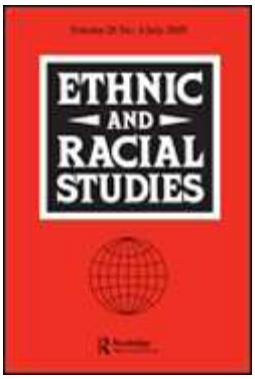
Towards a definition of Islamophobia: approximations of the early twentieth century

Fernando Bravo López



Towards a definition of Islamophobia: approximations of the early twentieth century

Journal:	*Ethnic and Racial Studies*
Manuscript ID:	RERS-2009-0378.R2
Manuscript Type:	Original Manuscript
Keywords:	Islamophobia, Religious intolerance, Racism, Cultural Racism, Enemy image, Islam

Towards a definition of Islamophobia: approximations of the early twentieth century

Abstract

This paper contributes to the debate on the meaning of the term "Islamophobia". It proposes an examination of the early twentieth century approaches to Islamophobia, both the term and the phenomenon. The aim is to show that the phenomenon had already been identified at the end of the nineteenth century and that it had been defined by the beginning of the twentieth. That definition could throw some light on the current debate about the meaning of the term.

Keywords: Islamophobia; Islam; racism; cultural racism; religious intolerance; enemy image.

Introduction: what is Islamophobia?

The recent history of the term Islamophobia begins in the United Kingdom somewhere around the late 1980s / early 1990s, when the term began to be used to signal rejection of and discrimination against the resident Muslim population in the "West" (Allen 2006, pp. 1-23). However, following the publication of the Runnymede Trust report (1997), and particularly in the post 9/11 period, the term became a 'contested concept in the public space' (Allen 2006), not only in the United Kingdom but also in much of Europe. Not only was the pertinence of the term debated, but also the very existence of a phenomenon that merited such a name (Malik 2005). Some authors tried to discredit the term by stating that it had been invented by the Islamists to condemn any criticism of Islam (Fourest and

Venner 2003, Bruckner 2003). Meanwhile, those who were in favour of the term being used were unable to agree as to what phenomenon it should be applied to.

The main problem —then and even now— concerned the why and the wherefore of this phenomenon: were Muslims being rejected and discriminated against owing to their skin colour, their ethnic origin or their religion? Or was it a mixture of all these elements? It is the response to these questions that has engendered perception of Islamophobia as a form of religious intolerance, or, conversely, a form of racism or what has been called 'new racism' (Barker 1981) or 'cultural racism' (Modood 1997a).[1]

At the same time, the pertinence of the term Islamophobia for referring to rejection of and discrimination against Muslims was conditioned by the nature of this phenomenon. Towards the end of the 1990s, some authors began to discuss the suitability of the term Islamophobia for designating rejection based on what they considered not so much a "phobia" of the Islamic religion, but rejection on an ethno-cultural basis. If, then, rejection of Islam was not the main source of this discrimination against Muslims, why speak of Islamophobia?

In 1997, for example, Tariq Modood, qualified the term Islamophobia as 'somewhat misleading' because, according to him, the rejection and discrimination against Muslims 'is more a form of racism than a form of religious intolerance, though it may perhaps be best described as a form of cultural racism, in recognition of the fact that the target group, the Muslims, are identified in terms of their non-European descent, in terms of their not being white, and in terms of their perceived culture' (Modood 1997b). Along these same lines, Fred Halliday argued that 'anti-Muslimism' was a more appropriate term because 'the attack now is against not *Islam* as a faith but *Muslims* as a people, the latter grouping

together all, especially immigrants, who might be covered by the term' (Halliday 1999, emphasis in original).

Hence, some authors have tended to deny that there is any relationship between Islamophobia and religious intolerance (Bunzl 2005). Others believed that, more than religious intolerance, Islamophobia would denote intolerance towards religion in general or a certain fear of the growing presence of religion in the public sphere. Vincent Geisser, for example, sees Islamophobia as a form of 'religiophobia' (Geisser 2003, p. 12). Along these same lines, Pnina Werbner argued that in Islamophobia, Islam conjures up the archetype —or 'folk devil'— of the Grand Inquisitor because what is at stake 'is not the battle between Christendom and Islam, as many Muslims believe. What is scary about Islam is the way it evokes the spectre of puritanical Christianity, a moral crusade, European sectarian wars, the Crusaders, the Inquisition, the attack on the permissive society' (Werbner 2005). Islamophobia, then, is identified with a certain secularized and laicist elite. This perspective nonetheless fails to account for profoundly religious forms of Islamophobia, some of its exponents even calling out for an increased presence of religion in the public sphere. (Verkhovsky 2004, Stockdale 2004, Cimino 2005, Bravo López 2009a).

Conversely, other authors considered that both race and religion were mixed up in Islamophobia, engendering a form of cultural racism (Nieuwkerk 2004, Werbner 2005, Meer 2008, Meer and Noorani 2008, Meer and Modood 2009, Dunn et al. 2007). These authors contend that the Islamic identity has been subject to a process of racialization whereby this identity is now defined on the basis of the individual's ethnic origin rather than exclusively on the basis of his beliefs. In

other words, the Islamic identity —in principle religious and therefore voluntary— becomes involuntary as soon as Muslims are racialized.

Identification of Islamophobia with racism or cultural racism has led some of these authors to compare it with anti-Semitism, with the aim of demonstrating that a religious minority can be racialized and fall prey to racism even though the religious identity is theoretically voluntary. Anti-Semitism would be proof of this (Meer 2008, Meer and Modood 2009, Meer and Noorani 2008). But this perspective also raises problems. It is doubtful that anti-Semitism can be considered as a form of racism or cultural racism. Indeed, the relationship between anti-Semitism and racism has been —and still is— the subject of a long-standing debate in literature on anti-Semitism. Within this debate, there is a strong tendency to deny that anti-Semitism is a form of racism without denying that there is a union between the two in certain contexts. (Katz 1983, Levy 1991, pp. 4-5, Langmuir 1996, pp. 311-314, Lindemann 1997, pp. 95-96, Pulzer 2005, Volkov 2006, pp. 75-79, Bravo López 2009b, pp. 191-220).

Racism, according to this literature, played an adjacent role, not a necessary one, in anti-Semitism. Some anti-Semites embraced racial theories, others did not. Some anti-Semites identified Jews on the basis of their ancestry, and therefore believed that once a Jew always a Jew. Other anti-Semites continued to identify Jews on the basis of their religion, believing that a Jew could stop being a Jew through conversion, "reform", assimilation or abandonment of religion. This did not, however, enhance their image of the Jews that continued to be Jews, or of their role in society.

Anti-Semites differed in a great many respects. Some were Catholics, others Evangelists, others atheists. Some were left wing, others right wing; some racist,

others not. But consensus did exist in one fundamental respect: Judaism and Jews were a threat to their wellbeing and even to their very survival.

Meer, Noorani and Modood are therefore right to point out that a religious minority such as Muslims can be the object of a rejection similar to that suffered by the Jews. But they are probably not right to consider that this is because both Islamophobia and anti-Semitism are forms of racism or cultural racism.

Today one type of Islamophobia can be likened to liberal, Catholic and Protestant anti-Semitism. Although it is still fiercely anti-Islam and anti-Muslim, it does concede —in theory at least— that Muslims can stop being Muslims or "reform" and become "good citizens" (Bravo López 2009b, pp. 349-470).[2] And we also come across instances of Islamophobia targeting minorities such as converts to Islam (Özyürek 2009). But it would be highly problematic to identify these forms of Islamophobia as forms of racism or cultural racism insofar as they are devoid of any of the biological or cultural determinism inherent therein. As George M. Fredrickson puts it, 'if conversion or assimilation is a real possibility, we have religious or cultural intolerance but not racism' (Fredrickson 2002, p. 170). In this case, Ali Rattansi would be right on stating that '"Islamophobia" or any other kind of hostility to Islam and Muslims is not *necessarily* racist, but in many contexts can take a *relatively* "strong" or "hard" racist form' (Rattansi 2007, p. 111, emphasis in original).

Determinism is a key feature in the case of the anti-Semites who embraced racial theories, and yet it is difficult to encounter in Islamophobia. It is difficult to find Islamophobes prepared to affirm —like some anti-Semites did regarding the Jews— that the evil Islam has inoculated in Muslims cannot be removed because

it is in their blood and they will therefore never stop being Muslims, come what may, and they will never be "good citizens", they will always be the enemy.

It is more difficult to encounter this type of Islamophobia, but this does not mean that it does not exist. Norman Cigar, for example, explains that this is just how some Serbian intellectuals identified the "threat" Bosnian Muslims personified, sometimes even using arguments based on biology and genetics (Cigar 2003). Here cultural or biological determinism comes into play, and Islamophobia would indeed be mixed up with racism or cultural racism.

In short, the debate as to how Islamophobia should be understood and its relationship with religious intolerance and racism or cultural racism is an ongoing one, and the question "what is Islamophobia?" remains unanswered. It is for this reason that this paper attempts to tackle the subject from an entirely different perspective, namely by going back and examining some of the initial approaches to Islamophobia between the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century.

During this period, a number of authors identified, studied and criticized what some of them were already referring to as Islamophobia. These authors have largely been ignored in the present debate on Islamophobia, and yet their approximations to the subject can indeed contribute to throwing some light on this phenomenon. Hardly any of the authors who have tackled Islamophobia in recent years use the works that will be analysed in this paper. Indeed, some of them mistakenly treat Islamophobia as a new term, 'a new word for an old fear' (Sajid 2006, Commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia 2004, p. 7). Some, as Christopher Allen notes, have even tried to take credit for coining the term themselves (Allen 2006, pp. 5-6). And yet the term is at least a hundred years old.

This paper does not intend to provide an exhaustive study of how the term Islamophobia was used in the early twentieth century, but rather to try and salvage a number of approximations to Islamophobia that have not received the attention they deserve. The aim is to analyse how these authors understood the phenomenon and in what sense they used the term Islamophobia, and finally, to demonstrate the relevance of these texts to the present debate. It should become clear that the definition some of these authors applied to Islamophobia could still be useful.

Dinet and Ibrahim's approach

The only early twentieth century work that has been occasionally cited in the course of the present debate on Islamophobia is *L'Orient vu de l'Occident* by Étienne Dinet (1861-1929) and Slimane ben Ibrahim (1870-1953), considered by some to be the first authors to use the term (Gresh 2004, Cesari et al. 2006, Allen 2006, p. 3).

Despite its title, *L'Orient vu de l'Occident* is not a book dealing with the vision (or better still, visions) of the East as seen from the West, but rather limits itself to studying a handful of authors, not all of whom receive the same treatment. More specifically, most of the book is devoted to criticizing the work of two authors: the Belgian Orientalist who joined the Society of Jesus, Henri Lammens (1862-1937), and the French Arabist Paul Casanova (1861-1926). Both, according to Dinet and Ibrahim, had equally mistaken visions of Islam and particularly of its prophet Mohammed. But they were not mistaken for the same reasons or to the same extent.

Paul Casanova apparently committed an error of appreciation. In his *Mohammed et la fin du monde* (Paris, 1911), Casanova allegedly made the

mistake of devoting his attention to certain stories that had been handed down by Islamic tradition instead of concentrating on other more secure sources, mistakenly concluding that Mohammed was awaiting the end of the world before his own death which is why he failed to appoint a successor (Dinet and Ibrahim 1925, pp. 44-48). Dinet and Ibrahim simply believed that Casanova was mistaken and they therefore limit themselves to contradicting his point of view and leave it at that.

The term "Islamophobia" was therefore used merely to criticize the work of just one of the authors analysed in *L'Orient vu de l'Occident*: Henri Lammens. Dinet and Ibrahim contend that some of the remarks made in certain works by Lammens are an example of 'the degree of aberration to which Islamophobia can lead a learned man' (ibid. p. 26). For Dinet and Ibrahim, the manner in which Lammens tackled certain subjects bespeaks Islamophobia. It is not simply that his vision of Islam and Mohammed is mistaken, there is more: they contend that his entire interpretation of Islamic traditions is made in bad faith and based on a biased selection of the traditions that conform more easily to Lammens' preconceived image of Islam. Lammens paints an unfair portrait of Mohammed, branding him as disloyal and as a coward, a glutton and a sleepyhead, without providing any documentary evidence to uphold his claims and twisting the meaning of certain passages in the main texts from the Islamic tradition. Moreover, while denigrating the figure of Mohammed, he simultaneously paints a kindly and sympathetic portrait of all his enemies. In short, as far as Dinet and Ibrahim were concerned, Lammens was embarked on a 'pseudo-scientific crusade in the hope of bringing Islam down once and for all' (ibid. p. 20).

On reading *L'Orient vu de l'Occident*, it is clear that for Dinet and Ibrahim erroneous representations of Islam, however far from the truth, do not amount to Islamophobia. Nor do degrading or humiliating representations of Islam and the Prophet constitute Islamophobia *per se*. Islamophobia is on the other hand the motivation underpinning these types of misrepresentation of lslam and its prophet. What, then, is Islamophobia for Dinet and Ibrahim?

No explicit reply to this question is to be found in their book, but if we were to hazard an opinion, we might suggest that if the aim of Lammens' behaviour is, as Dinet and Ibrahim put it, 'to bring down Islam once and for all', it follows that Islamophobia consists of a hostile attitude towards Islam and a desire to do away with it altogether. Islamophobia would, in short, mean considering Islam as an enemy that must be fought.

Years later Dinet and Ibrahim returned to this subject. In their work *Le pèlerinage à la maison sacrée d'Allah*, they devote several pages to 'Europe's hostility towards Islam', establishing what may well be the first typology of Islamophobia (Dinet and Ibrahim 1930, pp. 173-184). Dinet and Ibrahim distinguish between two types of Islamophobia, one 'pseudo-scientific' and the other 'clerical'. Pseudo-scientific Islamophobia would be the kind ascribed to certain Orientalists. However, beyond singling out erroneous translations of the Qur'an and certain initiatives to encourage the writing of Arabic with Latin letters, the authors fail to provide any examples of what this 'pseudo-scientific' Islamophobia might consist of (ibid. pp. 176-183).

Clerical Islamophobia was allegedly engaged in by certain Evangelical missionaries bent on converting Muslims to Christianity. In this respect, the two authors are mainly referring to the American missionary Samuel M. Zwemer

(1867-1952), who they claim sounded a 'call for war against Islam' in the sense of launching a Christian proselytizing offensive that Dinet and Ibrahim say was doomed to failure (ibid. pp. 183-184).

Despite this small and primitive attempt at making a typological classification of Islamophobia, the authors do not provide any explicit definition. However, judging from the words they used to analyse the case of Henri Lammens, it follows that they perceived Islamophobia as a hostile attitude towards Islam, a desire to do away with it, and consideration of Islam as an enemy to be fought.

Alain Quellien's approach

Dinet and Ibrahim were not the first to use the term Islamophobia, which appeared earlier in at least two works on the subject of West Africa under French colonial rule, both dated 1910. The first one is an article by the French Africanist Maurice Delafosse (1870-1926) entitled 'L'état actuel de l'islam dans l'Afrique occidentale française'. Towards the end of this article, Delafosse makes a few recommendations concerning the way in which the French colonial authorities should wrestle with Islam. He says:

> Whatever those for whom Islamophobia is a principle of indigenous administration may say, France has no more to fear from Muslims in West Africa than from non-Muslims. (…) Those who most ardently wish to see us leave the country —and there certainly are those who feel this way— do so not because we are not of their faith, but simply because we are not of their race, their mentality or their land, because we are foreigners.
>
> (...) Islamophobia therefore has no raison d'être in West Africa, where Islamophilia in the sense of granting preference to Muslims, would create a

> feeling of distrust among the non-Muslim populations, who are more numerous.
>
> We are therefore duty-bound to strive to maintain the *status quo* and remain absolutely neutral with regard to all religions in the interests of European domination and of course in the interests of the natives. (Delafosse 1910, emphasis in original, Delafosse 1912, vol. 3, pp. 211-212)

The second work was a PhD thesis written by Alain Quellien, a functionary in the French colonial ministry, and it is entitled *La politique musulmane dans l'Afrique occidentale française*. In it, Quellien devotes an entire epigraph to Islamophobia, providing what we might consider a first explicit definition of the term. For Quellien, Islamophobes are 'all the authors who consider Islam an implacable enemy of the Europeans' (Quellien 1910, p. 135). Islamophobia therefore springs from the notion that Islam is the implacable enemy of the Europeans, which would clearly denote a hostile attitude towards Islam and the Muslims.

For Quellien, considering Islam as an implacable enemy and considering Muslims as implacable enemies are one and the same. Summing up Islamophobia in just a few sentences, Quellien says:

> Prejudice against Islam has always been widespread among the people of Western and Christian civilization and still is.
>
> For some, the Muslim is the natural and irreconcilable enemy of the Christian and the European; Islam is the negation of civilization, and barbarism, bad faith and cruelty are the best one can expect from the Mohammedans. (ibid. p. 133)

Further on, Quellien again points to the indissoluble union between fear and dislike of Islam and fear and dislike of those who are its most obvious incarnation:

Muslims. Speaking out against Islamophobia, he says: 'this prejudice against Islam would appear to be slightly exaggerated; the Muslim is not the European's natural born enemy but he can become [this enemy] as a result of local circumstances and notably when he resists armed conquest.' (ibid. p. 135)

Islamophobia would not therefore consist of a merely critical or negative attitude towards Islam. Islamophobia would be an attitude towards Islam based on the belief that Islam —and Muslims as the incarnation thereof— is an implacable and absolute enemy. For Quellien, Islamophobes consider Muslims their enemies because they identify them with a religion that they perceive as an enemy, rather than identifying them in "racial" or ethnic terms. Consequently, discussing and criticizing Islamophobia consists of denying or relativizing the importance of the Islamic religion in each of the accusations levelled by the Islamophobes against Islam and the Muslims. Islamophobia does not make sense, Quellien seems to be saying, because Islam is not the cause of what Muslims are accused of.

According to Quellien, then, Islamophobia is based on a series of accusations. First is the 'holy war' accusation, apparently based on the notion that Islam was the sole cause of the string of armed conflicts pitting Muslim populations against colonial armies in the nineteenth century. Quellien contends that this armed resistance against French colonial penetration cannot be ascribed entirely to Islam because 'the people who resisted the white man's expeditions were fetishists as much as Muslims'. He does concede that Islam could occasionally exert a certain influence, but that this could generally be narrowed down to instances of referring to religion to satisfy personal ambitions (ibid. p. 138).

The second accusation used to justify Islamophobia is slavery (ibid. pp. 141-146), followed by polygamy, in which respect Quellien notes that 'there is

nonetheless no doubt that all black peoples, whether Muslims or fetishists, are polygamous. The existence of polygamy is therefore a social rather than a religious issue' (ibid. p. 146). Fourth is fatalism, which Quellien ascribes more to the allegedly passive character of black populations rather than to Islam *per se* (ibid. pp. 150-152). This is an example of how in a colonial context, racism against a black population —which also happens to be Muslim— could appear on the part of people who were openly against Islamophobia. In this last respect, Quellien's opinion is diametrically opposed to the opinion of those who level these accusations. Quellien believes that Islam has 'assuredly fuelled the progress of the populations it has converted, it has provided them with a moral force they hitherto lacked and, through the idea that good deeds will be rewarded, it has greatly encouraged the good instincts of human nature' (ibid. p. 152). Contrary to the assertions of the Islamophobic authors Quellien cites, Islam does not breed fanaticism and intolerance and far less so in French-controlled West Africa where 'the Muslim shows great tolerance towards Christianity' (ibid. p. 153).

Notwithstanding these considerations, Quellien warns of the existence of certain dangers threatening European hegemony in Islamic countries, dangers embodied in Sufi brotherhoods or *tariqahs*, pan-Islamism and certain Mahdi movements. According to Quellien, these dangers —while real enough— are not as significant as they were often held to be (ibid. pp. 158-169, 178-179, 184-188).

However, despite all this apparent postulating against Islamophobia, Quellien sometimes appears to share the very fear of Islam he ascribes to others. He occasionally appears to ascribe the tolerant nature of Islam in French West Africa to the fact that it is professed by a "race" with a 'naturally mild-natured, indolent and peaceful' character, which he qualifies as 'a sure guarantee of their

tranquillity and a serious advantage for our security' (ibid. p. 190). The underlying idea here —one so prominent in the discourses of French Africanists of the time— is that the Islamicized black populations were not really Muslims because they 'practised a "bastardised" form of Islam' (Harrison 1988, p. 2, 94-117, Jonckers 2006). Hence Quellien's concern with the 'growing Islamization' of West Africa: 'This matter is of the utmost importance in terms of the future of our possessions as we may one day find ourselves facing populations that are entirely Muslim in name and in deed' (Quellien 1910, p. 191).

The concern Quellien expresses regarding this burgeoning Islamization would appear to contradict his earlier statements concerning Islam. West African Islam would apparently have to be differentiated from Islam in general if it were to be spared the Islamophobic accusations, deserved in the case of Islam overall or so Quellien would have us believe. However, it was shortly afterwards that he went on to say that the Islamized black populations had become more civilized thanks to Islam (ibid. pp. 193-194). So perhaps Islamization was not such a bad thing after all… In all events, Quellien's stand can be summed up a follows: 'Muslims are neither little saints nor brigands' (ibid. p. 195).

The Islamophobic authors cited by Quellien apparently thought that although Islam certainly represented a step forward in relation to paganism, Islamization would turn the Islamized populations into "our" enemies because Islam had 'always been hostile to our penetration' (ibid. p. 195). From this perspective, this hostility would be embedded in the very nature of the Islamic religion, in its teachings as reflected in the Qur'an. This, says Quellien, was the view held by the German missionary Karl Wilhelm Kumm (1874-1930), who stated that:

> An intelligent study of the Qur'an (…) will show what fanaticism has engendered in the past and what it will probably engender in the future. The citations we find there can be summed up as follows: «Fight the infidel, reduce him to slavery or slay him.» If we can win over to Christianity the pagan tribes of central Sudan among which the white man's prestige is presently considerable, we will establish an effective bastion against the Muslim religion. (ibid. p. 202)

These texts were supposedly designed to convince the colonial authorities that Islam was effectively the eternal and implacable enemy of Christianity and Europe and that they should therefore change their disposition towards the Christian missions in the Islamic world: they should support them more resolutely. For these authors, Christianity was the only barrier capable of countering the 'grave dangers European possessions will face as a result of their complete Islamization' (ibid. p. 204). Like Dinet and Ibrahim after him, Quellien identifies the most radically Islamophobic authors as highly confessional authors linked with various Christian churches, and especially with some engaged in proselytizing among the Muslim population.

It was this Islamophobia ascribed to the aforementioned authors that would lead them to 'advocate a policy of persecution with regard to Islam' (ibid. p. 208). This persecution policy would consist of a series of measures designed to help reduce the influence of Islam among the population, measures that were effectively implemented both in North and West Africa (Ageron 1968, Weil 2006, Harrison 1988, Triaud 2006).

The Word and the thing

It is hardly surprising that it was precisely between the late nineteenth and early twentieth century that the first approximations to Islamophobia appeared. As Christopher Harrison explains, 'there was then a perception of a struggle which opposed Christian Europe against the Muslim "Orient"' (Harrison 1988, p. 29). It was at this time that studies of this perception of Islam and Muslims began to appear, before the word "Islamophobia" even began to be used.

The existence of this fear of Islam and Muslims had been detected well before Quellien tackled Islamophobia. In 1891, the French writer Jules-Hippolyte Percher, alias Harry Alis (1857-1895) —from whom Quellien was to borrow a few ideas— warned of the existence in his day of a series of anti-Muslim 'axioms', the principal one being that '*the Muslim is the natural irreconcilable enemy of the Christian*'' (Percher 1891, pp. 203-204, emphasis in original).

More exhaustively, the director of the Africa Department at the French colonial ministry in the period 1902–1906 (Harrison 1988, p. 32), Louis Gustave Binger (1856-1936), published in 1906 a work entirely devoted to this type of representation of Islam and Muslims as a threat: *Le péril de l'Islam*.

Up to a point, the aim of this book and the subjects it deals with call to mind recent works such as *The Islamic threat: myth or reality?* (Esposito 1999), works that have tried to dismantle certain myths created by adherents to a discourse based on the threatening image of Islam. In his work Binger lists the accusations most commonly levelled against Islam —a list that is broadly taken up again by Quellien: holy war, slavery, polygamy, fanaticism. In giving his opinion of each accusation, Binger always tends to play down the importance of Islam in terms of each charge. But this work goes further than dismantling the myths concerning Islam, its main aim —according to Binger himself— being to 'warn the public

against this over substantiated judgement that Muslims were and always will be our enemies' (Binger 1906, p. 6).

Binger says that this feeling of hostility towards Islam had become more entrenched owing to the engagement of French colonial troops with their Muslim adversaries during these years. These long, hard and costly battles ignited a resurgence among the French population of old anti-Islamic stereotypes that held Islam responsible for all this opposition to colonial penetration (ibid. p. 18). Contrary to those who held this opinion, Binger points out that it was not only Muslims who opposed colonial penetration. Pagan and even Christian populations offered similar resistance (ibid. pp. 19-20). Binger concedes that Islam does sometimes exert a certain influence on these opposition movements, but that in these instances Islam is being used as tool to satisfy personal ambitions (ibid. p. 21). There is no doubt that Binger's ideas largely inspired those later expounded by Quellien, who cites his countryman repeatedly.

The images of Islam conveyed by certain authors are not therefore justified, says Binger. Discussions of how peoples subject to colonial power resist it sometimes amount to instances of bad faith and dual morality. Attitudes that would be viewed patriotic among Europeans are considered to denote fanaticism and barbarism on the part of Muslims. As Binger notes in a passage that deserves to be cited in full:

> If the Muslim defends his country, his home, his independence, his liberties, he is neither a patriot nor a man sacrificing himself for the sake of a noble and lofty sentiment, he would be a fanatic.
>
> Does he regularly say his prayers, does he simply follow a religion?... He is a fanatic…

Do we find him reading his Qur'an, the only book he possesses? He must also be a fanatic.

Does he refuse to serve your interests? That would be fuelled by fanaticism.

Does he meet his co-religionists to discuss the Pentateuch or the Gospel, perhaps simply to learn to read his prayers properly? This is for the purpose of later exercising his fanaticism.

Has he allied himself with other Muslims in a war? This will always be driven by fanaticism and hatred of Christians.

In a word, all the Muslim's actions, especially those that run counter to our policy or our interests, can be ascribed to fanaticism. And stranger still, we at home would consider most of these hostile acts inspired by this so-called fanaticism as highly commendable qualities, as highly patriotic acts, or even as highly political acts. If Vercingetorix were to appear among the Muslims, we would treat him as a fanatic. (ibid. pp. 31-32)

The stand taken by authors such as Binger, Quellien and Delafosse should lead us to appreciate the pluralism that characterized the European discourse regarding Islam. Even during the colonial period, far from encountering monolithic rejections of Islam, we come across authors positioning themselves against blatantly Islamophobic viewpoints, and identifying and discussing them.

In addition to all the aforementioned authors, there were others who used the term Islamophobia in the 1920s, but none of those that have been identified actually tried to define it (Marty 1921, p. 119, Cook 1924, Bernard 1927). In their wake, the term has been used on few occasions. It does not, for example, appear in any of the reference works on the image of Islam as perceived in Europe throughout history. Neither Norman Daniel (1966, 1993), nor Richard Southern

(1962), nor Maxime Rodinson (1980), nor, more recently, John Tolan (2002) used the term. Nor did Edward Said used it in *Orientalism* (1979) or in *Covering Islam* —neither in the original nor the revised edition (1997)—, although he did later on (Said 1985).

Before this, in 1968, the Spanish historian and philologist Américo Castro used the term in a fragment of one of his essays. He stated that Islamophobia and anti-Semitism had engendered in Spain 'an elusive historiography' that had covered up the Jewish and Islamic influences in the history of Spain (Castro 1985, p. 98). The Tunisian historian Hichem Djaït also used it before Said, but curiously to argue that in France in the 1970s, old Islamophobia had been replaced by Arabophobia (Djaït 1978, p. 60), which could be construed as meaning that rejection based on the "other's" religion had been replaced by rejection based on the "other's" ethnic origin.

And so it was not until the late 1990s and the beginning of the twenty-first century that the term was once again used more frequently, more frequently even than when it started being used at the beginning of the twentieth century. The post 9/11 context has doubtless contributed to this.

Conclusion

Islamophobia is not a new term. Between the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, various authors detected the presence in Europe of an attitude towards Islam and Muslims that some of them designated with the term "Islamophobia". Although the present debate on Islamophobia has hitherto ignored their contributions, these were important and are still useful.

These authors, particularly Quellien, not only used the term but also tried to define it. And through criticism and analysis, they also tried to understand what

the phenomenon designated with this name consisted of. These authors used the term to refer to the belief that Islam and Muslims were the implacable, absolute and eternal enemies of Christianity, Christians, Europe and Europeans. Islamophobia engendered, nurtured and conveyed an 'enemy image' of Islam and Muslims, insofar as they are perceived as the incarnation of Islam.

According to Luostarinen, an 'enemy image' is 'a belief held by certain group that *its security and basic values are directly and seriously threatened by some other group*. An enemy image cannot consist only in feelings of dislike or antipathy; it always involves the possibility of violence and destruction. It is a matter of existence and survival.' (Luostarinen 1989, emphasis in original). In this case, Islamophobia would be a hostile attitude towards Islam and Muslims based on the image of Islam as an enemy, as a threat to "our" wellbeing and even to "our" survival.

Islamophobia, then, would be neither a form of religious intolerance nor a form of racism or cultural racism, although in certain circumstances it could be mixed with these other forms of rejection. The authors studied here show that Islamophobia can be shared by many people irrespective of ideology or religious beliefs. These authors show that being racist does not necessarily mean being Islamophobic, just as being Islamophobic does not necessarily imply being racist. Delafosse, Quellien and Binger could be racists without being Islamophobes and at the same time, other authors they criticized as Islamophobes were not necessarily racists. This hold true particularly in the case of some Evangelical missionaries who, even when they had an image of Islam as the enemy, believed that Muslims would no longer represent a threat to Europeans if they converted to Christianity. But the same can be said of more secularized individuals, for whom

Islam effectively represented a threat to Europe and the Europeans, but not because it defended theological truths that differed from the tenets of Christianity, but because it might serve as a vehicle for political mobilization against the European colonial presence. In short, although religious intolerance can be an element that should be taken into consideration in certain cases of Islamophobia, it is not the *sine qua non* of its existence.

The same holds true for the relationship between Islamophobia and racism or cultural racism: they may be elements worth considering in certain instances of Islamophobia, but again, they are not the *sine qua non* of its existence. Islamophobia can effectively be confounded with a form of racism or cultural racism because it occasionally targets minorities that are effectively racialized. But it is the perception of Islam as a threat that engenders the racialization of the Islamic identity. It is the need to identify the threat, to identify the Islam incarnate in Muslims, that causes the Islamic identity to be transformed into an involuntary identity: the Muslim will be identified not on the basis of his beliefs but rather on the basis of his origin, his ancestry and a series of ethno-cultural traits.

It is equally true, however, that these minorities can fall prey to racism or cultural racism without the Islamic reference coming into play. This therefore should not be described as Islamophobia, but simply as racism or cultural racism. It is when Islamophobia is used to reject or discriminate against Muslims who are identified as such on the basis of a series of ethnic features —rather than their beliefs— that confusion sets in. Because in these cases, unless an explicit motive exists, it is never clear whether this rejection stems from the Muslim being identified with the "Islamic threat" or because he is identified as a foreigner, a

black or an Arab. Using Quellien's definition, however, it is only in the first case that the term "Islamophobia" would apply.

In short, approaches to the term and the phenomenon in the early twentieth century leave no doubt that the term "Islamophobia" should only be applied to denote a hostile attitude towards Islam and Muslims based on the image of Islam as the enemy and as a vital, irrefutable and absolute threat to "our" wellbeing and even to "our" existence, irrespective of how Muslims are identified, whether on the basis of religious or ethnic criteria.

Acknowledgements

This article was made possible through the R&D project "Immigration and Religious Pluralism" (PAI08-0159-2339), directed by Miguel Hernando de Larramendi and funded by the Junta de Comunidades de Castilla-La Mancha (Spain). The author would like to thank Caroline Haslett, who translated into English the original Spanish text of this article.

Notes

1. Other names have been given to this phenomenon: 'differentialist racism' (Taguieff 2001), 'cultural fundamentalism' (Stolcke 1995) and 'culturalism' (Fredrickson 2002, pp. 3-4, 7-8, 141-142, Bravo López 2005).

2. It is common knowledge that the best way of proving that one is no longer a Muslim is to become an Islamophobe. The history of anti-Semitism is full of examples of converts who became anti-Semites and who were accepted by anti-Semites as one of them. Paul-Louis-Bernard Drach (1791-1865) —David Drach before he converted— and Aaron Brimann, alias Dr. Justus (1859-1934), are good examples of this. About Drach, see Kalman (2003) and Bravo López (2009b, pp. 281-284).

References

AGERON, C.-R. 1968 *Les Algériens musulmans et la France (1871-1919).* 2 vols. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

ALLEN, C. 2006 'Islamophobia: contested concept in the public space', PhD dissertation, Department of Theology, University of Birmingham, Birmingham.

BARKER, M. 1981 *The new racism: conservatives and the ideology of the tribe*. London: Junction Books.

BERNARD, A. 1927 'L'islam et l'Afrique du nord', *L'islam et la politique contemporaine. Conférences organisées par la Société des anciens élèves et élèves de l'Ecole libre des sciences politiques.* Paris: Félix Alcan, pp. 103-122.

BINGER, L. G. 1906 *Le péril de l'islam*. Paris: Comité de l'Afrique Française.

BRAVO LÓPEZ, F. 2005 'Culturalismo e inmigración musulmana en Europa', in PLANET CONTRERAS, A. I. & RAMOS, F. (eds) *Relaciones hispano-marroquíes: una vecindad en construcción.* Guadarrama, Madrid: Ediciones del Oriente y del Mediterráneo, pp. 305-351.

--- 2009a 'Islamofobia y antimusulmanismo en España: el caso de César Vidal', *Revista de Estudios Internacionales Mediterráneos*, no. 8, pp. 47-71.

--- 2009b 'Islamofobia y antisemitismo: la construcción discursiva de las amenazas islámica y judía', PhD dissertation, Department of Arab, Islamic and Oriental Studies, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Madrid.

BRUCKNER, P. 2003 'Le chantage à l'islamophobie', *Le Figaro,* 5 November.

BUNZL, M. 2005 'Between anti-Semitism and Islamophobia: some thoughts on the new Europe', *American Ethnologist,* vol. 32, no. 4, pp. 499-508.

CASTRO, A. 1985 *Sobre el nombre y el quién de los españoles*. Madrid: Sarpe.

CESARI, J.*, et al.* 2006 'Securitization and religious divides in Europe. Muslims in Western Europe After 9/11: Why the term islamophobia is more a predicament

than an explanation'. *Submission to the Changing Landscape of Citizenship and Security, 6th PCRD of European Commission*, 1 June, http://www.libertysecurity.org/IMG/pdf_Challenge_Project_report.pdf (accessed 20 May 2010).

CIGAR, N. 2003 'The nationalist Serbian intellectuals and islam: defining and eliminating a Muslim community', in QURESHI, E. & SELLS, M. A. (eds) *The new Crusades: constructing the Muslim enemy.* New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 314-352.

CIMINO, R. 2005 '«No God in common»: American Evangelical discourse on Islam after 9/11', *Review of Religious Research,* vol. 47, no. 2, pp. 162-174.

COMMISSION ON BRITISH MUSLIMS AND ISLAMOPHOBIA 2004 *Islamophobia: Issues, challenges and action*. Stoke on Trent, UK & Sterling, USA: Trentham Books.

COOK, S. A. 1924 'Chronicle. The history of religions', *Journal of Theological Studies*, no. 25, pp. 101-109.

DANIEL, N. 1966 *Islam, Europe and Empire*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

--- 1993 *Islam and the West: the making of an image*. Oxford: Oneworld Pub. [1st ed. Edinburgh, 1960].

DELAFOSSE, M. 1910 'L'état actuel de l'islam dans l'Afrique occidentale française', *Revue du Monde Musulman,* vol. 11, no. 5, pp. 32-53.

--- 1912 *Haut-Sénégal-Niger (Soudan français)*. 3 vols. Paris: E. Larose.

DINET, É. & IBRAHIM, S. B. 1925 *L'Orient vu de l'Occident: essai critique*. Paris: H. Piazza.

--- 1930 *Le pèlerinage à la maison sacrée d'Allah*. Paris: Hachette.

DJAÏT, H. 1978 *L'Europe et l'Islam*. Paris: Seuil.

DUNN, K. M., KLOCKER, N. & SALABAY, T. 2007 'Contemporary racism and Islamaphobia in Australia. Racializing religion', *Ethnicities,* vol. 7, no. 4, pp. 564-589.

ESPOSITO, J. L. 1999 *The Islamic threat: myth or reality?* 3rd ed. New York: Oxford University Press.

FOUREST, C. & VENNER, F. 2003 'Islamophobie?' *ProChoix*, no. 26-27, Autumn-Winter, http://www.prochoix.org/frameset/26/islamophobie26.html (accessed 20 May 2010).

FREDRICKSON, G. M. 2002 *Racism: a short history*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

GEISSER, V. 2003 *La nouvelle islamophobie*. Paris: La Découverte.

GRESH, A. 2004 'L'utilisation du mot «islamophobie»', *ToutesEgaux.net*, 20 February, http://web.archive.org/web/20050307094943/http://toutesegaux.free.fr/print.php3?id_article=21 (accessed 20 May 2010).

HALLIDAY, F. 1999 'Islamophobia reconsidered', *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* vol. 22, no. 5, pp. 892-902.

HARRISON, C. 1988 *France and Islam in West Africa, 1860-1960*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

JONCKERS, D. 2006 'Résistances africaines aux stratégies musulmanes de la France en Afrique occidentale (région soudano-voltaïque)', in LUIZARD, P.-J. (ed) *Le choc colonial et l'islam: les politiques religieuses des puissances coloniales en terres d'islam.* Paris: La Découverte, pp. 283-299.

KALMAN, J. 2003 'The unyielding wall: Jews and Catholics in Restoration and July monarchy France', *French Historical Studies,* vol. 26, no. 4, pp. 661-686.

KATZ, J. 1983 'Misreadings of Anti-Semitism', *Commentary,* vol. 76, no. 1, pp. 39-44.

LANGMUIR, G. I. 1996 *Toward a definition of antisemitism*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford: University of California Press.

LEVY, R. S. 1991 *Antisemitism in the modern world: an anthology of texts*. Lexington, Mass. & Toronto: D.C. Heath.

LINDEMANN, A. S. 1997 *Esau's tears: modern anti-Semitism and the rise of the Jews*. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.

LUOSTARINEN, H. 1989 'Finnish russophobia: the story of an enemy image', *Journal of Peace Research,* vol. 26, no. 2, pp. 123-137.

MALIK, K. 2005 'Islamophobia myth', *Prospect*, no. 107, 20 February.

MARTY, P. 1921 *L'islam en Guinée. Fouta-Diallon*. Paris: E. Leroux.

MEER, N. 2008 'The politics of voluntary and involuntary identities: are Muslims in Britain an ethnic, racial or religious minority', *Patterns of Prejudice,* vol. 42, no. 1, pp. 61-81.

MEER, N. & MODOOD, T. 2009 'Refutations of racism in the «Muslim question»', *Patterns of Prejudice,* vol. 43, no. 3-4, pp. 335-354.

MEER, N. & NOORANI, T. 2008 'A sociological comparison of anti-Semitism and anti-Muslim sentiment in Britain', *The Sociological Review,* vol. 56, no. 2, pp. 195-219.

MODOOD, T. 1997a "Diference', cultural racism and anti-Racism', in WERBNER, P. & MODOOD, T. (eds) *Debating cultural hybridity: multi-cultural*

identities and the politics of anti-racism. London & New Jersey: Zed Books, pp. 154-172.

--- 1997b 'Introduction: the politics of multiculturalism in the new Europe', in MODOOD, T. & WERBNER, P. (eds) *The politics of multiculturalism in the new Europe. Racism, identity and community.* London & New York: Zed Books, pp. 1-26.

NIEUWKERK, K. V. 2004 'Veils and wooden clogs don't go together', *Ethnos,* vol. 69, no. 2, pp. 229-246.

ÖZYÜREK, E. 2009 'Convert alert: German Muslims and Turkish Christians as threats to security in the new Europe', *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* vol. 51, no. 1, pp. 91-116.

PERCHER, J.-H. 1891 *À la conquête du Tchad*. Paris: Hachette.

PULZER, P. 2005 'Third thoughts on German and Austrian antisemitism', *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies,* vol. 4, no. 2, pp. 137-178.

QUELLIEN, A. 1910 *La politique musulmane dans l'Afrique occidentale française*. Paris: Émile Larose.

RATTANSI, A. 2007 *Racism: a very short introduction*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.

RODINSON, M. 1980 *La fascination de l'Islam*. Paris: F. Maspero.

SAID, E. W. 1979 *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books.

--- 1985 'Orientalism reconsidered', *Cultural Critique*, no. 1, pp. 89-107.

--- 1997 *Covering Islam: how the media and the experts determine how we see the rest of the world*. New York: Vintage Books. [1st ed. 1981].

SAJID, A. 2006 'Islamophobia. A new word for an old fear', in SCHENKER, H. & ABU-ZAYYAD, Z. (eds) *Islamophobia and anti-Semitism.* Princeton: Markus Wiener Pub., pp. 1-12.

SOUTHERN, R. W. 1962 *Western views of Islam in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

STOCKDALE, N. L. 2004 '«Citizens of Heaven» versus «the Islamic Peril»: the anti-Islamic Rhetoric of Orlando's Holy Land Experience since September 11, 2001', *American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences,* vol. 21, no. 3, pp. 89-109.

STOLCKE, V. 1995 'Talking culture: new boundaries, new rhetorics of exclusion in Europe', *Current Anthropology,* vol. 36, no. 1, pp. 1-24.

TAGUIEFF, P.-A. 2001 *The force of prejudice: on racism and its doubles*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. [1st ed. Paris, 1988].

THE RUNNYMEDE TRUST 1997 *Islamophobia: a challenge for us all*. London: The Runnymede Trust.

TOLAN, J. V. 2002 *Saracens: Islam in the medieval European imagination*. New York: Columbia University Press.

TRIAUD, J.-L. 2006 'Politiques musulmanes de la France en Afrique subsaharienne à l'époque coloniale', in LUIZARD, P.-J. (ed) *Le choc colonial et l'islam: les politiques religieuses des puissances coloniales en terres d'islam.* Paris: La Découverte, pp. 271-282.

VERKHOVSKY, A. 2004 'Who is the enemy now? Islamophobia and antisemitism among Russian Orthodox nationalists before and after September 11', *Patterns of Prejudice,* vol. 38, no. 2, pp. 127-143.

VOLKOV, S. 2006 *Germans, Jews, and Antisemites. Trials in emancipation*. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.

WEIL, P. 2006 'Le statut des musulmans en Algérie coloniale: une nationalité française dénaturée', in ARKOUN, M. & LE GOFF, J. (eds) *Histoire de l'islam et des musulmans en France du Moyen Âge à nos jours.* Paris: Albin Michel, pp. 548-561.

WERBNER, P. 2005 'Islamophobia: incitement to religious hatred - legislating for a new fear?' *Anthropology Today,* vol. 21, no. 1, pp. 5-9.

FERNANDO BRAVO LÓPEZ is member of the Workshop on International Mediterranean Studies (TEIM), Universidad Autónoma de Madrid. He is currently working on a book based on his PhD thesis, devoted to the comparison between Islamophobia and anti-Semitism.

ADDRESS: Taller de Estudios Internacionales Mediterráneos (TEIM), Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Campus de Cantoblanco, 28049, Madrid (Spain). Email: fernandobravolopez@yahoo.es