

Islamophobia Is Racism

Resource for Teaching & Learning about anti-Muslim Racism in the United States

#IslamophobiaIsRacism Syllabus

Preface

Inspired by the [#FergusonSyllabus](#), the [#StandingRockSyllabus](#), the [#BlackIslamSyllabus](#) and others, this reading list provides resources for teaching and learning about anti-Muslim racism in the United States. Although “Islamophobia” is the term most recognizable in public discourse, it does not accurately convey the making of racial and religious “others” that fuels the forms of discrimination Muslims face in the United States. The term Islamophobia frames these forms of discrimination and their roots solely as a problem of religious discrimination. Calling this a “phobia” suggests that this discrimination is solely a problem of individual bias, which obscures the structural and systemic production of anti-Muslim racism.

This syllabus reframes “Islamophobia” as “anti-Muslim racism” to more accurately reflect the intersection of race and religion as a reality of structural inequality and violence rooted in the longer history of US (and European) empire building. Conceptually, a focus on anti-Muslim racism is connected to an analysis of history and forms of dominance – from white supremacy, slavery and settler colonialism, to multiculturalism and the security logics of war and imperialism – that produce various forms of racial exclusion as well as incorporation into racist structures. Our primary focus is on the manifestation and impact of anti-Muslim racism in the United States. At the same time, this syllabus insists on thinking about anti-Muslim racism as a global project that overlaps and intersects with the exclusion of other marginalized groups (e.g. Black, queer, Latinx, immigrant, indigenous, etc). It also connects the histories of various racial logics that reinforce one another, including anti-Muslim racism, anti-Black racism, anti-Latinx racism, anti-Arab racism, and anti-South Asian racism.

By focusing on understanding Islamophobia as anti-Muslim racism, this syllabus challenges the idea that the problem is one of individual bias and that simply knowing more about Islam will necessarily lead to a decrease in anti-Muslim racism. Instead, it suggests that learning more about how structures of violence, inequality, and war have produced anti-Muslim racism and discrimination and its wide-ranging impact on everyday life is essential in order to challenge its assumptions, logics, and practices. While the readings include pieces that address recent events like the 2017 “Muslim ban” executive order, they also show that similar policies extend to both earlier moments and other communities.

This is an interdisciplinary syllabus with social justice education as its objective. It is not meant to be an exhaustive or comprehensive list of resources or readings, but instead provides one possible curated list of teachable texts and materials that provide a good introduction to each section.

Goals of Syllabus:

1. Define anti-Muslim racism as an alternative to the concept of Islamophobia
2. Understand the relationship of race and religion to white supremacy through the racialized figure of the Muslim
3. Provide an intersectional and comparative analysis to anti-Muslim racism
4. Strategize ways to challenge anti-Muslim racism and resist white supremacy

The syllabus is organized by the following themes and topics, which move from broader framing issues to more specific examples. Later readings may benefit from the contextualization provided by earlier sections.

- I. Race, Empire and Islam
- II. The Production and Reproduction of Anti-Muslim Racism
- III. The Impact of Anti-Muslim Racism
- IV. Policing, Security and Anti-Muslim Racism
- V. Resisting Anti-Muslim Racism
- VI. Further Reading and Resources

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Key Terms:

Anti-Muslim racism
Capitalism

Colonialism
Countering Violent Extremism (CVE)
Empire
Gender violence
Gender
Homonationalism
Islamophobia
Militarism
National Security Entry-Exit Registration System (NSEERS)
Orientalism
Patriot Act
Pinkwashing
Racialization
Racism
Security (National, Homeland, State...)
Structural Inequality
War on Terror
White supremacy

Contents

I. Race, Empire, Islam

- Orientalism
- The long history of anti-Muslim racism
- Race and racialization
- Anti-Black racism and anti-Muslim racism in the US
- Anti-Muslim racism as part of the “war on terror” and US empire building

II. The Production and Reproduction of Anti-Muslim Racism

- The Islamophobia industry, funding, government policies and the state
- The media and anti-Muslim racism
- How feminism contributes to anti-Muslim racism
- How homonationalism and pinkwashing contribute to anti-Muslim racism
- Christian theology and anti-Muslim racism
- How right-wing Zionism contributes to anti-Muslim racism
- How panic around refugees contributes to anti-Muslim racism

III. The Impact of Anti-Muslim Racism

- General impact
- Shari’a law panics

- “Ground Zero Mosque”
- IV. Policing, Security, Surveillance, and Anti-Muslim Racism
- Policing and prisons
- Calls for registration, NSEERS, and 2017 “Muslim ban” executive orders
- Countering Violent Extremism
- FBI and law enforcement surveillance
- Individual cases that highlight a range of issues
- V. Resisting Anti-Muslim Racism
- Essays
- Comedy, poetry, and hip-hop
- Connections to Palestine
- Additional resources for resisting anti-Muslim racism
- VI. Further Reading and Resources

The #IslamophobiaIsRacism Syllabus

I. Race, Empire, Islam

What is the difference between Islamophobia and anti-Muslim racism? What are the historical roots of anti-Muslim racism? How can we understand anti-Muslim racism, anti-Black racism, and US empire-building together?

Orientalism

- Edward Said, [“Orientalism,”](#) in *The Edward Said Reader*, eds. M. Bayoumi and A. Rubin (Vintage, 2000), 63-75.
- Edward Said, [“Islam Through Western Eyes,”](#) *The Nation*, April 26, 1980.
- Melani McAlister, [“Introduction”](#) in *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, and U.S. Interests in the Middle East since 1945* (University of California Press, 2005).
- Edward Said, [On Orientalism](#) (video).

The Long History of Anti-Muslim Racism

- Mahmood Mamdani, [“Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: A Political Perspective on Culture and Terrorism.”](#) *American Anthropologist* 104(3):766-775, 2002.
- Junaid Rana, [“The Story of Islamophobia,”](#) *Souls* 9(2):148-161, 2007.
- Chris Allen, [“Towards a New Definition of Islamophobia,”](#) in *Islamophobia* (Routledge, 2010).
- Edward Curtis, [“The Black Muslim Scare of the Twentieth Century: The History of State Islamophobia and Its Post 9/11 Variations,”](#) in *Islamophobia in America*, ed. Carl Ernst (Palgrave, 2013).
- [Malcolm X: Make it Plain](#) (PBS documentary).

Race and Racialization

- Zareena Grewal, "[Marriage in Color: Race, Religion and Spouse Selection in Four American Mosques](#)," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 32(2): 323-345, 2009.
- Leti Volpp, "[The Citizen and the Terrorist](#)." *UCLA Law Review* 49 (2002):1575-1600.
- Muneer Ahmad, "[A Rage Shared by Law: Post September 11 Racial Violence as Crimes of Passion](#)." *California Law Review*, 92(5): 1259, 2004.
- Salah Hassan, "[Arabs, Race, and the Post-September 11 National Security State](#)," *Middle East Report*.
- Moustafa Bayoumi, "[Racing Religion](#)," *CR: The New Centennial Review* 6(2): 267-93, 2006.
- Nadine Naber, "[Look, Mohammed the Terrorist Is Coming!': Cultural Racism, Nation-Based Racism and the Intersectionality of Oppressions after 9/11](#)," in *Race and Arab Americans Before and After 9/11* (Syracuse University Press, 2008).
- "[Islamophobia](#)" by Rudy Francisco, Natasha Hooper, and Amen Ra, 2016 National Poetry Slam Finals (video).

Anti-Black racism and anti-Muslim racism in the US

- Amina Wadud, "[American by Force, Muslim by Choice](#)." *Political Theology* 12(5): 699-705, 2011.
- Sherman A. Jackson, "[Islam, Muslims and the wages of racial agnosia in America](#)," *Journal of Islamic Law and Culture* 13(1): 1-17, 2011.
- Sylvia Chan-Malik, "[Common Cause: On the Black-Immigrant Debate and Constructing the Muslim American](#)." *The Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Religion* 2(8): 1-39, 2011.
- Sylvester Johnson, "[Black religion, the security state, and the racialization of Islam](#)," in *African American Religions, 1500-2000: Colonialism, Democracy, and Freedom* (Cambridge University Press, 2015).
- Sohail Daulatzai. "[Introduction: An Empire State of Mind](#)." In *Black Star, Crescent Moon: The Muslim International and Black Freedom Beyond America* (University of Minnesota Press, 2012).
- Su'ad Abdul Khabeer, "[The Limits of Muslim Cool](#)," in *Muslim Cool: Race, Religion, and Hip Hop in the United States* (New York University Press, 2016).
- Edward E. Curtis IV, [Black History, Islam, and the Future of the Humanities Beyond White Supremacy](#), *Humanities Futures*.
- "[For Black Muslim students, a two pronged fight for solidarity](#)," PBS News Hour (video).
- [Yasiin Bey \(aka Mos Def\) force fed under standard Guantánamo Bay procedure](#) (video).

Anti-Muslim Racism as part of the War on Terror and US empire building

- Kambiz GhaneaBassiri, "[Conflating Race, Religion, and Progress: Social Change, National Identity, and Islam in the Post-Civil War Era](#)," In *A History of Islam in America: From the New World to the New World Order* (Cambridge University Press, 2010).

- Hisham Aidi, “[‘Let Us Be Moors’: Islam, Race, and ‘Connected Histories.’](#)” *Middle East Report*.
- Arun Kundnani, “[The Myth of Radicalization.](#)” in *The Muslims are Coming: Islamophobia, Extremism, and the Domestic War on Terror* (Verso, 2013).
- Nadine Naber, “[Diasporas of Empire: Arab Americans and the Reverberations of War.](#)” in *At the Limits of Justice: Women of Colour on Terror* (University of Toronto Press, 2014).
- Sunera Thobani, “[White Wars: Western Feminism and the ‘War on Terror.’](#)” *Feminist Theory*. 8(2): 169-185, 2007.
- Anny Bakalian and Mehdi Bozorgmehr, “[The Post-9/11 Backlash in Comparative and Historical Perspective.](#)” *Backlash 9/11* (University of California Press, 2009).
- Sohail Daulatzai, “[Perpetual War and Permanent Unrest: The Battle of Algiers After 9/11](#)”
- Pair with [The Battle of Algiers](#) (film).
- Keith Feldman, “[Empire’s Verticality: The Af/Pak Frontier, Visual Culture, and Racialization from Above.](#)” *Comparative American Studies* 9(4): 325-41, 2011.
- Darryl Li, “[A Jihadism Anti-Primer.](#)” *Middle East Report*.
- *Taxi to the Dark Side*, Alex Gibney, 2007 (film).

II. The Production and Reproduction of Anti-Muslim Racism

This section examines the different institutions, policies, and discourses that produce anti-Muslim racism, including U.S. government policies and rhetoric, media practices, and liberal feminist, homonationalist, and right-wing Zionist discourses. How do each of these forms of practice or discourse contribute to anti-Muslim racism in the United States?

The Islamophobia Industry/Funding/Govt Policies/State

- “[Islamophobia Reports](#),” The Council on American-Islamic Relations.
- Nathan Lean, “To Washington and Beyond: Islamophobia as Government Policy,” in *The Islamophobia Industry: How the Right Manufactures Fear of Muslims* (Pluto Press, 2012).
- Deepa Kumar, “[The Foreign Policy Establishment and the ‘Islamic Threat.’](#)” in *Islamophobia and the Politics of Empire* (Haymarket Books, 2012).
- Stephen Sheehi, “[Islamophobia as an Ideological Formation of US Empire](#)” and “[The Elite Foreign Policy Networks: How Islamophobia is not Just Prejudice.](#)” in *Islamophobia: The Ideological Campaign against Muslims* (Clarity Press, 2011).
- [Fear, Inc.](#), Center for American Progress website that lays out funders and organizations.
- Yussef El Guindi. [Back of The Throat](#) (play).
- [\(T\)error](#) (film).

The Media and anti-Muslim racism

- Jack Shaheen, “[Reel Bad Arabs: How Hollywood Vilifies a People.](#)” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 558, July 2003, 171-193.
- Pair with: “[Reel Bad Arabs](#)” documentary film (Jack Shaheen)

- Evelyn Alsultany, [“Arabs and Muslims in the Media after 9/11: Representational Strategies for a ‘Post-race’ Era.”](#) *American Quarterly* 65(1):161-169, 2013.
- Mohja Kahf, [“The Pity Committee and the Careful Reader: How Not to Buy Stereotypes about Muslim Women.”](#) in *Arab and Arab American Feminisms*, 2010, 111-123.
- Muniba Saleem, et. al., [“Exposure to Muslims in Media and Support for Public Policies Harming Muslims.”](#) *Communication Research* (2015), 1-29.
- Mary Ann Tétreault, [“The Sexual Politics of Abu Ghraib: Hegemony, Spectacle, and the Global War on Terror.”](#) *NWSA Journal* 18.3 (2006): 33-50.

How feminism contributes to anti-Muslim racism

- Lila Abu-Lughod, [“Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving? Anthropological Reflections on Cultural Relativism and its Others.”](#) *American Anthropologist* 104(3): 783-90, 2002.
- Nada Elia, [“Islamophobia and the “Privileging” of Arab American Women.”](#) *NWSA Journal* 18.3 (2006): 155-61.
- Moustafa Bayoumi, [“The God That Failed: The Neo-Orientalism of Today’s Muslim Commentators.”](#) In *Islamophobia/Islamophilia: Beyond the Politics of Enemy and Friend*, Andrew Shryock, Ed. (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 2010), 79-93.
- Sahar F. Aziz, [“From the Oppressed to the Terrorist: Muslim Women in the Crosshairs of Intersectionality.”](#) 9 *Hastings Race & Poverty L.J.* 191 (2012).
- Juliane Hammer, [“\(Muslim\) Women’s Bodies, Islamophobia, and American Politics”](#) *Bulletin for the Study of Religion* 42:1 (February 2013): 29-36.

How homonationalism and pinkwashing contribute to anti-Muslim racism

- Jasbir Puar, and Amit S. Rai. [“Monster, Terrorist, Fag: The War on Terrorism and the Production of Docile Patriots.”](#) *Social Text* 20.3 (2002): 117-48.
- Ghadir Shafie, [“Pinkwashing: Israel’s International Strategy and Internal Agenda,”](#) *Kohl: A Journal for Body and Gender Research* Vol. 1, No. 1 (Summer 2015) .
- Jasbir Puar, [“The Golden Handcuffs of Gay Rights,”](#) *The Feminist Wire*.
- Gil Z. Hochberg, Haneen Maikey, Rima, Samira Saraya, [“No Pride in Occupation: A Roundtable Discussion.”](#) *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 2010 Volume 16, Number 4: 599-610.

Christian theology and anti-Muslim racism

- Nathan Lean, “We Come Bearing Crosses: The Christian Right’s Battle for Eternity,” in *The Islamophobia Industry: How the Right Manufactures Fear of Muslims* (Pluto, 2012).
- Kelly Baker, [“‘Passing the Torch’: The Klan’s Brand in America.”](#) in *Gospel According to the Klan: The KKK’s Appeal to Protestant America, 1915-1930* (University of Kansas Press, 2011).
- Melani McAlister, [“The Persecuted Body: Evangelical Internationalism, Islam, and the Politics of Fear.”](#) In *Facing Fear: The History of an Emotion in Global Perspective*. Ed. Michael Laffan and Max Weiss (Princeton University Press, 2012).

- Steven Fink, [“Fear Under Construction: Islamophobia Within American Christian Zionism.”](#) *Islamophobia Studies Journal* 2(1), 26-6-43, 2014.
- Inderpal Grewal, [“American Humanitarian Citizenship: The ‘Soft’ Power of Empire.”](#) in Sandra Ponzanesi, ed. *Postcolonial Conflict Zones*, Routledge, 2014.

How right-wing Zionism contributes to anti-Muslim racism

- Nathan Lean, “Of Politics and Prophecy: The Alliance of the Pro-Israel Right,” in *The Islamophobia Industry: How the Right Manufactures Fear of Muslims* (Pluto, 2012).
- Steven Salaita, [“Beyond Orientalism and Islamophobia: 9/11, Anti-Arab Racism, and the Mythos of National Pride.”](#) *CR: The New Centennial Review*, Vol. 6, No. 2, Fall 2006, 245-266.
- Hatem Bazian, [“The Islamophobia Industry and the Demonization of Palestine: Implications for American Studies.”](#) *American Quarterly* 2015, 67(4), 1057-1066.
- JVP’s Network Against Islamophobia [“FAQ on U.S. Islamophobia and Israel Politics.”](#)
- Palestine Legal’s report [“The Palestine Exception to Free Speech.”](#)
- Peter Moskowitz, [“The Campus Free Speech Battle You’re Not Seeing,”](#) *Jezebel*.

How panic around refugees contributes to anti-Muslim racism

- Nadia El-Shaarawi, [“The Stories We Tell about Resettlement: Refugees, Asylum and the #MuslimBan,”](#) *Savage Minds*.
- Caroline Nagel, [“Southern Hospitality? Islamophobia and the Politicization of Refugees in South Carolina during the 2016 Election Season.”](#) *Southeastern Geographer* 56(3) 2016: 283–290.
- Catherine Besteman, [“Strangers in Our Midst”](#) and [“Making Refuge”](#) in *Making Refuge: Somali Bantu Refugees and Lewiston, Maine* (Duke, 2016).
- paired with [“The Racist Gift of Immigration and Citizenship Bans, Again”](#) *Savage Minds*.
- [“Donald Trump’s #Muslim Ban Sparks Outrage and Fear,”](#) *Al-Jazeera*.
- [A Stray](#), Musa Syeed, 2016 (film).

III. The Impact of Anti-Muslim Racism

This section describes the impact and repercussions of anti-Muslim and anti-Arab racism and the specific examples of shari’a law panics and the so-called “ground zero mosque” in New York City. How has culture been used as a tool of systematic oppression and racialization of Muslims? What is the impact on Islam as a faith practice and Muslims as an identity in the United States?

General Impact

- Moustafa Bayoumi, [“How Does It Feel To Be A Problem? Preface”](#) in *How Does it Feel to Be a Problem?: Being Young and Arab in America* (Penguin, 2009).
- Sunaina Maira, [“Surveillance Effects: South Asian, Arab, and Afghan American Youth in the War on Terror.”](#) *At the Limits of Justice: Women of Colour on Terror*, 2014, 86-106.

- Nadine Naber, [“Muslim First, Arab Second”](#) In *Arab America: Gender, Cultural Politics, and Activism*. (New York University Press, 2012).
- Louise Cainkar, [“Whose Homeland Security?”](#) in *Homeland Insecurity* (Russell Sage Foundation, 2009).
- Su’ad Abdul Khabeer, [“The Peculiar Case of the Black American Islamophobe,”](#) *Huffington Post*.
- [“New Muslim Cool,](#) Jennifer Maytorena Taylor, 2009 (film).

Shari’a law panics

- Katherine Lemons and Joshua Takano Chambers-Letson, [“Rule of Law: Sharia Panic and the US Constitution in the House of Representatives,”](#) *Cultural Studies* 28(5-6):1048-1077, 2015.
- Sherene Razack, “The Muslims are Coming: The ‘Shari’a Debate’ in Canada,” in *Casting Out: the Eviction of Muslims from Western Law and Politics* (U Toronto Press, 2007).
- [Setting the Record Straight on Sharia: An Interview with Dr. Intisar Rabb,](#) *Sapelo Square*.

“Ground Zero Mosque”

- Chris Earle, [“Good Muslims, Bad Muslims, and the Nation: The ‘Ground Zero Mosque’ and the Problem With Tolerance,”](#) *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*, 12:2, 2015, 121-138.
- Rosemary R. Corbett, [“Introduction: Debating Moderate Islam,”](#) in *Making Moderate Islam: Sufism, Service, and the “Ground Zero Mosque” Controversy* (Stanford University Press, 2016).

IV. Policing, Security, Surveillance, and Anti-Muslim Racism

As a broad rubric of law enforcement, policing refers to the tactics and policies used to administer security logics, including everyday police practices, surveillance, entrapment, and specific targeting of individuals and communities. How do these forms of policing change the contours of everyday life? What new boundaries are created and what are the kinds of shifts that happen in social structures? This section addresses these issues specifically in relation to the intersection of policing practices with anti-Muslim racism and their impact on Muslim communities in the United States.

General

- [“Islam on Trial”](#) Forum in the Boston Review of Books (2017) (a set of recent pieces that address many of the issues in this section in the context of the Trump presidency).
- Abdullah Al-Arian, [“Islam, Muslims, and the Trump World Order.”](#)
- Junaid Rana, [“The Racial Infrastructure of the Terror-Industrial Complex.”](#) *Social Text* 34 (4):111-138, 2016.

Policing and Prisons

- Hishaam Aidi, "[Jihadis in the Hood: Race, Urban Islam and the War on Terror](#)," *Middle East Report*.
- Sohail Daulatzai, "[Protect Ya Neck \(Remix\): Muslims and the Carceral Imagination in the Age of Guantanamo](#)" in *Black Routes to Islam*, eds Manning Marable and Hishaam Aidi (Palgrave MacMillan, 2009).
- Donna Auston, "[Mapping the Intersections of Islamophobia and #BlackLivesMatter](#)," *Sapelo Square*.

Calls for Registration, NSEERS, and 2017 "Muslim Ban" Executive Orders

- "[Special Registration: Discrimination and Xenophobia as Government Policy](#)," Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund, 2004.
- Louise Cainkar, "[Targeting Muslims, at Ashcroft's Discretion](#)" (NSEERS), *Middle East Report*, 2003.
- "[The NSEERS Effect: A Decade of Racial Profiling, Fear, and Secrecy](#)," Penn State Law, Rights Working Group, 2012.
- "[The #MuslimBan Primer: Key Terms and Timeline](#)," Ajam Media Collective.
- [National Teach-in on the Jan 2017 Executive Order](#) (video).

Countering Violent Extremism (CVE)

- Margari Hill "[Lessons from Our Past: CVE, Black American Muslims, and Social Justice](#)," *Muslim Matters*.
- "[Fact sheet on CVE](#)," Brennan Center for Justice, NYU School of Law.
- Kadra Abdi, Ayantu Ayana, Ramla Bile, Mohamed H. Mohamed, Julia Nekessa Opo, "[The 'Countering Violent Extremism' Program Institutionalizes Injustice against Somalis](#)," *Minnesota Post*.

FBI and law enforcement surveillance

- Trevor Aaronson, "[Introduction](#)," and [Chapters 1 and 2](#), in *The Terror Factory: Inside the FBI's Manufactured War on Terrorism* (Brooklyn: Ig Publishing, 2013).
- Moustafa Bayoumi, "[Introduction: My Muslim American Life](#)," In *This Muslim American Life: Dispatches from the War on Terror* (New York University Press, 2015).
- Arshad Imtaz Ali, "[Citizens under Suspicion: Responsive Research with Community under Surveillance](#)," *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 47(1):78-95, 2016.
- Robert Chalala, "[Of Predators and Radicals: King's Hearings the Political Economy of Criminalization](#)," *Jadaliyya*.
- [Naz and Maalik](#) (film).

Individual cases that highlight a range of issues

- "[Reflections on Imam Jamil al-Amin](#) (H Rap Brown)," *Sapelo Square*.

- Pair with: [Black Muslim Politics: Hip Hop for Consciousness – The Imam Jamil Al-Amin Benefit Concert](#) (video).
 - Hatem Bazian, “[Fighting for Palestine](#)” (on Sami Al-Arian).
- Pair with: [USA vs. Al-Arian](#) (film).
 - Michael Deutch and Erica Thompson, “Secrets and Lies: The Persecution of Muhammad Salah, [Part 1](#) and [Part 2](#),” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 37(4):38-58 and 38(1):25-53, 2008.
 - Marc Lamont Hill, “[Why Every Black Activist Should Stand With Rasmia Odeh](#).”
 - Naamah Paley, “[The Khalil Gibran International Academy: Diasporic Confrontations with an Emerging Islamophobia](#),” In *Islamophobia/Islamophilia: Beyond the Politics of Enemy and Friend*. Ed. Andrew Shryock (Indiana University Press, 2010).
 - Zareena Grewal, “[Lights, Camera, Suspension: Freezing the Frame on the Mahmoud Abdul-Rauf-Anthem Controversy](#),” *Souls* 9(2), 2007.
- Pair with film “[By the Dawn’s Early Light](#)” and updated coverage “[The Revival of Mahmoud Abdul Rauf](#)” on ESPN.

V. Resisting Anti-Muslim Racism

This section provides a non-exhaustive selection of examples of intersectional challenges to anti-Muslim racism, from a range of positions and media from cultural production to political organizing. Taken together, these pieces begin to answer the question: How are people resisting anti-Muslim racism? And how can we participate in that resistance?

Essays

- Mona El Ghobashy, “[Quandaries of Representation](#)” in *Arab and Arab American Feminisms*
- Pair with: Evelyn Alsultany, “[Stealth Muslim](#)” in *Arab and Arab American Feminisms*, ed. R. Abdulhadi, E. Alsultany, and N. Naber (Syracuse University Press, 2010).
 - Rabab Abdulhadi, “[Where is Home? Fragmented Lives, Border Crossings, and the Politics of Exile](#),” in *Shattering the Stereotypes: Muslim Women Speak Out*, ed. Fawzia Afzal-Khan (Olive Branch, 2005).
 - Humera Afridi, “[Terrorist Chic](#)” in *Shattering the Stereotypes*.
 - Muna Mire, “[Towards a Black Muslim Ontology of Resistance](#),” *The New Inquiry* (April 29, 2015).

Comedy, Poetry, and Hip-hop

- Suheir Hammad, “[First Writing Since](#),” *In Motion Magazine* and [DefPoetry reading](#) (video).
- Suheir Hammad, “[Exotic](#)” in *Born Palestinian, Born Black & The Gaza Suite*. UpSet Press, 2010, with permission of author and publisher.
- Anida Yeou Ali, [1700% Project: Mistaken for Muslim](#) (video).
- Tina Zaman, “the str8 path: a coming out sequence.” In *Voices of Resistance: Muslim Women on War, Faith, and Sexuality*, ed. Sarah Husain (Seal Press, 2006).

- Mohja Kahf, "[My Body is Not your Battleground](#)" in *E-mails from Scheherazad* (University Press of Florida, 2003).
- Narcy, "[Hamdulillah](#)," with Shadia Mansour (video).
- Alia Sharrief feat. Aminah Bell "[Black Heros](#)" (video).
- "[Shugs and Fats](#)" (video).
- *Return of the Mecca: The Art of Islam and Hip-Hop* (exhibition and catalog), curated by Sohail Daulatzai.

Connections to Palestine

- Robin D. G. Kelley, "[Yes, I Said, 'National Liberation'](#)" in *Letters to Palestine*, ed. Vijay Prashad (Verso, 2015).
- Alex Lubin, "[Neoliberalism, Security, and the Afro-Arab International](#)," in *Geographies of Liberation: The Making of an Afro-Arab Political Imaginary* (UNC Press, 2014)
- Sunaina Maira, "[Human Rights, Uncivil Activism, and Palestinianization](#)," in *The 9/11 Generation: Youth, Rights, and Solidarity in the War on Terror* (NYU Press, 2016).
- "Free the P," co-produced by Omar Offendum and Ragtop, compilation of spoken word and hip hop, featuring 24 different artists (audio).
- *Voices of Exile: Immigrants and the First Amendment* (film).

Additional resources for resisting anti-Muslim racism

- "[Speak Up: Responding to Everyday Bigotry](#)," The Southern Poverty Law Center.
- "[What to do if you are witnessing Islamophobic harassment](#)," Maeril art blog.
- "[Anti-militarism organizing resources](#)," INCITE!
- "[Reclaiming Identity, Dismantling Stereotypes](#)," Arab American National Museum.
- "[Hate Free Zone](#)," DRUM - Desis Rising Up and Moving.
- "[The Sky is Ours: A Self-Care Primer for Black Muslims](#)," Muslim Wellness Foundation.

➤ VI. Further Reading and Resources

- [#BlackIslam syllabus](#)
- [Islamophobia Studies Journal](#) (project of the [Islamophobia Research and Documentation Project](#))
- [JVP Network Against Islamophobia curricula](#)