



[itobiad], 2021, 10 (4): 3091-3109

<p>Uluslararası Göç ve İslamofobinin Bir “Yeni İrkçılık” Çeşidi Olarak Yükselişi</p> <p>International Migration and The Rise of Islamophobia as A "New Racism" Type</p> <p>Video Link: https://youtu.be/uXWmp-MOP3o</p>	
<p>Emine ERDEN KAYA</p> <p>Dr., Gazi Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi</p> <p>Phd., Gazi University, Graduate School of Social Sciences Political Science and Public Administration</p> <p>emineerdenkaya@gmail.com / Orcid ID: 0000-0002-1225-2382</p> <p>Merve Suna ÖZEL ÖZCAN</p> <p>Dr. Öğr. Üyesi., Kırıkkale Üniversitesi, Uluslararası İlişkiler Bölümü</p> <p>Asst. Prof., Kırıkkale University, Department of International Relations</p> <p>mervesuna@yahoo.com</p> <p>Orcid ID: 0000-0001-9027-3990</p>	

Makale Bilgisi / Article Information

Makale Türü / Article Type	: Araştırma Makalesi / Research Article
Geliş Tarihi / Received	: 16.03.2021
Kabul Tarihi / Accepted	: 27.06.2021
Yayın Tarihi / Published	: 20.12.2021
Yayın Sezonu	: Ekim-Kasım-Aralık
Pub Date Season	: October-November-December

Atıf/Cite as: Kaya, E. E. & Özel Özcan, M. S. (2021). International Migration and The Rise of Islamophobia as A "New Racism" Type . İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri Araştırmaları Dergisi , 10 (4) , 3091-3109 . Retrieved from <http://www.itobiad.com/tr/pub/issue/66167/896444>

İntihal /Plagiarism: Bu makale, en az iki hakem tarafından incelenmiş ve intihal içermediği teyit edilmiştir. / This article has been reviewed by at least two referees and confirmed to include no plagiarism. <http://www.itobiad.com/>

Copyright © Published by Mustafa YİĞİTOĞLU Since 2012 – Istanbul / Eyup, Turkey. All rights reserved.

Uluslararası Göç ve İslamofobinin Bir "Yeni İrkçılık" Çeşidi Olarak Yükselişi

Öz

Uluslararası göç olgusu, günümüzde diğer göç çeşitlerinden daha fazla ön planda olan bir sorundur. Son dönemde yaşanan çeşitli krizler nedeniyle artan insan hareketliliğinin, özellikle müreffeh ve ekonomik olarak gelişmiş Batı ulus devletlerinde yoğunlaştığı görülmektedir. Bu durum ise farklı din, dil, etnik köken ve kültürden daha fazla insanın karşılaşmasına ve uyum sorunları yaşamasına neden olmaktadır. Ayrıca bu gelişmeler Batı toplumlarında azınlık olan Müslümanların günlük yaşamlarını derinden etkilemektedir. İslamofobi temelinde yabancı düşmanlığından bir "yeni ırkçılığa" dönüşen süreçte, Müslümanlar artık uyumsuz ve tehlikeli bir dinin mensupları olarak görülmektedir. Bu gelişmelerle birlikte değerlendirildiğinde, çalışmanın konusu uluslararası göç olgusunun sonuçlarından biri olarak farklı dinlerden insanların karşılaşmalarındaki dinamiklerin, günümüzde yaşamlarına ve anlayışlarına olan etkilerinin analiz edilmesidir. Bu çalışmanın amacı ise uluslararası göçün sonuçlarından biri olan İslamofobinin yükselişini ve "yeni ırkçılığa" dönüşme nedenlerini tarihsel gelişmelerle birlikte değerlendirmektir. Karşılaştırmalı tarihsel sosyolojik analiz yöntemi benimsenmiştir. Araştırmanın en önemli bulguları, uluslararası göç olgusunun farklı kültür, dil, etnik köken ve dinlerden insanları, daha yüksek sosyoekonomik düzeye sahip Batı toplumlarında daha çok bir araya getirdiği ve özellikle aşırı sağ partiler ve medya gibi iç dinamiklerle entegrasyon sorunlarının daha çözümsüz hale geldiğidir. Özellikle Batı toplumlarında, tarihsel krizler ve gelişmeler bağlamında, Müslüman göçmenler, yabancı düşmanlığı ve bir tür yeni-kültürel ırkçılıkla daha fazla karşılaşmaktadır. Bu durum İslamofobiden İslam karşıtlığına doğru gelişen tehlikeli bir süreci görünür kılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Uluslararası Göç, İslamofobi, Yabancı Düşmanlığı, Kültürel İrkçılık, İslam Karşıtlığı, Müslüman Karşıtlığı

International Migration and The Rise of Islamophobia as A "New Racism" Type

Abstract

The phenomenon of international migration is a problem that is more prominent than other types of migration today. It is observed that human mobility, which has increased due to various crises in the recent period, is especially concentrated in the prosperous and economically developed



Western nation-states. This situation causes more people from different religions, languages, ethnic origins and cultures to meet and experience adaptation problems. In addition, these developments deeply affect the daily lives of Muslims, who are a minority in Western societies. In the process that evolved from xenophobia to a "new racism" based on Islamophobia, Muslims are now seen as members of an incompatible and dangerous religion. When evaluated together with these developments, the subject of the study is to examine the effects of dynamics in the encounters of people from different religions on their lives and understandings, which is one of the results of the phenomenon of international migration today. This study aims to analyze the rise of Islamophobia, one of the consequences of international migration, and the reasons for its transformation into "new racism" together with historical developments. A comparative historical sociological analysis method has been adopted. The most important findings of the study are that the phenomenon of international migration compares people from different cultures, languages, ethnic origins and religions more in Western societies with a higher socioeconomic level and makes integration problems more unsolved, especially with internal dynamics such as the far-right and the media. Especially in Western societies, in the context of historical crisis and developments of Muslim immigrants, xenophobia and a kind of new-cultural racism are more frequently encountered. This situation makes visible a dangerous process developing from Islamophobia to anti-Islamism.

Keywords: International Migration, Islamophobia, Xenophobia, New Racism, Anti-Islamism, Anti-Muslimism

Introduction

The problem of migration is one of the most important security issues in the international arena in today's world. The phenomenon of migration has emerged with the movements of individuals and masses throughout human history and has affected new situations and events. Migrations are not just the displacement of individuals and masses within the state. It is becoming the globally effective movement that we encounter in the international arena. As the International Organization for Migration (IOM) included in the 2020 World Migration Report, migration creates a problematic area because it is a multiple population variable, unlike birth and death events that define the life span of the individual. For this reason, definitions of migration may vary according to time and place.

Migration has many consequences not only nationally but also internationally. In this respect, the effects of migration focus on drawing a picture that will be discussed starting from the international dimension. The conceptual framework of the study includes migration, immigration and international migration. After the explanation of the concepts, Islamophobia



will be examined as a new type of racism. At this point, the study aims to examine the effects of cultural racism on immigrants from a different religion in terms of historical developments and the consequences of international migration. In this respect, our main assumption is that international migration feeds and reveals Islamophobia as a new form of racism.

Recently, Islamophobia, which has been evaluated within the framework of racism, is also subject to criticism about the concept and naming it. The reasons for the rise of Islamophobia and anti-Islam in the international arena in recent years are closely linked to historical developments. This fear and hostility, which has existed since the first years of Islam, has increased especially in the last 30 years. One of the most important reasons for this is that the number of Muslims seen as "external enemies" is increasing day by day in different Western societies due to international migrations. This situation causes the population to be regarded as an "internal enemy" due to factors such as the "other" rhetoric of the far-right or the media, as they are more resistant to integration or assimilation, and they are the subject of important discrimination and exclusion practices, from hate speech to hate crimes.

The methodological approach of the study focuses on seeing the socio-cultural changes caused by the phenomenon of immigration in the international arena within the framework of historical sociological analysis. In this context, the rising fear of Islam and hostility in Western societies is analysed within a case study. In addition to examining the historical and sociological process, current data and developments are the main sources of the study.

Conceptual Framework

Migration, Immigration and International Migration Concepts

Migration, in the most general sense, is a geographical phenomenon and a frequently repeated experience as a common phenomenon in human history dating back thousands of years (Bartram, Poros and Monforte, 2019, p.13). It will be useful to take a look at certain situations on the conceptual basis of the phenomenon of migration. According to Lee (1966), immigration is generally defined as a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence. Situations such as the distance of the action or whether the action is voluntary or not do create a limitation in this change. For this reason, Lee sees both situations as an act of immigration, such as the movement of individuals from one apartment to another and from Bombay, India, to Iowa. However, the main point here is the reality created by the initiation and consequences of such movements (Lee, 1966, p.49). According to IOM, immigration is "a person or a group of people crossing an international border or moving within a state" ((Perruchoud and Redpath, 2004, p.35).



When both definitions are considered, the consequences of migration and the conditions under which it was created gain importance.

Developing and changing political, economic, social, technological, military etc. related to migration. As a result of many situations, it is seen that there has been a great global wave, especially in the last decade. This situation leads to great difficulties and traumas, including the loss of lives, the migration of the masses and the incidents of displacement. Looking at this situation in terms of regions, it is seen that especially the Middle East and Africa draw attention. According to Castles and Miller (2014), the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), a wide area stretching from Morocco to Iran, is affected by complex population movements. ¹ Looking at the crises and conflicts in the MENA (The Middle East and North Africa) region, it is seen that millions of people have started to emigrate from countries such as Syria, Yemen, the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of Congo and South Sudan. Again, as in Venezuela, situations of economic and political instability can create migration waves. Among the migration conditions included in IOM's 2020 World Migration Report, human mobility due to environment and climate change also has an important place. At this point, in 2018 and 2019, migration was observed in many parts of the world, including Mozambique, Philippines, China, India and the United States (USA), due to climate and air-related issues (IOM, 2020, p.2).

While defining the concept of immigration, attention should be paid to different concepts. In IOM's dictionary, an immigrant is defined as an immigrant person. Considering the recent international developments, the concepts of asylum-seeker and refugee draw attention. According to the definition of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), a refugee is a person who has had to flee their country due to persecution, war or violence (What is a Refugee? 2020). On the other hand, an asylum seeker is a person whose asylum request has not yet been processed. Regarding asylum seeker admission and law, national asylum systems determine who qualifies for international protection. ² On a global scale, the refugee population increased more than ever in 2019. According to the current data of UNHCR, the number of people forcibly displaced due to persecution, conflict, violence or human rights violations increased by 8.7 million compared to the previous year, and this number reached 79.5 million people worldwide at the end of 2019. Today, there are 26 million refugees, 45.7 million internally displaced people and 4.2 million asylum seekers in the world (Refugee Statistics, 2020). As can be seen in the data in Table 1, there is a rapidly increasing acceleration from 1970 to 2019. Although the data are seen as low as 2 to 3 percent, the number of immigrants reaching

¹ Here, Castles and Miller draw attention to the countries. Turkey, Jordan, and whereas the main sources of migrant labour in some countries such as Morocco, Turkey is now seen as a country of immigration (Castles and Miller, 2014, p.14).

² UNHCR is often referred to as "at a glance" refugees, as it is not possible to have individual interviews with every asylum seeker who crosses the border during mass refugee movements that often occur as a result of conflict or violence (Asylum-Seekers, 2020)



from 84 million to 271 million is an expression of an increase of more than 300 percent. This situation also reveals the picture of a major global migration crisis.

Table 1: International Migrants Between 1970-2019

Year	Number of Immigrants	Percentage of the world population of immigrants
1970	84,460,125	2.3%
1975	90,368,010	2.2%
1980	101,983,149	2.3%
1985	113,206,691	2.3%
1990	153,011,473	2.9%
1995	161,316,895	2.8%
2000	173,588,441	2.8%
2005	191,615,574	2.9%
2010	220,781,909	3.2%
2015	248,861,296	3.4%
2019	271,642,105	3.5%

Source: (World Migration Report, 2020, p.21)

International migration, on the other hand, commonly deals with national identities and social membership. Migration is the temporary or permanent resettlement of people from one country to another. What makes the concept of international migration important and interesting is that it is "international". In other words, even though domestic migration is more common, immigration to a different country makes international migration more important in terms of its consequences, although it is an alarming, difficult and less human act (Bartram, Poros and Monforte, 2019, pp.13-14).

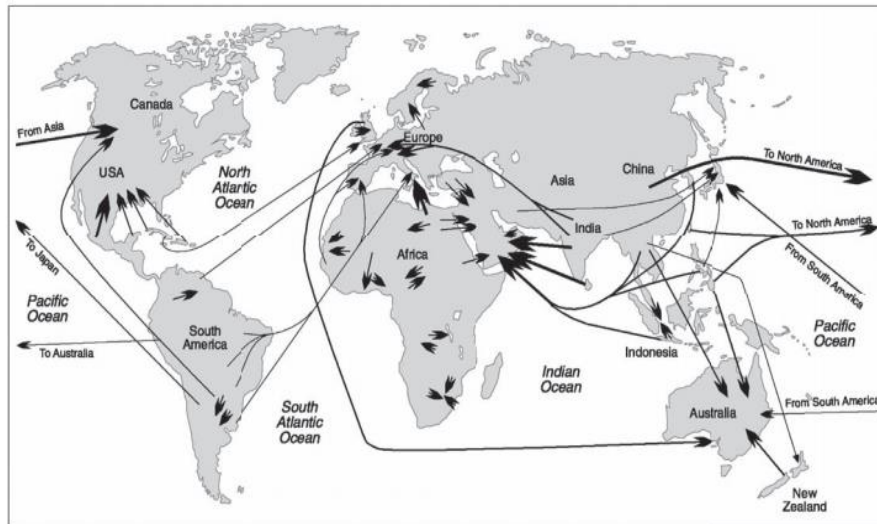
The "nation" at the core of the concept of international migration is important for understanding this phenomenon. Because migration between different countries has different results due to differences in nationality or differences between people. "Immigrants" in a particular country, draw attention because they are foreign and different. Although there is a lot of common ground between indigenous people and immigrants, the exaggeration of their differences and the way of perception based on these differences have made them labelled as "in the wrong place" or "belonging elsewhere". Nationality and foreignness are constructed as the fundamental



difference in the world of nation-states. Briefly; The concept of international migration becomes more understandable with the perception of difference. Therefore, even though differences are defined and classified concerning nationality, they can only be understood by corresponding to cultural, social and economic differences (Bartram, Poros and Monforte, 2019, pp.14-15).

As Castels and Miller point out, even though immigration has become increasingly political in recent years, this does not mean that immigration is something new. Because throughout history, people have always acted to seek new opportunities or to escape poverty, conflict, or environmental degradation. However, it can be stated that this situation caused a significant change in terms of the international system and order in the post-Cold War period (Castles and Miller, 2014). Especially after 1970, migration on the global axis started to draw attention (see Map 1). When we look at the migration movements historically, it is seen that worker migration increased in the 19th and 20th centuries. Although this situation is based on economic reasons, individuals who migrate between nation-states are permanently displaced. However, in the 21st century, the situation has changed. With the technological developments in the 21st century, transportation networks have begun to offer individuals a fluent and permanent environment (Yazan, 2016, p.24). According to Castles and Miller; The issue of migration has become complex in the globalization process and has started to increase all over the world in the post-Cold War period. In this process, migration has created ethnic and racial diversity in the receiving societies with the settlement of immigrant groups. In this case, it can fundamentally change the socio-cultural, economic and political fabric of societies in the long run (Castles and Miller, 2014, pp.1-6).

Map 1: International Migration Movements Since 1973



Note: The size of the arrowheads is an approximate indicator of flow volume. Exact figures are usually not available.

Source: (Castles and Miller, 2014, pp.1-6)



About international migration, Castles and Miller drew attention to the concept of globalization of migration by identifying some general trends despite different interpretations/approaches regarding global migration. Accordingly, this conceptualization expresses the tendency of an increasing number of countries to be significantly affected by international migration. For this reason, most immigration countries have immigrants from several different spectrums (economic, social, and cultural, etc.) (Castles and Miller, 2014, p.16). It can be said that the conditions and the consequences of these migration movements have also emerged in the regional axis. As will be examined in this study, sui generis situations such as Islamophobia have recently started to attract more attention over racial and ethnic conditions. In this respect, the impact of migration on the individual and the definition of the people who take the action is also important. Although it is possible to define individuals who carry out-migration as immigrants, a common definition of immigrant is encountered in the international arena. The United Nations definition of an immigrant is defined as an individual residing in a foreign country for more than a year, regardless of whether he is a volunteer or the form of migration routes. Within the scope of this definition, people who travel for shorter periods with the status of tourist or business person are not considered as immigrants (Perruchoud and Redpath, 2004, p.36).

Two Important Consequences of the International Migration: Xenophobia and New Racism

International migration and immigration problem is an important and fresh issue among the world societies transformed by the phenomenon of globalization. Especially as a result of the information age, the diversification and continuous renewal of mass media have increased the interaction between different nations and cultures. As a natural consequence, this situation has increased individual, mass, legal or illegal immigration for various reasons. Especially in developed and prosperous Western societies, this immigrant population is concentrated. Integration and adaptation problems cause an increase in exclusionary and discriminatory practices against this population. This situation is interpreted as the rise of xenophobia and new-cultural racism.

Generally, migration is a phenomenon that manifests itself as multidimensional social change and economic restructuring. Therefore, indigenous people, whose living conditions change unpredictably, often perceive newcomers/immigrants as a cause of insecurity (Castles and Miller, 2008, p.20). It is the general attitude of indigenous people of nation-states to name the newcomers or the immigrants who they think do not have a bond of belonging to their own culture and to land with concepts such as "alien or foreigner". The terms alien and foreign are often used to describe those who are members of another society, who are not citizens, who are excluded from



their country of residence or who are not accepted as members of that society because they were born in a different country (Bartram, Poros and Monforte, 2019, p.31). These terms are frequently used with xenophobia recently. Xenophobia is a rather vague psychological concept that defines a person's fear or avoidance of other persons or groups they perceive as foreigners. With this concept, "foreigners" are coded as carriers of different cultures that pose a threat to "national integrity" and should not be trusted (Yılmaz, 2008, p.27). This situation generally stems from cultural-centrism and this understanding manifests itself with "hating the cultures, traditions and customs of foreigners" (Taş, 1999, p.74).

On the other hand, it is seen that xenophobia has evolved recently and it has been discussed more within the framework of new-cultural racism. The reason for this is a new kind of hostility towards all kinds of foreigners, all different ethnic and religious groups, which are thought to have come later. Due to the reasons such as capitalist relations, globalization and immigration, people from different backgrounds, cultures and religions have come together in today's world, thereby transforming biological racism, which is an extension of xenophobia. According to Taguieff, there are two types of racism. He calls them "discriminatory racism" and "differentialist racism". "Discriminating racism" is a concept that can be understood within the framework of the classical theory of racial prejudice, also referred to as biological racism. "Differentialist racism" is based on the obligation to protect and confirm the "purity" of group identity. It marks the mixing of cultures as a critical mistake and vacillates between a system of exclusion (separate development/rejection) and a system of extermination (apartheid and genocide) (Taguieff, 1999, pp.209-210). Also, Balibar explains the concept of "new racism" in his article titled "Is there a new racism?" (Balibar, 1991, p.21):

"The new racism is a racism of the era of 'decolonization', of the reversal of population movements between the old colonies and the old metropolises, and the division of humanity within a single political space. Ideologically, current racism, which in France centres upon the immigration complex, fits into a framework of 'racism without races' which is already widely developed in other countries, particularly the Anglo-Saxon ones. It is a racism whose dominant theme is not biological heredity but the insurmountability of cultural differences, a racism which, at first sight, does not postulate the superiority of certain groups or peoples in relation to others but 'only' the harmfulness of abolishing frontiers, the incompatibility of life-styles and traditions; in short, it is what P. A. Taguieff has rightly called a *differentialist racism*."

The enemy of classical racism, which is easy to determine the "other", is the other races that are considered to be different from their group with their biological characteristics and are considered "inferior". However, this situation changed after the scientific refutation of the racial classification. For



this reason, today, the "others" of the new racism phenomenon are defined as "ethnic groups, religious communities and immigrants connected by different cultural, religious, geographical and historical ties" and expand their borders. In this context, especially "ethnocentrism and culturalism support neo-racism within the framework of xenophobia thought" (Sumbas, 2009, p.267). In short, "new racism" is the hierarchy, marginalization, exclusion and hostility of people according to their human and cultural differences such as different ethnic origin, language, religion or belonging to certain values (Kaya and Durgun, 2020, pp.91-92). As a result of the recent political, social and economic developments and transformations, especially in Western European countries, this new type of racism is rising as an extension of xenophobia. The increasing severity of prejudices and labelling from the past is interpreted as "anti-Islamism" and has made Islamophobia a current and important issue discussed within the framework of the concept of "new racism".

Islamophobia as a New Type of Racism

Islamophobia is one of the concepts that some intellectual and political elites insistently want to use, just like anti-Semitism, and on the other hand, most of them persistently avoid using it due to ideological concerns (Er and Ataman, 2008: 755). Islamophobia is a situation that emerged in the public sphere with a modern secular discourse against Islam and the integration of Muslim immigrants and intensified after 9/11. Particularly, after the term Islamophobia was included in the 1997 Runnymede Report, its use gradually increased in political circles, media and Muslim organizations (Cesari, 2015, pp.63-64). The concept of Islamophobia formed by the combination of "Islam" and "phobia". The word phobia originates from Phobos, the god of horror and fear in Greek mythology and is used to describe the feeling of excessive and exaggerated fear of something in Western literature (Evkuran, 2012, p.204).

When xenophobia or hostility is regarded as antipathy to the different, the thought of protecting a culture or society from foreign influences in order to preserve it "pure" prevails. The reason for this is the thought that foreign influences will spoil the "purity". On the other hand, racism and xenophobia are not the same things. However, often these two concepts have been used interchangeably in Western history. Because the basis of xenophobia has been interpreted based on race and this phenomenon has appeared as racism. Therefore, the most important change that needs to be determined is that Islamophobia reflects an antagonism based on religion and culture rather than a race-based hostility (Canatan, 2007, pp.26-27). As a result, the old racism based on biological humiliation reappears in the form of ethnic, cultural and religious racism, replacing the "racially inferiority" situation with the acceptance of "being religiously inferior" (Kalın, 2016, p.450).



Recently, the definition and naming of the concept of Islamophobia, which is considered within the framework of racism, is another subject that has been discussed. With the comments that the concept of Islamophobia does not fully meet the negative consequences, the concepts of "anti-Islam" or "anti-Islamism" are suggested instead. At the same time, the word Islamophobia is a misnomer, according to some scholars who analyse anti-Muslim prejudices and sympathize with the need to combat them. What exists is "prejudice, racism, or xenophobia" and "Islam religion" comes to the fore as the primary object of fear or discrimination (Green, 2015, p.10). Fear and suspicion of Islam and Muslims in the concept of "Islamophobia" take a psycho-pathological form in the concept of "anti-Islamism" and lead to antagonism. Therefore, the issue becomes even more chaotic about Islam and Muslims (Hıdır, 2007, p.83). Just like the impact of racist forms of ideology on the formation of European identity in the 19th and early 20th centuries, "anti-Muslim racism" has been an important tool in the construction of contemporary European identity. Therefore, while the term Islamophobia accepts fear of Islam as natural and as it should be; "Islamophobism" assumes that this fear or phobia is manufactured by those who have an established interest in producing and reproducing it. Besides, Islamophobia is characterized as a form of cultural racism that has become more visible with the process of securitizing and stigmatizing migration and immigrants (Kaya, 2017, p.9). On the other hand, according to Halliday, the main attack today is not against Islam as "a belief", but especially against immigrant Muslims as "a people". For this reason, according to Halliday, the "enemy" is not a belief or a culture, but a people. In addition, Halliday does not accept the term Islamophobia as a correct term, but instead becomes a party to the use of the term "anti-Muslimism" (Halliday, 1999, p.898).

Historical Developments and the Rise of Islamophobia in the Context of International Migration

The recent history of the fear of Islam is traced back to the early 1990s and the distant past to the birth of the orientalist approach. The most important reason for this is that the concept reminds the East-West dilemma (Yüksel, 2014, p.194). With the influence of the Orientalist perspective, the negative image that the West has built about Islam and Muslims for centuries has created prejudices against Muslims and the Islamic world. Therefore, the phenomenon of Islamophobia has been continuous throughout the historical process (Sarıaslan, 2018, pp.184-185). In the late 20th century, the significant migration of Muslims to the West, the Iranian Revolution, hijacking, hostage-taking and terrorist acts in the 1980s 1990s, attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon in 9/11 accelerated the rise of Islamophobia (Esposito and Kalın, 2015, p.19). The use of migration routes by those involved in terrorist attacks in the USA is a turning point in the rise of Islamophobia and anti-Islamism. The fact that the radical groups who carried out the attacks were Muslims made the situation more problematic for immigrants of Muslim origin and significantly fed Islamophobic



tendencies (Elmas ve Kutlay, 2011, p.14). In addition, the involvement of resident immigrants in the terrorist incidents that took place in Madrid on March 11, 2004, London on July 7, 2005, and Toulouse, France on March 21, 2012, increased the distrust towards "all immigrants". After these developments, "integration, national identity and citizenship concepts" started to be discussed more within these countries. Especially immigrants were subjected to accusations such as "increasing the domestic crime rate, abusing the welfare state through unemployment insurance, and even the Muslim immigrant population could not adapt" (Akçapar, 2015, p.567).

Another reason why Muslims and Islam are targeted is the need for a new enemy after the Cold War. Because, in Western societies defining "itself" through "the other", the "red danger" has been replaced by a new "green danger" after the Cold War. These "new others" have been the immigrant population, which is a minority in Western societies and whose numbers are constantly increasing with international migration. Especially Muslim immigrants are targeted. The so-called populist, extreme or radical right, nationalist and anti-immigrant parties have exploited worrying developments such as high inflation, increasing crime, economic and social uncertainties and their relevance to the immigrant population. Besides, they cited immigrants (Noi, 2007, p.90) as the reason for all these negative developments and increased their voting rates.

The evaluation of the phenomenon of immigration after 9/11 within the framework of security threat caused Muslim migrants to be mentioned together with concepts such as terror-terrorist-terrorism. Also, Muslim immigrants have increasingly been recognized as a threat to national identity and national security (Öner, 2014, p.170). On the other hand, since the 1990s, discrimination, xenophobia and racism, which especially target Muslim immigrants, have increased. Insecurity of immigration has caused the gap between peoples to increase, slowing down the adaptation processes, and deepen the opposition of "us" and "them" (Akçapar, 2015, pp.565-566). Especially in modern Western societies, immigrants and refugee groups, which are seen as an element of an "inferior" culture, have been excluded from integration as a result of this social exclusion they are exposed to. These groups formed ghettos and were once again excluded from the judgment that they escaped from the society due to the ghettos they created and that they could not integrate into the society. As a result, these circles, who cannot find a job or whose economic and living conditions are bad due to the difficulty of finding a job, are also exposed to racist and xenophobic attitudes and discourses because that they disturb the lifestyle and peace of the society they live in (Yılmaz, 2008, p.111).

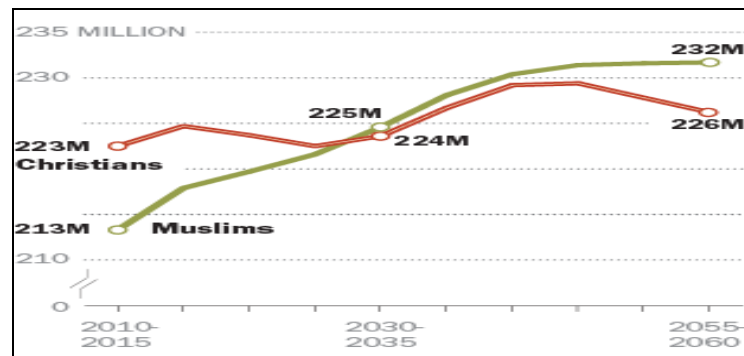
This situation continues to be used as electoral material, especially by far-right parties in the political arena and magnifies the problems. For example, with the effect of the economic crisis and increasing unemployment rates since 2008, far-right parties have targeted minorities in European countries



with many different socio-economic problems. These parties also claim that immigrants cause a decrease in the working wages of the citizens of their own countries and declare them as "scapegoats" (Öner, 2014, p.168). Having lived in that country for many years, attending the schools of that country, or even having intergroup marriages cannot prevent the identity labelled as "immigrant" and "ethnic". Connections with a culturally and religiously different group are sufficient reasons to be excluded. In this way, the alienated "foreigner" reminds indigenous peoples of the existence of different cultures and foreigners and that their economic and social problems stem from them (Sumbas, 2009, p.271). Looking at the subject on the migration axis, it is known that labour migration was intense in the 20th century. In this respect, it is a striking development that the number of immigrants in Europe exceeded 60 million in the 1960s (Migration and migrant population statistics, 2018). Over the years, these numbers and the countries and geographies that receive immigration have also changed. This situation has increased the number of those who support the discourse of the far-right parties on "others", especially in Europe. For example, Hans Olaf, one of the leaders of the AfD party (Alternative for Germany (Alternative für Deutschland)) in Germany, where worker migration is intense, drew attention to the increasing number of foreigners in the country and claimed that this was a "problem" (Gaziev and Özel Özcan, 2020, p.82).

On the other hand, in connection with the increasing number of Muslims, the dynamic nature of Muslim immigrants' ages is also important. It can be said that the high population of elderly people in many countries in Europe also affects the perception of foreigners or immigrants as a threat. As can be seen in Figure 1, there is a prediction that the number of births of Muslim babies will be more than Christian births in the projection of 2035. In this case, demographically, the concern that Christians will remain in the minority while the Muslim population increases can be perceived as a threat in Europe. As a matter of fact, according to the data of the PEW Research Center, it is seen that the number of Muslims increased more than any other religious group on the axis of natural population growth between 2010 and 2015 (PEW, The Changing Global Religious Landscape, 2017).

Chart 1: Number of Muslim babies to exceed Christian births by 2035



Source: (PEW, 2017)



Another important issue is the tendency of matching Muslims and Islam with fanaticism in the strengthening and establishment of Islamophobia. This situation causes Muslims to be homogenized and identified with fundamentalism by ignoring their social, economic, political, cultural and ideological differences or differences among themselves. The "marginalize" of the Muslim immigrant population reacts with this (Yüksel, 2014, p.197). Even though acts of violence do not have a relationship or justification to be defended in the name of Islam and its essence, Muslims become the subject of unjust victimhood because they cannot express their reactions to a sound level.

On the other hand, reasons such as lack of communication between societies and media disinformation also strengthen Islamophobia in the West. These problems also create an artificial environment of fear. In this way, power centers that provide political and economic gain significantly increase their influence on the public and the world of politics. As a result of the recent transmission of the concepts of Islam or Muslim together with negative concepts and events such as terrorism, bombing and violence, especially through the media, people are subject to "classical conditioning" over time. An individual who feels in danger and therefore has been conditioned remembers events such as blood, violence, and bombing inscribed in his mind when he hears the concepts of Islam and Muslims, and this causes the formation of feelings of fear and anger against Islam and Muslims (Karlı, 2013: 86). As a result of these factors, in summary; "Islam is seen as a monolithic and static, discrete and "other", irrational, primitive and inferior to the West, aggressive, violent, an ideology used to promote political and military interests that do not share the values of other cultures". It can also be labeled as "a religion that is intolerant to Western criticism, that justifies exclusionary and discriminatory practices against Muslims, and which makes anti-Muslim hostility normal and natural" (Taras, cited in Uzuncayır, 2013, p.142) ".

The most important result of these developments is the evaluation of Muslims, an ethno-religious group, as a "new race" in the Western nation-states. This situation creates a new form of racism in the post-modern period. The most important cycle of this process is the existence of an action-reaction spiral. First of all, a series of prejudices and stereotypes are created about all Muslim immigrants based on the attitudes and behaviours of some members of a group. Then, as seen in many European countries after the Charlie Hebdo attack, many verbal and physical attacks were carried out against Muslims, their sacred values and places.

The process continues with a series of hate speech and hate crimes and keeps its freshness. In parallel with the rise of Islamophobia, since the 1990s, many sociologists and cultural anthropologists have affirmed that there has been a change from racist ideas based on skin colour to discrimination and



racism based on the concepts of "cultural superiority" and "otherness". As a result, all these developments clearly show that Islamophobia has turned into "anti-Islam and anti-Muslim" and that "it has risen as a new kind of cultural racism". Here, the statements of Abraham Soetendorp, the former president of the Dutch Liberal Jews, and Job Cohen, the former head of the Labor Party (PvdA), that "Muslims are seen as Hitler-era Jews in Europe after September 11" summarize the issue (Hıdır, 2015, p.279).

This hatred and enmity become visible especially with the increasing hate crimes committed based on Islam-Muslim opposition. In particular, far-right individuals and groups in the USA and Western Europe play an important role in the realization of these actions. These crowds spread their views through written, visual and social media. These views are more likely to affect individuals who are afraid of the future migrant invasion and Islamization of Europe or who have job concerns and economic difficulties. This situation results in individuals turning to terrorist acts and hate crimes with the idea that "nobody is doing anything; I must do something".

Within the scope of hate crimes, acts of violence originating from Islamophobia sometimes take place in the form of verbal and physical attacks on Muslims, and sometimes in the form of attacks on mosques, Islamic centres and Muslim property. Especially nowadays, "Islamophobia" or "anti-Islamism" has the potential to turn into hate crimes in the form of "open discrimination" with behaviours such as "suspicion, staring, harassment, mocking, rejecting, stigmatizing in workplaces, health institutions, schools and residences". In public spheres, the same opposition manifests itself in the form of "indirect discrimination" such as "hate speech or denial of access to goods and services" (Kalm, 2015, p.49).

"Visibility" is the most important nuance in increasing Islam and anti-Muslim opposition and determining the targets of hate crimes. When the statistics of hate crimes are examined, it is seen that these hate crimes are mostly committed against holy places such as mosques and masjids. These temples are regarded as the tangible assets of the religion to which they belong and are attacked by being found disturbing. These attacks are generally diversified with the following examples: "Writing insulting and threatening texts on the walls, laying pig's head, organs or offal derivatives, blood smearing" or "attacking the community, burning the Quran, breaking glass, throwing stones, drawing a swastika, arson, throwing various flammable and explosive substances ". In addition, in these statistics, it ranks first in attacks on Muslim women for wearing a headscarf or clothing. Often, as the clothing of the targeted women is "visible" as an element of religion and culture, they are targeted due to prejudices and stereotypes. Also, the lax behaviour during the prosecution of these hate acts leads to arguments that there is an "institutional racism" (Kepenek, 2016, p.4). In short, the ever-increasing momentum of anti-Islamism and hate crimes make Western countries more insecure every day, especially for minority immigrant Muslims. In addition, these hate crimes cannot be prevented sufficiently due



to the lack of necessary precautions for such attacks and legal gaps. This situation also increases the frequency of negative events against Muslims and their sacred values.

Conclusion

The phenomenon of international migration is complex and multidimensional in terms of its consequences. The most important sociological result of this phenomenon is the more frequent and intensive coming together of societies from different cultures. These legal or illegal "get-together" situations particularly affect "newcomers" who are immigrants. The most general attitude is that the indigenous people evaluate them with suspicion and "the other label" unlike themselves. The persistence of these stereotypes and prejudices for people from different cultures, religions, languages and ethnic backgrounds harms the integration processes of immigrants. In this case, the most important trend among immigrant populations that are truly "foreign" to the culture of the indigenous people is "becoming a ghetto". This result reinforces the image of the incompatible foreign and causes a social vicious circle. After the end of the cold war and the September 11 attacks, it is seen that among all these differences, the phenomenon of religion, in particular, comes to the fore. The most important reason for this is that the perpetrators have a Muslim identity and their terrorist acts are attributed to the teachings of their religion, which is perceived as an ideology. It is seen that this subjective perspective is frequently mentioned in the "other rhetoric" of the far-right parties, whose rise has been observed especially in Western European countries. With the dissemination of such particular evaluations, the social, economic and political internal problems of the nation-states are attributed to the "others" who are scapegoats. These "others" are immigrants who are often in the position of minorities in the country. Recently, Muslim immigrants and Islam are more targeted in this process, especially due to historical developments, political interests and media disinformation. Also, with each passing day, this situation dominates the "other rhetoric" of central politics with hate speech. As a result, especially "visible" Muslim temples, women wearing headscarves, etc. are the subject of more violence and hate crimes. This situation, like the Jews in the Hitler era, could target Muslims who were seen as a "scapegoat" in a possible time of chaos or crisis. However, the distinction here is that a "different religious-cultural community" is the target, unlike the "community seen as a biological race". This situation is called "new racism" as a type of racism or its transformation. Today, when evaluated together with all these developments, Islam and Muslims constitute the most important example of this type, where hostility and opposition to cultural differences are at the forefront.



Islam and Muslims, who have always been seen as "enemies outside" with their historical developments and orientalist perspectives, have turned into "internal enemies" that these Western societies face in this process. Due to historical encounters, stereotypes in memories and other indelible images, this situation is also a summary of a process in which "Islamophobia" evolved into "anti-Islamism". Indeed, the problem that exists is not simply fear, but a strengthening of beliefs in ideas that "civilizations or cultures clash". The acceleration of international migration due to various reasons such as globalization, war, social, economic and political crises, and the increasing number of Muslim immigrants, especially in prosperous Western societies, cause this problem to always remain fresh. Failure to take preventive measures for the solution of this growing and dangerous problem continues to affect every aspect of the lives of immigrant Muslims in the minority position. In particular, it causes them to encounter situations such as restrictions of their freedom and most basic human rights. The change of content in the definition of Islamophobia and its acceptance as a type of racism is a necessity considering its social consequences. As a matter of fact, the regulation of "anti-Islamism and anti-Muslimism" as a practice of discrimination and exclusion at the legal level is one of the most urgent steps to be taken in order to protect the rights and freedoms of Muslim immigrants who are frequently the subject of hate crimes.

References

- Akçapar, Ş. K. (2015). Uluslararası Göç Alanında Güvenlik Algılamaları ve Göçün İnsani Boyutu. S. G. I. Öner ve N. A. Ş. Öner (Editörler), *Küreselleşme Çağında Göç-Kavramlar, Tartışmalar*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, pp.563-75.
- Balibar, E. and Wallerstein, I. (1991). *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*. Verso, London.
- Bartram, D., Poros, Maritsa V. & Monforte, P. (2019). *Göç Meselesinde Temel Kavramlar*. Çev. İtr Ağabeyoğlu Tuncay. Ankara: Hece Yayınları.
- Canatan, K. (2007). İslamofobi ve Anti-Semitizm: Kavramsal ve Tarihsel Bir Yaklaşım. K. Canatan ve Ö. Hıdır (Editörler), *Batı Dünyasında İslamofobi ve Anti-İslamizm*. Ankara: Eski Yeni Yayınları, pp.19-62.
- Castles S; and Miller M. J. (2014) *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cesari, j. (2015). Batı'da İslamofobi: Avrupa ve Amerika Birleşik Devletleri Arasında Bir Mukayase. J.I.Esposito ve İ.Kalın (Editörler), *İslamofobi, 21. Yüzyılda Çoğulculuk Sorunu*. (Çev. İ. Eriş) . İstanbul: İnsan Yayınları, pp.63-92.
- Elmas, F.Y. and Kutlay, M. (2011). Avrupa'yı Bekleyen Tehlike: Aşırı Sağın Yükselişi. *Uluslararası Stratejik Araştırmalar Kurumu(USAK) Analiz*, No:11.
- Er, T. and Ataman, K. (2008). İslamofobi ve Avrupa'da Birlikte Yaşama Tecrübesi Üzerine. *Uludağ Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, Volume:17, No:2, pp. 747-770.



- Esposito, J.L. and Kalın İ. (2015). *İslamofobi, 21. Yüzyılda Çoğulculuk Sorunu*. (Çev. İsmail Eriş). İstanbul: İnsan Yayınları.
- Evkuran, M. (2012). Bir kimlik politikası olarak İslamofobi. O. Alacahan ve B. Duman (Editörler). *İslamofobi: Kolektif Bir Korkunun Anatomisi*. Ankara: Kemal İbn-i Hümmam Vakfı Yayınları. pp. 203-217.
- Gaziev, R. and Özel Özcan M. S. (2020). Aşırı Sağın Yükselişi ve Almanya İçin Alternatif Partisi (AFD). *ASBİDER C.7 (21)*, pp.76-89.
- Green, T. H. (2015). *The Fear of Islam: An Introduction to Islamophobia in the West*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Halliday, F. (1999). 'Islamophobia' reconsidered. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22(5), pp.892-902.
- Hıdır, Ö. (2007). Anti-İslamizm ve Ati-Semitizm: Tarihsel ve Kavramsal Farklılıklar Benzerlikler. K. Canatan ve Ö. Hıdır (Editörler). *Batı Dünyasında İslamofobi ve Anti-İslamizm*. Ankara: Eski Yeni Yayınları, pp.63-99.
- Hıdır, Ö. (2015). 11 Eylül Sonrasında Avrupa'da (Müslüman) Göçmenler ve "İslamofobi- Göçmenfobi. K. Canatan, M. Birinci, İsmail Çağlar vd.(Editörler), 29-30 Mayıs 2015 İstanbul: Disiplinlerarası Göç ve Göç Politikaları Sempozyumu, pp.271-284.
- Kalın, İ. (2015). İslamofobi ve çok kültürlülüğün sınırları, J.L. Esposito, J. L. ve İ. Kalın (Edi.). *İslamofobi 21. yüzyılda çoğulculuk sorunu*. İstanbul: İnsan Yayınları, pp.39-57.
- Kalın, İ. (2016). *Ben, Öteki ve Ötesi*. İstanbul: İnsan Yayınları.
- Karslı, N. (2013). İslamofobi'nin Psikolojik Olarak İncelenmesi. *Din Bilimleri Akademik Araştırma Dergisi*, Volume: 13, No:1, 2013, pp.75-100.
- Kaya, A. (2017). Avrupa'da Popülist Sağın Yükselişi: Çeşitlilik ve Birlik İçerisinde Kaybolmak. (Çev. Ö. Cihan). *Eleştirel Miras: Avrupa'da kimliklerin gerçekleştirilmesi ve temsil edilmesi (CoHERE)*. Çalışma Paketi 2. Kritik Analiz Aracı (Critical Analysis Tool, CAT) 2. (Orijinal Metin: <http://cohere-ca.ncl.ac.uk/#/grid/141>)
- Kaya, E. E. and Durgun, Ş. (2020). İrkçılığın Dönüşümü: Kavramsal ve Kuramsal Bir Analiz. *Akademik Hassasiyetler Dergisi*, 13, pp.79-102.
- Kepenek, B. (Temmuz 2016). *Avrupa'da İslam düşmanlığı, Temmuz 2016 Raporu*. Diaspora Araştırmaları Merkezi. http://diam.sakarya.edu.tr/sites/diam.sakarya.edu.tr/file/AVRUPA_da_islam_ofobi_temmuz1.pdf
- Lee, E. S. (1966). A Theory of Migration. *Demography* Volume: 3, No: 1, pp. 47-57.
- Noi, A. Ü. (2007). *Avrupa'da Yükselen Milliyetçilik*. İstanbul: IQ kültür Sanat Yayıncılık.



Öner, S. (2014). Avrupa'da Yükselen Aşırı Sağ, Yeni 'Öteki'ler ve Türkiye'nin AB Üyeliği. *Ankara Avrupa Çalışmaları Dergisi*, Volume:13, No:1. pp.163-184.

Perruchoud, R; and Redpath, J. (2004) *Uluslararası Göç Hukuku: Göç Terimleri Sözlüğü*, Uluslararası Göç Örgütü. Erişim: https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/iml31_turkish_2ndedition.pdf

Sariaslan, F. K. (2018). *İslamofobi, Batı Literatüründe İslam Algısı ve İslamofobi*. İstanbul: Onto Yayıncılık.

Sumbas, A. (2009) Batı Avrupa'da Yükselen Yeni Irkçılık Üzerine Bir Deneme, *Alternatif Politika*, Eylül 2009, Volume: 1, No:2, pp. 260-281

Taguieff, Pierre A. (1999), The New Cultural Racism in France. Martin Bulmer and John Solomos (Eds). *Racism*. Oxford University Press Inc. New York, pp.206-213.

Taş, M. (1999). *Avrupa'da Irkçılık*. İstanbul: İmge Yayınevi.

Uzuncayır, C. (2014). Göçmen Karşıtlığından İslamofobiye Avrupa Aşırı Sağı. *Marmara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilimler Dergisi*. Volume: 2. No: 2., pp.131-147.

Yazan, Y. (2019). *Avrupa Birliği'nin Yasadışı Göç Politikası: Türkiye Örneği Çerçevesinde İnsan Hakları Sorunsalı*. Milenyum Yayınları.

Yılmaz, F. (2008). *Avrupa'da Irkçılık ve Yabancı Düşmanlığı*. Ankara: Usak Yayınları.

Yüksel, M. (2014). İslamofobi'nin Tarihsel Temellerine Bir Bakış: Oryantalizm Ya da Batı ve Öteki. *İstanbul Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Mecmuası*, Volume: 72, No:1, pp.189-200.

Web Addresses

IOM, (2020). *World Migration Report*. https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/wmr_2020.pdf

UNHCR, (2020). *Refugee Statistics*. <https://www.unrefugees.org/refugee-facts/statistics/>

UNHCR, (2020). *What is a refugee?*. <https://www.unrefugees.org/refugee-facts/what-is-a-refugee/#:~:text=A%20refugee%20is%20someone%20who,in%20a%20particular%20social%20group>

UNHCR, (2020). *Asylum-seekers*. <https://www.unhcr.org/asylum-seekers.html>

PEW, (2017). *The changing global religious landscape*. https://www.pewforum.org/2017/04/05/the-changing-global-religious-landscape/pf_17-04-05_projectionsupdate_natinc310px/

