada and New Zealand (Aljazeera 2019).

**New Zealand**

In 2019, about 49 Muslims were killed in a mosque in New Zealand. Twenty-eight-year- old Australian Brenton Tarrant killed 49 people and was arrested and facing charges (Aljazeera 2019).Similarly, on 29th of January 2017, Alexandre Bissonnette, a 27-year- old man, killed six Muslim worshippers and injured dozens more in an episode at a Quebec City mosque in Canada after evening prayers. One of the victims was shot and died while resisting the gunman. Bissonnette is serving a life sentence of imprisonment (Aljazeera 2019). Muslim societies must formulate social strategies that protect their personal rights. There is no proven association between terrorism, Islam and Muslims.

## THE CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITIES AND REPRESENTATIONS OF MUSLIMS

The perception of identity deals with individual and collective cultural identity. Unfortunately, a Muslim"s identity has been interpreted through the stereotype of terrorism (Eid & Karim 2014: 108-109). According to Zygmunt Bauman in his *Modernity and Ambivalence* (1999), the status of Muslims in identity discourse might be recognised as that of a "stranger". He describes the "insider" and "outsider" binary, and how the Muslim person is seen as a stranger who invades and disrupts the social space. Correspondingly, the presence of Muslims in the occidental world is seen as disruptive to a secular society. The concepts of "outsider" and "insider" intersect with issues of religion versus secularism and international versus national modes of identification. The Muslim understanding of the global community of believers, or *Ummah*, calls into question the very concept of the independent Western nation-state. Hostilities between transnational and national Islamic faith adherences have manifested themselves in

various ways in Western countries, influencing their immigration policies (Thijl & Mira 2002: 150-151; Zygmunt 1991: 59). However, the actual execution of secularism has always been marked by uncertainties and negotiations (Valérie 2004: 12-35).

## ISLAMOPHOBIA: BETWEEN REPRESENTATION AND REALITY

Former US president George Bush clarified that "Islam is peace" in 2001 (The White House 2001); whereas about a decade and a half later, President Donald Trump explicitly declared in March 2016 that "I think Islam hates us". This demonstrates the change in discourses of international politics. It shows concern about Islam by the US elites at the highest ranks of the state and has shaped the public and the media attitudes towards Muslims and Islam. The political leadership in the US exemplifies explicitly the manner in which their statements have politicised Islam (Massoumi et al. 2017). These have had a domino effect across the world, and other countries in Europe, the UK, Australia, and others have upped their vigilance and surveillance against ordinary Muslims.

President George W. Bush's statement in 2001 about Islam came during the peak of the post-9/11 period and was used to justify direct military deployment in Afghanistan in October 2001 and later in Iraq in March 2003.This policy required domestic and global support, including from Muslim majority countries. On September 16th 2001, George W.Bush"s first White House speech and press conference discussed the "War on Terrorism". He used the term "crusade" to describe the military deployment and stated that this "… crusade, this war on terrorism is going to take a while" (White House 2001a). The terminology needed to be changed to lessen the concerns of Muslim and Muslim nations which had already committed to helping in the Afghan war (White House 2001b). The violence and extremism of a small fraction of misguided fundamentalists are projected and magnified against the Muslim communities globally. The destructive role of politics in religion and how negative images of Muslims can harm the quality of public debate, political decision-making, and community relations is only too evident in the case of Islamophobia (Morey & Yaqin 2011: 18-25). The media is a crucial tool in showcasing contestations and forces that contribute to public discourse and, notably, the framing of Islam and Muslims in global affairs.

### Islam and its association with terrorism

When an attack occurs in the US or Europe, the media immediately refers to the perpetrators as Muslim terrorists, Islamist extremists, or religious fundamentalists, which easily associate an entire religion with violence. The roots of Islamic teachings are established in Al-Qur'an and the Hadith. Terrorism goes against the teaching of Islam and thus is fundamentally not Islamic. Some terrorist attacks are carried out by people claiming to be Muslim, but religion itself does not promote violence or terrorism. There are various explanations that terrorists use to justify their actions.

***History of terrorist attacks in the Unites States of America***

During the French Revolution, the term 'terrorism' was used to describe the tragedy that brought France's sovereignty to an end in the eighteenth century. The 'reign of terror,' or '*regime de la terreur*', refers to the period during the French Revolution (1793–1794) when the Jacobins[31] gained control of the government. Various secret organisations arose–initially in France, then in Italy, Hungary, Greece, and Europe–that were responsible for keeping the revolution alive in Europe. The main objective of these secret societies was to overthrow the nation's property, religion, and government structures. They remained undetected for hundreds of years, maintaining strict discipline and secrecy throughout their existence (Erlenbusch 2015).

What did these secret societies of the nineteenth-century revolutionaries aim to achieve? Terrorism did not begin after the United States was attacked on September 11, 2001. In fact, terrorism has a long history several decades prior to 9/11. The GWOT, which is often grossly oversimplified, was not just restricted to Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, Yemen, Somalia, Libya, Syria, and Niger (Ackerman 2021). It also took place in the US in the form of institutionalisation and maintenance of surveillance on a large scale. Terrorism was common during the early 1980s as well. On February 26 1993, terrorists bombed the World Trade Centre in New York, causing six deaths and injuring about 1,000 people. The 1993 attack was far from an isolated episode (Federal Bureau of Investigation 2005). According to figure 3.6, there were 296 acts of terrorism in the US from 1980 to 2001. This figure only includes political violence and does not include any other types of terrorism. Despite the long history of terrorism, the concept of 'Islamic Terrorism' came into common use only after the 9/11 attacks (Federal Bureau of Investigation 2005). Terrorism driven by a religious ideology is not solely an Islamic phenomenon. In the context of the Jewish-Palestinian conflicts, for example, Jewish settlers slowly occupied the West Bank of Israel after the First World War. For more than a century, the people of Palestine were terrorised. Major wars have erupted, governments have changed, and the borders of the country have been redefined. However, the Israeli aggression against Palestinians has continued. Once the state of Israel was founded, excessive violence against Palestinian began to increase. Women, children, infants, citizens, religious places,houses, hospitals, and schools are all victims of the Israeli assault. Although numerous UN resolutions have been enacted in reaction to these incidents, Israel has chosen to disregard each one of them (Celik 2021).

Terrorists are widely viewed as people of Middle-Eastern descent who are followers of Osama bin Laden, and seek to destroy the western world, especially the US, as a part of the holy war. Bin Laden hoped to develop a single Islamic state. He founded Al-Qaeda, which means 'base', in 1988, to focus on symbolic acts of terrorism rather than military campaigns (History 2020).

**Domestic terrorism in the United States**

The US Marine Corps reported over 1,000 acts of racial violence in the United States and Vietnam in 1970. These acts included violent clashes between Black and White

Marines at Camp Lejeune, North Carolina. Randy Weaver, a Christian Identity supporter with anti-government and white nationalist sentiments, was part of the 1992 Ruby Ridge standoff in Naples, Idaho. He was also a former US Army engineer. Timothy McVeigh, the bomber who killed 168 people and injured over 680 others in Oklahoma City in 1995, enrolled in the US Army in 1988. During Operation Desert Storm, he fought in Iraq (Jones et al. 2021). The Oklahoma City bombing was one of the most-deadly acts of domestic terrorism in US history. A US citizen murdered innocent ordinary working-class Americans. Louise Richardson's (2006) book, 'What Terrorism Wants', cites the various causes of terrorism other than religion; these include socio-economic changes, state sponsorship revenge, poverty and inequality, and globalisation. The study also examines the notion of 'Islamic terrorism', its probable causes, and how it relates to phenomena such as globalisation, changing ideologies, the war against terrorism, and post-independencenation-states.

**Globalisation**

Globalisation is a new variant of dominance in which established countries gain power over developing countries. Globalisation offers conditions in which terrorists may operate and sustain. It provides a place that can facilitate acts of terrorism and violent behaviour. Globalisation and Westernisation have changed Muslim countries' social and economic structures like Afghanistan and Iraq in the name of the Global War on Terror (GWOT) (Richardson 2006). On August 15, 2021, the so-called GWOT came full circle as the Taliban re-entered Kabul and declared triumph against America and its Western allies. After two decades of insurgency, the rebellion came to an unfortunate end (O'Donnell 2021). According to a new estimate from Brown University's 'Costs of War Project', the US GWOT cost $8 trillion and resulted in 900,000 deaths, nearly 20 years after the invasion of Afghanistan (Brown University 2021).

In the name of defence, this GWOT gave rise to the unsatisfied self-proclaimed US patriot, and increased surveillance and mistrust. It marked the beginning of a new era of military deference, with lawmakers and presidents prioritising the military over law enforcement in the fight against terrorism. It shaped the anti-immigrant sentimentality (primarily directed at Muslim countries) which is still prevalent today. Most countries believed that a war of necessity in Afghanistan was followed by a war of choice two years later when the United States attacked Iraq based on bogus assertions that Saddam Hussein was harbouring weapons of mass destruction (Green& Doherty 2021).

**DONALD TRUMP'S "ISLAMIST-EXTREMISM" AND "BAN ON MUSLIMS"**

It is important to note that Former US President Donald J. Trump (2017-2021) specifically targeted Muslims during his presidential campaign in 2016. In his political agenda, he promised to outlaw Islam in the US. Later, he banned the entry of Muslims into the United States (Husain 2018). Trump stated at a rally in South Carolina in 2015 that he wants 'a total and complete ban on Muslim immigration into the US (Johnson 2015). President Trump's Muslim travel ban policy and Islamophobic propaganda

adversely affected the nation's opinion of Islam and terrorism, making 'Islamic extremism' a household phrase in the US. President Trump's policies alienated minority communities provided a recruiting card to groups like the Islamic State by stoking their narrative that the West is on a campaign against Islam (Tayler 2017).

## MUSLIMS: THROUGH THE LENSES OF GLOBAL AND SOCIAL MEDIA

The change in public discourse and the prejudiced media representations of the 2001 World Trade Centre attacks are examples of increasing Islamophobia. The media"s coverage is central to understanding the three primary concepts of selection, presentation and prevalence. The western media has approached the Muslim and Islamic world from different points of view. Much of what people know about their surroundings is not derived from their direct interaction or personal experience but indirectly through secondary sources such as the mass media. The media"s outreach has proliferated with the advent of the global satellite news networks, mobile phones, internet, social media, and the media has become all-pervasive and more influential (Rane et al. 2014: 4-15). Within a few minutes or hours, the news spreads all across the world through the media. When people see representation in the media and political journalism, they are either hopeful or pessimistic. Ordinary people do not clearly understand what they read or see in the media and are thus easily manipulated by biased reporting and stereotypicalrepresentations (Lippmann 1997: 37-69).

It is important to note that media organisations such as the BBC have also seen positive pictures of Islam and Muslims. Nasfim Hafique"s BBC feature "Don"t Panic, I'm Islamic" in 2005 and Tariq Ramadan"s account "The Muslim Reformation" are two good examples. Ziauddin Sardar"s "Battle for Islam" and Channel 4"s "What Muslims Want" surveyed Muslim principles and views to better understand their perspectives. These programs have led to claims from other minority communities that the BBC is unfairly "favouring" Muslims. According to the BBC"s Religion and Ethics Department statistics, the BBC produced 41 programmes on Islam, five on Hinduism, and one on Sikhism after 2001. Media stories were associated with Britain"s acts of international and domestic terrorism in the name of "War on Terror" such as done in Al-Qaeda, the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) or the Taliban. Britain"s military operations in Afghanistan and Iraq depictions of Islamic culture and Muslims in the British press have raised the profile of Muslims. It has generated interest in the culture, religion, and politics that shape Muslim identity across the globe (Katwa 2020; Ben 2008).

The nature of the internet remains unregulated, and opinions, messages, views, and images can all be communicated quickly on the web. The internet has approximately 2.6 billion active users worldwide in 2020, and about 400 million users use it every day with over two billion posts liked (Internet World Stats 2020). The freedom that such an online space can provide may be used negatively or positively. Because of Facebook"s popularity, it has become an essential forum for discussing stereotyping. Around 74 percent of anti-Muslim hate speeches are disseminated via social media. About 300

religioushate crimes were recorded in England and Wales after the first week of the 7/7 bombings of London in 2005. Similarly, polls after 9/11 revealed that the general public, both globally and locally, had negative attitudes about Muslims (Awan 2016). Social media has provided a place to create a collective identity, show mutual solidarity, and share similar opinions. It also has the ability to spread and amplify information (Estes& Tiliouine 2016). The coverage allows radical thinkers in society to connect with others who share their beliefs. The international media generally focuses on negative perceptions and stories. Most of the stories about Muslims highlight violence and terrorism as dominant traits of Muslims.

## CONCLUSION

A large section of society now accepts a narrative about Islam and Muslims that has its roots in Islamophobia. As a result, Muslims face discrimination with regard to access to housing, the criminal justice system, employment, and other areas of public life. There is an urgent need to contradict these narratives that breed racism, hatred and inequality, but also because they create an identity crisis for Muslims and risk antagonising them, turning the stereotype of the Islamic terrorist into a self-fulfilling prophecy. In order to combat the Islamophobic narrative, a larger variety of voices must be brought into the discourse, allowed to speak, and seriously listened to their problems.

## REFERENCES

Ackerman, S. (2021) *Reign of Terror: How the 9/11 Era Destabilized America and Produced Trump*, Viking: New York.

Alexander, I. (2021) "Spain: Wave of Islamophobic hate crimes sweeps south of the country", Middle East Eye, available at: <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/spain-islamophobia-hate-crime-racism-wave-sweeping-south> (accessed on 20/10/2021).

Ali, A. (2020) "Anti-Muslim Hatred and Discrimination in Spain 2020", *Asociación Musulmana por los Derechos Humanos (AMDEH)*, available at <https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/Religion/Islamophobia-AntiMuslim/Civil%20Society%20or%20Individuals/AMDEH.pdf> (accessed on 20/12/2021).

Ali, M. (2018) *Young Muslim America: Faith, Community, and Belonging*, Oxford University Press: New York.

Aljazeera (2017) "Islamophobia to blame" for Cape Town mosque attacks", available at: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/1/12/islamophobia-to-blame-for-cape- town-mosque-attacks> (accessed on 12/09/2021).

Aljazeera (2019) "A summary of attacks on Muslims in Western countries", available at: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/3/16/a-summary-of-attacks-on-muslims-in-western-countries>(accessed on 12/12/2019).

Aljazeera (2021) "France: Minister calls for security at mosques after attack", available

at: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/4/12/french-interior-minister-tightens- mosque-security-after-attack> (accessed on 12/05/2021).

Anealla, S. (2018), "Counterterror police investigate "punish a Muslim" day letters", *Al- Jazeera News*, available at: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/03/counter- terror-police-investigate-punish-muslim-day-letters- 180310230543092.html>(accessed on 10/09/2019).

Armstrong, M. (2016) "Anti-Muslimincidents in the UK", Statista, available at:<https://www.statista.com/chart/5756/anti-muslim-incidents-in-the-uk/> (accessed on 25/11/2021).

Auestad, L. (2014)*Nationalism and the body politic: Psychoanalysis and the rise of ethnocentrism and xenophobia*, Karnac books: London.

Auestad, L. (2015)*Respect, plurality, and prejudice,* Karnac books: London.

Awan, I. (2016) "Islamophobia on Social Media: A Qualitative Analysis of the Facebook"s Walls of Hate", *International Journal of Cyber Criminology,* vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 1-20.

Balkan, L. (2010) "A proposed definition of Islamophobia", *European Muslim Initiative, for Social Cohesion*, available at:<https://www.emisco.eu/a-proposed-definition-of-islamophobia/>(accessed on 01/02/2019).

Basu, T. (2014) "What Does "Islamophobia" Actually Mean? A brief history of a provocative word", *The Atlantic,* available at: <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2014/10/is-islamophobia-real- maher-harris-aslan/381411/ >(accessed on 23/02/2019).

Ben, F. (2008) "BBC Favours Muslims", *Daily Telegraph*,available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/religion/2703863/BBC-favours-Muslims-complain-Hindus-and-Sikhs.html>(accessed on 06/08/2019).

Bhabha, H.K. (1994) *The Location of Culture*, Routledge: London.

Celik, A.H. (2021) Analysis: Fundamentalist Jewish terror in Palestine dates back more than a century, *AA*, available at: <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/analysis/analysis- fundamentalist-jewish-terror-in-palestine-dates-back-more-than-a- century/2250150> (accessed on 25/08/2021).

Cesari, J. (ed.) (2014) *The Oxford handbook of European Islam*, Oxford University Press: New York.

Chomsky, N. & Herman E.S. (2009) "The Propaganda Model after 20 Years: Interview with Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky", available at:<https://chomsky.info/200911 /> (accessed on 12/01/2022).

Chomsky, N. & Vltchek, A. (2017) *On Western Terrorism*, Polity Press: London. Chomsky, N. (2002a) "Who are the Global Terrorists?", available at: <https://chomsky.info/200205 02/> (accessed on 12/01/2022).

Chomsky, N. (2003) "Wars of Terror", available at: <https://chomsky.info/200303 /> (accessed on 12/01/2022).

Chomsky, N. (2014a) "The Long, Shameful History of American Terrorism, available at:

<https://chomsky.info/20141103/> (accessed on 12/01/2022).

Chomsky, N. (2002b) "Terror and Just Response", available at: <https://chomsky.info/20020702/> (accessed on 12/01/2022).

Chomsky, N. (2014b) "The Leading Terrorist State", available at:

Cole, K. (2018) "Extra security at mosques after "Punish a Muslim Day" flyers circulate", *PIX,* available at:<https://www.pix11.com/2018/04/03/extra-security-at-mosques- after-punish-a-muslim-day-flyers-circulate/>(accessed on 15/09/2019).

Daily Sabah (2020) "188 anti-Muslim attacks recorded in Germany in 3 months, Interior Ministry says", available at:<https://www.dailysabah.com/world/europe/188-anti- muslim-attacks-recorded-in-germany-in-3-months-interior-ministry-says>(accessed on 18/09/2020).

De Koning, M. (2016) *EenideologischeStrijd met de Islam: FortuynsGedachtegoedalsScharnierpunt* in de Radicalisering van Moslims,KarakterUitgevers: Uithoorn.

Duru, I. U., Eze, M. A., Yusuf, A., Udo, A. A., & Saleh, A. S. (2023). Effect of reward systems on workers' performance at the university of Abuja. *Asian Journal of Social Sciences and Management Studies*, *10*(1), 9-18.

Duru, I. U., Eze, M. A., Yusuf, A., Udo, A. A., & Saleh, A. S. (2022). Influence of motivation on workers' performance at the University of Abuja. *International Journal of Social and Administrative Sciences*, *7*(2), 69-84.

Eid, M. & Karim H.K. (eds.) (2014)*Re-Imagining the Other: Culture, Media, andWestern-Muslim Intersections*, Palgrave Macmillan: New York.

Erikson, E. (1970) "Autobiographic Notes on the Identity Crisis",*Daedalus*, vol. 99, no.4,pp. 730– 59.

Erlenbusch, V. (2015) _Terrorism and revolutionary violence: the emergence of terrorism in the French Revolution', Critical Studies on Terrorism, vol. 8, no. 2, pp. 193- 210, available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2015.1049842>(accessed on 12/03/2019).

Errico, F.B. (2018) "Where Do I Belong? – Identity Crises and Islamic Radicalism", *European Eye on Radicalization*, available at:<https://eeradicalization.com/where-do-i-belong-identity-crises-and-islamic-radicalism/>(accessed on 17/10/2019).

Estes, R.J. &Tiliouine H. (2016) *The State of Social Progress of Islamic Societies Social, Economic, Political, and Ideological Challenges*, Springer: New York.

Evans, J. & Sahgal, N. (2021) "Key findings about religion in India", *Pew Research Center*, available at: <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2021/06/29/key-findings-about-religion-in-india/> (accessed on 12/07/2021).

Federal Bureau of Investigation (2018) "Hate Crime Statistics", available at:<https://ucr.fbi.gov/hate-crime/2018/topic-pages/incidents-and-offenses> (accessed on 09/12/2021).

Godfrey, T. U., Uwa, K. L., & Akpan, A. (2024). Personality Traits and Academic Performance of Students in Akwa Ibom State University, Nigeria. *International Journal of Business and Management Review*, *12*(1), 21-37.

Green, T.V. & Doherty, C. (2021) ‗Majority of U.S. public favors Afghanistan troop withdrawal; Biden criticized for his handling of situation', Pew Research Center.

Grosfoguel, R. & Eric, M. (2006) "The Long-Durée Entanglement between Islamophobia and Racism in the Modern/Colonial Capitalist/Patriarchal World-System: An Introduction, *Human Architecture: Journal of the Sociology of Self-Knowledge*.

Herman, E.S. & Chomsky, N. (1988) *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*, New York: Pantheon Books.

Huntington, S.P. (1993) "Clash of Civilisations?", *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 72, no. 3, pp. 22-49.

Huntington, S.P. (1996) *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, Simon & Schuster: New York.

Husain, N. (2018) ‗Timeline: Legal Fight over Trump's ‗Muslim Ban' and the Supreme Court Ruling',*ChicagoTribune*,availableat:

Incekaya, G. (2020) "France: Islamophobia replacing anti-Semitism", available at: <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/europe/france-islamophobia-replacing-antisemitism/2017926>(accessed on 12/12/2020).

Internet World Stats (2020) "Usage and Population Statistics", available at: <https://www.internetworldstats.com/stats3.htm>(accessed on 30/12/2020).

Isilow, H. (2019) "South Africans unite against Islamophobia, racism", AA, available at: <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/africa/south-africans-unite-against-islamophobia- racism/1429983> (accessed on 26/04/2020).

Jones, S.G., Doxsee, C., Hwang, G. &Thompson J. (2021) ‗The Military, Police, and the Rise of Terrorism in the United States', *Center for strategic and International Studies,* available at: <https://www.csis.org/analysis/military-police-and-rise-terrorism-united-states> (accessed on 12/07/2021).

Karaoglu, S.N. (2018) "A Definition of Islamophobia in Étienne Dinet"s The Pilgrimage to the Sacred House of Allah", The George Washington University, Washington DC.

Katwa, D. (2020) "BBC favours Islamic prayers?",*Asian Voice,* available at:

Kunst, J. R., Tajamal, H., Sam, D. L., & Ulleberg, P. (2012) "Coping with Islamophobia: The effects of religious stigma on Muslim minorities" identity formation" *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, vol. 36, no. 4, pp. 518-532.

Lippmann, W. (1997)*Public Opinion*, Free Press: New York.

Mamdani, M. (2002) "Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: A Political Perspective on Culture and Terrorism", *American Anthropologist*, vol. 104, no. 3, pp. 766– 775.

Massoumi, N., Tom M., & David, M. (2017) *What is Islamophobia? – Racism, Social Movements and the State*, Pluto Press: London.

Mirza, N. (2019) "Everyday living with Islamophobia", *Culture and Religion*, vol. 20, no. 3, pp. 302-321.

Morey, P. & Yaqin, A. (2011)*Framing Muslims: Stereotyping and Representation after 9/11*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

Mousa, N. (2018) "Three things to remember If you"re having an Identity Crisis Because of Islamophobia", available at: <https://muslimgirl.com/three-things-to-remember-if-youre-having-an-identity-crisis-because-of-islamophobia/>(accessedon 14/04/2019).

Noyes, J. (2019) "Bad culture growing": Report finds Islamophobic incidents becoming more brazen If a bad culture is growing, it is everyone"s problem, *The SundayMorning Herald*, available at: <https://www.smh.com.au/national/nsw/bad- culture-growing-report-finds-islamophobic-incidents-becoming-more-brazen- 20191117-p53bce.html>(accessed on 15/11/2020).

Nyarks, A. (2006). Varieties of Anaang language. *Unpublished Master's Thesis. University of Uyo*.

Nyarks, A. (2012). English Mirror. *Use of English and Communication Skills. Uyo: Noble Publishers & Associates*.

Nyarks, A., & Campus, O. A. (2022). The Linguistic Evaluation of Anaang Syllable Structures. *International Journal of Formal Education*, *1*(8), 1-15.

Nyarks, D. A. (2022, August). Affixation: A linguistic strategy for language development, a case study of Anaang language. In *" ONLINE-CONFERENCES" PLATFORM* (pp. 140-149).

Okide, U. (2020). An Analysis of Authorsâ€™ Viewpoints on Interfemale Hostility in Selected Igbo Novels. *Kenneth Dike Journal of African Studies (KDJAS)*, *1*(1).

Okide, U. J. (2021). Perception and Artistic Presentation of the Phenomenon of Death among Igbo Poets. *Sapientia*, *3*(2), 245-263.

Okide, U. J. (2022). CHILD ABUSE IN THE IGBO FAMILY: AN ANALYSIS OF OSUAGWUâ€™ S NWA NGWII PUO EZE. *Nigerian Journal of African Studies (NJAS)*, *4*(1).

Okide, U. J. (2023). Cultural Views of Wealth in Traditional and Contemporary Igbo Society: Perspectives from Maduekweâ€™ s â€ œEgo na-ekwuâ€. *Nigerian Journal of African Studies (NJAS)*, *5*(2).

Oxford Dictionary (n.d) "Islamophobia", available at: <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/islamophobia>(accessed on 18/10/2019).

Ozcan, Y. (2021) "France: Islamophobic attacks up sharply last year", *The Muslim News*, available at:<muslimnews.co.uk/news/islamophobia/france-islamophobic-attacks-sharply-last-year/>(accessed on 18/12/2020).

Pew Forum (2017) "The Growth of Germany"s Muslim Population", available at:

<https://www.pewforum.org/essay/the-growth-of-germanys-muslim-population/> (accessed on 01/08/2021).

Pilkington, A. (1999) "From Institutional Racism to Community Cohesion: the Changing Nature of Racial Discourse in Britain", *Sociological Research Online,* vol. 13, no. 3, pp. 1.1–1.3.

Porter, T. (2018) "Punish a Muslim Day: New York Braces for Viral Anti-Muslim Violence Campaign", *Newsweek*, available at: <https://www.newsweek.com/punish-muslim-day-new-york-braces-869163> (accessed on 08/07/2019).

Ramakrishna, K. (2016) "Understanding youth in the age of ISIS: a psychosocial analysis", *International Relations*, available at: <http://www.e-ir.info/2016/02/11/understanding-youthradicalization-in-the-age-of-isis-a-psychosocial-analysis/>(accessed on 15/05/2019).

Ramalho da Silva, B. (2021) "What is behind spate of racist attacks in Spain"s Murcia?", *Aljazeera*, available at: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/7/21/what-is-behind-spate-racist-attacks-spainmurcia#:~:text=Younes%20Bilal%2C%20a%2037%2Dyear,to%20witnesses%20at%20the%20scene> (accessed on 20/12/2021).

Rane, H., Ewart, J. & Martinkus, J. (2014) *Media Framing of the Muslim World:Conflicts, Crises and Contexts*, Palgrave Macmillan: London.

Richardson, L. (2006), *What terrorists want*, Random House: New York.

Richardson, R. (n.d), "Islamophobia or anti-Muslim racism – or what? – concepts and terms revisited", available at: <http://www.insted.co.uk/anti-muslim-racism.pdf> (accessed on 11/08/2021).

Runnymede Trust (1997)*Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All,* Runnymede: London. Runnymede Trust (2017) "Islamophobia: Still a challenge for us all",*Runnymede Trust*, available at:<https://www.runnymedetrust.org/uploads/Islamophobia%20Report%202018% 20FINAL.pdf>(accessed on 11/09/2021).

Runnymede Trust (2021) "About Us", available at: <https://www.runnymedetrust.org/about.html> (accessed on 20/12/2021).

Ruqiyaddin, M. (2019) "Islamophobic attacks mostly happen in public. Here"s what youcan do if you see it or experience it", *The Conversation,* available at:<https://theconversation.com/islamophobic-attacks-mostly-happen-in-public- heres-what-you-can-do-if-you-see-it-or-experience-it-127807>(accessed on15/05/2020).

Sadek, N. (2017) "Islamophobia, shame, and the collapse of Muslim identities", *Int J ApplPsychoanal Studies*, vol. 14, available at: <wileyonlinelibrary.com/journal/aps> (accessed on 20/08/2019).

Safronova, V. (2017) "Nike reveals the ‑pro hijab‖ for Muslim athletes", *The New York Times*, available at

<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/08/fashion/nike-pro-hijab-muslim-athlete.ht ml>(accessed on 27/01/2019).

Said, E. (2001) "The Clash of Ignorance", *The Nation*, available at:<https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/clash-ignorance/> (accessed on15/02/2021).

Schmid, A.P. (2011) *The Definition of Terrorism: The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism Research*, Routledge: London.

Shahi, D. (2017) *Understanding Post-9/11 Afghanistan: Critical Insight into Huntington"s Civilizational Approach*, E-International Relations Publishing: Bristol.

Suleiman, O. (2017) "Exploring the Faith and identity Crisis of the American Muslim Youth", *Yaqeen Institute for Islamic Research*, available at <https://yaqeeninstitute.org/omar-suleiman/exploring-the-faith-and-identity-crisis-of-american-muslim-youth>(accessed on 18/11/2019).

Tajfel, H. (1982) "Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations", *Annual Review, of Psychology*, vol. 33, pp.1-39.

Tayler, L. (2017) ‗Trump Dangerously Conflates Islam With Violent Extremism Rebranding US Counterterrorism Program is Discriminatory, Alienating', *Human Rights Watch,* available at: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/02/02/trump-dangerously-conflates-islam-violent-extremism>(accessed on 26/04/2019).

The Outlook (2019) "Man faces hate crime charge after throwing hot coffee, punching Sikh clerk in US", available at: <https://www.outlookindia.com/newsscroll/man- faces-hate-crime-charge-after-throwing-hot-coffee-punching-sikh-clerk-in- us/1480373>(accessed on 18/01/2019).

The White House (2001) ""Islam is Peace" Says President", available at: https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010917- 11.html (accessed on 12/05/2020).

Thijl, S.& Mira, V. K. (2002) "Islam in the Netherlands", in Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad (ed.), *Muslims in the West: From Sojourners to Citizens*, Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Udo, I. L., & Udoh, M. (2023). Moral Education and Corruption in Nigeria: A Reflection on Plato's Counsel on Education. *IILARD Journal of Humanities and Social Policy*, *9*(1), 1-12.

Udoh, I., & Udo, U. (2022). Covid-19: A Critical Analysis of Multi-Causative Factors and Mitigation. *AAN Journal of Law, Arts and Humanities*, *1*(1), 21-37.

Udoh, M. (2013). Challenges and Prospects for Developing Scientific And Technological Attitude In Africa. *African Journal of Culture, Philosophy and Society: Aworom Annang*, *3*(1), 7-15.

Udoh, M. (2013). The Place of Mythological Metaphysics in Social Control. *Journal of Complementary Reflection: Studies of Asouzu*, *3*(1), 45-53.

Udoh, M. (2014). Socialization and Society: The Family System as a Basic Unit.

Udoh, M., & Umotong, I. (2013). Environment Sustainability and Renewablity. *Elements of History and Philosophy of Science*.

Uloma, O. V., Mbonu, C. N., Onuorah, A. C., Mbarah, G. O., Anyacho, E. O., Orji, M. B., ... & Eucharia, O. E. (2019). *Culture, Precepts, and Social Change in Southeastern Nigeria: Understanding the Igbo*. Rowman & Littlefield.

Valérie, A. (2004) "To Be Laic or Not to Be Laic? A French Dilemma", in Rosemary Bechler (ed.), *Faith and Secularism,* British Council: London.

Vellenga, S. (2018) "Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia in the Netherlands: concepts, developments, and backdrops", *Journal of Contemporary Religion*, vol. 33, no. 2, pp. 175-192.

Walawalkar, A. (2020) "692% Increase In UK Islamophobic Incidents After Christchurch Shooting, Report Shows", available at: <https://eachother.org.uk/692-percent-islamphobic-attacks-after-christchurch/> (accessed on 25/12/2021).

White House (2001a) "White House Press Conference", available at:<https://georgewbushwhitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010916-2.html> (accessed at 12/10/2019).

White House (2001b) "White House Press Release", available at:<https://georgewbushwhitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010917-11.html> (accessed at 16/09/2019).

Zygmunt, B. (1991) *Modernity and Ambivalence,* Polity: London.