

Appendices

1.1 Appendix 1

1. Anonymous 1
2. Anonymous 2
3. Anonymous 3
4. Anonymous 4
5. Anonymous 5
6. Anonymous 6
7. Anonymous 7
8. Anonymous 8
9. Anonymous 9
10. Anonymous 10
11. Anonymous 11
12. Mumtaz Abdillah, Helping Households Under Great Stress
13. Pav Akhtar, National Union of Students, Labour party
14. Nadjie Al-Ali, Act Together
15. Entesar Alobady, Women for an Independent Iraq
16. Anas Altikriti, Former spokesperson MAB, Director Cordoba Foundation
17. Moazzam Begg, Cageprisoners
18. Naima Bouteldja, Stop the War Coalition, Just Peace, Red Pepper
19. Victoria Brittain, Stop the War Coalition, Cageprisoners
20. Ruqayyah Collector, NUS, Respect, Stop the War Coalition
21. Lindsey German, Convenor Stop the War Coalition
22. Shamiul Joarder, Stop the War Coalition, Friends of Al-Aqsa, Muslim Association of Britain, British Muslim Initiative
23. Ghada Karmi, Palestinian activist and author
24. Ismail Patel, Friends of Al-Aqsa
25. Asad Rehman, Inquest, Stop the War Coalition, Newham Monitoring Project
26. Yvonne Ridley, Respect: the Unity Coalition, Stop the War Coalition
27. Zimarina Sarwar, Cageprisoners
28. Tahrir Swift, Women for an Independent Iraq
29. Shahedah Vawda, City Circle, Stop the War Coalition, Just Peace
30. Hilary Wainwright, Feminist, *Red Pepper* magazine

1.2 Focus group participants

Name (pseudonym)	Organization/Affiliation	Forms of political activism
Amal	Muslim Council of Britain	Protests/street demonstrations, political meetings, student union politics
Halima	Muslim Council of Britain	Protests/street demonstrations, political meetings, blogging, electoral canvassing, students union politics
Rania	Muslim Council of Britain	Protests/street demonstrations, political meetings, student electoral union politics
Maryam	Palestine student society/ Stop the War Coalition student society	Student occupations, political meetings, student union electoral politics, protests/street demonstrations
Sofia	Palestine student society/ Stop the War Coalition student society	Student occupations, political meetings, student union electoral politics, protests/street demonstrations
Sheenaz	Palestine student society/ Stop the War Coalition student society	Student occupations, political meetings, student union electoral politics, protests/street demonstrations
Taleh	Palestine student society/ Stop the War Coalition student society	Student occupations, political meetings, student union electoral politics, protests/street demonstrations
Darya	Middle Eastern society	Political meetings, protests/street demonstrations
Derifa	Middle Eastern society	Political meetings, protests/street demonstrations
Kamilah	Middle Eastern society	Political meetings, protests/street demonstrations
Soumaya	Middle Eastern society	Political meetings, protests/street demonstrations
Fatima	Islamic student society	Student occupations, political meetings, student union politics, protests/street demonstrations
Nasira	Islamic student society	Student occupations, political meetings, protests/street demonstrations
Uzra	Islamic student society	Student occupations, political meetings, protests/street demonstrations
Zahra	Islamic student society	Student occupations, political meetings, protests/street demonstrations

Notes

2 Identity Politics and Social Movements

1. Nilufer Gole (2011) claims that, rather than differentiating between first or second wave feminism, it makes more sense to consider the key differentiation between 'egalitarian' and 'difference' feminism. While she was mainly describing the French feminist movement, this claim also makes sense in the British and American context as well.
2. Increasingly, however, a new mode of identity politics is emerging that seeks to 'deconstruct' identity altogether; influenced by poststructural critiques of a unified subject, such perspectives seek to develop a political strategy that opposes forms of oppression yet does not valorize differences at the same time (Hall, 1996).
3. For a detailed account of the diversity of liberal feminism see Tong (1989); for a critique see Jaggar (1983), Scheman (1983), for a defence see Wendall (1987).
4. The US women's movement of the 1960s and 1970s can be differentiated by two strands: a liberal branch that was focused on rights and a radical branch focused on liberation that sought to challenge the patriarchal values (Freeman, 1975). The liberal branch consisted of national, formal organizations, such as National Organization for Women (NOW), hierarchically organized and using institutionalized legal tactics that pursued equal rights for women. The radical branch emerged later in the 1960s out of the New Left organizations and civil rights movements. The radical branch adopted a decentralized network of informal organization, which used more disruptive tactics with a focus on a fundamental transformation of patriarchal structures and values (Taylor and Whittier, 1992: 107). British feminism was influenced more by socialist politics and the trade union movement, and the tensions in Britain arose between Marxist and socialist inspired feminism and radical feminism (see Rowbotham et al., 1979).
5. In the American context, scholars sought to explain the emergence of a particular social movement on the basis of changes in the institutional structure or informal power relations of a given national political system. In Europe comparative work has been done on the cross-national differences in the structure, extent, and success of comparable movements on the basis of differences in political characteristics of nation states within the political environments in which they take place (McAdam et al., 1996: 3).

3 Background: Muslim Political Mobilizations in Britain

1. Following the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000.
2. Sikhs became recognized as ethnic groups under the Race Relations Act 1976 following an extension made to the act after a ruling in the House of Lords in the case of *Mandla v Dowell-Lee*, in 1982. In this case a Sikh school pupil

filed a case of racial discrimination after being refused admission to an independent school in Birmingham unless he took off his Turban and cut his hair in accordance with the school's uniform policy. In their ruling, that this was a case of racial discrimination, the House of Lords set out what they considered several characteristics that defined ethnic groups including: essential characteristics of long shared history of group consciousness and memory, cultural traditions, as well as other relevant characteristics such as common geographical origins or descent from common ancestors, or a common language, literature or religion (see Meer, 2008). No other religious group has subsequently been recognized as a racial group; Jews have never had to prove they were a racial group, it has always been assumed to be the case by parliament, the courts and public opinion (Modood, 2009b: 488).

3. The duty also covers the following characteristics: age, gender reassignment, pregnancy and maternity, sex and sexual orientation, and race.
4. The tensions between feminism and anti-racism continued well into the 1990s. Across the Atlantic, these debates were framed through concerns over a problematic dynamic between multiculturalism and feminism. Susan Moller Okin, an American feminist scholar wrote an article with the provocative title: 'Is multiculturalism bad for women?' She made the argument that there exists a basic contradiction between multiculturalism and women's rights. She noted that most cultures are suffused with gendered practices and ideologies that disadvantage women relative to men. Hence any policy that protects the cultural rights of minorities will ultimately disadvantage the women within those minorities. More controversially, she asserted that some cultures are more patriarchal than others, and as such some women would be 'better off' if the cultures were to become extinct' (1999: 22; see also Okin, 1994: 8). This gave way to a series of debates about the nature and degree of compatibility between multiculturalism and feminism (for a critique of Okin see Kukathas, 2001; Kymlicka, 1999; Phillips, 2007; Shachar, 2001).
5. Furthermore, the MCB decision to boycott Holocaust Memorial Day between 2005 and 2007 was a key source of disagreement between the government and the MCB.
6. Available at http://image.guardian.co.uk/sys-files/Guardian/documents/2009/03/23/blears__letter.pdf (accessed 3 December 2014).
7. For example, Enough Coalition, 21 May 2011.
8. House of Commons Home Affairs Committee, 'Project CONTEST: The Government's Counter-Terrorism Strategy: Ninth Report of Session 2008–2009', 7 July 2009, Ev 2009.
9. A second question this raises is, where does this leave British multiculturalism? There have been various pronouncements of the death of multiculturalism (Joppke, 2004; McGhee, 2008). More optimistic accounts suggest a shift towards civic integrationism (Meer and Modood, 2009), while others claim a move from (liberal) multiculturalism towards a liberal anti-Muslim racism (Kundnani, 2007; Sivanadan, 2006). This is not seen to be solely a by-product of the 'War on Terror' but is traced back to community cohesion policies (Cantle, 2001) – a policy response to the urban unrest in several northern towns in the summer of 2001, which shifted the focus away from cultural pluralism towards promoting, shared values of British identity.

Others have argued that there is an inherent contradiction in the overlapping policies of community cohesion and Prevent (Husband and Alam, 2011). On the one hand, community cohesion sought to promote shared values and Britishness but at the same time Prevent, at least in its initial conception, focused solely on Muslim communities as potentially at risk of extremism (Alam and Husband, 2011; McGhee, 2008).

10. Mosques and Imams National Advisory Board was another Prevent-funded initiative to create a regulatory board to raise standards within Mosques. The founding members of the board were: Muslim Council of Britain, Al-Khoei Foundation, British Muslim Forum and Muslim Association of Britain (O'Toole et al., 2013: 22; <http://www.minab.org.uk>).

4 The Anti-War Movement: New Alliances, Old Challenges?

1. Interview Anas Altikriti, 2009 on file with author; interview Lindsey German, 2009 on file with author.
2. Interview Lindsey German on file with author
3. BBC, 'Protesters stage anti-war rally', 28 September 2002 http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/2285861.stm.
4. Moazzam Begg, 2009 interview on file with author.
5. Interview Lindsey German on file with author; Interview Shahedah Vawda on file with author.
6. Interview Zimarina Sarwar on file with author; Interview Shamiul Joarder on file with author, Interview Mumtaz Abdillah on file with author.
7. Respect stood for Respect, Equality, Socialism, Peace, Environmentalism, Community and Trade Unionism.
8. Although George Monbiot later resigned from Respect over a disagreement about the electoral strategy towards the Green Party. The majority within Respect decided to stand against the Greens in certain seats.
9. Interview Yvonne Ridley on file with author, Interview Ruqayyah Collector on file with author.
10. Women Living Under Muslim Laws.

5 Opposing Movements and Islamophobia in *The Guardian* Comment Is Free

1. www.guardian.co.uk/comment.
2. www.guardian.co.uk/comment.
3. Many websites allow for interactivity, The Pew Research Center estimates that 90% of weblogs allow readers to respond; therefore allowing participation and providing space to mediate across different actors (Lenhart and Fox, 2006: 20).
4. For example, Polly Toynbee, Martin Kettle, Jackie Ashley and Jonathan Freedland.
5. See Lloyd, J. (2006) 'Time to part', *The Guardian*, 14 April; Johnson, A. (2008) 'The Euston Moment', *The Guardian*, 21 April; Norman Geras (2006) 'The Euston Manifesto'; Cohen, N. (2003) 'The left's unholy alliance with religious bigotry', 23 February 2003.

6. This meant that they were re-defining what constitutes the 'left' to include: (1) A critique of 'totalitarian' (Muslim) regimes 'no apology for tyranny': 'We decline to make excuses for, to indulgently "understand", reactionary regimes and movements for which democracy is a hated enemy' (Geras, Euston Manifesto, 2006); (2) A critique of Islamic terrorism, as they claimed: 'Terrorism inspired by Islamist ideology is widespread today' (Geras, Euston Manifesto, 2006); and (3) Anti-Zionism is a 'concealed form of antisemitism'.
7. Alibhai-Brown, Y. (2006) 'Playing the oppression game', *The Guardian*, 22 November 2006.
8. Butt, H. (2007) 'My plea to fellow Muslims: you must renounce terror', *The Observer*, 1 July 2007.
9. Bright, M. (2006) 'Right showing the way on radical Islam', *The Observer*, 30 July 2006.
10. Murray, A. (2006) 'Empire and Resistance to it', *The Guardian*, 26 August 2006.
11. Murray, A. (2006) 'Euston, you have a problem', *The Guardian*, 18 April 2006.
12. Husain, E. (2007) 'With God on their side?' *The Guardian*, 27 June 2007.

6 'Talking Back' to the Gendered 'War on Terror'

1. Injustice framing refers to the process of identifying a form of injustice that needs rectifying; it is a moral indignation about a social condition that has caused some form of collective harm or suffering. Agency framing refers to the process of identifying the type of action perceived as necessary to overcome the injustice. Identity framing refers to the process of defining an appropriate 'we' who can bring about the necessary change (Gamson, 1992: 7-8).
2. The Guardian, Tuesday 31 March 2009, available at <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/mar/31/hamid-karzai-afghanistan-law> (accessed 15 April 2012).

7 Towards an Oppositional Consciousness?

1. Available at <http://www.asharq-e.com/news.asp?section=2&id=1043> (accessed 15 April 2012).
2. For example, the student occupation at the London School of Economics was successful in securing many of these demands, see <http://lseoccupation.blogspot.co.uk/2009/01/press-release-lse-occupation-ends-in.html>.
3. The Guardian, Monday 13 February 2006, available at <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2006/feb/13/muhammadcartoons.comment> (accessed 15 April 2012).
4. The Guardian, 10 February 2006, available at <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2006/feb/10/religion.muhammadcartoons> (accessed 15 April 2012).
5. Umma refers to global community of Muslims.
6. The belief in the Illuminati is a conspiracy theory. The Illuminati are claimed to be a secret organization that control world events, in the aim to establish a New World Order.

8 Conclusion

1. In the General Election of 2010, Respect did not successfully re-elect another MP in the Bethnal Green and Bow constituency (where George Galloway had previously held a seat), and George Galloway, who stood in a neighbouring constituency of Poplar and Limehouse also failed to get elected. During that same election Respect also lost most local council seats. However, a more recent development saw Respect elect George Galloway as an MP in the constituency of Bradford West in a by-election held on 28 March 2012. Yet, again he lost that seat in the General Election in 2015.
2. In the interviews with Lindsey German, Ruqayyah Collector, Asad Rahman Hilary Wainwright and one anonymous interviewee, participants gave a variety of reasons for the Respect split, questioning the political perspectives of individual leaders, organizational sectarianism, and pressure felt particularly by Muslim activists following government response to 7 July terrorist attacks.
3. The split emerged between the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the main leftist political group involved in the coalition, and non-SWP leaders of the coalition including George Galloway and Salma Yaqoob. The majority of Muslim activists were found on the non-SWP side. The SWP side of the split accused the other of 'communalism' and pandering to 'community leaders' (Harman, 2007), which provoked charges of Islamophobia in response (Yaqoob, 2008).
4. BBC, 'Angry protest outside US embassy', 3 January 2009 <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/7809656.stm>; Lipsett, A and Benjamin, A (2009) 'Storm of student protest over Gaza gathers force' *The Guardian*, 23 January 2009 <http://www.guardian.co.uk/education/2009/jan/23/student-protests-gaza>; Khomami, N and Johnston, C (2014) 'Gaza protests: rallies in the UK and around the world call for end to conflict' *The Guardian* 9 August 2014 <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/aug/09/gaza-protest-march-london-raise-funds-victims-conflict-israel-palestine>.

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