



# Anti-Muslim Hatred

A RESOURCE FOR TEACHERS

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## Objectives

This resource is designed to give teachers a deeper understanding of some of the key ideas and themes of anti-Muslim prejudice, where these ideas come from, how they are spread, what they may look like in the classroom and how they may be countered. It includes suggestions for additional reading for those who wish to explore these issues in greater depth.

Please note that we have **NOT** produced this resource with the intention that it is used directly with students. If you have any questions or comments, please contact us at [helpdesk@generation.global](mailto:helpdesk@generation.global).

## Learning Objectives

- To provide you, the teacher, with a deeper and more complex understanding of the key tropes of anti-Muslim prejudice as well as the ways that these ideas tie into other worldviews and conspiracy theories.
- To provide you, the teacher, with knowledge from trustworthy sources and information that will enable you to feel more confident in facilitating dialogue and answering questions from your students on this topic.
- To help support you, the teacher, in developing your students' ability to think about these issues in a more critical way so they are better able to recognise, analyse and resist anti-Muslim prejudice views, by creating a space in your classroom for dialogue on this topic.
- To identify key challenges that people face when exploring these issues. While the ideas in this resource are those that are discussed in the media and in government, they are also likely to be the most important ones that may influence your students in classroom discussions.

We strongly recommend that you also refer to our "Teaching Difficult Dialogue, Theory and Practice" resource before using materials from this briefing in the classroom. This can be accessed and downloaded from <https://institute.global/insight/co-existence/dealing-difficult-dialogue>.

# Introduction

After the March 2019 terrorist attacks on mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand, there was a great deal of discussion of anti-Muslim hatred. This appalling crime captured the attention of much of the world's media, but the aftermath has included little in-depth analysis of how this kind of hatred has developed, how it has gained global prevalence and how it may be influencing young people in classrooms.

This resource is an attempt to address this, and to put informed and nuanced information in the hands of teachers to help them recognise and challenge the narratives of hate against Muslims when they appear in schools.

## About This Resource

The Institute's Generation Global programme, using its expertise in developing innovative educational pedagogies and teaching resources, has worked in partnership with a team of experts from Academic Consulting Services to prepare this resource. The authors are subject specialists, having published widely on this subject, and are recognised as leading analysts in the field. They have advised a wide range of UK and international organisations in the policy, government, policing and prosecution services, and work with a wide range of academic, policy and NGO partners.

Professor Matthew Feldman has given evidence to the All-Party Parliamentary Group on Islamophobia in the UK. He has advised House of Lords and House of Commons debates, delivered keynote lectures for prosecutors' and police officers' associations, and given testimony to the Home Affairs Select Committee. He also authored three of the first quantitative reports on anti-Muslim hate crimes for Faith Matters (2013–2015) and has given many media interviews and appearances about anti-Muslim prejudice.

Dr Paul Stocker has undertaken wide-ranging consultancy work in this area, including creating training materials for UK practitioners working on anti-Muslim prejudice. He has co-written a report on contemporary radical right 'Islamoprejudice' with leading counter-radicalisation research centres the SETA Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research and Hedayah. He has also developed counter-extremism narratives and exercises for students and front-line teaching staff.

# Definitions

**Scapegoating:** This is the term used when a person or group of people is singled out for unmerited blame and then treated badly by the surrounding group or society. This behaviour is seen at all levels—from classroom bullying to genocidal violence. Anti-Muslim prejudice is a clear example of this kind of behaviour.

**Trope:** A significant or recurrent theme; a motif. Throughout this resource, we will refer to tropes of anti-Muslim prejudice.

These are recurring stereotypes or myths, many of which are very old, and several of which have become so engrained in various cultures that even roundabout or indirect reference to them can be extremely powerful.

# A Global Phenomenon

Many countries have recently reported increases in anti-Muslim hate speech and hate crime, including the **United States**, the UK, countries across Europe and India.<sup>1</sup> A climate of intolerance towards Muslims has developed around the world, in which not only have hate crimes become more common, but also hate speech, both in the media and in public, has been normalised—and often defended with specious appeals to free speech.<sup>2</sup> (These appeals are specious because, while the right of free speech is largely intended to empower the less powerful to critique the powerful, in this context free speech is used by the more powerful to oppress minorities) Meanwhile, governments have proposed and enacted overtly discriminatory laws.<sup>3</sup>

Some observers seek to justify these narratives on the grounds of a response to jihadi terrorism. Yet it is critical to note that, as exemplified by the 2014 massacre at Army Public School in Peshawar, Pakistan, the vast majority of victims of violent jihadism are, in fact, Muslims.<sup>4</sup> Our Institute's "Global Extremism Monitor"<sup>5</sup> found that

*Muslims, more than anyone else, are the most frequent victims of violent Islamist extremist groups. Nearly two-thirds of all attacks aimed at the public space in 2017 occurred in Sunni Muslim-majority states. An ideology that systematically legitimises the targeting of two broad groups—Muslims deemed to be heretics for failing to answer the call to jihad and non-Muslims of a faith or of no faith at all—is simultaneously exploiting and exacerbating community tensions around the world.*

Before this century, in countries where Muslims are a minority, much bias against minority Muslim communities was typically phrased in racial terms. But this anti-Muslim view has encouraged hostility to Islam as a whole, often manifesting itself in attacks on Muslims as people or communities. Anti-Islam narratives emphasise a perception of Islam as a single, undifferentiated whole that is incompatible with human rights, multiculturalism and gender equality, and sympathetic to terrorist violence. Studies have shown that this simplistic approach, which presents Muslims as a single cultural group, are deeply unhelpful and often represent little more than a fomented 'moral panic' targeting minority groups.<sup>6</sup>

People often assume that such perceptions are from their own society—usually because that is where they see them being manifested. However, the two texts below show that this is not necessarily the case. The two quotes—one from a Western source, the Knights Templar International, the other from an Eastern source, 969—reveal that much of this narrative of anti-Muslim hate is global: the same themes and arguments are repurposed by different voices in different countries around the world.

*Millions of non-Christians are flocking from across the globe, settling in our lands, taking from us our birth right, the land of our ancestors and those who come refuse to integrate; instead they demand we capitulate to their religion and cultures. As we have seen far too often, no group is more hostile to our Christian ways and values than radical Islamist's. We cannot escape their hostility and presence. We see our society changing with each passing day: the mosques and madrasas that spring up out of the ground, the call to prayer that pierces the air morning, noon and night, and the veiled groups of women forced to cover themselves from head-to-toe with only their eyes visible.*

– Knights Templar International<sup>7</sup>

*We Buddhists allow them to freely practice their faith, but once these evil Muslims have control, they will not let us practice our religion. We must be careful. These Muslims really hate us.*

– 969<sup>8</sup>

It is important to remember that the ultimate end of a gradual normalisation of this kind of narrative can be genocide. In July 1995, Bosnian Serb forces killed over 7,000 Bosnian Muslim boys and men in the town of Srebrenica.<sup>9</sup> The ethnic cleansing of Bosnian Muslims in Srebrenica represents the worst case of mass murder in Europe since the Second World War. Ratko Mladić is a former Bosnian Serb general who was found guilty by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia of committing war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide for his leading role in the Srebrenica massacre. At his trial, he repeatedly invoked the trope of Muslims as a security threat to justify his actions.<sup>10</sup> A Dutch peacekeeper deployed during the conflict described Mladić's disdain of multi-ethnic societies and co-existence with Muslims; Mladić suggested that multi-cultural policies would fail in the Netherlands, and that the Serbs would have to come to rescue them from the Muslims.<sup>11</sup>

In Myanmar, the use of anti-Muslim hate speech by Buddhist leaders and the government supported the ethnic cleansing of Muslim minorities from Rakhine state beginning in 2015. This in turn has given way to war crimes, widely recognised as genocide against Rohingya Muslims by the Burmese military. A recent UN report accused the military of “killing indiscriminately, gang-raping women, assaulting children and burning entire villages<sup>12</sup>”, causing some 700,000 Rohingya refugees to flee to neighbouring Bangladesh. The Council on Foreign Relations suggest that the most profound reasons to label this a genocide are not the extreme examples of riots and massacres but the sustained impact of long-term policies of persecution, and the anti-Muslim rhetoric of organisations like the Buddhist nationalist organisation 969.<sup>13</sup>

## Hatred, not a Phobia

Although prejudice against Muslims has been historically documented, Islamophobia became the most familiar term to describe anti-Muslim prejudice following the Runnymede Trust's

seminal 1997 report “Islamophobia: A Problem for us All”. The report's initial framing between open (inclusive) and closed (biased) perceptions of Islam has been hugely influential in providing a working definition of anti-Muslim prejudice, but the term “Islamophobia” is avoided in this resource.<sup>14</sup> This is because, etymologically, we are placing less stress on *fear* of Muslims—as is often associated with the term “phobia”—and instead focus on a group-based *prejudice* that can lead to hateful or violent conduct.

Likewise, the term “anti-Muslim racism” is also avoided here. Most cases of anti-Muslim hatred, at least in Europe and North America, target non-whites of Asian and African descent. This hatred is often accompanied by ethnically based racism—because Muslims, like everyone else, have multiple identities. Crucially, however, victims of anti-Muslim prejudice are identified by how perpetrators perceive their religion, since Sikhs, Hindus and other religious communities can also be mistakenly targeted for anti-Muslim hostility.

Bearing these caveats in mind, we suggest the following definition of anti-Muslim hate:

*Anti-Muslim hatred is hatred motivated by hostility or bias towards people perceived to be Muslim. Manifestations take the form of online and offline attacks on a person or their property that the victim perceives to be driven by hostility or prejudice towards their Muslim identity. Anti-Muslim hatred can be physical, verbal, visual or written, and typically targets an individual based on alleged or real faith-based actions and religious doctrines of either Muslims or Islam, with the two seen as interchangeable.*

Specific manifestations of anti-Muslim hatred often include the following:

- **Assaults on Muslim people or property:** This includes places of worship, homes and belongings. Attacks can take the form of graffiti, desecration or deliberate use of objects understood as offensive, such as placing pork products on Muslim property.
- **Holding individual Muslims responsible for the crimes of others:** This includes individual or group behaviour and crimes like paedophilia, human-rights abuses in Muslim-majority countries or terrorist attacks committed by extremists.
- **Discriminatory practices that limit opportunities or access:** This discrimination can occur in employment, education, politics, academia or government agencies due to Muslim religious identity.
- **Attacks on people who ‘look’ Muslim based on skin colour or visible religious appearance:** Such people include Hindus and Sikhs, and assaults include grabbing religious clothing or calling someone with dark skin a terrorist or a paedophile.
- **Discrimination by one Muslim against another:** This involves an individual with a Muslim background directing discriminatory practices at another Muslim of a different sect. This can be due to prejudices against different practices, levels of piety or other beliefs.

Unlike other forms of hate crime, visibly Muslim women are consistently the main victims of anti-Muslim hate attacks. This can include having a hijab or niqab pulled, as well as physical or verbal assaults that might also be gender-based.

## Key Tropes of Anti-Muslim Prejudice

Many anti-Muslim tropes accuse Muslims of a range of actions, behaviour or thought deemed intolerant, evil or harmful to society. To describe such language as anti-Muslim is not to imply that Muslims are exempt from criticism or incapable of any wrongdoing, nor does it automatically imply the accuser to be acting in bad faith. Yet, as with any other generalisation about a social group, to charge Muslims as an entire group with being uniquely or disproportionately responsible for bad behaviour or hurtful action must be viewed as a manifestation of anti-Muslim prejudice.

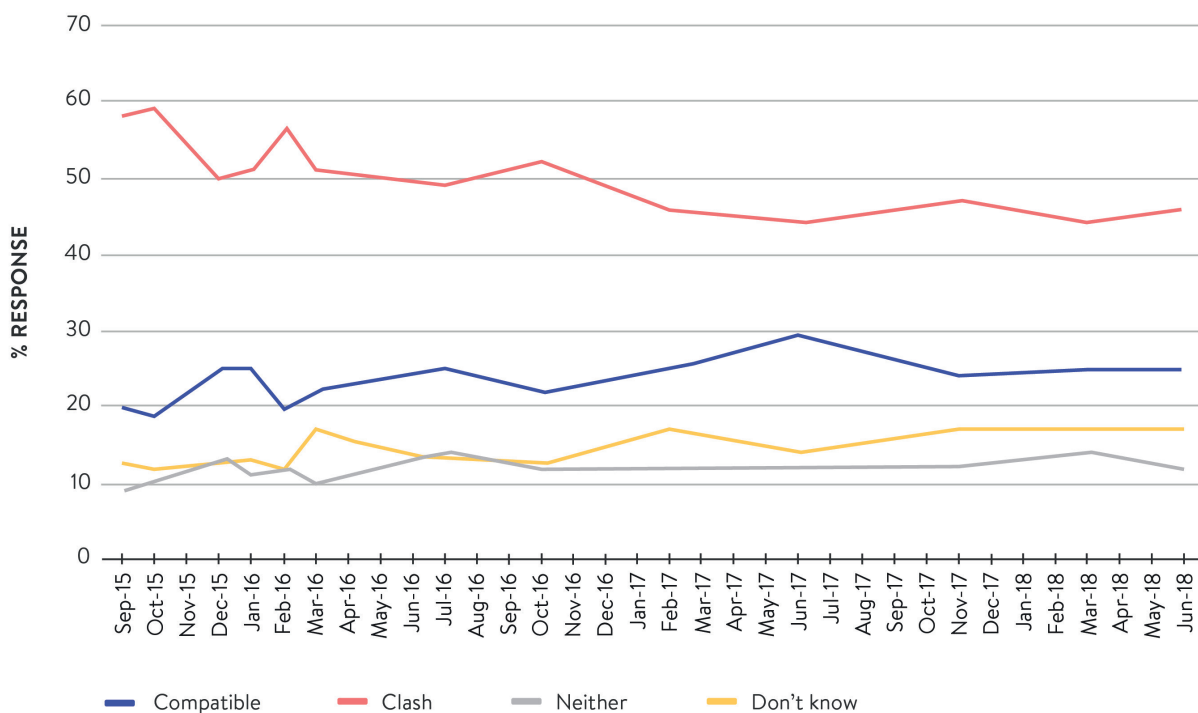
This section explores six common tropes of anti-Muslim prejudice, with examples.

### Trope 1: Islam Is Incompatible With Non-Muslim Values

The first anti-Muslim trope is perhaps the most significant because it underpins many of the others. It holds that Muslims are fundamentally incapable of living peacefully in non-Muslim societies. The origins of this idea vary between countries, but it has often been expressed in several countries with large Muslim minorities. Muslims are frequently accused of not integrating into mainstream culture or failing to abide by basic core values of non-Muslim societies. This trope emerges in a range of forms and stereotypes:

- It is argued that Muslims do not conform to secularism (the separation of church and state), which is a basic constitutional value in many countries, even in countries like Britain that have a nominal state religion.
- It is claimed that Muslim men's treatment of women is archaic, domineering and/or violent in contrast to that of the men in host communities, who, it is argued, have accepted and embraced women's liberation.
- Eating and drinking practices exercised by Muslims worldwide, such as abstaining from alcohol and non-halal foods, are criticised as incompatible and different—even barbaric in the case of halal slaughter methods.

Figure 1: Perceived Compatibility Between Islam and British Values, 2015–2018



Source: YouGov "Islam and British Values" tracker survey

The media often portray examples of Muslim ‘difference’ as extensive, prevalent and threatening—and these prejudices may all be pulled together into narratives that seek to divide society.

Ideas about the nature of Muslim majority countries tend to focus upon a small number of countries. Of the approximately 57 member countries of the OIC (Organisation of Islamic Co-operation), only four are officially Islamic Republics: Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran & Mauritania – and Saudi Arabia’s unwritten constitution is based on Islamic scriptures. Most of the rest are parliamentary republics, and many are secular (e.g. Tunisia & Bangladesh). A few are absolute or constitutional monarchies.

The perception of Muslims as ‘different’ is a critical issue in **China**, where over 1 million Muslim Uighurs have been held in re-education camps in Xinjiang province. Government regulations shared by the BBC in late 2018 identify the purpose of the camps as enforcing “ideological education”, with the fundamental purpose of making Muslims renounce their faith and identify as Chinese.<sup>15</sup> The Chinese authorities have made many aspects of Islamic life illegal (such as growing “abnormally” long beards or wearing veils) and cracked down on people who do not watch state television. While the Chinese authorities have justified these moves as steps to limit “extremism”, the definition of extremism is so broad that it can be interpreted to include almost any aspect of Islamic practice.

An example of the pervasiveness of this trope in public attitudes comes from YouGov’s “Islam and British Values” tracker survey, which began in January 2015 (see figure 1). The **UK** public has regularly shown high levels of support for the view that “there is a fundamental clash between Islam and the values of British society”, never dropping below 44 per cent and reaching a high of 59 per cent in October 2015. The number of people agreeing with the idea that Islam is compatible with British values has never exceeded 29 per cent.<sup>16</sup>

In **France**, similarly high levels of the public believe Islam to be incompatible with that country’s values: a 2017 poll showed 61 per cent of the French public holds such views, in contrast to 17 per cent and 6 per cent who believed the same about Judaism and Catholicism, respectively.<sup>17</sup>

**India** is a country with a very large Muslim minority population. Public narratives about Islam in the media, particularly in recent years, have often been extremely critical, seeking to portray India as a country with a uniquely Hindu identity, where Muslims are outsiders, despite the long history of Islam in India.<sup>18</sup>

One way in which the incompatibility between Islam and Indian culture has been articulated has been through the protection of cattle. The cow is sacred in Hinduism, but its meat has traditionally been eaten by Muslims. In most Indian states, the killing of cows is prohibited by law. In recent years there have been a number of vigilante lynchings of people suspected of being involved in cattle trading (in some cases, even of people suspected of having beef in their house). Between 2010 and 2017 an estimated 63 cow vigilante attacks took place in India, leaving 28 people dead (24 of them Muslim) and 124 injured.<sup>19</sup> Incidents of violence continue.<sup>20</sup>

Rumours on social media have often contributed to the vigilantism, as have the political narratives that broadly seek to exclude Muslims, as well as specific statements by various state government officials, such as the statement by the then Chief Minister of Chhattisgarh that “We’ll hang those who kill cows.”<sup>21</sup>

## Trope 2: Islam Is Backward and Inferior to Other Faiths or Societies

Another anti-Muslim trope holds that Muslims are backward in culture, attitude and mindset in contrast to other (often majority) communities, which are regarded as progressive or modern. Muslims are targeted for being regressive and resistant to change, clinging on to archaic cultural and religious practices, and living in the dark ages. Muslims have been particularly tainted by such baseless accusations and are frequently described as uniquely backward.

Much of this prejudice targets Islam as a religion hostile to change and antithetical to progress. It presumes that textual fundamentalism appears only in Islam rather than in all world faiths, and is based on the idea that Muslims are uniquely incapable of interpreting scripture and applying religious ideas to the modern world.

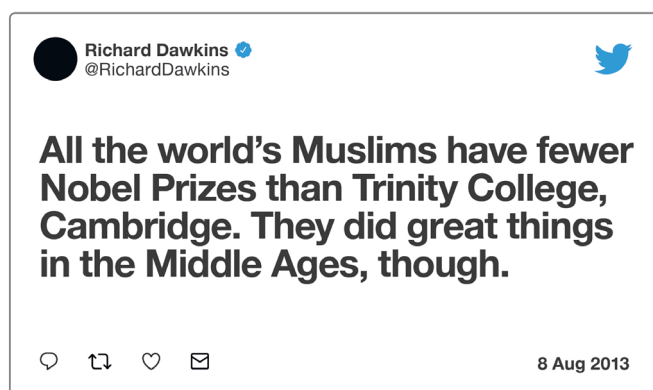


The 2014 image above by the American cartoonist Gary McCoy, entitled “Obama Grows Isis”, illustrates this perspective.<sup>22</sup> So too does **US**-based anti-Muslim website Jihad Watch, which published an article in 2013 entitled “Cultural psychology: How Islam managed to stay medieval for 1,400 years”. It argues,

*While non-Muslim scientists invent new fantastic medicines and technologies daily, discover the most amazing things about the universe, its building blocks and inhabitants, and Western voters and politicians have created the most humane, rich and free societies in world history, most Islamic countries are still amputating limbs for theft, stoning women and homosexuals, heavily inbred, denying people free speech and democracy, and contributing absolutely nothing when it comes to science, human rights or peace.<sup>23</sup>*



It may not be surprising that such attitudes are published on an overtly hostile website, but these views normalise such prejudice. Many commentators suggest that the normalisation of anti-Muslim prejudice in the public square is even more widespread than this. One potential example of this is the controversy surrounding Richard Dawkins' tweet in 2013 stating 'All the world's Muslims have fewer Nobel Prizes than Trinity College Cambridge'<sup>24</sup>. Following this comment, the Guardian newspaper summarised the responses made on the social media site, many of which suggested Dawkins' comments were evidence of prejudice.<sup>25</sup> Additionally, the Muslim commentator Nesrine Malik<sup>26</sup> responded to this tweet in an op-ed that identified the fallacies in Dawkins' point of view.



### Trope 3: Muslims Are Prejudiced Against Women, Homosexuals, Non-Muslims and Minorities

The notion of Islam being incompatible with other cultures and uniquely backward is often most explicitly present in broad assumptions about Muslims' treatment of others—either other Muslims deemed inferior or non-Muslims. Muslims, it is argued, are misogynistic and violent towards women (both Muslims and non-Muslims), intolerant of all homosexuals, and hostile to those of different Muslim sects (such as Ahmadis). This could be interpreted as liberal, rather than conservative, prejudice towards Muslims because it criticises them on the grounds of alleged intolerance towards other people and faiths. Yet, much like many of the other tropes discussed, this view is based on a distortion of reality as it accuses Muslims of being uniquely or overwhelmingly capable of this behaviour.

To take one common European example, Muslim men and immigrants from the Middle East and North Africa are often held to be against equal rights for women, to be more likely to inappropriately touch or sexually assault women, and to treat women as property. **France's** Marine Le Pen, leader of the far-right National Rally (previously National Front) and runner-up in the 2017 presidential election, has become known for her attacks on Islam and has used Muslims' alleged treatment of women as 'evidence' of the danger posed by them.

After reports of sexual assaults on women in Cologne, Germany, by refugees from the Middle East and North Africa in 2016, which were immediately linked to Islam by many across the right in Europe, Le Pen argued in a newspaper that "the migrant crisis signals the beginning of the end of women's rights". Feminist groups pointed out that she, among others, only discussed

women's rights issues as a stick to beat Muslims and is not otherwise known as a defender of women's rights.<sup>27</sup> In keeping with virtually all of the radical right today, Le Pen and other right-wing politicians across Europe have built political capital by prejudicially casting the mere presence of Islam in Europe in apocalyptic terms: "The progressive Islamisation of our country and the increase in political-religious demands are calling into question the survival of our civilisation."<sup>28</sup>

Islam has long enshrined women's rights: medieval Islamic law recognised women's right to hold property well before other legal codes. Less well-known are the very many female Muslim activists for gender equality, such as Zainah Anwar (founder of Sisters in Islam), Shirin Ebadi (Nobel peace prize-winning human-rights lawyer),<sup>29</sup> Mukhtar Ma'I (women's rights advocate) or Shamima Shaikh (Islamic feminist scholar).<sup>30</sup>

Muslim women campaigners have spearheaded successful campaigns to change domestic laws in Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, India, Tunisia, Morocco, Egypt, Turkey, Indonesia, Malaysia and other countries. Note that several states with Muslim-majorities or sizeable Muslim minorities have had one or more female heads of state: Pakistan, Bangladesh, Turkey, Indonesia, Kyrgyzstan, Senegal, Kosovo, Mali, Northern Cyprus, Mauritius, Singapore. Note that on this measure, these states are ahead of the USA, which has never had a female President.

In **India**, the controversial practice of Triple Talaq (the teaching that a man can divorce his wife by saying—or texting—"I divorce you" three times) has led to a narrative that Muslim men are uniquely or particularly uncaring and misogynistic. While technically legal in India, the practice was uncommon and viewed by many Muslim authorities as negative; individual stories of its occurrence tended to be widely reported. A legal case in 2017 led to India outlawing the practice, and while this was praised by most people across all communities (including senior Muslim scholars) in the run-up to this case and subsequently, much of the media narrative emphasised the idea that this was a common practice and was symptomatic of the misogynistic attitudes of Muslim men.

Similarly, Muslims are targeted as uniquely hostile to the lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) community due to alleged homophobic statements in the Quran. (These statements are interpreted differently by Islamic theologians; other religious texts such as the Jewish Torah and Christian Bible have also been interpreted in such a way.) In the **United States**, then Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump's grudging support for LGBT issues during the 2016 election campaign was often phrased in a manner that was predominantly about criticising Islam. He tweeted in June 2016: "Thank you to the LGBT community! I will fight for you while [Democratic presidential contender] Hillary [Clinton] brings in more people that will threaten your freedoms and beliefs."<sup>31</sup> Once more, this builds on the noxious idea that Islam is unique among global faiths in being without a spectrum of religious views.

It should be remembered that there is a rich Islamic tradition of absorbing diverse gender identities and expressions of sexuality. For example, verses of the Qur'an refer to asexual men and women, and hadiths (teachings attributed to the Prophet Muhammad) speak explicitly about hermaphrodites, i.e. people having genitals of both sexes, who might be known today as

those having the chromosomes XXY. The Ottoman caliphate was the first modern state to decriminalise homosexuality (in the 19th century, 1857) The hijras (eunuchs, transgender, hermaphrodites, “third sex”) of South Asia, including in the huge Muslim populations of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. The hijras of Pakistan even have a pir with a shrine, much like a “patron saint.”<sup>32</sup>

Characterising Islamic exegesis as totalitarian—assuming Muslims are solely incapable of liberal textual interpretation—remains perhaps a leading prejudice, which ignores the range of traditions and practice in Islam. In the case of civil rights for all, the idea that Muslims are uniquely homophobic, biphobic or transphobic is not only untrue and stigmatises an entire group; it also undermines the genuine fight against LGBT oppression. While organisations like Imaan (in the UK) or Muslim Progressive Voices (in the US) provide support for gay Muslims, it is clear that the interactions between the Muslim and LGBT communities are complex and diverse.<sup>33</sup> Many prominent Muslim thinkers and activists have aligned themselves with the struggle of the LGBT community. Examples include:

- In **Germany**, all Muslim members of parliament (MPs) voted in favour of same-sex marriage.<sup>34</sup>
- In **Indonesia**, Professor Siti Musdah Mulia teaches that the Quran celebrates sexual diversity.
- In **South Africa**, imam Muhsin Hendricks opened an inclusive mosque.<sup>35</sup>
- In **Iran**, even Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini decreed that sex reassignment is permissible.<sup>36</sup>

#### Trope 4: Muslims Are a Sexual Threat

One of the more outrageous anti-Muslim slanders to emerge in recent years is that they are especially prone to paedophilia. This is often rationalised through the notion of Muslims’ cultural ‘backwardness’ and their alleged tendency to be sexually perverse. Much of this thought derives from racist discourse that emerged during the colonial era and post-war immigration to Europe.

 **Geert Wilders**   
@geertwilderspvv



### The truth

**Muhammad is the example for more than 1 billion muslims**

**Muhammad was a pedophile, mass murderer, terrorist and maniac**



For example, in many countries where they were minorities, black people were typically stereotyped as having a voracious sexual appetite that they were unable to control.

Rather than the biological racism that underpinned claims of non-white sexual deviance, the link between paedophilia and Islam is often seen to be embedded in the Q’uran and the Prophet Mohammad’s relationship with his wife Aisha. This reading dates to at least *Sahih al-Bukhari*, a ninth-century prophetic tradition that narrated that Aisha was six years old when she married Mohammad and under ten when the marriage was consummated.<sup>37</sup> The authenticity of this hadith is hotly disputed by many contemporary Muslim scholars.<sup>38</sup> The point of this is that many critics of Islam then extend this to criticise all Muslims, suggesting that they are more likely to be sympathetic to child sexual abuse. For instance, anti-Muslim politicians in Europe, such as Geert Wilders in the Netherlands, have repeatedly claimed that Mohammad was “100% a paedophile”.<sup>39</sup> Gerard Batten, leader of the UK Independence Party, claimed at a rally in 2018 that Mohammad was a “paedophile who kept sex slaves”.<sup>40</sup>

There is also a social element to explain the proliferation of claims that Muslims are more likely to commit sex crimes against children. High-profile and shocking cases of child sexual exploitation in the **UK**, most notably in Rotherham, South Yorkshire, have come to national attention in recent years. The perpetrators were often found to be Asian men. In Rochdale, Greater Manchester, where nine men were convicted in 2012 of running a child sexual exploitation ring, eight were of Pakistani origin and the other Afghan. This has led to many commentators claiming that Asian men, particularly Muslim men, in Britain are uniquely predisposed to child sexual exploitation. The Labour MP for Rotherham, Sarah Champion, was forced to resign from her position as shadow minister for women and equalities for writing a highly provocative article in the *Sun* tabloid in which she argued that “Britain has a problem with British Pakistani men raping and exploiting white girls”.<sup>41</sup>

While this case and a number of related others represent an area of particular concern, the media’s choice to emphasise these cases while not reporting the much greater number of white paedophile criminals twists this narrative to carry an anti-Muslim message. The chief crown prosecutor responsible for bringing the case was Nazir Afzal, himself a Muslim, who commented that “there is no community where women and girls are not vulnerable to sexual attack and that’s a fact”.<sup>42</sup>

A different expression of prejudice about perceived sexual issues is found in the concerns about ‘love jihad’ in **India**.<sup>43</sup> This is a conspiracy theory that has been running since 2009, which asserts that young Muslim men use their attractiveness to ensnare impressionable young women from other communities, and ensure that they convert to Islam. Most of the invective about this has come from Hindu communities, but Christians, Sikhs and others have complained of it too. The compound threat implied in this story is that not only will those young women become Muslims, but they will also marry Muslims, and have Muslim babies.

Politicians from Hindu parties have returned to this trope on several occasions. Yogi Adityanath, the chief minister of Uttar Pradesh, stated, “Muslims can’t do what they want by force in India, so they are using the love jihad method here.”<sup>44</sup> An additional component was added to the narrative by the suggestion that young Muslim men were being promised substantial financial rewards for the successful execution of love jihad.<sup>45</sup> Although all investigations into this conspiracy theory have demonstrated that it is baseless, it has led to the establishment of police ‘anti-Romeo’ squads.<sup>46</sup> There have been violent attacks by self-styled vigilantes and even by police on both men and women who have relationships with partners of a different faith.<sup>47</sup>

This trope has also emerged in the narratives of anti-Muslim ideologues in **Myanmar**. As part of his attempt to justify the ‘defence’ of Buddhist identity in attacking Muslims, U Wirathu of the organisation 969 has stated, “We are being raped in every town, being sexually harassed in every town, being ganged up on and bullied in every town, in every town, there is a crude and savage Muslim majority.”<sup>48</sup>

### Trope 5: Muslims Are Extremists, Terrorists and/or a Security Threat

The notion that Muslims are extremists has been present for decades and was cemented in the public conscience in the West by events such as the 1979 Islamic Revolution in Iran and the Rushdie Affair in 1989. In the former case, the Western-backed shah of Iran was overthrown in a revolution led by Islamist radicals and a new theocratic constitution introduced to the country. In the latter, British Indian author Salman Rushdie became the subject of a fatwa (a religious edict) supported by the Iranian government after the publication of his novel *The Satanic Verses*, which was accused of being blasphemous. Violent reactions and protests across the world by Muslims who were offended by his novel forced Rushdie into hiding, and media coverage of the event gave succour to the idea that Muslims are prone to bouts of extreme violence.

For many young people today, it is the 11 September 2001 (9/11) terrorist attacks on the US, committed by an Islamist terrorist cell belonging to the al-Qaeda network, that link Islam with terrorism most acutely in the public conscience across Europe and North America. But it is important to realise that this perception has been around for a lot longer. Although the clear majority of the world’s Muslims denounced the attacks and showed solidarity with the victims, Muslims worldwide have become subjected to guilt by association with the most extreme and violent elements of the global Islamic community.

President Trump’s refusal to back down on his (provably false) assertions that he witnessed Muslim communities in New Jersey celebrating the 9/11 attacks is an excellent example of the power of this trope: the assertion that Muslims support terrorism is simply believable, even when it is proved not to be the case.<sup>49</sup> The rise in high-profile terrorist attacks by Islamist groups such as al-Qaeda and ISIS after 9/11, such as in Bali, London and Paris, as well as violent acts by ISIS in Iraq and Syria, and the media’s sharing of those acts, has continued to associate extreme political Islamism and jihadi violence with Muslims as a whole.

Hysterical coverage of security and terrorist issues by the media as well as the rhetoric of politicians have exploited the association of all Muslims with terrorism, further fuelling suspicion of would-be Islamist radicals. Another example comes from **UK** tabloid newspaper the *Sun*, which ran a wholly misleading headline in November 2015 claiming that “1 in 5 Brit Muslims’ [has] Sympathy for Jihadis”. In this case, the headline misinterpreted an opinion poll conducted by Survation. The *Sun* subsequently admitted the headline was “significantly misleading” after it was reported to the Independent Press Standards Organisation.<sup>50</sup>

In the **Central African Republic (CAR)**, an alliance of militia groups attempted to “ethnically cleanse” Muslims from the country, leading to what Amnesty International described as a “Muslim exodus of historic proportions”. The orchestrated violence against Muslims in the CAR was perpetrated by the Anti-Balaka alliance in retaliation to attacks by the mostly Muslim Seleka forces, including the burning and destruction of Christian villages. Muslim communities in the CAR were attacked not because of individuals’ active participation in committing atrocities, but for being guilty by association because they had the same faith as the Seleka.<sup>51</sup>

In the run-up to the 2016 **US** presidential election, presidential candidate, Donald Trump talked about Muslims, often relying on this trope to garner support for his policies. In 2015 he suggested that Syrian refugees should be banned from the US, as they might be a terrorist army in disguise.<sup>52</sup> He talked about implementing a register of Muslims in the US<sup>53</sup> to “defeat terrorism” and called for an end to Muslim immigration to the US.<sup>54</sup> He continued to perpetuate the same kind of narrative throughout the campaign.

The regime in **China** often justifies current internment of Uighurs as a solution to ‘terrorism’, identifying all Muslim Uighurs as *de facto* terrorists. Shohrat Zakir, chairman of the Government of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, articulated the government position as follows:

*Since the 1990s, the “three evil forces” (terrorism, extremism and separatism) in China and abroad have plotted, organised and conducted thousands of violent terrorist attacks, including bombings, assassinations, poisoning, arson, assaults, unrest and riots, causing the deaths of a large number of innocent people and hundreds of police officers, as well as immeasurable property damage. The horrific crimes of terrorists not only severely undermined the stable and peaceful order and the atmosphere of solidarity and progress of Xinjiang but also trampled on the essential human rights of people of all ethnic groups in the region, such as their rights to life, health, property and development. People of all ethnic groups in Xinjiang were enraged and shared hatred towards the terrorist crimes.*<sup>55</sup>

Several right-wing websites in **Australia** ran stories in 2018 lamenting the number of Muslim security guards employed in Western Australia.<sup>56</sup> A leaked list of licensed security guards was shared, purporting to demonstrate that there were more Muslim security guards licensed to carry guns in society than Muslims serving in the Australian defence force. This fact was



used to create a narrative of fear, particularly after the Bourke Street knife attacks in Melbourne in November. Many of these sites stated that armed Muslim security guards could not be trusted to intervene against an Islamist attacker and were in fact likely to participate in terrorist attacks too.

### Trope 6: Muslims Are Part of a Secret Plot to Undermine Other Cultures

Some of the most infamous conspiracy theories argue that the 1969 moon landings were faked, former US President John F. Kennedy was killed by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) or that 9/11 was an ‘inside job’ conducted by agents of the US government. Jews are often targeted in anti-Semitic conspiracies that hold that Jews control international finance, the actions of governments or, in some cases, the entire world. Conspiracy theories can fuel the narratives of radical and extreme politics by heightening existing xenophobia and usually seek to stigmatise certain groups.

The narratives of anti-Muslim hate are often related to the world of conspiracy theories. In addition, the apocalyptic and grotesque claims of conspiracy theories often lead people to commit violence and terrorism. Far-right terrorists, including Anders Behring Breivik, who killed 77 people in Norway in July 2011, are often firm believers in anti-Muslim conspiracy theories.

One significant impact of this trope is that majoritarian extremists outside government are likely to use it as a way of suggesting that they are the ones under attack—and that their anti-Muslim prejudice (and violence) is defensive. Organisations that are in fact extremist can therefore paint themselves as legitimate defenders of beleaguered cultures, under attack from a Muslim other. Thus, the same sort of language of defence (usually of culture, religion or identity) is found across the world from the UK (the English Defence League and Britain First) to India (the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and Bajrang Dal), Myanmar (969) and Sri Lanka (Bodu Bala Sena).<sup>57</sup>



The conspiracy theorist's flag of 'Eurabia'

One of the key fears of these groups is that increasing Muslim minorities will lead to an imposition of sharia law, described as a threatening, alien, religious law that will penalise non-Muslims, restrict their rights and impose Islam. In many countries with a large Muslim minority, sharia courts have been allowed to run alongside (but ultimately subordinate to) civil courts,

to determine matters in relation to specific religious rulings, particularly to do with marriage and divorce. Such an arrangement—often adopted to simplify communities' affairs—can be presented by anti-Muslim extremists as an attempt to subvert or replace existing legal frameworks.

The flag design below left is often presented in online debate as the flag of 'Eurabia', synthesising elements of both Islamic and European symbols. This conspiracy narrative has arisen in recent years suggesting malign actions by Muslims or Muslim-majority states, notably suggesting a covert plan for an 'Islamisation of Europe'. This conspiracy argues that there is a concerted attempt by elites in the European Union (EU) to impose Islam on Europe through mass immigration and sharia law, which seek to weaken Christian culture. The Eurabia theory was expounded in the 2005 book *Eurabia: The Euro-Arab Axis*, written by the far-right British-Jewish ideologue Bat Ye'or (the pen name of Gisèle Littman).

Politicians of the far right in Europe and beyond have often made claims derived from Ye'or's work that argue that demographic change and increasing Muslim populations in EU countries are part of a secret plan concocted by elites in the EU and Arab world. Wilders, leader of the far-right party that won the second-highest number of seats in the 2017 Dutch general election, argued in a speech to the Dutch parliament that “the Islamic incursion must be stopped. Islam is the Trojan Horse in Europe. If we do not stop Islamification now, Eurabia and Netherabia will just be a matter of time. One century ago, there were approximately 50 Muslims in the Netherlands. Today, there are about 1 million Muslims in this country. Where will it end? We are heading for the end of European and Dutch civilisation as we know it.”<sup>58</sup>

The same trope is central to the narrative of Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's government in Hungary. Orbán came to power on a strongly anti-immigrant narrative, which declared that the waves of migrants from the Middle East were nothing more than an invading army attempting to destroy European identity. The narrative of the PEGIDA<sup>59</sup> (Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the Occident) movement in Germany is another example of the use of this trope, portraying Muslim minorities as an invading culture and emphasising a sense of threat to the majority.

One particular conspiracy theory that gained momentum during Barack Obama's presidency of the United States argued that he is secretly a Muslim and was concealing his true faith from the public. 'Evidence' for this claim included the allegation that he swore the oath of office as a US senator in 2005 with a Qu'ran rather than a Bible and had spent years in a madrasa (a Muslim seminary) while living in Indonesia in his youth. Despite Obama publicly rebutting claims he was a Muslim, in 2010, a Pew Research poll found that 31 per cent of Republican voters and 10 per cent of Democrats believed this was the case.<sup>60</sup>

Clearly, the intention of the conspiracy theory was not solely to suggest that the president was lying; rather, by implying that Muslims have secret, malign intentions, the desired outcome was to delegitimise the idea of a Muslim becoming US president.

In 2015, shortly before the Republican presidential primary, candidate Ben Carson (who would become housing secretary in the Trump administration) argued that no Muslim should ever become president of the United States.

It is important to note that there are many examples of members of Muslim minority communities who have struggled for inclusive and open societies in the countries where they lived. These include Abul Kalam Azad, a salafi religious scholar and member of the Indian independence movement who supported Muslim engagement in the state of India. He became India's first Education Minister, and Mawlana Azad Day is still an annual holiday in India. The many Muslim heroes of the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa, to whom Nelson Mandela and many others have paid tribute include Ahmed Kathrada, and Farid Esack.<sup>61 62 63</sup>

## Helping Students Build Resilience Against Anti-Muslim Hatred

As with other forms of extremist narratives, it is vital to give students opportunities to explore and demolish these ideas. If teachers do not feel confident in addressing them, students will seek answers elsewhere and may often find themselves searching for understanding online but being presented with anti-Muslim ideas. Ultimately, the most important way of addressing prejudice is by creating classroom contexts that enable young people to explore and become comfortable with diversity of all kinds, while learning to critically evaluate their own cultural frames of reference.

There is evidence that participation in programmes like Generation Global, which uses dialogue to expose young people to difference, can have a positive impact on young people. We particularly recommend working through some of the classroom exercises in our “Dealing with Difficult Dialogue”<sup>64</sup> resource before working through challenging ideas with students.

If you are going to use a classroom dialogue to address issues, then consider some of the activities and approaches below, which use existing Generation Global resources.

### Questions to Clarify Understanding Before the Dialogue

The following preliminary questions aim to help students clarify their level of understanding before engaging in dialogue:

- Do students understand what is meant by a stereotype or trope and why they are dangerous?
- Do students understand the difference between criticising individual Muslims and the entire Muslim community?

- Can students identify anti-Muslim hate as a form of racism and/or prejudice when they see and hear it?
- Do students understand what a conspiracy theory is and why it is dangerous?

### Questions About Students' Own Experiences

The following exercises and questions aim to help students explore their own experiences of anti-Muslim hatred:

- Do the identity-wheel exercise on page 42 of “Essentials of Dialogue”. Have students share with one another how they would complete the statement “One thing I never want to hear again about being . . . is . . .”.
- Have students reflect on the danger of statements that start with “All . . . are . . .”.
- Have students reflect on whether they have ever been a victim of scapegoating personally or as part of a group to which they belong. What was said? How did it make them feel? What could be said in defence?
- Have students discuss their experiences of anti-Muslim hate. Where have students witnessed this? How did they feel when they saw or heard it?
- Have students explore religious freedom in their community. In this lesson taken from the Generation Global Article 18 resources<sup>65</sup>, students investigate how well respected the rights of minority religious and belief groups are in their schools and communities. This can be easily adapted to focus on Islam.
- To get students thinking about inclusivity and belonging to minority groups, we recommend the empathy activities and case-study exercises from the Generation Global Article 18 resources. In this lesson students do a simple class activity to get them thinking about fairness, then they look at some case studies taken from the US, Sudan, Pakistan, Eritrea and Kazakhstan.

To help students think about how critically they consume narratives, and their roles in disseminating and/or combating hateful narratives, we recommend lesson 4 from the Generation Global resources on the Power of Narrative.<sup>66</sup> There are activities to help students understand how they access information, whether they are in an information bubble, how to be part of the problem or part of the solution in propagating false narratives, and what appropriate responses are to hateful and damaging narratives.

- How have I learned about Islam and Muslims? What has influenced my opinions? If you want your students to spend time understanding how their opinions and values are shaped, whether they can see issues as complex rather than in simple binary terms and whether they can be critical about their sources and influences, then consider activities 1.5 “How Sure Am I?”, 1.6 “Black, White and Grey

In-Between” and/or 1.7 “The Good Ship My Opinions” in “Difficult Dialogue”.

- If you take part in the Generation Global school-dialogue programme, consider contacting us to book a videoconference with a school from a Muslim-majority country.
- If you were able to include a Muslim in your dialogue, what would you want to ask them?
- What ‘baggage’ am I bringing with me into this dialogue? Get students to be open and honest about their biases.

### Bigger Questions to Manage the Heat

The following broader questions aim to encourage students to think more widely about related issues:

- Why might people scapegoat?
- Do minority groups deserve the same protection as majority groups?
- Is Article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights important to you?
- Do you feel responsible for upholding the rights of others? Are there any limits to this?
- Do all human beings deserve to be treated equally? What values underpin your answer? When is it hard to apply these values?
- Why are some people prejudiced towards Muslims but not towards people of other religions?
- Why do politicians use anti-Muslim language?
- If you were (or are) a Muslim, how would you respond to anti-Muslim prejudice?
- How should society respond to anti-Muslim prejudice?

## Further Reading and Other Curriculum Responses

### News Articles

Beinart, Peter. “The Right’s Islamophobia Has Nothing to Do With National Security”. *Atlantic*, 30 November 2017. [www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2017/11/the-new-islamophobia/547130/](http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2017/11/the-new-islamophobia/547130/)

Ebbighausen, Rodion. “What drives Buddhist anti-Muslim feeling?”. Qantara, 2018. [en.qantara.de/content/islamophobia-in-asia-what-drives-buddhist-anti-Muslim-feeling?nopaging=1](http://en.qantara.de/content/islamophobia-in-asia-what-drives-buddhist-anti-Muslim-feeling?nopaging=1)

Various authors. “EU must get serious about tackling Islamophobia”. EurActiv, 6 July 2018. [www.euractiv.com/section/freedom-of-thought/opinion/eu-must-get-serious-about-tackling-islamophobia/](http://www.euractiv.com/section/freedom-of-thought/opinion/eu-must-get-serious-about-tackling-islamophobia/)

### Reports

Bayrakli, Enes, and Farid Hafez. “European Islamophobia Report”. SETA, 2017. [www.islamophobiaeurope.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/EIR\\_2017.pdf](http://www.islamophobiaeurope.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/EIR_2017.pdf)

“Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All”. Runnymede Trust, 1997. <https://www.runnymedetrust.org/companies/17/74/Islamophobia-A-Challenge-for-Us-All.html>

“Islamophobia: Still A Challenge for us all”. Runnymede Trust, 2017. <https://www.runnymedetrust.org/uploads/Islamophobia%20Report%202018%20FINAL.pdf>

### Books

Allen, Chris. *Islamophobia*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010.

Kazi, Nazia. *Islamophobia, Race, and Global Politics*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2018.

Morgan, George, and Scott Poynting (eds.). *Global Islamophobia: Muslims and Moral Panic in the West*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2012.

Pratt, Douglas, and Rachel Woodlock (eds.). *Fear of Muslims? International Perspectives on Islamophobia*. New York: Springer, 2016.

### Online Educational Resources

Fantastic, myth-busting and student-accessible videos from Average Mohamed (US): <https://www.averagemohamed.com/>

Teaching Tolerance, teaching against Islamophobia: <https://www.tolerance.org/classroom-resources/tolerance-lessons/countering-islamophobia>

Islamic Networks Group (US), an excellent range of resources for teaching Islam, including trained classroom speakers: <https://ing.org/>

Show Racism the red card (UK), Islamophobia resources: <https://www.theredcard.org/islamophobia-education-pack-resources/>

OIC information, to give a sense of the diversity of the Muslim-majority world - <https://www.worlddata.info/alliances/oic-organization-of-islamic-cooperation.php>

# Notes

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- 2 Poynting S. & Perry, B. *Climates of Hate: Media and State Inspired Victimisation of Muslims in Canada and Australia since 9/11*. In 'Current Issues in Criminal Justice, vol 19', 2007, published online 2018 at <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10345329.2007.12036423>. Also See the influential 2011 speech by Baroness Warsi lamenting 'that prejudice towards Muslims had "passed the dinner table test" and become socially acceptable', cited online at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-12240315> (all websites last accessed 22 Nov. 2018).
- 3 <https://www.politico.eu/article/with-anti-muslim-laws-france-denmark-europe-enters-new-dark-age/>
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- 5 <https://institute.global/sites/default/files/inline-files/Global%20Extremism%20Monitor%202017.pdf>
- 6 A short overview is provided by the "Introduction" to George Morgan and Scott Poynting, eds., *Global Islamophobia: Muslims and Moral Panic in the West* (Routledge, London: 2012), pp. 1-15. More recent, extensive analysis of these themes is provided by the fully 32 chapters comprising *The Routledge International Handbook of Islamophobia*, eds. Irene Zempi and Imran Awan (Routledge, London: 2019).
- 7 "Should we ban the Burqa", essay of 26 June, 2018, online at: <https://knightstemplarinternational.com/2018/06/should-we-ban-the-burqa/>
- 8 February 2013 speech by Ashen Wirathu, Myanmar. Online at <https://www.pri.org/stories/2013-03-27/myanmar-s-969-crusade-breeds-anti-Muslim-malice>
- 9 <https://www.britannica.com/event/Srebrenica-massacre>
- 10 <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-warcrimes-bosnia/bosnian-serb-leader-blames-muslims-for-preparing-for-war-idUSKBN13Y15S>
- 11 <https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/why-did-ratko-mladic-commit-genocide-against-bosnias-muslims>
- 12 <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/un-investigators-myanmar-latest-news-prosecuted-genocide-investigated-a8509466.html>
- 13 <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/rohingya-crisis>
- 14 For further discussion on this point, see Tariq Madood, "Muslims and the Politics of Difference, *The Political Quarterly* (2003), pp. 100-115; John Esposito John O. Voll, "Islam and the West", in Pavlos Hatzopoulos and Fabio Petito, eds, *Religion in International Relations. Culture and Religion in International Relations* (Palgrave Macmillan, New York: 2003); Nader Hashemi, *Islam, Secularism, and Liberal Democracy* (Oxford University Press, Oxford: 2009); and Jocelyne Cesari, *Shari'a and the future of secular Europe*", in Jocelyne Cesari, *Muslims in the West After 9/11: Religion, Politics and Law* (Routledge, Abingdon: 2010), pp. 145-175.
- 15 <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-45812419>
- 16 <https://yougov.co.uk/news/2016/02/19/tracker-islam-and-british-values/>.
- 17 <https://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4942328,00.html>.
- 18 <https://thewire.in/communalism/india-muslims-safest-enemy>
- 19 <https://in.reuters.com/article/india-protests/protests-held-across-india-after-attacks-against-muslims-idINKBN19J2C3>
- 20 <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jul/21/india-suspected-vigilantes-kill-muslim-man-transporting-cows>
- 21 <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/well-hang-those-who-kill-cows-chhattisgarh-cm-raman-singh/articleshow/57968197.cms>
- 22 <https://www.cagle.com/gary-mccoy/2014/09/obama-grows-isis> 12 September 2014.
- 23 <https://www.jihadwatch.org/2013/10/cultural-psychology-how-islam-managed-to-stay-medieval-for-1400-years>.
- 24 <https://twitter.com/RichardDawkins/status/365473573768400896?s=20>
- 25 <https://www.theguardian.com/science/2013/aug/08/richard-dawkins-twitter-row-muslims-cambridge>
- 26 <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/aug/08/richard-dawkins-tweets-islam-muslim-nobel>
- 27 [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/le-pen-rarely-mentions-gender-issues-unless-shes-talking-about-muslims/2017/04/27/2c9ab91c-1ef7-11e7-bb59-a74ccaf1d02f\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/le-pen-rarely-mentions-gender-issues-unless-shes-talking-about-muslims/2017/04/27/2c9ab91c-1ef7-11e7-bb59-a74ccaf1d02f_story.html)
- 28 <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/8225697/National-Fronts-Marine-Le-Pen-to-prove-formidable-rival-to-Nicolas-Sarkozy.html>.
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- 30 <https://shams.za.org/>
- 31 [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/powerpost/wp/2017/07/26/trumps-lgbt-supporters-defend-him-after-surprise-military-transgender-ban/?utm\\_term=.5a13ee54b4c0](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/powerpost/wp/2017/07/26/trumps-lgbt-supporters-defend-him-after-surprise-military-transgender-ban/?utm_term=.5a13ee54b4c0).
- 32 From the January 2003 issue of *World Press Review* (VOL. 50, No. 01), *Pakistan's Hijras: Feminine Soul, Masculine Body* - Renate Syed, *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (conservative), Zurich, Switzerland, Oct. 22, 2002. <https://www.worldpress.org/Asia/845.cfm>
- 33 <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jun/21/gay-lgbt-muslim-countries-middle-east>, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/feb/19/homophobia-homosexuality-traditional-african-culture>
- 34 <https://www.gaystarnews.com/article/mps-germany-muslim-voted-same-sex-marriage-equality/>
- 35 <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2017/05/gay-lgbt-mosque-imam-muhsin-hendricks/>
- 36 <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/the-ayatollah-and-the-transsexual-21867.html>
- 37 An early collection of Hadiths, or records of the actions of the Prophet Mohammad.
- 38 Shibli Nomani of India, Jasser Audah of Qatar and Muhammad Adil Salahi of UK/Saudi all deny its authenticity.
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- 42 <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2012/may/09/rochdale-grooming-trial-race>



- 43 <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/religion/6316966/Handsome-Muslim-men-accused-of-waging-love-jihad-in-India.html>
- 44 <https://www.wsj.com/articles/hindu-activists-in-india-warn-women-to-beware-of-love-jihad-1409874089>
- 45 <https://indianexpress.com/article/india/politics/bjp-unnao-mp-sakshi-maharaj-claims-madrasas-offering-cash-rewards-for-love-jihad/>
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- 48 <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/apr/18/buddhist-monk-spreads-hatred-burma>
- 49 [https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/donald-trump-911\\_us\\_565b1950e4b08e945feb7326](https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/donald-trump-911_us_565b1950e4b08e945feb7326)
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- 51 <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2014/02/central-african-republic-ethnic-cleansing-sectarian-violence/>
- 52 [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-politics/wp/2015/09/30/donald-trump-syrian-refugees-might-be-a-terrorist-army-in-disguise/?utm\\_term=.90afde2d71dc](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-politics/wp/2015/09/30/donald-trump-syrian-refugees-might-be-a-terrorist-army-in-disguise/?utm_term=.90afde2d71dc)
- 53 <https://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/article/2015/nov/24/donald-trumps-comments-database-american-muslims/>
- 54 <https://www.nbcnews.com/video/donald-trump-calls-for-total-shutdown-of-muslims-entering-us-581989443858>
- 55 [http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2018-10/16/c\\_137535720.htm](http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2018-10/16/c_137535720.htm)
- 56 <https://www.islam4infidels.com/who-is-guarding-us/> This site manages to combine Anti-Muslim and Anti-Semitic content in this single article.
- 57 <https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/hindus-deserve-respect-because-they-are-natives-invaded-by-muslims-rss-leader-1402654-2018-12-05>; <https://www.telegraphindia.com/culture/sinhalese-monks-unleash-a-new-brand-of-nationalism-in-sri-lanka/cid/1676393>
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- 60 <https://www.politico.com/story/2010/08/31-in-gop-believe-obama-is-muslim-041248>.
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