

*Palgrave Politics of Identity and Citizenship Series*

Series Editors: **Varun Uberoi**, Brunel University, UK, **Nasar Meer**, University of Strathclyde, UK and **Tariq Modood**, University of Bristol, UK

The politics of identity and citizenship has assumed increasing importance as our polities have become significantly more culturally, ethnically and religiously diverse. Different types of scholars, including philosophers, sociologists, political scientists and historians, make contributions to this field and this series showcases a variety of innovative contributions to it. Focusing on a range of different countries, and utilizing the insights of different disciplines, the series helps to illuminate an increasingly controversial area of research and titles in it will be of interest to a number of audiences including scholars, students and other interested individuals.

*Titles include:*

Parveen Akhtar

BRITISH MUSLIM POLITICS

Examining Pakistani Biraderi Networks

Heidi Armbruster and Ulrike Hanna Meinhof (*editors*)

NEGOTIATING MULTICULTURAL EUROPE

Borders, Networks, Neighbourhoods

Peter Balint and Sophie Guérard de Latour

LIBERAL MULTICULTURALISM AND THE FAIR TERMS OF INTEGRATION

Fazila Bhimji

BRITISH ASIAN MUSLIM WOMEN, MULTIPLE SPATIALITIES AND COSMOPOLITANISM

Rosi Braidotti, Bolette Blaagard, Tobijn de Graauw and Eva Midden

TRANSFORMATIONS OF RELIGION AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE

Postsecular Publics

Bridget Byrne

MAKING CITIZENS

Public Rituals, Celebrations and Contestations of Citizenship

Jan Dobbernack

THE POLITICS OF SOCIAL COHESION IN GERMANY, FRANCE AND THE UNITED

KINGDOM

Jan Dobbernack and Tariq Modood (*editors*)

TOLERANCE, INTOLERANCE AND RESPECT

Hard to Accept?

Romain Garbaye and Pauline Schnapper (*editors*)

THE POLITICS OF ETHNIC DIVERSITY IN THE BRITISH ISLES

Nisha Kapoor, Virinder Kalra and James Rhodes (*editors*)

THE STATE OF RACE

Peter Kivisto and Östen Wahlbeck (*editors*)

DEBATING MULTICULTURALISM IN THE NORDIC WELFARE STATES

Dina Kiwan (*editor*)

NATURALIZATION POLICIES, EDUCATION AND CITIZENSHIP

Multicultural and Multi-Nation Societies in International Perspective

Aleksandra Lewicki

SOCIAL JUSTICE THROUGH CITIZENSHIP?

The Politics of Muslim Integration in Germany and Great Britain

Aleksandra Maatsch  
ETHNIC CITIZENSHIP REGIMES  
Europeanization, Post-War Migration and Redressing Past Wrongs

Narzanin Massoumi  
MUSLIM WOMEN, SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND THE 'WAR ON TERROR'

Derek McGhee  
SECURITY, CITIZENSHIP AND HUMAN RIGHTS  
Shared Values in Uncertain Times

Tariq Modood and John Salt (*editors*)  
GLOBAL MIGRATION, ETHNICITY AND BRITISHNESS

Nasar Meer  
CITIZENSHIP, IDENTITY AND THE POLITICS OF MULTICULTURALISM  
The Rise of Muslim Consciousness

Ganesh Nathan  
SOCIAL FREEDOM IN A MULTICULTURAL STATE  
Towards a Theory of Intercultural Justice

Therese O'Toole and Richard Gale  
POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT AMONGST ETHNIC MINORITY YOUNG PEOPLE  
Making a Difference

Timothy Peace  
EUROPEAN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND MUSLIM ACTIVISM  
Another World but with Whom?

Momin Rahman  
HOMOSEXUALITIES, MUSLIM CULTURES AND IDENTITIES

Michel Seymour (*editor*)  
THE PLURAL STATES OF RECOGNITION

Katherine Smith  
FAIRNESS, CLASS AND BELONGING IN CONTEMPORARY ENGLAND

Paul Thomas  
YOUTH, MULTICULTURALISM AND COMMUNITY COHESION

Milton Vickerman  
THE PROBLEM OF POST-RACIALISM

Eve Hepburn and Ricard Zapata-Barrero  
THE POLITICS OF IMMIGRATION IN MULTI-LEVEL STATES  
Governance and Political Parties

---

**Palgrave Politics of Identity and Citizenship Series**  
**Series Standing Order ISBN 978-0-230-24901-1 [hardback]**  
(*outside North America only*)

You can receive future titles in this series as they are published by placing a standing order. Please contact your bookseller or, in case of difficulty, write to us at the address below with your name and address, the title of the series and the ISBN quoted above.

Customer Services Department, Macmillan Distribution Ltd, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS, England

---

# Muslim Women, Social Movements and the 'War on Terror'

Narzanin Massoumi

*University of Bath, UK*

palgrave  
macmillan



© Narzanin Massoumi 2015

Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 2015 978-1-137-35564-5

All rights reserved. No reproduction, copy or transmission of this publication may be made without written permission.

No portion of this publication may be reproduced, copied or transmitted save with written permission or in accordance with the provisions of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, or under the terms of any licence permitting limited copying issued by the Copyright Licensing Agency, Saffron House, 6–10 Kirby Street, London EC1N 8TS.

Any person who does any unauthorized act in relation to this publication may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

The author has asserted her right to be identified as the author of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

First published 2015 by  
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

Palgrave Macmillan in the UK is an imprint of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of St Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

Palgrave® and Macmillan® are registered trademarks in the United States, the United Kingdom, Europe and other countries.

ISBN 978-1-349-56721-8 ISBN 978-1-137-35565-2 (eBook)

DOI 10.1057/9781137355652

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources. Logging, pulping and manufacturing processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Massoumi, Narzanin, 1982–

Muslim women, social movements and the 'war on terror' / Narzanin Massoumi, University of Bath, UK.

pages cm. — (Palgrave politics of identity and citizenship series)

1. Muslim women—Great Britain. 2. Social movements—Great Britain. 3. War on Terrorism, 2001–2009. I. Title.

HQ1170.M3765 2015

305.48/697041—dc23

2015014915

*For Dylan and Skye*



# Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	viii
1 Introduction	1
2 Identity Politics and Social Movements	11
3 Background: Muslim Political Mobilizations in Britain	36
4 The Anti-War Movement: New Alliances, Old Challenges?	51
5 Opposing Movements and Islamophobia in <i>The Guardian</i> Comment Is Free	76
6 ‘Talking Back’ to the Gendered ‘War on Terror’	100
7 Towards an Oppositional Consciousness?	124
8 Conclusion	154
<i>Appendices</i>	159
<i>Notes</i>	161
<i>Bibliography</i>	166
<i>Index</i>	180

# Acknowledgements

A good friend once told me that writing a book was like having a baby. I decided to put that theory to the test by having not one but two children during the course of writing this book. The conclusion: my friend was definitely wrong – writing a book is much harder!

This inevitably means that I must thank all the people who helped in one way or another to free up my time to write this book. I am very grateful to my family, especially my mum and dad, Kay and Alan, Naz, Julie and Anna, who all did a fair stint of babysitting to make writing this book possible. Tom, Dylan and Skye – my apologies as well as my thanks – for my absence during the writing process.

Thank you to Tariq Modood for the vision and Paul Statham for the rigour! A thank you also to Therese O’Toole and Anna Triandafyllidou whose input on an earlier draft of this manuscript was very helpful in moving this forward.

Finally, an extra special thank you to my interviewees who gave up their time to participate in this study, many of whom encouraged participation from others and acted as advocates for my research.