

**A NEW HISTORICIST READING OF
ISLAMIZATION AND ISLAMOPHOBIA IN
SELECTED CONTEMPORARY PAKISTANI
DIASPORIC FICTION**

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by

MALIK HAROON AFZAL

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACOEM	A Case of Exploding Mangoes (2008)
MSF	My Son the Fanatic (1997)
OLAB	Our Lady of Alice Bhatti (2017)
TBA	The Black Album (1995)

**PEMBACAAN PENSEJARAHAN BAHARU MENGENAI ISLAMISASI DAN
ISLAMOFOBIA DALAM CEREKA KONTEMPORARI DIASPORA
PAKISTANI TERPILIH**

ABSTRAK

Kesusasteraan dan politik kuasa mempunyai perkaitan yang kuat apabila melibatkan peranan sastera dalam menyebarkan naratif tertentu yang memenuhi kepentingan kuasa. Kajian lepas mengenai fiksyen diasporik Pakistan kontemporari cenderung untuk meneroka tema Islamisasi dan Islamofobia dari segi hubungannya dengan kuasa. Penyelidikan yang lepas lebih tertumpu kepada siasatan secara intensif tentang cara naratif Islamisasi dan Islamofobia dihebahkan dan disebarkan atas alasan pembentukan diskursif, iaitu, sastera dan bukan sastera. Kajian ini mendedahkan peranan pembentukan diskursif ini dengan merujuk kepada fiksyen diasporik Pakistan kontemporari terpilih: *A Case of Exploding Mangoes* dan *Our Lady of Alice Bhatti* karya Muhammad Hanif, *The Black Album* dan *My Son the Fanatic* karya Hanif Kureishi, *The Reluctant Fundamentalist* karya Mohsin Hamid, dan *Home Fire* karya Kamilia Shamsie. Sejak Perang Dingin, naratif Islamisasi dan Islamofobia telah mempengaruhi umat Islam di seluruh dunia, terutamanya di Pakistan kerana program Islamisasi semasa pencerobohan Soviet ke atas Afghanistan. Layanan terhadap identiti Muslim oleh Barat dalam kedua-dua era sebelum dan selepas Perang Dingin mendedahkan satu peralihan yang menarik dalam pendekatan Barat terhadap umat Islam. Era sebelum Perang Dingin menunjukkan sokongan Barat secara terang-terangan terhadap naratif Islamisasi di negara-negara Islam, manakala era pasca Perang Dingin menunjukkan ledakan sentimen anti-Muslim secara tiba-tiba di Barat.

Kajian telah menunjukkan bahawa peralihan ini sebahagian besarnya hilang dengan merujuk kepada fiksyen diasporik Pakistan kontemporari. Bagi mengatasi masalah ini, kajian ini bertujuan untuk mengenal pasti, membandingkan, dan menilai naratif Islamisasi dan Islamofobia dalam fiksyen terpilih dengan menggunakan kritikan Stephen Greenblatt terhadap kuasa, subversi, dan pembendungan. Tesis ini mendapati bahawa fiksyen Pakistan kontemporari, tidak seperti rakan bukan sasteranya, mensubversifkan naratif politik dominan Islamisasi dan Islamofobia, dan menawarkan kemungkinan rundingan dan perubahan. Dalam kes Islamisasi, fiksyen Pakistan kontemporari mencabar naratif Islamisasi yang terkenal di Pakistan dengan menekankan ketaksuban agama, diskriminasi agama terhadap minoriti, ekstremisme agama dan rasuah. Dalam kes Islamofobia, ia mendedahkan kepentingan politik Barat, seperti kebangkitan pengaruh Islam dan krisis imigresen di Barat dengan menekankan ketaksuban anti-Muslim, perkauman, ketuanan kulit putih, dan peranan politik populis kontemporari dalam merosakkan Islam dan umat Islam. Tambahan pula, daripada bergantung pada aspek teori pasca kolonial yang terkenal, iaitu, ajukan, hibriditi, ambivalens dan lain-lain, penyelidikan ini menyumbang kepada pemahaman naratif Islamisasi dan Islamofobia dalam konteks fiksyen diasporik Pakistan dengan menyediakan pengkonsepian teori Historisisme Baru dalam konteks kebangsaan dan diasporik Pakistan.

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ABSTRACT

Literature and power-politics have a strong connection when it comes to literature's role in promulgating and propagating a certain narrative which serves the interest of power. Past studies on contemporary Pakistani diasporic fictions tend to explore the themes of Islamization and Islamophobia in terms of their relation with power. There is a dearth of research that have investigated intensively the way the narratives of Islamization and Islamophobia were promulgated and propagated on the pretext of discursive formations, i.e., literary and non-literary. The present study unveils this role of discursive formations with reference to the selected contemporary Pakistani diasporic fiction: Muhammad Hanif's *A Case of Exploding Mangoes* and *Our Lady of Alice Bhatti*, Hanif Kureishi's *The Black Album* and *My Son the Fanatic*, Mohsin Hamid's *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, and Kamila Shamsie's *Home Fire*. Since the Cold War, the narratives of Islamization and Islamophobia have been influencing the Muslims globally, especially in Pakistan due to its Islamization program during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The treatment of Muslim identity by the West in both pre and the post-Cold War eras reveals an interesting shift in the Western approach towards Muslims. The pre-Cold War era shows an overt Western support for the narrative of Islamization in Muslim countries, whereas the post-Cold War era shows a sudden boom of anti-Muslim sentiments in the West. Studies have shown that the examination of this shift is largely missing with reference to contemporary Pakistani diasporic fiction. In order to address this problem, the study

aims at identifying, comparing, and evaluating the narratives of Islamization and Islamophobia in the selected fictions by utilizing Stephen Greenblatt's critique of power, subversion, and containment. The thesis finds that the contemporary Pakistani fiction, unlike its non-literary counterpart, subverts the dominant political narratives of Islamization and Islamophobia, and offers a possibility of negotiation and change. In the case of Islamization, the contemporary Pakistani fiction challenges the much celebrated narrative of Islamization in Pakistan by highlighting religious bigotry, religious discrimination against minorities, religious extremism, and corruption. In the case of Islamophobia, it exposes the Western political interests, such as the rise of Muslim influence and immigration crisis in the West by highlighting anti-Muslim bigotry, racism, White supremacy, and the role of contemporary populist politics in demonizing Islam and Muslims. Furthermore, instead of relying on the much celebrated aspects of the postcolonial theory, i-e., mimicry, hybridity, ambivalence etc., the research contributes to the understanding of the narratives of Islamization and Islamophobia in the context of Pakistani diasporic fiction by providing a new conceptualization of the theory of New Historicism in the Pakistani national as well as diasporic context.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Literature and power politics have a strong connection when it comes to promulgating and propagating a certain narrative which serves the interests of power (Hickling, 2018; Wilson, 2007; Brannigan, 1998; Montrose, 1997; Greenblatt, 1980, 1981). Matt Hickling (2018) notes that a “cultural product (especially a literary text)” always “interacts with and participates in its historical context, especially with reference to the power relations operating within the society of its time” (p. 54). Therefore, the most eminent and indispensable element, the absence of which would have left the present study insignificant, is power. It is commonly defined as “the probability within a social relationship of being able to secure one’s own ends even against opposition” (Parson 1968, p. 656). Its contribution in shaping and re-shaping human life and interactions is considered as a universal fact. In the field of criticism several philosophers and critics hold different views about the notion of power. For example, the old school of Plato and Plotinus etc., viewed it in the metaphysical setting as a transcendental reality/truth that is sought by the seeker by means of art and rhetoric (Leitch, et al., 2001), and others like Nietzsche and Foucault provided an entirely contrary stance about power and accorded it the status of omnipotence and pervasiveness which possesses the ability to control everything.

Defining power as a self-determining force, Nietzsche (1961) confines it only to the self-fashioning men who differentiate them from the people who “want to create the world” they can kneel before, as their “ultimate hope and intoxication” (p. 136).

For him, the only way of salvation from this emptiness—for the ordinary man—is to overcome “the will to power” and to introduce a new human order. This is the reason he associates power to the nobility only because in his opinion, unlike the weak masses, nobility “have in them an excess of plastic curative power, and also a power of oblivion” (Nietzsche, 1956, p. 173). On the other hand, Foucault (1981) asserts that power cannot be associated with one individual or a group of individuals, rather it is an all-pervasive force that exists everywhere. He asserts that power is “the name that one attributes to a complex, strategical situation in a particular society”, and that “Power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere” (Foucault, 1981, p. 93).

In literature, power’s role lies in its ability to shape and reshape the real social world by using the texts it produces. John Brannigan (1998) explains how New Historicism understands the stories of the past as power’s way of constructing a narrative that unconsciously fits its own interests. He notes that the New Historicist scholars emphasize the use of political and social context as an impetus “for political struggle in the present, and make it clear that the discipline of literary studies is not removed from the sphere of politics” (Brannigan, 1998, p. 10). They make liberal use of historical anecdotes or material artifacts in order to inform, contextualize, and try to reveal the power-politics behind them. Therefore, the examination of this complex relation between power and literature regarding the narratives of Islamization and Islamophobia, by imagining it within the Pakistani indigenous as well as its diasporic context, with particular reference to the selected contemporary Pakistani diasporic fiction makes the background of this research project.

By using New Historicist approach, this thesis focuses primarily on the political significance of contemporary Pakistani diasporic fiction in unveiling the role

of discursive formations, i.e., literary and non-literary, and power in promulgating and propagating the two political narratives of Islamization and Islamophobia in the pre and post-Cold War political contexts. For this purpose, this section provides the contextualization of the narratives of Islamization and Islamophobia in relation to the agency of power on one hand, and then moves to the positioning of the contemporary Pakistani diasporic fiction in relation to it.

In 1947 the British withdrew from India. It was the time when *Hindustan* (India) was divided into two independent countries – Pakistan and India. As a nascent state, due to lack of material as well as human resources, Pakistan had to face numerous problems: the Kashmir issue; enmity with India; a leadership crisis; conflict between the centre and the provinces; national integration; despotic regimes, and the Urdu/Bengali language conflict which ultimately ended in the separation of East Pakistan as Bangladesh, and finally *Jihad* (holy war) in Afghanistan against the Soviet Union. The socio-political turmoil didn't stop there, but the incident of 9/11 further deteriorated the socio-political spheres in Pakistan due to Pakistan's sudden alliance with America in its War on Terror and its subsequent confrontation of its previous alliance with the *Taliban* and Islamization. The Pakistani government that supported *Jihad* in Afghanistan—with Capitalist America's sponsorship—during the Cold War by playing the unjustified religion card, disguised in the process of Islamization in Pakistan, was forced to come in alliance again with America's war on terror policies after 9/11, while contradicting its own narrative that it spread to support *Talibanization*. Hence, the conflict of interest between the state and the state trained extremists consequently made the country a battleground for almost 10 years with numerous incidents of suicide bombings, religious extremism, sectarian violence, and

gender-based violence, from which religious extremism, sectarian and gender-based violence are still rampant.

Furthermore, there also appears a strong connection between the Islamization in Muslim countries in the East, such as Pakistan and Iran, during the Cold War era and the rapid surge of Islamophobia in the West right after the end of Cold War. In the case of Pakistan, it did not only disrupt the peace in the home country, but also affected the Pakistani diaspora by changing their national identity with the religious one (Moghissi, 2006). Moghissi (2006) suggests that the Islamization in the Muslim countries during the Cold War and then the incident of 9/11, too, contributed in fanning the fire of Islamophobia in the West and affected the lives of Muslims of all nationalities including Pakistani Muslims living in diasporas, by replacing their national identity with their religious identity. In the case of the Pakistani diaspora, the shift, in Considine's (2018) terminology, was from 'Pakistanis' to 'violent Muslim Pakistanis'. In this context, I suggest that this conversion of regional identity (Pakistani) into religious one (Pakistani Muslim/Muslim) strengthens the link between the Cold War politics of Islamization and the global politics of Islamophobia, and reveals a shift in the West's treatment of the very Muslim identity in the Cold War and the post-Cold War contexts. A similar point is reported by the Runnymede Trust's in 1997 about Islamophobia. In their report *Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All* (1997) it is noted that:

"It is no accident, some commentators have suggested, that the recent demonizing of Islam began at much the same time that the "evil empire" of communism receded as a real threat. Western political and popular culture required a new enemy, an implacable other, to replace the Soviet Union. Also, it is cynical if plausibly claimed, the Western armaments industry needed a new enemy" (Report, 1997, p. 8).

Similarly, there is no doubt that during the past few decades Islamophobia has also started several social and political debates all over the world. But over a couple of years, the world has witnessed a surge in the anti-Muslim bigotry all over the world, resulting in multiple incidents of violence such as New Zealand mosque attack, Quran burning incident in Norway, and a killing of a Pakistani Muslim family in Canada. This situation highlights the need of a thorough critical investigation of this political narrative of Islamophobia. However, in order to develop the link between Islamization in Pakistan and Islamophobia in the West, I intend to suggest that it was Pakistan's direct involvement in the radicalization of Islam during Cold War—fuelled and backed by America and other Capitalist allies—that yielded it the status, in Obama's words, of “a chaotic, frenetic, and disorganised country hell-bent on destroying ‘the West’” (Considine, 2018, p.1), and therefore, contributed in the rise of Islamophobic sentiments in the West, which thereby, increased the pain and suffering of Pakistanis living in diasporas (Ibid).

Summing up the discussion about Islamization in Pakistan and Islamophobia in the West, a surface view indicates that the political Islamization in Pakistan during the Cold War and Islamophobia after the Cold War are two of the multiple factors responsible for such a calamitous and devastating state of Pakistani society as well as Muslims living in diasporas. The study suggests that it was Islamization in the Muslim countries and the infiltration of radical organizations such as the Pakistani *Taliban*, Afghan *Taliban*, Jaish and ISIS in Muslim countries in tandem with the multiple acts of terrorism in the West that proved to be a pretext for the political narrative of Islamophobia, and therefore, for the victimization of the Muslims in the West. Taking Pakistan as a case in point, America's direct involvement and funding in promoting Islamization in Pakistan coincided with *Talibanization* in Afghanistan, and its

subsequent withdrawal from it after 9/11, makes the situation a hotspot of critical discussion. Not denying East's/Pakistan's contribution in the construction of these narratives, the study proposes that their contextualization among the international power politics of the Cold War and the immigration crisis in the West can enable us to imagine an altogether different aspect of reality. Paying more attention to the reasons behind the narratives of Islamization and Islamophobia, as well as the damage done by them, I find it interesting to study the power relations and power politics involved in the construction of these narratives. Particularly, the role of Zia-ul-haq's despotic regime in the construction and propagation of the narrative of Islamization and the role of the West in the construction and development of the political narrative of Islamophobia.

On the other hand, the contemporary Pakistani diasporic fiction is reckoned to be a very active respondent to the agency of power in both of its national and diasporic contexts (Cilano, 2013; Rehman, 1991; Saleem, 2015; Shamsie, 2017). It deconstructs and decodes various factors fuelling the fire of religious extremism in Pakistan, as well as offers important insights for the analysis and examination of the factors jeopardizing the stability and solidarity of Pakistan as well as of today's world. In the context of today's geo-political crisis, the Pakistani diasporic fiction writers have emerged on the literary scene as political commentators. They are striving to deconstruct the hegemonic discourses by providing alternative perspectives as well as by appropriating the prevailing discursive and cultural preoccupations about Pakistan and its people. Ali Usman Saleem (2015) argues that the contemporary Pakistani diasporic fiction, by using literary tradition of the former colonizers, delves in its national history to expose the causes of the current economic and socio-political crisis by intervening in the national as well as Western hegemonic discourses. He notes,

“These authors have taken up specific social and political issues through their writings and provide a trenchant commentary on matters of indigenous and international significance. Their fiction offers a rational perspective on various socio-political and cultural factors contributing to the social decay and is, ultimately, an intervention in Western discourse about Pakistan and its people” (Saleem, 2015, p.3).

The same point has also been established by various literary critics of Pakistani literary canon (Chamber, 2011; Cilano, 2013; Rehman, 1991; Saleem, 2015; Shamsie, 2017) that it intervenes in local as well as Western hegemonic discourse and furnishes accounts of the most immediate problems faced by the people of Pakistan, both at home and in diasporas. It is at this point that the contemporary Pakistani diasporic fiction becomes a suitable genre to examine the working of power relations with reference to the narratives of Islamization and Islamophobia, in order to evaluate the way it treats these narratives.

For this purpose, I have selected the theory of New Historicism as the framework of my study due to its ability to view and examine the literary and non-literary texts as the two important tools used by power to construct as well as promote a particular narrative or ideology (Brannigan, 1998; Gardy, 1993; Greenblatt, 1980). Technically, the present study focuses on the narratives of Islamization and Islamophobia with reference to the selected contemporary Pakistani diasporic fiction by using the New Historicist approach. However, before moving to the background of the literary representation of the selected variables, i.e., Islamization and Islamophobia, which is covered in detail in the first section of next chapter, it is important here to have a clear understanding of the way these variables would contribute to my study.

The examination of Islamization and Islamophobia would provide a sceptical reading of the selected contemporary Pakistani diasporic fiction by contextualizing them within the pre and post-Cold War politics of Islamization, Islamophobia, and the immigration crisis in the West, and their effects on contemporary Pakistani society along with the Muslims living in the diasporas in the West. To study Islamization in Pakistan, the novels *A Case of Exploding Mangoes* (2008) and *Our Lady of Alice Bhatti* (2011) by Muhammad Hanif have been selected, whereas Islamophobia would be discussed mainly with reference to Hanif Kureishi's *The Black Album* (1995) and *My Son the Fanatic* (1997). Hanif Kureishi is a British-Pakistani novelist, playwright, filmmaker and screenwriter. He has written seven novels, several short stories and screenplays. Due to his services to literature, in 2008, he was included in the list of top 50 influential writers since 1945 by *The Times*. He was also awarded CBE (Commander of the British Empire) in 2008 for his services to literature. His debut novel *The Buddha of Suburbia* won the Whitbread First Novel Award in 1990 and the adapted movie of his *My Beautiful Launderette* was twice nominated for Oscar. He won many other prizes including the PEN/Pinter Prize 2010; New York Film Critics Circle Award 1986; George Divine Award 1981; and the Thames Television Playwright award 1980. In addition to this, he was also nominated for an Academy Award in 1986. Kureishi's fictional oeuvre includes: *The Buddha of Suburbia* (1990); *The Black Album* (1995); *Intimacy* (1998); *Gabriel's Gift* (2001); *Something to Tell You* (2008); *The Last Word* (2013), and *The Nothing* (2017). The main thematic concerns of his works are the problems faced by the Asian diaspora community in England. In addition to this, a fine blend of postcolonial and queer themes can also be seen as occupying the dominant position in the works of Kureishi.

Muhammad Hanif, on the other hand, has been selected to examine the narrative of Islamization in the Pakistani context. He is a Pakistani novelist and journalist. After graduating from the Pakistan Air Force as a pilot officer, he left his job and moved to England for higher studies. There he pursued his career in Journalism and started working for various media outlets such as the BBC, The New York Times, The Daily Telegraph, The New Yorker, and The Washington Post. He became famous for his debut novel *A Case of Exploding Mangoes* (2008) that received 2009's Commonwealth Book Prize in the Best First Book category, short listed for The Guardian First Book Award and long-listed for the Man Booker Prize in 2008. Hanif is known for his stark political commentary and is appreciated due to his comic and witty portrayal of the ills of Pakistani society. His other works include *Our Lady of Alice Bhatti* (2011), *The Baloch who is not missing and others who are* (2013), *Red Birds* (2018). Among his other novels, *A Case of Exploding Mangoes* (2008) and *Our Lady of Alice Bhatti* (2011) have been included in this study due to their apt relevance with the focus of this study, i.e., Islamization in Pakistan and its relation to Cold War politics.

In summary, the study portrays on its canvas the narratives of Islamization and Islamophobia with reference to the selected contemporary Pakistani diasporic fictions. It examines Islamization in Pakistan and Islamophobia in the diasporic context with particular reference to the Pakistani literary discourse's response to it, by contextualizing them within the broader category of power as discussed above. By approaching the selected literary and non-literary texts in alliance with Islamization and Islamophobia and utilizing the New Historicist approach, the study finds similar patterns in the flow of power in its treatment of its subjects as indicated by the critique of Stephen Greenblatt. Power's use of ideology instead of coercion is taken as its

(power) strongest tool to suppress a subversion and to promote any narrative that would serve its interests. As Foucault states above that power is not confined to any group or class, rather it is found everywhere, I suggest that power—whether it is the despotic regime of General Zia that impregnated Pakistani society with the political narrative of Islamization, or the hegemonic West behind the political narrative of Islamophobia—approaches and controls its subject with similar tools. These tools, according to New Historicism, are literary and non-literary texts that help power in forming “culturally and linguistically constructed selves” (Brannigan, 1998, p. 7) which comply with the normative pattern as well as justifying them.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

I have divided my problem statement in two categories. The first one states and explains the general problem that encapsulates the actual and real-life issues pertaining to the selected variables of my study, i.e., Islamization and Islamophobia, which my research aims at exposing and addressing. For example, it describes the way Islamization and Islamophobia are such problems that need immediate attention. By doing so, in this section, I question the construction of these narratives and—with the help of historical references—render them as political constructs that have been serving the interests of power.

The second category, i.e., the Micro-problem or the subject specific problem, states the issue that is specific to my area of study –Anglophone literature and particularly Pakistani diasporic literature. By narrowing down the problem statement, it directly states the problem which is addressed in this thesis. In this section the statement of the problem is not in a bigger context, but in the research context. In the light of the research that has already been done in the field, it highlights the problem

of ‘inclusion’ of the political constructions of Islamization and Islamophobia in the field of academic research on contemporary Pakistani diasporic fiction. This section highlights that the scholarly insights about Islamization and Islamophobia in contemporary Pakistani Anglophone fiction escape from examining its relevance with the actual non-literary (political/media) discourse, and therefore, have compromised the relevance of the world of fiction with the real political world that, according to New Historicism (Brannigan, 1998; Greenblatt, 1980; 1981), may have shaped it or contributed to its development.

1.2.1 Macro-problem/General Problem

The selected variables of the study, i.e., Islamization and Islamophobia, with reference to contemporary Pakistani Anglophone literature will help in highlighting and addressing some of the most significant problems such as religious extremism in Pakistan, and politically driven Muslim demonization in the West. For example, in the Pakistani context, the process of Islamization in Pakistan that was started during Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is still inflicting the country with numerous incidents of religious extremism and sectarian violence. Whereas in the international or global context, the New Zealand mosque attack, the Norway Quran burning incidents, and the recent killing of a Pakistani Muslim family in Canada indicate a surge in anti-Muslim bigotry in the West along with highlighting the problem of Islamophobia as a global issue that needs the immediate attention of the concerned, especially Muslim countries, to develop a solution.

The present study—by reading the selected Pakistani diasporic fiction through the lens of New Historicism—places the issues of Islamization, and Islamophobia within the larger context of the power politics of the Cold War, and suggests that these

are political constructions rather than social or cultural ideologies that have been serving the interests of power. For example, Islamization started in Pakistan at the time of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1971-1977), with the promulgation of the constitution of 1973 after the separation of East Pakistan (Present Bangladesh), in which for the first time the Ahmadi¹ community of Pakistan was officially declared as ‘non-Muslims’. But it received more energy and vigour after the military coup of General Zia-ul-haq in 1977 in which many new Islamic reforms were introduced in their classical form. Mosques were built, Madrassa culture was promoted, Islamic scholars were given special political powers, and on the pretext of all these reforms, Afghan brothers were given support in their fight against atheist-communist Soviet Union. Nadeem F. Paracha (2018) notes that the Zia government took several monetary benefits from America because it was fighting its war against the USSR in Afghanistan. It was the time of Islamization, when people from all the Muslims countries were invited in the name of Islam to take part in *Jihad* in order to support their Muslim brothers in Afghanistan (Haqqani, 2005); and Pakistan—being the centre of the Cold War politics in South Asia—was able to support America in Afghanistan in its fight against the Soviet Union.

Looking critically at the rise of Islamization in Pakistan, it becomes clear that it was America’s funding and support of Pakistan and Afghan *taliban* at the time of the Soviet invasion that sped up Islamization in the country. In other words, it was America’s direct involvement in the manipulation of Islam’s concept of *Jihad* that institutionalized Islamic extremism in Pakistan which still haunts the country in various forms and manners. America’s initial support of Islamization and later its

¹ Followers of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad Qadiyani who denounced the finality of Prophethood and called himself the final prophet after Muhammad (PBUH).

enmity with it—in the form of Islamophobia—makes it a good sight and locus of power-politics making and unmaking similar but self-contradictory policies for its own interest. Its treatment of the Muslims of South Asia and Middle East as brothers during the Cold War, and then as terrorists in the post-Cold War era, therefore, requires a critical examination of the Cold War power politics in relation to Islamization in the particular countries that, according to Moghissi (2006), contributed in reshaping the image of Muslims as an armed faction, and thence, contributed at large in the rise of Islamophobia in the West.

This situation naturally begets a few questions: are the Muslims only responsible for the rise of Islamophobia? Or are they being made scapegoats for the political interests of the West? To know the answer to these questions, Stephen Greenblatt's constructs of power, subversion and containment are being utilized to see if power is really controlling everything, and in the present case, how Muslims are being blamed for extremism, instead of the West and America. However, by applying Greenblatt's constructs of power, subversion, and containment, I aim to view and evaluate the way power promotes a particular ideology to control the subversions it faces and becomes successful in doing it without any coercive force. According to Greenblatt (1981), power uses literary and non-literary texts to justify its own policies and to contain subversion with the help of linguistically and culturally constructed selves, and the 'orthodox texts' pertaining to that are the sights where these power relations become obvious. If this is the case, the question arises: is it true that the West relied on the literary and non-literary texts to inculcate the narrative of Islamization and Islamophobia for its own political motifs? In this regard, the study examines the literary as well as non-literary discourses about Islamization and Islamophobia with reference to the Pakistani national as well as the diasporic context.

It can also be deduced that the desired support of America/Afghan Taliban in Pakistan was not possible without the insertion of the religion card by the despotic regime of General Zia. It is also highlighted that the Islamization and radicalism in Pakistan that America opposed after 9/11 was supported by America itself during the Cold War era. In this regard, in today's context, America's War on Terror and other such ramifications of the political Islamization of the Cold War era should be seen, on the part of America and its capitalist allies, as an act reaping what it had sown during the Cold War era. And the tool that was employed to promulgate political Islamization was similar to the one that is again being used to eradicate it, i.e., discourse: at first, it was the discourse of 'religious extremism' wrongly misinterpreted in the name of *jihad* and disguised in the narrative of Islamization, and right after the end of Cold War, it took the form of dread, hatred, and hostility towards Islam in the form of the narrative of Islamophobia. The study utilizes Stephen Greenblatt's theory about the narrative construction to show the way an ideological self is constructed. It also represents the way the selected literary as well non-literary texts about Islamization and Islamophobia treat the power-driven narrative of religious extremism and anti-Muslim bigotry. The study views Islamic fundamentalists as the selves created with the help of misinterpreted Islamic discourses dispensed by power to gain its capitalist interests. In the backdrop of previous discussions, the study strives to answer some questions like: How did the Cold War politics of the West contribute to the development of radicalised selves in Pakistan? To this point, it also becomes pertinent to ask: How is the literary discourse of Pakistan complying with the global perception of Islamic Fundamentalism?

1.2.2 Micro-problem/Research Problem

This part of the statement of the problem covers the subject specific issue and gap that my study aims to address. In other words, it describes the problem in the diasporic Pakistani literature, particularly fiction, that demands critical attention of the researchers. Considering Ngugi's assertion that "every writer is a writer in politics" (1981, p.3), it becomes natural to consider how far and how much the literary discourse of Pakistan addresses and encapsulates the socio-political problems of Pakistan as highlighted above. Munawar Iqbal (2009) establishes that until the 1990s, Pakistani writers "desisted from giving a powerful creative response to the socio-political conditions" (p. 4), except some Urdu writers such as Faiz Ahmad Faiz (1911-1984), Ahmad Faraz (1931-2008), Fehmida Riaz (1946-2018), and Kishwar Naheed (1940-). Among the writers writing in English, Zulfiqar Ghose (1935-) is found encapsulating the growing capitalism in Pakistan during the 1960s and Bapsi Sidhwa (1936-) about the status of women in the context of the politics of partition. For Iqbal (2009) the refrainment of Pakistani writers from the socio-political discourse and the repressive despotic regimes have a vivid connection in the form of state triggered censorship and persecution. But after the 1990s, there appeared an abundance of Pakistani Anglophone fiction which dealt with the socio-political milieu of Pakistan contributed mainly by the Pakistani diasporic writers such as Hanif Kureishi, Kamila Shamsie, Nadeem Aslam, and Mohsin Hamid etc. If viewed critically, Iqbal's hierarchal development of Anglophone Pakistani Literature draws a distinction between the pre 1990's Anglophone literature and the post 1990's Anglophone literature. The Pre 1990's Anglophone literature picturizes suppression due to the hegemonic role of the Pakistani political elite, whereas the post 1990's Anglophone

literature paints an impression of freedom due to the proliferation of literary discourse written by the Pakistani diaspora.

Similarly, the study of the Pakistani diasporic fiction produced by the contemporary diasporic Pakistani writers remains under-researched as a site of investigation of the politics of Islamization, and Islamophobia. The critical insights about Pakistani literature are limited in their scope and coverage about the aforementioned constructs of Islamization and Islamophobia. For example, in their quest to unravel indigenous as well as diasporic political imbroglios, most of the studies cover the themes of identity vacillation and the plight of subaltern classes by contextualizing them within the post 9/11 power politics while using the critiques of some of the hardcore postcolonial and cultural theorists such as Bhabha, Spivak, Said, Althusser etc. (Iqbal 2009; Khan 2013; Saleem 2015; Chaudry 2013; Majid 2012). By doing so, these studies escape from the discussions about Islamization and Islamophobia in comparison with the actual non-literary (political/media) discourse. For instance, there appears only one seminal study by Nukhbah Taj Langah about Islamization and Islamophobia in 2019. She understands Islamization and the post 9/11 Islamophobia through Pakistani literary and non-literary (music) responses. She endeavours to do two things in her work. First, she “deconstructs and connects Islamization and Islamophobia as the two key processes which impacted Muslim-Pakistani identity in the aftermath of 9/11” (p. 79). And second is that she challenges critics’ repetitive “reliance on fiction for understanding the post-9/11 discourse” (Langah, 2019, p. 80). Although Langah (2019) attempts to study Islamophobia in the contemporary Pakistani literature by linking it with Islamization in Pakistan, none of the two aspects of her research deals with the role and contribution of the literary and non-literary discourses in the construction of the narratives of Islamization and

Islamophobia. Apart from Langah's (2019) study, none of the studies, to the best of my knowledge, has checked and examined the representation of the actual prevailing political discourse as appeared in different newspapers articles—that according to Greenblatt constructs, promotes, and serves the interest of power by developing certain narratives and ideologies—in the contemporary Pakistani Anglophone fiction.

In such a scenario, I suggest that the critical insights into Islamophobia also need to include cold war politics in it. In the field of humanities, several researchers have also tried to read the phenomenon of Islamophobia through the perspective of an us/other dichotomy (Chauhan, 2005; Kumar, 2012; Wolf, 2015), whereas a few others have studied it with reference to Islamic imperialism (Othman, 2014; Rana, 2007). Similarly, the Anglophone literature has also been read with the same lens of orient/occident as well as regarding the mistreatment of the diasporic Muslim communities (Abubakar & Muhammad, 2019; Morey, 2018; Zaidi & Sahibzada, 2018). Working across a similar pattern, the current debate about Islamophobia in Pakistani diasporic fiction, too seems to have escaped the examination of the political and literary discourse in the construction and development of Islamophobia (Banerjee, 2020; Langah 2019; Morey, 2018; Quin 2018; Riaz 2017; Haidar, 2012). In the present study, I have addressed this particular problem by studying the selected Pakistani diasporic fiction against the backdrop of the actual non-literary political discourse published during and after the end of the Cold War, in order to view to what extent the Pakistani diasporic fiction complies with the Western political narrative of Islamophobia.

As evidenced from the above discussion, previous studies about Islamization and Islamophobia, have not sufficiently connected Cold War and post-Cold War Western politics and its impact on the literary formations of Pakistan. The intricate

links between power dynamics and the discursive formation, i.e., literary and non-literary both, have similarly escaped the attention of researchers who have examined the political dimensions of Islamization and Islamophobia. Additionally, these researchers have not evaluated texts' ability to subvert as well as serve the interests of power by containing the subversion it confronted in the form of communism and the rise of Muslim influence respectively. In summary, the study not only fills the research gap within the contemporary Pakistani diasporic fiction by examining the political narratives of Islamization and Islamophobia by placing it parallel to the actual political discourse produced during and after the Cold War context, but—with the help of the New Historicist approach—also addresses the problems of religious discrimination and religious extremism at national level, and Islamophobia at international level by providing an alternative reading of the selected literary texts from the contemporary Pakistani diasporic fiction. The study also aims at providing a rational space to counter the politically motivated narratives of Islamization and Islamophobia with particular reference to the selected contemporary Pakistani diasporic fiction. However, I suggest that the comparison of the historical archives with the literary discourse of a particular time, in its aim to expose the hegemonic role of power, also enables even the general readers to detach religious and cultural ideologies from the political ones, and to imagine spaces which are more harmonious and peaceful.

1.3 Research Objectives and Questions

1. To identify the narratives of Islamization and Islamophobia in the selected Pakistani diasporic fiction.
2. To compare the treatment of the narratives of Islamization and Islamophobia in the selected Pakistani diasporic fiction.

3. To evaluate the treatment of the narratives of Islamization and Islamophobia in the selected Pakistani diasporic fiction.

1.4 Research Questions

1. What are the terrains of the narratives of Islamization and Islamophobia as represented in the selected Pakistani diasporic fiction?
2. How similarly or differently have the narratives of Islamization and Islamophobia been represented in the selected contemporary Pakistani diasporic fiction?
3. How does the selected Pakistani diasporic fiction respond to the narratives of Islamization and Islamophobia?

1.4 Scope and Limitations of the Study

1.4.1 Literary Texts

The literary texts that have been selected for the variable of Islamization are: *A Case of Exploding Mangoes*² (2008) and *Our Lady of Alice Bhatti*³ (2011) by Muhammad Hanif, whereas for Islamophobia, *The Black Album*⁴ (1995) and *My Son the Fanatic*⁵ (1997) by Hanif Kureishi have been short listed. The reason behind the selection of *ACOEM* by Muhammad Hanif is its direct relevance with the theme of political Islamization in Pakistan and with Gen. Zia's dictatorial regime. Although the novel was not published during the actual time of Islamization, its distinctive relevance as well as its historicization of the event of political Islamization in Pakistan convinced

² Hereafter, in this chapter, I will refer to *A Case of Exploding Mangoes* as *ACOEM*

³ Hereafter, in this chapter, I will refer to *Our Lady of Alice Bhatti* as *OLAB*

⁴ Hereafter, in this chapter, I will refer to *The Black Album* as *TBA*

⁵ Hereafter, in this chapter, I will refer to *My Son the Fanatic* as *MSF*

me to include it in my study. Another reason behind not selecting the work from the same period is the unavailability of the relevant literature during that time due to the military's control and censorship. In this regard, *ACOEM* is the only masterpiece depicting the process of political Islamization in a mocking way by providing an alternative history of that era of Islamization in the hands of General Zia. In addition to this, its relevance with the power politics of Islamization can also be evidenced in its seizure in 2019 in Pakistan, after its Urdu translation was published (BBC, 2020). Similarly, Muhammad Hanif's second novel *OLAB* has also been selected due to its apt description of the effects of political Islamization on contemporary Pakistani society.

The works of Hanif Kureishi's *TBA* (1995) and *MSF* (1997), on the other hand, have also been selected on the basis of their relevance with the second variable of this study, i.e., Islamophobia. *TBA* encapsulates the effects of Islamised Pakistani identity on the diaspora community living abroad on one hand, presents a fictionalized narration of the anti-Muslim political discourse, on the other, which was prevalent during the post-Cold War era. Similarly, the other fictional work of Kureishi which has been selected for this thesis is his short story, *MSF*. Both works *TBA* and *MSF*, have been published in the post-Cold War or pre 9/11 era, and therefore, provide an apt description of the politics of their time.

Lastly, the novels, *The Reluctant Fundamentalist* (2007) by Mohsin Hamid, and *Home Fire* (2017) by Kamila Shamise have been selected to identify Pakistani diasporic fiction's treatment of the narrative of Islamophobia in the contemporary context of War on Terror and populism. In the same way that Muhammad Hanif's novel *OLAB* helps me to analyse the textualization of the continued narrative of Islamization and its effect on the contemporary Pakistani society, these two novels

help me to analyse the textualization of the continued narrative of Islamophobia and its effects on contemporary Muslims diaspora communities in the West. The reason behind not selecting Kureishi's other works for the contemporary aspect of Islamophobia, is the irrelevance of their themes with the scope and objectives of my research.

1.4.2 Non-literary Texts

The non-literary texts (Newspaper articles and monographs) that have been prioritised to examine the construct of Islamization are two: first is the biography of the then military ruler Gen. Zia-ul-Haq *Shaheed-ul-Islam: Muhammad Zia ul Haq*, published in UK by Indus Thames Publishers and edited by Saleem Azzam (1990), whereas the second one is a combination of different selected excerpts published in the Western media during the period of the Cold War and the political Islamization of Pakistan. The purpose behind the inclusion of these excerpts is to show the exuberant support of Zia's Islamization in Pakistan by the West, and to provide an ideal setting to imagine and speculate the construction of Islamization as the most effective tool that was used by the West to defeat the USSR in Afghanistan.

On the other hand, for Islamophobia, the Runnymede Trusts' report *Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All* (1997) has been selected as the non-literary text. The report—in the light of numerous newspaper articles about Islamophobia published in the Western media—informs about the Western media's portrayal and description of Muslims living in the West. It reports very realistically the Western non-literary discourse which was published in the Western media and demonized Muslims while contributing to the rise of Islamophobia. Hence, the selection of the Runnymede Trust's report as a background to examine the selected literary texts, i.e., *TBA* (1995)

and *MSF* (1997) enables us to view to what extent the selected literary texts from the contemporary Pakistani diasporic fiction comply with the narrative of Islamophobia as represented in the Western media as well as contribute in serving the political interests of Western power. In addition to this, to examine the continuation of the narrative of Islamophobia with reference to contemporary Pakistani diasporic fiction, Mohsin Hamid's *The Reluctant Fundamentalist* (2008) and Kamila Shamsie's *Home Fire* (2017) have been examined against the backdrop of the contemporary political narrative of the War on Terror and populism, respectively. In summary, by showing the relationship of Islamization and Islamophobia in the Cold War and the post-Cold War political contexts, with particular reference to Pakistani Anglophone fiction, my study strives to investigate the extent to which the literary discourse of Pakistan is complying with Western notions of appropriateness. And if not, how rationally it treats the issues of Islamization and Islamophobia.

1.4.3 Theory

The theory that has been selected for this study is New Historicism. Along with other critics of the field, the study will focus primarily on Stephen Greenblatt critiques of power, subversion, containment, and self-fashioning. For this purpose, his two seminal works, *Renaissance the Self Fashioning* (1980) and *Invisible Bullets* (1981) have been used to develop the methodology and framework for this research project. The framework has been developed with the help of selected co-texts/political discourse (as enlisted in the previous section), published nationally and internationally, related to the variables, i.e., Islamization and Islamophobia, of this study.

The theory of New Historicism has also been selected due to its suitability with the project in hand. Unlike other theories it enabled me to study the literary discourse

of my selection against the backdrop of the actual political discourse produced about Islamization and Islamophobia. Hence, by doing so, I have emphasized a text's relationship with a co-text, and examined them to unravel the power politics behind the themes they hold (Brannigan, 1998; Gardy, 1993). However, in the words of Stephen Greenblatt (1981), these texts can be called 'orthodox texts', which serve the interest of power and provide a sight where those interest are situated:

“My interest in what follows is in a prior form of restraint – in the process whereby subversive insights are generated in the midst of apparently orthodox texts and simultaneously contained by those texts, contained so effectively that the society's licensing and policing apparatus is not directly engaged” (Greenblatt, 1981, p. 41).

However, the inclusion of some of the most politicised constructs such as Cold War politics and Islamization, and the pre 9/11 immigration crisis and Islamophobia makes New Historicism the most suitable theory for this project. Moreover, the theory also provides a room to highlight the similarities and differences between the real world narratives and the ones from the contemporary fictionalized world. In other words, unlike other theories, New Historicism has aided me to examine the way the literary discourse of Pakistan is being shaped by the political discourse by which it has always been surrounded.

1.5 Significance of the Study

The study shows the contribution of power⁶ in the construction of some of the most politicised narratives such as Islamization and Islamophobia with respect to

⁶ In case of *Islamization*, 'power' stands for the Pakistani government (incumbent during the last decade of Cold war era) in coalition with America and other Capitalist allies. Whereas in case of *Islamophobia*, because of its global and diasporic context, 'power' stands for the West only.

contemporary Pakistani diasporic fiction. It is unique in its contribution to the knowledge as it utilizes Stephen Greenblatt's critique of power, subversion and containment to provide an alternative reading of the selected political narratives of Islamization and Islamophobia to evaluate the way the selected Pakistani diasporic fiction textualizes and historicizes them. It also reveals the politics behind them. For example, in the case of Islamization the study examines the selected fiction of Muhammad Hanif to display the way power (the then despotic regime of Gen. Zia, in coalition with America and its capitalist allies) used the narrative of Islamization to promote *Jihad* culture in Pakistan and Afghanistan to combat Soviet Union during the Cold War. By doing so, I also present the way the contemporary diasporic literary discourse of Pakistan registers and represents the politics of the Cold War in tandem with the political Islamization of Pakistan.

Similarly, by studying Islamophobic voices of the post-Cold War era, the study views the immigration crisis, racism and the rise of Muslim influence in the West as the driving factors behind the anti-Muslim sentiments in the West. However, while presenting the 'textualization' and 'historicization' (Montrose, 1997) of this phenomenon in the selected fiction of Hanif Kureishi, the study places post-Cold War Islamophobia with Islamization of the Cold War era. By doing so, it highlights a shift in the West's approach towards Islam and finds that the narrative of Islamization was good during the Cold War because it was needed at that time to combat godless-communism in the East, whereas it took an evil seat in the form of Islamophobia during the post-Cold War era of the immigration crisis, racism, and rise of Muslim influence in the West. The much-favoured Muslim identity of Cold War era garnered hostility due to two reasons. The first is that the West no longer needed Islam because it had already won the Cold War, and the second is the rise of Muslim influence in the West