Anti-Muslim Hate: Muslims are Victims of the Islamophobia-Founded Security Dilemma in the West

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Abstract

Islam is the second largest religion after Christianity in the world, and Muslims are the fastest-growing ethno cultural minority communities in the Western world. However, it is a regret table fact that Muslims, especially living in Western countries, have increasingly become the victim of a contemporary form of racism and xenophobia that is Islam phobia. Survey reports conducted across Western nations have underlined the fact that a significant number of respondents are critical of the Muslim minority community and that this negative trend poses a challenge for these Muslim minorities' ethno cultural freedom and equality. Today, mainstream Muslims in the West are the most obvious victims of both ISIS-like terrorism and Islam phobic's. Within this context, this study analyses the causal relationship between the West's sense of insecurity and Islam ophobia through the lens of the realist concept of security dilemma using a qualitative approach.

Introduction

Without a doubt, terrorist organizations exploiting Islam as a means to claim more ground and gain new recruits, in particular, capable of staging violent acts in the heart of Western cities have largely contributed to this growing modern racism by encouraging Islamophobics to equate Islam with terrorism and blame Islam for their evil actions. It was Al-Qaeda yesterday, and today it is ISIS inflaming anti-Islam hatred and fear in the Western world. Other extremist groups like Boko Haram in Nigeria, Taliban in Afghanistan, and Al-Shabab in Somalia have not been competent enough as much as Al-Qaeda and ISIS so far to organize violent attacks in Western countries and manipulate religious language.

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Without a doubt, today, mainstream Muslims in the West are the most obvious victims of both ISIS-like terrorism and Islamophobics. Mainstream Muslims have always reacted with fury to the evil actions of ISIS, al-Qaida, and similar groups, but it is unfortunate that Western host societies have failed to establish a culture of discernment whereby one avoids blaming all Muslims for terrible acts of individuals or extremist groups. Muslims in the West have increasingly become vulnerable to growing intolerance, negative stereotyping and discrimination and hate crimes mainly provoked by ISIS or Al-Qaeda-like terrorism. It is clear that Islamophobics and extremist groups like ISIS and al-Qaeda feed each other by pumping up fear and Muslim minorities within this vicious circle of mutual extremism and phobia struggle to ensure their ethno cultural survival in their respective Western host societies.

This study mainly argues that there is a causal relationship between the West's Islam phobia and security dilemma that can be analyzed through the lens of the security dilemma which is one of the most important concepts in international relations and the school of realism. Today, the Islam phobia phenomenon introduces a condition that produces an ethno cultural problem disadvantaging Muslims living as minority communities, especially in Western host nations.

The Security Dilemma

The basic premise of realism is that the sovereign state is the primary actor in both international and domestic politics and nation-states compete with one another for power in the anarchic international system to ensure their economic and political survival. It is legitimate for them to use force against any attempt threatening their survival. For this reason, Waltz defines security as the primary objective of states(Waltz, 2010).

As states are unable to make sense of the intentions of other states, they continuously via for economic, political and military preponderance in an international system in which the stronger prevails over, the weaker (Mearsheimer, 2001). This is briefly the explanation of the security dilemma: what states do to maintain their political and economic survival unavoidably causes the spiral of insecurity among them. Likewise, in domestic politics, realists define the state once again as the primary actor. It is the state that assumes power in national politics to ensure their political and economic survival like they do in international politics. Within their territorial space, they are the ultimate authority and sovereign.

As the supreme authority and ultimate guarantee of domestic security, states have the legitimate right to use force to adopt and enforce laws, design and implement policies and to take any necessary measures to maintain their survival and punish those who are posing a threat to their authority and survival. According to Hobbes, in the absence of domestic security, there is nothing, but chaos(Kaufman, 2013). This anarchic situation briefly the domestic security dilemma.

In this regard, domestic security dilemma is particularly intense when two conditions exist. A first condition arises from the failure of the state to ensure the survival of its citizens against internal threats. Within this context, terrorism motivated by religious, political or ideological causes are an effective tactic for those who want to disperse a sense of anarchy across the targeted society via violent and sensational actions with limited personnel and military resources in hand. As terrorism has a great deal of offensive potential, states are most likely to conduct domestic offensive and defensive policies simultaneously against it. They sometimes choose the offensive over the defensive, because striking first to maintain internal security seems profitable in domestic politics just as it is in realist understanding of international politics in which pre-emptive strike is a legitimate tactic.

A second condition arises from either the absence or weakness of a central authority. According to Hobbes(Kaufman, 2013), the domestic security dilemma is an unavoidable result of the status of anarchy. Because the state of anarchy makes security the first concern of humans at the national level just as it does at the international level, realist theory explicitly addresses the consequences of emerging disorder for humanity in the event of the absence of a sovereign.

Here, the result that realism offers is a civil war at the internal level. That is, the society is divided into groups by ethnicity, race, religion or language and these groups avoid cooperation and choose to fight with each other for survival just like states in the anarchic international system because of the very security dilemma. But what happens if the collapse of a central authority does not occur and there is a kind of xenophobia-founded perception of security threat to its survival from a particular portion? For realists, it is the legitimate right of the state to blow away any threat to its political and institution existence and so; in this case, the state can adopt and enforce laws and develop policies sacrificing universal moral principles.

This is inextricably consistent with what realists illustrate as the core national interest is survival rooted in the biological drives of human nature. In this regard, Niccolo Machiavelli in the Prince and Thomas Hobbes in Leviathan(Kaufman, 2013)explicitly argued that the instinct of survivalis the chief feature of essential human nature, and so people vie for power to ensure their security. For them, people fail to survive without strong statesmen and a stable government.

Based on the realist concept of the security dilemma, this article argues that Islam phobia has become a kind of ethno cultural conflict in which Muslim minorities in Western countries are the victim of threat perceptions establishing an organic relationship between Islam and terrorism. The West trapped by the orientalise mindset which sees Islam as a source of terror, chaos or backwardness has easily made this overgeneralization mistake and so it's defensive reflexes have mostly offended its law-abiding and patriot Muslim citizens. In this atmosphere, Muslim minorities in Western countries unavoidably have become victims of prejudice, mistrust, hatred or xenophobia. Obviously, this is what Muslims residing in Western countries has increasingly begun to experience since the event of 9/11. Today, Western nations are in the grasp of an intense Islam phobia-founded security dilemma and this condition certainly blows a challenge to the ethno cultural survival of Muslim minorities living in Western countries.

Ethno cultural Security Dilemma

Scholars of the realist school of thought have continuously highlighted the important role of the problem of insecurity in the outbreak of conflict between ethno culturally different communities. To talk about the existence of an ethnic conflict in somewhere, there should be at least two various ethnic communities struggling for political, economic or military power to increase their chances of survival. This condition unavoidable causes parties to perceive the other's existence as threatening and predatory. This picture explains how security-dilemma operates in inter-ethnic relations.

Within this context, the literature that draws a parallel between the security dilemma of realism in international relations and inter-ethnic relations in states is necessary to conceptualise Islam ophobia as a kind of ethnic conflict to explain Western host societies' security dilemma in the form of prejudice against, fear of or hatred towards members of their Muslim minorities primarily resulting from evil actions of terrorist organizations in the heart of Western cities such as al-Qaeda and ISIS. Before discussing the West's Islam phobia-founded security dilemma, some questions on the realist concept of domestic security dilemma need to be identified.

Under what circumstances the problem of insecurity emerges among or between ethnic groups? How does it affect inter-ethnic relations within states? Scholars that focus on security-driven motivations as a cause of conflict among ethnic groups build on insights from the well-known Hobbesi a concept of domestic anarchy. Domestic Anarchy is particularly intense in the absence of sovereign authority, thereby forcing all fearful groups to struggle for security at the expense of the other through offensive and defensive measures. The ethnic security dilemma is a direct consequence of this situation.

Within this context, Posen (1993) identifies the collapse or absence of a central authority as a major factor in the onset of ethnic violence and argues that anarchy is a natural consequence of the process of central authority breakdown, and under the condition of anarchy security becomes the first concern of ethnic groups because both groups perceive the existence of the other as a threat to their survival. Posen highlights three particular factors that heighten the sense of insecurity among ethnic groups in such fear-producing environment. The first of these is a historic relationship, which leads ethnic groups to perceive each other's identity and actions as a threat or non-threat through the lens of history. The second factor Posen identifies is political geography, which can put one ethnic group in a position of vulnerability to the other group's offensive actions.

The third factor that heightens the security dilemma among ethnic groups is military technology that provides ethnic groups offensive and defensive military capabilities causing them to live in constant fear of being attacked by the other. Using the example of inter-ethnic relations between Croats and Serbs, Posen demonstrates how these three particular factors led to security dilemma between these two communities in the aftermath of the collapse of Yugoslavia.

Like Posen, Barbara Walter (1999) published an article that analyzes the role of security in inter-ethnic relations. She argues that civil war is a condition of anarchy and security dilemma among groups that cannot be addressed directly by treaties is an obstacle to peace negotiations and settlements. Following from this, Walter identifies the positive role of credible commitment and a third party involvement in the peace process in eliminating the destabilizing impact of the security dilemma on inter-group relations. Using the example of Mozambique, Walter illustrates how credible commitments from the center government (Frelimo) and the rebel group (Renamo) coupled with UN security guarantees had successfully encouraged both sides to negotiate and settle their political differences.

By the arguments posed by Walter and Posen, Snyder and Jervis(1999)also in their article highlight the role of security-driven motivations in explaining the outbreak of inter-ethnic violence within states in case of collapsed states. They argue that the disintegration of states accompanied by domestic anarchy is a cause of ethnic security dilemma and can be solved under three particular conditions. The first is to establish a strong central authority that can evaporate the ethnic security dilemma by ensuring the safety of the groups. The second is to enhance the security of the groups by eliminating the risk of aggression through defensive measures such as monitoring equipment, territorial autonomy, and defensive armament. The third is to build strong institutions capable of promoting mutual trust and cooperation among ethnic groups.

Another factor marked by Snyder and Jervis(1999) exacerbating the situation of security dilemma among ethnic groups is predation. Snyder and Jervis argue that predatory inclinations of the contending groups may fend off attempts to end anarchy and solve the problem of insecurity. To restrain the aggressive behavior of the groups and reduce the security dilemma, the authors, as Walter argues in her article, highlight the importance of intervention by the international community. Outside intervention can help the warring parties overcome their fear and distrust of each other.

Snyder and Jervis see here credibility of the external intervener as crucial to maintaining mutual trust and cooperation. To address security concerns of ethnic groups and de-escalate inter-ethnic violence, Kaufmann (1998) suggests separation and partition. Kaufmann mainly argues that the ethnic security dilemma is the result of societies that is made up different ethnic groups hostile toward each other, and this problem can be solved permanently by leading groups to form their states or a loose type of federation.

According to Kaufmann, the emergence of inter-ethnic security dilemma between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland, between the Muslim and Hindu communities of India and between the Muslim and Sikh communities of Punjab province with the departure of Britain, between Palestinian Arabs and Jews with the removal of British ruling and between Greeks and Turks in Cyprus was an outcome of antagonistic communities had to share the same territorial space. For Kauffman, the partition that separates the conflicting groups as fully as possible in such cases is the best solution to end irresolvable security dilemmas between them.

Moreover, it is here important to mention that leaders can also play an important in fomenting uncertainty and fear between the competing groups to ensure their hold onto power. Elite manipulation of ethnic security dilemma as a means of remaining in authority might yield two particular results. First, leaders acting on an idea that the other side is bent on violence can incite ethnic violence by exacerbating fears of average citizens about security. And thus, the public is induced to side with them and support their aggressive policies. Second, leaders might sabotage the peace process for their political and economic ends. Thus, constituents concerned about their security are manipulated to side with their leaders. Without several actions confirming their leaders' aggressive or uncompromising actions, constituents cannot fully be managed. The competing sides must verify leaders' assertions. Otherwise, leaders may fail to garner enough support to retain power.

Figueiredo Jr. and Weingast (1999) in their article draw a link between ethnic security dilemma and elite manipulation of constituents' fear about their safety. They argue that leaders are very likely to manipulate fear and uncertainty to prevent loss of power and garner support for violence. Another argument implied by them is that ethnic violence can be avoided if peace-minded political competitors manage to come in authority. They exemplify their model with interethnic relations between Milosevic and the Croatians during the breakup of Yugoslavia and the emergence of genocide in Rwanda in 1994.

An opportunistic Milosevic escalated the tension intentionally in the region to maintain power and to justify his bloody struggle in Croatia and Bosnia. Also, he manipulated the Serbian citizenry by employing the language of victimization in sabotaging the peace process with the Croatians.

Several actions by Croatia justified Milosevic's assertions in the public eye: calls by Croatia's leader for independence and greater Croatia and the adoption of Symbols of the former Ustache regime which slaughtered Serbs during the World War II. According to Figueiredo Jr. and Weingast, violence within Yugoslavia could have been prevented, if reformist political competitors had come into power in Serbia. The peace process could have been completed successfully, and violence could have been avoided within the confines of Yugoslavia.

Figueiredo Jr. and Weingast (1999) argue that the genocide in Rwanda in 1994 is primarily the result of political opportunism and an attempt by Hutu leaders willing to increase their chances of maintaining power in the face of the increasing military and political power of the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) associated with the Tutsi minority. After President Habyarimana's helicopter had been gunned down, the Hutu leadership incited the Hutu masses to murder their Tutsi neighbors. According to Figueiredo Jr. and Weingast, the expected result of this policy was to eliminate RPF's natural supporters, the domestic Tutsis, and ensure the political support of the moderate Hutus who would be concerned about their life. This would allow extremist Hutu leaders to remain power. The cases of Yugoslavia and Rwanda clearly show that leaders can play a significant role in the outbreak of ethnic violence and the escalation of the ethnic security dilemma.

While the authors given above have discussed the factors that can cause an intense security dilemma among groups sharing the same landscape, they have over looked the possible role of terrorist organizations inspired by religious, racial, ethnic, ideological or political motives in the emergence of an intense security dilemma within the targeted community.

It is certain that there is a deep psychological human need to be physically safe, and the incidence of terrorism can pose a stiff challenge to such need through various acts of violence such as suicide bombings, hijackings, bombing public places, shootings and so on. Terrorist organizations exploit human fear and develop strategies to spread chaos within the targeted community. From the majority-minority relations viewpoint, a terrorist organization that recruits members from a minority community could produce a security dilemma within the targeted host society and lead the host nation even to question the hosting of individuals as minority communities carrying the same ethno cultural identity as members of the terrorist organization: are they a security threat? How much of a threat?

This is obviously what Muslim minorities in Western countries has increasingly been experiencing since the tragedy of 9/11. Al-Qaeda or ISIS-style terrorism capable of staging attacks in the heart Western cities has led Western host societies mistakenly to perceive their respective Muslim minorities as a recruiter center for terrorism and a threat their domestic stability. Blaming Islam for terrorism leads to Islam ophobia-founded security dilemma in the West and Islam ophobics use the violent acts of al-Qaeda and ISIS members in Western cities to present Muslims as potential suspects.

Religion and Terrorism

Terrorism is simply inhumane acts of violence perpetrated by members of a particular organization with illegal rules or immoral norms. In the literature, one can find various definitions of the term, but not an all-inclusive one. The United States Department of Defense (Military Periscope, 2004) describes terrorism as "The unlawful use or threatened use of force or violence against individuals or property to coerce or intimidate governments or societies, often to achieve political, religious, or ideological objectives." The FBI offers a similar perspective on terrorism by referring to the use of violence by perpetrators against civilians and governmental forces.

The viewpoint of the United Nations (Martin, 2003) shows how difficult is to reach consensus on the definition of terrorism among states, considering that one country's terrorism could be another's freedom fighters. At best, the widely-accepted definition might be that terrorism is the use of violence to achieve political, religious or ideological objectives undermining public order and safety, thereby dispersing the fear of insecurity throughout the society. A terrorist organization intentionally recruits members and make plans to perpetrate violence against combatants or non-combatant targets. Its violent tactics like bombing public places or conducting suicide attacks might make people believe that, just like states in realist IR theory, their survival is constantly under the threat of unpredictable violence by a clandestine organization hiding in the shadows.

Terrorist groups usually wage asymmetric war against a stronger actor, and as the weaker side, they tend to hide and fight in the shadows using unconventional tactics like suicide missions, bombing public places or killing civilians. States sometimes may support and incite terrorist acts either financially or militarily for economic, political or ideological ends.

It is a noteworthy example that the United States has added Iran to the list of state sponsors of terrorism because of Tehran's financial and weaponry support for Hezbollah. A group also alone can be the cause of violence within a country as it seeks independence or territorial autonomy. The Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) in Turkey, the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka and the Irish Republican Army (IRA) in Northern Ireland are clear examples of this situation. Ideology-oriented groups to produce political change may also be a source of terrorist violence within countries like the Red Brigades did in Italy and the Marxist Baader-Meinhoff Gang in Germany. Domestic acts of terrorism pose a direct challenge to national public security, thereby causing an internal security dilemma among members of the targeted community. National security is the primary interest of states, and a terrorist group may simply become a national security issue by violent acts. Hence, the national security apparatus is entrusted to tackle such domestic threat.

Today religion is the most popular model to explain some occurred terrorist incidents in Western states. Once the most effective global terrorist organization, Al-Qaeda had perpetrated the 2001 September 11 attacks and 2013 Boston Marathon bombing in the United States, the 2004 Madrid bombings and 2005 London bombings in Europe by referring to Islam. As of today, the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), an extremist militant group growing out of Al-Qaeda in Iraq, operates in different parts of the world and inflames anti-Islam hatred with a reputation for the brutal rule in the areas that it controls and through conducting terrorist attacks in Western cities.

Particularly, its deadly attacks in Paris and Brussel are illustrative examples of how religion, like ethnic nationalism or ideology, can be manipulated as a cause of terrorism by a terrorist organization. One crystal clear result of this situation is that Muslim minorities in Western countries have potentially become vulnerable to perceptions of threat and so their respective host societies have started to develop security dilemma-based ethno cultural relations with them. From security dilemma perspective, because Western host nations, like states in realist IR theory, are not certain of their Muslim citizen's intentions and behavior, they are tended to judge their actions through the lens of security.

Terrorist groups like Al-Qaeda or ISIS exploiting Islam for their political objectives seek to attract the sympathy and support of Muslim individuals by portraying themselves as an alternative to the corrupt established system that they fight.

This is the confirmation of the assumption that religion can be exploited as a cause in enabling individuals to commit violence. Recall that terrorism has a long been a part of inter-human relations. Human history is replete with examples of acts of terrorism committed either for defensively or offensive purposes. If a group of individuals or a particular segment of the society determines and justifies these acts in the name of the faith, the correlation between religion and terrorism comes up.

For instance, members of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), which engaged in domestic terrorism against blacks by bombing their schools and churches and them in the United States, would hold their ceremonies around the burning cross and justify their violence with Christian morality. The cross was a representation of KKK's Christian message and a symbol of intimidation. KKK overtly challenged the authority of US government in maintaining public safety. Similarly, Aug Skinkrikyo was a terrorist organization came out in Japan in 1987. The leader of the group, Shoko Asahara, managed to recruit more than 40.000 members around the world by claiming that the end of the world was coming and, as the reincarnation of Jesus Christ and Buddha, he was the only person that could help people survive.

Similarly, the terrorist organizations of the Holy Spirit Mobile Force and the Lord's Resistance Army operational in Uganda in the 1980's and 1990's recruited a significant number of followers by cult motives. Jewish terrorist organizations, the Stern Gang and Irgun, were striking terror against the British forces. In the aftermath of World War I to expel them from Palestine, encourage of migration of Jews and establish a Jewish state (Laqueur, 2001). These terrorist organizations' bombings and assassinations resulted in a cycle of terror causing the British government of Palestine to deal with the problem of the security dilemma.

In human history, the Sicari and the Zealous were two of the earliest religious organizations that had pursued terrorist tactics (Laqueur, 2001). These terrorist organizations operated in Palestine and Jerusalem. Their members were Jewish killing Romans and their sympathizers at unexpected times in the crowds by a dagger. Another old religious terrorist organization was the Order of Assassins established by Hasan Ibn al-Sabbah in 11th century Persia (Weinzierl, 2004). Sabbah promised his Assassins, which means hashish-eater, pleasures in the afterlife on the condition of obeying his orders. This organization was famous for conducting suicide killings and assassinations using dangers like the Sicari.

Before these acts of violence, Al-Sabbah's followers would eat hashish which is a verbal that has drug-like effects on the brain. Thus, Al-Sabbah had many Muslims and Christians killed that were a threat to his goals. The Thugee was another historical example (Purpura, 2007). This terrorist organization had operated in India from the 13th century to the 19th century until the British demolished it. Members were affiliated with the Hindu goddess Kali. Murder and robbery were the most frequent acts of violence committed in the name of Kali among the members of this terrorist organization.

Nowadays, the most recent well-known contemporary terrorist organizations in the world equated with religion and drawing parallels to past times are Al-Qaeda and ISIS. These two radical groups are cell-based terrorist organizations using faith, like other historical terrorist organizations mentioned above, as a means to attract followers from varying countries urging them to engage in terrorist violence in the name of Islam and in return, acting under the God, they are promised pleasures in heaven after death.

The most resounding terrorist violence of Al-Qaeda has been the September 11 attacks and the 2013 Boston Marathon bombings in the United States, the 2004 Madrid train bombings in Spain and the 2005 London bombings in England. ISIS's most dreadful ones are the 2015 Charlie Hebdo shooting and the 2015 Paris attacks in France and the 2016 Brussels bombings in Belgium. For members of these terrorist organizations, violence is a method of glorifying their faith, Islam, and their leaders motivate them to justify their extremist behavior on the ground that they are defending Islam against what they call infidels, namely mainstream Muslims that do not support their Holy War and Western countries fighting against them. To be sure, these two radical terrorist organizations operate in contrast to Islam's historical tolerance and spur anti-Muslim bias in the West.

Some key facts about terrorist groups should also be discussed under the light of Gurr's four-typology of terrorism(1989) to understand the present-day relationship between Islam phobia and security dilemma in the West. Gurr's first category is vigilante terrorism, which is based on violence committed by private individuals against other people with the motivation of political, ethnic, religious or other hatred. The violent acts of the KKK against Blacks in the United States was this type of terrorism as is dreadful attacks committed by Al-Qaeda or ISIS members in various Western cities.

Al-Qaeda and ISIS leaders showed up in short video clips several times threatening Western societies with deadly attacks and calling on Muslim residents to join their cause. Western host societies have perceived such threats and occurred dreadful attacks to be offensive in nature and in turn their fear of insecurity has escalated, thereby amplifying Islam phobia.

The second category is insurgent terrorism. Guerrilla warfare, one of the key characteristics of terrorist groups, emerged following the end of World War II in some African, Asian and Middle East countries, is not their primary tactic in Western countries. Guerrilla wars may aim for political independence, territorial autonomy, social revolution or governmental change. Greenberg (2001) argues that secession from France was the objective of Algeria's Front de Liberation National (FNL). In contrast, this is certainly not the case with Al-Qaeda and ISIS operations in Western countries.

Al-Qaeda and ISIS have heavily relied on fatal shootouts, suicide bombings and blowing up public places to disperse chaos in Western countries and insurgent warfare is not an applicable option to realize for ISIS or Al-Qaeda-style terrorism in Western countries, because of the lack of adequate human support, military strength, territorial proximity, weak government and weak security forces. It is apparent that their poor offensive capability hassled these terrorist groups to find recruits from Muslim minorities that can easily be motivated to launch resounding terrorist attacks on behalf of them.

The second fact about terrorist organizations that wage guerrilla warfare is territorial insulation. For instance, the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), a Kurdish terrorist group, has been quite active in the mainly Kurdish southeast of Turkey. The main operational area of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) has been Northern Ireland. Hezbollah's main operational area has been Southern Lebanon. The Taliban has originated in the Pashtun south of Afghanistan. The stronghold of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) is the southeast region of Columbia. The Tamil Tigers (LTTE) has been strong enough to control the south of Sri Lanka since its creation. In contrast, ISIS and Al-Qaeda portray an organization that is capable of carrying attacks without territorial limitations.

Because Western governments are aware of this fact, they fell in the mistake of identifying Muslims within their territories as potential members of these organizations. Particularly, Muslims going to the mosque or praying five times a day attracted more attention of Western political leaders. For instance, Canadian then Prime Minister Harper's implication in a press conference on new anti-terrorism bill that mosques are a place promoting terrorism is a clear result of the misperception of Islam.

Gurr's third category is transnational terrorism. This type of terrorism tends to transcend specific territorial boundaries. This is also called international terrorism. If one terrorist group manages to cause violence in more than one country, this makes it a global threat, not a domestic one. Within this framework, ISIS and its predecessor, Al-Qaeda, can be described as international terrorist organizations because they have proven their capability to launch terrorist attacks in different countries far away from each other by using religion as a means of motivation. This fact offers Islam ophobics in the West an opportunity to blame all Muslims worldwide and ignite anti-Muslim hate against Muslim minorities in Western host societies.

Islam phobia as a Cause of Security Dilemma in the West

The adopted principles of the security dilemma by the authors mentioned above are useful to frame Islam phobia in Western countries and their primary concerns about security. Recall that Posen's main argument that the collapse of a central government can create an anarchical situation within a country those results in a security dilemma. Posen also argued that the security dilemma between the groups is likely to increase or break out when the distinction between offensive and defensive capabilities is weak or the comparative superiority of aggressive actions over defensive actions is strong or historical memories of antagonism are solid.

Posen's argument is quite useful to understand and analyze the rise of anti-Muslim-founded security dilemma in the West. Weak central governance and inter-ethnic violence in Afghanistan had created a fertile ground for Al-Qaeda to use the country as a headquarter to grow and plot evil plans. Similarly, following the overthrow of the central government, anarchy prevailed in Iraq, and historical memories of conflict between the Sunnis and Shias exacerbated the security dilemma between the groups.

Consequently, domestic chaos and instability led to the rise of terrorist organizations like Al-Qaeda and ISIS that have become the cause of a security dilemma in the West when these terrorist organizations have started to conduct deadly terrorist attacks in the heart of western cities by recruiting members from Muslim minority communities and setting up a global network of killers. Although Al-Qaeda and ISIS are less identical in military power and capability with Western states, their offensive operations have been effective enough to disseminate the sense of insecurity across the West.

Hatred of Muslims and Islamic faith has increasingly become common in the Western world particularly since the September 11 terrorist attacks in the U.S conducted by the once famous terrorist organization, Al-Qaeda, in 2001. With the decline of Al-Qaeda, ISIS has got on the stage and came under the spotlight through deadly attacks in the heart of European cities. Therefore, Western host societies' post-9/11 reactions deserve particular attention to understanding the adverse effects of their perception of Islam as a threat to their domestic security and order.

It is important that fear-free ethno cultural relations between Muslim minorities and their respective Western host societies can be maintained by avoiding statements, actions and policies provoking anti-Muslim hatred and identifying Islam as a source of the security dilemma. Certainly, this can be very instrumental in combating Islam phobia worldwide and making Western countries more secure from radical terrorist organizations exploiting Islam as a motivation. This approach can help invigorate social cohesion and stability within Western host societies and prevent the possible emergence of cross-cultural conflict with their respective Muslim minorities, thereby maintaining greater respect for minority cultures.

The usage of the term Islam phobiais relatively popular among social scientists, journalists, and political leaders, governmental and non-governmental organizations. Islamophobia is equal with anti-Muslim prejudice and anti-Islam hate stigmatizing Muslims worldwide as a whole. Zuquete (2008: 324) defines Islamophobia as "a widespread mindset and fear-laden discourse in which people make blanket judgments of Islam as the enemy, as the other, as a dangerous and unchanged, monolithic bloc that is the natural subject of well-deserved hostility from Westerners." Stolz (2005: 548) calls it "a rejection of Islam, Muslim groups, and Muslim individuals by prejudice and stereotypes.

It may be emotional, cognitive, evaluative as well as action-oriented elements (e.g. discrimination, violence)." Semati (2010: 1) defines it as "a single, unified and negative conception of an essential zed Islam, which is then deemed incompatible with Euro-Americaness."

It is important to mention that the fear of Islam or Islamophobia does not only stem from the tragic 9/11 attacks or other recent terrorist attacks carried out by radical Islamic organizations across the Western world. As Abbas (2004)mentioned in his article, the West has portrayed Muslims as a threat to its existence since the genesis of Islam in 622. For this reason, Muslims have always been identified as the "Other" in the history of Western civilization. It is not wrong to say that this is no different today. The demonization of Islam is still present. Muslims are still being portrayed as the causes of evil in the world. Such negative characterization today mainly helps spread anti-Islam sentiment throughout the Western world and thereby aggrandize the perception of Islam as implacably threatening. Hence, Muslim presence has become even more a focus of attention, particularlyin the Western World.

Like Posen (1993), Snyder and Jervis (1999) highlighted the danger of domestic anarchy in the aftermath of a collapsed central authority and stressed that predatory intentions of the groups could worsen the intensity of the security dilemma. This is what occurred in Iraq and Syria. The Sunni Iraqi minority and the Shia Iraqi majority engaged in sectarian violence and so Iraq was portioned into Sunni and Shia dominated areas after the central government had collapsed. Their predatory intentions deepened chaos in Iraq and the security dilemma between the two communities. Syria is another example. Syria quickly dragged into a civil war because of Bashar al-Assad's atrocities and harsh persecutions. Domestic chaos in Iraq and Syria has offered ISIS an opportunity for its predatory intentions targeting not only local communities but also the whole Western society.

The security dilemma and realist theory have a considerable ability to explain the introduction of massive new anti-terrorism laws by Western governments since 9/11 that have marked the usage of an individual's religious identity as evidence to target the whole Muslim community. This religious profiling has made Muslims living in Western host societies vulnerable to the prejudiced executive and legislative responses and disadvantaged regarding expressing their religious identity without fear of discrimination and persecution.

The incidence of 9/11 organized by Al-Qaeda largely laid the groundwork for a situation in which innocent, law-abiding Muslim citizens as a whole have been perceived a security risk because of their religious identity by their respective governments. The political engagement of Muslims residing in the West against anti-terrorism bills should be assessed within this context.

The inclusion of religious motive by Western governments into the legal definition of terrorism is a problematic aspect of Western states' security dilemma about Islam. Collecting evidence about one's religious identity to decide whether he is a potential terrorist or not is related to this situation. For this reason, Australian Muslims have increasingly raised concerns over the Australian government's anti-terrorism laws seemed to target the ethno cultural freedom and equality of the Australian Muslim minority. Ghait Krayem, president of the Islamic Council of Victoria, said at an anti-islamophobia forum that such anti-terrorism laws indeed target Australian Muslims provoking hostility and prejudice against them.

Krayem also added that such anti-terrorism laws will make Australian Muslims more likely to be exposed to unfair treatment that they have already experience and also make ordinary Australians more suspicious of them (Zubrzycki, 2015). According to a study that surveyed 800 hundred Australian Muslims, 75% believe that counter-terrorism laws that have been passed since the September 11 attacks aim at Muslims, while half say that they have changed their style of dressing to avoid scrutiny (Safi & Evershed, 2015). Canada's 2001 Anti-Terrorism Act sets another example for this case. Canadian lawyer Ziyaad Mia (2002) pointed out "If people fly a plane into BCE Place in downtown Toronto simply because they are crazy, they will receive a lesser criminal sanction than if they do it in the name of God or Buddha.

Why is this distinction made? It is here evident that the religious motive requirement to identify an ordinary person terrorist is simply the result of Canada's fear of insecurity. Liban Hussein is one of the victims of Canadian security dilemma. Hussein who is of Somalia origin is a member of the Ottawa Muslim community and run a money exchange office. Canada wrongfully listed him as a terrorist and tried to extradite him to the United States (Dosman, 2004). Maher Arar, a Canadian citizen, born in Syria, is another example illustrating victimization of innocent Muslims by the fear of insecurity. Arar was detained in the USA returning to Canada and then sent to Syria for interrogation.

He was tortured and beaten during the interrogation. He was also forced to sign a false confession. His name was damaged in the public eye by Canadian mainstream media charging him with being a member of Al-Qaeda. In the end, the Canadian government issued a formal apology to Arar on behalf of the Canadian nation and agreed to pay ten million dollars in compensation for the tremendous injustice(Ottawa reaches $10M settlement with Arar, 2007).

Both cases given above show that Canada, like other any Western country is not immune to Islamophobia and experiences a domestic security dilemma. For this reason, it is possible to see anti-Islam incidents and legislative and executive measures in Canada similar to those in European countries, the United States and Australia that imperil ethno cultural freedom and equality of Muslims. Recall that the logic of domestic security dilemma is about ethno cultural communities becoming fearful for their safety and thus, in the end, introducing offensive or defensive reactions against one another. Unfortunately, this is what today Canada like other Western countries is experiencing. On the state level, Canada tightened its legislation and expanded powers of law enforcement in the wake of the tragic 9/11 attacks. No doubt, the emergence of al-Qaeda-inspired terrorism led the Canadian host society into fear about its survival, and so the Canadian state took counterterrorism measures, eroding freedom of law-abiding, patriot Canadian Muslims to articulate their ethno cultural particularity freely without fear of discrimination and subordination.

European countries exhibited security dilemma-based reflexes similar to those of Canada and the United States against their respective Muslim minority communities following 9/11. European countries intensified their police, intelligence and legal cooperation and adopted new national laws. Furthermore, the EU significantly increased the budget of the European police cooperation agency. With this move, the EU meant to deal with possible future al-Qaeda attacks. When bombs hit Madrid and London under the supervision of al-Qaeda, European countries had become more concerned about their security and got more tempted than ever to see their Muslim citizens a security threat.

The fear of insecurity led them to adopt new terrorism acts discriminative against Muslims. For instance, according to the findings of the UK Institute of Race Relations, the vast majority of those arrested under the British 2000 and 2001 Terrorism acts were Muslims during the three years following 9/11.

Moreover, the total number of arrested was 609, whereas the total number of convictions secured in open courts was 15 (Kundnani, 2004). These figures clearly indicate that the new Terrorism Acts has unjustly stigmatized a large number of innocent Muslim people. This situation is likely to heighten perceptions of discrimination and alienation among Europe's Muslim minorities.

The advocates of anti-terror measures in European countries, the United States, Canada and Australia that authorities had to adopt new terrorism laws victimizing innocent people and erode individual liberty of citizens because of the transnational and extremely violence character of new terrorism equipped with new technological and communication developments. The new terrorism is not selective like the old terrorism in violence. It targets non-protective public places and civilians. And, it is highly capable of operating worldwide which requires an internationally coordinated counterterrorism efforts.

Critics, however, highlight the danger of going too far. Confirming the necessity of new counterterrorism tactics, new national legislations and international coordination to deal with the new terrorism, they highlight the danger of eroding civil liberties and victimizing innocents. They also question the difficulty of criminalization of humanitarian activities of entities, charity organizations and persons within the broad scope of the standard definition of terrorism that causes stigmatization of Muslims in Western countries. Today, this is a major problem the United States, Canada, and European countries must solve. It would be correct to say that this challenge is more significant for European majority societies because of pre-existing xenophobia, intolerance, and discrimination against Muslims across Europe. In this context, one can argue that the fear of Muslims is very likely to cause a more robust security dilemma in European countries than the United States, Canada or Australia.

Allen and Nielsen (2002) argue that this condition emanates from the social composition of European societies in which Muslims occupy the lower levels of the society confined to the suburbs. Authors here explicitly accept that extremists may exploit those living in the suburbs and cause a sort of home grown terrorism. In this sense, low-income Muslim youths concentrated in the European suburbs are tended to pose a challenge to European security because they can be psychologically manipulated by terrorist groups like al- Qaeda or ISIS to carry out violent attacks in the heart of European cities as happened in Paris, London and Madrid.

However, Allen and Nielsen point out the fact that the most immediate threat to the United States does not emanate from its suburbs, but from foreign terrorist organizations with physical cells and basis in foreign countries. It is true that any of 19 men affiliated with the September 11 attacks were not US citizens. On the other hand, all of the three ISIS-affiliated gunmen stormed into a satirical weekly newspaper, Charlie Hebdo, were born and raised in the suburbs of Paris. The filmmaker Theo van Gogh was killed by a 26 years old gunman of Moroccan descent who was born and raised in the Netherlands. The bombings in London and Madrid were carried out by local individuals affiliated with al-Qaeda.

The 2015 coordinated attacks in Paris left many people dead and wounded have been conducted by ISIS-affiliated individuals born and raised in Europe. In this context, European countries became more fearful of homegrown terrorism and witnessed stronger rightist extremism which led to incidents of vandalism and violent attacks on Muslim individuals across Europe and gave a boost to European Islamophobia and xenophobia. It is also entirely correct to interpret the call by the European Council in 2002 to EU member states for developing terrorist profiles by nationality, age, and education shared through Europol with the fear of insecurity. Critics, however, criticized that profiling people by religion could raise the challenge of widespread discrimination against Muslims that is likely to undermine ethno cultural dignity and civil rights of Muslim minorities.

To avoid such problem, non-discriminatory measures should be incorporated into the application of new security powers. Ethno cultural dignity and civil rights of Muslim minorities can, therefore, be protected against discrimination. Also, relying on protective measures, rather than discriminatory measures, can truly entrench the domestic security in Western societies and avoid the alienation of innocent, law-abiding Muslims. Airport screening is an obvious example of non-discriminatory measures because it targets everyone without regard to religion, race, nationality, color or gender. It is practically possible to develop such discrimination-free security measures across Western societies.

To say that Western societies need to adopt protective measures rather than discriminative measures to protect the dignity of innocent Muslims is not to deny that faith- motivated terrorist cells composed of persons from Muslim minorities might cause the authorities to develop unintentionally discriminative measures.

To minimize this negative result, intelligence services, and law enforcement agencies should be very proactive in gathering and assessing information on terrorist cells and potential recruits and by doing this, they should avoid portraying the whole Muslim community as a threat to domestic security through the lens of the security dilemma. To allay ethno cultural denigration of Muslims, Nielsen's suggestion that procedural safeguards and profound evaluation of adverse impacts of anti-terrorism security measures on the civil rights of Muslims minorities are of importance.

Recall that Figuerido Jr. and Weinsgat (1999) highlighted the role of elites in escalating domestic instability and exacerbating the security dilemma between the groups for the sake of maintaining their political power. The Shia-led governments in Iraq that came to power since the overthrow of Saddam Hussein by the US-led coalition in 2003 are the most recent concrete examples of this argument. Then Prime Minister Hasan al-Maliki heavily relied on the Shia card for his political ends and thus his discriminative political actions and decisions seriously resented the Sunni Iraqi minority blaming the Shia-led governments for inflaming sectarian violence in the country. It is true that Shia politicians, for instance, Maliki, tended to exclude Sunnis from the government while exploiting inter-ethnic violence to maintain the balance of political power in favor of Shias in Iraq.

Such elite-centered argument can also explain Western political, media and religious elites' anti-Muslim discourse. How can a Muslim feel free and safe in any Western country as Western elites employ hate speech against Islam? Or, how can a Muslim child in school get rid of being called as a terrorist by his/her friends as Christian media outlets portray Muslims as potential recruits? Or how can a Muslim woman in hijab walk on the street with her children without fear of racist assaults as a pastor drive his community with hatred and malice against Islam in his preaches? Liberal multicultural democracies offer individuals indeed a fair and equal treatment and citizenship rights, regardless of religion, color, gender, race, language or ethnicity.

No doubt, the majority of problems Muslims have recently experienced in Western liberal democracies stems from the implications of terrorist attacks occurred in various Western countries. However, the West's association of terrorist organizations such as al-Qaeda and ISIS with Islam is quite a big mistake because it disperses a misperception about Muslims throughout the society that deepens the fear of insecurity.

No doubt, elites play a critical role in this process because they are largely able to influence the public opinion either in a positive manner or a negative manner. For instance, the recent presidential campaign in the United States indicative of this condition. Donal Trump's presidential candidate anti-Islamic discourse has mostlyproper intolerance and prejudice towards Muslims in the United States and the world.

Moreover, it is important that Western political, media and religious elites should be well aware of the fact that ethno cultural justice is an essential feature of liberal democracy and their Muslim minorities form a distinctive culture that it's ethno cultural their host societies should not undermine freedom and equality under the pretext of anti-Islam hatred. Liberal multicultural democracies should promise individuals a fair and equal treatment and citizenship rights, regardless of religion, color, gender, race, language or ethnicity.

The majority of problems Muslims have recently experienced in their respective Western host society's stems from the implications of terrorist attacks occurred in various Western countries. Especially, Political, religious and media elites' efforts to affiliate terrorist organizations such as al-Qaeda, ISIS or Boko Haram with Islam in the West is quite a big mistake because it disperses a misperception about Muslims throughout the world and in their respective countries. That is to say; Western elites play a critical role in the surge of Islamophobia-caused security dilemma in the Western society through their hate speeches and actions.

To establish and maintain security dilemma-free relations between Muslim minorities and their Western states and host societies, Western elites should not let their Islamophobia turn into a sort of internal restrictions both at the state and societal level involving the danger of individual and communal oppression against Muslims. Islamophobic Politicians like U.S presidential candidate Donald Trump, former USA President George Bush, former French President Nicholas Sarkozy and former Canadian prime minister Stephen Harper should avoid employing Islamophobia as a political campaign to increase their polls, newspapers like Paris Match as a tool to improve their newspapers circulation, TV outlets like Fox News as a commodity to boost their profits and religious leaders like Terry Jones, the US pastor who is behind the burn Quran day campaign, as a preach to extend their public popularity.

Otherwise, anti-Islam hatred and fear about Muslims will consistently continue to exist among members of the Western host societies and Muslims unavoidably continue to be subject to oppression or discrimination in the name of security. In this sense, oppression is a sort of internal restriction eroding Muslims' dignity, freedom and equality. When Fariha Naqvi-Mohamed (Naqvi, 2013), a freelance journalist, in a children movie matinee with her children and InasKadri ("Toronto Niqab assault case ends in suspended sentence," 2011) at a shopping mall in Mississauga with her children were abused and assaulted because they were wearing headscarf, their ethno cultural freedom, equality, and dignity had been restricted.

When three Muslim students named Deah Shaddy Barakat, Yusor Mohammad, Razan Mohammad Abu-Salha(Brumfield, 2015) had been shot to death at a residential complex of the University of Carolina in the USA by an Islamophobic local, these young Muslims' freedom to life had been restricted by a local Islamophobic. All Western political, journalist and religious elites should realize that their actions and statements can lead to security concerns on the street and encourage intolerance that is likely to cause deprivations of conditions necessary for their Muslim citizens' physical and ethno cultural survival.

Another important thing Western states and elites should do to mollify islamophobia-associated security dilemma is to avoid creating a public perception that all Muslims are potential recruits for terrorist groups like al-Qaeda and ISIS using Islam as motivation to achieve their vicious goals and Muslims within their societies are a domestic security threat. Also, Western elites should stay away from provocative ideas that these terrorist groups represent Islam and Muslims.

It is a solid fact that the existence of such terrorist organizations threatens not only the security of West but also the ethno cultural survival and living spaces of Muslims in it because it favours the far right capitalizing on fear, mistrust, and hatred of Muslims and Islam. Every hate crime against Muslims in the West is linked to this fact. Western states and elites should be well aware of this condition and collectively stay away false accusations of Muslims and Islam and policies, if they desire to reduce the islam ophobia-caused security dilemma and eliminate fascist trends in the West. Otherwise, Muslim minorities continue to be the target of hate, and the Western Islam ophobic security concerns continue to persist increasingly.

Another thing to maintain security dilemma-free ethno cultural relations between Muslim minorities and their Western host societies is that Western states and elites should not develop and implement foreign policies that denigrate Muslims and define Islam as an enemy. As Sinno (2009) puts it in his article, Western governments and elites should develop domestic and foreign policies that do not stoke resentment among Muslims at home and abroad. This is a quite important point. Ever since the tragic events of September 11, Western governments and political elites have engaged in foreign policies presenting Islam as a new enemy of the West that replaced communism.

The US-led invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq was a result of this situation. As a matter of fact, this led to a fascist public opinion in the West that Islam is dangerous, and so Muslims should not be hosted. It seems that the recent US presidential candidate, Donald Trump, is largely under the influence of such perception like many other Western politicians such as Marine Le Pen in France, Geert Wilders in Holland, Pauline Marois in Canada.

In public speeches, Trump lashes out at Muslims on every occasion capitalizing on security dilemma by defining Islam and Muslims as a security threat. This is apparently consistent with the argument raised by Figueiredo Jr. and Weingast (1999) earlier above those political elites may use fear and anxiety in a way that they can acquire and maintain political power. The brutal attacks of such terrorist organizations as ISIS and al-Qaeda in Western cities effectively offer Western Islamophobic politicians an instrument for making negative generalizations about Muslims and boosting their chances of success.

How did Muslim presence emerge in the West? This is simply a natural result of the Western experiences of colonization, decolonization, and immigration. The major process that boosted substantially the growth of Muslim presence in Western countries was post-Second World War immigration policies designed to meet specific labor demands. Muslim immigrants from different parts of the world haveestablished an ethno culturally diverse minority culture in the bosom of the western civilization with the subsequent generations over time. Today, the Muslim minority is the second largest ethno cultural community in almost every Western country because of high fertility rates and continued immigration,and it is the 9/11 attacks that have made Western states sensitive to this fact in the years to come after the 9/11 attacks.

A report carried out by the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) in 2002 one year after the 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States provides significant evidence on how innocent Muslims have started to become victims of their Western host societies' perception of domestic security dilemma. The report suggested that Muslim minority communities in the many European Member States have become even more vulnerable to the acts of hostility, aggression, and harassment(EUMC, 2003).

Concurrently, the report underlined the important role of government, institutions, the media, and civil society organizations in tackling the destabilizing effect of rising anti-Muslim hatred in the European society. Moreover, the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) published a report in 2007 on the basis of EUMC's legal base and mandate to assess evidence of an increase in Islam ophobia in all European countries. The report found out that physical attacks and verbal abuses against Muslims or those characterized as Muslims are on the rise and have become increasingly even more common in European countries as time goes by (FRA, 2007).According to another report conducted by the Council of Europe's Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI, 2015) covering the period 2014, Islam ophobia acts threatening Muslims' ethno cultural freedom and equality residing in Europe continues to rise relentlessly. The report highlighted that Islamophobia is a growing trend in Europe and Muslims in Europe have become potential targets for physical attacks significantly threatening their daily life.

It is unfortunate that the situation is no different in the United States and Canada. Like their coreligionists in Europe, Muslims across the United States and Canada have increasingly become the target of hate crimes and bias incidents. During the period under review from May 2015 to April 2016, the OIC Observatory Report(OIC, 2015) noted that hatred against Islam and Muslims has sharply grown in the United States and Canada, and the United States has involved more hate violence incidence motivated by anti-Muslim sentiment than Canada for hosting demographically a larger Muslim minority community. Beside this, it is important to know that the number of hate crimes targeting Muslim Canadian more than doubled over a three-year period even as the total number of hate crimes had decreased.

The slaughter of a family of three young Muslims named Deah Shaddy Barakat, Yusor Mohammad, Razan Mohammad Abu-Salha in their home in North Carolina by a 46-year-old Islamophobic man and the murder of Khalid Jabara, a member of the Lebanese American family, by his Islamophobic neighbour on his porch in Oklahoma in the United States andthe beaten and robbery of a Muslim woman by two Islamophobic men outside a Toronto elementary school in Canada have exemplified the worrying trend in these countries. The OIC observer report also highlighted thatsuch hatred manifested itself into illiberal campaigns and discourses in these countries, defaming Islam and marginalizing Muslims. All of these findings and examples indicate that anti-Muslim sentiment is an increasingly significant issue in the United States and Canada.

It is not surprising to see that Islamophobia also exists in Australia. According to the OIC Observatory Report (2015), anti-Muslim hatred in Australia is at an unprecedented level, and Muslims living in this country have increasingly become vulnerable to hate crimes, intolerance, and discrimination like any other Muslims living in Western countries. A man was punched in the face for defending a Muslim woman being abused by an Islamophobic man on the train. In another case, a cup of coffee was thrown in a Muslim woman's face waiting at traffic lights in her car while other Muslim women at the West end had been threatened and insulted for wearing hijab by a man. Also, mosques and Muslim community centers were vandalized and abusive pamphlets were distributed on streets insulting Muslims and Islam. Even churches carrying Arabic scripts were vandalized (Poynting, 2002).

A Sikh manwas abused by two Islamophobicmen in a Melbourne street for wearing a turban. Along with the negative trend, the Australian Muslim community had been exposed to a negative campaign against Islam conducted by politicians, famous public figures, academicians and ordinary citizens. In Bendigo, mysterious black balloons were hung by a vocal group of Islamophobics outside the houses of people supporting the building of a mosque in the neighborhood. The leader of the Rise-up party,Danny Nalliah, defined Islam as a death cult in a local political campaign. Liberalsenator Cory Bernardi made an attempt to ban the wearing of Burka in 2010followed bypolice raids in Brisbane and Sydney targeting Muslims. All these examples clearly prove that anti-Muslim fear has reached significant levels in Australia(OIC, 2015).

It would be entirely correct to assess the overall findings of each report and examples given above within the realist concept of the security dilemma. Recall that the fear about survival lies in the center of the realist school of thought and the security dilemma among states is an inevitable consequence of this condition.Realists believes that human beings and states have an innate desire to survive, which leads them to engage in self-help behavior and policies to increase their security.

That is to say; it is the quest for the safety causing security dilemma among humans and states. Viewed through the lens of the security dilemma, Muslims residing in the North America and Europe have increasingly become the target of intolerance, assault, and xenophobia because members of their respective host societies held them responsible for the cause of their fear about security. Islamophobia is explicitly the consequence of this situation. It has made security the first concern of Western host societies. Islamophobic members of these societies wish to survive as nation-states do in the international system and thus are tempted to commit hate violence or other forms of hate crimes against Muslims. They see the Muslim identity as a threat because of the terrorist attacks occurred in the bosom of Western countries.

Conclusion

Overall, the modified application of the security dilemma concept of the school of realism offers valuable insight into understanding the rise of Islamophobia in Western countries and their security fears. Western nations have perceived the brutal actions of terrorist organizations like ISIS or Al-Qaeda exploiting Islam as a cause to be offensive in nature and so have taken reactive security measures to ensure the survival of their people. The current US-led war against ISIS in Iraq and Syria or the previous US-led military intervention in Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003 to smash Al-Qaeda should be assessed within this context.

It is a matter of the fact that there is a direct connection between the West's Islamophobia-founded security dilemma and the trend of increasing hatred and prejudice against peaceful and innocent Muslims living as minority communities in Western countries which are known as liberal democracies that should uphold ethno cultural freedom and equality. Together with all wrong perception about Islam, anti-Muslim and anti-Islam hatred in the West fiercely threatens the day to day life of Muslims, their right to ethno cultural freedom and equality and even their right to life.

It is an important regrettable fact that Khalid Jabara's right to life was assaulted when he was shot dead on his porch by his Islamophobic neighbor. Remember the murder of three Muslim students, Deah Shaddy Barakat, Yusor Mohammad, Razan Mohammad Abu-Salha, in their home by their Islamophobic neighbor in South California and the beating of Mushin Ahmed, a grandfather, aged 81, to death on the way to the mosque by two Islamophobic men in Rotherham. These examples indicate that the Islamophobia-founded security dilemma and anti-Muslim hatred have indeed rooted firmly in the minds of western societies, thereby threatening the ethno cultural survival of Muslim minorities in Western host nations.

History proves that religion has been a useful instrument for terrorist organizations to justify their violence and to accomplish their goals. Recall that the Ku Klux Klan manipulated Christianity, the Stern Gang and Irgun exploited Judaism, Aug Skinkrikyo used elements of Buddhism, the Holy Spirit Mobile Force and the Lord's Resistance Army employed cult motives, to justify their acts of terrorism. ISIS and its predecessor Al-Qaeda have pursued precisely the same strategy by exploiting Islam to justify their terrible terrorist acts.

Today, mainstream Muslims who are fiercely opposed to both extremism and phobia are the apparent victims of ISIS and Islamophobics who have well capitalized on violent acts of ISIS and its likes' acts to spill anti-Muslim hate. At this point, the West should establish a culture of discernment whereby the evil actions of some individuals or groups cannot be attributed to all Muslims. No proper sense of discernment has been applied to Muslims until recently, and negative generalizations and stereotyping against Islam have made Muslims in Western countries targets of hate crimes, thereby undermining their ethno cultural freedom and equality. The West should come to an understanding that terrorism has no religion and is global phenomenon used by different individuals and groups. Thereby linking a particular faith with terrorism and presenting their believers as suspects are a grave injustice.

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