

Critical Sociology

<http://crs.sagepub.com/>

Citizenship Denied: The Racialization of Muslim American Men and Women post-9/11

Saher Selod

Crit Sociol published online 1 April 2014

DOI: 10.1177/0896920513516022

The online version of this article can be found at:

<http://crs.sagepub.com/content/early/2014/03/31/0896920513516022>

Published by:



<http://www.sagepublications.com>

Additional services and information for *Critical Sociology* can be found at:

Email Alerts: <http://crs.sagepub.com/cgi/alerts>

Subscriptions: <http://crs.sagepub.com/subscriptions>

Reprints: <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsReprints.nav>

Permissions: <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav>

Citations: <http://crs.sagepub.com/content/early/2014/03/31/0896920513516022.refs.html>

>> [OnlineFirst Version of Record](#) - Apr 1, 2014

[What is This?](#)

Citizenship Denied: The Racialization of Muslim American Men and Women post-9/11

Critical Sociology

1–19

© The Author(s) 2014

Reprints and permissions:

sagepub.co.uk/journalsPermissions.nav

DOI: 10.1177/0896920513516022

crs.sagepub.com



Saher Selod

Simmons College, USA

Abstract

The racialization of Muslim Americans is examined in this article. Qualitative in-depth interviews with 48 Muslim Americans reveal they experience more intense forms of questioning and contestation about their status as an American once they are identified as a Muslim. Because Islam has become synonymous with terrorism, patriarchy, misogyny, and anti-American sentiments, when participants were identified as Muslims they were treated as if they were a threat to American cultural values and national security. Their racialization occurred when they experienced de-Americanization, having privileges associated with citizenship such as being viewed as a valued member of society denied to them. This article highlights the importance of gender in the process of racialization. It also demonstrates the need for race scholarship to move beyond a black and white paradigm in order to include the racialized experiences of second and third generations of newer immigrants living in the USA.

Keywords

sociology, race and ethnicity, racialization, gender, de-Americanization, citizenship

Introduction

Since 9/11, the status of Muslims both within the USA and globally has garnered significant attention from scholars, researchers, politicians, and the media. The Pew Research Center published several reports on Muslims, from public opinion polls capturing Muslim worldviews and their attitudes toward America and Islamic extremism to the impact Islam has had on the religious and political landscape in the USA (Pew Research Religion and Public Life Project, 2007, 2011). Of growing interest is how non-Muslim Americans view Muslims. American resistance to the building of mosques within its landscape reflects an increasingly common sentiment towards Muslims in the USA. A blog post by Martin Peretz, the editor-in-chief of the *New Republic*, in

Corresponding author:

Dr. Saher Selod, Assistant Professor of Sociology, Simmons College, 300 The Fenway, Boston, MA 02115, USA.

Email:saher.selod@simmons.edu

response to the debate surrounding the building of the Park 51 mosque near Ground Zero in New York City, provides a glimpse of some of these feelings:

But, frankly, Muslim life is cheap, most notably to Muslims. And among those Muslims led by the Imam Rauf there is hardly one who has raised a fuss about the routine and random bloodshed that defines their brotherhood. So, yes, I wonder whether I need to honor these people and pretend that they are worthy of the privileges of the First Amendment which I have in my gut the sense that they will abuse (Peretz, 2010).

Peretz's sentiments are not unique and are becoming more commonplace in the years after 9/11. On 8 August 2012 at a town hall meeting in Elgin, Illinois, US Representative for Illinois' north-west suburb Senator Joe Walsh warned his constituents of the threat of radical Islam in the USA. The predominantly white audience met his vitriolic statements against Muslims with applause (reported in *Salon*, 9 August 2012). On 5 August 2012 Wade Michael Page, a self-proclaimed white supremacist, murdered six Sikhs in their Wisconsin temple. Authorities are not sure if the motivation for Page's attack was due to his Islamophobic beliefs and whether or not he mistook the Sikhs for Muslims; however, he believed there was an 'impending racial holy war'. Just one day after the attack at the Sikh temple, a mosque in Joplin, Missouri was destroyed by a fire, a gunshot was fired at a mosque in Elk Grove, Illinois, and someone threw a bottle filled with acid at a mosque in Lombard, Illinois. On 17 April 2013, two days after the Boston bombings, before the identity of the bombers was revealed, a Muslim woman wearing the hijab was attacked in Malden, Massachusetts (reported in *Huffington Post*, 18 April 2013, see Stuart, 2013). Muslims have come under attack by their fellow citizens as a result of the belief they are a monolithic group that is a threat to American society. Consequently they are treated as if they are unworthy of the universal protections afforded by American citizenship.

The data in this article provide empirical evidence that a Muslim identity has become racialized. Based on interviews with Muslim Americans, the processes of how Muslims experience racialization when they encounter de-Americanization, cultural exclusion and a denial of a national identity are revealed. When private citizens (fellow citizens) identified participants as Muslims they began to question and interrogate them about their nationality and loyalty to the USA. This exclusion from social citizenship or membership in society is the result of the negative associations of a Muslim identity. Muslim signifiers are riddled with meanings such as the oppression of women and violence against modernity (Huntington, 1993). Islam is viewed as a 'threat' and its adherents are considered anti-modern and anti-Western (Ahmed, 1992; Razack, 2008). The data in this study show that when American men are identified as Muslim they are treated as if they are a threat to national security while American women who are identified as Muslim are treated as if they are a threat to Western cultural values. Thus, private citizens racialize Muslim men and women by acting as gatekeepers to citizenship through repetitively contesting their status as Americans. Muslims are denied privileges associated with social citizenship by continuously being questioned and challenged about their nationality, allegiance and standing in American society; they are racialized.

Racialization

Race scholarship in the USA has been dominated by black and white understandings of racism. This black and white model of race has been useful in examining the experiences of African-Americans with structural racism in a US context. However, as the American racial and ethnic landscape changes, so should theories of race. Kibria (1998) argues the externally imposed pan-ethnic identity of Asian-American has racialized several ethnicities into one larger race. The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 lifted restrictions on migration from Africa, Asia, and the

Middle East to the USA. Prior to the passage of this act, migration was limited to people from European countries. As a result of this new immigration law, the Muslim population in the USA increased greatly. Racialization enables an understanding of this population. Within the US context, racialization has been defined as 'the extension of racial meaning to a previously racially unclassified relationship, social practice, or group' (Omi and Winant, 1986: 64). Racialization is a process of racial formation (Omi and Winant, 1986), where racial categories are constantly created, occupied, transformed and destroyed within specific political, social and economic contexts. Murji and Solomos state, 'The idea of racialization is useful for describing the processes by which racial meanings are attached to particular issues – often treated as social problems – and with the manner in which race appears to be a, or often the, key factor in the ways they are defined or understood' (2005: 3). Taking from all of these definitions and conceptualizations of this term, for the purposes of this article racialization is understood as a process where new racial meanings are ascribed to bodies, actions and interactions. These meanings are not only applied to skin tone, but other cultural factors such as language, clothing, and beliefs. Racialization enables a discussion of how new racial meanings are created, transformed, and destroyed. It aids in understanding how race and racism are constantly fluctuating and being transformed due to the political and social contexts in which they exist.

Since the terrorist attacks of 9/11, many scholars are increasingly employing the term 'racialization' to describe the experiences of Arabs who are currently racially classified as white by the US Census (Bayoumi, 2006; Cainkar, 2008; Hassan, 2002; Jamal, 2008; Naber, 2008). Central to this argument is the fact that 9/11 has increased the visibility of Arabs as a minority (Alsutany, 2008; Cainkar, 2009) and consequentially they do not enjoy the privileges associated with whiteness. Racialization in this case is used to describe the processes of how Arabs are denied access to whiteness. These processes include rejection from social membership or belonging, acquiring the status of enemy within, and being viewed as inherently violent and oppressive to women (Jamal, 2008; Naber, 2008). There is a problem in talking about a universal Arab experience with race because some Arabs pass and enjoy privileges of whiteness, while others do not. Scholars often conflate the terms 'Arab' and 'Muslim' in analyses, making it difficult to understand what specific factors cause racialization to occur (Cainkar, 2008; Jamal, 2008). For example, 'the racialization or "otherization" of Arabs and Muslims in mainstream American culture' (Jamal, 2008: 116) represents the way religion and ethnicity are used interchangeably in discussions on race and racialization without distinction of the uniqueness each identity contributes to this process, or how they may intersect. Data from the Detroit Arab American Study pertaining to racial identification reveal that Arab Muslims are more likely to self identify as 'other' over white even though they are classified as white by the USA census, while Arab Christians were more likely to identify as 'white' (Shryock and Lin, 2008). Recent research on health disparities and psychological stress of Arabs living in the USA suggests Muslims as opposed to Christians are more likely to experience higher levels of psychological stress because of higher levels of discrimination they encounter post-9/11 (Amer and Hovey, 2007). The conflation of Arab and Muslim may be due to how these terms are presented in the media, as if they are synonymous (Joseph et al., 2008) or due to the fact these identities are often equated in the minds of most Americans. Nonetheless, it is important for scholars to identify the specific factors, such as a religious identity, that contribute to the racialization of a group. Racialization provides a theoretical explanation of how racial meanings are applied to cultural symbols and signifiers, such as the hijab or a Muslim name, illuminating why some Arabs are treated and therefore self-identify as the 'other' instead of 'white'.

There have been a few scholars who have utilized the term racialization to better understand and examine the Muslim experience since 9/11 in Europe and the USA (Meer and Modood, 2010; Rana, 2011; Selod and Embrick, 2013). Meer and Modood (2010) argue that racialization is a more

appropriate term than Islamophobia because it allows for an examination of the impact anti-Muslim sentiment has on people, Muslims, rather than examining how a religion is vilified. The racialization of Muslims is not a new phenomenon. In Europe, biological racism at one point incorporated aspects of religious difference. Muslim and Jewish bodies were essentialized due to factors beyond skin tone (Grosfoguel and Mielants, 2006; Rana, 2007). The contemporary process of racialization for Muslims is tied to current imperialisms such as the 'War on Terror', a military campaign started after 9/11 in pursuit of al-Qaeda. This 'War on Terror' targets terrorism rather than individual nations, resulting in a myriad of ethnicities and nationalities being classified into a monolithic category of Muslim (Rana, 2011). The unique political, economic and cultural situation of each nation is ignored, but rather the religion of the region is overly exaggerated and held responsible for the country's instability. Rebels or insurgents in Iraq, Syria or Afghanistan are homogenized into the 'Muslim other' where Muslim religious signifiers, behaviors, beliefs, as well as phenotypes such as skin tone signify terrorism, misogyny, fundamentalism, and sexism. Racialization occurs through a combination of cultural and biological ascriptions onto the Muslim body, resulting in the differential racialization of Muslim men and women. Muslim men are denied the privileges associated with citizenship and human rights when they are deported and/or detained without due process, while Muslim women are treated as if they are in constant peril from Muslim men, a notion which is used to justify colonial and imperial actions by the state (Razack, 2008).

Based on qualitative interviews with Arab and South Asian Muslim Americans, this article reveals the salience of the multifaceted components that explain how a Muslim American experiences racialization. As this study reveals, Muslim Americans experience higher levels of scrutiny and interrogation about their American identity when they are identified as a Muslim by wearing religious signifiers. The underlying assumption behind such questioning is that because they are Muslim, they are not true Americans – indeed there is a widespread presumption that Muslim values are fundamentally opposed to those of mainstream America. Because Arab and South Asians are already racially categorized in the USA as white and Asian respectively, the impact of their racialization is unique. Those who pass for white and are classified as white are stripped of this classification while those who are already racially classified are further demonized. In this article, I argue that 'Muslim' is becoming a *de facto* racial classification, one that is experienced in practice although not formally recognized. This process occurs when a religious identity is essentialized. Through the testimonies of Muslim Americans living in Chicago and Dallas/Fort Worth, I show how the continuous contestation of one's nationality, allegiance, and standing by fellow citizens because one is a Muslim is a form of racialization. The 'de-Americanization' of Muslims because of their religious signifiers constitutes a form of racialization involving maintaining racial and ethnic boundaries of social citizenship. The next section reviews the relationship of race to citizenship and brings attention to the importance of social aspects of citizenship, such as membership and belonging.

Racial Barriers to an American Identity: Examining Social Citizenship

America has had a history of excluding individuals from citizenship because of their race, gender, class and religious identity (Haney Lopez, 1996). Although citizenship can no longer be legally denied to individuals solely based on these characteristics, not everyone equally enjoys all of the privileges citizenship affords. Scholars who study social aspects of citizenship focus on who can claim belonging in society and who is denied social membership. Ascriptive aspects of citizenship such as race, religion, gender and sexual orientation are valued in some individuals, making them ideal citizens, and devalued in others (Smith, 1999). Racial, religious and

ethnic differences become barriers to social membership and a sense of belonging in America. Because cultural traits have become important characteristics of citizenship, cultural citizenship is a more recent theoretical concept in studies on citizenship (Maira, 2009; Miller, 2001; Ong, 1996; Pawley, 2008; Stevenson, 2003). It is defined as ‘the cultural practices and beliefs produced out of negotiating the often ambivalent and contested relations with the state and its hegemonic forms that establish the criteria of belonging within a national population and territory’ (Ong, 1996: 737). According to this definition, the state plays an important role in determining which cultural attributes can exist within a national identity. In a post-9/11 society that is currently engaged in a ‘War on Terror’, the state has created a profile of the enemy. Because of the application of terrorism to Muslim bodies (Maira, 2009; Rana, 2011), Muslims are rejected from inclusion in a national identity. A good American, after all, does not inflict harm on the state and its citizens. This ideological construction that Islam is essentially in conflict with the West due to its tendencies toward religious fundamentalism and anti-modernity, is not new (Huntington, 1993; Lewis, 1990). Samuel Huntington argued in his famous article ‘Clash of the civilizations’ (1993) that in a post-Cold War era the next major political and military conflict would be between the Islamic world and the West based on religious and cultural differences. The state capitalized on this thesis after 11 September in order to gain public support for foreign policies such as the invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan as well as domestic policies such as the creation of the Department of Homeland Security, all under the guise of keeping America safe from another terrorist attack (Kumar, 2013). Thus, the state has played a role in the racialization of Muslim bodies and cultural values as anti-American, perpetually foreign, misogynistic and violent, to further its domestic and global agenda.

It is not just the state that reinforces the boundaries of citizenship, but it is also private citizens who maintain its borders by acting as gatekeepers. Glenn (2002) highlights how both the state and the private citizen work to maintain boundaries of citizenship.

Citizenship is not just a matter of formal legal status; it is a matter of belonging, including recognition by other members of the community. Formal law and legal rulings create a structure that legitimates the granting or denial of recognition ... *the maintenance of boundaries relies on ‘enforcement’ not only by designated officials, but also by so-called members of the public.* (Glenn, 2002: 196, emphasis added)

Social interactions between citizens shed light on how private citizens protect boundaries of social citizenship by validating certain ascriptive attributes associated with nationality such as race, religion, ethnicity, and gender. Glenn (2002) identifies three main components of social citizenship or membership: *nationality* (being identified as a member of a particular nation), *standing* (being viewed as a capable and responsible member of society) and *allegiance* (being seen as a loyal member to society/nation). Having any of these traits contested because of one’s skin tone, cultural traits, language, nation of origin, or religious identity counters the ideals of universalism and reinforces barriers to inclusion in American citizenship based on such differences. This arises when bodies are subjected to exclusion from a sense of belonging within the nation because they are racialized as perpetually foreign, bad for society and disloyal to America. The testimonies in this study confirm that Muslim bodies experience this form of racialization by their fellow citizen. Interactions with private citizens show that in this post-9/11 period, Muslim men and women are viewed and treated as if they are a physical and cultural threat to American society. Muslim men and women are not racialized in the same way, but rather in gendered ways. Men are more likely to be viewed as if they are disloyal and a threat to national security. Women who wear the hijab are constantly questioned about their nationality and cultural values, because the hijab signifies foreignness and misogyny to their fellow private citizens. Muslim Americans are narrowly defined by

their religious identity, making their national identity invisible, insignificant and irrelevant to the rest of society. In this paper, through Muslim Americans' testimonies I support the thesis that Muslims are racialized by their fellow citizens when their nationality, standing and allegiance are contested by their fellow citizens.

Methods

The study methodology included in-depth interviews with 48 Muslim Americans. The interviews ranged in length from 45 minutes to three hours and took place between 2009 and 2012 in the greater Chicago area in Illinois and the Dallas/Fort Worth metropolitan area in Texas. The majority of the participants were South Asian ($n=29$) compared to Arab ($n=19$). Participants consisted of 15 South Asian American women (11 Pakistani and four Indian), 14 South Asian American men (nine Pakistani, four Indian, and one Bengali), 10 Arab American women (eight Palestinian, one Egyptian, and one Syrian) and nine Arab American men (eight Palestinian and one Lebanese). Participants' ages ranged from 20 to 71. A little over half of the women participants wore the hijab; therefore, I was able to compare the role of religious signifiers in the lives of Muslim women. Of the 14 women interviewed who wore the hijab, only one also wore the jilbaab (a coat-like garment Muslim women often wear over their clothes to hide their figure). Only one of the men in the sample wore a religious symbol, the traditional Muslim beard. The majority of the participants were native citizens or born in the USA ($n=34$), while a little under one third ($n=14$) were foreign born and were naturalized citizens. Over half were professionals with graduate degrees in medicine, law, and business.

The interviews consisted of a series of semi-structured, open-ended questions about the everyday lives of the participants before and after 9/11. Questions included where they lived before 9/11, what their relationship was like with their neighbors and whether or not it changed after the attacks, who they spent most of their time with, and about their work/education experiences. Participants were also asked if they could comment on any major differences in their lives before and after 9/11. I was interested in whether or not 9/11 had changed these relationships. Because I was curious about how religiosity influenced experiences with anti-Muslim discrimination, I asked a series of questions about respondent participation and membership in religious organizations, such as mosques. I also asked about race and ethnicity and what role each played in their daily lives, in order to understand which experiences should be attributed to their race or ethnicity and which were related to their religious identity.

Because Muslims are an underrepresented group within the larger population, participants were recruited through snowball sampling. Participants were asked to recommend someone to be interviewed. Snowball sampling is a reliable method when the population is hard to access (Gray et al., 2007). According to Pew Reserch Center (2011), Muslims comprise around 0.8 percent of the US population. As a result Muslims are not represented in the normal distribution of the population and consequently a non-random purposive sampling is justified.

Data Analysis

Participant testimonies reveal a pattern in the ways Muslims have been questioned about their status as US citizens. Though many participants reported previous experience of having their nationality questioned because they were not white, after 9/11 their religious identity triggered a more intense level of interrogation. Analyzing the interviews, it became clear that Muslim Americans were repetitively questioned about the three themes of social citizenship that Glenn (2002) identified: nationality, standing, and allegiance.

Nationality Denied: Racializing Muslim Women Who Wear the Hijab

Several of the participants in this study had been questioned about their nationality prior to 9/11. If participants belonged to an ethnic group that had already been racialized, they admitted having been questioned at one time or another during their life about their nationality. Those who had a darker skin complexion were repeatedly asked where they were from, even when they responded they were born in the USA. Thus, after stating where they were born and grew up, they were accustomed to the follow-up question, 'Where are you *really* from?' Their ethnic identity was an obstruction to their status as an American. Even though some Muslims were accustomed to being questioned about their American identity, 9/11 changed the ways in which they were questioned. Muslims felt pressured to defend and demonstrate their patriotism to the USA, as exemplified by the prominent display of numerous American flags on the windows of Muslim stores throughout the city, in cabs, and on the lawns of Muslim homes immediately after 9/11 (Benjamin, 2010). The interviews reveal being a Muslim – regardless of nation of origin – produced the assumption one was not an American, but also somehow anti-American and a potential threat to society. Furthermore, the testimonies highlight how anti-Muslim and Islamophobic actions are gendered. Muslim American women who wore the hijab were often put in a position of having to defend their status as an American when they were out in public. Muslim women who wear the hijab have become a target for public ire towards Muslims.

Samira, a 25-year-old Palestinian American, was in high school when 9/11 happened. At the time she wore the hijab, Samira relayed some negative experiences she had, such as being cursed at on the bus by a stranger. Some time after 9/11, she decided to take off the hijab because as she read more about religion and women, she believed it was not necessary for women to cover themselves in order to protect their modesty.¹ Although Samira was one of a few participants in the sample to permanently remove her hijab after 9/11, her experiences of both wearing the hijab and not wearing it since 9/11 is poignant because the comparison provides evidence of how the hijab incites questions about nationality.

I feel that, when I was wearing the scarf and closer to 9/11, I was more – I was apologetic for 9/11. I was bearing the burden of 9/11, as if I had something to do with 9/11, and I felt that taking my scarf off not only empowered me to make decisions for me based on what I felt was right for me, but also empowered me to say to people in *my country*, '9/11 wasn't my fault. I don't know why you hate me. You can hate me if you want, but you know what? It wasn't my fault. I'm not related to any of these people. They don't even come from the country I originate from. I'm not gonna feel sorry for what happened, because it wasn't my fault.' ... Now, when I think about it, I almost become a little angry that I had to apologize for actions that I had no part in ... I feel like the Muslim community, the Arab community has been very apologetic ... It's like all of a sudden this happens, and people are treating us like crap ... So people nowadays, they don't see me and think Muslim [or] Arab. They think Mexican [or] Jewish. When somebody asks me my nationality, I say American.

Samira's testimony represents the frustration and anger that comes along with being associated with foreign terrorists because of one's religious identity. This association stripped Samira of her cultural status as an American citizen. Her nationality was contested and the collective responsibility externally imposed upon her because of her religious identity caused her stress. The majority of the Muslim women who wear the hijab in this sample were willing to accept the responsibility of dispelling misconceptions about Muslims, although a few confessed this collective responsibility was emotionally and mentally taxing. By taking off the hijab, Samira felt she was reclaiming her American identity in the public sphere. Because Samira has a lighter skin complexion, without the hijab she now passes for a white. She felt without the hijab she was able to avoid the stares,

questions and constant condemnation many Muslim Americans face because of their religious identity. Her testimony highlights the level of anxiety her religious identity caused because it situated her as someone who was from an 'enemy' nation, interfering with her ability to claim her American identity. Samira attributed feeling liberated and empowered to removing the hijab, although in reality this act was not free but came at the cost of distancing herself from her religious identity in order to make her feel more American. Furthermore, it is apparent from this testimony that Samira's lighter skin tone and the removal of religious signifiers resulted in her ability to claim social membership. She is no longer viewed as the threatening 'other' but rather has been absorbed into the normative image of an American, because she passes for white. While the religious symbol plays a significant role in Samira's experience, it is important to note that her skin tone is also an important factor in her claiming membership in society. By taking off the hijab, she is able to claim a white identity. It is the intersection of a religious symbols with gender that enables an understanding of how one is racialized and then de-racialized with the removal of the hijab. Islamic signifiers, such as the hijab, mark someone as the 'other' or a 'foreigner' and can diminish privileges associated with having a lighter skin tone. It is important to note that South Asian and Arab women who have a darker skin complexion are not able to pass for white even without the hijab. However, they acknowledge that without the hijab, they do not experience the same type of scrutiny as the women who wear it.

All of the women in the sample who wore the hijab admitted to having been questioned about their nationality, even though the majority were born in the USA. The hijab does not just signify foreignness; it represents an ambiguously defined geographic part of the world that is antagonistic to democracy and American values: the Muslim world. The association of Islam with anti-American sentiments placed the Muslim women in the sample in the precarious position of having to resist their exclusion from an American identity by defending the compatibility of their religion with American values. Negative associations, such as un-American and anti-American values with religious signifiers result in their de-Americanization. Private citizens police the boundaries of citizenship by assuming someone who is a Muslim is not capable of being an American. It is important to note that gender plays a significant role in how Muslim men and women were interrogated. Private citizens did not question Muslim men in the same fashion as they questioned Muslim women wearing the hijab. The former were more likely to be questioned after being introduced to someone and having their Muslim name revealed, but were rarely yelled at by strangers on the street unless accompanied by women who wore the hijab.

Farooq, a 39-year-old computer scientist and Jordanian American who immigrated to the USA when he was 17 years old, discussed his experiences of having his nationality questioned. Because he has an accent, he is often questioned about his ethnicity. He does not have a beard and dresses in professional attire typical of any businessman. Farooq has a medium skin tone and admits he is frequently mistaken as Mediterranean, unless he is in the company of his wife, a white American convert to Islam who wears the hijab. When he is with her, he is often assumed to be Arab. Her visible religious signifier results in the assumption they are both Arab regardless of the fact that she is white. He described how when accompanied in public with his wife and family, strangers have yelled at them to 'Go back to Arabia!' indicating how Farooq's white American wife is no longer seen as white, but as an Arab foreigner. By wearing the hijab she is stripped of the privileges associated with whiteness and consequently of membership of society.

Farooq's experiences resonated with the majority of the Muslim men participants. They did not incite ire from strangers like Muslim women who wear the hijab. Because the hijab is a gendered religious symbol, it was Muslim women who had their status as a citizen questioned in public by strangers. When lighter skin toned Arab or South Asian Muslim women who pass for white put on the hijab, their whiteness was revoked. For the Muslim women in the sample who were darker in

skin tone, the hijab further racialized them as being from a foreign country that is at war with the USA. After 9/11 the public scrutiny about their nationality intensified. When Muslims are yelled at to 'Go back home' they are denied a place in society. Repetitively being questioned about your nationality is one of the ways Muslims are categorized as the 'other' and the process of racialization can be understood in its relation to citizenship.

Cultural Racism: Questioning American Values in Muslim American Men and Women

American Muslims' social citizenship was routinely contested when they were questioned about their American cultural or democratic values. Women who wore the hijab were more likely to be interrogated about their lack of American values by strangers in public spaces compared to American Muslim men and American Muslim women who did not wear the hijab. Cainkar (2009) argues Muslim women who wear the hijab have become a target for verbal and physical assaults from non-Muslim Americans in the public sphere because of the associations of the hijab with anti-Western values. To many Americans, the hijab signifies the oppression of women and is viewed in opposition to Western ideals of feminism (Ahmed, 1992; Haddad et al., 2006; Razack, 2008). All of the women interviewed shared similar experiences that were triggered by wearing the hijab.

Nazia, a 37-year-old Indian Muslim American stay-at-home mother, lives in a predominantly white middle-class southwest suburb of Chicago. Nazia has a very light skin tone and could pass for white to most strangers on the street. She migrated from India 15 years ago and is a naturalized American citizen. She used to wear the hijab, but chose to take it off after 9/11. When asked about her experiences wearing the hijab, she remembered an encounter she had with a woman at the mall.

Nazia: I used to wear a hijab, and there was this lady who came and asked me why I did this. She told me, 'Why do you have to do this? You don't have to do this here in America.' So I said, 'You know what, I just started doing this after coming to America. I didn't do it before when I was in India. I did after coming to America because I learned more about Islam.' And, so, she just kinda gave me a look.

Interviewer: Where did you meet her?

Nazia: In the mall. I was wearing my headscarf and she just came and told me that I don't have to do it here in America, you know this is America. So, she was probably thinking since Muslim women are seen as being oppressed, she probably thought that she would let me know that it's not the case here in America.

Nazia described her interrogator as a white woman in her mid to late 40s. There are two important processes occurring simultaneously in this interaction. First, it is assumed that Nazia is not from the USA because she wears the hijab (nationality questioned) and second, she is seen as someone who lacks American values instead of as someone who is employing them. Nazia countered this supposition by explaining that as an American citizen she exercised her freedom by choosing to wear the hijab. Nazia is treated as if she is incapable of being a *good* American because of her religious identity. By wearing the hijab, she represents patriarchal values of male dominance and oppression rather than American ideals of gender equality. The stranger in this scenario reinforces to Nazia who is capable and who is incapable of being an American. Women who let their men oppress them do not uphold Western feminist ideals. These women are made to feel as if they are somehow corrupting American cultural values and the freedoms they supposedly guarantee. Muslim women are denied their nationality and standing because they transgress cultural norms.

Maryam, a light skinned 29-year-old Syrian American who was born in the Midwest, decided to wear the hijab after her second year of college. She grew up in a predominantly white, small town in the Midwest. Before she wore the hijab she passed for white to strangers who did not know her or her family. A few months after 9/11, she described experiences she had in a cafe because she wears the hijab.

Yeah. Let's see – I mean, little things, like one time I was at [a chain restaurant], and there was this woman who was reading a newspaper. She kept staring at me, and like reading her paper, and then giving me this evil eye. And so, I was just like, 'Oh, can I help you?' And she was like, 'You and your people all ought to just go home. You're no good to this society.' And I got real upset, and I was like, 'Well, you know, you should really read some of your statistics, 'cause I think an overwhelming majority of us have done more good for this society than anything else.'

Because Maryam wears the hijab she has her nationality and standing questioned. She is lumped into *you people* and told that she and her people are not good for this society. The message being delivered is Muslims are not a part of the 'us' and are assigned outsider status. It is Maryam's religious identity that triggers the accusation that Muslims are somehow corrupting American society. The assumptions made are that Maryam is not an American, and also that she is somehow a bad influence on America. Unfortunately, this was not the only negative experience Maryam has had regarding her status as a citizen. She recalled having a man yell at her at the grocery store about ruining America. She recalled feeling frightened when this strange white male approached her at a grocery store and aggressively verbally accosted her. Other customers intervened on her behalf, but she feared his verbal attack could have become physical. Maryam not only has to defend her status as an American she must also demonstrate her Muslim values are not harmful to America, something she did not have to do prior to 9/11. Because she is identified as a Muslim by wearing the hijab Maryam is treated as if she is culturally inferior to an American, even though Maryam was born and raised in the USA. The essentializing of cultural traits associated with Islam is precisely where the process of racialization is located and rejection from social citizenship is the consequence.

These types of questioning may seem harmless in relation to the experiences of many other groups of people who have weathered much more violent and abusive types of racism and discrimination, but it is far from irrelevant or inconsequential. First, it demonstrates how pervasive and powerful stereotypes are in guiding an individual's actions. Muslim American women who wear the hijab are put in the uncomfortable situation of defending their religious beliefs and practices in relation to their values as American citizens because they are often approached by strangers in public spaces. They are assumed to subscribe to anti-Western values where women are subservient to men, marginalizing Muslim men as abusive and barbaric and Muslim women as passive and helpless. This misconception of Muslim women as victims of abuse and in need of saving is not a new phenomenon that developed after 9/11, but has been perpetuated in the West in order to justify colonial projects in Muslim countries (Ahmed, 1992; Al-Saji, 2010; Razack, 2008). The hijab has come to simultaneously symbolize the submission and degradation of Muslim women and aggression, patriarchy, and barbarism of Muslim men. One of the privileges of whiteness is the uncontested association of citizenship and unquestioned rights to resources (Garner, 2006). The ability to be viewed and treated as if one is a contributing and valued member of society is a privilege of whiteness that is denied to racialized groups in the USA. Nazia and Maryam's interaction highlights the prevailing ideology non-Muslim Americans have concerning the hijab and the women who wear it. They are a cultural threat. Their encounters with strangers are not unusual, but something the majority of the participants who wear the hijab have experienced with strangers in public

spaces. The bodies of Muslim women who wear the hijab become a site of contestation between American and Islamic values. Prior to 9/11, Muslim women experienced some questioning and othering due to their religious identity (Peek, 2011). However, after 9/11 private citizens became more vigilant in defending American values and therefore felt empowered to verbally accost Muslim women about how their cultural values are a threat to American values. Although Muslim men were not held accountable in public spaces like Muslim women, they were not immune from this treatment in private spaces.

Saleem, a Lebanese American doctor in his early 30s lives in a young, urban, white neighborhood in Chicago. Saleem is an American citizen who was born in Lebanon (his father is a naturalized American citizen). He moved to Chicago to complete his residency. He has a lighter skin tone and claims if anyone questions his ethnicity they assume he is a white ethnic. He recalled an incident where his patient demanded a new doctor after he realized that Saleem was a Muslim because of his name.

Saleem: When the patient saw my badge, he really got scared. So one of the nurses wanted to make him feel better, and he said, 'You're a Muslim?' and she said, 'But he's a good one.' Kind of like the default is like I'd be bad ... I had a patient call me a fascist. I don't think he knows what that word means, because – I don't think anyone knows what the word means.

Interviewer: What was the context?

Saleem: Well, the context was that he was not happy with the services we were providing him at the hospital, and he said, 'I would like a different doctor.' I said, 'Tell me what's wrong, so I can find you another doctor.' He said, 'I want someone who's white.' I'm thinking that I am white – at least based on the United States' definition of what 'white' is. And I said, 'Well, tell me more,' and he said, 'I want someone who's American. I want someone who is familiar, someone like me.'

Once identified as a Muslim it was assumed Saleem was not an American and consequently not white, even though Saleem is considered white according to the US Census.² In this interaction his nationality and racial identity are questioned because he is a Muslim. What is even more interesting is the response the nurse gave. She attempts to defend the doctor by categorizing him as a 'good' Muslim as opposed to a 'bad' one. Although it is impossible to know exactly what the nurse's definition of 'good' Muslim is, one can infer that the 'good' Muslim is an individual who is able to assimilate into the mainstream, such as a modern and secular Muslim who does not transgress the norms of society by wearing religious signifiers and displaying their religious identity. On the other hand, 'bad' Muslims are anti-American fundamentalists similar to the terrorist attackers of 9/11 (Mamdani, 2004). Individuals who display their Muslim religion in outwardly visible ways violate social norms. By placing Saleem into the 'good' category, she reduces Muslim Americans into two types: those who are worthy of inclusion in social membership and those who are not. Saleem is questioned about his values in private spaces by people he knows. Muslim women who wear the hijab, on the other hand, are open targets for public scrutiny.

This line of questioning reveals similarities as well as differences in experiences between Muslim men and Muslim women who wear the hijab. Muslim men are questioned by private citizens about the values associated with Islam in private spaces, such as work or at social gatherings with acquaintances and even close friends. Muslim women were also questioned in private spaces, but Muslim men were rarely approached by strangers and questioned about their values in public spaces like Muslim women who wear the hijab. The majority of the Muslim men in this study admitted they avoided talking about politics and religion because they feared being viewed as anti-American for

their views on foreign policy (not supporting the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan). Muslim men censored themselves in order to avoid interrogation about their loyalty and values. Muslim women who wear the hijab were unable to avoid these interactions because the hijab is a visible symbol of Islam. Because women are viewed as cultural threats and are not seen as physically intimidating, those who wear the hijab are increasingly encountering hostility in public spaces.

The pitting of Muslim values against American values is an example of how religious identity can fuel cultural racism. Cultural racism, when cultural traits (language, religious beliefs, attitudes, etc.) are viewed as inherently inferior to white ones, is a way that racist ideas are expressed in a colorblind society (Bonilla-Silva, 2003). Cultural racism does not replace the reality that skin tone still matters in a racialized society, but highlights the importance of racialized cultural attributes. In the case of Muslims, their religious values are assumed to encourage violence and terror (Meer and Modood, 2010). When a citizen is made to feel as if he/she is a threat to American society because of his/her religious identity by a fellow citizen, the boundaries of citizenship become visible. The testimonies reveal that Islamic symbols have become so loaded with negative cultural connotations, such as foreigner, enemy of the state, misogynist, submissive, and anti-American, Muslim Americans experience exclusion from the basic privileges citizenship should entail.

Disloyal and Dangerous: Muslim American Men Policed by Fellow Citizens

In addition to nationality and standing, private citizens frequently questioned their fellow Muslim citizens about their allegiance. These actors played an important role in denying Muslim Americans their rights associated with citizenship, such as being viewed as a loyal member of society. Muslim men were more likely to be questioned about their allegiance to the USA compared to Muslim women who wear the hijab. The interviews reflect how Muslim men were criminalized by their fellow citizens because of their religious identity.

Aziz, a 30-year-old South Asian management consultant, was questioned about his loyalty and allegiance by his professor at an MBA program he attended on the East coast. This professor used to make derogatory comments about Muslims, and on a few occasions he would make comments about Aziz being a Muslim in front of the rest of the class.

I did *hear* things and comments in classes though. There was a professor. I remember in one of our classes. I had told him before that I was Muslim. I was a practicing Muslim and prayed five times a day. We would talk about Muslim countries [the course had nothing to do with the Middle East], which was for some reason a favorite topic of his, I would always say actually, oh, I've been there or had the opportunity to travel. But I remember in the middle of one class or beginning of one class he's like, 'Oh, we're talking about Afghanistan today.' But he's like, 'Aziz, have you been to any camps there?' And that really was like crossing the line to me.

By asking Aziz if he had been to a terrorist training camp, this professor created the association of him with Islamic extremism and terrorism. This stigmatized Aziz in front of his fellow classmates by suggesting he was capable of being disloyal and dangerous to his own country because he is a Muslim. Aziz felt powerless and did not feel comfortable challenging this behavior of his professor. This was not the last time Aziz experienced such insinuations. At his current job, a partner of the company he works for made a comment joking about where he was over the weekend because of a terrorist attack in India.

Aziz: I remember this partner I was working with who after there was a terrorist attack in India ... asked me on Monday morning jokingly like, 'Ah-ha, where were you this weekend?'

Aziz was not alone in this questioning. Abdullah, an American born Pakistani male in his early 30s works in a managerial position in a financial institution in the Dallas/Fort Worth metropolitan area. He has a darker skin complexion but is easily identifiable as a Muslim at work because he wears a nametag. He relayed to me an incident where a client came into his office and asked to speak to his supervisor. The customer went to his supervisor to complain about him working at the institution because he felt he could be a threat to national security. Abdullah's Muslim name made him suspect to this customer. This type of questioning of Muslim men's loyalty to the USA highlights their vulnerability in society. Jamil, a 20-year-old college student recalled some experiences he had had with friends in high school and on campus.

Jamil: There have been times my friends will joke around and call me a terrorist.

Interviewer: Does that bother you?

Jamil: When I was in high school I used to laugh it off, but in college I've found more Muslim friends which is how I avoid these types of jokes.

Although I interviewed only a handful of college students, many of them admitted they found comfort in spending time with other Muslims on their college campuses. Although Jamil laughed with his friends when they *jokingly* called him a terrorist, it was apparent his choice to spend time with other Muslims protected him from such negative comments. Thus, there is a consequence these anti-Muslim sentiments have on Muslim men. Hamza, a Pakistani American lawyer in his mid-30s, stated that for a period after 9/11 he avoided talking about politics or religion at work because he felt muzzled in a post-9/11 society. He feared being labeled as a terrorist sympathizer for expressing certain political views, such as those on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

Feeling silenced was a sentiment expressed by the majority of the male participants in the study. They all wanted to distance themselves from any type of association with terrorism or sympathy for terrorism. Because their religious identity and gender are two of the main characteristics associated with terrorism (Rana, 2011), they made conscientious efforts to avoid discussing their religious or political beliefs to escape this type of scrutiny. Being treated like a potential threat to national security because of one's religious identity further emphasizes how a Muslim identity is racialized and situated against a normative ideal of citizenship that is characterized by whiteness. Whites are not questioned about their loyalty in the same way as groups that have been racialized. For example, African-American men have been subjected to racial profiling by police and fellow citizens. Currently, policies such as the SB Arizona 1070 Act has made it mandatory for all non-citizens to carry their documentation in Arizona. This bill encourages law enforcement to rely on racial and ethnic stereotypes when profiling Latinos (Fisher et al., 2011). While there are significant differences in the ways Latino, African-American and Muslim men experience racism, they have each been treated as if they are a threat to society and are subsequently policed by the state and private citizens, demonstrating how their status as citizens is vulnerable at best. When private citizens informally police their fellow citizens based on religious symbols, such as a name or a piece of clothing, a Muslim identity is essentialized in a similar fashion as biological features for African-Americans, Latinos, and Asians in the USA. When American men are questioned about their allegiance to society as a result of the attribution of barbarism, violence, and terrorism to their bodies because of their religious identity, it reveals how the boundaries of citizenship can suddenly tighten resulting in the creation of newer racialized bodies, such as Muslims. The interviews demonstrate how Muslim men are more likely to be questioned about their loyalty to the USA and treated as if they are a threat to national security, whereas Muslim women who wear the hijab are treated as a threat to Western cultural norms and values. It is important to review how the experiences of Muslim women who did not wear the hijab differed from those of Muslim men and of the

women who did wear the hijab. The testimonies indicate these women were not interrogated about their cultural values like the women who wear Muslim religious signifiers.

You Are Not a Real Muslim

Muslim women who did not wear the hijab were not targets of anti-Muslim hatred like those who wore the hijab. The participants who did not wear the hijab were aware that their friends and family members who wore the hijab had very different experiences than they did. Asra, a 25-year-old Indian American living in the Chicago area at the time of the interview, told me that after 9/11 residents and staff at the nursing home she worked at began to ask her about her ethnicity and religion.

When I was working at the nursing home pre-9/11, I don't think questions of my ethnicity or religious affiliation ever came up. The people there were awesome, like the residents and the patients I worked with. They called me *Angel*. And people thought that was my name because that's how they would refer to me. Post-9/11, they started asking me, 'Oh, so where are your parents from, and what did they believe in?' And I'm like, 'Okay, they're just curious.' But I was a little anxious with that as well. Like, those questions made me a little anxious.

Asra has a darker skin complexion and does not pass for white. Her ethnicity triggered questions about her religious affiliation after 9/11. She admitted this made her somewhat anxious because she was not sure how they would treat her once she told them she was Muslim. Her co-workers told her she was not a *real* Muslim because she did not wear the hijab or jilbaab.

I don't fit that representation. I don't cover my head. I don't think they [co-workers] see Muslims as being friendly and I am very friendly. I remember in that lab, and I don't know if this happened in the nursing home, but like several people made the comment that 'You're not really Muslim'. And like of course I am. 'No, you're not. You're a different kind of Muslim. You're American.' I'm like, of course I'm American, but I'm also Muslim.

Because Asra does not wear the hijab and is a woman, her national identity was not contested like it was for Muslim women who wear the hijab. Her co-workers reinforce the ideology that a Muslim identity and an American identity are incompatible. They accomplish this by dismissing her Muslim identity and instead *allowing* her to claim an American one. Her experience exemplifies how Muslim signifiers are viewed as a transgression of American values and norms. The women who wear them have vastly different experiences than the women who do not. They are not racialized as a threat to cultural values.

Hina, a 37-year-old Pakistani American architect also felt she has not been identified as a Muslim since 9/11. She has never worn the hijab and claimed that while growing up her ethnic identity was never an issue for her. She always felt her national and ethnic identities were compatible. I asked her if she had ever been asked questions about Islam or Muslims at work since 9/11. She told me no one ever talked to her about religion at work and she did not face the scrutiny other Muslim women have had to face. She feels this is because she does not wear the hijab.

No, but I think – I mean I don't wear hijab either. I don't think people looked at me or scrutinized me like some other women probably felt based on wearing hijab.

The fact that women who do not wear the hijab do not have their citizenship questioned as do the women who wear it highlights how important Islamic religious signifiers are in racializing

individuals. These Muslim women are neither treated as if they are a threat to this homogeneous cultural identity nor made to feel they represent a physical threat like the men. They may have had to endure questions about their ethnic and religious affiliations, but are not targeted in the same way as Muslim women who wear the hijab. In some instances these women were placed into the 'good Muslim' category while Muslim women who wore the hijab were placed in the 'bad Muslim' category. The fact that religious signifiers incite such interrogation about social membership reveals the precarity of Islam's presence in the USA.

Conclusion

This article chronicles how private citizens strip Muslim Americans of privileges that should be guaranteed with citizenship. In a post-9/11 society, a slight majority of Americans support curtailing the civil liberties of Muslims in the name of increasing national security (Sullivan, 2009). While the state creates the legal parameters of citizenship, it is private citizens who behave as informal gatekeepers of social membership. Often private citizens act based on the cues provided to them by the state. For example, through laws and policies instituted by the government in the name of defending the nation and its citizenry against another terrorist attack, the public has been given permission to report any suspicious behaviors. The Nationwide Suspicious Activity Reporting Initiative (NSI) is a collaborative project where federal, state, local, and tribal agencies gather information on 'suspicious behaviors' that could be related to terrorism. Through this initiative citizens and communities are encouraged to report suspicious activities and behaviors to local, state or federal agencies. However, as 'suspicious behaviors' are not clearly defined, the public is forced to rely on their own assumptions and stereotypes of what constitutes terrorist activity. Americans are therefore encouraged to distrust their fellow citizens. In the case of post-9/11 America, this distrust is rooted in xenophobic attitudes towards Islam and Muslims.

In public spaces, private citizens treat Muslim women who wear the hijab as if they do not have the same rights to public spaces as they do. By verbally accosting women who wear the hijab, they deny them their right to exist in space without scrutiny. The right to exist in space or feel as if one is a part of the fabric of society is a privilege that is not enjoyed by all citizens. Skin tone, nation of origin, sexuality, culture and religious identity are a few of the characteristics that trigger one's racialization in a hypernationalistic society. By questioning Muslim Americans about their nationality, standing, and allegiance private citizens work as important agents in setting a Muslim identity apart from the national community while reinforcing in culture characteristics of an American identity: white and Christian. Muslim American experiences demonstrate how ascriptive characteristics of citizenship are still worthy of examination. Religious signifiers intersect with skin tone, gender, nation of origin, and language in unique ways. Wearing the hijab or having a Muslim name results in being treated as a foreigner. For Muslims who can legally claim whiteness due to their racial classification, religious signifiers (a Muslim name and the hijab) result in their racialized interactions with their fellow citizens.

Racializing a Muslim identity is a gendered process. Muslim men and women are stripped of social membership in different ways. First, religious symbols such as the hijab are gendered. Muslim women who wear the hijab are immediately recognizable as Muslims and subsequently treated as foreigners. Muslim women are denied privileges afforded by citizenship when they are questioned about their status as Americans, and when they are treated as if their religious values contradict and degrade American values. Women are seen as less threatening physically and in turn become open targets of violence and aggression. Looking simultaneously at the intersection of religion, race, and gender enables a more complex understanding of the Muslim experience to emerge.

Eduardo Bonilla-Silva argues (2001) that the USA is a racialized social system, where structures and ideologies in society are organized based on how agents are placed into racial categories. What makes the Muslim situation more complex is that they are not situated neatly within one racial category. They occupy many racial categories based on their racial classification by the state. However, their religious identity has become racialized because the physical and cultural aspects of their religious identity became essentialized as inherently violent, anti-American, disloyal, patriarchal, and submissive. For Muslim Americans in the context of a post-9/11 society, racialization occurs when new racial meanings are applied to their bodies and as a result they are denied membership in society. Racialization explains how Muslim women who passed for white before wearing the hijab lost privileges of whiteness once they put it on.

I argue that, in the context of the USA, 'Muslim' is becoming a de-facto racial classification. The religious identity is riddled with so many negative associations that those who are identified as Muslim consequently have racial experiences in their everyday lives. A Muslim is becoming a lived racial other in practice even though 'Muslim' is not formally recognized as a race or racial classification by the US Census. Newer theories of race are required to explain how a religious identity can provoke racial experiences. Rejection from citizenship because one is perceived as foreign is a racial act. These newer social constructions of what it means to be Muslim, along with rigid boundaries of who can be an American, reinforce the idea that these two identities are inherently incompatible. Muslim Americans are given the task of defending their religious identity, claiming their national one and demonstrating the compatibility between the two. The findings from this study demonstrate the importance of race scholarship moving beyond a black and white paradigm to one that incorporates other important characteristics – such as gender, nation of origin, culture, language, and religious identity to name a few – which result in an identity becoming racialized. There is a trend in race scholarship moving towards a such a new paradigm of racial formation (Omi and Winant, 1994), or creating new frameworks to understand multiracial identities (Brunsma and Rockquemore, 2001). An interesting new paradigm on race in the USA is the Latin Americanization theory (Bonilla-Silva, 2004). Bonilla-Silva argues that we no longer live in a biracial society, but a tri-racial one that mimics Latin American countries (Bonilla-Silva, 2004). This tri-racial society is made up of whites, honorary whites, and collective blacks. These newer paradigms of race reflect how society is changing racially, ethnically and in terms of religion. Racialization is another way to theorize about newer forms of racism because it provides the needed language to include the experiences of immigrants and their offspring with racism. It also creates a place in theory for the incorporation of signifiers other than skin tone, such as clothing, language and religious symbols. While phenotype still matters, it is not the only factor in determining individual experiences with racism. In a hyper nationalistic state, it is important to understand how ascriptive aspects of citizenship become more salient. Racial, ethnic and religious differences become qualifiers of exclusion. In a nation 'at war with terror', those who are perceived to be potential terrorists and threats to American values become the other. Because race is a fluid concept and constantly changing, scholars must be careful to avoid making inaccurate comparisons of racialized groups as a way to legitimate each group's experience with racism. This is not to say there are not similarities: there are, but the differences are socially, politically, and economically contextually unique. Until scholars begin to unpack these factors and their salience in individual experiences, it will become harder to, first, acknowledge that Muslims experience racism because of their religious identity and therefore, second, nearly impossible to find a way to combat these newer forms of racism.

Funding

This research received no specific grant from any funding agency in the public, commercial, or not-for-profit sectors.

Notes

1. Muslim women are split on their views about the hijab. Some women argue that the Quran dictates that women must cover their hair, while other women believe in a different interpretation that states that women must dress modestly, but do not have to cover their hair (Ahmed, 1992).
2. Arabs are currently considered white according to the US Census, even though they were historically denied citizenship because of an association with Asians.

References

- Ahmed L (1992) *Women and Gender in Islam*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Al-Saji A (2010) The racialization of Muslim veils: a philosophical analysis. *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 36(8): 875–902.
- Alsutany E (2008) The prime time flight of the Arab Muslim American after 9/11: configurations of race and nation in TV dramas. In Jamal A and Naber N (eds) *Race and Arab Americans before and after 9/11: From Invisible Citizens to Visible Subjects*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 204–228.
- Amer M and Hovey J (2007) Sociodemographic differences in acculturation and mental health for a sample of second generation and early immigrant Arab Americans. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health* 9(4): 335–347.
- Bayoumi M (2006) Racing religion. *The Centennial Review* 6(2): 267–293.
- Benjamin M (2010) *What Islamophobia Really Threatens*. Salon. Available (consulted 1 October 2010) at: http://www.salon.com/news/politics/war_room/2010/09/29/american_muslim_terrorism_report
- Bonilla-Silva E (2001) *White Supremacy and Racism in the post-Civil Rights Era*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Bonilla-Silva E (2003) *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.
- Bonilla-Silva E (2004) From bi-racial to tri-racial: towards a new system of racial stratification in the USA. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 27(6): 931–950.
- Brunsma D and Rockquemore KA (2001) The new color complex: appearances and biracial identity. *Identities* 1(3): 225–246.
- Cainkar L (2008) Thinking outside the box: Arabs and race in the United States. In: Jamal A and Naber N (eds) *Race and Arab Americans before and after 9/11: From Invisible Citizens to Visible Subjects*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 46–80.
- Cainkar L (2009) *Homeland Insecurity: The Arab American and Muslim American Experience after 9/11*. New York City, NY: Russell Sage Foundation Publications.
- Fisher E, Deason G, Borgida E, et al. (2011) A model of authoritarianism, social norms, and personal values: implications for Arizona law enforcement and immigration policy. *Analysis of Social Issues and Policy* 11(1): 285–299.
- Garner S (2006) The uses of whiteness: what sociologists working on Europe can draw from US research on whiteness. *Sociology* 40(2): 257–275.
- Glenn EN (2002) *Unequal Freedom: How Race and Gender Shaped American Citizenship and Labor*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Gray P, Williamson J, Karpa D, et al. (2007) *The Research Imagination: An Introduction to Qualitative and Quantitative Methods*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Grosfoguel R and Mielants E (2006) The long durée: entanglement between Islamophobia and racism in the modern/colonial/capitalist/patriarchal world-system. An introduction. *Human Architecture: The Journal of Sociology of Self-Knowledge*. 5(1):1–12.
- Haddad Y, Smith J and Moore K (2006) *Muslim Women in America: The Challenge of an Islamic Identity Today*. New York City, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Haney-Lopez I (1996) *White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race*. New York City, NY: New York University Press.
- Hassan S (2002) *Arabs, Race and the post-September 11 National Security State*. Middle East Report. Available (consulted 5 October 2010) at: http://www.merip.org/mer/mer224/224_hassan.html

- Huntington S (1993) Clash of the civilizations? *Foreign Affairs* 72(3): 22–49.
- Jamal A (2008) Arab American racialization. In: Jamal A and Naber N (eds) *Race and Arab Americans before and after 9/11: From Invisible Citizens to Visible Subjects*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 318–326.
- Joseph S, D’Harlingue B and Wong KH (2008) Arab Americans and Muslim Americans in the *New York Times*, before and after 9/11. In: Jamal A and Naber N (eds) *Race and Arab Americans before and after 9/11: From Invisible Citizens to Visible Subjects*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 229–275.
- Kibria N (1998) The contested meanings of ‘Asian American’: racial dilemmas in the contemporary US. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21(5): 939–958.
- Kumar HS (2013) *White Privilege Radically Changes the Appearance of the Tsarnaev Brothers*. Available (consulted 1 May 2013) at: <http://www.brofilng.com/>
- Lewis B (1990) *The Roots of Muslim Rage: Why So Many Muslims Deeply Resent the West, and Why Their Bitterness Will Not Easily Be Mollified*. *The Atlantic* 1 September. Available (consulted 4 January 2014) at: <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1990/09/the-roots-of-muslim-rage/304643/>
- Maira S (2009) *Missing: Youth, Citizenship, and Empire after 9/11*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press Books.
- Mamdani M (2004) *Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: America, the Cold War, and the Roots of Terror*. New York City, NY: Pantheon.
- Marshall TH (1973) *Class, Citizenship, and Social Development; Essays*. Westport, CT: Greenwood World Press.
- Meer N and Modood T (2010) The racialization of Muslims. In: Sayid S and Vakil A (eds) *Thinking through Islamophobia: Global Perspectives*. New York City, NY: Columbia University Press, 69–84.
- Miller T (2001) Introducing ... cultural citizenship. *Social Text* 19(4): 1–5.
- Murji K and Solomos J (eds) (2005) *Racialization: Studies in Theory and Practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Naber N (2008) Introduction. In: Jamal A and Naber N (eds) *Race and Arab Americans before and after 9/11: From Invisible to Visible Subjects*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1–45.
- Omi M and Winant H (1986) *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1980s*. New York City, NY: Routledge.
- Omi M and Winant H (1994) *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*. 2nd Edition. New York City, NY: Routledge.
- Ong A (1996) Cultural citizenship as subject-making: immigrants negotiate racial and cultural boundaries in the United States. *Current Anthropology* 37(5): 737–751.
- Pawley L (2008) Cultural citizenship. *Sociology Compass* 2(2): 594–608.
- Peek L (2011) *Behind the Backlash: Muslim Americans after 9/11*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Peretz M (2010) *The New York Times Laments ‘A Sadly Wary Misunderstanding of Muslim-Americans’, but Really Is It ‘Sadly Wary’ or a ‘Misunderstanding’ at all?* *The New Republic*. Available (consulted 15 November 2010) at: <http://www.tnr.com/blog/77475/the-new-york-times-laments-sadly-wary-misunderstanding-muslim-americans-really-it-sadly-w#>
- Pew Research Center (2011) *America’s Population 2030*. Available (consulted 5 July 2012) at: <http://www.pewresearch.org/daily-number/americas-muslim-population-2030/>
- Pew Research Religion and Public Life Project (2007) *Public Expresses Mixed Views of Islam, Mormonism*. Available (consulted 5 July 2012) at: <http://www.pewforum.org/2007/09/26/public-expresses-mixed-views-of-islam-mormonism/>
- Pew Research Religion and Public Life Project (2011) *Muslim Americans: No Signs in Growth of Alienation or Support for Extremism*. Available (consulted 5 July 2012) at: <http://www.people-press.org/2011/08/30/muslim-americans-no-signs-of-growth-in-alienation-or-support-for-extremism/>
- Rana J (2007) The story of Islamophobia. *Souls* 9(2): 148–161.
- Rana J (2011) *Terrifying Muslims: Race and Labor in the South Asian Diaspora*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press Books.

- Razack S (2008) *Casting Out: The Eviction of Muslims from Western Law and Politics*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Selod S and Embrick D (2013) Racialization and Muslims: situating the Muslim experience in race scholarship. *Sociology Compass* 7(8): 644–655.
- Shryock A and Lin AC (2008) Arab American identities in question. In: Detroit Arab American Studies Team (eds) *Citizenship and Crisis: Arab Detroit after 9/11*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation, 35–68.
- Smith R (1999) *Civic Ideals: Conflicting Visions of Citizenship in US History*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Stevenson N (2003) Cultural citizenship in the ‘cultural’ society: a cosmopolitan approach. *Citizenship Studies* 7(3): 331–348.
- Stuart H (2013) *Heba Abolaban, Muslim Woman, Says She Was Attacked over Boston Bombings*. *Huffington Post*. Available (consulted 26 April 2013) at: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/04/18/heba-abolaban-muslim-woman-attacked-boston_n_3112065.html
- Sullivan J (2009) Public support for civil liberties pre- and post-9/11. *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 5: 375–391.