Racialization of Muslim-American Women in Public and Private Spaces:

An Analysis of their Racialized Identity and Strategies of Resistance

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this research project is to investigate how Muslim-American undergraduate women experience racialization in public and private spaces, examine whether those experiences give rise to a racialized identity, and highlight how they resist and cope with their racialization. The recent application of the term racialization to discuss the Muslim experience in the west has encouraged scholars such as Leon Moosavi, Saher Selod, Mythili Rajiva, Ming H. Chen and others, to engage in critical discourse within the scholarship of race and ethnicity regarding this often-neglected population. It is due to the unique, and gendered relationship that the female Muslim-American population has with the United States, particularly as a result of 9/11 and the label of 'oppressed' being imposed upon them, that it is important to comprehend how specifically Muslim-American women experience racialization. While these studies have broadened the understanding of how Muslims are, and continue to be othered, few studies have focused on the specific areas within public and private spaces where this marginalized group is racialized. Using qualitative methods in the form of interviews with Muslim-American undergraduate women at a southeast university in the United States, this study attempts to fill this gap in existing research by examining how peers, mass media, educational institutions, law enforcement, family, and religious communities racialize Muslim-American women, and how these gendered experiences shape their racialized sense of self. In doing so, it also examines the impact of religious, racial, ethnic and cultural signifiers on the female Muslim-American

experience of racialization, and demonstrates how these women employ certain strategies of resistance and coping mechanisms to deal with their racialization. This study finds that participants do in fact, experience racialization in both public and private spaces. Within public spaces, participants reported experiencing the most othering in the media and in educational institutions, with the least in their neighborhoods. In private spaces, participants reported experiencing the most othering at the hands of the family and their religious communities, with the least othering by their peers. This study also finds that as a result of their racialized experiences, participants do possess a sense of the self as the Other, albeit this changes according to the different spaces they occupy.

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GENERAL AUDIENCE ABSTRACT

The aim of this research project is to investigate how Muslim-American undergraduate women specifically experience racialization in public and private spaces, examine whether those experiences give rise to their sense of self as the other, and highlight how they resist and cope with their experiences of racialization. The term racialization, understood by Barot and Bird (2010) as a process that ascribes physical and cultural differences to an individual or group(s) in order to define the other, has only recently been applied to understand and discuss the Muslim experience in the west. Due to the unique relationship that the Muslim female population has with the United States, particularly as a result of 9/11, and the label of 'oppressed' being imposed upon them, it is important to understand how specifically Muslim-American women experience racialization. While previous studies on racialization have broadened the understanding of how Muslims are, and continue to be othered, few studies have focused on the specific areas within public and private spaces where this marginalized group experiences racialization. This study attempts to fill this gap in existing research by examining how peers, mass media, educational institutions, law enforcement, family, and religious communities racialize Muslim-American women, and how these gendered experiences shape their sense of self as the other. In doing so, it also examines the impact of religious, racial, ethnic and cultural signifiers on the female Muslim-American experience of racialization, and demonstrates how these women employ certain strategies of resistance and coping mechanisms to deal with their

racialization. This study finds that participants do in fact, experience othering in both public and private spaces. Within public spaces, participants reported experiencing the most othering in the media and in educational institutions, with the least in their neighborhoods. In private spaces, participants reported experiencing the most othering at the hands of the family and their religious communities, with the least othering by their peers. This study also finds that as a result of their racialized experiences, participants do possess a sense of self as the Other, albeit this changes according to the different spaces they occupy.

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this research is to study how Muslim-American women experience racialization in public and private spaces, and whether these experiences give rise to a racialized identity. It also seeks to understand how these women resist and cope with their racialization in order to deal with their experiences and prevent instances of future othering. The recent application of the term racialization to discuss the Muslim experience in the west has begun to encourage scholars such as Leon Moosavi, Saher Selod, Mythili Rajiva, Ming H. Chen and others to engage in critical discussion within the scholarship of race and ethnicity regarding this oft neglected population. Scholars have investigated the racialization of Muslims in the context of their representation in western media (Hebbani and Wills 2012), their experiences with Islamophobia (Moosavi 2015, Galonnier 2015), and the development of racialized selves (Rajiva 2006). These studies have been conducted in the U.S., the UK and France, and provide a broader understanding of the ways in which Muslims are racialized in the West on the basis of social, national and historical contexts. It is due to the unique relationship that the Muslim-American population has with the United States, particularly as a result of 9/11, that it is important to comprehend how specifically Muslim-Americans within the U.S. experience racialization. While previous studies on racialization have focused on the experiences of both Muslim men and women, I find it particularly important to pay close attention to the experiences of Muslim women, due to their visible presence in society as a result of wearing the hijab. In order to study their experiences of racialization, it is important to focus on the specific areas within public (community, peers, media, etc.) and private (family, religious, friends, etc.) spaces that give rise to these experiences. While the hybrid nature of the Muslim-American identity has been discussed at length in previous literature (Marotta 2008, Mishra and Shirazi 2010, Ali 2011, Stubbs and Sallee 2013), the question

remains as to whether the racialized experiences of Muslims facilitate the development of a racialized sense of self. Data for this research was collected through qualitative, semi-structured interviews using a sample consisting of six undergraduate Muslim-American female students at Virginia Tech.

Although race scholarship in the U.S. has primarily engaged in a black/white paradigm, issues such as immigration and terrorism have exacerbated the need to include other racialized minorities and ethnic groups within critical discussion. Most recently, scholars such as Saher Selod (2013), David G. Embrick (2013), Steve Garner (2015) and Ming H. Chen (2010) have attempted to situate an understanding of the Muslim experience within a U.S. context of race and ethnicity. These scholars have applied the term 'racialization' to conceptualize how Muslims understand their position within the U.S. and construct racial meanings and identities in the process of being othered. For the purpose of this project, I will be using Barot and Bird's (2010) definition of racialization as a process that ascribes physical and cultural differences to an individual or group(s) in order to define the other. Rather than constraining the understanding of the term race to phenotypic differences, the word *racialization* allows for a more nuanced, fluid and holistic understanding of race that encompasses other differences such as social class and religion. As such, this process not only links a group or individuals to a racial category, but also allows for their experiences to be understood in racial terms. Garner and Selod (2015) argue that the process of racialization view characteristics considered to be *inherent* to members of a group (such as skin color, religion, language, etc.) to be the basis of defining a group as a racial category.

Moustafa Bayoumi (2006) uses immigration cases and historical accounts to claim that religion has become raced within the U.S., especially for followers of Islam. He argues that religion has played a large role in the cases of "immigrants seeking naturalization in the United States,"

(278) often preceding the importance of appearance and race. Bayoumi (2006) further argues that it is also through one's blood relationship to Islam that legal barriers are established, transforming Muslims into a single, homogenized, racial category (278). U.S. politicians have taken advantage of the public's lingering fears of terrorism and ignorance of Muslims post 9/11 and consistently use the label of Muslim as a racial category in order to advance their political agendas. The politicization of Islam results in the conflation of Islamophobia and racism, thereby essentializing Muslims as the Other.

Joshi (2006) notes that the racialization of religion has located religious groups other than Muslims, such as Hindus and Sikhs within the social strata of U.S. society. He emphasizes that historical and current events have placed each group in a unique position, where Muslims are located as "the dangerous other," Sikhs as "the strange other," and Hindus as "the exotic yet safe other" (217). Despite their seemingly unique positions, South Asian-American Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims share phenotypical and cultural markers such as their "brown skin, brown or black hair and round… eyes," and traditional clothing such as the shalwar-kameez, hijab, bindhi (forehead dot worn by Hindu women), the dastaar (turban), etc. (Joshi 2006: 214). In the current sociopolitical climate these markers result in a lumping of these racial/religious categories whereby these groups are racialized through the specific association between brown skin and Muslim beliefs. Joshi recognizes that "Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and even South Asian-American Christians have been targets of anti-Muslim violence because their brown skin becomes a proxy for 'Muslim' in the American eye" (2006, 219). The increase of racially motivated hate crimes against these groups post-9/11, and the misidentification of Sikhs and Hindus as Muslim indicates very clearly that Sikhism and Hinduism are not themselves racialized, rather the racialization of Islam, and the association of brown skin with being Muslim, results in the victimization of their

members. Grosfoguel and Mielants (2006) explore the ways in which Islamophobia has manifested as cultural racism and orientalism from a world-historical perspective. It is the racing of religion, the politicization of Islam, and the consequent entanglement of Islamophobia and racism that have resulted in the racialization of Muslims and other brown populations in the U.S.

In using racialization as a lens to analyze the experiences of Muslims in the U.S, it becomes important to consider the particular spaces in which this social process takes place. Carter et al (2012) identify two realms where racialization occurs: the public and the private. They define public racialization as the process of "learning, interpreting and negotiating racial categories, meanings and identities in conceptually public spaces" (134). Within this thesis, public spaces will refer to the spaces where racialized experiences occur, such as the media, educational institutions, and public places such as airports, public transport, gyms, etc. Private racialization is viewed as a process of "being exposed to, interpreting, and negotiating racial categories, meanings and identities in conceptually private spaces" (134). In this thesis, private spaces will be considered to include interactions with family, friends and members within the religious community. While Carter et al (2012) attempt to distinguish between public and private spaces, they recognize the overlap of boundaries between these two spaces. In acknowledging this overlap, this thesis will also highlight how racialization in one space may influence racialization in another.

The conceptions of identity and subjectivity that are a product of the experiences of racialization that individuals undergo, have been found to have an "undeniable effect" on the way in which individuals racially identify themselves (Yarbrough 2010: 257). The social and cultural contexts that shape an individual's conception of race are integral to how racialized individuals construct and deconstruct their narratives of identity. While individuals are viewed to possess a certain degree of agency in constructing their identity, it is the social and cultural contexts that are

largely responsible for the meanings that become attributed to their identity. Growing up as a minority and experiencing othering in the U.S. may shape the way in which Muslim-Americans construct racialized selves. Using accounts of second-generation South-Asian girls in Canada to study the making of a racialized identity, Rajiva (2006) finds that involved within the process of developing a racialized self are feelings of shame, self-worth and a varying sense of belonging. In experiencing racism and racialization from their families, community, and the public sphere, these western-born women struggled with negotiating their identities and developed a sense of self that was often fragile and confusing. Prioritizing aspects of their identities, such as their religious, ethnic or national identities, throughout the process of being racialized allows for Muslim-Americans to construct a sense of self that grants them the ability to navigate through U.S. society. It is in understanding how, despite their experiences of racialization, these women are able to situate themselves in society, that we are able to comprehend the positionality of these women in the U.S.

While some post 9/11 literature has focused on the racialization of Muslims in the U.S., there has been an emphasis within scholarship to pay particular attention to the increase of racial profiling of Muslim men and women by law enforcement as well as the public (Swiney 2006, Gabbidon et al. 2012, Hanley 2012). The brunt of racial profiling has been felt mostly by Muslim men, thousands of whom were targeted, rounded up, arrested, and deported immediately following the attacks. While the presence of Muslim men poses a perceived security threat to the American public, the increased visibility of Muslim women who wear the headscarf poses a cultural threat to citizens, which also makes them particularly vulnerable to racial profiling. Gendered religious signifiers such as a Muslim sounding name, the headscarf (hijab) and other religious clothing increase the likelihood that women will be racialized. The oppressive meanings associated with

the headscarf results in hijabi women being viewed as individuals who lack American values and thus denies them their social citizenship that they should be legally afforded. The experiences of Muslim women in the U.S. have not been at the forefront of race and ethnic scholarship, despite the fact that their racialization and identification as *Muslim* marks them as seemingly unable to integrate into U.S. society. The perceived incompatibility of their religious identity with their ability to be American increases their susceptibility to becoming racialized especially by the public (Mir 2011). In exploring the process of racialization, it is also important to recognize that within the private sphere women may be more likely to be racialized by their families and communities compared to men. This remains largely possible because the cultural restrictions and forms of "management" such as inter-race/ethnic marriage, in-group/outgroup interactions, behavioral expectations, etc., that are prevalent in families and communities are generally more restrictive on women than they are on men (Rajiva 2006: 176). Due to the gendered difference of experiences of racialization in public and private spheres, there is a pressing need to focus on how women are specifically racialized as a result of their gender. This project sets out to fill this gap in the scholarship of racialization by focusing on Muslim women's experiences.

This research aims to study how Muslim-American women experience racialization in public and private spaces and whether these experiences give rise to a racialized identity. It will also investigate the strategies that Muslim-American women undertake in order to resist against, and cope with the racialized experiences. Using data collected through in-depth interviews of 6 female Muslim-American undergraduates at Virginia Tech, this project will focus specifically on the ways in which subjects are racialized in particular spaces, paying particular attention to signifiers and other factors that may impact subjects' experiences. It will also attempt to understand the ways in which participants view themselves as racialized subjects as a result of those

experiences, and engage in mechanisms of resistance and coping in order to manage their racialization.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Recent studies on racialization have made an effort to explain and understand the experiences of various groups amid the racial, religious and cultural hierarchies prevalent in several western countries (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1993, Rajiva 2006, Yarbrough 2010, Werito 2010, Vaught 2012, Lewis 2013). The lens of racialization has allowed many scholars to situate an understanding of the female African-American experience in the U.S. through the intersectionality of race, gender, and class (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1993); the Hispanic immigrant experience in the United States (Yarbrough 2010); the Navajo youth experience in the U.S. school system (Werito 2010); and the experiences of second generation South-Asian female immigrants in Canada, among many other studies, in order to comprehend the complexities of the racial/religious/cultural hierarchies that persist in these societies.

The recent increase in literature concerning the experiences of Muslim-Americans post-9/11 has resulted in a recognition of the value of the term racialization in understanding the Muslim experience. Academics such as such as Omi and Winant (2008), Chen (2010) and Byng (2012), advocate for using a racial lens in understanding the post 9/11 Muslim experience in not only the U.S. context, but in other western contexts as well. As such, recent work has been undertaken to understand the Muslim experience in Britain (Moosavi 2015) and France (Galonnier 2015), which has broadened the body of knowledge incorporating Muslims within the discussion of race in sociological scholarship. Strictly within the U.S. context, however, Selod and Embrick (2013) have attempted to review exactly how the term racialization sheds light on understanding the Muslim and Muslim-American experience with the American racial and religious hierarchy. They focus

on how the "creation of the Muslim as the 'other' is a racial project and should be situated within race scholarship" (647) as the term racialization also addresses the "creation, maintenance and changing nature of racial meanings" (647) that post-9/11 Muslim-Americans and immigrant Muslims have come to face in their daily lives. While Muslims living in the United States pre-9/11 were still racialized as the 'other,' scant literature exists that focuses on their lived experiences with racism and Islamophobia before the tragic events. It was only after 9/11 that there was a sudden increase in discourse concerning Muslim-Americans, due to their hyper-visibility as the "new targeted communities" during and after the Bush administration (Naber and Jamal 2008: 2). Their abrupt and new recognition as a visible minority, as a result of the association of 'terrorism' with Islam, suggests that the factor of religion has had a significant impact on how they have been increasingly racialized in the U.S.

Racing Religion

The importance of religion in the process of racialization, as previously discussed in Bayoumi's work, further comes to light in Shyrock's (2008) study on the Detroit Area Arab Study (DAAS), which examines the impact of religion in the racial self-classification of Arabs in Detroit. The results of this study demonstrates that 73 percent of Arab Christians identify as White, while 50 percent of Arab Muslims identify as such. Selod and Embrick (2013) use Amer and Hovey's (2007) study on the stress levels of Arabs to further highlight the salience of religion in the racialization of Arabs. Amer and Hovey's study demonstrate that, compared to Christian Arabs, Muslim Arabs often face more difficulties in their attempts to integrate into mainstream U.S. society, and are more likely to experience increased levels of stress as a result of discrimination (343). While these studies highlight how religion is one of the primary factors influencing the racialization of Arabs, it is important not to overgeneralize the experiences of Arabs to those of

the collective group of Muslim-Americans. Muslim-Americans represent a diverse group of individuals from a variety of nations and ethnic groups, and experience racialization not simply on the basis of their ethnicity, but on variety of factors. The Muslim identity "although diverse, can trigger certain shared experiences regardless of one's racial or ethnic background" (Selod and Embrick 2013: 650). Selod (2015) and Moosavi's (2015) work on the Muslim experience in the West explores how the underlying assumption of religion significantly impacts the way in which Muslims from different ethnicities and backgrounds are racialized.

Selod's (2015) study on the racialization of the Muslim identity uses data collected from a sample of 48 Muslim-American men and women, a majority of whom were South Asian, followed by a minority of Arabs. The results of her study show how, in the process of racialization, Muslims encounter "de-Americanization, cultural exclusion and a denial of a national identity" (78). Muslim-Americans in her sample report a rejection from social citizenship, when their nationality and allegiance is questioned. This rejection seems to be due to the negative association of Islam and a Muslim identity with being "backwards" and "primitive,"-attributes considered to be anti-western and anti-modern (Grosfeugal and Mielants 2006:9). Within her study, Selod finds that Muslim-Americans who are easily identifiable as Muslims, through their display of religious and cultural signifiers, often experience "higher levels of scrutiny and interrogation about their American identity" (Selod 2013: 80). The presence of a lighter complexion also impacts whether these individuals are racialized in public. For example, the Muslim-American women in her study who wear the hijab constantly have their status as American citizens called into question by others. Selod notes that "when lighter skin toned Arab or South Asian Muslim women who pass for white put on the hijab, their whiteness was revoked" (84). Women who possessed a darker skin complexion and wore the hijab were scrutinized and further racialized as being from a foreign

country, since "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" (84). Not surprisingly, the study also found that women who did not wear the hijab or any other religious and cultural signifier could often pass off as white and become accepted as a social citizen. While this provides important information as to the structure of the racial hierarchy of the United States, in which certain "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" (Selod 2015: 80), this also begs the question as to whether individuals who don't wear religious signifiers and have the ability to pass off as African/African-American or Asian are afforded the same social citizenship in the U.S. as those who are deemed 'white'.

Leon Moosavi's (2015) work explores the complex relationship that religion and religious signifiers have with ethnic identification and racialization. His work investigates the role of Islamophobia and racialization in the everyday experiences of white and black converts in Britain, and found that "upon converting to Islam, 'white' converts experience a re-racialization whereby they are no longer able to access white privilege in a way they once were" (42). This re-racialization demonstrates a conflation between religious and racial identity, a process most aptly shown when one of his subjects reported "When you have just become a Muslim and you're white then you might get people saying for example: 'Oh you have just become a Paki'" (43). Such remarks from the public/friends/ or even family are indicative of the assumption of a loss of whiteness and a sense of betrayal for "abandoning the nation and joining 'the enemy'" (43) through the act of conversion. It may be that, while in Britain, the association of being a Muslim with being Pakistani reserves negative connotations, the association of being Muslim and being Arab may harbor the same feelings in the United States. The impact of ethnicity on how one is racialized will

be explored in this thesis, through comparisons of the racialized experiences of Muslim-American women from two different ethnicities.

The role of religious signifiers in the racialization of Moosavi's converts must not be overlooked. Jensen (2008) conducted a study on Danish converts and found that, while families are tolerant of a converts' conversion to Islam, it is only when a convert displays their Muslim identity to the public that tolerance to the convert decreases (398). It is important to note that, in Moosavi's work, most of the converts who were interviewed were 'visibly' Muslim, i.e. they wore identifiable religious markers, such as the headscarf, and other articles of Muslim clothing. Moosavi recognizes that the impact of religious signifiers is evident in the lack of Islamophobic and discriminatory behavior towards those converts who were not identifiably Muslims. This is not to say that these converts did not encounter Islamophobia; rather Moosavi argues that these converts (as well as those who are visibly Muslim) encounter 'subtle Islamophobia,' a type of racism that is difficult for them to identify as Islamophobia. He considers subtle Islamophobia to be a form of everyday racism, "whereby Muslims are confronted by latent hostility and exclusion in their day-to-day lives without it being obvious" (48). Philomena Essed (1991) developed an understanding of how racist practices appear in routine interactions and become considered to be 'part of the normal'. Similarly, certain Islamophobic attitudes present themselves in ways that are difficult to identify by those who routinely face those attitudes. Moosavi identifies some of the ways in which subtle Islamophobia manifests in the experiences of his research participants. Some of the converts reported being excluded from activities and groups; others reported that, upon identifying themselves as Muslim, they were immediately considered to be inherently foreign. Some subjects reported instances where their family members and friends became increasingly concerned about what others would think about their conversion, while others stated that their

family members would often tell jokes and use epithets that could be considered Islamophobic (Moosavi 2015: 48-52). These microaggressions and subtle racisms are indicative of the presence of Islamophobic attitudes that reinforce stereotypical and negative ideas of Islam and Muslims.

Two Spaces: Public and Private

While these studies implicitly look at the public and private spheres in which Muslims are racialized, they do not specifically discuss the spaces and actors within these spheres that give rise to the experiences of racialization. Selod's (2015) subjects clearly reported being questioned about their adherence to American values in public [at the mall (85), at a chain restaurant (86), at work (87), at school by their professor (88) etc.], while others reported being questioned in private spaces particularly by close friends (89). Moosavi's (2015) subjects indicated that experiences of racialization occurred most often in public, but also reported cases of subtle Islamophobia and outright Islamophobia that occurred from their family, relatives and close friends. The study conducted by Jensen (2008) on Danish converts indicates that it is more than possible for the public and private spheres to coalesce; racialization in one sphere may create the need for actors in the other sphere to also racialize. For example, within Jensen's study, fear of public racialization lead to the family racializing the convert by giving advice on how the convert should appear and behave in public. In a study conducted by Rajiva (2006) on the differences between the experiences of racialization of first and second-generation South Asian immigrants in Canada, findings demonstrate that parents would often racialize their children based on their personal experiences with racialization. Similarly, the experiences of racialization that parents of Muslim-Americans undergo can shape the way in which the family racializes Muslim-Americans. Recognizing that the two spheres of public and private can blur and inform one another is key to understanding how inclusive each sphere is.

Public Racialization

Carter et al (2012) view public racialization as consisting of events that occur outside the home, i.e. in the general public, which can include educational institutions, restaurants, shopping areas, airports, etc. In studying racialization within the public sphere, this project will more specifically include experiences of racialization that occur through (and in) media, educational institutions, public transport, airports, law enforcement, gyms/athletic centers, workspaces and neighborhoods. While studies on racialization do not specifically mention the spaces in which racialization occurs, these spaces are often implied. Carter et al recognize that compared to private spaces, experiences of racialization in public spaces are often the result of interracial (and inter-religious) interactions. This is the case for the subjects in Selod's (2015) study, as well as the subjects in Rajiva (2006), Yarbrough (2010), Ghaill and Haywood (2014) and Rich and Troudi's (2006) studies.

Media

Media is the key agent in the public space that uniquely impacts and shapes the way in which racialization presents itself in most public spaces. Research has found that mainstream Western media has represented "Islam and Muslims as culturally incompatible with the values, norms and interests of western nations" (Byng 2010: 110). A critical discourse analysis of newspaper stories published by the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* between 2004 and 2006, has indicated that western media has continually targeted Muslim women and the act of veiling in order to create knowledge about Islamic terrorism and Muslim minorities for the American public (Byng 2010). Byng argues that the media has now created a "common sense understanding that veiled Muslim women will not be part of the American public sphere" (124) due to the perceived incompatibility of values, and such a perception has significant implications

for Muslim minorities living in the west. It is precisely how the western media racializes Muslim women that shapes the manner in which the American public chooses to racialize Muslim-American women.

Hebbani and Wills' (2012) study on Australian-Muslim women's perceptions of the media and its (mis)representation of the hijab/burqa is indicative of how Muslim women feel racialized by the media. The participants in this study perceive media representations of hijab/burqa-clad Muslim women to be "inaccurate and biased" (96), and believed that media representations of Muslim women did have an impact on how they were racialized in public as subjects "of staring, verbal attack or prejudice" (94). While for Muslim men, media representations tend to present them as national security threats, the hijab portrays Muslim women as oppressed, and submissive to men– individuals who thereby endanger western values of equality and freedom. As Hebbani and Wills' study demonstrates, Muslim women often receive discriminatory behavior from the public as a result of being associated with these stereotypes. Louise Cainkar points out the irony of such representations and stereotypes, in that in the United States, the American public values religious freedom, and yet denies such freedom to Muslim-Americans (Cainkar 2009: 6). While this has been the dominant representation of Muslim women in mainstream western media, it should be noted that the changing representation of Muslim women in social media as progressive fashion bloggers and YouTubers could possibly be shifting this perception. However, until research attempts to document this change, the discourse regarding media representation still holds true regarding how negative portrayals of Muslim women significantly impact the way in which Muslim women feel that they are racialized in the west.

Educational Institutions

One of the better-known and well-researched areas of public racialization is that of educational institutions. Schools and universities are spaces where processes of racialization occur at the hands of professors, peers and the general student body. Muslim students tend to experience racialization most often in the form of subtle Islamophobia, through jokes and comments aimed at their religious identity. A male South-Asian student in Selod's (2015) study reported a professor associating him with Islamic extremism and terrorism by asking him if he had ever been to a terrorist training camp (88). In Rich and Troudi's (2006) study on Arab TESOL students' experiences of racialization in Britain, several of the participants reported underlying Islamophobic tendencies in the comments they received when they shared information regarding their Saudi nationality. Shabana Mir's (2006) detailed study on Muslim-American women's experiences of identity negotiation on college campuses explores how Muslim-American women implicitly deal with racialization by their peers. Mir's results indicate that "peers were surprised when hijabis did ordinary things (e.g. playing basketball), or when non-hijabis, for example, declined alcohol" (295). Through confronting stereotypes and demonstrating to their peers the flexibility of the perceived boundary between being Muslim and being American, Mir's participants validate the existence of racialization that Muslim women face in their everyday interactions on college campuses. They also demonstrate how they resist and cope with their own racialization, through exercising their Muslim-American identities.

General Public

The impact of the community and general public on an individual's experiences of racialization is particularly evident in the Islamophobic and racist comments that Muslim-Americans and British Muslims in Selod's (2015) and Moosavi's (2015) studies faced. In addition

to direct comments and behaviors directed towards individuals by public, racialization can occur in subtle ways as well, such as receiving stares in restaurants and shopping centers, or noticing that people avoid sitting next to you on public transport. The increased racial profiling of Muslim men and women, at airports or in general public places by law enforcement as well as public citizens has also had a great impact on how Muslim men and women feel they are racialized. Bonikowski (2004) found that "the most common form of racial profiling after 9/11 has occurred at American borders and airports" (320) for Arab and Muslim-looking individuals, through unwarranted stops, detentions and interrogations by the authorities. If this is the case, it would be no surprise to find that the Muslim-American women in this study, particularly those who appear visibly Muslim, often find themselves feeling racialized by law enforcement and the general public at airports and other border control stations.

A fair amount of research has been conducted on the racial profiling of Muslims and brown populations at airports. This scholarship addresses the phenomenon Flying While Muslim, drawing a parallel with the black experience with law enforcement, e.g. Driving While Black. Nagra and Maurutto (2016) identify the Muslim experience in spaces of surveillance as involving "risk subjectification, a process through which they become defined as dangerous by virtue of sharing some characteristic of the 'typical terrorist'" (171). This kind of risk subjectification does not target individual behaviors, instead, it relies on "how the Muslim identity has been racialized" within these particular spaces (171). More recently, the work of Selod (2016) on the racialized surveillance of Muslims at U.S. airports looks at the different ways in which Muslim-Americans are specifically targeted and racialized by TSA agents and other border security officials on the basis of their skin tone, Muslim names, and gendered religious and cultural signifiers. These

factors identify the pervasiveness of the racialization experienced by this population via law enforcement in airports.

Racial profiling by law enforcement does not occur only in spaces that are actively vigilant regarding security, rather, it is also prevalent in neighborhoods. An interesting phenomenon that highlights how the racial profiling of Muslim-Americans by law enforcement has now transferred over to racialization of this population in neighborhoods, is 'ghettoization'. This phenomenon implies that a "particular group (needs) to be pigeonholed" (Salem 2013: 80) and therefore marginalized through the ineligibility of citizenship (both social and legal). Such marginalization spurs the process of racialization undertaken by communities towards its Muslim members, thereby furthering the divide between 'us' and 'them' through the categorization of those of different faiths and ethnicities as "sub-citizens" (80). Salem (2013) recognizes that this phenomenon has been occurring for Muslim minorities in the west, especially in North America and Europe since the 1980's; however, this experience has been a more recent phenomenon for Muslim-Americans after 9/11.

Not only does this kind of ghettoization restrict Muslim-Americans from "participating and being included in the government and the public square" (80), but it also prevents them from taking advantage of employment opportunities. A study conducted on religious affiliation and hiring discrimination in New England suggests that for the same job, Muslim applicants receive one third fewer responses from employers compared to other religious applicants (Wright et al 2013). The study also indicated that "the mere addition of the word 'Muslim' to a job application dropped the total number of employer contacts by 33-41%" despite the applicant sharing the same qualifications as other applicants (121). For Muslim-American women in particular, the added effect of gender also works as a disadvantage to their employment opportunities, much like their

non-Muslim female counterparts. The headscarf has also sparked some debate on job discrimination on the basis of religious signifiers, particularly in 2008 when Samantha Elauf, a Muslim-American woman, was refused employment by Abercrombie & Fitch. The ensuing discrimination lawsuit, revived by the Supreme Court in 2015, resulted in a ruling in Elauf's favor (Liptak 2015). Discrimination based on religious signifiers is unquestionably an issue for Muslim-American women who don the headscarf and other religious articles, and can result in experiences of racialization that may ultimately cause great financial and emotional hardship.

It is important to recognize that the experiences of public racialization have an impact on the way in which private racialization occurs. The experiences of racialization in public spaces influence agents in private spaces, such as the family, on how they should expect to be racialized by the general other. Sometimes, subjects experience racialization in private spaces even before they experience racialization by the public. As such, this thesis is structured to analyze public spaces before private spaces, because the racializing actions of agents in private spaces is heavily influenced by their own experiences with racialization in public spaces.

Private Racialization

While public racialization demonstrates perhaps the more blatant forms of racialization, it is in private spaces that racialization occurs in a more nuanced and complex way. Within the private sphere, racialization occurs through family, religious community, and friends. The boundary work performed by the agents in private spaces is constructed by their own experiences and expectations of public racialization and therefore significantly impacts the way in which a Muslim-American woman understands her location in society as a racialized body.

Family and Religious Community

With a large number of Muslim-Americans who are born to first or second generation Muslim immigrants, parents and grandparents transmit racial attitudes, knowledge, and their understandings based on their own experiences of racialization in order to teach Muslim-Americans how they should expect to be treated in U.S. society. In doing so, they not only determine whether Muslim-Americans will expect experiencing racialization by general others, but they also end up participating in the process of racializing Muslim-Americans. Rajiva (2006) found that South Asian daughters of first-generation immigrants in Canada are constantly reminded by their family and community of their racial and cultural differences with the larger Canadian society (181). Even when these girls have not experienced racism themselves, they find themselves subject to constant boundary work- which, as Rajiva explains, positions and manages the social location of these girls "outside the parameters of North American adolescence" (176). Similarly, Muslim-American women are also subject to the boundary work carried out by their families, largely based upon their religious and cultural differences with American society.

The main issues that the family tends to focus its boundary work on are marriage and involvement in interracial/interreligious social groups. Religious and racial/cultural difference is emphasized most when Muslim-American women and men are considering marriage. It should be noted, that while for Muslim men, interfaith marriages are permitted in Islam, it is not permitted for Muslim women. As such, due to the expectation that the spouse will be Muslim, religious difference carries less weight in spousal selection than do racial and cultural differences for a majority of Muslim women. Marrying within the racial/ethnic group becomes an issue for Muslim-American women in the U.S. context, especially for parents who are concerned with "how they [interracial couples] will make their marriages work and how (or whether) they will be able to preserved their respective cultures" (Grewal 2009: 341). As such, families stress the similarities

of ethnicity, culture and religion, and actively engage in boundary work that ultimately reminds children of their difference with other ethnicities and races. This kind of boundary work involves the process of racialization, by Othering their children through drawing boundaries between them and American society.

Families and the religious community also participate in regulating the interactions of Muslim-American women at a very young age. By monitoring and policing the interactions these women have with other racial/religious/ethnic groups, these actors participate in race socialization, and racialization through internalizing racial attitudes that may influence the later formulations of race of these women (Carter et al 2012). Expected social behaviors are also demanded of these women, particularly regarding their roles as Muslim women in American society. Close contact with the religious community is often encouraged, in order to maintain a strong bond with the religion as well as increase in-group social interaction. As such, the religious community often plays a significant part in shaping the religious identity of Muslim-Americans. According to Mahmood (2016), the religious community plays an integral part in the identity formation processes of Muslim-Americans and their families: "Muslims– particularly first generation immigrants– turn to the Islamic community to grapple with the displacement and marginalization they experience in the non-Muslim society to which they have emigrated…" (11). However, she does recognize that Muslim-American youth can find these religious communities "limiting and restrictive" (11). This is because these communities are often quite strict on levels of religiosity and standards of dress, particularly regarding Muslim-American females. As such, the family and religious community participate in racializing Muslim-American women by regulating their social interactions and participation in extra-curricular activities, as well as overseeing their adherence to certain standards of dress.

Peer groups

Peer groups, including an individual's social circle, are largely involved in the process of racialization, and can be considered as both part of public and private spaces. However, for the purpose of this thesis, racialization by peer groups will be analyzed within the section on private spaces because of the intimate relationship that such groups have with participants. Rajiva (2006) found that South Asian girls whose peer groups consisted mainly of non-South Asian members experienced greater racialization compared to girls whose peer groups consisted of only South Asian members. Racial, religious, and cultural differences of the participant with her non-South Asian friends are brought to the forefront during their interactions. When these differences are made obvious by peers, Rajiva's participants engaged in assimilation, by actively 'white-washing' themselves. This action demonstrates that an individual participant "must deny her South Asianness" in order to "belong to the mainstream peer culture" (173). While such an individual may feel that she is accepted in the peer group she belongs to, she may still feel that she is different from other members, as Rajiva found in Sarah's statement: "I: Do you feel accepted? Yeah, like I feel accepted…but I know that there's a difference" (175). The South Asian participant in Rajiva's study whose peer group consists of other South Asians found it much easier to relate to her friends since "we have similar values and…there's just certain things you don't have to explain" (178). It is implicit and explicit suggestions from one's peer group that result in a process of othering that largely determines how one begins to locate oneself within a certain context.

Racialized Identity

The aforementioned spaces within the public and private spheres contribute to how a Muslim-American woman not only locates herself as the 'other' in the U.S, but is located as such by others through the process of racialization. The underlying and persistent misconception that

western ideals and Islam are incompatible has resulted in the affirmation of the notion that a Muslim-American identity cannot exist. It is through this notion, as well as through the accumulation of racialized experiences that the idea of the Muslim-American as the Other is continually reinforced, resulting in a lingering sense of the Muslim-American racialized self. This study will focus on whether the experiences of racialization in public and private spaces have contributed to the development of Muslim-American women's racialized selves.

In understanding the Muslim-American identity, it is important to comprehend the construction, fluidity, and complexity of the Muslim-American identity. Study results by Selod (2015) indicate that Muslim-Americans experience relentless scrutiny by others regarding their American identity, due to the underlying assumption that "because they are Muslim, they are not true Americans" (80). The women in Selod's study, particularly those who display religious signifiers, had to continually defend and demonstrate their American identity when in public. Selod notes that women who display religious signifiers have been and continue to be "a target of public ire" (83), which makes their experiences of particular interest, and significantly different from those Muslim women who are not outwardly Muslim.

This discounted American identity is highlighted in the work of Joshi (2006), who demonstrates how South Asian-Americans, similar to Muslim-Americans, are seen to possess an "unmeltable" (214) quality, i.e., while they are likely to assimilate into the culture, they will never be able to racially melt, unlike white-skinned Irish, Italian, Ashkenazi Jewish immigrants. This is not only due to their 'brown skin', but is also because religiously, South Asian-Americans and Muslim-Americans are located among the lower tiers of the racial and religious hierarchy persistent in white Christian America. Characteristics such as ethnicity and religion shape the way in which individuals are racialized, and an understanding of one's perceived location and

‘unmeltability’ is the result of the accumulation of one’s racialized experiences in public and private spaces.

In order to contend with their racialized experiences, and also perhaps the confusion that results from their experiences, Muslim-Americans have resorted to emphasizing and prioritizing aspects of their identities that they feel are more appropriate in certain spaces and situations. These strategies of resistance and coping involve emphasizing the Muslim-American identity, as well as defying stereotypes, and confronting people about their misconceptions. For example, in examining Muslim-American undergraduate women’s performance of the Muslim-American identity, Shabana Mir (2011) found many of her participants rely on aspects of their identities to help them negotiate with racialization. One of Mir’s participants, Zahra, a traditional-moderate Muslim female, emphasized a balance between her American and Muslim identities, by performing symbolic practices such as avoiding alcohol: “While her religiosity was performed in her abstention from alcohol, her Americanness was performed in her nonchalant manner in declining drinks…” (558). Sanjeeda, an American-raised, dark-skinned, Indian-Muslim woman used her rich complexion to pass off as Hindu Indian and downplay the visibility of her religious affiliation in order to “be accepted by the majority” (554) (i.e. the public). While she did not attempt to be outwardly Muslim, she was still an active member of the Muslim Student Association, and identified as Muslim. Hijabi participants in Mir’s study were not afforded this invisibility, and had to participate in the creation of a “loud Muslim identity,” which, as one participant stated, forced her to feel as if she had to speak out a lot more in class (555). These examples demonstrate identity as a fluid process by which people learn to actively identify themselves and become identified by others through racialization.

Muslim-Americans, such as the ones in Mir's study, rely on the fluidity of identity in order to adjust to certain spaces, such as community events, campus, peer groups, airports, etc. Nadine Naber (2005) found that in the case of marriage, second-generation Muslim Arab-Americans reorganize their identity as "Muslim first, Arab second" (479) as a strategy to deal with parental inhibitions against interracial marriage. Raised with the overlapping identity of 'Muslim-Arab,' both men and women in Naber's study faced parental pressure to practice ethnic and religious endogamy, with parents relying on cultural ideals to reinforce ideological hierarchies. Several participants resisted these ideologies, using Islamic scripture to reiterate a new set of norms, and in doing so established a 'Muslim first' identity. The changing nature of their identity, within the particular private space of marriage and family, indicates how these individuals chose to emphasize aspects of themselves (i.e., Muslim first), based on the way in which they were identified as by their parents (i.e., Arab first).

In the recognition of the fluidity and complexity of the Muslim-American identity, we begin to notice the presence of the racialized self. The need for Muslim-Americans to change their identity according to different spaces and situations, demonstrates the power of the forces of racialization that ultimately determine the nature of the identity that is expected to be performed. Racialized experiences create a persistent feeling as if one is the other, in public and private spaces, which forces a Muslim-American woman take on "the position of other individuals or the community as a whole" in order to reflect upon herself and her location in society (Itzigsohn and Brown 2015: 233). In doing so, she learns to develop "double consciousness," which structures the way in which she is able to perceive herself as a racialized subject, through the eyes of those who are racializing (DuBois 1903: 6). Double consciousness entails three elements: the veil,

twoness, and second sight; all of which can be viewed as occurring in the development of a racialized Muslim-American identity.

The element of the veil structures the projections of the racializing subjects as the realities of the racialized, much like the negative perceptions of the U.S. public have become the realities of Muslims in America. We can observe the effects of the veil through Muslim-American women consciously avoiding the portrayal of religious signifiers such as the hijab, in order to elude discrimination and seem more normal (Mir 2006: 175). These women also possess twoness, through their identification as Muslim-Americans. The perceived incompatibility of the Muslim and the American identity serves as a racializing process that forces women to feel as if they have to choose between being Muslim and being American. Selod (2015) demonstrates how the negative experience of being denied their identity as Muslim-Americans not only implies that assimilation of Muslims in America is not possible, but it strips individuals of their privileges as American citizens in the U.S. Second sight, which is the third element of double consciousness, forces a Muslim-American woman to see herself as she identifies i.e. a Muslim-American woman, and also as a racialized subject who is subject to the racializing gaze of others.

The complexity of the Muslim-American identity is fascinating due to its fluid nature, and due to the sociopolitical environment that it is cultivated in. The process of racialization can only provide an explanation for one part of the Muslim-American identity. The truth of the matter is, the Muslim-American identity is a composite of several identities, including that of the racialized self.

Resistance and Coping

In response to experiences of discrimination, Muslim-American women learn to engage in strategies that aim to reduce their Othering. As previously mentioned, one of the key ways in which they resist their racialization is by emphasizing their Muslim-American identity. In doing so, they are able to transform and defy stereotypes that they feel are confining them. For example, Gurbuz and Gurbuz-Kucuksari (2009) explore how Muslim-American girls use the hijab as a tool by which they reflect and exercise their Muslim-American identities. Since hijabi Muslim-American women may be perceived as "un-modernized, backwards, not open-minded, radically religious and non-free" (Gurbuz and Gurbuz-Kucuksari 2009:391), the participants in their study actively resist against these stereotypes, often by using the hijab as a source of liberation and empowerment. The participants in their study emphasize their hyphenated identities, and assert the claim that "their choice to wear the headscarf makes them better Americans as well as better Muslims," since, in a society where such a practice is uncommon, they can reflect their 'American' side through wearing the headscarf out of choice. Doing so allows these women a sense of agency over the discrimination that they encounter, since, for them, the hijab becomes a source of empowerment–one that they can use to claim that they are unoppressed and not backwards, as is generally thought.

While such a strategy is a one of resistance, some Muslims adopt forms of coping in order to manage their racialization. One of the ways in which racialized populations cope with their racialization is through assimilation. Mir (2011) states that immigrant populations are often faced with the dilemma of belonging or keeping their ethnic traditions in U.S. society: "Immigrants must achieve and earn the status of good Americans by correct multicultural practice…their Americanness should be performed, projected, and established in contrast to the stigmatized immigrant minorities who do not work to 'mix' with white people" (557). One of Mir's

participants performed her Muslim identity in such a way that she was in touch with her immigrant culture (thereby retaining America's notion of diversity), but at the same time "was not excessively Muslim or immigrant," since she deliberately chose not to wear the hijab, and avoided "excessive concern" with discussions involving the Middle East (557). Despite her participant's brown skin– a factor that she could not change, assimilation into American culture allowed Mir's participant to feel as she belonged in her society and peer group. This method of coping allows Muslim-Americans such as the ones in Mir's study to decrease their future instances of racialization, which could ultimately allow them to increase feelings of belonging in U.S. society.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This project seeks to engage in a critical discussion of the Muslim-American female experience with racialization in the United States, by locating it specifically within the context of race and ethnicity. As such, it will attempt to understand and explore two questions:

1. How do Muslim-American women experience racialization in public and private spaces?
2. How do these experiences give rise to the development of a racialized identity?

To answer these questions, I chose to use qualitative methods which will be detailed below.

METHODS

This is a qualitative research study using structured interviews as the only source of in-depth data. The subjective nature of this research requires that the interviews include both closed and open-ended questions to fully explore how Muslim-American women experience racialization in public and private spaces, and how these experiences shape the way in which they come to understand their position as Muslim-Americans in the United States. The interview schedule first

begins with subjects' background information, such as their racial identity, nationality, family history with immigration, education level, etc. While these questions have been largely derived from previously mentioned research studies involving experiences of racialization and racialized identities, I have also constructed some questions of my own, based on my own experiences as a Muslim university student living in the United States. Some of the key questions inquire as to where and how subjects' experience racialization in public and private spaces: "Are there any specific public places where you generally feel uncomfortable? Where? Why?" and "Have either of your parents set boundaries for you regarding your interactions with others? Did they prefer you interacting with a certain group over others? Why do you think this is/was?." In order to identify how participants were specifically racialized in certain spaces, I use more direct questions, such as (within educational institutions) "Have you ever been in a class where you have felt: (i) uncomfortable due to the topics being discussed, (ii) that you were being unnecessarily picked on your professor, (iii) that you were being judged, stereotyped or scrutinized by your classmates or professor? Explain." and, "How would you describe the environment of the religious community you belong to? Do you feel welcome here?" Questions regarding their racialized identity involve how they perceive themselves as Muslim-Americans within particular spaces, and the factors that they feel make their identity stand out to them: "What are the markers/signifiers that you possess that you think tell others that you are different from them? What message do you think these markers give others about you? Why do you choose to display these markers (if you choose to display them)?" Through the cumulative set of such questions, I feel I have successfully investigated a part of the lives of my subjects, with how they experience racialization, and view their selves as the Other in the United States. A full interview schedule is listed in Appendix C.

Data Collection

Participant Recruitment:

Participants in this study are all females, and are undergraduates at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University (VT). Participants are members of the Virginia Tech's Muslim Student Association (MSA) and were recruited from the MSA on a voluntary basis. I reached out to participants through the VTMSA Sister's Facebook page, as well as in person at the weekly MSA meeting on campus. My own membership in the MSA allows me direct access to the Facebook webpage and the weekly meetings, which made it relatively easy to contact participants. Recruitment involved one Facebook post on the VTMSA Sister's webpage outlining the study's information and requirements, to which two participants responded, showing interest in becoming involved in the study. I also recruited participants in person at the weekly MUGS (Muslim Undergrad-Grad Students) meeting that occurs every Thursday on campus. Through this method, I was eventually able to gain four more participants (See Appendix B: Recruitment Materials).

Initially, I expected having little trouble in finding participants who would be willing to participate in my study. However, after the Facebook post resulted in my securing only two participants, I had to resort to actively recruiting participants by attending two MUGS meetings. I noted that there was an obvious lack of interest in participation shown by the girls in the MSA, and this may have been due to several reasons. The three reasons for which I think Muslim-American females would be unenthused to participate, involve issues of security, the verbiage of recruitment and general lack of interest in participating in a study that involves their experiences with being Othered. The issue of security is one that researchers studying Muslims post-9/11 face, due to the heightened political nature of Islam. Janet Bauer (2009) claims that "The post-9/11 US war on terror has changed the fieldwork enterprise, especially for researchers working in Muslim

communities, who reasonably presume they are under surveillance". Participating in studies that involve the Muslim-American experience, may be thought of as compromising to individuals who would like to continue living under the radar. As such, I am not very surprised that some individuals may have chosen not to participate due to this specific reason.

The verbiage of recruitment may have also contributed to little participation and interest in the study. I recognize that the term racialization is unfamiliar to many, and could not be used in the recruitment of participants. I also did not wish to use the term 'racism' in recruitment, because previous interactions with girls in the MSA made me realize that some individuals (notably the Pakistani Muslims) did not feel as if they have ever experienced racism. Therefore, I resorted to using the term Othering– a term that I thought individuals were likely to be aware of. However, I may have been erroneous in this assumption, since I still did not acquire as many participants as I had previously hoped. Nevertheless, I ended up with a total of 6 participants.

The Interview Process

The interviews were conducted from October 2016 to December 2016. It is important to note, that during this time period, the U.S. election cycle of 2016 was occurring. Five interviews took place before the election results on the 8th of November, while only one participant (Sophie) was scheduled for an interview after the election results. I find it important to contextualize the accounts in this study, since its subjects were actively feeling the effects of the spotlight placed on Muslims in America and abroad, by both Donald J. Trump and Hillary Clinton. In fact, during several of the interviews, participants mentioned the presidential candidates and criticized their stances and expectations of Muslims in America. As such, these interviews provide us important information into the mindset of Muslim-Americans during that period, and also provide us insight into how they have experienced racialization as a result of the political election.

With regards to the interviews, the location and time was set by the participants based on their preference and availability. Informed consent was provided to all participants two to three days before the scheduled interview in order to allow them ample time to thoroughly read through them. These consent forms (per the IRB requirements) detail the purpose of the research, the research methods, and all expectations the researcher has of the participant and vice versa. Each participant was asked to choose a pseudonym to ensure that they remained anonymous in this study. The average interview ranged 2 hours, as expected. Each interview was recorded via digital recorder, and a smartphone as backup. I wrote notes during the interviews as a form of secondary data collection. After all interviews were conducted, they were transcribed over a 15-day period in December 2016.

Data Analysis

Coding the Data

Using the interview transcripts, data was coded inductively by myself through focused coding. The unit of analysis is every sentence in the transcripts. Codes were created using major and associated concepts listed in Table 1.

Table 1: Codes

Major Concepts	**Associated Concepts**	**Examples of Questions**
Race	Skin tone, Religion	Did 'race' seem to be an important concept that helped you understand your identity as you grew up?
Citizenship	Nationality, Immigration Status	Is your national identity important to you? Why?
Public Spaces	Public Transport, Airports, Workspace/Jobs, Neighborhoods, Law Enforcement, Educational Institutions, Media.	Are there any specific public places where you generally feel uncomfortable? Where? Why?

Private Spaces	Family, Religious Community/ MSA, Peers/Friends	Have either of your parents set boundaries for you regarding your interactions with others?
Language/Accent	Ability to speak fluent English	Are people surprised at your ability to speak English so fluently?
Signifiers, Religious or Otherwise	The Hijab/Abaya/Niqab, modest dressing, prayer rugs, etc.	What are the markers/signifiers that you possess, that you think tell others that you are different from them?
Racialized Identity	I am the Other	As you grew into an adult, did your identity change? How so? What were the major events that contributed towards this change?
Misc.	Gym, Microaggressions, Jokes	Have you ever overheard conversations about you in public?/ Have you ever heard jokes about yourself, or the community you identify with?
Resistance/Coping	Strategies of negotiating with racialization	Do you tend to avoid certain events? Why?

Detailed definitions for each code are listed in the codebook in (See Appendix D: Codebook). The major concepts such as Race, Citizenship, Private Spaces, Sense of Belonging, etc. are all recurrent themes in the transcripts. The associated concepts are the specific spaces in which these women experience racialization. While I primarily utilized focused coding (Bailey 2007), I also performed open coding, which involved identifying newly developed themes such as the code Resistance. Once all information was organized and compiled into separate documents for each code, I was able to discern code frequencies, which allowed me to prioritize the information according to how often it played a part in the subjects' racialization. I then reexamined the data using case-oriented analysis, in order to identify the main variables that affect each subject's experiences. In this way, I was able to do a cross-case analysis, compiling those variables (such as hijab, skin tone,

educational major, etc.) in order to explain why those individuals experience racialization in a particular way as a result of those characteristics.

Ethics

Due to the sensitive nature of the research, I took special care to protect the identities and information of the participants. I ensured confidentiality by asking the participants to assign themselves pseudonyms, and used these pseudonyms in my thesis. I also provided all participants consent forms that were per the requirements of the IRB, two to three days before their interviews. This allowed them ample time to thoroughly read through the consent forms (See Appendix A: IRB Consent Form). All interviews, both audio recordings and digital transcripts were on my personal password protected computer, and on a password protected USB as backup. All files, electronic and physical will be destroyed within five years of the finished research project (expected May 2017). As the researcher, only I have had access to the study materials, and at no time will I release identifiable results of the study to anyone without the participants' written consent.

Limitations

While it would be useful to have a sample larger than 6 individuals, the time constraint on this master's project would have made it difficult to interview and analyze data collected from more than 6 subjects. Another limitation is the characteristics of individuals in the sample. Since there are no converts or white Muslims in the MSA at Virginia Tech, it would not have been possible to examine the differences of racialization between those who look 'American' (i.e. white) and those who look foreign. Had there been any white Muslims, it would be interesting to compare Moosavi's (2015) findings of the racialization of white converts in the UK, with the experiences

of racialization of white Muslims in the U.S. Perhaps future research will investigate these important areas of study. Since the sample will be acquired through the university's MSA, I recognize that there may be less variability in their racialization, in both the public and private spaces, since they all attend the same white majority university, they all live in Northern Virginia (an area known for its diversity), and their friend groups overlap through the MSA. Non-MSA members may experience racialization differently, however, locating them within the university would prove to be a difficult task since they may not be part of any major Muslim organizations at Virginia Tech. Despite these limitations, I believe that this final sample still has the ability to provide valuable insight into how (some) Muslim-American women undergo the process of racialization and how they consequently identify themselves as a result of those experiences.

Reflexivity

As a hijabi Muslim woman who has lived in the United States for a significant part of her life, I have experienced racialization of my own that has shaped the way in which I view and locate myself in American society. Through discussions with a social circle that consists mostly of Muslim females, I came to realize that others have also experienced racialization from their families, communities and the broader public, which has influenced how they construct an identity that involves the perspective of one as a minority in the U.S. Many questions in this study were created from my own experiences with racialization, such as experiencing the self as the Other on public transport, in airports and especially in classrooms. Also, my having worn the hijab for ten years, has resulted in my experiencing little racialization as a non-hijabi, and I have thus been curious to see how non-wearers of the hijab specifically experience racialization. Through this research, I have come to realize that there is in fact, a stark difference in the way in which hijab-wearing Muslim women experience racialization versus non-wearers of the hijab. It has allowed

me to recognize that both the outwardly visible and 'invisible' Muslim-American woman do experience racialization, albeit in different forms, and in different spaces.

As a woman, my gender allows me access to a group of individuals who would not be as comfortable with a male interviewer as they would be with a female. Also, my membership in the MSA means that I am well acquainted with most of the female members, and while this acquaintanceship was somewhat advantageous in acquiring participants, it also increases the likelihood of bias within the project. Using my insider status as a Muslim and as a Pakistani, I hoped to be able to relate to my participants, as well as understand the lingo and concepts that they use, resulting in a richer interaction between myself and them. However, by taking for granted the fact that I understand much of the everyday lingo that these women use, I am more likely to make assumptions on behalf of my participants compared to someone who does not share aspects of their identity and experience with the subjects. Similarly, my participants also assume that I relate to their experiences and understand their positionality, so that may have had an effect on the interaction as well. However, with this in mind, I made a conscious effort to ask them to elaborate whenever I felt they were assuming things on my behalf. Despite these assumptions, I do believe that my insider status and some of my shared experiences have provided me the insight needed to understand the nuances within the experiences and responses of my participants. My interactions with them over the course of a year and a half as a member of the MSA has also allowed me to understand the culture and the context in which these women experience racialization, particularly in certain spaces, such as the university campus, the religious community of the MSA and their lives as Muslims in Blacksburg. I did however, keep separate my own experiences from theirs during the interview process, as well as during transcription and analysis in order to prevent researcher bias. As such, I want this project to be about understanding how these women are

racialized in certain spaces, how it is possible for them to learn to identify as the Other in the United States, and how they have learnt to cope and resist their racialization in order to negotiate with their positionality as racialized beings in America.

The Participants

All participants are female, over the age of 18, and self-identify as Muslim-American. Four participants are of Pakistani origin, while two are of Sudanese origin. All participants identified as being first generation immigrants, who have spent over a decade of their lives in the United States. Of these participants, three wore the hijab (two of Pakistani origin and one of Sudanese origin) and three did not wear the hijab (two of Pakistani origin and one of Sudanese origin). None of the participants were married.

1. Hira: As a Pakistani-American woman studying as a Liberal Arts major, Hira has lived in the United States for over 15 years, and moved to Virginia in the year 2001. She aspires to work as a physical therapist, and is diligent in staying fit and healthy, as she regularly goes to the gym. She is a relatively active member of the MSA, and attends MUGS meetings almost every week during the semester. Her social groups are diverse in characteristics, as she has friends who are Muslim, non-Muslim, white, African-American and Pakistani. Hira is of a tall, athletic build and has a rich brown skin tone. She chooses not wear the hijab, and dresses relatively modestly, by wearing half and quarter sleeved shirts, and occasionally wears knee length shorts when doing sports activities. She has curly hair which tends to be uncharacteristically Pakistani, and she is often mistaken for being Indian.
2. Jenny: Is a woman with a strong sense of Pakistani identity who has lived in the United States for almost her entire life, as her parents moved to Virginia when she was only ten months old. She majors in computer science and plans on working in the technical field

after she graduates. Jenny is an active member of MSA, and identifies closely with its members, as they are her primary social group. She started wearing the hijab when in high school, of her own volition, and dresses very modestly with long sleeved shirts, cardigans and jeans. She is relatively fair skinned and is often mistaken for being Arab.

3. Leslie: A Sudanese-born woman, who immigrated with her family to the US in 2001. She is a business major and aspires to work in the corporate world after graduating. Leslie identifies as Black and Sudanese-American, and holds strongly to her Sudanese identity. She has a rich black skin tone, and kinky black hair. She is not an active member of the MSA although she occasionally attends their events when her close Muslim friends invite her. Her social groups primarily involve African-Americans, Muslims, and white Catholics. She dresses relatively modestly by wearing jeans and half/quarter sleeved shirts, but she does not wear the hijab.
4. Mysha: As a Pakistani-American woman, Mysha was born in the United States, although she does identify closely with Pakistani culture. Mysha plans on working in the corporate world after graduating with a major in Business. She is an active member of the MSA and has served on the board as an officer during her sophomore year. Her social groups consist of mostly Muslims who she befriended through the MSA. She is also in regular contact with her high school friends who are white, Asian and African-American. While she does not wear the hijab, Mysha dresses modestly, wearing dresses, long sleeved tops, cardigans and jeans. She has brown-black hair and has typical Pakistani characteristics (slight build, Southeast Asian facial features, light brown skin tone).
5. Rachel: Rachel is a Sudanese-American woman majoring in biochemistry with hopes of working in public health or as a pharmacist in the future. She and her family immigrated

to the US in 1999, first residing in New York, and then moving to Northern Virginia. She is an active member of the MSA and attends all of their events religiously. It is through the MSA that she found her close friends, all of whom were Muslim. She wears the hijab and dresses very modestly, wearing long sleeved shirts, dresses, and jeans. She has a rich black skin tone, with typical African facial characteristics.

6. Sophie: Sophie identifies as American and is of Southeast Asian/Pakistani origin. She identifies little with Pakistani culture, although she does relate to the Pakistani community and its values. Sophie majors in business and technology, and intends to work in the field of technology after graduation. She has served on the MSA board as an officer for two years, and is diligent in attending MSA events. Her social groups involve mostly Muslims, most of whom she met through the MSA. She wears the hijab and dresses very modestly, with long sleeved shirts, dresses and jeans. She has typical Pakistani facial features, and possesses a light brown skin tone.

Looking across these vignettes, we can see some commonalities and differences in the backgrounds and experiences of the participants. The next section articulates the analytic frames that help analyze and contextualize the accounts of participants.

The Three Frames

1. The Hijabi vs. the Non-Hijabi

It is important to note that the participants in this study are all female, and are at varying levels of religiosity. And, while I recognize that racialization occurs differently for men and women, I find it particularly useful for the purpose of this research to limit the sample exclusively to women. The racialization of Muslims as a ‘genderless mass’ (Garner and Selod 2014) makes it

particularly important to investigate the role of gender in the process of racialization. Religious signifiers tend to play an important part in how men and women experience racialization. For women, the hijab is perhaps the most visible signifier one can wear in order to identify as Muslim.

The hijab itself carries with it political, religious and social implications. The hijab has been banned in countries such as France and Turkey, on the basis of its threat to the nations' secularism. More recently in 2015, the burkini (an item of swimwear donned by Muslim women that covers their hair and entire bodies) was banned in several coastal cities in France, upon the basis of it being "beachwear ostentatiously showing a religious affiliation while France and places of religious significance are the target of terror attacks" (The Independent 2016). As such, the hijab represents a religious affiliation to Islam, and within the current sociopolitical context where Islam and its members are othered, those who portray such signifiers are othered as well. The hijab places wearers in a unique position whereby their interactions are shaped via people's perceptions and misconceptions, as a result of this signifier being highly politicized. However, this is not to say that non-wearers of the hijab do not experience racialization on the basis of that signifier. Rather, sometimes the lack of that signifier results in their racialization in certain spaces, as will be seen in this thesis.

As such, the racialization of Muslim women, particularly those who wear the hijab, is significantly different from the racialization of Muslim women who do not appear 'outwardly Muslim'. Therefore, in order to further investigate the role of the hijab as a religious signifier that affects experiences of racialization and racialized identity, I was fortunate enough to gain a sample of participants of whom three wore the hijab, and three did not. This has allowed me to make comparisons as to the impact of the hijab in their interactions, experiences and development of their worldviews.

2. Boundary Making: Internal vs. External

Boundary making is an essential part of the process of racialization. Identifying the other as someone who does not belong requires notions of boundary. Such boundaries can either be created internally, or imposed externally. For Muslim-American women, forming boundaries may be essential to create feelings of belonging, and it may also help in preventing their racialization by others. We can see this through the kinds of social groups they choose to be a part of. All participants in this study, except for Leslie, had other Muslims and Muslim-Americans as their primary social groups. When asked why they were close to their Muslim friends, participants reported that having friends with the same religious and cultural values as them, made it easier for them to live their lives as Muslim-Americans, and also protected them from being othered. Therefore, these participants are involved in internal boundary making, and doing so allows them to create a sense of belonging, while preventing them from being racialized within their primary social groups.

External boundary making occurs when boundaries defining an individual or a collective as the other, is imposed on an individual. This can occur in public and private spaces, through the actions of the general public, the family, religious communities, the media and other actors. External boundaries can be used by these actors to define the racialized subject as someone who cannot fit into the norm of society. The racialized subject can be considered as inherently unassimilable and the foreign other– one whose characteristics are radically different from the rest of society. These external boundaries can either keep the racialized subject *within* the confines of their boundary (as will be seen in the discussion of racialization by the family), or *outside* of the boundary that was created for them (racialization by the general public). For example, Mysha reported that her mother constantly reminds her of the fact that she is Muslim and Pakistani, and

prefers that she interacts with Pakistanis over Americans, since, for her mother "being American is almost synonymous with being non-Muslim". These external boundaries imposed by actors such as the family and the general public can help make sense of how these women are likely to develop racialized identities, since these identities involve boundary making that is both internal and external.

3. Identity: Individual vs. Collective

An individual's identity is shaped primarily by their interactions with the social world, as well as their social location within it. In the process of identity formation, boundaries are created internally and are imposed externally on the individual, allowing them to create a sense of self that is constantly in flux, and yet can provide them a sense of stability. Collective identity involves a shared sense of identity that is comprised of members' common interests and experiences, as well as interactions of that group with greater society. For the purpose of this thesis, collective identity will refer to the shared identity of "Muslims of America", although I recognize that there are multiple ways to identify as Muslim-American in a society such as the USA.

The key point here is that individual identity may be part of the collective identity, but it does not always have to. All participants in this study, except for Sophie, assert that as Muslims living in the United States they identify closely with the collective identity as Muslims of America, and felt that the experiences of the collective involved racialization, and resonated with their own experiences. Sophie, on the other hand, felt as if she had not been racialized to the extent to which the collective asserted it had, and instead, she felt that "Muslims play the part of victim way too often. I don't feel like there is too much hate towards Muslims in America". Such an understanding of the collective as not being racialized, was a result of her individual experience of not feeling as if she experienced racialization. The boundary between her individual identity and the collective

identity is internal, since she creates the separation between identifying herself as a Muslim of America who is not a victim of racialization, and other Muslims of America who feel as if they have experienced racialization.

Using this frame helps us take into account the importance of participants' individual experiences and question whether they fit into the collective. Such a separation between the individual identity and collective identity also informs us of how these women understand themselves as part of larger society, or as part of a racialized population in the United States.

RESULTS

This study has four key findings:

1. Racialization in Public and Private Spaces: Subjects did in fact, report experiencing racialization in public and private spaces by different actors. I found that within public spaces, subjects reported experiencing the most racialization in educational institutions and the media, and the least amount of racialization in neighborhoods. This was due to several reasons. Virginia Tech is a white majority university, surrounded by rural area with little diversity in race and religion. Also, as college students, these women have spent a significant amount of time on the university campus, have interacted with their classmates, professors and colleagues, and due to the increase in the targeting of Muslims in the political sphere, have also been exposed to discussions in classrooms involving Islam and Muslims. As such, they have been in an environment where they are susceptible to being racialized quite easily. These women have also had direct access to the media, and have therefore been able to keep up with political discussions in the 2016 election cycle that involved Muslims. Subjects reported less racialization in their neighborhoods, much to my

surprise, but this is attributed mainly to the fact that the areas that they live in (which is situated in Northern Virginia) is very diverse in race, religion and culture.

In private spaces, subjects report experiencing the most racialization from their religious communities (the MSA in particular) and the least racialization from their peers. Religious communities such as the MSA can be spaces where individuals who are not deemed to be religious enough, or are perceived as not practicing Muslims, are discriminated against. It is here, where, as Mysha notes, one is "just a minority within a minority." Instead of the MSA providing a sense of belonging for its members, it can act as a racializing force that others particular individuals. On the other hand, the social groups that the subjects are a part of, and choose to be a part of, provide spaces where these women feel included and feel as if they belong. It is in this space where subjects are rarely othered on the basis of their being Muslim, being brown/black, being female, etc.

2. Impact of Religious Signifiers: The experiences of the subjects with racialization also demonstrate the importance of religious signifiers. Since the hijab is an overt religious signifier that women display, it is not very surprising that subjects who wear the hijab experience a different kind of racialization compared to subjects who do not wear the hijab. Hijabi participants are often assumed to be foreign, and are also questioned about their hijab, as well as their religion and its tenets. Non-hijabis still experience othering, sometimes on the basis of their being Muslim (especially when they made it blatantly obvious to others), and at other times, on the basis of their not being seen as practicing Muslims due to the fact that they did not display any religious signifiers. The impact of religious signifiers also varies according to the different spaces in which subjects find themselves in– as will be elaborated in this thesis.

3. Racialized Identity: This study also finds that as a result of their cumulative experiences with racialization, subjects possess a sense of themselves as the Other in these different spaces. Their identity as the Other is created internally through self-policing, and is also imposed externally by agents of racialization. That is to say, that through their experiences and interactions with others, the subjects come to realize that they are different (i.e. the internal sense of the Other), and that others also view them as different (i.e. externally imposed sense of the Other). Participants' racialized sense of self changes according to the different spaces that they occupy, since some spaces racialize them on the basis of different aspects of their identity. We see this through Mysha's example of being racialized by her religious community on the basis of her being perceived as not-Muslim-enough, while, when with family, Mysha's being Muslim is brought to the forefront, and is the basis upon which her mother creates the divide between Muslims and Americans. As such, participants' racialized identities vary according to the spaces in which they interact with others, and, as a result, their identities are constantly in flux.
4. Resistance to their Racialization: This study indicates that subjects employ several strategies to resist and cope with their racialization. Most participants indicate feeling the need to correct people's misconceptions, often by making it obvious to others that they are Muslim (if they did not wear religious signifiers). Or they attempt to combat people's stereotypes about Muslims, and Muslim women in particular by introducing facts about themselves that are not considered typical of Muslim women. Other examples include participants such as Sophie and Mysha resisting through asserting that they belong in the United States as Muslims, *and* as Americans, through either emphasizing their hyphenated Muslim-American identities, or through simply asserting their American identities. While

some strategies involve resistance, other strategies involve methods of coping in order to prevent future racialization. This is best seen through the act of smiling, as Sophie notes: "the one thing I really try to do, is that I try to make eye contact with anyone…I smile. They need to know that I am a nice person". These strategies are important in understanding how Muslim-American women, like the individuals in this study, have learnt to resist and cope with their racialization in order to prevent being racialized in the future, as well as decrease the feeling of *being* the Other in that particular space.

FINDINGS

In order to understand how the participants experience racialization, it is important to first understand how they experience and understand the concept of race. Participants view race in two ways, through phenotypical characteristics, and religion. During interviews with the Pakistani-American participants, skin tone and religion would overlap in our discussions of race. For Hira, race as "being brown and being Muslim" played an important part in her upbringing during her early years in the United States. She states that her "skin tone…wasn't like most of the other kids I went to school with. They all had different upbringings than I did (morally and religiously)." Therefore, for her, race is phenotypical as well as religious, in the way it is involved in her everyday experiences. Consequently, race continues to have importance in how she identifies herself in the present day:

> "H: It allows you to see things differently, I mean, I may not be black or anything, but I see that they have different issues than we do.
>
> I: 'We' being?"
>
> H: We being Muslim, brown, Americans".

Race also plays an important part in Sophie's understanding of her position as a racialized Muslim woman in the U.S. When asked about race's importance in her life, Sophie mentions an

event during elementary school when, after the tragedy of 9/11, one of her friends refused to come over to her house because she was Muslim. And then again, when asked about how race as a concept became apparent to her, Sophie mentions both skin tone and religion: "it was just me and another Muslim girl…I remember there was one black kid, and then I was Asian…it was mostly white people (in school)." Race as a concept, becomes interpreted by these Pakistani-American participants as being phenotypical and religious. They repeatedly mention skin color and religious affiliation when discussing race as an aspect of their lives. Their experiences with race involve their interactions with others, during which their 'brownness' and their association to Islam come to the forefront of defining who they are. This is regardless of whether they wear religious signifiers or not. All Pakistani-American participants in this study view race as an overlap of being Muslim and being brown.

For the Sudanese participants, however, race was seen as more phenotypical than religious. Leslie makes it quite obvious during her interview that race means skin color rather than religion. She notes: "First time I actually paid attention that I was black/African American was when I was filling out college applications… (before then), I was blind to color, race, to everything." In further discussions of race, she discusses her darker skin tone in comparison to her sisters, her membership in the African Student's Association on campus, her activism in Black Lives Matter, and her black skin tone as the key aspect that identifies her as the Other: "I think I am just seen as a foreigner. To them, I am just the other. I am just the black." It is important to note that for Leslie, the lack of religious signifiers does contribute to the emphasis she places on skin tone rather than religion. As a result of not displaying religious signifiers, she is able to detach herself from her Muslim identity and blend in as just black American/Sudanese-American/African-American. For Rachel, importance is given to skin tone over religion as well, albeit her experience is different from

Leslie's in that she does wear the hijab. In her experience, race is based on her dark skin tone, and on being visibly African-American: "Being African-American, people are like…you are definitely African-American. But throw the scarf in there, and it changes everything, and confuses them." By involving the hijab, her race as African-American becomes questionable, when people assume she is a foreigner and ask her where she is from: "My boss actually asked me where I was from…it was just so out of the blue, and I'm like… NOVA (Northern Virginia). And he's like 'no, no, no'…and I can see he is fumbling for words, and he means ethnicity. So, I tell him I am Sudanese." So, while race in Rachel's experience most directly involves skin tone, it also involves assumptions of foreignness on the basis of religious signifiers.

Another reason for why the Sudanese-American participants experience and understand race differently than the Pakistani-American participants is due to their location as black Muslims within the Muslim community. Despite the fact that black Muslims make up nearly a quarter of American Muslims (PEW 2011), they are often excluded from mosques that are South Asian and Arab Muslim dominated (Al-Jazeera 2015). In fact, both Rachel and Leslie report experiencing some sort of discrimination within religious communities to which they belong, based on their being Sudanese-American Muslims. In such spaces (where it is a given that you are Muslim), race becomes understood as phenotypical– where, for both Sudanese-American participants, race comes to mean skin tone rather than religious affiliation. This is primarily where the understanding of race between the Pakistani-American and Sudanese-American participants differs.

Understanding the concept of race as it unfolds in the everyday experiences of the participants not only demonstrates that race can involve religion, but it also demonstrates that race works differently in different spaces for specific individuals.

Public Spaces

As detailed in the literature review, Muslims experience a great deal of racialization in public spaces, which typically tend to include educational institutions, restaurants, shopping areas, airports, etc. Due to the limited sample size of this project and due to significant time restraints, this project will not cover the racialization that occurs in all the aforementioned public spaces. Rather, this section on public spaces will include areas where the participants report experiencing the most racialization.

Media

Media in its many forms, acts as a primary agent of socialization through which certain ideologies are perpetuated, influencing and transforming an individual's perspective and worldview. It strategically recreates realities of race, ethnicity, gender, etc. by modifying and controlling all information that participants receive. As such, the media serves "as a system of racialization" that has "historically been used to perpetuate the dominant culture's perspective and create a public forum that defines and shapes ideas concerning race and ethnicity" (Littlefield 2008:677). This would also be applicable in understanding the media as a tool of racialization that targets Muslims. Indeed, the participants in this study made several claims of the media racializing Muslims, and Muslim *women* in particular. This study identifies two ways in which media racializes participants. The first is racialization *by* the media, which entails how messages portrayed by the media shapes the perceptions of the American public, thus resulting in a transfer of racialization, based on the ideas perpetuated by media platforms. The second is racialization *in* media, which involves the representations of Muslims in these various media platforms. Participants are affected by the messages disseminated through media platforms. While these two forms of racialization occur separately, they are also intertwined in their effects on the participants.

Before we can begin to understand how the Muslim-American women in this study feel racialized *by* the media, we need to understand how these women view female Muslims as racialized *in* the media. Additionally, it is important to understand whether these women view themselves, and their identities as Muslim-Americans, as part of the collective identity of Muslims of America, particularly when it comes to the media's role in their otherization.

According to the participants, Muslim women tend to be portrayed in the media both positively and negatively. In both kinds of presentations, the focus remains on the appearance of Muslim women, with special attention paid to her wearing religious signifiers and the meanings that are associated with the hijab/abaya/dupatta, etc. Participants are keen to notice that the hijab is the singular aspect of the Muslim woman upon which positive or negative representations are determined in the media. Hira notes that the news media in particular "shows images of women in hijabs and niqabs, in places where they are oppressed." This erroneously generalizes the oppression of Muslim women in specific countries, to that of an entire race. Similarly, Rachel states that the media uses these images to advocate for particular agendas, and creates a rhetoric that perpetuates the notion of "we need to save them, kind of campaign." We can see the evidence of such biased representations, which have dominated political news coverage since 2001, when images of burka-clad Afghan women were used to justify military intervention in Afghanistan. The representation of "women of Afghanistan as gendered slaves in need of saving by the west" creates a biased representation of Muslim women that is continually perpetrated throughout media forms (Ayotte and Husain 20015:120). These ideas and images still persist today, and portray Muslim women as cultural and (in some cases) security threats to the western populous: "The hijab has become a semantically charged symbol of a religion that is seen to undermine western norms and values, and threatens western cultural identity and security" (Hebbani and Wills 2012:88).

These ideas not only shape the way in which the American public understands and perceives Muslim women, but can also identify them as the Other– as inherently un-American.

According to this study, the two most commonly reported negative representations of Muslim women in the media involved their portrayal as either oppressed, or as submissive to men. When questioned about how the media portrayed Muslim women, participants unanimously reply "oppressed." When further questioned, the participants could not give specific examples in the media where Muslim women are portrayed as oppressed, however, they summed up how they felt the media presented Muslim women. For Hira, the media "focuses on what they are wearing, on their opportunities and what they aren't allowed to do." Leslie views the media as reinforcing the "idea that she is being forced to represent…a certain perception…i.e. the fact that she is wearing the hijab not out of her choice, but because someone made her." Mysha notes that within the current political climate, being a minority is generally not presented in a good light. She elaborates by saying that Muslim women (and those who wear the hijab in particular) are portrayed as: "Oppressed. Because again, the hijab is that collective representation of Islam." The media nitpicks on "the way they (Muslim women) are dressed, or how they are treated by the opposite gender." Therefore, not only does the media present the hijab as in tandem with powerlessness, but it also cements the idea that hijabi Muslim women are backward, and incapable of progress. Despite the fact that some of the respondents do not wear the hijab, they still identify with the collective identity of the racialized (hijabi) Muslim-American females, since they are indirectly affected by the racialization of their hijabi fellow Muslims. Leslie notes:

> "my mom and sisters wear the hijab. My friends wear the hijab. I have an understanding of the hijab. College is not easy for anyone, and it's even more tough for someone to carry the burden of being a student and being on top of their academics, and being marginalized

> and oppressed, alienated. It's hard for them to be associated with being a terrorist, and a threat. In reality that's not what it is."

Hence, Leslie (along with other non-hijabi and hijabi participants) identifies closely with her the collective racialized Muslim-American hijabi identity.

In another instance of negative representation in the media, Mysha keenly notes that even when a hijabi Muslim woman is depicted as successful, her religious association to Islam is highly emphasized: "this is a successful Muslim woman. Not that this is a successful woman…It's because she is a *Muslim* woman." The representation of the Muslim hijabi as a successful woman who is no longer "under the thumb of men" (Sophie) is usually shown to be an exception, and a non-normative character, despite the fact that such successful women are actually very common, (as will be demonstrated in the positive representations).

Positive and negative representations of Muslim women also vary on the type of media that is used to portray them. For example, Hira's view is that "the news media is very negative on Muslim women", whereas on "the entertainment side, we are getting better". This is true in that there has been an increase in the representation of Muslim women in social media, advertisements, entertainment news, etc. Both Hira and Rachel mention Noor Tagouri, a 23-year-old Muslim-American, who was featured in an article in *Playboy* magazine in 2016. Her interview with *Playboy* portrayed her as "a badass activist with a passion for demanding change and asking the right questions," particularly when it comes to Muslim women and women's rights (Huffington Post 2016). Such an opportunity allowed a hijabi Muslim woman to gain some visibility in entertainment media, at a time when Muslim women (and women's rights) were part of politicized conversations during the election cycle of 2016. Hira also mentions *Glamour* magazine, where Nura Afia, beauty blogger and Muslim-American, became *CoverGirl*'s new brand ambassador, and was featured on several magazine covers. Particularly due to YouTube and Instagram, Muslim

women are becoming increasingly visible in the makeup and fashion industry, as beauty bloggers/vloggers, fashion bloggers, business owners, and models. More recently, *H&M* featured Mariah Idrissi, a hijabi Muslim woman born and raised in London, in a video designed to encourage consumers to recycle their clothes (CNN 2016). Rachel mentions Idrissi's spread-cover in particular, to emphasize how Muslim women are now being viewed positively in the media. She also mentions the importance of being able to see hijabi and non-hijabi Muslim Olympic athletes, who are able to "represent themselves and their own countries" to show the world that they are strong and are not oppressed as the world has made them out to be. She attributes this to the media finally portraying Islam's ability to "be adapted to any time, any point in history. That is the beauty of it." By demonstrating Islam's capacity to be modernized and westernized, particularly through positive portrayals of Muslim women, media can play a significant role in legitimizing the claim of Muslim-Americans to their American identity, while deemphasizing the notion that Islam and the west are incompatible.

The participants are very clear on how the racialization of Muslim women *in* the media impacts them in their daily lives. They believe that the media acts as a primary source from which the American public receives most of its information regarding Muslims. As such, participants feel that the American public is largely influenced by negative portrayals of Muslim women in the media. Hira believes that the American public views a majority of Muslim women as voiceless, while other participants feel the portrayal of Muslim women as 'oppressed' continues to strongly resonate in people's minds. These perceptions transfer from the media to the general public, affecting the way in which Muslim-American women, such as the participants in this study, are perceived as part of, or not as part of U.S. society. Jenny, Mysha and Sophie all feel that the lack of interaction of the American public with Muslim-Americans results in the media having a greater

impact on the racialization of Muslims in America. This is because "a lot of those people's perceptions…they haven't interacted with a Muslim. And the interactions they have seen…have been on the news" (Mysha). Sophie's view is that "those people who have a hesitancy towards Islam have a lack of interaction with Muslims." She even relates the story of a close friend, who had never met a Muslim before she met Sophie: "after she met me, she educated herself…. she never had a problem with me, her family was alright with me". Jenny feels very strongly about the impact of media on shaping the American public's perception of Muslims. She advocates for increasing interactions between Muslim-Americans and the American public, and criticizes the media for "slapping a lot of labels on so many different types of people". She also criticizes the American public for confining Muslim women into certain labels and not giving them a chance to speak out: "they won't give us the time of day to talk about the skills that we have. I could be smarter than you, but you won't know that because you won't give me the time of day to show you that".

While the participants do feel as if they are racialized by the media, both directly and indirectly, the impact of the media's racialization on their personal experiences is largely dependent on whether they personally display religious signifiers. Hira does not wear any religious signifiers, and therefore, when asked whether she thought the American public views her in the same light as the media portrayed Muslim women (i.e., as oppressed and submissive), she replies 'no.' This, she explains, is primarily because "since I am not a hijabi, and the activities I am usually involved in, like sports…I feel like I negate a lot of those stereotypes." Hence, it is here where there is a separation of her individual identity from the collective. Leslie also identifies the same way Hira does, with regards to the public viewing her as oppressed and submissive: "Because I think it's mostly the hijab that yells oppression (to others) …" Leslie does not see herself as a

direct target of racialization by the American public or by the media, due to the lack of religious signifiers. Mysha also feels as if she does not have to personally deal with the way in which Muslim women are racialized in the media, because "I don't really fit into those physical representations." Here we can observe that the impact of racialization by the media is radically different for those participants who do not wear the hijab versus those who do. Rachel often finds herself correcting people's misconceptions of Islam and Muslims, and feels that it is because of ideas perpetuated by the media that she has had to answer people's questions of "Is it true (that in Islam this happens/you believe this)?" When asked for examples of the kinds of questions she is asked, Rachel replies that "one of the biggest thing is people asking you if it is really part of the Quran, like, if men are allowed to hit women…I have even got questions about Sharia law, like why is this a thing, it's so backwards." She feels as if these questions arise out of misconceptions disseminated through media sources that are biased: "Some people will follow very biased news sources, and others will get their information from a lot of different sources, and be more well-rounded." Due to Rachel's display of the hijab, she is more likely to be identified as Muslim– this makes it easier for her to be racialized not only by the media, but also by others who are impacted by information dispersed by the media.

In its many forms, media serves as a space in which (and by which), Muslim women are racialized. In racializing Muslim women through the use of certain labels and stereotypes, the media is likely to have a strong impact and influence on shaping the perspectives of the general public on how to think about Muslim women in the U.S. While both negative and positive representations exist in the various media forms today, participants indicate that they feel that the American public is more likely to view Muslim-American women such as themselves, in a negative light. While this may be the case, it is important to understand and recognize that religious

signifiers do play a significant role in participants' experiences with media, and also determine whether an individual is more or less likely to experience racialization by the media on the basis of his/her being a Muslim of America.

Educational Institutions

Participants in this study identify feeling racialized within educational institutions, through the behavior and actions of those in their college community, classmates and in some cases, professors. Their experiences differ on the basis of their skin tone, whether they display religious signifiers, and other factors, such as language, their majors, and cultural differences. Data indicates that for certain participants, the university campus is a space where they feel comfortable, and view themselves as belonging to the college community. These participants are those who do not display religious signifiers, and in doing so, are able to decrease perceptions of difference between themselves and the greater college community. Mysha attributes her feelings of belonging within the student body to the prevalence of diversity on campus: "I guess, on campus, you look around and there is so much diversity. So, it doesn't feel weird that you are different". Likewise, Hira also seems to feel comfortable: "I feel like Virginia Tech is diverse enough to not feel uncomfortable anywhere". Despite the fact that Virginia Tech is a white majority university, Leslie indicates that the college campus was not an uncomfortable space for a black, Muslim woman to occupy, rather she feels as if she is viewed as part of the student body and university.

Participants who wore the hijab feel differently about Virginia Tech's campus as a welcoming space for individuals who are visibly Muslim. Jenny makes it very clear that for her, "walking around on campus" is a very uncomfortable experience, because she feels that students make assumptions about her that tend to be very stereotypical. For Rachel, not only does her hijab make her feel as the Other, but she feels that her skin tone further racializes her: "Especially at a

school like Virginia Tech, there is a lot more white people than there are any other race. Sometimes when I am in class, I notice it…oh, I am the only hijabi in class, I am the only black person." So, on campus and within classrooms, Jenny and Rachel may feel as if they are the foreign Other, due to the implications of being hijabi and being non-white in a campus where there is little racial diversity.

Sophie's experience is different from, and yet similar to the experiences of the hijabi and non-hijabi participants. As identifiably Muslim, Sophie feels comfortable on campus, but recognizes that she is viewed as essentially foreign: "I don't think people would take ownership of me and say, oh, she's a Hokie. They are probably like, she is here for her education and then she will go back to where she came from." While she views herself as part of the college community, and as a Hokie (a label for students of Virginia Tech), she realizes that she will not be viewed by others as truly part of the community due to the fact that she wears the hijab and is brown. As such, while Sophie attempts to prevent internal boundaries from forming (through asserting her Hokie status), it is more than likely that external boundaries from the college community prevent her from being able to claim such a status.

Not only is campus a space where racialization occurs, but classrooms can also be spaces where Muslim-Americans feel racialized by their classmates and professors. For the black participants in this study, race is a significant factor in pointing out their difference. Both Rachel and Leslie often find themselves the sole African-Americans in their classes: "I realized, hey! I am the only black person in my class" (Leslie). For Rachel, her race and her religion come to the forefront of her racialization when she realizes that she is not only the only African-American, but also the only hijabi in her science classes. The hijabi Pakistani-American participants, Jenny and Sophie, indicate that they are more likely to be racialized on the basis of their religion, rather than

their race– although their race is sometimes a factor in their racialization. Jenny mentions her experiences with debate and speech during high school, when she would often be expected by her peers and professors to be the key source of information for issues regarding Asia and the Middle East: "…every time I would go speak about my debate or topic, that was issued about somewhere in Asia or the Middle East, or any political issue…it was made blatantly obvious to me that I was…(different)." Sophie's experience is one that is quite common for hijabi Muslims in classrooms: "You know how you're the only Muslim in class and whenever Islam is mentioned, they glance at you?" Because the hijab is such an identifiable signifier of one's association to Islam, there is an expectation that hijabi Muslims are well informed of information regarding Islam, the Middle East, or Muslims. As such, when they are singled out as the primary source of information, they are consequently Othered on the basis of their Muslim identity. Hira mentions an incident in high school, when her world history teacher asked her to validate the information he had on Islam: "I like that he wanted a Muslim to help him give that presentation, so I didn't mind doing it. But I was singled out though". The expectation for those who are either visibly Muslim, or make it obvious to others that they are Muslim, is that they are the spokesperson for Islam or any topic that is related to Islam and Muslims. This can often make these individuals feel as if they are the Other, simply because of their association with Islam.

In cases where participants do not wear religious signifiers, they are able to avoid being racialized on the basis of their religion. Hira recounts her experience with an Indian professor who mistook Hira for being Indian, and was therefore more lenient towards her: "…she gave me more attention, because I pretended I was Indian." By passing off as Indian, and by not making it obvious that she was actually a Pakistani-American Muslim, Hira was able to distance herself from her Muslim-American identity, and was thus able to avoid being racialized on the basis of her religion.

However, when these participants do inform their peers and professors of the fact that they are Muslim, they notice that "the climate shifts" (Mysha): "So like, people kind of shift, when you mention Islam itself…I'm like, I am Muslim. You didn't know that five minutes ago, and you were interacting normally with me before. So, I don't know why this label suddenly has to change anything." It is here where these individuals view their individual identity as part of the collective identity of Muslim-American.

The participants also mention instances when they were racialized by their classmates or professors. Hira and Jenny both remark that they have never experienced racialization by their professors, although they have experienced othering by their classmates and peers. They are also the only two participants who have experienced bullying during their middle school (Hira) and their high school (Jenny) years. While Hira was unwilling to recount her experience with bullying, Jenny was much more open about her experiences:

> "So, the two instances that most stand out for me, there was one when I started wearing hijab, I was in middle school, 7th grade. I was walking to gym class, and there was 8th graders behind me and they tugged on my hijab. The first two times, I was like, ok I am just going to ignore them. And then I turned around and glared at them. And that was all I did… In my senior year of high school, I was in AP Art. I had the opportunity to paint, leave something on the wall. We do silhouettes in my school, and so, I got to paint something on the wall, it was a silhouette of me and my hijab. I painted my hijab as the American flag. I wanted to make other girls who come to that school to feel just as comfortable being there. But unfortunately, there were some people who were mean about it. They took a picture and posted it through social media and didn't put nice emojis with it. But, instead of me going face to face with the guy, because we didn't know each other. But my friends actually took a stand against him for that. It was really cool because, in the end, the sheriff of our school ended up yelling at the kid and it was cool to see how many people who weren't even a part of my ethnicity, were supporting me."

In both accounts, Jenny experienced bullying on the basis of her hijab. According to her bullies, it seems to serve as the key marker of difference between herself and them. Sophie's experience with one of her professors reminds us of how uncomfortable it can be to be in an environment where one's identity as a Muslim-American is racialized:

> "So, in global ethics, we do a lot of philosophy… He (the professor) was saying that as humans, in primitive times, we came to a social agreement on how we will run things. He was like, we as a nation have come to agree on the way in which we order things, so what should we do about terrorists of the world. And the way he said terrorist, you could tell he meant a specific kind of terrorist. I didn't agree with the solution he brought up, and so I raised my hand. I was dreading raising my hand, because it's like, the Muslim girl, wearing a hijab is going to talk, so obviously, she is going to say something that is pro-terrorism. But then, I was like, since they disagree with our system, you cannot hold them accountable to the rules if they don't agree to the rules. Nobody in the class understood what I was trying to say, and so, he was like okay, we are just going to move off of this topic."

Sophie's answer, while arguably logical, is completely misconstrued due to her location as a hijabi Muslim woman. Rather than engaging with her answer to provide alternative viewpoints, the professor creates a situation where Sophie is deliberately othered due to the stereotypes that are typically associated with being Muslim. By not allowing her time to explain her answer, her professor enters the role of an active agent in the process of racialization, and grants her classmates license to racialize her and other Muslim-Americans, in future interactions. Such interactions are dangerous, because they reinforce stereotypes that racialize Muslims, and also negatively impacts the psyche of all individuals who are involved in such interactions.

This section demonstrates that, for Muslim-American youth, educational institutions can be key spaces of racialization, which shape their identities, particularly during their formative years in middle and high school. While the participants in this study are currently at the undergraduate level, their experiences with racialization in college can still inform the way in which they view

their position in the world as adult Muslim-Americans. Their interactions with their classmates, their professors and the broader campus community can affect their identity formation, as well as shape the identities and perceptions of the agents who are racializing them.

General Public Spaces

The experiences of the participants with public racialization are largely dependent upon whether they wear religious signifiers, and if the spaces in which they interact are diverse in race and religion. The spaces in which the participants identify experiencing racialization by members of the public are specifically on public transport, at the gym, airports, and in workspaces. Their experiences not only involve their racialization based on their appearance as hijabis or non-hijabis, but also depends on their skin-tone, and assumptions about their citizenship status and nationality. Based on previous research conducted on Muslim-American experiences with racialization in public spaces (Selod 2015, Moosavi 2015, Mir 2006 etc.), I recognize that there are locations other than the ones mentioned above. However, the participants in this study only reported the general spaces discussed within this thesis, and, as such, we cannot go further in investigating other public spaces. Nevertheless, these are the key areas where my subjects report feeling othered, and I feel that an examination of these spaces is necessary to understand how and why my subjects are racialized in these certain spaces.

As an outgoing and socially active individual, Hira experiences racialization in her many extracurricular activities, which also include her jobs as a caterer and as manager for the school's soccer team. Her experiences have primarily involved interactions with public citizens, who do not realize that she is Muslim, or accept that she is American, due to her lack of religious signifiers, and brown skin tone. For example, at one of her catering engagements, she found herself

relentlessly questioned by a white man about her nationality, ability to speak English and also her appearance:

> "…this man kept asking me questions, 'Where are you from?'…I told him, and he asked me where my grandparents studied from. 'Oh, you're the Pakistani elite!'. But, his first comment to me was that you are pretty for a Pakistani girl. And then, later on, he said you speak good English."

Based off of her accent, and her appearance as a brown, non-hijabi, this individual makes assumptions about Hira that are rooted in the notion of her being foreign. Even after she corrects him by asserting that she has lived in the United States for a majority of her life, he adds "you sure don't sound like an immigrant." This indicates two things: one, that the status of 'American' is attributed to those who are white, and two, that language and accent are both important in shaping individuals' perceptions of the Other. In another instance, Hira was approached by another white male during a soccer game, who struck up a conversation with her, which also involves questioning her nationality:

> "…he asked me if I was going back to my homeland after studying. After he heard me talk, he did not comprehend that I was from Virginia. He was just…I kept saying my dad works here, my boyfriend is in the military, and even with that, all he would ask is that, 'are you going reside here in America?'. Yes! He would just not get it through his head that America is my home."

For Hira, citizenship is a recurrent theme in defining her experiences with being othered. Despite the fact that she does not wear the hijab (which tends to signify foreignness), her skin tone, facial features and accent are the primary factors upon which she is considered to be not American. However, Hira is in a unique position where the lack of the hijab also indicates that she is not fully un-American either. Hira recognizes that not wearing the hijab allows her to reduce the instances of her racialization, since she does not fall into the typical stereotypes associated with female Muslims:

> "People really base their opinions on what they see. And since I am not a hijabi, and the activities that I am usually involved in, like sports, and talking... I talk a lot, I am a person that speaks their mind all the time. So, I feel like I negate a lot of those…stereotypes."

Besides for the lack of the hijab, Hira's involvement in several extracurricular activities, as well as her passion for sports and fitness, do not signify to the general public that she fits within the category of Muslim-American. This is because she is not viewed as particularly Muslim, due to her various activities and lack of the hijab. Hence, she is able to downplay this part of her identity when she chooses, and significantly avoid being racialized in public. In the instances when Hira does make it known to others that she is Muslim, she is met with shock: "…people are usually surprised to know that I am Muslim." Additionally, it is her failure of falling into the stereotype of the oppressed, submissive Muslim female that shocks others and demonstrates that, if she were to wear the hijab she probably would have been racialized. During her interaction with the white male at the soccer game, Hira informs him of her goal of earning a doctorate in physical therapy. She also informs him that her Muslim, Pakistani grandparents both earned their PhD's in Germany in the 1950s: "I love saying that, because the surprise on some people's faces…you could tell that they were not expecting you would do that (earn a doctorate). Even in that time, a woman would do that. A *Muslim* woman would do that." Education plays an important role in Muslim women's oppression, since pre– and post-9/11, the media has perpetuated the notion that Muslim women, like those under Taliban rule in Afghanistan and in certain areas of Pakistan, are not allowed to pursue an education (The New York Times 2001). The expectation that she– a Muslim Pakistani-American female, could possibly aspire to earn a doctorate in physical therapy, goes against the stereotype that has been perpetuated by biased media, and continues to shape the perceptions of the average U.S. citizen regarding Muslim women of the world. The danger of these stereotypes drives home the notion of the boundary between Islam and the west, as well as the idea of these

women being Muslims *in* America, rather than *of* America. The white man in Hira's interaction demonstrates that the notion of Muslim women's oppression in Islam, and their consequent restriction on education as imposed by their religion, is still deeply rooted in the general public's mind.

Despite interactions such as these, Hira views her appearance as not-visibly-Muslim, a positive and negative thing. When asked whether individuals have always been surprised to know that she is Muslim, Hira replies: "Yeah, they always ask me if I am practicing." The lack of signifiers that indicate her association to Islam, seem to portray the message that the reason why she is so ambitious, has a passion for fitness and is involved in extracurricular activities, is because she is not *as Muslim* as those women who do wear the hijab. She states: "Because they think I am the way I am, I am not practicing." This is an experience of racialization that occurs not only by agents of the public, but also by the MSA and other communities, as will be elaborated below. However, Hira does recognize the benefit to others viewing her as not-as-Muslim: "At the same time, because of the way I am, they are more willing to ask me questions. So, a lot of people who are not Muslim would ask me questions that they would not typically ask a person who is in a hijab, or looks stereotypically Muslim." The benefit of this, she identifies, is that she is able to correct many misconceptions that the public has about Muslims and Islam, as she did with the man questioning her about her education. She recognizes that if she were to wear the hijab, she would probably be considered as intimidating, or unapproachable, since she would be automatically assumed to be foreign. This is particularly evident in Rachel and Sophie's experiences, but it does not affect only those who do wear the hijab.

Mysha's experiences are similar to Hira's in that her appearance as a brown, non-hijabi female presents her as assimilated, and "less Muslim." However, she attempts to counteract this

by dressing modestly and holding fast to certain Pakistani traditions. As an American born citizen of Pakistani origin, Mysha feels as if her American nationality is very apparent in the way she talks and interacts with others, although she identifies with her Pakistani identity to a certain extent. This, she believes confuses people: "although I was born here, I am still very Pakistani…I can blend on both sides." Similar to Hira's experiences, Mysha also experiences others questioning her American identity on the basis of her adherence to a certain level of modesty:

> "In America, if you don't wear the hijab, you are not as Muslim, but you dress modestly and stuff, so you are not as American either. Wearing it (the hijab), is the representation, but not wearing it is that you are not part of that group (Muslims)… The way I act, the things I believe, they are still fitting in Islam, so, I guess they (the American public) question why the hijab isn't there. It's like they almost expect that, but I am not giving it to them. So, it's like, if I am not wearing the hijab, why am I still Muslim?"

While she may appear as the assimilated American, Mysha's modest appearance betrays her as not fully American, resulting in her racialization. When she makes her association to Islam apparent to others, "it is as if they almost expect you to think traditionally; to think within some closed, confined way". And yet, when she does not adhere to those traditional practices, she is not considered to be practicing Muslim. She relates an event during her sophomore year of college, at the time when the murder of three Muslim-Americans at Chapel Hill caused concern on Virginia Tech for the safety and mental well-being of its Muslim students. A news crew approached the MSA asking for an interview with someone in a leadership position, and since Mysha served on the MSA board during that time, she offered to be interviewed: "The news anchor looked confused, that she (Mysha) doesn't fit this traditional morph." Since Mysha does not wear the hijab, she is deemed the 'assimilated American,' or not a practicing Muslim. Had she worn the hijab, she may have served the purpose of the news crew, who were looking to interview someone who fit their version of 'Muslim-American'. This event of racialization is detrimental to the identities of those

individuals who identify as Muslim, since a rejection of this sort is an outright denial of their Muslim identity. Additionally, Mysha occupies an interesting position where she is not assumed to be foreign enough to be the Muslim Other, since she does not wear the hijab, and not assimilated enough to be fully American, since she chooses to dress modestly.

Not fitting into stereotypes is also something that Jenny, Rachel and Sophie experience through their racialization by the public. As this study's hijabi participants, they identify the stereotypes that are typically expected of them by public agents: "I feel like others see me as the hijabi, stereotypical, quiet girl" (Sophie). Rachel also feels similarly, in that others assume that she fits into the stereotypes of the voiceless Muslim hijabi. She feels that others, including her classmates and professors "think that I am really shy…like, 'Oh no, we have to help her'…you can see it in their eyes. They just pity you. I'm like, no. Treat me like you would treat Becky." She often tries to contradict this assumption by speaking out: "if only you knew how loud and obnoxious I am, you would beg me to shut up." This is only one example of resistance that the Muslim-Americans in this study use to defy their racialization, and identify how you cannot lump all Muslim-Americans into one category of Muslim.

In Jenny's experience, the hijab seems to be the primary aspect upon which the public racializes her. She relates a conversation she overheard about her in a mall: "At the mall, I think they were like, 'Who is this Moslem chick? Oh my God, did you see her? She's wearing that thing on her head.'" When asked whether that conversation made her uncomfortable, Jenny replies: "No, it just made me laugh. I find these things amusing." Rather than allowing this to affect her negatively, she brushes this off, and accepts that "there is not much you can do about it," since the public will continue to have its perceptions shaped by the media, as well as by its lack of interaction with real Muslims. Some of the blatant discrimination that other participants experience, is also

due to their display of religious signifiers. Sophie relates an incident where an elderly lady cursed at her and her mother while in New York City:

> "We sat on a bench, and a little ways down there was a big bench. There was an old frail white lady, and all of a sudden, my mom and I were talking figuring out what street to go on. And I just hear 'non-Jesus believing, raghead…', all these insults. She was just spewing out hate. And (to her mother) I was like, let's just leave, and let her have her bench. And she was like, 'F– you!'. Since I was with my mom, and since she grew up so sheltered, I felt like I had to protect her, because I am more aware of things. It doesn't bother me, it made me laugh. With older people, I try not to get into it, because I am like, you've lived that long with that in your mind and heart, nothing I will say will change it."

Had Sophie not worn the hijab, it is possible that she may not have experienced such discrimination. In Rachel's experience, her interactions with others at her workplace have involved discriminatory behavior by her customers:

> "As a pharmacy technician, there is like, a lot of customer interaction that I do. And so, because we are where we are in Blacksburg, a lot of people come in from Floyd and other surrounding countryside. So, you'll get people who have only seen Muslims on their TV screens, like FOX news or something. Or have heard stories from others. And so, there have been instances where people have come up and given the most attitude, and I am like, I don't know if it's because you want your medication, or because I am a black Muslim, helping you out. I think that, that is one instance where I am most uncomfortable."

While Rachel recognizes that there may be other reasons for why she has such uncomfortable interactions, it is not too far-fetched to assume the possibility of Rachel's racialization on the basis of her hijab and skin color. Since her interactions occur in an area that lacks diversity in religion and race, it is not implausible that she may be the first black hijabi that her customers encounter.

Both Sophie and Rachel experience questioning on the basis of their assumed foreignness. Sophie relates an instance of walking with a white friend in Roanoke, Virginia, when she was stopped by a woman who began questioning her of where she was from:

> "This lady may never have seen a brown girl like me before. And so she stopped us, and she goes 'Where are you from?' to me. I'm like, okay, here we go. I'm answering her questions. But she was kind of like, oh, are you visiting your friend here, from another country? Asking questions about me meeting my friend, how I got here, if my friend was sponsoring me. All that weird stuff. I'm like, I'm from Northern Virginia, I'm a citizen. I'm here not just because of my friend. My friend was just so offended and so outraged. I was like, I've been there, done that. I'm fine."

Again, Sophie is assumed a foreigner, due to the fact that she wears the hijab and has a brown skin. This is also applicable in Rachel's experience where she was questioned by her boss about her national origin. Even after informing him that she is from Northern Virginia, he asserts that he meant which country she and her family hail from. Such questioning of their national identity demonstrates that the line between being Muslim and being American is very rigid in the mind of the general public. There is an inherent assumption that if you are identifiably Muslim, like Rachel and Sophie, then you are not a Muslim *of* America, but are instead a Muslim *in* America. This is because Islam is a religion considered to be inherently un-American– a idea that was driven home particularly during the election cycle of 2016. For many Muslim-Americans, identifying as American and as a member of Islam forces them to grapple with a sense of double consciousness (Grewal 2014:7), which is made further apparent in their racialized interactions with both public and private actors. How can one feel as if they belong, and yet be identified by others as not belonging to the nation? While the women in this study identify as American and are proud of this identification, their national identity constantly comes under fire from the general public, simply because of the fact that they are assumed to be fundamentally foreign.

Sophie recounts an experience during her early years in elementary school, when she first realized the meaning of her citizenship to the United States:

> "I remember in 2nd grade, this little girl was singing a 'I love America' song or whatever. So, it was a patriotic thing… it was

> bothering me because it was during class time and I was trying to work, so, I told her to shut up, but then she was like 'I'm singing an American song, why are you being such a hater'. I was just so annoyed. I don't think she realized that her singing was the problem for me, she may have just thought that I don't like the American song…"

While this may seem like an uneventful and perhaps innocent experience, understanding Sophie's citizenship status during that time informs us of how she viewed herself as a foreigner:

> "Back then, we weren't citizens, and I was a little paranoid about…my parents were like, we are waiting for our green card, because my dad was here on his visa based on his work thing. I remember in elementary and middle school, we asked (our parents) about our green card, 'did our green card come in yet?"

Even at a young age, she recognized that her immigration status defines her as a foreigner in school and in public. In realizing that her citizenship and belonging to the nation was at stake, Sophie reports having felt very different from the other students at school, and feels that her citizenship status helped her form an internal boundary between herself and others. To this day, her experiences are still shaped by her citizenship status, and are also rooted in others' assumptions of her as not American.

Public Transport

With regards to the specific public spaces where participants experience racialization, only the hijabi participants report experiencing discrimination on public transport. Both Sophie and Rachel experience others avoiding sitting next to them on buses, and while they both don't seem to mind it too much, Sophie reports that "it's a little hurtful." None of the non-hijabi participants reported experiencing such behavior on public transport, which indicates that the presence of the hijab is the key factor that marks the difference in the hijabi and non-hijabi participants' experience with racialization on public transportation. While this may seem like a non-issue to some, observing others going out of their way to avoid sitting next to you is a microaggression, and a

form of othering that is sharply felt by the individual being targeted. Sophie also relates an incident that happened to one of her hijabi friends on the campus bus:

> "One of my friends (is) an engineer, and so, she has one of those kits (that they use) that looks sketch. But, Muslim woman getting on a bus, with that, she was talking about how the bus driver asked her to open up the kit, which was unnecessary. Also, innovation space, you know the recorders that they give out, they come in those boxes that are so sketchy looking. I'm like, smiling like hi! You have to go out of your way to look as non-threatening as possible. It's just annoying in that aspect. That's why I make sure that if I do get a camera or recorder or something, I put it in my bag. It's sad though, that you (interviewer) and me, whenever we are carrying something like that, we have to be more cautious."

This event makes the impact of the hijab particularly poignant in the process of her friend's racialization. Despite the fact that this incident occurred on campus, where engineering students are often seen with their kits in hand, this kit in particular seemed to communicate a different kind of message, simply because it was in the hands of a hijabi. Sophie's cautious behavior whenever she has to carry a Pelican kit indicates that she is aware that she is viewed as a threat by others. Therefore, in order to seem less threatening, and in order to avoid being racialized, she always attempts to hide the kits in her bag. One cannot help but wonder if a white or African-American student were to carry such a kit on campus, or on public transport, would they also feel that others view them as potential threats? The experiences of Muslim women on public transportation are very informative about the role religious signifiers and skin tone in the general public's perceptions of the Muslim population.

Gym/Athletic Centers

So, while the hijab has a significant role in racializing women on public transport, it seems that gender is the key factor upon which participants in this study are othered at the gym. Rachel identifies the gym on campus as the one place where she does not feel particularly comfortable as

a female Muslim-American hijabi. Hira also identifies feeling out of place at the athletic center and gym, since she is "the only brown woman there." When asked why she feels particularly out of place at the athletic center, she replies: "I know when people are starting to stare at me, like, you don't really see Muslims, or brown people in athletics." Her skin tone, as well as her gender are key in her being othered, and this is made obvious through the looks that she receives from others.

Airports

For Muslim-Americans, airports are spaces where they expect to experience blatant and hidden discrimination in the form of security checks and microaggressions, such as staring and anxious looks. Unfortunately, in this study only two participants report being frequent flyers, and both of them are non-hijabi. All other participants have either no experience with airports at all, or have only been through an airport when they were very young, and therefore have no memory of their experiences. Hence, due to the lack of data on airports, I cannot make comparisons as to the impact of the hijab in the racialization of the participants at airports. Nevertheless, their accounts do provide us information as to how airports are spaces of othering.

Hira encountered two experiences with racialization at the airport: one was during a layover in Turkey, and the second was when she was returning from Dubai. During her layover in Turkey, Hira had to undergo a security check and noticed that "one line was of white people, one was of East Asians, and then one of South Asians." When she asked the guard "why is it so? Why are you doing this?" the guard simply replied, "this is just how it has to be now." Despite possessing an American passport, Hira was still asked to stand in line with South Asians, since she is very visibly brown. Nagra and Maurutto (2016) state that "racialized border practices, in particular, present serious repercussions for national belonging, as claims to citizenship are arbitrated in these spaces"

(172), and we see this quite clearly in Hira's example. She also reports being given the special security boarding pass when traveling, and also encounters random checks "especially if I am the only brown person…picked out of a line". These random checks can be very humiliating for those individuals who are unfortunate enough to undergo them.

Hira also recounts another event when, coming in from Dubai, she was stopped by airport staff and security and had to have her carry on opened:

> "I wasn't even pulled aside. They literally opened and searched all my belongings. It was a carry on and so it had all of my undergarments and everything. So, for anyone to just look over and peek into my bag, it was just very uncomfortable. It was like they were publicly shaming people, and again, it was like most of the line was Muslims. A lot of hijabis were in the line, people who basically weren't white."

Such encounters demonstrate how race plays a significant role in the racialization of Muslims– as well as of those individuals who are likely to be mistaken for Muslims. Joshi's (2006) explanation of the racialization of Sikhs and Hindus occurring as a result of the racialization of Muslims, helps us understand how skin tone, and other signifiers are involved in the process of racialization, particularly in the public space of airports. This is most apparent in the discrimination and othering of Hira at the airport, on the basis of her skin tone, rather than her religious affiliation.

Leslie's experience at the airport also involves her racialization on the basis of her skin tone, since she also doesn't display any religious signifiers. When at the airport in England, Leslie stood in line for security check and was asked to step aside:

> "The security guy called me out and said, 'Come here for a random check'. I looked at my sister, like, why is he doing a random check on me. We literally had the same last name, we came from the same house, we are visiting the same house, we are the same ethnicity/race. Just like, visibly I stood out for him. I was a warning sign. I looked at the guy…because I told you that my sister is way lighter than I am. And I looked at him, I don't think this is a random

> check, and his face changed completely. I think this is because I am black. He was just like, you are good. You can leave, you can leave. You are good. It was embarrassing, it was humiliating. It's just like, there is nothing that shouts out like, danger you know, for me, other than the fact that my pigment is dark."

In Leslie's case, she does not appear South Asian– an ethnicity that typically is associated with terrorism. Rather, she feels as if her black skin is viewed as a threat, and after pointing out the security guard's apparent racism, her suspicions were proven correct in that her skin color "shouts out… danger" to him. In both Hira and Leslie's cases, these 'random' checks are ways by which "border officials… use the ambiguity surrounding the meaning of racial profiling to make official denials, in order to conceal their pervasive use of racial profiling at borders" (Nagra and Maurutto 2016: 177). Therefore, by denying their (apparent) racism, border security and TSA agents are able to continue using these race-based practices, all the while invalidating participants' experiences of discrimination.

Law Enforcement

The issue of security seems to be a running theme in the experiences of the participants, particularly when it comes to law enforcement. As a Muslim living in America, one must take special care not to come under the microscope of the law, both physically and online: "I'm not going to google terrorism on my laptop. I am certainly not going to have that on my search history" (Sophie). Muslims in the United States have an acute mindfulness for their surveillance by the government, and thus practice self-policing in their day to day lives. In their study on practicing the hyphenated identity of Muslim-American during a time of surveillance, Zaal et al (2007) note that their Muslim-American participants felt that they "were being listened to on the telephone or tracked on the internet– as several were warned by their parents– the sensibility that they were being controlled, being watched, was enough to lead them to believe that they were under constant

surveillance" (172). While participants may have some control over being racialized online, they demonstrate having little control over physically experiencing racialization with law enforcement.

Race and religious signifiers both play a large role in the interactions of the participants with the police. The likelihood of the participants' racialization rests upon whether or not a location is particularly diverse in race. When asked where they felt they were most likely to be racially profiled, Mysha and Jenny state that it is particularly in rural areas where they feel they are frequently stopped by the police: "…when you go outside of Blacksburg limits, that's where I feel you would be more racially profiled. There's that fear, particularly in rural Virginia, where there are Trump-Pence signs" (Mysha). When comparing her experiences in Blacksburg, (which is located in rural Virginia), to that in Northern Virginia (an area known for its diversity in religion and race), Jenny reports that because "there are a lot more Muslims there", she feels less likely to be pulled over and interrogated by the police: "It's definitely something that I am fearful of…"

Sophie and Hira have been pulled over a number of times by the police, due to traffic violations. While they both admit to guilt of breaking the law, they report unfair treatment by the police officers who interacted with them. In Sophie's case, a minor traffic violation was addressed by a white female officer who "cut me no slack." Hira also felt that the officer who was ticketing her was using a very stern voice, which she felt was highly unnecessary. Both Sophie and Hira believe that it is their race which affected their negative interactions. "had I been a different demographic, I would have been cut some slack" (Sophie). Hira compares her experiences with her white friends, and states that when her white colleagues are pulled over by traffic police, "they are like best friends," and that they are often let off with a warning and are not treated in the same way she is treated when she is pulled over. Hughey (2015) notes that spaces are ideologically racialized, and law enforcement officers "target people of color in areas understood as white space"

(860). Hence, when brown or black bodies enter white spaces, "police can evoke a supposedly color-blind rationale" that supports the ideology that these bodies "beg for surveillance due to their guilt by association with their own skin" (860).

Jenny's experience allows us to make comparisons regarding the impact of race and religious signifiers in interactions with law enforcement. While in Northern Virginia, Jenny and her sister accidentally drove down a private road that belonged to a "big gated company", and were consequently pulled over by the police. The officers "were very rude" to them and even asked her hijabi sister to step out of the car, in order to search her. When they related this story to their cousin, who is married to a white American man, her husband said, "'No way did that happen'. So, he went to go drive on the same road, but they were so nice to him. 'Oh, sir. You are on the wrong road.'" The difference in their interactions is indicative of racial profiling that occurs on the basis of skin tone, as well as religious signifiers. And while diversity in certain locations does impact how law enforcement officers are sensitive to individuals' races and religions, it does not guarantee that individuals will not be racially profiled.

The Workspace

Almost all participants have experienced othering in one form or other while at their workspace, or while searching for jobs. Their experiences with othering have either been due to their gender, skin color or their wearing of religious signifiers. Hira states that she has had no trouble in finding a job, nor has she experienced any discrimination at her workplace. This is primarily because all her "employers have been all races, from Jamaican to white, to Asian." As such, the diversity that she experiences at work makes her workspace a welcoming environment. While Mysha and Leslie haven't experienced job discrimination, they report that their work environments are explicitly misogynistic, and their position as women in the workplace is made

particularly poignant in their interactions with colleagues. For example, Leslie states that during her internship she was often asked to complete small, feminized tasks, and in doing them, her gender was continually emphasized by her male colleagues, which made her feel "used, like an object…it was very uncomfortable."

Rachel's interactions (as previously mentioned), primarily involve her interactions with customers during her job as a pharmacy technician. In these interactions, we have been able to observe the effect of her hijab and skin tone, in a rural area that is both white majority and Christian. However, it is Sophie's experiences with job discrimination that prove most poignant in emphasizing the effects of the hijab in her securing a job. She states:

> "…recently, I have been filling out job applications…I am super qualified for many of the things that I apply for. But then, once it comes to the video part of the interview process, they will be like, okay, your qualifications do not meet our specifications. Which is fine! But maybe that's covert discrimination, maybe they don't realize they are doing it. But I feel like, underlying their rejections on the basis of my qualifications, is the fact that I am Muslim".

When Sophie first submits her job applications, she is accepted by her prospective employers and is considered to be highly qualified for positions she applies for. However, once they ask her for a video interview, her appearance becomes crucial in determining her fit for the position; here it becomes crystal clear that the only reason for why she is denied a position, is her hijab. It is also upon the basis of her hijab that Sophie is not approached by recruiters at job fairs:

> "When I am passing by booths, I've noticed that people don't approach you that much…I would still like them to approach me. At the sorority and fraternity booths, I'm like, you aren't approaching me to support your causes, and I would support them! But you aren't reaching out to me, and we all know why. I feel like, I have to constantly be the one to reach out, and be given a chance, versus the other way around."

Sophie feels as if her hijab makes her stick out, portraying her as someone who is unapproachable, and perhaps unfit for a position at certain companies. Conceivably, it is the stereotype that hijabis and Muslim women are uneducated or shy, which makes them seem as if they are unsuitable for employment. These stereotypes not only negatively impact the psyche of Muslim women, but they can also limit the job opportunities that are available to women.

Neighborhoods

The one public space where participants report feeling the least racialized is their neighborhoods. This is primarily due to the fact that their neighborhoods are very diverse. Hira, Jenny, Leslie and Rachel's neighborhoods are very racially and religiously diverse, in that they have black, white, Hispanic and mixed families who are Muslim, Christian, Coptic Christian, Jewish, atheist, etc. Participants report that during religious and national holidays, their families often celebrate these occasions through exchanging gifts and food with their neighbors:

> "On Christmas, we will make Christmas cookies, on Halloween we will pass out candy… Nothing really differentiates us. If anything, our white neighbors are more exposed to our culture. Like, on Ramadan they would give us food. It's very beautiful, how we are all integrated." (Leslie).

While there was no report of othering in their neighborhoods from Jenny, Leslie and Rachel, Hira reports that despite the welcoming nature of her neighborhood, her family has been specifically targeted by the Homeowners Association in their residential area. The HOA began fining her father for not adhering to certain standards, such as painting the deck, having the wrong color of their front door (although it came with the house), and having white lights instead of yellow. After having to pay these fines, Hira's father finally joined the HOA to ensure that he would not be discriminated against in the future:

> "…the reason my dad got involved (in the HOA) was because he kept getting fined for random stuff, that nobody around us was getting fined for. Because they said repaint the deck. My dad looked around, and nobody's deck was painted. And my dad's like, this is going to cost me a thousand dollars. Why do I have to paint this deck? And they kept fining us for not painting it. And my dad took pictures of other people's decks and showed them that everyone's deck isn't painted, why are you just targeting me? Eventually he just painted it because they wouldn't leave him alone. And they kept giving him fees and stuff. So, he eventually just joined the HOA so he would stop getting discriminated on."

Mysha's experience differs from all other participants in that she lives in a majority white neighborhood, in which her family is the only non-white family in residence. For Mysha, the one experience that identifies her family as the Other in her neighborhood, involved her white next door neighbors and the HOA:

> "With the HOA, our neighborhood actually has side parking spaces. So, when I got of the age to get a car, we actually had 3 cars and two parking spots. And my white neighbor to the left had two cars, but then her daughter moved in and so she had 3 cars as well. So, it became an issue with our HOA because they couldn't figure out who to give the parking space to. It was supposed to be a first come first serve, but it became an issue of…well, the parking went to her. You can't help but think that its racism, because there is no reason that should have happened."

In Mysha's mind, the reason for which her family was treated unfairly is due to their race. However, she cannot confirm that it is upon the basis of their ethnicity, or perhaps their religion that her family was discriminated against: "But, it's like, you know it's there, but you can't call it out. It's like, it's the loud Khans…the loud Khans without the Christmas tree."

Conclusion

There remains an inherent expectation that Muslim-Americans will be racialized in public spaces such as neighborhoods, airports, educational institutions, the media, etc. As has been demonstrated in this section, Muslim-Americans are, and continue to be racialized in different

ways, on the basis of a multitude of factors. Their racialization in these spaces can affect the way in which they are racialized in private spaces, since these experiences can shape and inform private agents' behaviors towards Muslim-Americans.

Private Spaces

The experiences of racialization in public spaces can inform certain agents in private spaces, such as the family, on how individuals can expect to be racialized in U.S. society. As such, often, it is before participants have even begun to experience racialization from agents in public spaces, that they experience racialization by private agents. Rajiva (2006) explains that the process of Othering begins through "family/community work of difference making, even when girls have not (yet) been racialized by their peer group" (171). While recognizing this, this study finds that, of the particular agents of racialization within private spaces, the family and religious communities tend to have a large impact in othering Muslim-Americans, while peers provide spaces that are conducive to feelings of belonging. Racialization can occur very differently in these spaces, resulting in different processes of boundary making that ultimately shape individuals' racialized identities.

Family:

As a primary agent of socialization, the family can significantly shape the self-perception of children, particularly if they are first or second generation immigrants. This is because immigrant families often hold very tightly to their cultural traditions and religious values, and expect their children to do the same (Inman et al 2007). All participants in this study identify that certain traditional expectations are required of them by their parents, although sometimes their parents emphasize assimilation in order to assert that they belong as Americans. This relies heavily

upon whether immigrant families hold U.S. citizenship, or are in the process of acquiring citizenship. Hira identifies that in her family, their citizenship as U.S. citizens is deemed important, along with their assimilation in American society: "the more you assimilate, while keeping your morals, the better, because this is your country now". However, despite the emphasis on assimilation, Hira's parents, and the parents of other participants, continue to remind them that as Muslims, they are different from others in American society. Parents make it known that as Muslim families their traditions and religious values are very different from non-Muslim Americans: "My parents told me, why we are different… Religion is such a big part of how we live" (Hira). Hira's parents inform their children that not only are they different as Pakistani Muslims living in America, but that it is okay that they are different: "we know that we are different, but we are comfortable with being different". Living in a neighborhood, and an area such as Northern Virginia where diversity is prevalent helps Hira's family feel as if their difference is in harmony with being America: "There can never be anything like oh that's 'Un-American' because America is about diversity…" (Hira).

For Jenny, religion plays a large role in her being reminded of her difference. She reports that during the third grade, a friend invited her to Church to show her "what Christianity is about."

> "And I went home and told my mom about this and she asked, what did you tell her? And I said, I told her, oh alright, I'll check it out. And my mom was like, why did you say that, when you know you are Muslim? And I think that was the first time when I realized what it meant to have that label."

In this instance, Jenny's mother draws boundaries on the religious interactions between Jenny and her friend. At such a young age, children are impressionable, and for Muslim families, religious influence other than Islam can threaten the traditions and religious values that they cherish and expect their children to follow. Jenny's grandmother, who was visiting them from Pakistan also

questioned as to why Jenny and her siblings did not adhere to particular cultural mannerisms and behaviors:

> "…she's like, "Oh you guys are so different". It's weird for her. But, I like to try to make her understand as well that you know, there…I am taking both cultures and infusing them to create my own, because I have to."

Jenny is often faced with the need to assert her hyphenated Muslim-American identity when she is questioned by family. When her identity as a Muslim-American comes under interrogation, it is always due to her choice of clothing: "I: what aspects about you did she (your grandmother) pick on to question your identity? J: My clothes. I find it absurd, wearing a hijab, all of my clothes are very decent…" Despite her level of modesty, not adhering to Pakistani standards of modesty (which typically involves long shirts and loose pants) has othered Jenny from her Pakistani identity– which she cherishes and strongly identifies with. Sophie also experienced something similar when her grandmother visited her, and questioned the "way in which we do our things." The danger in family members questioning Muslim-Americans' lack of cultural observance is that these individuals can feel distanced from their ethnic identity, all the while having their American identity undermined by the public (and by private agents).

Jenny's family also advises her on how her position as a hijabi Muslim in the U.S. may negatively impact her future employment options. When in high school, Jenny was weighing potential career options and approached her parents to discuss her desire to pursue law. Her parent's response to this idea was to inform her how becoming a lawyer would be a difficult career choice for a female hijabi in the current political climate:

> "My parents…told me that, would you be ok if people didn't want to be your client because you are Muslim? I thought about it, and I don't think so. I didn't want it to discourage me, and my parents

> weren't trying to discourage me. It's just, it was just a very realistic question."

Her parents' advice rests upon the notion that hijabi women in the legal world regularly face discriminatory behavior based on their race and religion. Recognizing this, Jenny reports that even now she "still consider(s) those things" when deciding on her career options. As a sophomore in computer science, Jenny aspires to work in the field of technology, and has been advised by some to look into a career in cyber security. However, this is an option she does not wish to consider, since as a Muslim in America, she faces "a lot of issues with security myself." She entertains this notion because, post-9/11, Muslims in America have consistently been targets of mass "surveillance and a wide range of punitive US government policies that systematically criminalize Muslims and 'Muslim-looking' people through a body of legislation" (Grewal 2014: 8). As such, it is not surprising that not many individuals who associate with Islam would consider entering jobs in government and security that might require security clearance and extensive background checks that could potentially discriminate against them. With this knowledge, it is of little surprise that families engage in such racialization in order to prevent their children from future discrimination.

As the daughter of parents who strongly identify as Pakistani and create rigid boundaries between themselves and Americans, Mysha's experiences with her family involve a great deal of othering. Mysha's mother who is "very very Pakistani", constantly reminds Mysha and her sisters that despite the fact that they were born and raised in the US, they are still Pakistani: "My mom…always says you are Pakistani, even though you were born and raised here…it's a lot more important to her that I identify as Pakistani". The reason for this, as Mysha explains, is that her mother views culture as tied to religion, i.e. being Pakistani "goes hand in hand with being Muslim". Hence, in order to emphasize the need for her children to hold on to their religious

identity, Mysha's mother emphasizes on their Pakistani heritage, thus reminding them that they are not American. For her mother, these boundaries are important since in her mind, "being American is synonymous with being non-Muslim. In doing so, Mysha's mother not only identifies Americans as the Other, but also insinuates that for Americans, Mysha is the Other.

Rachel's parents' approach is perhaps more mild than Mysha's parents, in that when she was younger they "would emphasize being a good person. But now, with all the drama (political climate), it's like, be a good Muslim." The heightened politicization of Islam has created a need for Rachel's parents to remind her that as a Muslim (and a hijabi one in particular) she is a representation for her religion, and therefore needs to portray Islam in a good light by adhering to her religious values and morals. Rather than create boundaries for her and her siblings, they emphasize understanding her position as a Muslim of America.

The boundaries that parents create for their children are often due to the racialized events and discrimination that parents have experienced themselves. As Rajiva's (2006) study demonstrates, the racialized experiences of immigrant families with being Othered by the public, shapes how these families racialize their children in order to culturally orient them. Hira's experiences with racialization and consequently, how she deals with being racialized, are informed by her parents' advice on how to tackle discrimination and othering: "…my parents faced racism, and because of that, they have basically taught us how to be more careful about how you express yourself in certain groups." Similarly, Jenny's own boundary making is the result of the experiences that her parents have had. Jenny states that she is particularly careful in her interactions with certain ethnic groups, and the American public in general, because her parents have had some unpleasant experiences which have made them particularly wary of the social actors.

Despite some parents having diverse social circles of their own, they have made it abundantly clear that they prefer that their children socialize with Muslims over non-Muslims. Jenny states that while her mother would never create boundaries for her regarding who she socializes with, "she prefers that I hang out with Muslims. It doesn't even matter where they come from, but being Muslim definitely helps out a lot." The parents of Leslie, Mysha and Sophie would only allow them to sleepover at the houses of their Muslim friends, since "they gave more leeway and less restrictions if I was hanging out with my Muslim community" (Sophie). The purpose behind parents' preference of Muslim social circles is that by having similar friends, who are also in the same position as their children (i.e. as Muslims of America), their children would be able to share in the base values of their cultures and religion, and also find a space where they feel as if they belong. After parents (such as Jenny's and Hira's) experience othering, they learn to internalize these feelings and develop a sense of the racialized self, which can impact the way in which their children learn to understand their location in the United States. Sophie relates the psyche of her mother, who she says has "this internal, I don't belong here, people will perceive me differently," i.e. racialized identity. Such an internalized sense of the self as the Other can be reduced by surrounding oneself with individuals who collectively produce a space of belonging (as will be demonstrated in the section Peers).

Besides for parental social preferences, the parents of the participants also seem to prefer particular ethnicities when finding marriage partners for their children. As the only participant in this study who is currently in a relationship, Hira states that ethnicity and race does not matter to her, as she is currently dating a convert African-American. However, her mother has made it clear that she only wants Hira to marry a Pakistani, since "we need to marry somebody that is like ourselves, so it's easier to be different". Similarly, Mysha's parents have indicated their strict

preference for a Pakistani Muslim: “My mother will flip everything, if he is not Pakistani Punjabi,” since her family identifies strongly as Pakistani Punjabi. Leslie and Rachel’s parents seem to prefer Sudanese men for their daughters, although they are willing to budge on the ethnicity if the prospective suitor is a good Muslim. For the participants themselves, Jenny and Sophie personally prefer Pakistani Muslims, since their religion and core traditions are likely to be the same. All other participants have no specific ethnic or racial preference, but make it explicitly clear that the one requirement they, and their parents have is that their potential spouse must be a practicing Muslim. As American-Muslims, participants have also stressed to their parents the importance of marrying someone who is either born and raised in the United States, or “shares the same (American) mentality” that the participants do (Rachel). These ethnic, religious and cultural expectations are indicative of the boundaries that parents and Muslim-Americans make in order to remind themselves of the differences and similarities they share with American society. As such, these boundaries are both internal, indicated in their own preference for Muslim-Americans, and external, in their parents’ preference for ethnically similar Muslims. Via parents, expectations made of their children regarding spousal selection becomes a way to reduce possible future public racialization, through cementing boundaries between their children and the American public.

Religious Communities/MSA:

In my investigation of racialization in private spaces, I was unsurprised that I found a significant amount of data from participants regarding their Othering by their families. And, while I was expecting participants to report few experiences of racialization by religious communities, I was astounded at the amount of racialization that both hijabi and non-hijabi participants experience in mosques and MSAs. This study finds that religious communities, such as local mosques, Islamic community centers, and Muslim Student Associations either provide spaces of support for their

members, or can serve to distance and alienate Muslims on the basis of their ethnicity, adherence to certain dress codes, their language, and even their gender. Due to the highly-politicized nature of Islam, and the supposed threat that Muslims pose to the state and society of the United States, religious communities tend to be excluded from the American public, with some areas in the U.S. refusing to allow mosques to be built (*The Washington Post* 2017, *The New York Times* 2016), and some universities participating in the surveillance of their Muslim student organizations (*The Washington Post* 2013). As such, religious communities have become more careful in their interactions with the American public and learn to draw boundaries between themselves and the rest of American society. These boundaries can have a negative or positive effect on Muslim-Americans, since religious communities serve as key spaces where the Muslim-American identity is shaped (Mahmood 2016, Dey 2012). Sophie views these boundaries as negative, since it perpetrates the idea of "you can't be American and Muslim". She feels that creating these boundaries between being American and identifying as Muslim implies that one must "give up your beliefs or religious identity for American culture." Thus, religious communities can often create a situation where their Muslim-American members, and Muslim-American youth feel that they must choose between one or the other in order to belong.

Not only do religious communities create boundaries between themselves and the American public, they also create boundaries within themselves, in order to exclude certain kinds of people. This study found that almost all participants felt that they were unwelcome in certain religious spaces due to their ethnicity, appearance, language or gender. Mosques in the United States have historically been run by Arab Muslims or South Asian Muslims, and have typically demonstrated exclusionary behavior towards Muslims of other ethnicities (African-Americans in particular). Grewal (2009) notes that Muslim communities tend to engage in intra-racism, "a term

describing a phenomenon of a racialized group that internalizes white supremacy and redirects it at its own members" (330). While there is little to no research on racism in Islamic communities, this kind of racism can be pervasive in U.S. mosques, as well as religious community centers, albeit it is not typically present in Muslim Student Associations. The Pakistani participants in this study identify, that regardless of whether they wear the hijab, they feel very welcome in mosques of which they and their families are members: "I: Do you feel welcome (at ADAMS center)? Hira: Yes." Jenny even states that racially, the most comfortable place for her is her local mosque, because there are other Pakistani and South Asian Muslims there with whom she associates. On the other hand, the Sudanese Muslim-American women in this study feel that mosques tend not to be very welcoming to them, simply because they are black Muslims. Leslie recounts two incidents that have occurred to her at her local mosque:

> "One time, I was walking from the bus. I was with my friend, who wears the hijab. I wasn't. And so, I saw one of the ladies from the community, who was speaking to my friend, and directing all of her questions to her. She didn't even talk to me once, even though I said Salam-u-alaikum. Obviously, I can speak Arabic, and I can understand the conversation, (but) I just felt so secluded from that conversation, she showed no interest in talking to me. I brushed that off, I looked at my friend, and said, wow, I can't believe she did that to me. Again, it comes…we went to an event at the mosque, I was wearing the abaya and I was wearing the headscarf, but since she recognized me, and she knows that it (the hijab) was temporary, she still gave me no attention still. And I thought maybe if I wore the hijab, maybe I would fit in, maybe if I dressed that way, I would be included in that community but it didn't happen."

In these two occasions, Leslie is able to compare whether wearing the hijab has an effect on whether or not members of her local mosque will accept her as a black Muslim. She finds that, despite wearing the hijab, and despite being able to carry out a conversation in fluent Arabic, she is still othered at the mosque because she is African-American. These two incidents are significant in demonstrating how common it is for mosques run by Arab and South Asian Muslims to

discriminate and exclude their own black members, due to the color of their skin. Similarly, Rachel mentions that the Muslim community that she is part of often others her on the basis of her skin tone and black culture, by saying things that are offensive to black Muslims, and African-Americans: "…even in my own Muslim community, they say things and you are like, you really did not think about it. Or even worse, you said it even after you thought about it." After having continually received such treatment from their local mosques, both Rachel and Leslie have limited their visits to the mosque, and come to identify strongly with the black community. They are also outspoken advocates of the Black Lives Matter movement, who seek to increase awareness of the issues of black Muslims in and outside of their Muslim communities.

Participants also identify that within MSAs, othering occurs less on the basis of their ethnicities, and more on the basis of religious behavior and appearance. Both Hira and Mysha identify that they sometimes feel unwelcome in the MSA because, as non-hijabis, they are perceived "as not that religious" (Hira). Mysha in particular, emphasizes on the importance of the hijab in identifying the kind of Muslim you are, when in the MSA: "I've learned that within the Muslim community, if you wear the hijab, you are Muslim. And if you are not wearing the hijab, you are automatically less Muslim." As the only non-hijabi member of the MSA board, Mysha reports being questioned about her religiosity by other members of the MSA:

> "I've been asked, are you religious, because they don't see the scarf. And because I dress modestly, it's like you are automatically not American enough, and also not Muslim enough, in either group. It's weird. They don't see you as a leader in the Muslim group, because you are not dressed according to what they think (a Muslim should dress like)."

As a non-hijabi female in a leadership position in the MSA, Mysha has also faced gendered, religious discrimination from fellow male members. She states that, she has received comments from male MSA members about her not being religious enough to represent the MSA, because she

does not wear the hijab, "So, why take her ideas on religion seriously." When religious communities construct the notion that hijabi women are religious enough to be a representation of Islam, both hijabi and non-hijabi women are confined to certain stereotypes. Sophie feels that when religious communities "hold hijabi women to a higher standard of practicing Islam…It's kind of unfair because there are some non-hijabi women who practice their Islam a lot better than hijabi women." These standards create boundaries and exclusionary attitudes towards individuals who do not uphold or fall within those set standards. Sophie also recognizes that the MSA is often guilty of excluding certain Muslims because they do not fit within their brand of Islam:

> "These people have said that, I don't ho to the MSA anymore, and it's so sad. People do get pushed away from communities like this. It's like, either you are with us or you are not. And if you are not following Islam the same way I do, then you don't belong."

Leslie identifies as being one of those people who does not feel as if she is accepted as part of the MSA, because she does not wear the hijab, and is not viewed as a practicing Muslim. In the case of Hira, she does identify as part of the MSA and feels as if she is accepted as a member, because she is a Pakistani Muslim. However, similar to Leslie, Hira states that "Sometimes I do feel that people perceive that I am not that religious, just because– not that I dress inappropriately, I don't have a hijab, but maybe my language, my openness to talk to the other sex…" Hira feels that rather than her hijab, her behavior and mannerisms might portray her as someone who may not be as practicing as other Muslims. She feels that "MSA girls are more careful" when interacting with male members, and it is perhaps her interactions with the MSA males, rather than her not wearing the hijab, that affects how the MSA views her as a practicing Muslim. Participants' appearance in the form of religious signifiers has perhaps, the greatest impact on exclusionary attitudes and boundary making within the spaces of MSAs and religious communities. However, it is important to recognize that the stark difference between the experiences of Leslie and Hira

indicate that race, skin tone and ethnicity, do in fact, seem to have an impact on shaping feelings of belonging within college MSAs. Instead of these religious communities providing a safe space that is conducive to the formation of the individual Muslim-American identity, as well as the collective identity of a Muslim of America, religious spaces alienate certain members on the basis of particular characteristics that they possess. These exclusionary practices can hinder the healthy development of the Muslim-American identity, and instead further contribute to the development of their racialized identity, where members learn to view themselves as the Other in these particular religious spaces.

Peers

I began with an assumption that in private spaces, participants' social groups would be a key space where they experience constant othering. Much to my surprise, participants indicate that their social groups are spaces where they experience the least racialization, and experience a great sense of belonging. This is primarily because participants are often involved in choosing their social groups in college, and prefer to socialize with individuals who do not actively discriminate against them. However, I do recognize that participants also report getting 'stuck' with certain kinds of peer groups, however, their interactions with their peer groups still indicate that these spaces provide them a sense of belonging.

Participants indicate that their social groups are one of two types. Jenny, Mysha, Rachel and Sophie report that their primary social groups are Pakistani/Indian-American Muslims, while Hira and Leslie socialize with several different kinds of social groups, albeit "each social group on its own is not diverse" (Leslie). Hira describes her social groups as consisting of "Muslim conservative friends, and then…crazy white friends who do anything and everything…and conservative black friends." Similarly, Leslie's social groups also vary in race and religion, as she

has “Muslim friends… black friends, the academic ones…” All participants indicate that they feel a great sense of belonging in their social groups, and identify as part of their groups. Leslie states that when she is with her social groups, she never feels othered, even when she goes out to party with them: “when I go out, my friends never offer me drinks or anything, because they know my religion prohibits me from alcohol.” As such, her religious identity is not negatively brought to the forefront, since she has an understanding with her group. This allows her to feel as if she is part of her group, all the while retaining her religious and national identities.

In instances where participants did indicate feeling othered by their social groups, it is their skin tone and cultural differences that are used by their social groups to other them. Mysha states that when she is with her Pakistani friends, she is accused of “being FOB (fresh-off-the-boat), (because) sometimes I don’t catch American references.” They also pick on her accent, and question why she– as someone who was born and raised in the United States, does not have an American accent. Questioning her based on these criteria undermines her claim to an American identity, and can impact the way in which she feels as if she belongs in American society.

Sophie experience with her social group is similar and yet different to Mysha’s experience, in that her peers remind her of her cultural heritage by stating “Don’t forget you are Pakistani”, all the while claiming that she is too “whitewashed.” Sophie indicates that she does not cling too tightly to her Pakistani roots, and therefore despises it when her social groups try to remind her that she is Pakistani, even though she still does claim it as a small part of her identity. Here, rather than undermine her American identity, her social group reminds her that she is still a Pakistani in America, reinforcing the notion that one cannot be both at the same time.

Rachel's experiences with her social group involve othering based on her skin tone. As a Sudanese-American with a majority Pakistani Muslim social group, Rachel has often been on the receiving end of stereotypical jokes aimed at the black community:

> "In those situations, I just don't laugh. I mean, I could complain, and make it a big deal, which I have tried, but then they go, it's not that deep. But I am like, it is actually quite deep, especially when you make the joke that black people can't swim. Because, you know why so many African Americans can't swim? It's because in the 1950s/60s, people would literally put bleach in swimming pools so black people couldn't get in. So, they never had the opportunity to learn, and teach their children. And they're like, oh, I didn't mean that, and I understand, you didn't but, that's where the root of your joke and stereotype comes from. It's not even a joke at that point."

Rachel's reaction to her social groups making racist jokes is an example of how she resists being othered by her friends. By teaching them to become more sensitive to the issues of African-Americans, she hopes to increase their understanding of her position as a black Muslim female, who is affected by the wider issues of African-Americans in the United States. And while Rachel generally feels comfortable with her social group, it is in instances like this where she does feel as if her location as a black Muslim becomes a salient difference that marks her as the Other among her peers.

Racialized Identity

As marginalized individuals, the participants' identity formation involves ideas of boundary, belonging and nationhood. In the process of creating an identity, becoming somebody can imply belonging somewhere, and as Muslim-Americans who have lived a majority of their lives in the United States, the participants in this study grew up learning what it means to be a minority in the U.S. It is within this process that these women learn to understand their location as the Other, as foreign, as Muslim *in* America, and not a Muslim *of* America. For the participants,

Otherness is directly connected to the contexts in which they learn to see themselves as different. Not only does growing up a minority shape their sense of self as the Other, but their racialized experiences greatly contribute to how they understand themselves, and how they understand others view them as the Other in society.

In Rajiva's (2006) study on the racialized identity of South Asian girls in Canada, she notes that there are two different kinds of identities that subjects possess: the subject before their racialized event (I am one of them), and the subject after their racialized event (I feel as if someone has blown my cover). As we have seen in this project, participants experience a number of racialized events– some on a daily basis, others only within particular spaces. Using the two kinds of identities that her subjects possess, Rajiva questions as to whether without those types of racializing events her subjects would have eventually recognized themselves as the Other. It is difficult to say whether her subjects would have developed racialized identities if they didn't experience specific racialized events, since those events are part of their everyday lives and occur in their everyday interactions with others. In this way, their racialized events are unavoidable, as we have seen through the participants' experiences with racialization in public and private spaces. While I cannot attest to my participants' identities before their racializing events (I am one of them), I can claim the strong possibility that due to a culmination of racialized events experienced in public and private spaces, they view themselves as the Other and possess a racialized identity.

Rajiva's second identity– the racialized identity (I feel as if someone has blown my cover) assumes that in the event of the subjects' racialization, the subject has no agency in whether they are racialized or not. I find it important to recognize that while in some cases this may be true, (such as Leslie's sense of self as the Other, based on how others view her skin tone as dangerous, or foreign), in other cases, it is the agency that both the racialized, and the racializing subject

possess, that contributes to the racialization of the participant. For example, when Jenny relates that she experienced othering in the 7th grade after she began wearing the hijab, it is important to recognize that her racialized experience may not have come about, had she not donned the hijab. Hence, in her racialization, rather than someone blowing her cover, she herself revealed her Muslim identity, through wearing a religious signifier. Therefore, it can be that an individual's racialized identity is formed both through the agency of an individuals, as well as through the loss of their agency– which occurs when they are racialized by others without their consent.

The process of developing a racialized identity occurs first through the actions of racializing agents. Agents responsible for participants' racialization in public and private spaces use a number of factors to racialize them. The main factors used by these agents are religion, citizenship, skin tone, and religious signifiers. In this study, participants demonstrate that it is in fact on the basis of these characteristics that they feel othered, and come to identify themselves as the Other in American society. As a result of their racialized experiences, participants learn to develop a sense of self that is based on the view of them as perceived by larger groups, which in this project is the American society (i.e., the general other). They learn to internalize the views of society regarding female Muslims as oppressed, submissive and voiceless; characteristics that are considered inherently un-American, thereby labeling *them* as un-American. In the process of internalizing these views, the participants in this study use double consciousness which in turn, shapes the way in which they interact with others in the future. Participants are hyper aware of how others perceive them, either as identifiably Muslim, or as black/brown females who are presumed to be essentially foreign. Hira states that her parents have taught her to be careful when interacting with others, and so she is "more careful about how (I) express (my)self in certain groups, and just wait to see how open they might be". The knowledge that others may not be

receptive to, or accepting of her Muslim-American identity, is indicative of how Hira's racialized identity and double consciousness affects her interactions with others. Within these interactions, the racialized become aware of the dominating ideas of what a Muslim-American, or a Muslim in America is like. These ideas reinforce themselves through the veil of double consciousness, and thus, while the racializing are unable to see past the stereotypical representations of the Muslim, the racialized internalize these ideas and are only able to see themselves through the eyes of those racializing.

Inherent in the mind of the racializing, are ideas about Muslims which are perpetrated by certain agents in public spaces. As the sections of media and general public clearly demonstrate, the key notion that persists in these spaces is that Muslims will never be part of the fabric of American society. Biased media representations of Muslims as the Other, as foreign, as backwards, and as a threat to the American public, portray Islam and the west as having warring ideals. It reinforces the notion that Islam is a foreign religion and cannot coexist with American values, and therefore bolsters the erroneous perception that Muslims *of* America cannot exist, and thus, neither can the Muslim-American. These notions become the realities of the racialized, and transform into the key foundation upon which their public and private interactions occur. We see this very clearly in Hira's encounter with the white male at her soccer game. Her being questioned about when she would return back to her homeland reinforces the idea that she is an essential foreigner; that she does not belong in the United States; and that she could not possibly be a Muslim of America, since those cannot exist.

The participants in this study steadily reject the idea that the values of Islam and the west are irreconcilable, but recognize that the 'general other' views their racialized identity as Muslim-American as one that is not possible due to current socio-political contexts. However, they

continue to practice their identities as Muslim-Americans, and assert that they are in fact, Muslims of America. Hira feels that, "when you say American, I think of diversity and a bunch of cultures and people coming together. There can never be anything like oh that's "Un-American" because America is about diversity". While this thought denies the rejection of her Muslim-American identity, it indicates that she recognizes that the general other does view her as the Other– as un-American. Recognizing this requires double consciousness, and involves the element of recognizing the self as the Other.

When understanding how a rejection of their Muslim-American identity impacts them, we can rely on Mead's argument that a lack of recognition can devastate the development of self: "if others could not take his attitude in some sense, he could not have appreciation in emotional terms, he could not be the very self he is trying to be" (Mead 1964: 278). As we have seen through Mysha's experiences with the MSA, a denial of her Muslim identity, in that she is not regarded as a practicing Muslim causes her to develop a sense of self as the Other within the particular space of religious communities. By her not being recognized as a particularly devout Muslim, her racialized self affects all future interactions that she will have with others. Similarly, Rachel's interaction with her boss, who assumes that she is a foreigner even before he asks "Where are you from?", denies her of her American identity through presuming she is not American because she is black and wears the hijab. Denying the participants of their claims over their Muslim-American selves, which they try very hard to cultivate, contributes to their learning that their position in public and private spaces is that of the Other. An affirmation of the possibility of their hyphenated Muslim-American identity through their interaction with others can be a deciding factor on whether Muslims will eventually be perceived as true Americans.

The racialized Muslim-American is unique in that along with double consciousness, this identity also harbors a sense of twoness. While Du Bois's understanding of the identity of the African-American implies a sense of twoness, as both American and as a Negro, the identity of the Muslim-American also has an aspect of twoness, as both American and as a Muslim. Thus, since an individual is both Muslim and American, they do not have the option to take the position of the whole community, since they are viewed as outside of it. Instead, their self-formation is affected by taking the position of the community to which they belong, i.e., the dominant community of the American public, or "their own community which can be a source of support and an arena of agency" (Itzigsohn and Brown 2015:238) i.e., their religious communities. It is key to note, that in the case of Muslim-Americans, they are not only denied a position within the dominant community, but they are also racialized within their religious communities, which contributes to the development of their racialized identity. Their racialization in these spaces only furthers the notion of the impossibility of a Muslim *of* America.

This study also finds that the Muslim-American self as the Other is inherently connected to the collective identity of the racialized Muslim of America. Since both the individual and the collective identities understand the Muslim-American within the modern racialized world, we are able to understand that a majority of participants view their individual identities as part of the collective experience. This refers to the idea that participants recognize that Muslims of America are racialized, since they (as racialized Muslim-Americans) are a part of this collective identity. Perhaps one of the most poignant ways in which the participants view themselves as the collective is through the notion of the eternal foreigner. Through analyzing participants' experiences, this study finds that, no matter how many years one has resided in the United States, has a grasp on the English language, has an American accent or portrays themselves as assimilated Americans– if

their skin is non-white, and if they display religious or cultural signifiers, they will be viewed as the Other.

In cases where the participants don't particularly identify themselves as part of the racialized collective, they still identify with elements of the self as the Other. A distinct example of this is the recognition of Sophie's identity in her interactions with the general other. In these encounters, she is often given a pass by her peers: "When they see me, they are like, 'Oh Sophie, you are okay. You are modernized". In this 'pass', she is ascribed certain characteristics which allow her to be viewed as less of an Other than other individuals, but not enough for her to not be seen as an eternal foreigner, since she cannot change her non-white skin tone, and chooses to portray religious signifiers.

The construction of the Muslim-American racialized identity helps us gain insight into how the experiences of racialization in public and private spaces impacts their understanding of their location in the modern world. Du Bois's theory of double consciousness, twoness and the veil helps us understand how, through their racialized experiences, a lifeworld is created for these individuals that involves dualities of two kinds, "a duality of agency within an oppressive system, and a duality in the formation of the self" (Itzigsohn and Brown 2015:238). And while the duality in the formation of self is understood as the way in which they learn to construct self-meaning as Muslims of America, the duality of agency within an oppressive system allows them the notion of control that they can prevent their racialization through resistance and methods of coping.

Resistance and Coping

The participants in this study demonstrate that they attempt to exercise their agency by engaging in resistance and mechanisms of coping to negotiate with their experiences of

racialization, and prevent the possibility of future racialization. Participants employ a variety of different strategies, the most basic of which is to converse with private and public agents in order to correct their many misconceptions. Hira states that she regularly engages with others in order to educate them: "I would rather have a conversation…I like to change people's point of views". These conversations often occur in public spaces, and especially in classrooms, when discussions regarding Muslims and Islam arise. When asked whether she finds politically and religiously sensitive classroom discussion particularly uncomfortable, Hira replied: "I personally like uncomfortable talks. I get excited rather than uncomfortable. And, I like to speak my mind on those topics…" Similarly, Mysha also resists her racialization in classrooms by discussing Islam: "I get really excited when people discuss Islam. And even more so when they discuss it negatively. I get a chance to speak." Instead of shying away from discussions such as these, which would prevent direct racialization and othering by her peers and classmates, Hira and Mysha use discussions such as these as an opportunity to correct erroneous perceptions that their peers may have about Muslims and their beliefs. Mysha even encourages others to ask her questions:

> "it annoys me that people don't ask their questions directly. I'm like, ask me. Don't ask the person who isn't Muslim, to the right of you. Don't ask FOX news. I am a real-life person right here, why would you not want to use that resource."

Allowing others to ask her questions grants her the opportunity to interact with the racializing subject, and by educating them, she has the ability to shape their future interactions with other Muslims.

While Mysha and Hira do not wear the hijab, the hijab is a key aspect that results in the racialization of those who are visibly Muslim. This study finds that the hijab is also a tool by which hijabi participants resist their racialization. For example, Sophie resists the stereotypes that are imposed on her by external agents in public and private spaces. She claims that since she feels

others see her as the "hijabi, stereotypical quiet girl," she makes an effort to correct them, since that "is not who I am." In her conversations with others, Sophie expresses her love for Ed Sheeran, her passion for boy bands and music, often surprising those who converse with her. She relates an encounter with a man who was quite surprised, and told her "I would have never thought you were a fan girl." Such encounters give the racializing subject an alternative perception to the stereotypes that are present in the social world regarding Muslims, and Muslim women in particular.

Similarly, Jenny's AP Art project, involving a silhouette of a hijabi woman with the American flag as her hijab is also a form of resistance that involves the symbol of the hijab. Her main purpose of painting this piece was to signal to others that Muslim-Americans are welcome at her high school, and should not feel as if they do not belong. She also used this image to demonstrate that 'Muslim' and 'American' can work in tandem, and are not two polarizing identities as is generally perceived.

The experiences of resistance of the participants who are visibly Muslim versus participants that are not visibly Muslim, are very different. While the visibly Muslim use their hijab to resist Muslim female stereotypes, those who are not outwardly Muslim resist their racialization by making it obvious to others that they are Muslim. Although this may seem contradictory, doing so involves them interlacing their individual identities with the collective, in order to demonstrate to others that there are differing ways in which one can be Muslim. For example, Hira explains that she often goes out of her way to point out to others that she is Muslim. The reason behind this is that she wants "them to know that there are all kinds of Muslims out there. Even though I don't cover my head or anything, I am very proud that I am Muslim". By informing them that she is Muslim, she is able to "create that little ounce of doubt" regarding their stereotypes of what a Muslim is. She portrays an alternative view of Muslim-American, which

ultimately facilitates in shaping her future interactions with that individual, as well as their future interactions with other Muslims.

Another way in which participant's resist their racialization is through the use of language. Rachel relates an incident that occurred to her at a coffee shop, where two white males were ridiculing two Asian men standing in front of her. When it was her turn to order at the counter, she states:

> "I am pretty sure they were expecting me to have the FOB-iest (fresh-off-the-boat) accent or something. But, I go like, 'Excuse me, can I have a medium coffee…' And they immediately got quiet. I was like, that's right. That's right. (nods defiantly)."

By using her accent and fluent English to her advantage, Rachel was able to portray to the men behind her that she is not a foreigner, and therefore attempts to resist being racialized on the basis of her assumed foreignness. In a similar instance, Sophie relates an encounter that she had at the airport, that involves her using language to prevent being racialized:

> "A few years back actually, this was in America, but it was the PIA (Pakistani international airlines). And there was this Pakistani couple ahead in line of me, they were elderly, they didn't speak fluent English. And the person who was handling the carts for people to put their suitcases in, he was really rude to them. Because of that miscommunication, when I approached him, I made it known that I knew English so he wouldn't impact me like that. But, I was so mad, because he treated those people horribly, on the simple fact that it took them a second longer than others. My accent is fine, I have that privilege where people are going to be like, oh you don't know how to speak English because of that…but at the same time, I feel like I do have to take that first interaction and prove myself to set that standard."

Here, Sophie recognizes quite clearly that by using her accent and fluent English, she is able to decrease her chances of being assumed the eternal foreigner. In these two instances, we can see the importance language plays in racializing individuals, as well as in resisting their racialization.

The coping mechanisms that the participants engage in helps with negotiating their position as the racialized in their everyday interactions with others. For participants who are visibly Muslim, everyday coping strategies mainly involve them trying to seem approachable. Jenny states, that since she feels others deem her as a threat, "I try my best not to come off as intimidating or different." Sophie also experiences everyday encounters in the same way, because she feels others view her as unapproachable. So, in order to counter this, "the one thing I really try to do, is that I try to make eye contact with anyone. I smile. My smile may not even be the best smile, it may be weird, and awkward, but they need to know that I am a nice person." The need for Sophie and Jenny to make themselves appear less threatening, and more friendly indicates their efforts in preventing their Othering by everyday others. Due to the political climate in which this study takes place, participants such as Sophie feel like they must "go out of my way to feel like a friendly person" in order to create an atmosphere that is welcoming to them.

Some participants try to prevent their racialization altogether, through avoiding events and certain spaces where they feel they may be othered. For example, when searching for a job, Sophie avoids applying to places that do not seem very diverse:

> "I saw one for a startup; I saw their members and they were all white. I was like, I am not applying here, there is no diversity. That says something about them…It was clear that this isn't a place where I could apply to."

By acknowledging that a Muslim-American who wears the hijab may not be welcome in such a space, Sophie manages to prevent her racialization by simply not applying for a position at these companies. Similarly, Hira also seeks to avoid her racialization in particular spaces. When questioned about which public places she feels particularly uncomfortable in, Hira identifies frat parties as a space where she tends to feel as if she stands out as a brown, non-drinking Muslim. As such, she typically does not attend these parties anymore, since she does not want to feel Othered.

With regards to coping with their racialization using their identity, participants refuse to create internal boundaries between their American and Muslim identities– a boundary that tends to be externally imposed by others in both public and private spaces. Hira states that "There can never be anything un-American," and in doing so, asserts her belonging in the U.S., since America is an inherently diverse society, where all races, religions and creed should be welcome. Similarly, Rachel also emphasizes on the mutual inclusivity of Muslim and American, and states that even though racializing agents argue that there must only be one or the other, it simply cannot be so exclusive, since "there are so many types of American." In arguing that there is no boundary between Muslim and American, these participants are able to demonstrate this in their everyday actions and interactions, by performing their Muslim-American identities. In this way, they are able to internally cope with the external expectation that one is either Muslim or American. Hence, the participants in this study demonstrate a fine example of resisting their racialization through actively living their daily lives as Muslim-Americans in the United States.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I have demonstrated that Muslim-American women do in fact, experience racialization in public and private spaces, and also possess an inherent, internalized, sense of self as the Other.

This data in this study reveals four major findings. The first is that Muslim-American women are racialized in a number of ways by agents in both public and private spaces. Within public spaces, participants experience a great deal of racialization through different media forms, and by classmates and professors in educational institutions. Participants identify that within the media, Muslims are portrayed both negatively and positively, which ultimately impacts the way in which the American public views and racializes them. In educational institutions, participants

report experiencing racialization by their classmates and professors, often being relied on as a source of validation for information on Muslims, and/or Islam. Other miscellaneous public spaces where participants report experiencing Othering, are gyms, airports, workspaces, as well as spaces where they interact with the law enforcement. The key public space where participants report experiencing the least amount of racialization, is neighborhoods– much to the surprise of the researcher. However, this is attributed to the fact that these spaces (all of which are located in Northern Virginia) are diverse in race, ethnicity and religion, hence resulting in low reports of racialization.

In private spaces, participants identify experiencing the most racialization at the hands of their families and religious communities. Families remind Muslim-Americans of their differences from American society, by regulating their social groups, and by holding expectations for their children's spousal selection. While it was expected that participants would report experiencing racialization by their families, accounts of participants' racialization by their religious communities was quite unexpected. Religious communities engage in intra-racism, seeking to racialize and exclude certain members on the basis of their skin tone, and their perceived levels of religiosity. Peer groups, on the other hand, provide spaces of support and inclusion, where participants experience little to no racialization. Their ability to choose their social groups allows them to create a space where they can exercise their Muslim-American identity, and subsequently increase their sense of belonging.

The second major finding of this study finds that there is a significant impact of religious signifiers on whether or not participants are racialized in both public and private spaces. This finding supports previous research by Selod (2013) and Moosavi (2015) which demonstrate how race and religious signifiers intersect and contribute to the difference in racialization experienced

by Muslims. Those who wear the hijab reported several instances where they were othered and stereotyped as oppressed and submissive, by agents in public and private spaces. Those who did not wear the hijab still experienced othering, but this was mostly due to their being perceived as Muslims who were not-as-practicing. The effects of religious signifiers in the experiences of Muslim-American women, very clearly varies according to the different spaces in which they interact. For example, religious communities are the key private space where participants reported being othered on the basis of displaying religious signifiers, whereas, within the public space, the media is the key space where participants felt Othered on the basis of the hijab as a representation of Islam.

The third major finding in this study highlights how, as a culmination of their public and private racialized experiences, Muslim-American women develop a racialized sense of self. This identity results in them viewing themselves as the inherent Other in U.S. society, as well as in specific public and private spaces. Subjects possess a double consciousness, which allows them to understand and view themselves through the eyes of the American public, and other private racializing subjects, who seek to Other them.

The final finding in this study involves the strategies of resistance and coping, employed by participants in order to deal with their various experiences of racialization. These strategies can be simple, such as smiling at people, or conversing with others to correct their misconceptions. Or they can be blatant, such as making other aware of the fact that participants are Muslim. Such resistance and coping strategies serve to prevent participants' future racialization, as well as deal with the racialization that they experience on a daily basis.

The analytics used in this study (The Hijabi vs. the Non-Hijabi, Boundary Making: Internal vs. External, and Identity: Individual vs. Collective) are crucial in helping us understand and

analyze the participants' various experiences with racialization, and their possession of a racialized identity. These three frames also help us understand how Muslim-American women come to make sense of their self-formation and racialized experiences, by locating our analysis in terms of the impact of religious signifiers, the construction of boundaries as it occurs internally and is imposed externally, and the relation of an individuals' identity with that of the racialized collective. As such, these frames have helped structure this thesis and provide critical analysis that seeks to understand the lived realities of Muslim-American women in the United States.

Implications for Future Research

Several opportunities for new critical research arise through this thesis. Firstly, it is important to recognize that this work seeks to add to the existing literature that locates the Muslim experience within the field of race and ethnicity. As such, this is only a small addition to the work that needs to be done regarding the Muslim experience as it intersects with race and racialization. Further research on this subject will prove most invaluable in increasing our understanding of the changing narrative of Muslims, as it occurs in the modern racialized world.

In collecting data for this thesis, I came across great difficulty accessing and securing participants. As mentioned in the methods section, the Muslim-American participant pool that was available to me was unresponsive to my attempts of recruitment. In laying out the reasons as to why I faced this challenge, I recognize that Muslim-Americans can be quite wary of participating in research projects that involve their personal experiences with racism and xenophobia, particularly within the context of (what is now) Trump's America, even when it is guaranteed that their personal information will remain absolutely confidential. This assumption, while plausible, may only give us part of a larger answer that remains to be uncovered. In order for Muslim-Americans to be involved in much needed future research, we must identify the reasons why they

are unwilling to participate in such scholarly investigations. Only then will we truly be able to reach out to a large and diverse population of willing subjects, who seek to collaborate with academics to change the condition of the Muslims of America.

In this research project, Muslim-American participants have demonstrated the importance of media as a public space by which, and in which, they feel racialized. As such, I find it important to question as to whether the different types of media forms (as suggested by the participants) vary in their portrayal and racialization of Muslims. While negative portrayals of Muslims in the media have been extensively researched (Byng 2010, Hebbani and Wills 2012, Thakore 2016), positive representations still require addressing within race and media studies. Further research must ask whether positive representations of Muslims in entertainment media is influencing a change in the American public's perception of Muslims in the west. Such an endeavor is likely to provide us information into a changing narrative of Muslims in the west, as well as in the East, and could also provide a perspective that highlights the agency that Muslims possess.

One of the other opportunities for future research, which currently has little to no existing scholarship, is the subject of intra-racism in religious communities. The concept of intra-racism is highly applicable in understanding the racialization of African-Americans in Islamic communities. However, there is a surprising lack of literature that addresses this pervasive issue, since it is not widely recognized (albeit it is widely practiced) by Muslims in religious communities. The subconscious internalization of white supremacy by post-colonial peoples (Grewal 2009: 330) seeks to exclude black Muslims from religious spaces, thereby Othering them and reinforcing racial ideologies that are already present in U.S. society. In investigating this issue, future research can propose strategies that aim to make mosques and other religious communities welcoming and

inclusive for all members, particularly at a time when Muslims of various color and ethnicities are the target of governmental policies that seek to label them as the Other in the United States.

The intent of this research has been to study the Muslim-American woman's experiences of being racialized and whether these experience contribute to the formation of a racialized identity. This study has sought to add to the scant, and yet ever increasing literature that locates the Muslim experience in the field of race and ethnicity. In light of recent events, such as the U.S. Presidential Election of 2016 and the dampening of relations between many religious groups in America, I believe that it is vital to focus on the impact racialized experiences have on the Muslim-American population, and on their chances of comfortably assimilating in the American society. The Muslim-American population is one of the many different facets of America's diversity, and it needs to be recognized as a part of the fabric of American society. Needless to say, for this to occur, tolerance for all groups and races must be practiced externally as well as internally, allowing for the improved integration and acceptance of all groups.

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Appendix A

Interview Consent Form:

VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE AND STATE UNIVERSITY
Informed Consent for Participants
in Research Projects Involving Human Subjects

Title of Project: **Racialization in Public and Private Spaces and the Development of a Racialized Identity Among Muslim-American Women**

Investigator(s):
Name: **Inaash Islam** E-mail / Phone number **inaashi1@vt.edu (XXX)XXX-XXXX**
Name: **David Brunsma** E-mail / Phone number **brunsmad@vt.edu (XXX)XXX-XXXX**

I. Purpose of this Research Project
This study seeks to understand how Muslim-American women experience racialization (understood as a process by which an individual is othered based on the ascription of physical and cultural differences), in public and private spaces. The data collected from this study will also attempt to understand whether these experiences give rise to the development of a racialized identity. The results of the study will be used in the researcher's thesis and may be utilized in publications in the future.
The data for this project will be collected via interviews with 5-8 self-identified Muslim-American female undergraduates at Virginia Tech. Participants must be above 18 years of age, and can be from a variety of ethnicities and nationalities. The interviews will last approximately 1-2 hours, and the time and location for the interview will be determined based upon the availability of the participant.

II. Procedures
If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to participate in one interview with the researcher. Data collection for this project will last from September 2016 to January 2017. The interview will involve questions regarding your experiences with racialization, as well as your identity. You may also be asked by the researcher to be interviewed again, in case the need for more information arises, but this is unlikely. The interviews will last 1-2 hours at a location and time determined by yourself. The interviews will be audio-recorded. These recordings will be stored securely at the researcher's residence. Additionally, field notes on the interview will be taken by the researcher during the interview. Should you not want something you shared during the interview to be included in the thesis, let me know during or after the interview to omit this information.

III. Risks
While there are no foreseeable risks involved in participating in this research, beyond those experienced in daily life, it is not our intention to cause you discomfort by recalling your experiences. You have the right to refuse participation at any time, or not answer questions that

you feel are inappropriate/private/may cause you harm. Should some emotional or mental harm occur, a list of counseling services can be provided to you by the researcher. Any expenses accrued for seeking or receiving medical or mental health treatment will be the responsibility of the subject and not that of the research project, research team, or Virginia Tech. If Title IX violations are reported during the interview, the researcher is obligated to report them to the Title IX coordinator. Please visit http://www.hr.vt.edu/oea/title_ix/ for more information regarding Title IX violations and resources.

IV. Benefits

While there are no direct benefits to you as a result of your participation, this study will provide the much needed information regarding the experiences of racialization of Muslim-Americans. Your participation in this study will add to the body of knowledge about the experiences of a Muslim-American woman in the U.S.

No promise or guarantee of benefits has been made to encourage you to participate.

V. Extent of Anonymity and Confidentiality

To ensure your confidentiality, all interview consent forms will be kept securely at the researcher's residence. Your name and identity will not be used in the work; all writings (including fieldnotes), publications or presentations will use pseudonyms to further protect your confidentiality. All the interviews and digital recordings will be transferred to the researcher's password-protected computer, and a backup of these digital files will be uploaded on a password-protected flash drive, which will be kept securely in a separate location at the researcher's residence during the course of the research. Once a backup has been created, the digital recording of the interviews will be erased. All files, electronic and physical will be destroyed within five years of the finished research project (expected May 2017). Only the researcher will have access to the study materials. At no time will the researcher release identifiable results of the study to anyone other than individuals working on the project without your written consent.

The Virginia Tech (VT) Institutional Review Board (IRB) may view the study's data for auditing purposes. The IRB is responsible for the oversight of the protection of human subjects involved in research.

VI. Compensation

There is no compensation for participating in this study.

VII. Freedom to Withdraw

It is important for you to know that you are free to withdraw from this study at any time without penalty. You are free not to answer any questions that you choose or respond to what is being asked of you without penalty.

Please note that there may be circumstances under which the investigator may determine that a subject should not continue as a subject.

Should you withdraw or otherwise discontinue participation, you will be compensated for the portion of the project completed in accordance with the Compensation section of this document.

VIII. Questions or Concerns

Should you have any questions about this study, you may contact one of the research investigators whose contact information is included at the beginning of this document.

Should you have any questions or concerns about the study's conduct or your rights as a research subject, or need to report a research-related injury or event, you may contact the VT IRB Chair, Dr. David M. Moore at moored@vt.edu or (540) 231-4991.

IX. Subject's Consent

I have read the Consent Form and conditions of this project. I have had all my questions answered. I hereby acknowledge the above and give my voluntary consent:

_____ Date_____

Subject signature

_____

Subject printed name

(Note: each subject must be provided a copy of this form. In addition, the IRB office may stamp its approval on the consent document(s) you submit and return the stamped version to you for use in consenting subjects; therefore, ensure each consent document you submit is ready to be read and signed by subjects.)

Appendix B

Recruitment Materials:

Website Posting on Virginia Tech MSA Sister's Group on Facebook:

Assalamualaikum!

I am looking for 5-8 undergraduate, Muslim-American women studying at Virginia Tech who are willing to participate in a study that examines your experiences with race and racism in the United States.

This study will involve:

1. a 1-2 hour interview at a time and location that is convenient and comfortable for you,

All interviews will be kept confidential. Your participation is completely voluntary. Please note that the interviews will be audio recorded.

Participants must be:

1. a female
2. 18 years of age or older
3. self-identify as a Muslim-American
4. a current undergraduate student at Virginia Tech, and
5. a current member of Virginia Tech's Muslim Student Association

All collected data will be used for the researcher's thesis and subsequent publications.

If you are interested in participating, or need more information regarding the study, please contact Inaash Islam at:

Email: inaashi1@vt.edu

Phone: XXX-XXX-XXXX

Recruiting Script at VTMSA Weekly Meeting

Assalamualaikum everyone!

My name is Inaash Islam. I'm a graduate student in the Sociology department here at Virginia Tech. I'm currently conducting research on the Muslim-American female experience with racism in the United States. My sample is VTMSA's Muslim-American female students, and I am here at this meeting in order to ask for your participation in this study.

I am looking for 5-8 undergraduate, Muslim-American women studying at Virginia Tech who are willing to participate in a study that examines your experiences with race and racism in the United States.

The study itself will last from September 2016 to December 2016. This study will involve a 1-2 hour interview at a time and location that is convenient and comfortable for you.

All interviews will be kept confidential, and your participation is completely voluntary. The interviews will be audio recorded.

The requirements for participating are that participants must be:

1. female
2. 18 years of age or older
3. self-identify as a Muslim-American
4. a current undergraduate student at Virginia Tech, and
5. a current member of Virginia Tech's Muslim Student Association.

If you have any questions or would like to participate, you can contact me via email or telephone.

My email is inaashi1@vt.edu and my phone number is XXX-XXX-XXXX

Appendix C

Interview Schedule

General Questions:	What is your: 1. Age 2. Education Level/Major 3. Ethnicity 4. Nationality 5. Family background: Immigrant/U.S., Nationality, Religion What labels do you identify with? What do you plan to do after graduating? What are your long term goals?
Race/Racialization:	Do you identify with a race? /Do you feel like you fit in any racial category in the U.S.? If not, why not? Did "race" seem to be an important concept that helped you to understand your identity as you grew up? Did anyone teach you that you were different than others? Can you remember an event when you first realized that you were different than others? How did it impact you? Was race an important concept in how you identify yourself? Was race an important concept in how you were taught to define and think about others?
Citizenship	How do you identify yourself nationally? Is your national identity important to you? Why? Does that national identity have any importance for you in terms of how you think about yourself or how you think about others? Does your family ever question your national identity? Does your social circle ever question your national identity? Does the public/ do others ever question your national identity? (If their national identity is questioned):

	What aspects of yourself do you think the public/your family/your social circle picks on in order to say you are not really (national identity)? Have you been mistaken for any other nationality? When? (social context) By whom? Why did they mistake you as such? Does it matter to you when people don't see as you what you identify as?
Public	
General Public:	I want you to think about other racial groups in the United States: 1. Do you think others see you as belonging to a certain racial group? Why? I want you to think about other religious groups in the United States: 1. What religious group do you identify with? 2. How do you think other (religious and racial) groups see your religious group? 3. Where do you think they are getting these impressions from? Have you ever had any public experience where you suddenly come to realize that you are very different from others around you? Are there any specific public places where you generally feel uncomfortable? Where? Why? What are some of the public places where you feel most comfortable? Why? Have you ever felt like you were/are racially profiled in public places? (expecting to see impact of signifiers arise here). Could you give an example? Have you experienced any discrimination on public transport? Can you think of any everyday experience that you have where you have felt out of place? Could you give me a general description of your experiences at an airport? Have you ever been pulled aside and searched at

	airports? Have you been given unsettling looks by others at airports? Have you ever overheard conversations about you while in a public setting? Have you ever experienced jokes aimed specifically at you or the people/community you identify with? Explain? Have you ever experienced job discrimination? On what grounds? For what kind of job? Are there certain kinds of jobs that you consider may be unobtainable for you as a Muslim-American woman? Why? Is your family part of the HOA in your neighborhood? How does the neighborhood you have lived in treat your family? Have you or your family had any negative experiences with your neighbors that have made you feel unwelcome? Can you describe your relationship with your neighbors? Have you noticed any changes in your relationship before and after 9/11? Can you describe this to me?
Law Enforcement	Have you ever been discriminated against by law enforcement? On what grounds? Why do you think you were discriminated against? Are there certain locations where you feel you are more racially profiled than others?
Educational Institutions:	Have you ever been in a class where you have felt: 1. uncomfortable due to the topics being discussed 2. that you were being unnecessarily picked on by your professor 3. that you were being judged, stereotyped or scrutinized by your classmates or professor? If so, in what class? Elaborate on the experience? Why do you think this happened?

	Did you suffer any positive or negative differentiation at school from peers or teachers? Did you ever feel different from the other students at any time during your school/college years? How? Why? Do you feel as if you have had (will have) the same kind of college experience as your peers? Are there places on campus where you feel most comfortable? Where? Why? Are there places on campus where you feel uncomfortable? Where? Why? Do you find it easy to pray on campus? Within the college community, are you comfortable with the way you are treated as a Muslim-American/_____ (their label)? Do you feel different from the rest of the student body? Do you feel as if you are part of the college community? Do you feel different from them? How? Why? Do you think they see you as different? Have you ever been the target of slurs or distasteful jokes made by your peers/classmates/professors, etc.?
Media	How do you think the media generally tends to portray Muslim women? Explain with examples, if any? What aspects of a Muslim woman do you think the media focuses on? What message do you think it is trying to portray? Do you think this impacts the way in which the American public sees Muslim women? Do you think the American public sees you in the same light? Do you feel as if you have to personally deal with with the way in which the media portrays Muslim women? If so, How?
Private:	
Family	Do you identify differently than your family does? How so? Why?

	When did you first become aware that you and your family were _____ in an American society? Does your family have any importance for you in terms of how you think about yourself or how you think about others? Who in your family has had the strongest impact on teaching you how to think about/deal with others? What kinds of beliefs and values are important in your household, that you think have shaped the way you were taught about others? What is your parents' social circle? Can you describe it? (ethnicity, religion, culture, race, etc.) What community do you think your family belongs to? (Pakistani/ Muslim/American community, etc.) Has your family always been a part of that community? Do you have a sense of belonging in that community? Does your family have a sense of belonging in that community? Does your membership within that community have any importance in how you view yourself? Are there values in this community that you think your parents closely identify with? Do you feel as if your parents expect you to identify with these values? Were you exposed to different groups growing up? (ethnic, cultural, religious, racial, etc.) What were your parents' attitude towards your exposure with these groups? Have either of your parents set boundaries for you regarding your interactions with others? Did they prefer you interacting with a certain group over others? Why do you think this is/was?

	Have your parents ever discussed how they have been treated by others in the U.S.? Do you also identify with those experiences? If so, how? To your knowledge, have any members of your immediate family ever experienced racism/discrimination? How did they deal with it? What did you learn from it? Do you think that these experiences influenced the decisions that your family members made with respect to their personal, or your well-being? Do you think that those experiences also shaped the way in which they understand American society? Do you feel as if their experiences have shaped the way in which you understand American society? Do your parents use any terms to describe themselves/their racial group in the United States? Do they use terms to describe other racial groups in the U.S.? Do you also use these/similar terms? What are the expectations of your family towards you on: 1. Education 2. Job 3. Marriage 4. Kids 5. Living away from/near to home 6. Behaviors in public/community/friends What are your views towards finding a marriage partner? What do you look for in a partner? Do you think these expectations are different from those expected of your brother/other males?
Religious Community:	Do you belong to a mosque or any religious organizations? If so, how did you become involved with this religious organization? How often do you attend these organizations?

	How would you describe the environment of the mosque/religious community you belong to? Do you feel as if you are part of this religious community? Do you feel welcome here?
Peers/Friends	Who are your close friends? Are most of your close friends Muslims or non-Muslims? How did you meet most of your close friends? Do you identify as part of this group? How? Why? What aspects of your circle(s) do you enjoy? Do you tend to avoid certain events that your social group is involved in? What kinds of events? Why? How do you think your social circle sees you? If they were to describe you to someone else, what do you think they would say?
Racialized Identity	What aspects of your identity are most important to you? Do you identify differently at home than you do at work/different communities/at school? Why? What aspects are more important in these areas? Who/What do you think is most responsible for teaching you how to think about yourself and your identity as a _____? How do you think the American society views your identity as a _____? As you grew into an adult, did your identity change? How so? What were the major events that helped change your identity? Are you happy with your identity? Would you ever consider changing or hiding your identity? Why? What would you change? Do you sometimes allow others to assume you are something else if it serves your purposes at that specific moment? If so, how and in what context?

	What are the markers/signifiers that you possess that you think tell others that you are different from them? What message do you think these markers give others about you? Why do you choose to display these markers? Do you believe your identity is something that you constructed yourself, or is it something that you think society has constructed and imposed on you?

Appendix D

Codebook

Codes	Definitions
Race	A term that typically refers to phenotypical features that are considered to be inherent to a population. However, it can also include other characteristics such as religion, or even culture– i.e. aspects of a peoples that are also considered to be inherent to that population.
Citizenship	Refers to nationality, i.e. the position or status of being a citizen to a particular nation.
Public Spaces	Refers to social spaces that are generally accessible to all people, however, they can be specific, such as educational institutions, and can also exist online, such as media.
Private Spaces	Are spaces that can involve agents of primary socialization (such as the family), and also contribute to developing intimate aspects of an individual's life, such as their religious development and identity, through religious communities.
Language/Accent	A method of communication, involves their ability to speak English, as well as being able to speak it fluently/non-fluently.
Signifiers, Religious or Otherwise	A symbol that signifies meaning, can be in the form of a religious symbol, such as the hijab, or a cultural symbol, such as dressing modestly.
Racialized Identity	The identity an individual has, in which they learn to identify themselves as the Other.
Misc.	Refers to specific spaces, and instances where participants experience racialization, which do not fall within either public or private spaces.
Resistance/Coping	Refers to the strategies that individuals employ in order to resist against (and thereby prevent future racialization), or cope with their racialization.

Appendix E

Community Resource List

Cook Counseling Center:

Email: www.ucc.vt.edu/clinical_services_students/index.html

Phone: 540-231-6557

Intercultural Engagement Center at Virginia Tech:

Email: iec@vt.edu

Phone: 540-231-0945

VT Police:

Emergency Phone: 911

Non-Emergency Phone: 540-231-6411

Women's Center at Virginia Tech:

Phone: 540-231-7806

Women's Resource Center of the New River Valley:

Phone: 540-639-1123