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Islamophobia and the Urban (Im)Mobilities of
Muslims:
A Comparative Case Study of Sydney, Australia and
the San Francisco Bay Area, USA.

Rhonda Itaoui

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This thesis is presented as part of the requirements for the conferral of the degree:
Doctor of Philosophy (PhD).

Supervisors:

Professor Kevin Dunn

Assoc Professor Rae Dufty-Jones

Professor Andrew Gorman-Murray

Western Sydney University

School of Social Sciences

STATEMENT OF AUTHENTICATION

The work presented in this thesis is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, original except as acknowledged in the text. I hereby declare that I have not submitted this material, either in full or in part, for a degree at this or any other institution.



Signed

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May 2nd, 2021

DECLARATION AND STATEMENTS OF AUTHORSHIP

The following publications, completed during my candidature, are reproduced in this thesis. Each publication is accompanied by a statement of authorship to clarify the nature and extent of co-authorship with my supervisors, Professor Kevin Dunn and Associate Professor Rae Dufty-Jones.

Chapter 5

ITAOU, R. 2016. The Geography of Islamophobia in Sydney: Mapping the Spatial Imaginaries of Young Muslims. *Australian Geographer* 47(3), 261-279. DOI: 10.1080/00049182.2016.1191133

Itaoui was the sole author on this paper.

Chapter 6

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Chapter 7

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Itaoui was the primary author, responsible for conception and design of the research and the manuscript, the collection, analysis and interpretation of data, and coordination the process of peer-review revisions. Dunn assisted with the study design, development of the argument and overall structure of the paper. Dunn critically reviewed multiple drafts of the article as it went through submission and each round of revisions.

Chapter 8

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Itaoui was the primary author, responsible for conception and design of the research and the manuscript, the collection, analysis and interpretation of data. The idea for this paper developed through ongoing discussions between Itaoui, Dufty-Jones and Dunn during the candidature. Dufty-Jones and Dunn supervised the research, contributed to developing the argument and overall structure of the paper. Both Dufty-Jones and Dunn supervised the research, and critically reviewed drafts of the article at all stages of the revisions process.

The text in the original articles has been reproduced for results chapters in the thesis. Figure, Table and section numbers have been altered to suit the flow of the thesis. Further, the grammar of all papers has been adjusted for consistency throughout to reflect Australian English. The referencing has been adjusted to match the consistency of Harvard Style throughout the thesis.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis argues that there is a complex and relational link between race and Muslim mobility which is shaped by global and local processes of Islamophobia. The research uses a social constructivist theoretical approach to racism and insights from the ‘new mobilities’ paradigm – notably, the ‘politics of mobility’ – to examine how the geographies of Islamophobia influence the way young Muslims engage in urban spaces. Empirically, the thesis draws on the findings of two mixed-method case studies, which used web-based surveys and follow-up interviews with young Muslims aged 18-35 years living in Sydney, Australia, and the San Francisco Bay Area, USA.

The thesis advances three key contributions. Theoretically, the thesis contributes to emerging debates on the geographies of racism by mapping the spatial imaginaries of Islamophobia from the perspective of the racialised. These findings add nuance to existing research on the geographies of racism that have restricted their analyses to racial attitudes rather than perceptions of racism. Additionally, the research enhances emerging debates on the racialised politics of mobility by exploring how the relationship between race, space and movement shapes Muslim (im)mobility in each city. Finally, the study contributes to comparative urbanisms by uncovering the relational processes as well as contextual variations in how the racialised politics of mobility is both spatialised and negotiated by racialised individuals.

The thesis is structured in a ‘PhD by a series of papers’ format, with four results chapters presented in the form of academic journal articles. Three (3) papers are published and one (1) is accepted for publication (in-print). Each paper is introduced with an exegesis that contextualises the research and the papers. The thesis is connected through six (6) additional chapters that form the ‘overarching statement’. These chapters introduce and provide the methodological justification of the research, present a comparative analysis of the four papers and propose the conclusions of the research. All three aspects of this ‘PhD by a series of papers’ text (i.e., the four papers, their exegeses, and the six chapters) are combined to establish and present the thesis argument.

The first paper maps the spatial imaginaries of Islamophobia in Sydney, uncovering that the absence of Muslim populations across space appears as a strong indicator of racism, and vice versa – a greater Muslim presence in an area is associated with a stronger sense of acceptance across space. Second, the paper compares the ‘geography of Islamophobia’ provided by young Muslims and the ‘geography of racism in Sydney’ uncovered by Forrest and Dunn in 2007. It demonstrates differences in these geographies, that highlight the need for further engagement with the geography of perceived racism within broader studies on the geographies of racism.

The second paper maps the spatial imaginaries of Islamophobia across the San Francisco Bay Area, highlighting the spatial distribution of Islamophobia across the region, as well as identifying the public spaces where Islamophobia is anticipated following the 2016 Presidential election of Donald Trump. This paper also establishes the importance of Muslim in-group presence in fostering perceived belonging across various localities in the Bay Area.

The third paper explores the impact of perceived Islamophobia on the spatial mobility of Muslims in Sydney in response to the Cronulla race riots of 2005. The chapter argues that repetitive media reporting of the racist event has informed young Muslims’ mental maps of Islamophobia and their choice to avoid the Sutherland region ten years following the riot. The article thus uncovers the reflexive link between racism, mental maps of exclusion and immobility, reflected in Young Muslims’ disengagement from Cronulla Beach and the surrounding area.

The fourth and final paper in this thesis examines the links between perceived Islamophobia and the spatial mobility of Muslims in the San Francisco Bay Area in the context of the 2016 election of President Donald Trump. Drawing on twenty-nine interviews conducted with young Muslims, the paper argues that while this critical socio-political context limited the spatial mobility of young Muslims, it also informed their employment of anti-racism mobility strategies to navigate and survive the expanded geographies of risk of Islamophobia following the election. The paper proposes that future geographical analyses of racialised mobilities should account for the capacity for racialised persons, such as young Muslims, to develop and implement anti-racist counter-mobilities as

they anticipate, negotiate, subvert and resist everyday racisms within contemporary spatio-temporal contexts (Castree, 2009).

Together, the findings highlight the need for local and context-specific anti-racism policy practice, public education campaigns and policy initiatives that respond to the geographies racism according to the spatial imaginaries and lived experiences of racialised groups. Such responses must account for the spatial impacts of past, as well as current socio-political events on racialised (im)mobilities in contemporary urban spaces.

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SECTION I: RESEARCH OVERVIEW

The first section of the thesis sets the research scene, establishes the aims and provides an outline of this project. Consisting of four chapters, this introductory section establishes the research aims being addressed (Chapter 1), situates the conceptual/theoretical tools employed to fulfil the research aims (Chapter 2), outlines the research methodology of the study (Chapter 3) and provides an overview of the two contexts that form the focus of this comparative case-study: Sydney, Australia and the San Francisco Bay Area (Chapter 4).

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE GLOBAL RISE OF ISLAMOPHOBIA

I have a friend who wears the scarf and I remember while walking with her in the shopping centre, there were people spitting on her from the levels above and calling out really racist comments. (Thalia, Female, 29 years old, Egyptian-Australian, Inner-Western Sydney)

I am conscious of the way I stand on the train platform...People could push you, but I think my chances of that happening increase because I wear a hijab. So I'm pretty conscious of it. I tend to lean against a wall or place my feet really firm on the ground like almost in anticipation of someone coming to me (Sana, Female, 32 years old, Palestinian-American, Berkeley California).

Thalia's and Sana's experiences of Islamophobia documented above reflect some of the intensifying experiences of Islamophobia reported by Muslim Australians and Americans over the last few decades (Abdel-Fattah, 2021; Dunn *et al.*, 2007; DOIC, 2008; Kwan 2008; McGinty, 2020; Noble & Poynting 2010; Selod, 2019).

Islam is the second largest and fastest-growing religious group in the world (Lipka, 2017). According to a Pew Research Center estimate, there were 1.8 billion Muslims in the world as of 2015 – roughly 24% of the global population (Lipka, 2017). Muslims in Western societies now form an integral part of their countries of residence, however they face rising levels of Islamophobia (Allen, 2010; Barkdull *et al.*, 2011; Garner & Selod, 2015; Helbling, 2012; Kunst *et al.*, 2012; Morgan, 2016; Najib & Hopkins, 2019, 2020; Sayyid & Vakil, 2010) that have negative impacts on their health and wellbeing (Samari, 2016), as well as the ability to access institutions such as workplaces (Council on American Islamic Relations, 2015a; Padela *et al.*, 2016) and the legal system (Beydoun, 2016a, 2016b, 2016c, 2017; Choudhury, 2015; Dubosh *et al.*, 2015; El Sheikh *et al.*, 2017; Ibrahim, 2008). Most concerning are the everyday impacts of embodied Islamophobia (McGinty, 2020) in producing social exclusion, a corrupted national identity and weakened sense of personal safety (Poynting, 2006; Noble, 2005; Dunn & Kamp, 2009; Paradies, 2006; Barkdull *et al.*, 2010). The term 'Islamophobia' has been increasingly employed in the last decade to interrogate this rise of anti-Muslim ideologies, discourses and practices towards Muslims.

The term Islamophobia was coined in 1997 by the Runnymede Trust, a U.K. think tank on race and cultural diversity, to refer to an 'unfounded hostility toward Islam' (Runnymede Trust, 1997, p. 4). Since this initial report, a wide range of scholars across various disciplines

have worked to define and describe the phenomenon. Human geographers Najib & Teeple Hopkins (2020) define Islamophobia as ‘a process of racialisation and othering that essentialises and homogenises Muslims (Allen, 2010; Halliday, 2003; Naber, 2008; Sayyid & Vakil, 2010) within Islamophobic political debates and media coverage which often deny the plurality and humanity of Muslim populations’ (p. 450). The phenomenon of Islamophobia, therefore, has been examined by geographers as an ideology analogous to racism, in that it propagates negative perceptions of Islam based on religious and cultural signifiers such as dress, name and physical appearance (Dunn *et al.*, 2007; Hopkins, 2016; McGinty, 2020; Najib & Hopkins 2019, 2020, Najib & Teeple Hopkins, 2020).

While Islamophobia is not new, it has intensified in the last few decades, especially since the September 11 attacks (9/11), which marked the beginning of the Global War on Terror (Kumar, 2012; Kundnani, 2014; Najib & Teeple Hopkins, 2020)¹. Key local and international events, such as 9/11, have produced a climate of fear around ‘Islamic terrorism’ that has been synonymous with a growth in racial and racist attitudes against Islamic groups to the extent of producing anti-Arab and anti-Muslim violence in Australia and the USA (Garner & Selod 2015; Iner *et al.*, 2017; Poynting & Noble, 2004) which form the two national contexts of focus in this thesis (see Chapter 3–4). Examples of extreme forms of anti-Muslim violence in these two countries were manifest in the Cronulla riot of December 2005 in Sydney (Noble, 2009)², the Christchurch mosque attacks in New Zealand in March 2019 executed by an Australian perpetrator (Kolig, 2019), as well as various acts of vandalism and violence against Muslim sites and bodies in everyday geographies across North America (Bridge Initiative 2016; Kaplan, 2006; Müller & Schwarz, 2018; Noble & Poynting, 2010). Pervasive

¹ It is important however to note the longstanding history of Islamophobia prior to the 9/11 attacks. Drawing on Edward Said’s (1978) pioneering work on Orientalism (1978), a wide range of scholars have discussed this long-standing history of anti-Muslim sentiment and discourse in the American psyche from the Iranian 1979 Revolution onwards, and the ongoing othering of the Arab ‘Muslim terrorist’ as political enemy (Maira, 2016; Orfalea, 2006). Further, Kumar (2012) situates the Global War on Terror within a long history of racist and anti-Muslim ideologies that have been used to sustain colonial and neo-imperial domination of Muslims, particularly in the USA. This is both across the globe through both foreign and domestic policy. This research thus conceptualises Islamophobia within the broader connections between colonialism and the war on terror (Kumar, 2012; see also Abdullah, 2013; Malek, 2009; Naber, 2012; Salaita, 2006), however focusses on documenting the lived experiences of Islamophobia among Muslims, which mostly occurred after the 9/11 attacks (see Maira, 2016; Abdel-Fattah, 2017a, 2017b, 2021).

² The Cronulla riot was an eruption of large-scale racist violence when a mob of 5,000, summoned by vigilante text messages and incitement on talkback radio and in tabloid media, gathered on Cronulla beach (located in Sutherland, Sydney) to ‘claim back our shire’ from ‘Lebs’ and ‘wogs’, to ‘show them that this is our beach and they are never welcome’ (McIlveen, 2005, p. 39, cited in Hartley *et al.*, 2006). This event is revisited in the next chapter, and the impacts of this event on young Muslim mobilities in Sydney are captured in Chapter 7.

fears about violent Islamic extremism, have been deepened by panics about refugees in both Australia and the USA (Fritzsche & Nelson, 2019; Gorman & Culcasi, 2020; Klocker, 2004; Nagel, 2016). This has particularly intensified following the election of President Donald Trump, who targeted Muslims with Islamophobic discourses as well as policies that restricted Muslim migration to the U.S. (Poynting & Mason, 2006; Noble, 2010; Fritzsche & Nelson, 2019; Gorman & Culcasi, 2020).

Specific to the interests of this project, work on the geographies of racism have been expanded by recent engagements in the emerging field of 'geographies of Islamophobia'. This scholarship has uncovered how experiences of racial vilification and discrimination against Muslims are spatialised in various contexts at a range of scales (Dunn *et al.*, 2007; Gorman & Culcasi 2020; Hopkins *et al.*, 2017; Listerborn, 2015; McGinty 2020, Najib & Hopkins 2019, 2020; Najib & Teeple Hopkins 2020). Yet, until now, little attention has been paid to how Muslims interpret and perceive the spatialisation of Islamophobia, and how these perceived geographies of Islamophobia have affected the everyday mobilities of Muslims in urban spaces.

The thesis that follows responds to this gap and argues that there is a complex and relational link between race and Muslim mobility, which is shaped by global and local processes of Islamophobia. Data collected through web-based surveys and follow-up interviews with young Muslims aged 18-35 years living in Sydney, Australia, and the San Francisco Bay Area, USA, are used to examine and compare how the geographies of perceived Islamophobia influence the way young Muslims aged between 18-35 years, engage in urban spaces. A social constructivist theoretical approach to racism and insights from the 'new mobilities' paradigm notably, the 'politics of mobility' frames the analyses of these data. This research therefore advances three key contributions to the wider field of the 'geographies of racism':

1. Theoretically, this project contributes to emerging debates on the geographies of racism by mapping the spatial imaginaries of Islamophobia from the perspective of the racialised. These findings add nuance to existing research on the geographies of racism that have restricted their analyses to racial attitudes rather than perceptions of racism.

2. By demonstrating how the relationship between race, space and movement shapes Muslim (im)mobility in each case-study city, this research connects the work on the geographies of racism to emerging debates on the racialised politics of mobility.
3. Finally, the study contributes to this field through the use of a comparative case study approach. The analyses presented in this thesis demonstrate how the everyday experiences of the geographies of racism – specifically the racialised politics of mobility – manifest and are resisted through relational processes that are contextually variable.

In this introductory chapter, the following section (1.2) articulates the research aims that guide the thesis contributions. Section 1.3 proceeds to contextualise this study within three key bodies of literature that this thesis advances: studies on the geographies of racism, emerging research on the racialised politics of mobility and the limited body of work on the comparative geographies of racism and racialised mobilities. In providing an overview of how emerging studies on geographies of racism have engaged in the socio-spatial dimensions and impacts of racism, I highlight key gaps in these bodies of work that have not yet (i) mapped spatial imaginaries of racism according to the perspective of the racialised, (ii) examined how perceived geographies of Islamophobia shape the mobility practices of young Muslims and (iii) compared how the relationship between racism and mobility operates across different contexts. An overview of key comparative debates on geographies of racism and Islamophobia is therefore provided, which brings to light the need to compare the key connections as well as unique socio-political contextual influences that may shape the relationship between Islamophobia and Muslim mobility in various urban contexts. This introductory chapter concludes with an outline of the thesis design, including an overview of the research papers that shape the results sections.

1.2 RESEARCH AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

In contributing to the geographies of racism literatures, as well as debates on the racialised politics of mobility, the purpose of this study is to uncover how perceptions of Islamophobia across space influence Muslim mobilities in various urban contexts. The aims of the thesis are to:

1. Map and compare how young Muslims perceive the geographies of Islamophobia across Sydney, Australia, and the San Francisco Bay Area, USA.
2. Analyse how spatial imaginaries of Islamophobia influence the racialised politics of mobility among young Muslims in Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area.
3. Compare how socio-political context shapes the mobility practices employed by Muslim Americans and Australians in response to Islamophobia.

1.3 GEOGRAPHIES OF RACISM AND MUSLIM MOBILITIES

1.3.1 THE SPATIAL IMPACTS OF ISLAMOPHOBIA: AN ISSUE FOR THE GEOGRAPHIES OF RACISM

Geographers have long demonstrated that space can be racialised and can construct some cultural groups as ‘in place’ and others as ‘out of place’ (Sibley, 1995). In acknowledging this inclusionary and exclusionary nature of space (Cresswell, 1993; Ruddick, 1996; Poulsen *et al.*, 2004), geographers have advanced a critical understanding of the ‘everywhere different’ nature of racism (Forrest & Dunn, 2010). These studies have found that racial attitudes and perceptions towards different cultural groups vary across space, ultimately shaping the way intolerance is geographically distributed (Forrest & Dunn, 2006, 2007). Geographers have also mapped racial incidents across urban contexts, highlighting the critical role of place in defining the spatial distribution of racism directed towards racialised individuals such as Muslims (Najib & Hopkins, 2020). However, these constructivist approaches to the geographies of racism are yet to engage with how racialised individuals perceive and map racism across urban contexts. This is particularly the case for emerging debates on the geographies of Islamophobia that have sought to extend the geographies of racism by accounting for anti-Muslim racism. Like the geography of racism research, this emerging body of work has found that Islamophobia occurs in specific places and spaces, and its spatial distribution reflects specific urban patterns (Najib & Hopkins, 2020). Further, experiences of anti-Muslim discrimination were found to negatively impact experiences of safety among Muslims residing as minorities in various urban contexts (Listerborn, 2015; McGinty, 2014, 2020; Najib and Hopkins 2019; Noble & Poynting, 2010; Sziarto, McGinty & Seymour-Jorn, 2014).

However, like the geography of racism research, this body of work on geographies of Islamophobia did not map the spatial imaginaries of anti-Muslim racism among Muslims. Therefore, the way in which racialised minorities, such as Muslims perceive the geographical distribution of racism remains unexamined within broader debates on geographies of racism and Islamophobia. Building on Tim Cresswell's (1996) assertion that inherent inclusions and exclusions lead to an awareness of groups being 'in place' or 'out of place', this research seeks to fill this gap in knowledge by mapping how Muslims interpret and visualise the spatial distribution of Islamophobia across space. In doing so, this study extends broader research on the geographies of racism by capturing, for the first time, how young Muslims as a racialised group perceive the inclusionary/exclusionary dimensions across urban spaces (see Chapter 5 7, 9). Further, it seeks to uncover how these spatial perceptions of Islamophobia impact the way Muslims move across space, which is examined in the next section.

1.3.2 THE RACIALISED POLITICS OF MUSLIM MOBILITY: AN ISSUE FOR THE GEOGRAPHY OF RACISM

Mitchell (2000) emphasised over two decades ago, that race itself is a project of the ordering and controlling of space and of ordering and controlling the movement of people. Geographers have since drawn on this assertion to examine place as a socially constructed product that plays an active role in the racialised politics of movement across space (Allen *et al.*, 2019; Cresswell, 2016, 2010a, 2010b; Hague, 2010; Neely & Samura, 2011). However, the way in which the geographies of Islamophobia may influence racialised politics of movement of Muslims residing as minorities in Australia and the United States remains unexamined. Although sociologists Noble and Poynting (2010) speculated that Islamophobia may affect how Muslims engage in public and private spheres in Australia, the evidence for a relationship between experiences of Islamophobia and mobility has been insufficiently examined in the geographies of racism literature (although see Najib & Hopkins, 2019). The links between racism and movement among Muslims residing as minorities in urban contexts are conceptually logical, and anecdotes such as Thalia's and Sana's in the opening of this thesis provide examples, however geographers are yet to empirically test this link (examined further in Chapter 2). To date, the constructivist literature on geographies of

racism has not yet investigated the socio-spatial impacts of racism on how newly racialised groups such as Muslims navigate and engage with urban spaces. Examining the link between racism and mobility is particularly critical for the geographies of Islamophobia. Muslims around the globe have reported increased experiences of exclusionary acts across urban spaces such as verbal abuse, physical violence and threats to safety (Ghanesh, 2015; Hopkins *et al.*, 2017; Listerborn, 2015; Selod, 2019). While these exclusionary acts are well documented across a wide range of urban spaces (Cainkar, 2005; Considine, 2017; Kwan, 2008), much uncertainty exists about how these acts of racism may spatially regulate the mobilities of Muslims (although see Najib & Hopkins, 2019).

This thesis contributes to the geographies of racism literature by engaging with new mobilities research on the racialised politics of mobility to examine how the relationship between race, space and movement shapes Muslim (im)mobility in each case-study city (examined further in section 2.2). In doing so, this research connects the work on the geographies of racism and Islamophobia (Dekker, 2020; Hopkins, 2019, 2020; Listerborn, 2015; McGinty, 2020; Najib & Teeple Hopkins, 2020), with contemporary debates on the racialised politics of mobility for the first time. This analysis is deepened by a comparative analysis of these findings, which is further outlined in the following section.

1.3.3 COMPARATIVE GEOGRAPHIES OF ISLAMOPHOBIA AND MUSLIM MOBILITIES

Geographers have emphasised that racism takes different forms in different national contexts (Najib & Teeple Hopkins, 2020), and have therefore advocated for localised as well as comparative research to uncover the nuances in how racism is spatialised in various cities. Comparative studies on the geographies of racism have uncovered how attitudes to diversity and multiculturalism are influenced by the history and context of cross-cultural relations across space (Forrest & Dunn, 2011). The specific cultural, economic and historical circumstances of place are therefore found to shape experiences of cross-cultural relations and racism across various spaces (Forrest & Dunn, 2011). Specific to geographies of Islamophobia, Najib and Hopkins (2020) have piloted this comparative work with their mapping of reported anti-Muslim incidents across Paris and London. This work has provided valuable insight into key patterns in the spatial distribution of Islamophobic incidents across

both cities, which reflected distinct urban models that were shaped by the political, social, urban and racial context of each city.

However, less is known about the ways in which context shapes the geographies of *perceived* racism, and the subsequent mobilities of racialised minorities across urban spaces. Existing comparative analyses on the geographies of Islamophobia, such as that of Najib and Hopkins (2020) have therefore not yet analysed how racialised individuals such as Muslims perceive the spatial distribution of Islamophobia geographies. More deeply, these assessments have not yet compared the racialised politics of mobility across urban spaces. Namely, there has been a limited comparative assessment of how spatial imaginaries of racism may impact the way racialised groups such as Muslims engage in various localities.

The research for this thesis therefore adopted a dynamic approach to comparison that combined both a *relational* and *contextual* analysis of the geographies of perceived Islamophobia and the politics of Muslim mobility among Australian and American Muslim youth. Beginning with a relational comparison, urban theorists have advocated for a renewed interest in relational comparative research in human geography (see Robinson, 2011, 2016, 2015, 2017; Ward, 2010). According to these perspectives, urbanists are encouraged to consider the *related experiences* of cities across the globe. Previous comparative approaches outlined above have not responded to critical calls in human geography for a more *open, embedded and relational* conceptualisation of cities (Massey, 2007; Robinson, 2016). In response to these calls, this study draws connections between the findings of both the Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area case studies (Ward, 2010), situating the cities as open and constituted in and through relations that stretch across space (Hart, 2002). Stressing these interconnected trajectories – how different cities are implicated in each other's past, present and future – the thesis adopts a relational approach to comparing how geographies of perceived Islamophobia shape Muslim mobilities in both case studies.

While attending to the relational connections between both cities, the comparative analysis presented in this thesis also examines the unique socio-political contextual factors that shape Muslim mobilities in various urban spaces. This approach responds to calls in human geography for closer examinations of spatial context (Castree, 2005) when examining the intraurban variations of racism (see Forrest & Dunn, 2010; 2011). In doing so, this research

draws attention to the contextual factors and events that shape the unique spatialisation of Islamophobia in each city, and the subsequent impacts on Muslim mobilities. In using these two cities to pose questions about how Islamophobia operates as both a local and global process across these contexts (Roy, 2003; Nijman, 2007), the comparative discussion provided in this thesis (Chapters 9–10) argues that there are both connections and differences in how Islamophobia shapes Muslim spatial imaginaries and mobility in both cities. In exploring the ‘interconnected’ as well as the ‘contextualised’ impacts of Islamophobia on Muslim mobility in these Western nations, the comparative discussion uncovers key factors that affect how Islamophobia shapes the spatial imaginaries and mobility of young Muslim Australians and Americans both locally and globally. As such, these findings advance the emerging bodies of work on the comparative geographies of racism (Forrest & Dunn 2007, 2011, Forrest et al., 2020), and Islamophobia (Najib & Hopkins 2020) by attending to the relational links in how Islamophobia is spatialised across these two global cities, while also examining unique socio-political factors that influence Muslim mobilities in each context. The comparative analysis presented in this thesis therefore contributes to emerging studies on the comparative geographies of racism by uncovering the ongoing (and potentially global) spatial effects of racism on minority groups, like Muslims living in major global cities such as Sydney, Australia, and the San Francisco Bay Area, USA.

The remainder of this chapter provides an outline of the thesis design and introduces the research papers presented in the body of the thesis.

1.4 THESIS DESIGN, AND INTRODUCING THE RESEARCH PAPERS

This thesis is presented in a ‘PhD as a Series of Papers’ format in accordance with Western Sydney University’s (WSU) ‘Doctorate Policy’. The policy requires four academic papers be accepted for publication or published in a peer-reviewed journal or book³, and to be accompanied by an ‘overarching’ statement that connects these papers in the thesis. Accordingly, this thesis is organised in five key sections:

³ See Part J (96-99) of Western Sydney University’s (WSU) Doctorate Policy’ for more information on the PhD as a Series of Papers format: (<https://policies.westernsydney.edu.au/document/view.current.php?id=17&version=13>).

Section 1: Background and Methodology (Chapters 1 – 4: Contextual chapters)

Section 2: The Geographies of Perceived Islamophobia (Chapters 5 and 6: Journal Articles)

Section 3: The Racialised Politics of Muslim Mobility (Chapters 7 and 8: Journal Articles)

Section 4: Comparative Geographies of Islamophobia and Muslim (im)mobilities (Chapters 9 and 10: Discussion Chapters)

Section 5: Conclusion (Chapter 11: Closing Chapter)

The first section of the thesis comprises this introductory chapter, followed by Chapter 2, which provides a critical review of the bodies of literature that this thesis advances. Within this review, the second chapter also provides an overview of the conceptual and theoretical frameworks employed to fulfil the research aims. Chapter 3 details the methodology of the thesis. While the other results chapters (chapters 6 - 8) include their own methods section within an academic journal article format, the methodology chapter provides an overarching account of the research design in order to contextualise and personalise the project holistically. This is the kind of reflection stifled in a journal article format, but which was essential to the development of the thesis and the future reproducibility of the study. The methodology is followed by Chapter 4 which profiles the two case studies that form the focus of the research. The chapter concludes with an overview of the Comparative Case Study (CCS) approach adopted for comparing the findings across both cases.

The second section of the thesis presents two key results chapters that map the spatial imaginaries of Islamophobia among young Muslims in Sydney (Chapter 5) and the San Francisco Bay Area (Chapter 6). These two chapters have been published as academic journal articles and have been adapted to suit the format of this thesis, maintaining the original published content.

Chapter 5 maps the spatial imaginaries of Islamophobia in Sydney, uncovering that the absence of Muslim populations across space appears as a strong indicator of racism, and vice versa – a greater Muslim presence in an area is associated with a stronger sense of acceptance across space. Second, the paper compares the ‘geography of Islamophobia’ provided by young Muslims with the ‘geography of racism in Sydney’ uncovered by Forrest and Dunn in 2007. It demonstrates differences in these geographies that highlight the need for further engagement with perceptions of racism among racialised individuals within broader studies on the geographies of racism.

Chapter 6 maps the spatial imaginaries of Islamophobia across the San Francisco Bay Area, highlighting the spatial distribution of Islamophobia across the region, as well as identifying the public spaces where Islamophobia is anticipated. This chapter also demonstrates the importance of Muslim in-group presence in fostering perceived belonging across various localities in the San Francisco Bay Area.

Together, both papers in section two provide the first spatial analysis of perceived Islamophobia in each case study site. These findings enhance understandings of the geographies of racism by highlighting the merit of mapping perceptions of racism by targeted ethnic minorities in future geographical studies of racism.

The third section of the thesis presents a further two key results chapters (also published as academic journal articles) that examine the links between Islamophobia and spatial mobility in both Sydney (Chapter 7) and the San Francisco Bay Area (Chapter 8) in response to key socio-political events that took place in each case study.

Chapter 7 explores the impact of the Cronulla race riots of 2005 on how young Muslims perceived and engaged with the broader Sutherland region of Sydney. The chapter argues that repetitive media reporting of the racist event has informed young Muslims' mental maps of Islamophobia and their choice to avoid the Sutherland region ten years following the riot. The article thus uncovers the reflexive link between racism, mental maps of exclusion and immobility, reflected in Young Muslims' disengagement from Cronulla Beach and the surrounding Sutherland area of Sydney.

Chapter 8 examines the links between perceived Islamophobia and the spatial mobility of Muslims in the San Francisco Bay Area in the context of the 2016 election of President Donald Trump. Drawing on interviews conducted with young Muslims in the immediate months following the election, the paper argues that while this critical socio-political context limited the spatial mobility of young Muslims, it also informed their employment of anti-racism mobility strategies to navigate and survive everyday geographies of risk of Islamophobia following the 2016 election. The paper proposes that future geographical analyses of racialised mobilities should account for the capacity for racialised persons, such as young Muslims, to develop and implement anti-racist counter-mobilities as they anticipate, negotiate, subvert and resist everyday racisms within contemporary spatio-temporal contexts (Castree, 2009).

The fourth section of the thesis closes with two discussion chapters (Chapters 9 and 10) that connect all four empirical papers through a comparative analysis. This comparison examines both the similar and unique geographies of perceived Islamophobia in both cities and compares how Islamophobia shapes Muslim mobilities both relationally, and uniquely across both cities.

Chapter 9 compares the geographies of perceived Islamophobia presented in Sydney (Chapter 5) and the San Francisco Bay Area (Chapter 6), uncovering the mutual association between in-group Muslim presence with a lower level of perceived Islamophobia. These findings reveal a global trend in how Islamophobia is spatialised according to levels of perceived in-group presence. On the other hand, unique urban models of the perceived spatialisation of Islamophobia across both case studies are also demonstrated, uncovering the impact of socio-economic factors on how perceptions of Islamophobia are spatially organised. Namely, the chapter argues that unique migration histories of Muslims have shaped the differential socio-economic position, and thus residential location of Muslim populations within the broader socio-economic structures of each city. However, higher socio-economic status areas are consistently identified as primary hot spots of Islamophobia in both contexts. This comparison therefore uncovers the role of socio-economic factors in shaping distinct geographies of perceived racism among Muslims across the cities of Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area.

Chapter 10 presents a discussion of how Islamophobia has produced a global racialised politics of Muslim mobility in these two Western cities. The comparison finds that in both cities, perceived geographies of Islamophobia have impacted the spatial mobility of young Muslim Australians and Americans. First, the chapter argues that the 9/11 attacks have produced relational impacts of Islamophobia on spatial mobility are discussed on both case study sites. However, in comparing distinct socio-political events that have taken place within each locality – the Cronulla Riot in Sydney (Chapter 7) and the 2016 election of Donald Trump (Chapter 8), it is also argued that these events have produced uniquely local socio-political contexts of Islamophobia. These unique local manifestations of Islamophobia across space are therefore found to produce differential spatial mobility practices among young Muslims in each case study site.

In Sydney, the historical nature of the Cronulla riots, as well as its more confined geography of risk in the Sutherland region, resulted in Muslims disengaging from the suburb, while continuing to be relatively mobile in other regions of the city. On the other hand, Muslims in the San Francisco Bay Area were found to respond to a more dispersed spatialisation of Islamophobia following the 2016 election of Donald Trump. In response to this expanded geography of risk, young Muslims continued moving across these everyday geographies of the San Francisco Bay Area, however, they did so while employing a range of anti-racist mobility strategies. In keeping with the anti-racist mobility framework of Alderman and Inwood (2016), young Muslims in the Bay area were found to employ what I refer to as anti-racist mobilities in order to continue navigating and accessing public spaces following the 2016 election. The chapter argues that these varied mobility practices among Muslims in Sydney compared with those residing in the San Francisco Bay Area reflects the significant influence of local socio-political contexts in shaping racialised mobilities. The discussion of such connections, as well as and nuances in how young Muslims perceive, experience and respond to Islamophobia in Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area presented in Chapter 10 thus adds depth to understanding the role of socio-political context in shaping the racialised politics of mobility.

Finally, the *fifth section* is comprised of the Conclusion Chapter (11), which reflects on the three main contributions of this research to emerging bodies of literature on geographies of racism, Islamophobia and racialised mobilities in Human Geography. Based on these three contributions, the conclusion notes the study scope and parameters, and closes with the implications of this research for future theorisations of the geographies of racism, as well as policy implications for place-based anti-racism praxis.

Together, the findings presented in this thesis have significant implications for the emerging field of geographies of racism and Islamophobia, as well as research interested in the racialised politics of mobility (e.g., Hague, 2010, Cresswell, 2010b, 2016; Alderman & Inwood, 2016). By employing the new mobilities paradigm, the research findings contribute to key bodies of literature on the geographies of racism that were yet to examine these geographies from the perspective of racialised individuals. Further, the analysis presented in the thesis also enhances the broader mobilities research that is yet to account for the racialised politics of Muslim mobility. The contributions of this thesis to these bodies of

literature are explored in further detail within the literature review that is presented in the following chapter.

2 A SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVIST APPROACH TO THE GEOGRAPHIES OF ISLAMOPHOBIA AND RACIALISED MOBILITIES

This research aims to contribute to emerging debates on the geographies of racism by mapping the spatial imaginaries of Islamophobia from the perspective of racialised Muslims. These findings add nuance to existing research on the geographies of racism that have restricted their analyses to racial attitudes rather than perceptions of racism. The project also seeks to examine and compare how the relationship between race, space and movement shapes Muslim (im)mobility in each case-study city. This contribution is achieved by connecting perspectives on the geographies of racism with emerging debates on the racialised politics of mobility. In doing so, this thesis explores how the racialised politics of Muslim mobility manifest and are resisted through relational processes that are contextually variable.

In this chapter, I critically examine the key bodies of literature that have informed the key research aims of this thesis, and thus, the primary areas of knowledge advanced by this research. While the majority of these works have been reviewed within each individual chapter in academic journal article format, this section brings together these bodies of work and situates the theoretical frameworks employed to generate insight into the relationship between Islamophobia and Muslim mobility in Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area.

This section is organised in three parts. First, it provides an overview of the social constructivist literature on the geographies of racism employed in this thesis including emerging definitions of Islamophobia as a new form of racism, the recognition that ‘place matters’ to racism, and the factors affecting spatial inclusion or exclusion, followed by perspectives on ‘spatial imaginaries’ of inclusion and exclusion. Presenting the key developments within the social constructivist literature on the ‘geographies of racism’ establishes the contributions of this thesis in providing the first investigation of how geographies of racism are perceived and mapped by Muslims. More critically, the overview of these literatures substantiates the need for a deeper understanding of how constructions of Muslims as a newly racialised ‘outgroup’ affect Muslim mobilities. Accordingly, the second part of this literature review describes my innovative engagement with the new mobilities

theoretical framework to address these gaps in existing constructivist studies on the geographies of racism by interrogating the racialised politics of mobility. Within this overview, I highlight how the new mobilities theoretical framework was employed to advance a key contribution of this study in offering important insights into the relationship between perceptions of racism and spatial mobility among Muslims living in Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area. Finally, I draw on the limited research on the comparative geographies of racism and Islamophobia to situate the urgency for comparative examinations of how the relationship between racism and spatial mobility may be relationally or contextually produced across global cities.

2.1 CONSTRUCTIVIST APPROACHES TO THE GEOGRAPHIES OF RACISM

2.1.1 THE CONSTRUCTIVIST APPROACH TO ISLAMOPHOBIA AS A NEW FORM OF RACISM

Evolving theories of the geography of racism, within modern scholarship, have been central to understanding Islamophobia. Subsequently, this thesis has adopted the social constructivist approaches to Islamophobia in geography as a new form of racism (see Dunn *et al.*, 2007; Najib & Teeple Hopkins, 2020). Racism as a practice attempts to define the national space, who its proper inhabitants are and the legitimate social behaviour to be expected (Noble & Poynting, 2010). Geographical perspectives on racism have emerged from a range of studies that adopted a social constructivist theoretical lens (Bonnett, 1996; Kobayashi & Peake, 1994; Miles, 1989)⁴. This lens, according to Jackson and Penrose (1994, p. 3) ‘works by identifying the components and processes of category construction: categories of cultural identity as well as what constitutes racism itself’. Viewing ‘race’ as a *socially constructed category* rather than a natural order (Dunn & McDonald, 2001), the social constructivist theoretical approach attempts to describe the emerging forms of racism which have been categorised as either ‘old’ or ‘new racism’⁵. As social constructivists have argued,

⁴ Racism has been long examined since the 1990s by cultural studies scholars (Goodall, 1994; Hage, 1998), social psychologists (Pedersen *et al.*, 2000) and political scientists (Johnson, 2002). My research does not dismiss alternate approaches to studying racism; however, for the purposes of this thesis, the constructivist approaches to the racialisation of religion are employed as suitable for the examination of how Islamophobia is experienced daily as a form of racial discrimination.

⁵ It is important to note that old and new forms of racism are not mutually exclusive. Hall, (2000, p. 224) argued that there is a need for an expanded conception of racism that acknowledges the way in which...biological racism and cultural

the representational process of defining an “Other”, whether somatically or culturally, is at the centre of racialisation (Leitner, 2012). New racism involves at least three main aspects important to the interest of this research in geographies of Islamophobia and Muslim mobilities: construction of out-groups, narrow ideologies of nation, and reinforcing exclusions and privilege as normal (Dunn *et al.*, 2004)⁶. Exploring the construction of out-groups was particularly significant for this study on Islamophobia, due to a wide consensus that Muslims are among the most demonised cultural ‘others’ within the Western imaginary as a result of the ongoing racialisation of Islam and Muslims (Poynting & Mason, 2006; Forrest & Dunn, 2006; Noble & Poynting, 2010; Pratt, 2011; Poynting *et al.*, 2004; Poynting & Mason, 2008; Poynting & Noble, 2004; Tabar *et al.*, 2010; Garner & Selod, 2015).

Prominent constructivist works on the ‘racialising of religion’ have therefore categorised anti-Muslim sentiment as a new form of racism, despite Muslims forming a ‘religious’ rather than a ‘racial’ group (Dunn *et al.*, 2007; Hopkins, 2004; Poynting & Noble, 2004; Poynting & Mason, 2006). Recognising that processes of racialisation reconfigure social experiences as ethnic or racial ones (Miles, 1989), Kobayashi and Peake (2000) argued that racialisation is also asserted through cultural features, such as religious performances. Attempts to define Islamophobia have since emphasised that forms of racism are fluid in nature, and specific to historical, cultural, geographical and political contexts (Garner & Selod, 2015; Love, 2009; Omi & Winant, 2014). As a result, it has been noted that the constructed otherness of Muslims has racialised the religion of Islam across predominantly non-Muslim nations (Meer, Dwyer & Modood, 2010; Rana, 2011; Selod & Embrick, 2013) like Australia (Dunn *et al.*, 2007) and the USA (Selod, 2015; Beydoun, 2018). Anti-Islamic sentiment is thus framed as a racialisation, which essentialises and homogenises Muslims on the basis of religion and culture, including physical, cultural and religious aspects of their religious identity (Allen, 2010; Halliday, 2003; Naber, 2008; Najib & Teeple Hopkins, 2020; Sayyid & Vakil, 2010). Consequently, Muslims have become one of the most racialised groups in Australian (Dunn

differentiation are articulated and combine’. Further, more recently, Seet and Paradies (2018) reminded us of the risk of seeing new racism as supplanting the old’ (Forrest *et al.*, 2020).

⁶ Alternate definitions of the term ‘new racism’ have emerged that differentiate from those adopted in a social constructivist approach. For example, Dufty (2009) draws on literature that explains how ‘new forms of racist discourses’ draw on liberal/democratic/egalitarian ideals to justify their position, such as opposing affirmative-action programs because they are argued to discriminate against majority groups.

et al., 2007; Noble & Poynting, 2010) as well as American society since the 9/11 attacks⁷ (Garner & Selod, 2015; Selod, 2015). Specific to the USA, there have been calls for race scholarship to engage in and account for Muslim experiences within the evolving racial formation of the nation (Bonilla-Silva, 2004; Beydoun, 2018; Garner & Selod, 2015; Love, 2009; Selod, 2015) the processes ‘by which social, economic and political forces determine the content and importance of racial categories, and by which they are in turn shaped by racial meanings’ (Omi & Winant, 1994, p. 61). In the United States, both Arabs and South Asians have been located in between whiteness and blackness on the racial hierarchy (Bonilla-Silva 2004; Selod, 2019). The Islamophobia faced by Muslims in the U.S. therefore ‘reflects the complexity and fluidity of the U.S. racial formation’ (Pulido *et al.*, 2019, p. 528). In light of these constructivist contributions, social and cultural geographers now refer to Islamophobia ‘as a form of systemic racism against Muslim populations and discrimination against people who are perceived as Muslim’ (Najib & Teeple Hopkins, 2020, p 451)⁸. The categorisation of Islamophobia as a form of racism has been supported by the updated Runnymede Trust report (Elahi & Khan, 2017), as well as the All-Party Parliamentary Group on British Muslims (2018) which defined Islamophobia as ‘Islamophobia is rooted in racism and is a type of racism that targets expressions of Muslimness or perceived Muslimness’ (p. 11). Accordingly, this thesis approaches Islamophobia as a new form of racism⁹, laying the conceptual groundwork for scrutinising the spatial dimensions and implications of anti-Muslim racism on Muslim mobilities in both the Australian (Dunn *et al.*, 2007) and American (Garner & Selod, 2015) case study sites of Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area. Further, the thesis adopts this framework to advance studies on the geographies of racism by accounting for the geographies of perceived Islamophobia within this broader body of work that is reviewed in the next section.

⁷ These works on the racialisation of religious ‘others’ have built on previous contributions such as Miles (1989, p. 133, 138-139, 143-148), Miles (1993, p. 30-32), Brah (1996) and Hage (2005).

⁸ Hopkins *et al.*, (2017) have explored the way in which the racialisation of Islam has resulted in non-Muslims experiencing Islamophobia on the basis of being mistaken for being Muslim based on cultural attributes, traits and religious signifiers associated with Islam, further reinforcing the process of racialising Islam and Muslims.

⁹ Refer to Papers 1 and 2 for a more robust review of the social constructivist literature employed to examine Islamophobia as a new form of racism in each case study site.

2.1.2 GEOGRAPHIES OF RACISM AND THE 'RIGHT TO THE CITY'

In order to examine the spatial imaginaries of Islamophobia across both Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area, this research draws on geographical debates around the inclusionary and/or exclusionary nature of space, and the accompanying body of literature on the 'everywhere different' nature of racism across cities (e.g., see Allen *et al.* 2019; Alderman & Inwood, 2016; Najib & Hopkins, 2020; Forrest & Dunn, 2010; Inwood & Yarbrough, 2010). Geographers have long demonstrated that public spaces play a central role in (re)producing societal norms, serving to normalise and naturalise certain behaviours (Bondi & Domosh, 1998; Iveson, 2003; Keith, 2005; Mitchell, 2000; Valentine, 1996) and identities, ultimately highlighting who does or does not have a 'right to the city' (Lefebvre, 1996; Fenster, 2005). These perspectives have emphasised that accessing public space is a necessary condition for full civic participation and the ability to exercise urban citizenship (Ehrkamp, 2008; Isin & Wood, 1999). Of particular significance to this research is the recognition that space can be racialised and can construct some cultural groups as 'in place' and others as 'out of place' (Sibley, 1995). Accordingly, racial attitudes and perceptions towards different cultural groups have been found to vary across public spaces, ultimately shaping the way intolerance is geographically distributed (Forrest & Dunn, 2006, 2007).

This thesis draws on key geographical developments around the inclusionary and exclusionary nature of space (Cresswell, 1993; Ruddick, 1996; Poulsen *et al.*, 2004; Forrest & Dunn, 2010), particularly the way in which racism undermines Muslims' 'rights to the city' (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 174; see also Delaney, 1998; Jackson, 1998; Kobayashi & Peake, 2000; Nelson, 2008; Pulido, 2000; Wilson, 2005). These developments have inspired constructivist approaches to geographical studies on the 'everywhere different' nature of racism across space (Forrest & Dunn, 2006, 2007; Poynting & Mason, 2006; Kobayashi & Peake, 2000), including recent developments in the emerging field of 'geographies of Islamophobia', which is reviewed in the next section.

2.1.3 GEOGRAPHIES OF ISLAMOPHOBIA

This research parallels the emergence of a critical and growing body of literature on the geographies of Islamophobia. These works are connected to the broader geographies of

racism literature and also have previous engagements with the geography of Muslim communities (D'aliserà 2005; Kinder, 2016; Schmidt, 2004). Recently, contributions to the 'geographies of Islamophobia' have sought to examine the socio-spatial dimensions of Islamophobia across a range of cities in Europe (Listerborn, 2015); the U.S. (Cainkar, 2005; Rana, 2012; Kwan, 2008; McGinty, 2012; McGinty *et al.*, 2013; McGinty 2020; Nagel, 2016) and Australia (Dunn 2005; Noble & Poynting, 2010).

In developing the field of the geographies of Islamophobia, researchers have come to examine the geographies of risk that Muslim minorities in Western contexts navigate (Dekker 2020; McGinty 2020; Najib & Hopkins, 2019, 2020; Najib & Teeple Hopkins, 2020). Notably, in 2020 a special issue titled the 'Geographies of Islamophobia' was published in *Social and Cultural Geography* (including Chapter 6 of this thesis), which engaged with 'geographical questions around the belonging and safety of Muslim populations in predominantly non-Muslim neighbourhoods and cities' (Najib & Teeple Hopkins, 2020, p. 452). Based on these developments, Islamophobia has now been defined within geography as 'a spatialised process that occurs at different scales in Muslim-minority countries: globe, nation, urban, neighbourhood, body and emotion' (Najib & Teeple Hopkins, 2020, p. 451; see also McGinty, 2020).

As reflected in the publications included within the body of this thesis, this research contributes one of the first studies around the geographical dimensions and implications of racism. These contributions were advanced in concert with an increased recognition that there is a geography of Islamophobia (Najib & Hopkins, 2019) and that Islamophobia works to shape the socio-spatial identities of Muslims in everyday public spaces (see Najib & Hopkins, 2020; Listerborn, 2015; Gholamhosseini *et al.*, 2018; Dekker, 2020). Emerging studies on geographies of Islamophobia have emphasised that place and space are significant factors that actively work to shape the racialisation of Muslims and contribute to the reproduction of Islamophobia at a variety of scales (Siraj, 2011; Listerborn, 2015; Najib & Hopkins, 2019, 2020; Najib & Teeple Hopkins, 2020; Hancock, 2020; McGinty, 2020; Gorman & Culcasi, 2020). Accordingly, recent research has demonstrated the complex ways in which anti-Muslim racisms are constructed and manifest spatially (TellMAMA 2018; Najib & Hopkins, 2019, 2020; Listerborn 2015; Hancock, 2015). Geographies of Islamophobia have been conceived as being shaped by local factors and conditions that bring to the surface

differences, associations, contradictions, attractions and repulsions that influence the complexities of where, when and to whom Islamophobia is directed (Najib & Hopkins, 2020). As this thesis was developed throughout the emergence of these debates, the thesis both drew on and contributed to these commentaries around spatial tensions over the Muslim 'right to the city' (see Chapters 5–8). While some geographical research had interrogated the contestations for Muslim 'places in space' (Dunn 2001; Al-Natour, 2010; Göle, 2011; Cainkar, 2005, Cheng, 2015; Selod, 2015), or measures to regulate Muslim visibility (such as wearing the *hijab* or *kufi* or *niqab* in public spaces) (Cainkar, 2005; Listerborn, 2015), there remains a paucity of evidence on how Islamophobia shapes Muslim mobilities. Daily violence is indeed often directed towards visible Muslims in Western nations, which is felt at both the scales of the body and emotion (Listerborn 2015; McGinty, 2020), affecting how Muslims navigate spaces to avert potential situations of discrimination (Najib & Hopkins, 2019). These acts of Islamophobia maintain a hegemonic social, spatial and political order that excludes Muslims (Listerborn, 2015), but existing research is yet to examine how Muslims interpret these spatial threats and respond with various mobility practices.

The emerging literature on the geographies of Islamophobia has provided a conceptual basis to explore the spatial dimensions of anti-Muslim racism in each respective case study. However, as emphasised by Najib and Teeple Hopkins (2020) ...

... further work is needed in social geography to map, measure and monitor Islamophobia in order to fully appreciate who it affects, where and when it happens, what its impacts are, what enables it and how it can be challenged (p. 586).

Existing studies on the geographies of racism and Islamophobia are yet to engage in Tim Cresswell's (1996) assertion that inherent inclusions and exclusions lead to an awareness of groups being 'in place' or 'out of place'. In particular, constructivist studies on geographies of racism and recent examinations of Islamophobia have not yet captured how racialised groups internalise and perceive the distribution of racism across space. In order to address this gap, the concept of 'spatial imaginaries' was utilised in this research, which is outlined further in the following section. In doing so, the research was provided with the conceptual tools required to advance the first contribution of this study in mapping how young Muslims perceived the spatial distribution of Islamophobia.

2.1.4 SPATIAL IMAGINARIES OF BELONGING AND EXCLUSION

The concept of spatial imaginaries (or ‘mental maps’) advances an understanding of how ideas about spaces and places may be shared and internalised collectively (Driver, 2005; Watkins, 2015; Lipsitz 2011) by Muslims in their spatial imaginaries of Islamophobia. As Watkins (2015) points out, the way spaces are perceived (re)produce social perceptions about places, and who belongs within ‘inside’ versus ‘outside’ boundaries. Exploring spatial imaginaries of racism thus expands on the ground-breaking work by Sibley (1995), who explained how strategies of ethnic purification operate to maintain a clear sense of racial boundaries as moral and spatial ones, ultimately producing a sense of homogeneity.

This concept of spatial imaginaries is valuable for responding to gaps in broader studies on the geographies of racism, providing the conceptual tools for examining how the spatial threat of racism is reflected in the way that racialised individuals perceive and interpret the spatial distribution of racism. This is supported by Noble and Poynting’s (2010) ‘pedagogy of unbelonging’, which suspects that racism and the ‘othering’ of certain groups from national belonging can transform the spatial imaginaries of Australians from migrant backgrounds (such as Muslims) by ‘teaching’ them to feel less comfortable in certain neighbourhoods and the wider national space simultaneously. Noble and Poynting (2010) thus suggest that an anticipation of racism produces ‘inventories of spaces of fear’, which, according to the current literature for Australian Muslims, include the beach, streets, shopping malls, driving or on public transport, as well as leisure places such as parks and sportsgrounds (Poynting & Noble, 2004). For American Muslims, these spaces of fear and risk include recreational spaces (Livenwood & Stodolska, 2004), airports and public transport (Cainkar, 2005; Kwan, 2008). However, an empirical examination of how Islamophobia shapes Muslim pedagogies of unbelonging and their spatial imaginaries of Islamophobia is yet to be undertaken. To address these gaps and explore the links between racism and the spatial imaginaries of Islamophobia, this thesis draws on Essed’s (1991) work on the *accumulated* effect of everyday racisms (see also Williams & Mohammed, 2009), as well as Butler’s (1990) queer theory to explore how subjectivities evolve through repetition to gain an apparent permanence (explored in further detail in Chapter 7). Butler’s (1990) and Essed’s (1991) work are thus utilised to explore how repeated statements on who is in

and out of place, may eventually be accepted as a truth by young Muslims, driving the internalised pedagogy of unbelonging among Australian Muslims inferred by Noble and Poynting (2010). Therefore, the concept of spatial imaginaries as well as the notion of a 'pedagogy of unbelonging' are both employed in the thesis to uncover how Muslims acquire, internalise and reproduce a sense of not belonging in specific spaces. In doing so, the thesis advances the first contribution to the geographies of racism by mapping how Islamophobia shapes the mental maps of belonging and exclusion among Muslims as a newly racialised group in Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area (Chapters 5 and 6).

Building on this contribution, there remains little understanding of how these perceptions of racism across space may be affecting the spatial mobility of racialised individuals such as Muslims. As examined in the following section of this literature review, this thesis employs the 'new mobilities' framework to advance and explore how spatial imaginaries of Islamophobia shape the racialised politics of Muslim mobility. The proceeding section thus situates the new mobilities paradigm as an instrumental theoretical framework for drawing links between constructivist theories on the geographies of racism and the new mobilities concern with the 'racialised politics of mobility'. In drawing these links, this research advances a second contribution by demystifying how Islamophobia impacts the way Muslims access and engage with public spaces.

2.2 EXPLORING MUSLIM MOBILITIES: USING THE NEW MOBILITIES CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This research enhances studies on the geographies of racism by revealing how racism affects the spatial imaginaries and spatial mobility of Muslims. As discussed in the previous paragraphs, constructivist perspectives on the geography of 'new racism' had been yet to empirically examine how the exclusionary nature of space affected the mobility capacities of the 'racialised other'. This section outlines how 'new mobilities' perspectives on the racialised politics of mobility were employed in the thesis to advance a theoretical understanding of the relationship between racism and Muslim mobilities. As discussed throughout this section, the new mobilities paradigm offered opportunities for the research to interrogate the racialised politics of Muslim mobility, as well as the anti-racist mobility work of young Muslims in response to the spatialised threat of Islamophobia.

The study of the politics of mobility within new mobilities literature (Cresswell, 2006; Sheller & Urry, 2006; Urry, 2007; Uteng & Cresswell, 2008; Verstraete & Cresswell, 2002; Hague, 2010; Massey, 1994; Nicholson & Sheller, 2016; Sheller 2018) has enhanced well-established geographical understandings around the political nature of movement (Adey 2010, Blomley, 1994, Hannam, Sheller & Urry 2006, Kaufmann, 2002, Massey, 1993, Sheller & Urry, 2006, Urry, 2007). Accordingly, geographers drawing on the new mobilities paradigm have provided significant insight into the ‘movement’ of people, things and ideas across all scales, while accounting for the structural or infrastructural contexts and ramifications on mobility and motility (capacity to be mobile) (Cresswell, 2012). The new mobilities research agenda has thus connected the social, spatial and performative aspects of mobility¹⁰. Critically, the paradigm ‘recognise[s] the politically contested nature of ... mobilities’ (Hannam, Sheller & Urry 2006, p. 5), highlighting the link between the politics of mobility and the creation of meaning (Adey, 2010; Bissell *et al.*, 2011; Cresswell, 2010a, 2010b). The new mobilities paradigm was therefore utilised in this research to focus on Muslim movement, namely with a critical consideration of ‘the power of discourses, practices and infrastructures of mobility in creating the effects of both movement and stasis’ (Sheller, 2011, p. 2). In particular, this research draws on recent developments in recent debates on the racialised politics of mobility which is reviewed in the following section.

2.2.1 THE RACIALISED POLITICS OF MOBILITY AND ANTI-RACIST MOBILITIES

The new mobilities emphasis on the ‘politics of mobility’ has been employed in this research to provide a critical interrogation of how Islamophobia, as a political construction of who does or does not belong in public spaces is responsible for limiting the spatial mobility of young Muslims. Such connections are drawn from the paradigmatic focus on how movement is not equally distributed but rather, is entangled with meaning and power (Cresswell, 2010b). Drawing on Sheller (2018), the findings of this research reflect that there is a ‘politics of mobility’, meaning mobilities are uneven, differential and unequal, and come together through these combined lived experiences that are both physical and meaningful.

¹⁰Contributions to the New Mobilities paradigm have come from the areas of anthropology, cultural studies, geography, migration studies, science and technology studies, tourism and transport studies, and sociology (Ahmed *et al.*, 2003). The historical context of how this paradigm developed is extensive, and a snapshot’ overview of this history is best captured by Hannam, *et al.* (2006) and Faist (2013).

Since Cresswell (2010) made the significant assertion that mobility is shaped by the politics of social relations that produce and distribute power, a number of researchers have interrogated the way in which mobility is affected by the socially constituted nature of space (Faist, 2013), as a 'resource' (Dufty-Jones, 2012) that is not only shaped by but also reproduces unequal power relations (Kaufman, 2002; Cresswell, 2012¹¹). Recent contributions have applied the 'politics of mobility' lens to critically examine the unequal power relations of racism, which have been found to shape the everyday politics of mobility among racialised individuals (Alderman & Inwood, 2016; Cresswell, 2008; Hague, 2010; Inwood *et al.*, 2015; Seiler, 2007). As outlined by Cresswell (2008), the politics of race and the politics of mobility are 'joined at the hip' (p. 134). Emerging research on the racialised politics of mobility has thus provided critical insight into how the 'right to mobility' is 'fundamentally intertwined with the construction of racial identities' (Hague, 2010, p. 331) and is 'embedded within the unequal distribution of rights and racialised hierarchies of power' (Alderman & Inwood, 2016, p. 601). As emphasised by Hague (2010), American culture in particular has perpetuated a normative association between whiteness and mobility, in contrast with the immobility of racialised others, reflecting the way in which mobility is a resource that is 'differentially accessed' (Cresswell, 2010, p. 21) by racialised communities in America (Alderman *et al.*, 2019; Cheung, 2008; Hague, 2010; Stuesse & Coleman, 2016). These racialised perspectives to the politics of mobility therefore advance the conceptualisation of mobility as being embedded with unequal racialised hierarchies of power (Seiler, 2007; Alderman & Inwood, 2016). However, despite the recent advocacy around the importance of racialised mobilities in urban spaces, the effects of Islamophobia on Muslim mobilities have not been examined within this broader mobilities literature. In employing the racialised politics of mobility framework, this research responds to this gap by critically examining the impact of Islamophobia on Muslim mobilities across urban spaces.

I extend on existing perspectives on the racialised politics of mobility by accounting for the impacts of Islamophobia in the spatial mobility of Muslims as a newly racialised group. I

¹¹ Different approaches to studying politics and mobility include mobility politics with ideology, power relations, political contestation and violence, mobility citizenship, efforts to control mobility, inequalities of mobility, securitisation of mobility, inequalities of mobility access and inclusion in disability scholarship

therefore approach mobility as a political technology that is racialised and used at a variety of scales to control and exclude Muslim individuals and populations from various spaces. As outlined in Chapter 8, as well as Chapter 10 in greater detail, I build on these new mobilities understandings of mobility as a racialised technology (Alderman & Inwood, 2016) to account for the long-tradition of movement-controlling practices that have been directed towards Muslims living in these respective contexts and, second, examine how Muslims respond to the racialised geographies of spatial mobility.

Accordingly, I have also extended Alderman and Inwood's (2016, p. 602) concept of 'anti-racist mobilities' in this research, which they define as 'the meaningful countermobilities that subvert racism' (see Chapter 8). Various described as 'counter-mobilities', 'anti-racism mobilities' or 'altermobilities', anti-racism mobilities are the strategies used to anticipate, negotiate, subvert and/or resist efforts to constrain or contain racialised bodies and how they move through spaces and places (see Stuesse & Coleman, 2014, Alderman & Inwood, 2016; Finney & Potter, 2018). The concept of anti-racism mobility builds on the wider research on the racialised politics of mobility (Seiler, 2007; Cresswell, 2010; Hague 2010; Noble & Poynting, 2010) to interrogate how racialised individuals negotiate and resist the negative impacts of racism on spatial mobility. However, these emerging engagements with this concept are yet to account for Muslim practices and strategies within broader understandings of anti-racist mobilities employed in urban spaces. As outlined in detail in Chapter 8, the concept of anti-racism mobility is therefore employed in this thesis to further enhance the application of the anti-racist mobility framework to newly racialised groups while also extending the geographies of anti-racism literatures (Slocum, 2008; Nelson, Dunn & Paradies, 2011; Nelson & Dunn, 2017) that had not yet examined the range of mobility practices employed by racialised individuals in response to the spatialised threat of racism (Kobayashi & Peake, 2000; Pulido, 2002; Allen *et al.*, 2019; Sheller 2018).

Up to now, it remains unknown how everyday anti-racist practices (Aquino, 2015, 2016) are employed by Muslims to resist the spatial effects of Islamophobia. Could the choices for Muslims to strategically persist, exist and *move* across everyday geographies of risk be approached as forms of anti-racism? As mobility practices are yet to be conceptualised as anti-racist mobilities, we have missed the opportunity to account for these countermobilities within emerging anti-racist mobility literatures. To address this critical question around

potential anti-racist Muslim mobilities, this research extended Alderman and Inwood's (2016) anti-racism mobility framework to an examination of whether the spatial strategies of Muslims could also be considered as significant forms of anti-racist praxis within broader understandings of the geographies of racism, and the racialised mobilities literature.

Overall, in utilising the new mobilities paradigm, this research has advanced a theoretical understanding of the racialised politics of Muslim mobility. The theoretical value of this contribution is reflected in Cresswell's (2006) emphasis on the role of 'othering' in the production of 'mobility-as-citizenship'. In applying this concept, the research accounts for the effects of 'othering' on movement of Muslim Australian's within and across various urban spaces account for both the impacts of Islamophobia on (im)mobility (Chapter 7), as well as the anti-racist mobility strategies developed by Muslims in response (Chapter 8). Drawing on the new mobilities theoretical framework value has incorporated the notion of 'movement' into Noble and Poynting's (2010) concept of 'pedagogy of unbelonging', where the paradigm would stress that racism as a form of politics not only teaches the outgroups to feel excluded from the national space, but also regulates the way this 'ethnic other' accesses, negotiates and navigates the space as a result a 'pedagogy of (im)mobility'. Utilising this paradigm thus enhances conceptualisations of the 'everywhere different' nature of racism, stressing that belonging or exclusions in space can be reflexively embedded into patterns of movement (or not) across such spaces. The employment of new mobilities emphasis on the 'politics of mobility' thus advances a key contribution of this thesis in uncovering for the first time, the way that the politicised 'othering' of Muslims affects the way young Muslims engage with and access public spaces (Chapters 7 and 8). The application of the new mobilities paradigm therefore extends geographies of racism literature by demystifying the way Islamophobia acts as a form of racialised politics in determining the spatial mobility of young Muslims in both contexts. Further, it broadens the new mobilities literature by providing the first account of Islamophobia and Muslim mobility practices within the emerging debates on the racialised politics of mobility.

The existing studies on the racialised politics of mobility are, however, yet to compare how local context shapes the relationship between race and mobility. The following section thus establishes the importance of employing comparative approaches to studies of racialised mobilities to determine contextual variations in how racism shapes mobility across urban

spaces. As examined further in the next section of this review, this thesis advances this understanding by comparatively examining the role of local context in shaping how the relationship between racism and mobility operates across Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area.

2.3 COMPARING THE GEOGRAPHIES OF RACISM AND MUSLIM MOBILITIES IN SYDNEY AND THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

As established in section 1.3.3 of this thesis, comparative studies on the geographies of racism have examined the role of place in shaping how racial attitudes are spatially distributed (Forrest & Dunn, 2011), as well as where racist incidents occur across urban spaces (Najib & Hopkins, 2020). These comparative studies have thus uncovered how the specific cultural, economic and historical circumstances of a place shape local racial attitudes, and experiences of racism across space (Forrest & Dunn, 2011; Najib & Hopkins, 2020). A number of comparative studies beyond the discipline of geography have also demonstrated the significance of adopting a comparative approach to studying Islamophobia. For example, Poynting and Perry's (2008) comparison of anti-Muslim violence in Australia and Canada, as well as Barkdull *et al's* (2013) comparative research on experiences of Islamophobia in four Western Countries (Australia (Perth), Argentina (Buenos Aires), Canada (Toronto) and the United States (Indiana)), are key studies that have advanced an understanding of the interconnected, globalised nature of Islamophobia. These studies implied key 'resemblances' in the rising experiences of Islamophobia among the Muslims living in these Western contexts following the 9/11 attacks, attributing this racial event to this intensification of local Islamophobia across all nations. These studies also noted that there were local variations in the severity of these incidents, as well as *where* these incidents took place across various public spaces in each city.

In drawing attention to these key connections and variations in Islamophobia, the findings of existing comparative studies underscore the importance of comparing key dimensions and implications of Islamophobia across urban contexts. Najib and Hopkins' (2020) comparative spatial analysis of anti-Muslim incidents across London and Paris found that Islamophobia is concentrated in specific places and organised spatially in distinct ways across both cities. However, broader geographies of racism and Islamophobia research has

not yet comparatively examined how place shapes how racialised individuals perceive the spatial distribution of racism, or how these perceptions influence racialised mobilities across various cities. In particular there is a need to examine global connections and local spatial variations in the geographies of Islamophobia, and the subsequent effects on Muslim mobilities. These comparative examinations should attend to the role of local context in shaping the spatial dimensions and implications of Islamophobia on how Muslims navigate local urban spaces.

This research responds to this gap by comparing how the relationship between Islamophobia and spatial mobility operates in the lives of Muslims residing in both Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area both relationally and contextually. This comparison is undertaken based on three 'key similarities' that are commonly attributed to experiences of Muslims living in the nations of Australia and the USA: first, the mutual reports of Islamophobia by Muslims living in these respective nations (as outlined above); second, their similar 'influential' political, immigration and economic structures and third, the comparable demographic characteristics of Muslims living in both Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area (explored further in Chapter 4). Given the similarities of Muslim populations of Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area in terms of residential concentration and relative percentage of local and national populations, coupled with the corresponding experiences of Islamophobia noted in these respective areas, this research adopts a Comparative Case Study (CCS) approach. This is employed to examine how Muslims perceive the geographies of Islamophobia, and how these perceptions shape Muslim mobilities across both cities. This dynamic approach to comparison seeks to advance a nuanced understanding of the various contextual as well relational factors that influence the geographies of perceived Islamophobia and Muslim mobilities and is outlined in further detail in Chapter 4 (section 4.2).

2.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter has described how this research contributes to scholarly debates on the geographies of racism, recent mobilities research on the racialised politics of mobility, and the emerging scholarship on the comparative geographies of Islamophobia. As outlined

within this chapter, this research advances three key theoretical contributions. First, the research addresses critical gaps in existing constructivist studies on the geographies of new racism by mapping the spatial imaginaries of Islamophobia from the perspective of the racialised. These findings add nuance to existing research on the geographies of racism that have restricted their analyses to racial attitudes rather than perceptions of racism. Second, the research addresses gaps in the constructivist literature on the geographies of 'new racism' and Islamophobia that had not yet captured how racism shapes racialised mobilities. The thesis addresses this gap by applying the new mobilities' emphasis on the 'racialised politics of mobility' to examine how Islamophobia, as a new form of racism, translates into a form of politics and power within geographical environments to regulate the spatial inclusion or exclusion of young Muslims. In employing the new mobilities paradigm, the thesis advances a theoretical understanding of the relationship between race, space and movement on Muslim (im)mobility within the geographies of racism literature. In doing so, the thesis also enhances emerging mobilities literature that has not yet accounted for the politics of Muslim mobility within broader interrogations of racialised mobilities. Finally, these perspectives are brought together using a dynamic comparative approach that contributes an understanding of both the relational as well as contextual factors that shape the way Islamophobia influences Muslim mobilities in both cities (detailed further in Section 4, Chapters 9 - 10). This enhances studies on the geographies of racism, Islamophobia and racialised mobilities by demonstrating the value of a comparative approach in capturing both the global connections and local nuances in how racism shapes racialised mobilities in urban spaces. The chapter that follows outlines the methodologies employed to fulfil the research aims and advance these three contributions.

3 METHODOLOGY

3.1 RESEARCH DESIGN AND CHAPTER OVERVIEW

This research seeks to examine how Islamophobia shapes the way Muslims perceive various urban spaces, and how these perceptions impact the spatial mobility of young Muslims. Further, this research explores the role of context in shaping the spatial mobility practices of young Muslims across both cities. A mixed-method case study approach was therefore deemed most appropriate for providing insight into the impacts of Islamophobia on the spatial mobility of Muslims across two international sites: Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area. This involved a quantitative analysis of a web-based survey as well as a thematic analysis of follow-up, semi-structured interviews with young Muslims living in both cities. This approach facilitated a comprehensive understanding of how Islamophobia may shape young Muslims' spatial imaginaries of their cities (through the survey) and how they engage with these spaces in response (through the follow-up interviews). A comparative analysis of both datasets provided key themes of relationality, as well as difference that demonstrates how Islamophobia operates as both a global and local process to shape Muslim mobilities (examined further in Chapter 4).

This fieldwork was conducted from 2014–2017, which was a significant period of rising Islamophobia around the globe, particularly in the USA. This chapter outlines and explains the two main data-collection methods of a web-based survey and follow-up semi-structured in-depth interviews in Sydney, Australia (conducted in 2014), and the San Francisco Bay Area (conducted in 2016-2017). The following sections of the chapter provide an overview of the data analysis strategies including quantitative analysis as well as qualitative thematic analysis of Islamophobia and spatial mobility in both case study sites.

In acknowledgement that research is an ongoing and reflexive process—constantly responding to and adapting to changes in the contexts in which they occur (Mansvelt & Berg, 2016)—the methodology chapter closes with a transparent account of how the fieldwork in each site was shaped by the evolving socio-political climate of Islamophobia relating to the research. These closing reflections note the inspirations for selecting the study site as well as key socio-political moments and events that shaped the research process.

I want to foreground my discussion of these two case studies with a comment on how my own self-location as an Australian Muslim researcher intersects with this research (e.g., see Abdel-Fattah, 2017a). My personal history has invariably influenced this project and it is from this personal subjectivity that I initiated, conducted and interpreted the research presented in this thesis. For transparency, I have also referenced in this chapter examples of supplementary research outputs produced throughout the years of conducting this project, such as podcasts, media engagements, blog pieces and online articles published during this research project in response to key events of Islamophobia, for non-academic audiences (see section 3.6). Although these additional outputs do not form the main papers analysed in this thesis, they are included to reflect the key contextual influences on my research while highlighting the time-sensitive and emergent nature of this project.

3.2 CASE STUDY AS METHODOLOGY

As case studies are particularly well suited to building rich description and new explanatory concepts, this approach was chosen to address the primary research question concerned with developing a theoretical and empirical understanding of how Islamophobia may shape the mobility practices of young Muslims (Baxter, 2016). A case study usually involves the investigation ‘of a single instance or a small number of instances of a particular phenomenon in order to explore the relationships and contextual influences on that phenomenon’ (Hardwick, 2017, p. 1). The primary guiding philosophical assumption of the case study is that an ‘in-depth understanding about one manifestation of a phenomenon is valuable on its own without specific regard to how the phenomenon is manifest in cases that are not studies’ (Baxter, 2016, p. 131). A case is thus viewed as neither entirely unique nor entirely representative of a phenomenon (Baxter, 2016, p. 134; Yin, 2018).

Case study research ‘is particularly useful for geographical research because it is a holistic, nuanced and integrated approach’ (Hardwick, 2017, p. 1). A comparative case study methodological approach was therefore adopted as it enabled a detailed examination of how the process of Islamophobia impacted young Muslims in the two case study sites of Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area. Further, it allowed the research to respond to contemporary events to which the research had little or no control (Yin, 2018), such as the Lindt Cafe

Sydney Siege and the 2016 US presidential election (explained further in section 3.6).

3.2.1 THE MIXED-METHOD APPROACH

While case study research is traditionally associated with qualitative methods, case study methodologies can be either predominantly qualitative, quantitative or a mixture of both approaches. However, to avoid confusion researchers must state up front their theoretical propositions (Yin, 2003) as well as their methods (Baxter, 2016). This case study uses mixed methods of both quantitative web-based surveys and qualitative in-depth interviews to generate theory as well as empirics around the potential connection between Islamophobia and spatial mobility.

Although epistemological and ontological commitments are traditionally associated with certain research – such as the often-cited links between positivism and survey research or between interpretivism and qualitative interviews – these connections are not deterministic (Bryman, 2012). As such, my constructionist epistemological position, complimented by an interpretivist ontology, rejects approaches to research that often confine surveys to positivist ontology. I do so by drawing on Tashakkori and Teddie’s (2010) ‘methodological eclecticism’, which describes how ‘practitioners of mixed methods select and then synergistically integrate the most appropriate techniques from a myriad of qualitative, quantitative and mixed strategies to thoroughly investigate a phenomenon of interest’ (p. 5). Case study research in particular can readily complement the use of quantitative statistical methods, enabling the research to address broader and more complicated questions while collecting a stronger array of evidence than can be accomplished by a single method alone (Yin, 2018). The use of one or more of these methods ‘enables the collection of enough information to (i) document and analyse patterns revealed by the data; and (ii) be able to look for patterns or processes that give meaning to the case study as a whole’ (Hardwick, 2017, p. 4). This research aims to achieve this synergy by accounting for the quantitative survey data on perceived geographies of Islamophobia with follow-up interviews that: (i) discuss in greater detail how experiences, attitudes and events shape these spatial perceptions of Islamophobia, and (ii) uncover the impacts of perceived Islamophobia on young Muslims’ spatial mobility practices. A multi-site comparative analysis between both cities further enhances the depth of understanding on the link between Islamophobia and

spatial mobility, by providing a contextualised interpretation of how Islamophobia shapes the spatial mobility of Muslims across the two case study sites.

3.2.2 LIMITATIONS OF THE MIXED-METHOD CASE STUDY

Questions about appropriate epistemological foundations have been central to mixed-method research since its inception. I draw on the perspective of Bryman (2012), who highlights that quantitative research can be useful in revealing attitudes or opinions on *social constructions*, which ultimately demonstrates the researcher's interest in *meaning*, an interest indicative of interpretivist ontology. In testing previous constructivist studies on 'geographies of new racism' (i.e., Forrest & Dunn, 2007), this research used web-based surveys to capture the opinions of a large, young Muslim sample, and generated statistics that could potentially address anti-racism policies and initiatives. While surveys are criticised for being 'too reductionist', they can also be a useful, time-efficient method for social scientists to canvas widely to a particular cultural group and collect original data where direct observation is not possible (McGuirk & O'Neill, 2016).

Case studies, meanwhile, are criticised as 'lightweight, overly descriptive and insufficiently rigorous since the quantitative revolution in the 1960s' (Castree, 2005, p. 5). Of greatest concern is the lack of generalisability (otherwise known as transferability by qualitative researchers) of case study research findings (Flyvbjerg, 2006). This concern is associated with researcher subjectivity in the implementation, presentation and evaluation of case study research (Baxter, 2010). Such concerns have also been disputed, with claims that transferable theoretical concepts can, in fact, be generated from a single case study by carefully selecting cases and creating useful theory that is neither too abstract nor too case specific (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Yin, 2003). This research is thus conducted in acknowledgement that, in practical terms, it is difficult for this single study to understand how the context, contingencies and details of a case i.e., Islamophobia manifest in all other cases where Islamophobia exists globally (Barkdull *et al.*, 2016; Cesari, 2011; Najib & Hopkins, 2020). While this study attempts to explore the theoretical connections between Islamophobia and spatial mobility in two international cities, further replicated case-studies elsewhere would be useful to determine the wider applicability of findings beyond the two case study cities in question (Baxter, 2016).

The use of a mixed-method approach was selected to overcome the limitations of both quantitative and case study research. Combining questionnaires with complementary, more intensive forms of qualitative research, such as interviews, enabled this research to provide in-depth perspectives on social process and context (McGuirk & O'Neill, 2016). The quantitative data provided analytical insight into the geographies of perceived Islamophobia in each case study site. In addition, qualitative interviews captured how and why spatial perceptions of Islamophobia were formed by Muslims living in Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area. The interviews therefore facilitated a more holistic and in-depth understanding of the quantified perceptions of Islamophobia indicated in the survey data. This was particularly important for overcoming the risk of homogenising Muslim communities in research (Islamic Council of Victoria, 2017; McGinty, 2020), drawing attention to voices, narratives and lived experiences (Baxter, 2016) of individuals within the diverse Muslim communities in each case study site. Although the analysis of these accounts within the thesis are presented thematically, the research also sheds light on the unique and individualised ways in which young Muslim's experience and deal with Islamophobia (see Chapters 7 and 8). Further, the multi-site analysis of two cities overcomes the limitation of case studies that are usually focused on one particular site, by exploring the link between Islamophobia and spatial mobility in two distinct international contexts (further detailed in Chapter 4). The mixed-method, multi-site approach to this research has therefore facilitated a more nuanced understanding of the various impacts and responses to the relationship between Islamophobia and young Muslims' spatial mobilities.

3.3 WEB-BASED SURVEYS

3.3.1 THE SAMPLE POPULATION, SURVEYS

Web-based surveys were used to collect a larger quantity of information (Walter, 2010) from young Muslims in Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area on perceptions of Islamophobia across the city.

In Sydney, Muslim's adults, aged 18 to 30 years, were selected as the target population in response to government reports (HREOC, 2004; DOIC, 2008) that suggested young Muslim Australian's experienced higher levels of Islamophobia, and in turn suffered the negative

effects associated with anti-Muslim racism. These disadvantages have extensive implications, particularly for those aged between 15 and 34 years, who comprise 37 per cent of the Muslim population in Sydney (ABS, 2014). As the most ethnically diverse city in Australia (Forrest & Dunn, 2007), Sydney was the geographical focus of the study as it is home to over 42 per cent of Australia's Muslim community (ABS, 2016).

Young Muslims aged between 18-35 years were also selected as the target population in the San Francisco Bay Area. As one of the most ethnically diverse cities in the United States, the San Francisco Bay Area was the geographical focus of the study as it is home to approximately 250,000 Muslims (Senzai & Bazian, 2013) who remain underrepresented in debates on Islamophobia in the USA. Survey respondents were self-identified Muslims, current US Citizens or Green Card holders, and had lived in the Bay Area for at least one year at the time of the survey. The age of participation was increased to 35 in this site as Muslim youth events and spaces were often occupied by members aged up to 35 years. Purposive sampling in comparative case studies may be an emergent process (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017), therefore, increasing the age to 35 was a necessary adjustment to accommodate local understandings of 'youth' in the San Francisco Bay Area. Both purposive and snowball sampling (McGuirk & O'Neil, 2016) was used to access the survey sample populations across both sites.

Beginning with the *Sydney case study*, seventy-four young Muslims were recruited via social media as well as the Islamic Sciences Research Academy (ISRA). ISRA is a Muslim community education facility that specialises in courses and programs in Islamic studies, located in the suburb of Auburn within the Western Sydney region. This organisation was selected to assist with the recruitment due to their established expertise in undertaking research related to Islam and Muslims in Sydney via their wide community network. I also had previously established connections with the organisation as a volunteer, which informed their willingness to assist with the research within the limited time frame of data collection¹². ISRA distributed an email invitation to the study to their contacts on their database, requesting that they participate and circulate the survey web link to any individuals who also satisfied

¹² Due to the restricted time parameters of the survey data collection, a wider range of organisations was not consulted for recruitment. However future research should recruit participants from a wider range of Muslim organisations in order to capture diverse Muslim identities.

participation requirements. The research aimed to receive at least 50 completed surveys through recruitment with ISRA. However, due an insufficient number of responses collected via this method; the survey web link was also posted on Facebook groups targeted at young Muslims living in Sydney. These Facebook groups included:

- 'Y factor radio show'
- 'Sydney Muslim Youth'
- 'Muslim Trading Post Aus'.
- 'Muslim Student Association' Groups for the following universities:
 - University of Western Sydney (UWS), Bankstown (now Western Sydney University)
 - UWS Campbelltown
 - UWS Penrith
 - UWS Parramatta
 - University of Technology Sydney
 - University of New South Wales
 - University of Sydney.

Survey respondents in the *San Francisco Bay Area* were also recruited via community organisations, social media sites, and community events hosted by Muslim communities across the Bay Area. First, the survey was advertised by a range of Muslim community organisations that I had contacted in the early months of my fieldwork. As depicted in Table 3.1, a range of organisations sent an email invitation to their contacts via their database, requesting that they participate in the survey. Some organisations also posted the link on their relevant social media pages such as twitter and Facebook to encourage participation.

TABLE 3.1 SURVEY OUTREACH, MUSLIM COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS IN THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

Organisation Name and Location	Description of organisation	Mode of outreach
Arab Resource and Organising Center (AROC) - San Francisco, California	A grassroots organisation working to empower and organise Arab communities through education, education, training and campaigning.	Email to contacts on database.
Council for American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), Bay Area Chapter - Santa Clara, California	The Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) is a non-profit, grassroots civil rights and advocacy organisation. CAIR is America's largest Muslim civil liberties organisation, with affiliate offices nationwide.	Email to contacts on database, Twitter, Facebook.
Ta'leef Collective - Fremont California	A non-profit organisation that provides 'the space, content, and companionship necessary for a healthy understanding and realisation of Islam' (Ta'leef Collective, 2020).	Email to contacts on database, announcements at community events.
Islamic Scholarship Fund. Berkeley, California	A non-profit organisation that provides support to American Muslim students who pursue college and post graduate degrees in the humanities, social sciences, liberal arts and law.	Email to contacts on database.
Markaz Resource Center, Palo Alto, California	The Markaz Resource Center is a division of Student Affairs at Stanford University for engagement with the cultures and peoples of the Muslim world.	Email to contacts on database, Facebook post.
Islamophobia Studies Center (ISC) Berkeley, California	ISC is an educational-not-for-profit research organisation dedicated to countering the presence of Islamophobia in society through the use of applied research, civic engagement, education, and global classroom.	Email to contacts on database, Facebook post, announcement at event.

I also posted the survey link on the following Facebook groups tailored to Muslims living in the San Francisco Bay Area:

- UC Berkeley Muslim Student Association
- MSA California State East Bay
- Bay Area Muslims
- Lighthouse Mosque
- SF Muslims
- Bay Area Muslim Writers Collective
- Berkeley Masjid
- Muslim Students Association of SFSU
- ICAN Islamic Community Academic Network
- CAL MSA Sisters
- GAMA: Gathering all Muslim Artists
- Arab American Think Tank.

Despite posting the survey on these social media sites and via community organisation email outreach, the survey received a limited number of responses and a significant number of incomplete surveys. After this pilot phase, and consultation with my PhD supervisors, as well as my local fieldwork advisor Dr Hatem Bazian, I was advised to (i) reduce the length of the initial survey and (ii) modify the recruitment approach, to face-to-face surveys.

The survey was administered face-to-face across the Bay Area after Dr Bazian identified a potential mistrust from local Muslims towards being involved in research being undertaken by an international scholar who was not a known member of the local community. This mistrust was contextualised by their previous negative experiences of surveillance and counter-terrorism research following the 9/11 attacks (Selod, 2019; Senzai & Bazian, 2013). Dr Bazian leveraged his role as a local expert on Islamophobia to connect me with key community organisations and facilitate access to Muslim spaces, events and gatherings. During face-to-face data collection in these spaces, I was able to meet with members, build trust, rapport and connections with attendees over time.

I administered the online survey face-to-face at community events, mosques and gatherings (See Table 3.2) for Muslims, using my electronic devices that I had set up. This was a

significant time to engage with the community, as they organised protests, public lectures, education campaigns and discussions around the impact of the 2016 election on different aspects of Muslim life, such as Islamophobia. As demonstrated in Table 3.2, I collected surveys from various mosques that had organised events in direct response to the 2016 election, including building strategies and resilience against increased Islamophobia. This provided the opportunity to be immersed in key discussions around the issue of Islamophobia and reflect these key themes in my own research.

During face-to-face data survey collection, leaders of the respective events or organisations issued an announcement introducing the survey and directed respondents to my data collection table during breaks or at the conclusion of the event. At all events, I was provided with a table where I could collect my data, which included flyers (*Appendix A*) that directed respondents to the survey link, as well as electronic devices for survey completion, much like the set up depicted in Figure 3.1. Despite resulting in an improved completion rate, this was a time-consuming endeavour due to the limited break times at each event and limited devices available for participants to complete the survey. As a result, I collected an average of eight to ten surveys per event. As these events were geographically dispersed across the San Francisco Bay Area and occurred at sporadic times of the week across a few months, my data collection strategy required (i) knowledge of these events and (ii) my ability to travel significant distances across the region across a seven-month period. Surveys completed at these face-to-face events accounted for 60% of the survey responses collected, while surveys completed offsite formed 40% of the responses.



FIGURE 3.1 IN THE FIELD - SURVEY DATA COLLECTION SETUP, CAIR ANNUAL BANQUET, SANTA CLARA, CA, DECEMBER 2016

TABLE 3.2 SURVEY DATA COLLECTION SITES, SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

Name of event	City (CA)	Host Organisation	Month, Year
Muslim Voter registration, Masjid Mustafa	San Jose	SBIA	September 2016
Gathering All Muslim Artists (GAMA) Exhibition	San Jose	South Bay Islamic Association (SBIA)	September 2016
Ta'leef in the City	San Francisco	Ta'leef Collective	September 2016
Civic Engagement and Political Participation Public Lecture by Dr. Hatem Bazian	Santa Clara	Muslim Community Association (MCA)	September 2016
Palestine Cultural Day	San Francisco	Palestinian American Coalition	September 2016
'Muslims for Racial Justice: #BlackLivesMatter'	Oakland	Islamic Cultural Center of Northern California (ICCNC)	October 2016
Muslim Writers Collective Open Mic Nights	Oakland	Islamic Cultural Center of Northern California (ICCNC)	October 2016
Gathering All Muslim Artists (GAMA) Exhibition	Fremont	Gathering All Muslim Artists (GAMA)	November 2016
Friday Prayers at Lighthouse Mosque	Oakland	Lighthouse Mosque	January 2017
MCC Friday Night Lecture Series: 'Finding Faith and Meaning in the road Ahead Post Election'	Pleasanton	Muslim Community Center- East Bay (MCC)	November 2016
Lecture Series' and book launch	Berkeley	Zaytuna College	December 2016
'Moving Forward after the Election'	Berkeley	CAIR and Berkeley Masjid	December 2016
Arab Student Union Annual Banquet	Berkeley	Arab Student Union	December 2016
Friday Prayers	Oakland	Lighthouse Mosque	January 2017
Islam Awareness Week	Hayward	Muslim Students Association California State University, East Bay	February 2017
Islamophobia Studies Center Fundraiser	Fremont	Islamophobia Studies Center	March 2017

The recruited participants across both case studies represent a diverse sample in terms of age, ethnicity, education and residential location.

Beginning with the *Sydney* case study (Table 3.3), there was an overrepresentation of females, and high levels of education across the sample, which was associated with the recruitment via ISRA, an educational organisation that also has a large proportion of female students. Further, the concentration of participants living in Western Sydney suburbs such as Parramatta, Blacktown and Bankstown may also be linked to this recruitment from ISRA, due to the close proximity of these suburbs to Auburn, where the centre is located. More flexible time parameters in both case studies could have enabled the recruitment of a larger sample and a more equal representation across gender, geographical location of residence and education levels.

In the *San Francisco Bay Area* (Table 3.4), participants also demonstrated high levels of educational attainment, and relatively high levels of income. These high socio-economic indicators may be attributed to the data collection at Muslim community events that were usually attended by large groups of young professionals attracted to employment in Silicon Valley, or for the pursuit of education in a local institution (Senzai & Bazian, 2013).

TABLE 3.3 PARTICIPANT CHARACTERISTICS, SYDNEY WEB-BASED SURVEY

Gender	
Male	30%
Female	70%
Age in years	
18- 21	27%
22- 25	36%
26- 30	37%
Ethnicity	
Australian	43%
Other Oceania	1%
South and Eastern Europe	5%
North African /Middle Eastern	39%
North-Eastern Asian	3%
Southern and Central Asian	22%
African	1%
Other	16%
Not specified	3%
Level of Education	
High School	32%
TAFE/Trade Qualification	18%
University Degree	50%
Place of Residence	
Baulkham Hills and Hawkesbury	4.1%
Blacktown	8.1%
City and Inner Southern Sydney	4%
Sydney's Eastern Suburbs	1.4%
Inner South Western Sydney	28.4%
Inner Western Sydney	2.7%
Outer South Western Sydney	2.7%
Outer Western Sydney and Blue Mountains	6.8%
Parramatta	33.8%
South Western Sydney	6.8%
Sutherland	1.4%

TABLE 3.4 PARTICIPANT CHARACTERISTICS, SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA WEB-BASED SURVEYS

Gender	
Male	47%
Female	53%
Age in years	
18- 25	52%
26-30	28%
31-35	20%
Ethnicity	
South Asian	46%
Arab	20%
Afghan	7%
Black/African American (non-Hispanic)	6%
Asian	5%
Iranian/Persian	3%
Other	3%
Hispanic/Latino	2.5%
Pacific Islander	0.5%
Native American	0%
Level of Education	
Less than High School	2.9%
High School Graduate	13%
Some College/Technical School	33%
College Graduate	34%
Graduate School	24%
Ph.D.	4%
Place of Residence	
Inner-East Bay	38.1%
South Bay	24.5%
Outer-East Bay	18.6%
Peninsula	10.2%
San Francisco	5%
North Bay	2.5%

3.3.2 DELIVERY AND COMPLETION RATE

Within the Sydney case study, from the 102 web-based surveys that were commenced, seventy-four were completed between the 12th and 30th of July 2014. The twenty-eight surveys that were excluded from analysis were incomplete, and therefore could not be analysed in the thesis.

Within the San Francisco Bay Area case study, the 283 web-based surveys that were commenced between September 2016 and April 2017, one-hundred-and-ninety-six were completed and qualified for analysis, constituting a completion rate of 69%. A number of surveys completed off-site were incomplete, and others were excluded from analysis on the basis of not satisfying participation requirements such as immigration status or exceeding the age range of 18-35 years.

Precautionary measures were taken across both case studies to encourage responses including reducing the survey length following the pilot-phase, administering the online survey face-to-face to provide opportunities for clarifying questions by participants, as well as the incorporating an information section of the survey that provided a rationale of the study, as well as an option to proceed with or exit the survey before commencing the survey questions (*Appendix B - C*). The survey also included mandatory questions around age and immigration status to ensure that respondents satisfied participation requirements before proceeding with the survey. If respondents did not satisfy participation requirements, they were automatically directed to the end of the survey.

3.3.3 QUESTIONNAIRE DESIGN

Questionnaires are useful for gathering original data about people, their attitudes and their opinions (McLafferty, 2010). The surveys therefore sought to address the first research aim by capturing how young Muslims perceived Islamophobia across various regions in Sydney and the Bay Area. This was addressed by keeping the survey reasonably short, with questions structured to ensure the collection of a data set that provided the foundations for the themes explored within the in-depth interviews. After piloting the survey, some questions were removed to reduce the length of the survey, and the wording was also adjusted for readability and simplicity. A 'word version' copy of the final survey for the

Sydney case study is attached as *Appendix B* and as *Appendix C* for the San Francisco Bay Area case study.

Section A of both surveys focused on capturing the demographic information of participants, including their gender, age, ethnicity, level of education and current suburb of residence. Some of these demographic questions were adapted in the San Francisco Bay Area case study according to the categories employed by Senzai and Bazian's (2013) *Bay Area Muslim Study* for suitability to the local context. For example, the survey adopted categories of ethnicity used by Senzai and Bazian (2013) to reflect localised understandings.

Section B of the survey focused on understanding Muslim religiosity, including questions on identity, duration of religious practice, daily religious practices, and 'Islamic physical appearance' according to categories of traditional Muslim dress code.

Section C was interested in measuring perceptions of Islamophobia across various regions of both Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area. This section comprised of questions with Semantic Differential (SD) scale response options – a simple and effective tool for measuring the average group perception of urban areas (Winchester & O'Neill, 1992). These scales consisted of word pairs that represented the opposite ends of a construct, which were extracted from the appropriate contrasting adjectives within the literature. To generate these adjectives, the survey drew on the primary concerns of constructivist literature on 'new racism' and its concurrent geographies (Forrest & Dunn, 2006, 2007, 2010), as well as findings of the Bay Area Muslim Study (Senzai & Bazian, 2013) for additional word constructs relevant to the San Francisco case study.

SD scale adjectives for the survey in Sydney included: multicultural/mono-cultural, tolerant/intolerant, welcoming/racist, comfortable/uncomfortable, or safe/unsafe. SD scale adjectives for the survey in the San Francisco Bay Area Case Study included: culturally diverse/mono-cultural, white/non-white, tolerant/intolerant, harmonious/racially tense, pro-Muslim, anti-Muslim, comfortable/uncomfortable, or safe (for Muslims)/unsafe (for Muslims). To prevent the artificial creation of opinions, the SD scales offered a 'neutral' mid-point option (Winchester & O'Neill, 1992). For each region, SD scales were followed by 7-point Likert-style questions asking how likely participants were to engage in various spaces within each region including their likeliness to: live, work, use public transport, use grocery stores/shopping centres, and other public spaces (e.g., sports stadiums or beaches).

The regions used for each SD scale set in Sydney were based on those in Forrest and Dunn's (2007) study of the 'geographies of racism in Sydney' (depicted in Figure 3.2). Employing these regional categories enabled the project to test whether young Muslims' perceptions of these regions replicated or challenged the geographical distribution of racist attitudes in Sydney proposed by Forrest and Dunn (2007). As 'geographies of racism in Sydney' study (Forrest & Dunn, 2007) was based on data collected in 2001 before the Cronulla Riots that occurred in 2005 (Noble, 2009a), Sutherland was not identified as a key region for the study of racism at the time. However, there is a need to uncover the influence of a specific context in the analysis of surveys (Herbert, 2012). I therefore integrated Sutherland as an additional region of focus in the survey in order to address the potential impacts of the Cronulla riot on how young Muslims perceived and engaged in the Sutherland region (see Chapter 7).

On the other hand, the six regions used to categorise the San Francisco Bay Area in the survey included: North Bay, San Francisco, Peninsula, South Bay, Inner-East Bay and Outer-East Bay (see Figure 3.3). The Bay Area is tied by unifying threads of metropolitan life, such as cross-commuting and business linkages, with 'multi-nodal' (Muller 2001) metropolitan areas as well as an unclear line between the exurban fringe and rural areas. The Bay Area region is therefore difficult to define, with such unclear boundaries, and exurban sprawl (Walker & Schafran, 2015). This resulted in the study examining the geographies of Islamophobia across the interconnected Bay Area region, rather than the individual city of San Francisco. This regional approach allowed the study to capture the perspectives of Muslims who lived, worked and travelled across the Bay Area. The six regions used in the survey were developed based on a review of various geographical literature, (see Schafran, 2013; Walker, 1995; Walker & Schafran, 2015), consultation with local geographers, and leaders of local Muslim community organisations. Initially, the survey regions were divided according to the nine-county San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose consolidated metropolitan area of the 2000 census (Walker & Schafran, 2015), however respondents to the pilot survey noted that the questionnaire was too extensive, and that it could benefit from reducing the number of regions being measured. This feedback combined with the initial high drop-out rates of the survey in its initial pilot-phase led to the creation of the six regions depicted in Figure 3.3. The six regions were developed in consultation with academics as well as GIS specialists from the department of Geography at the University of California, Berkeley. These regions

were easily identified by participants in the second pilot phase who were comfortable with answering the questions for six rather than nine regions (See *Appendix D* for five-region map of Bay Area on Wikitravel).

Section D was included as an additional area of the survey in the San Francisco Bay Area, designed to gauge understandings of Islamophobia in the local context. This section included questions identifying the range of factors that contributed to participants' understanding of anti-Muslim discrimination, such as their personal experiences, or the experiences of their communities. In addition, Five-point Likert style questions also measured how often respondents had experienced or anticipated experiencing Islamophobia in a range of public spaces including on public transport, in public spaces, in airports, while shopping, seeking education or employment.

Section E was the final substantive portion of both case study questionnaires, requiring respondents to list up to ten suburbs in Sydney or the San Francisco Bay Area where they felt their Islamic identity was most or least accepted (questions 17 and 18). This provided an open-ended option for Muslims to specify their perceived the geographies of Islamophobia beyond the prescribed parameters of the regions specified within the survey. The final question of both surveys provided respondents with the opportunity to participate in a follow-up in-depth interview by providing their contact details. This section of the survey successfully recruited interviewees who were able to share qualitative accounts and explanations of how their perceived geographies of Islamophobia impacted their mobility.

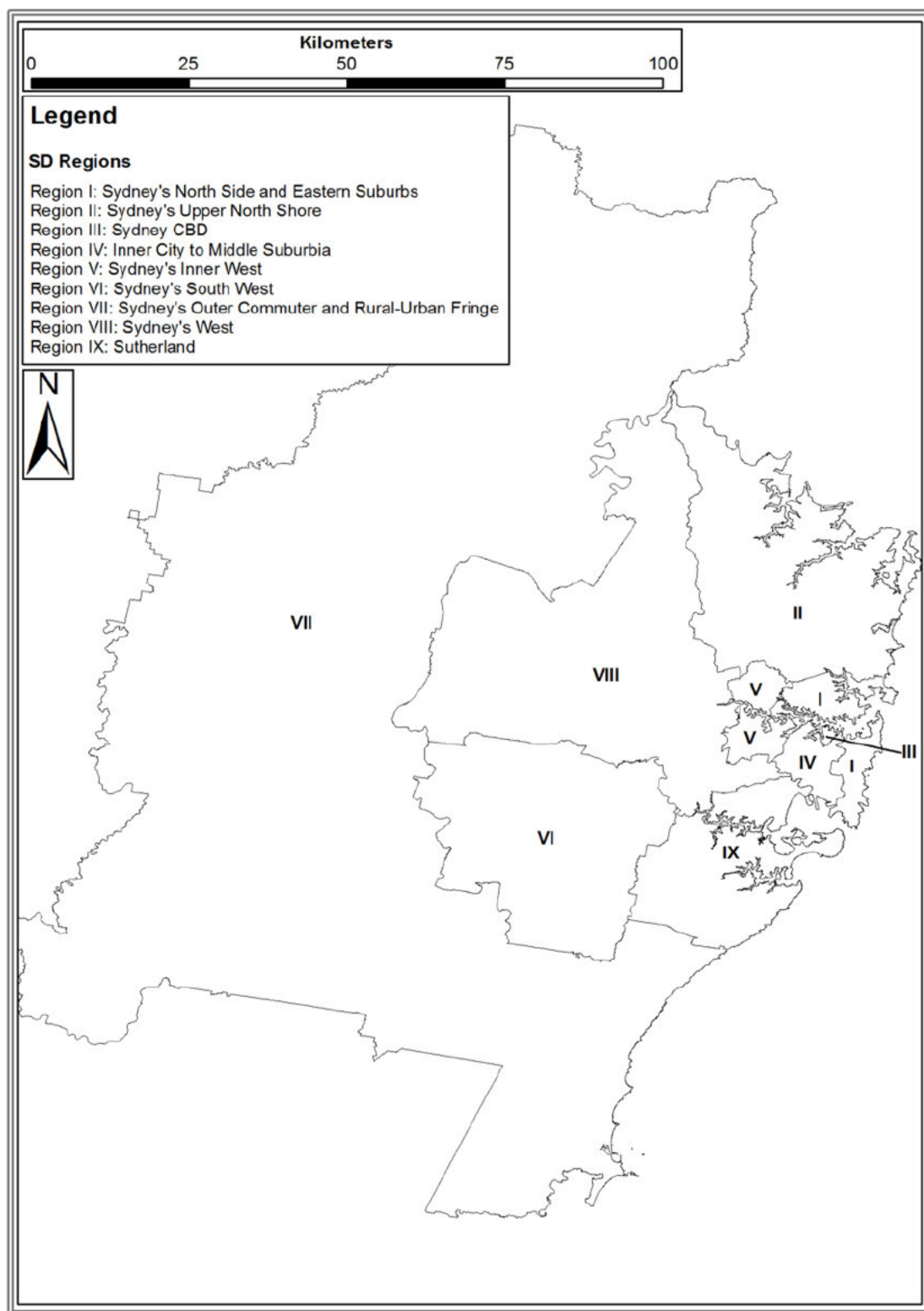


FIGURE 3.2 SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF SD REGIONS ACROSS SYDNEY
SOURCE: ARCGIS

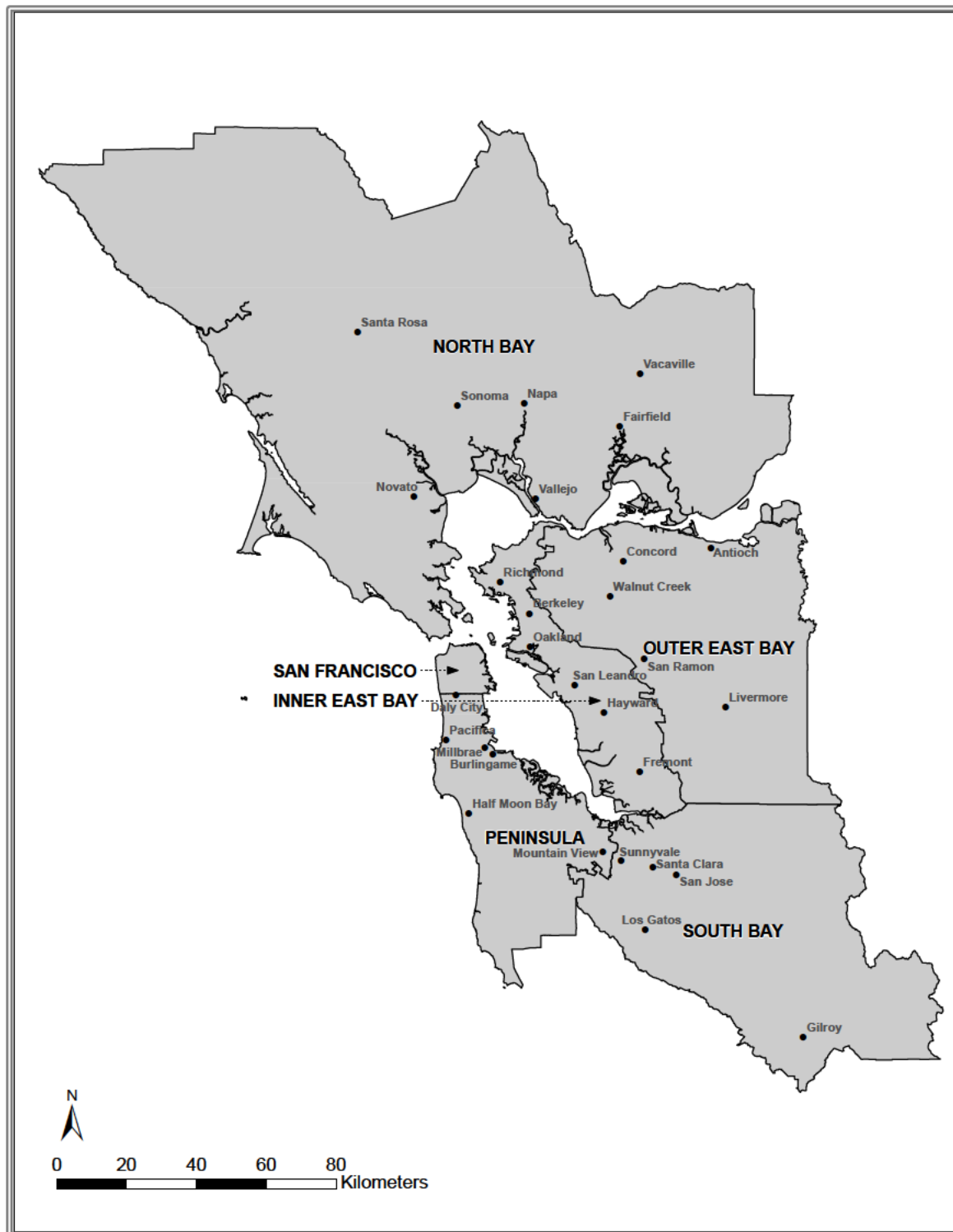


FIGURE 3.3 SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF SD REGIONS ACROSS THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

SOURCE: ARCGIS

3.3.4 QUESTION STYLE AND LANGUAGE

The surveys primarily employed closed response options in to provide a generalised understanding of how young Muslims perceive the spatial distribution of Islamophobia across different regions in Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area. When open response options were provided for entering numbers or short phrases, the Qualtrics survey software was programmed to set word limits and restrictions on word or number types that could be entered in order to attain generalisable data and that could be coded for quantitative analysis. The closed response questions were designed to be mutually exclusive. Formats included simple multiple-choice, likert-style, restricted open responses (McGuirk & O'Neil, 2016) and SD scales (Krampen, 1979). To prevent the artificial creation of opinions, the SD scales offered a 'neutral' mid-point option of number 0, and the relevant multiple-choice questions provided the option of selecting 'undecided' (deVaus, 2002). Respondents were also given the opportunity to participate in a follow-up in-depth interview to express further opinions around the geographies of perceived Islamophobia.

3.3.5 SURVEY LIMITATIONS

While the quantitative data produced by the surveys demonstrated correlations between perceived Islamophobia, the data could not be analysed for causality (Walter, 2010). The correlative data collected from the survey informed the themes explored in the follow-up interviews, allowing a deeper examination of key relationships and connections between Islamophobia and mobility.

Further, time and budget constraints of the Sydney case study resulted in a small participant sample for the survey dataset that is not representative of the socio-economic, gender and geographic diversity of Muslim communities in Sydney. In the San Francisco Bay Area, the face-to-face delivery of the online survey reduced the sample size and therefore resulted in a limited representation of the rich socio-economic, ethnic, and geographic diversity of Muslim communities in the San Francisco Bay Area. This face-to-face delivery at Muslim community events resulted in higher levels of indicated religiosity, which may have impacted the personal understandings and experiences of Islamophobia reported by participants. Secondly, due to the definitional ambiguities around the Bay Area boundaries

and spatial organisation (see Walker & Schafran, 2015), as well as the absence of studies that map geographies of racism across the Bay Area, the regions adopted in the survey were subjectively employed in line with local expert recommendations. This spatial categorisation produces potential issues for replicating or cross-referencing the analysis with studies that employ traditional geographical classifications such as the nine-county Bay Area region. These limitations are noted when discussing the findings and implications of the research throughout the remainder of the thesis.

Future research can mitigate these limitations across both case study sites by diversifying online sampling methods to recruit participants with varying levels of religiosity, socio-economic status and geographical location. Future research could also endeavour employ the traditional nine-county boundaries of the Bay Area region. Despite these limitations, the data collected from both surveys enabled the efficient quantification of opinions and perspectives, on perceptions of Islamophobia across the San Francisco Bay Area.

3.4 FACE-TO-FACE INTERVIEWS

The second method used in this study was semi-structured interviews that took place from across various public locations in Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area. The semi-structured interview format fostered the investigation of complex behaviours and motivations, as well as the collection of a diversity of opinions and experiences (Dunn, 2016) on the geography of Islamophobia in Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area, and its potential effects on young Muslims' mobilities. The interviews therefore met the final two intensive aims of the research by capturing the way perceptions of Islamophobia across regions of both case studies affected how young Muslims engaged in public spaces and uncovered the contextual influences on how young Muslims responded to this phenomenon. While the semi-structured interviews had some degree of pre-determined order (the interview schedule), there was also flexibility in how issues were addressed by the informant by providing opportunities to participants to discuss any additional themes and opinions (Dunn, 2016).

3.4.1 RECRUITMENT/SAMPLING

Interviewees were recruited using a purposive selection process, drawing on the contact details respondents provided at the conclusion of the surveys for both case studies. Recruiting interviewees via this method allowed me to select participants that were interested in the topic of Islamophobia, as indicated by their completion of the survey (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017). According to Ritchie *et al.* (2003), purposive sampling can be effective if researchers ensure sample diversity. Of the fifteen expressions of interest received in the Sydney case study, I interviewed ten participants, on the basis that they held certain demographic characteristics such as diversity in their residential location, ethnicity, gender and age. I was particularly interested in an equal representation of both men and women in the interviews, to compensate for the overrepresentation of women in the Sydney survey dataset.

In the San Francisco Bay Area, I interviewed a total of twenty-eight participants. As I had more time resources available for the study in this site than in Sydney, I was able to conduct a larger number of interviews, and therefore was less selective of the interviewee demographic characteristics. In this case study, I interviewed all twenty-eight participants who were available and able to complete the interview during the four-month interview data collection period.

As demonstrated in Table 3.5, the Sydney case study interviewees represented a range of ethnicities, resided in different parts of the city, particularly in Western Sydney, which is home to a significant population of Muslims (ABS, 2016). The gender breakdown included five males and five females, aged 20 to 29, from predominantly Middle Eastern/North African and Central and South Asian ethnic backgrounds. The participants were employed in a range of fields, whilst some participants were pursuing tertiary study at the time of the interviews. Most notably, the majority of interviewees described themselves as visibly Muslim (n=8), while a smaller percentage indicated that their Muslim identity was occasionally visible or not at all visible (n=2). This diversity in the recruited informants provided a reasonable representation of the wider target population and its various characteristics for the purposes of this project.

In the San Francisco Bay Area, the majority of participants (54%) were Pakistani-American

(n=12) (see Table 3.6), which reflects the significant South Asian sample within Senzai and Bazian's (2013) Bay Area Muslim study. The remainder of participants were ethnically diverse with a number of Arab participants with Egyptian (n = 2) or Palestinian descent (n= 2), Anglo-Americans (n= 2), African Americans (n = 2) and one Afghan American. Participants were highly educated and worked in a range of fields including research, public health, education, law and various technical and business positions, often within the local technology companies in Silicon Valley. None of the respondents were unemployed at the time of the interviews, apart from five respondents who were full-time students at local universities. In addition, the majority of the respondents had lived in the San Francisco Bay Area for at least two years. They were familiar with the region and were comfortable sharing their accounts about Islamophobia and their spatial mobility.

A key limitation of the interview participant sample is the variations in sample sizes, which was determined by the time constraints of the Sydney case study compared with the San Francisco Bay Area study. As explained in further detail in Chapter 4, the San Francisco Bay Area case study was financially supported by the Endeavour Postgraduate Scholarship for a period of twelve months, while the Sydney case study received limited funding for a two-month period. Further, purposive sampling is susceptible to producing issues around bias in the participant group and data (Dunn, 2016). However, this sampling method was beneficial for ensuring a representation of diverse Muslim identities and experiences within the limited time and budget parameters of this fieldwork site.

TABLE 3.5 PARTICIPANT PROFILES, SYDNEY CASE STUDY INTERVIEWS

Name	Gender	Age	Ethnicity/ Race	Suburb/ Region of Residence	Occupation	Muslim Visibility
Nadim	Male	28	Middle Eastern and North African (Lebanese)	Granville, Western Sydney	Primary School Teacher	Somewhat identifiable
Khaled	Male	21	Middle Eastern and North African (Lebanese)	Yagoona, Western Sydney	Undergraduate Student	Easily identifiable
Aalia	Female	23	Southern and Central Asian (Pakistani)	Ambarvale, South West Sydney	Research Assistant	Easily identifiable
Ayman	Male	25	Middle Eastern and North African (Egyptian)	Greenacre, Western Sydney	Social Worker	Easily identifiable
Ben	Male	21	Southern and Central Asian (Sri- Lankan)	Greenacre, Western Sydney	Marketing	Somewhat identifiable
Thalia	Female	29	Middle Eastern and North African (Egyptian)	Strathfield, Inner-Western Sydney	Sessional Academic	Easily identifiable
Sumaya	Female	28	Southern and Central Asian (Pakistani)	Merrylands, Western Sydney	Undergraduate Student	Easily identifiable
Shahid	Male	20	Middle Eastern and North African (Lebanese)	Merrylands, Western Sydney	Undergraduate Student	Easily identifiable
Khadija	Female	24	Middle Eastern and North African (Syrian)	Merrylands, Western Sydney	Undergraduate Student	Non- identifiable
Geena	Female	24	Southern and Central Asian (Indian)	Balmain, Inner- Western Sydney	High School teacher	Easily identifiable

TABLE 3.6 PARTICIPANT PROFILES, SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA CASE STUDY INTERVIEWS

Name	Gender	Age	Ethnicity/Race	City of Residence	Occupation	Muslim Visibility
Feroza	Female	22	Pakistani American	Berkeley	Research Fellow	Visibly Muslim
Angela	Female	27	Anglo American	San Francisco	Business Consultant	Not visibly Muslim
Abeer	Female	26	Pakistani American	Fremont	Media Officer	Not visibly Muslim
Samira	Female	34	Pakistani American	Fremont	Social Worker	Not visibly Muslim
Noor	Female	28	Afghan American	Fremont	Researcher	Not visibly Muslim
Sandra	Female	22	Anglo American	Berkeley	Public Health Policy	Not visibly Muslim
Zaynab	Female	32	Pakistani American	San Jose	Attorney	Visibly Muslim
Alima	Female	25	African American	Oakland	Librarian	Not visibly Muslim
Saida	Female	21	Pakistani American	Fremont	Undergraduate Student	Visibly Muslim
Iman	Female	20	Sri Lankan American	Berkeley	Undergraduate Student	Not visibly Muslim
Maryam	Female	33	Palestinian American	Richmond	Lecturer	Visibly Muslim
Maleeka	Female	19	African American	Berkeley	Undergraduate Student	Visibly Muslim
Sana	Female	32	Palestinian American	Berkeley	Journalist	Visibly Muslim
Huda	Female	25	Pakistani American	San Francisco	Public Health Policy	Not visibly Muslim
Maysa	Female	22	Pakistani American	Fremont	Psychologist	Visibly Muslim
Nadeem	Male	23	Egyptian American	Hayward	Student	Visibly Muslim
Ali	Male	28	Egyptian American	Millbrae	Social Worker	Somewhat visibly Muslim
Khaled	Male	23	Pakistani American	Fremont	Mechanic	Visibly Muslim

Zeeshan	Male	19	Pakistani American	San Jose	Undergraduate Student	Somewhat visibly Muslim
Usama	Male	22	Pakistani American	Pleasanton	Software Engineer	Somewhat visibly Muslim
Bilal	Male	29	Pakistani American	Berkeley	Postgraduate Student	Visibly Muslim
Rasheed	Male	23	Pakistani American	Fremont	Biotechnology Scientist	Somewhat visibly Muslim
Ahmed	Male	26	Pakistani American	Milpitas	Sales Representative	Somewhat visibly Muslim
Hamza	Male	28	Pakistani American	Fremont	Data Scientist	Visibly Muslim
Nabeel	Male	27	Pakistani American	Union City	High School Teacher	Visibly Muslim
Yehya	Male	22	Afghan American	Fremont	Postgraduate Student	Somewhat visibly Muslim
Maurice	Male	31	African American	Oakland	Sales Representative	Visibly Muslim
Omar	Male	26	Egyptian American	Oakland	Data Scientist	Visibly Muslim

3.4.2 QUESTION STYLE/LANGUAGE

Interviews were semi-structured and conducted face-to-face, based on a set of themes that were accompanied by open response prompts. In constructing the interview schedule, a hybrid of funnel and pyramid interviewing strategies were incorporated, starting with a focus on general issues that then moved to more abstract and reflective aspects, before gradually progressing towards sensitive issues (Dunn, 2016). These themes were determined by the findings of the survey and the background literature on the geographies of racism and Islamophobia in Australia, which indicated a need to explore how Islamophobia affected young Muslims' mobility. The themes underwent constant review, particularly following pilot tests with project supervisors and colleagues, to determine not only their suitability and relevance to the context, but also to test general question flow and interview length (Cope, 2016).

The interview schedules (attached in *Appendix E* and *F*) were divided into four sections. *Section A* sought to understand how young Muslims perceived and experienced Islamophobia in Sydney.

Section B sought to uncover the spaces that young Muslims felt they were most likely to experience Islamophobia.

Section C questioned participants on their current access to recreational spaces such as beaches and parks, as well as the religious activities they undertake in this public space. Recreational spaces were the focus of the interview as the Sydney case-study focussed on mobility across recreational spaces. This was due to the identification of beaches and parks as spaces of Muslim exclusion in key studies at the time of the case study including the *ISMA* study (HREOC, 2004) and key publications on the Cronulla riots (e.g., Noble, 2009a; Noble & Poynting, 2010). The focus of these spaces was expanded to all public spaces in the San Francisco Bay Area case study.

Section D asked a variety of descriptive questions that focused on uncovering the links between experiences of Islamophobia, mental maps of exclusion, and their subsequent access to, and engagement with spaces. Section D therefore focussed on accounting for the survey data with qualitative explanations and accounts of the link between geographies of perceived Islamophobia and spatial mobility. For example, Q1, section D in the Sydney interview schedule asked, 'does your fear of experiencing Islamophobia in particular beaches stop you from publicly performing acts of worship in these spaces?'

This schedule was not followed strictly, with a fluid rather than rigid line of questioning (Rubin & Rubin, 2011). This flexibility avoided the formality of reading questions word for word, which could sound 'insincere, stilted and out of place' (Dunn, 2000, p. 83). I also intuitively incorporated open-ended, probing, follow-up and clarifying questions to elicit depth, detail, vividness, nuance and richness in the informants' responses (Rubin & Rubin, 2011). This was due to my observation that some initial responses provided by interviewees were short and rushed. Using probes, prompts and questions helped encourage deeper understandings and analysis of their responses (McGuirk & O'Neil, 2016). These included descriptive, storytelling, structural, contrast, opinion/value, feeling and reflecting questions (Bryman, 2012; Dunn, 2016), which allowed the interview data to encapsulate a variety of issues I was interested in exploring.

3.4.3 INTERVIEW PROCESS

The interview process was initiated via phone or email contact with survey respondents who

had expressed interest in being interviewed for the study. I sent emails to the addresses provided by the survey respondents, confirming whether they were still interested in being interviewed. Upon confirmation of their interest, information sheets on the project (*Appendix G and H*) were emailed to the informant, along with a request that they select a time and place for a meeting.

After introducing myself to the informant and building rapport through informal conversation, I provided informants with an information sheet and received their informed consent (Dowling 2016) for their participation in an audio-recorded interview (see *Appendix I*). The interview process remained informal to create a more natural environment conducive to open and honest communication (Rubin & Rubin, 2011). This was facilitated by the use of prompts and clarifying questions. In total, the interviews lasted between twenty minutes to an hour, and were transcribed verbatim. Copies of the transcript were also emailed to the participants for their record and to provide them an opportunity to make any adjustments to the document before the data was analysed in publications. None of the respondents requested changes to their transcripts.

3.4.4 CHALLENGES AND LIMITATIONS: IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

A key limitation of the interviews was the limited participant samples in both case study sites. In Sydney, the sample size was restricted by time and budget constraints associated with the data collection in this site. This resulted in a more limited representation of the various Muslim communities of Sydney, as evident in the smaller sample size of interview responses (approximately one-third) of what was collected in the San Francisco Bay Area. This presented challenges for the comparative capabilities of this project when drawing connections between the two contexts with disproportionate datasets (further outlined in section 4.2.2). However, as case studies emphasise quality over quantity, and focused on achieving analytical generalisability (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017), the Sydney interview dataset remained valuable in providing rich perspectives on the spatial impacts of Islamophobia on young Muslims' mobility. Further, the opinions and perspectives of young Muslims in Sydney captured in the interviews informed the selection of additional themes, questions and areas of concern within the San Francisco Bay Area case study.

In the San Francisco Bay Area case study, a key limitation of the participant sample of

interviews was the limited ethnic diversity of the group. While the significant representation of South-Asian Muslims in this dataset reflects that of the *Bay Area Muslim Study* by Senzai and Bazian (2013), it would have been beneficial to interview a larger sample of Afghan, Arab and African American Muslims. This diversity in the sample would have more comprehensively captured the intricacies of intersecting experiences of racialisation being Black and/or Arab and Muslim. However, despite efforts to recruit participants in African American mosques (such as Lighthouse Mosque), and Ta'leef Collective in Fremont (home to the largest geographic concentration of Afghans in America live (Maira, 2016)), I was unable to recruit a larger group of Muslims from these ethnicities for the interviews within the time parameters of the research.

An additional key challenge of conducting interviews in the San Francisco Bay Area related to the timing of the study during and following the 2016 election. While conducting interviews immediately following the 2016 election was theoretically and empirically significant for examining the impact of this context on Muslim mobilities, it was also a sensitive and difficult topic to discuss. Following the election, young Muslims were emotionally, mentally and physically challenged by the lead-up and outcome of the 2016 election. In response, I intentionally provided space, time and opportunities for respondents to discuss the 2016 election and air their grievances, worries, fears and frustrations with the socio-political context they were navigating. At times, some respondents diverged from the topic of Islamophobia entirely. For example, my interview with Belal, ran overtime to two hours in total, addressing only a few questions from the interview schedule, as he used our interview as an opportunity to express his opinions and frustration with the result of the 2016 election, and American politics. Belal kindly offered to meet with me again to conduct the interview again and answer some of my questions on Islamophobia and spatial mobility. During a few interviews, young Muslims shed tears (that I, at times, shared with them), expressing their fears of what life as a Muslim would look like with Donald Trump as president, and shared numerous stories of Islamophobic abuse following the 2016 election. These were difficult conversations to have as a young Muslim woman who felt mutually fearful, anxious and concerned with the impact of the election on my community and me (which I discuss further in the next section). Overall, the timing of the 2016 election proposed a challenge to collecting the data needed to meet the research aims, yet this unique

context provided me with an opportunity to engage in key issues that formed a significant part of the thesis and point of comparison for both case study sites (in Chapters 8 and 10).

3.5 DATA ANALYSIS

3.5.1 QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS: WEB-BASED SURVEYS

3.5.1.1 CODING OF SURVEY QUESTIONS

The Qualtrics Survey Software automatically assigned numerical codes to the survey data, making the coding process relatively straightforward. Relevant data were also manually coded in geographical units, which facilitated the analysis of responses according to different geographical areas.

The geographical units in the *Sydney case study* were coded according to the following categories:

1. SD regions according to the descriptions of Forrest and Dunn (2007) on the Geographies of Racism in Sydney (Table 3.7):
2. Sydney sub-state (SA4) regions (Table 3.8).

A copy of the final coding framework used for the Sydney survey data is attached in *Appendix J*.

Coding the geographic data according to the SD scale regions enabled effective testing for relationships between questions (such as place of residence) and SD scales. SA4 regions are the largest sub-State regions in the main structure of the Australian Statistical Geography Standard (ASGS). Coding the geographic survey data according to SA4s facilitated a microanalysis of Sydney's regions, more so than that provided by the SD scale regions. As depicted in Table 3.8, this study coded the NSW SA4s relevant to Sydney and the surrounding areas. Using the SA4 regions according to the Australian Statistical Geographical Standard (ASGS) enabled me to map the data through *ArcGIS* mapping software, which is readily used for the spatial depiction of information.

The geographical units in the *San Francisco Bay Area* were coded according to the six regional boundaries developed by the research team according to the following major cities within each regional boundary (Table 3.9). A copy of the final coding framework used for the San Francisco survey data is attached in *Appendix K*.

TABLE 3.7 SD REGIONS BASED ON FORREST AND DUNN'S (2007) GEOGRAPHY OF RACISM

SA4 Code	SA4 Region
114	Southern Highlands and Shoalhaven
115	Sydney Baulkham Hills and Hawkesbury
116	Sydney Blacktown
117	Sydney City and Inner South
118	Sydney Eastern Suburbs
119	Sydney Inner South West
120	Sydney Inner West
121	Sydney North Sydney and Hornsby
122	Sydney Northern Beaches
123	Sydney Outer South West
124	Sydney Outer West and Blue Mountains
125	Sydney Parramatta
126	Sydney Ryde
127	Sydney South West
128	Sydney Sutherland

TABLE 3.8 SYDNEY SUB-STATE (SA4) CATEGORIES

Region No.	Region Name
I	Sydney's North Side and Eastern Suburbs
II	Sydney's Upper North Shore
III	Sydney CBD
IV	Inner City to Middle Suburbia
V	Sydney's Inner West
VI	Sydney's South West
VII	Sydney's Outer Commuter and Rural–Urban Fringe
VIII	Sydney's West
IX	Sutherland

TABLE 3.9 SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA SD REGIONS: CODING FRAMEWORK FOR CITIES AND SUBURBS

North Bay	San Francisco	Peninsula	South Bay	Inner-East Bay	Outer-East Bay
- Marin County	- San Francisco	- Atherton	- San Jose	<i>Major Cities</i>	- Lafayette
- Sonoma County		- Belmont	- Santa Clara	- Richmond	- Moraga
- Santa Rosa		- Brisbane	- Milpitas	- Berkeley	- Orinda
- Napa County		- Burlingame	- Cupertino	- Oakland	- Walnut Creek
- Solano County		- Colma	- Mountain View	- Hayward	- Concord
- Fairfield		- Daly City	- Sunnyvale	- Fremont	- Martinez
- Vallejo		- East Palo Alto	- Saratoga		- Pleasant Hill or
		- Foster City	- Campbell	<i>Suburbs</i>	Pleasanton
		- Half Moon Bay	- Los Gatos	- Alameda	- Antioch
		- Hillsborough	- Morgan Hill	- Castro Valley	- Pittsburgh
		- Los Altos	- Gilroy	- Newark	- Brentwood
		- Los Altos Hills		- Union City	- Oakley
		- Menlo Park		- Emeryville	- Amador Valley
		- Millbrae		- Albany	- Livermore
		- Mountain View		- San Leandro	- San Ramon
		- Palo Alto		- San Pablo	- Alamo
		- Pacifica		- Crockett	- Danville
		- Portola Valley		- El Sobrante	- Diablo
		- Redwood City		- Pinole	- San Ramon
		- Redwood Shores		- San Lorenzo	
		- San Bruno		- Hercules	
		- San Carlos		- Rodeo	
		- San Mateo		- Piedmont	
		- South San Francisco		- El Cerrito	
		- Woodside			

3.5.1.2 STATISTICAL TESTS

Using a statistical analysis computer program *SPSS 27.0*, the survey data were analysed using descriptive statistics, frequencies, percentages and cross-tabulations. The SD scale questions were analysed using this program, specifically by calculating the mean average 'overall score' of the ranks assigned to all five variables per region to determine whether these regions were viewed positively or negatively by participants. As outlined in Chapters 5 and 6, calculating this overall score was useful for addressing the first aim of the research to map

the geography of perceived Islamophobia among Muslims across Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area.

3.5.2 QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS: INTERVIEWS

The interview transcripts were analysed using computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) QSR NVivo, which is useful for analysing large volumes of data (van Hoven, 2010). An initial thematic coding scheme was developed based on the theoretical propositions within the research aims, as well as key issues that emerged from the statistical analysis of the survey data (Yin, 2018). In acknowledgement that ‘coding is analysis’ (Cope, 2016, p. 380) the coding scheme was further developed through inductive coding of additional themes as they emerged within the dataset. This strategy allowed for the scanning of key patterns, processes and events within the data (Yin, 2018) and provided opportunity for reflexivity, with the recursive review of the data highlighting subjects’ representations and broader themes that had not been previously apparent (Cope, 2016). For example, based on the findings of my Sydney case study, I had not identified specific strategies that young Muslims used to resist the effects of Islamophobia on their spatial mobility. These strategies of resistance uniquely emerged in the San Francisco Bay Area dataset during the early coding of interviews. This nascent theme formed a central part of the analysis presented in this thesis (Chapter 8), highlighting the critical benefit of the inductive approach to coding in uncovering multiple truths and being open to new findings beyond my own personal subjectivities as a researcher.

Appendix L presents the final version of the interview coding frameworks for the Sydney, and the San Francisco Bay Area case studies. Evidently, both descriptive and analytic codes employed principally refer to concepts and themes important to the research (Cope, 2016) and align with the research aims presented in chapter one. The codes paid attention to various conditions such as their experience of being Muslim within their specific geographic context, their encounters of Islamophobia, spatial strategies and tactics taken in response, and consequences (i.e., how Islamophobia affected their spatial mobility). For example, a series of descriptive of codes were used to capture the various factors which shaped perceptions of Islamophobia, and the spatial impacts of these perceptions on Muslim mobility. An attempt to join the central themes of the background literature was central to

the coding framework, allowing my research to uncover how previous experiences of Islamophobia affected the way young Muslims perceived and thus engaged in various spaces.

3.5.2.1 THEMATIC ANALYSIS

Analysing the interview material involved reviewing the data under each theme and identifying prominent ideas. As qualitative geographical research tends to emphasise multiple meanings and interpretations (Winchester and Rofo, 2016, p. 8), the analytical process involved looking across various themes and concepts for links, contradictions, omissions, additions and so forth.

Thematic analysis uncovered central themes of concern in the experiences of young Muslims, (Willis, 2010). As I will demonstrate in the empirical chapters of the thesis, participant quotations are incorporated in the analysis as evidence to support my own interpretations of the data. Drawing on original quotations was important; it preserved the language of interviewees (Winchester & Rofo, 2016), and reveals their various feelings, emotions, attitudes and perceptions using their own voice (Dunn, 2016). This approach allowed my research to reflect the voices of young Muslims who have been previously silenced, ignored (Winchester & Rofo, 2016) or misrepresented in research on Muslims (ICCV, 2017). While thematic analysis has been employed to maintain the voices of young Muslims, I acknowledge my own personal subjectivity in the interpretation and presentation of the data. As a practicing Muslim who has been directly and vicariously affected by Islamophobia, my own experiences inevitably shaped the research presented in this thesis. Developing an analytical log for the interviews was useful in attempting to minimise my bias and maintain the authenticity of young Muslim perspectives. In completing the log, I made a conscious effort to note substantive matters in the data set, identify key themes, and connect these themes to the literature and theory (Dunn, 2016). This reflexive practice fostered critical review and contemplation of alternative interpretations, critique of my role in the research process and identify at times tentatively, the linkages between events and discussions that I might not have known previously or noticed while conducting the interviews (Cope 2016).

3.6 REFLECTIONS FROM THE FIELD: POSITIONALITY AS AN 'INSIDER' IN SYDNEY VS 'OUTSIDER' IN THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

It is critical, as a young Muslim woman, to reflect on how my 'insider' statuses affected the research process. In applying reflexivity (Dowling, 2016), I consistently negotiated the benefits and challenges associated with my position in the research process. Bearing in mind Dowling's (2016) emphasis on the problems of a researcher labelling themselves as either 'insider or outsider', I recognise the many points of dissimilarity between myself and the respondents, although we were all of the 'same faith'.

Beginning with my experience in the Sydney case study, I use the term 'insider' loosely in this section to reflect on my position as a young Muslim in the group of the participants I interviewed, and as a life-long resident and active member of various Muslim communities of Western Sydney. There were a number of advantages and challenges associated with my position as an 'insider'. First, access to the community was a relatively smooth process, with a snowballing effect in recruitment for the survey due to friends and colleagues being connected to other Muslims in their social circles. This built a stronger sense of trust among respondents, and an increased willingness to participate in the research that was completed in a shorter period of time. Out in the field, the ease in establishing rapport with the interviewees as an 'insider' (Kirpitchenko & Voloder, 2014) was reflected in the loose use of 'slang' terms by participants (Dunn, 2016), such as *Alhamdulillah*, *Insha'Allah* or *Haram*. As a practising Muslim, I readily understood the language and appreciated the value it added to their accounts, meaning the fluidity of the interview was not interrupted by my request for translation. My personal understanding of Muslim cultural norms was also useful during the interview process, such as my awareness of common religious requirements on gender segregation for Muslims, which allowed me to provide participants with the choice to select their preferred public place to conduct the interviews. Specific to Muslim male participants, conducting the interview in a public place that they were comfortable with was paramount to respecting religious traditions and norms around gendered interactions. However, in prioritising their religious obligations and attending a location of their choice, I found myself conducting interviews in loud and busy cafés, resulting in poor quality recordings that proved difficult (though not impossible) to transcribe.

Further, as a young Muslim woman, my personal experiences, opinions and feelings around Islamophobia were emotionally embodied in the research process (Bondi, 2005; Mansvelt & Berg, 2016). Much like other Muslim Australians who have grown up in the 'age of the War on Terror', Islamophobia had occupied my consciousness (Abdel-Fattah, 2017a) and affected my experiences of belonging and exclusion since the young age of seven years, when I can first recall being personally targeted by Islamophobia in my school playground. With a deeply personal connection to my research, the trajectory of the research was inevitably informed by my own awareness and interpretations of evolving Islamophobia before, during and following my fieldwork in Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area.

Beginning with the Sydney case study, I draw on a few key moments of Islamophobia that shaped my examination of Islamophobia and Muslim mobility in Sydney presented in this thesis¹³:

- *The Lindt café Sydney Siege*, when Haron Monis held up a Lindt Café shop in the central business district of Sydney, near St Martin's Place on December 15th, 2015 (Kampmark, 2017). This situation, that claimed the lives of three people, led to claims of a terror attack, although this categorisation was later disputed (Kampmark, 2017). Immediately following these attacks, the #illridewithyou movement took off on social media, whereby Australians posted the hashtag over 125,000 times to support Muslims who would fear travelling around the city following news coverage of this 'terror attack' (see Figure 3.4). This widespread acknowledgement that Muslim mobilities were compromised in this hostile socio-political climate reinforced the importance of examining the impact of Islamophobia on the spatial mobility of Muslims (e.g., refer to my podcast interview on Muslim safety published on the *Conversation* (Supplementary Output 1).
- Political debates around a burqa ban proposed by federal politicians including Pauline Hanson, Jacqui Lambie and Corey Bernardi. These political debates threatened the safety and spatial mobility of visible Muslims in public spaces, particularly Muslim women who wore burqas (Barker, 2016).
- The Christchurch mosque attacks in March 2019 executed by Australian white

¹³ It is important to note that the data analysed in this thesis on Muslims in Australia does not account for the impact of these events as they took place prior to the data collected for analysis in this thesis.

supremacist Breton Tarrant, who killed fifty-one Muslims in Christchurch, New Zealand. This incident stressed the compromised safety and mobility of Muslims, leading to the introduction of security and surveillance measures for Muslims spaces around Australia in fear of a follow-up attack. Feeling hopeless and fearful for my family, friends and community members, I co-authored an article for *the Conversation* that draws on the findings of my research to emphasise the critical need for spaces of Muslim safety as a response to the negative impacts of Islamophobia on daily mobility practices (Supplementary Output 2).

- *The ten-year anniversary of the Cronulla riots:* in 2015, extensive media coverage and discourse of this anniversary highlighted the significance of the Cronulla riots for Australia's racialised history of Islamophobia. To draw attention to the longstanding impact of the Cronulla riots, I authored a factsheet on the riot for the Bridge Initiative Islamophobia factsheet series (Supplementary Output No 3).

As reflected in the above key socio-political shifts, the Sydney case study was shaped by key events, debates and discourses around Islamophobia both before, during and following the data collection, inflecting my conceptual frames and the overall research focus on the role of socio-political context in shaping the spatial impacts of Islamophobia. The research process as an insider' in the Sydney case study, therefore, required critical reflexivity, especially in considering how my own frames of reference and personal experiences with Islamophobia affected the overall research, particularly in the interpretation of the data (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017).



FIGURE 3.4 #ILLRIDEWITHYOU STICKER

SOURCE: BBC

On the other hand, as international visiting scholar in the San Francisco Bay Area, I primarily undertook this fieldwork site as an ‘outsider’, and at other times, my role shifted to an ‘insider’ when navigating Muslim spaces as a practicing Muslim (Dowling, 2016). In this section, I outline the impact of my positionality as both ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ throughout the embodied research process. Further, I outline how key racial events and socio-political shifts during and following the 2016 election affected the research direction, as reflected in the supplementary research outputs produced in response. These outputs reflect the shifts in my thinking about the research themes, and also the value of this thesis in contributing to public debates and discourses on Islamophobia and mobility.

In the first instance, the allocation of extensive time to my research in the San Francisco Bay Area helped me moderate the challenges of conducting the fieldwork as an outsider. With twelve months of funding awarded by the Endeavour Postgraduate Scholarship, I was able to use the first three months of my time in the Bay Area for informal context-building, in order to understand the local area, build community networks and settle into life as a local researcher and temporary resident of the region. As depicted in Table 3.10, the context-building stage of the research involved informal site visits to different areas of the regions,

as well as consultations with local geographical experts and Muslim community leaders. This period facilitated an appreciation of the diverse landscapes, local cultures and Muslim communities across the Bay Area within my research. In particular, attending Muslim spaces, mosques and events across the sprawled Bay Area before commencing with the data collection helped me build valuable networks and friendships that facilitated the administering of my survey in these respective spaces at a later date (McGuirk & O'Neill, 2016).

This early informal groundwork was critical in negotiating my outsider role throughout the research process. For example, as interviewees had often met me at Ramadan iftars and prayer gatherings that I participated in, I often felt my role shift to an 'insider' during the interviews. I had also met many interviewees during the face-to-face survey data collection, and therefore had established rapport before we met again for the interviews. I built a particularly strong connection with local organisation Ta'leef Collective, who I later volunteered for as a research consultant on a small organisational report¹⁴. I also frequently participated in Ta'leef events and retreats, which helped build relationships with the organisation and attendees.

¹⁴ I assisted with designing the research and drafting the Ta'leef Re-entry Feasibility Study which sought to expand their service delivery for members re-entering the community after serving time in California prisons.

TABLE 3.10 INFORMAL CONTEXT-BUILDING 2016, SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

Activity	Summary
<i>Desktop review</i>	<p>Reviewing key documents including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ News articles, local government policies ▪ Population review (i.e., census, diversity statistics, Muslim demographics) ▪ Literature review on racialised geography of the San Francisco Bay Area ▪ Reviewed 'Bay Area Muslim Study' published by Senzai and Bazian (2013) for: background information, list of Muslim community organisations, demographic categories and themes for the research.
<i>Local expert Consultations</i>	<p>Meeting with experts on the racialised geography of the San Francisco Bay Area including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Dr Hatem Bazian, leader of the Islamophobia Research and Documentation Project at UC Berkeley ▪ Researchers and Academics within the Center for Race and Gender, Othering and Belonging Institute and Department of Geography (UC Berkeley).
<i>Muslim community Consultations</i>	<p>Meeting with key informants interested in Muslim affairs including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Leaders of local mosques and Muslim spaces ▪ Civil rights advocates and organisations ▪ Researchers ▪ Activists
<i>Informal site visits</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Navigating different parts of the Bay Area to gain familiarity with the various cities ▪ Visiting Muslim spaces, events and events to build connections and understanding of the local Muslim community.

Throughout interviews, I sensed that young Muslims generally felt comfortable and open with me, reflected in greeting me with a hug at times, or sharing personal details, experiences and concerns during their interviews. Like the Sydney respondents, interviewees also used Muslim 'slang' and 'speaking the same language', established a comfortable interview dynamic. My experiences as a Muslim Australian from Sydney were also often a point of curiosity and connection with local Muslim youth in the Bay Area. Interviewees at times asked me a range of questions about how my fieldwork in the Bay Area compared with my findings in my Sydney case study, and how I measured the different levels of Islamophobia between both sites. This type of open dialogue established a conversational tone in the interviews, which enhanced the overall rapport I established and maintained with interviewees. This was a rewarding aspect of the fieldwork, as this sense of relatability helped me move towards a more reciprocal relationship with interviewees (Dowling 2016), which enriched the conversation and perspectives shared throughout the interviews.

Shifting my role to an 'insider' in certain stages of the research in the Bay Area, I was also aware and mindful of projecting my own opinions, attitudes or perspectives as a young Muslim on Islamophobia, or the socio-political climate of the 2016 election. I too felt saddened, frustrated and fearful of the global impact that the 2016 election could have on my communities' experiences of belonging or exclusion. While this was a complex emotional experience as a researcher, this shared sense of frustration established a deeper sense of comfort and understanding, which cultivated an open space for meaningful dialogue during the interviews. The timely and unique socio-political context of this fieldwork thus required I practice critical reflexivity (Dowling, 2016), juggling the balance between providing the necessary space, time and support to participants who wished to discuss their perspectives around the 2016 election, whilst also maintaining awareness of my own embodied subjectivities and opinions on the topic.

The currency of the 2016 election at the time reinforced the importance of my research, and increased interest in participation following the election as events, spaces and conversations were initiated at a community level about Islamophobia in this socio-political context (i.e., refer back to Table 3.2 for examples of events directly responding to the 2016 election). More critically, the 2016 election dominated the focus of the interviews, and therefore the analysis of this data that critically engaged in this socio-political context. The impact of the 2016

election on the San Francisco Bay Area case study is reflected in some of the following key moments that are highlighted below:

- The introduction of three versions of Executive Order's 13769 also referred to as the *Muslim Ban* restricting the entry of individuals from seven Muslim-majority Muslim nations in January 2017 (Gorman and Culcasi, 2020). The first version of the ban was followed by nation-wide protests against the ban, with one of the largest gatherings taking place at San Francisco International in solidarity with Muslims (May, 2017) (see Figure 3.5). In response to protests and debates around the Muslim Travel ban, I co-authored an article for *the Conversation* with my colleague Basima Sisemore from the Othering and Belonging Institute (UC Berkeley), that contextualises the Muslim Travel Ban within a broader history of anti-Muslim immigration policies introduced since 9/11 (see Supplementary Research Output No. 4)
- *Movements of pro-Muslim solidarity*, with images and messages of support for Muslims posted up around the Bay Area in the immediate months following the election (e.g., see Figure 3.6). While these messages of solidarity were encouraging, they also demonstrated the spatial exclusion faced by visible Muslims like the woman in the image following the 2016 election.
- *The 2017 Berkeley protests*: a series of protests and clashes between organised groups occurred in the vicinity of the University of California, Berkeley campus where I was hosted as a visiting scholar. The first event occurred on February 1st, 2017 in protest of trump supporter Milo Yiannopoulos's scheduled speech on campus, which escalated into a violent riot that caused over \$100,000USD in damage to university property (Goldberg 2017). Two later incidents included pro-Trump rallies in March and April 2017, which were followed by a series of smaller protests into the month of September. These protests represented the local tensions that were produced by the 2016 election a climate which young Muslim respondents in this study navigated in their daily lives.
- The sexual-assault and murder of Nabra Hassaneen: in June 2017, a 17-year-old American girl from Virginia on her walk back to Ramadan night prayers. In response to this hate crime in a post-Trump era, I wrote a blog piece as a research fellow at the Othering and Belonging Institute (formerly the Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society). The article draws on this research to highlight the compromised safety and

mobility of visible Muslims like Nabra Hassaneen when navigating the expanding geographies of risk following the 2016 election (see Supplementary Research Output No. 5).

In drawing on these above examples, I provide a transparent account of the key events, moments and shifts in the socio-political context of this research that shaped the focus of the case study on the impact of the 2016 election on Muslim mobilities.

SOURCE: ABC7NEWS (2017)



FIGURE 3.5 COLLAGE OF IMAGES DEPICTING PROTESTS AGAINST THE MUSLIM TRAVEL BAN AT SAN FRANCISCO INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT, JANUARY 29TH, 2017



FIGURE 3.6 'EVERYONE IS WELCOME HERE' POSTERS ON VARIOUS SHOPFRONTS AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS ACROSS BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA, DECEMBER 2016

SOURCE: THE AEROGRAM (2016)

3.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter has described the methods used to generate insight into the relationship between Islamophobia and spatial mobility across the two case-study sites of Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area.

As outlined in this chapter, researching the connection between Islamophobia and spatial mobility across two international case-study sites involved the negotiation of a number of challenges. These challenges were heightened by the rapidly evolving socio-political climate of Islamophobia over the last five years of conducting this research, particularly in the lead up to, and following the 2016 election of President Donald Trump in the USA. While this climate presented challenges for the research, it also provided opportunities to generate rich insight into the impact of key socio-political contexts on the racialised politics of mobility. The role of socio-political context therefore forms a central concern of the thesis for the impact of the Cronulla riots (Chapter 7) in Sydney and the 2016 election in the San Francisco Bay Area (Chapter 8), in shaping the spatial imaginaries of Islamophobia and Muslim mobilities among young Muslims in both cities (Chapters 5–6). Socio-political context also forms the key point of comparison between the two case study sites (Chapter 10), which is found to shape local geographies of perceived Islamophobia and the subsequent mobility practices of Muslims developed in response.

In its methodological approach, the project advocates for researching using a generative approach to comparison that responds to the socio-political shifts and unpredictability of the urban (Robinson 2016). This allows comparative research to move towards a more global understanding of the connections between Islamophobia and spatial mobility across cities. The next chapter of the thesis introduces the two key contexts that form the focus of this thesis: Islamophobia in Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area and outlines the comparative case study approach adopted to draw both connections and analyse contextual variations between both sites.

4 PROFILING THE CASE STUDIES

This research seeks to examine and compare the links between Islamophobia and Muslim urban (im)mobilities in two international contexts: Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area. This chapter profiles the two case study sites within the broader research on Islamophobia in both contexts and describes the approach to comparing these case studies adopted in the thesis. In doing so, this overview situates the contributions of the thesis to advancing the first comparative geographical study of how Islamophobia affects Muslim mobilities. This chapter consists of two key sections, ordered chronologically. The first section provides an overview of Islam and Muslims in both Australia and the United States and contextualises the key historical events that have shaped the local socio-political contexts of Islamophobia in Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area. The second section describes the Comparative Case Study (CCS) approach adopted in this thesis to compare how Islamophobia shapes the spatial imaginaries of Muslims in both case studies, while also accounting for the role of socio-political context in shaping the impact of Islamophobia on Muslim mobilities.

4.1 MULTI-SITE CASE STUDIES IN HUMAN GEOGRAPHY

There is a 'long tradition in human geography that emphasises how phenomena may present very differently from one case to the next because of the place itself' (Baxter 2016, p. 141). Therefore, human geographers emphasise that what constitutes an actual or potential 'case' should be that the phenomena under investigation can be found in other places, regions or countries (Castree, 2005). Castree (2005) highlights the importance of these spatial dimensions, emphasising that 'geographical difference has constitutive effects on processes, rules and regulations that are stretched over wide spans and time' (p. 541). Case study research in human geography thus serves an important function, highlighting that while the world is persistently diverse, this diversity arises out of multi scaled relations that emerge *conjuncturally* (Castree, 2005). Human geographers have, therefore, long-favoured the collective approach to the case study – often referred to as multi-site or comparative analysis. Within this approach, a small group of different case studies are analysed and compared (Hardwick, 2017). Multiple case studies not only provide a more critical basis for modifying, exploring or generating theoretical concepts and explanations of phenomena, but

also account for commonalities across spaces despite being embedded in different contexts (Baxter, 2016; Castree, 2005). Comparative studies are therefore a crucible for urban studies to not only identify variations and connections, but also account for similarities and differences between different urban experiences (Dunn & Kamp, 2015). Comparing empirics on different urban experiences provides a reference to urban places and their residents (Gough, 2012). This research undertakes a comparative case study analysis of how Islamophobia shapes the way young Muslims perceive and engage with various spaces across both case study sites: Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area. The following section profiles both case studies, drawing attention to the existing scholarship on how Islamophobia impacts Muslims residing in both sites.

4.1.1 CASE STUDY I: ISLAMOPHOBIA IN AUSTRALIA SYDNEY

Australian scholarship interested in Islamophobia primarily emerged following the 9/11 attacks after reports published by the Australian government uncovered troubling and increasing levels of anti-Muslim discrimination (e.g., HREOC 2004; Poynting & Noble, 2004; DOIC, 2008). Existing bodies of literature pay specific attention to the role of (i) the 9/11 attacks and (ii) the Cronulla riot of 2001¹⁵ in shaping the socio-political context of Islamophobia in Sydney.

Muslims are Australia's third-largest religious group, forming 2.6 per cent of the overall population (ABS, 2016). Forty-two per cent of Australia's growing Muslim community resides in the greater Sydney area (ABS, 2016) a city which has been associated with rising anti-Muslim attitudes. In a 2007 survey of racist attitudes in Sydney, Muslims were the primary outgroup identified among respondents (12%) (Forrest & Dunn, 2010), and again, in 2015, whereby thirty two percent of respondents to a national survey expressed negative views towards Muslim Australians (Blair *et al.*, 2017). Overall, Muslims were viewed most negatively over all other out-groups both nationally in Australia (Forrest *et al.*, 2020; Kamp *et al.*, 2017) and across the greater Sydney area (Forrest *et al.*, 2020). Coupled with the prominent Muslim population in Sydney, and these reported anti-Muslim attitudes, it is

¹⁵A range of events took place since I undertook my fieldwork in Sydney. The influence of these socio-political events and shifts on the research are noted in the methodology section (Chapter 3) such as the Christchurch attacks (March 2019) and the Sydney Siege (2015).

crucial to further examine how these racist attitudes are experienced, interpreted and responded to by Muslims (DOIC, 2008).

This thesis also drew on a large body of research that examined and documented rising levels of Islamophobia within the broader context of multicultural Australia (see Abdel-Fattah, 2017b; Bouma, 2016; Briskman & Latham, 2017; Dunn *et al.*, 2007; Dunn, Diallo & Sharples, 2021; Patton, 2014). Much of this work has emphasised that Islamophobia in Australia is connected to global national security and foreign policy practices that emerged following the 9/11 attacks and the Global War on Terror (Abdel-Fattah, 2017a; Briskman & Poynting, 2014; Dunn *et al.*, 2015). Manifestations of the War on Terror within Australian politics, governance and everyday political rhetoric around Muslim communities have therefore significantly shaped everyday experiences of Islamophobia in Australia (Poynting, 2013). In the first instance, the political discourse and language in the War on Terror has espoused suspicion and distrust of Islam in Australia, resulting in the demonisation, criminalisation and othering of Muslims (Poynting, 2013). This was particularly reflected in de-radicalisation programs and counter-terrorism policing practices that targeted and profiled the religious identities of Muslims as a threat to national security (Abdel-Fattah, 2017a, 2017b; Dunn, 2016). National security practices have thus negatively shaped the political consciousness of young Muslims (Abdel-Fattah, 2017a, 2021) as well as their everyday experiences of belonging (Briskman & Poynting, 2014).

In theorising young Muslim belonging in Australia, a significant body of work has also paid attention to the role of the Cronulla riot in December 2005 in shaping local experiences of Islamophobia, and racism in Sydney (Dunn, 2009; Poynting, 2009; Shaw 2009; Strike Force Neil, 2006; Wise, 2009; Johns, Noble & Harris, 2017). As Johns, Noble and Harris (2017) explain:

...an estimated 5000 people turned up to 'reclaim the beach'. Many young members of the crowd were draped in Australian flags and displayed racist slogans such as 'we grew here, you flew here' and 'ethnic cleansing unit' on t-shirts and bodies. After a morning of drinking and chanting the crowd began to seek a target for their anger, resulting in a handful of youth of 'Middle Eastern appearance' being violently assaulted by a riotous mob (p. 249).

Researchers have emphasised that the Cronulla riot was a blatant manifestation of Islamophobia in the national public space (Dunn & McDonald, 2001; Dunn *et al.*, 2007), drawing our attention to the exclusionary anti-Muslim sentiment at the core of the riot and its aftermath (Kabir, 2015; Noble & Tabar, 2017). The Cronulla riots therefore marked one of the most significant race pogroms in Australian history which intended to exclude Arab and Muslim Australians from Cronulla. Researchers have noted how these riots have resulted in the stigmatisation of the suburb of Cronulla as a racist place among Australians (Klocker, 2015; Norquay & Drozdowski, 2017). However, less is known about how young Muslims as targets of the riots, interpreted and responded to the messages of spatial exclusion intended by the rioters. Chapter 7 of this thesis draws together these connections by examining how the Cronulla riots, and ongoing media reports of this event have shaped young Muslim spatial imaginaries of Cronulla, as well as their spatial mobility within this space ten years on.

Overall, Australian scholarship has brought attention to the rise of Islamophobia in the Australian context, particularly in the city of Sydney, bringing to light the critical role of the 9/11 attacks and the Global War on Terror in shaping anti-Muslim practices, attitudes and experiences of belonging among Muslims. The scholarship that examines the impacts of Islamophobia in Australia is further examined in section 4.1.3, noting the need to further explore the spatial dimensions and implications of Islamophobia on Muslim mobilities in Sydney.

4.1.2 CASE STUDY II: ISLAMOPHOBIA IN THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA, USA

Islamophobia in the USA has evolved similarly to Australia, with increasing experiences of racism and discrimination being reported by American Muslims navigating a post-9/11 climate (Anwar, 2008; Aziz, 2012; McGinty 2020; Perry, 2013; Selod 2019; Zakia, 2014). Experiences of mistreatment, discrimination and ignorance about Islam have been identified as the top problems faced by Muslim Americans accounts of which have increased over the last few decades (Maira, 2016; Pew Research Center, 2011, p. 46; Senzai & Bazian, 2013). According to that literature, two key events have shaped the socio-political context of Islamophobia in the Bay Area: (i) the 9/11 attacks in 2001 and (ii) the election of President Donald Trump in 2016.

Pew Research Center demographers have estimated that there were about 3.3 million Muslims of all ages living in the USA, comprising 1% of the U.S. population in 2015 (Lipka, 2017). This population is estimated to double by the year 2050, with projections that Muslims will make up 2.1% of the USA and form the second-largest faith group in the country (Lipka, 2017). One of the highest concentrations of Muslims in the United States reside in the Bay Area California making up 3.5% of the area's total population that is home to over 250,000 Muslims in the six counties surrounding San Francisco. The *'Bay Area Muslim Study Establishing Identity and Community'* (Senzai & Bazian, 2013) problematised the way Islamophobia impacted the lives and opportunities of Muslims, uncovering that despite their high levels of education and civic engagement, the Muslim youth of the Bay Area still identified Islamophobia as the leading challenge they faced. Seventy-seven percent of participants felt Muslim discrimination was a problem, with a full sixty percent specifying they knew someone who had been discriminated against, followed by forty percent who said they had experienced personal discrimination and twenty-three percent who had been a victim of hate crime (Senzai & Bazian, 2013). Similarly, Maira (2016) in her study of South Asian and Arab youth in Silicon Valley found that a number of young South Asian, and Afghan Americans had experienced disturbing incidents of Islamophobia and racist violence, and struggled with the surveillance, policing, and disciplining of the way that they negotiated their religious identities, politics and activism. These findings, alongside news reports of Islamophobia across the region since the 9/11 attacks undermine the narrative of the multicultural, liberal and generally non-racist political culture of the Bay Area (examined in Chapter 6; see also Maira, 2016). In light of these emerging findings, scholars have called for further research on the understudied Muslim population of the Bay Area, particularly to examine how Islamophobia may be impacting Muslim communities in the region (see Senzai & Bazian, 2013; Maira, 2016). It is particularly critical to investigate Islamophobia within this context following the 2016 Presidential Election of Donald Trump, which resulted in increased instances of reported Islamophobia nationally, and locally in the San Francisco Bay Area (Abdelkader, 2016; see Chapter 6 and 8).

Looking to the first event that has shaped the context of Islamophobia in the Bay Area, a range of scholars across disciplines have noted the profound impacts of the 9/11 terrorist attacks on producing Islamophobia in the USA, highlighting that before these attacks,

Muslims were not generally high frequency targets of racially or religiously motivated violence (e.g., Beydoun, 2018; Bayoumi, 2008; Kumar, 2012; Kudnani, 2014; Maira, 2016). Perry (2013) noted this radical shift towards rising anti-Muslim sentiment following September 2001...

In the US, within 24 hours of the [9/11] attacks, as many as eight homicides were attributed to racially motivated, reactionary violence. Most major cities experienced a rash of hate crime, ranging in seriousness from verbal abuse to graffiti and vandalism to arson and murder. By 18 September 2001, the FBI was investigating more than 40 possible hate crimes thought to be related to the terrorist attacks; by 3 October, they were investigating more than 90; the number had leapt to 145 by 11 October. The Muslim Public Affairs Council of Southern California reported 800 cases nationwide by mid-October, and the ADC (American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee) had recorded over 1100 such offenses by mid-November (p. 75).

Undoubtedly, within a matter of days following the 9/11 attacks, Islam went from a relatively obscure religion in the USA to the focal point of public anxiety, affecting the lives of millions of ordinary American Muslim citizens and residents who now faced increased government and public scrutiny (Aziz, 2012; Kumar, 2012; Kudnani 2014; Beydoun, 2018).

A significant number of Muslims expressed concern that government anti-terrorism policies singled out Muslims in the USA for increased surveillance and monitoring following the 9/11 attacks (PEW Research Center, 2011; Senzai & Bazian, 2013; Maira, 2016). The Muslim population in the USA is much younger, on average, than the non-Muslim population, highlighting the need to address the needs of a young population that have never experienced an adult life prior to the 9/11 attacks (Bayoumi, 2010). This is particularly important as young Muslim Americans' are framed as being susceptible to indoctrination or radicalisation, as well as assertions that they face difficulties negotiating Islam with 'Western values' (Maira, 2016). These concerns are materialised in broader national security practices that emerged during the War on Terror (Kumar, 2012). Within counterterrorism programs introduced since 9/11, the coming-of-age Muslim youth have been criminalised based on ideological activities and religious signifiers and gendered racial cues¹⁶ (Selod, 2019),

¹⁶The critical role of gender in shaping everyday experiences of Islamophobia has been noted in a large body of literature that examine the intersectionality of race and gender (e.g., Hopkins, 2017; Listerborn, 2015; Najib & Hopkins, 2019; McGinty, 2014;

leading to their surveillance and entrapment by law enforcement authorities (Kudnani 2014).

Work on Muslim communities in the Bay Area has documented the negative impacts of 9/11 (see Maira, 2016; Senzai and Bazian, 2013). This research noted a range of violent incidents that occurred following the attacks, and problematised the way in which national security practices discriminately targeted, surveilled and profiled Muslims. For example, Senzai and Bazian (2013) found that close to 60% of survey respondents believed that security in airports targeted Muslims. Further, Yemenis, Afghanis, Pakistanis and Palestinians reported ‘considerable intrusion into their daily affairs by security agencies, such as frequent FBI visits, various types of delays, and secondary searches in the airport’ (p. 98). This thesis therefore advanced this research by examining the impact of the 9/11 attacks on shaping geographies of risk, and uncovering young Muslims live with, negotiate and resist counter-terrorism surveillance and securitisation practices as one example of the Islamophobia they face when navigating everyday geographies (see Chapter 8 and 10).

A recent event that occurred during the fieldwork of this research, and undoubtedly shaped the context of Islamophobia in the Bay Area was the Presidential election of Donald Trump in 2016. According to the Southern Poverty Law Center’s (SPLC) Annual Census of Hate Groups and Extremist Organisations (2017), there was a three-times increase of hate groups and a soaring in Islamophobic hate-crimes since the 2016 election. SPLC (2017) documented 300 bias-related incidents that targeted immigrants or Muslims in the first 10 days after Trump’s election, and the number of anti-Muslim assaults in 2016 exceeded the 2001 total for the first time since the 9/11 attacks (Kishi, 2017; Gorman & Culcasi, 2020). These incidents occurred in tandem with Donald Trump’s presidential campaign promises to create a Muslim registry, to close mosques, and to deport Syrian Muslim refugees (Beydoun, 2018; Tesler, 2018). For example, Pulido *et al.*, (2019) traced how Trump targeted Muslims most with racist discourse, directing eighty-seven racial tweets towards Muslims during the first year of his Presidency. Notably, Executive Order 13769, officially titled ‘Protecting the

McGinty, 2020; Perry 2013; Bayoumi, 2008). While these gendered dimensions and impacts are acknowledged, and emerged in the dataset, an intersectional analysis of the data was beyond the aims and scope of the main analysis papers, which were published according to academic journal interests and recommendations. This exclusion is further justified in the methodology chapter (Chapter 3) and will form a significant conceptual angle of future publications that emerge from this thesis, for example, examining the gendered mobilities of Muslims.

Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States’ referred to as the “Muslim Ban” henceforth, prohibited the entry of people living in seven predominantly Muslim countries and halted the resettlement of Syrian refugees, the majority of whom were Muslim (Gorman & Calcutti, 2020)¹⁷. The Muslim ban was found to have been profoundly Islamophobic in the USA (Pulido *et al.*, 2019), reproducing gendered stereotypes of ‘Muslim men as potential terrorists, Muslim women as helpless victims of oppression, and Islam as inherently tyrannical, violent and patriarchal’ (Gökarişel, 2017, p. 469; see also Hopkins, 2020). However, Donald Trump’s Islamophobic rhetoric was not supported unanimously. There were protests against the Muslim Ban across the country, and in the Bay Area, which was constructed as at odds with inclusive elements of American identity (Collingwood, Lajevardi, & Oskooii, 2018; Tesler, 2018; examined further in Chapters 3 and 6).

Despite wide opposition to the Muslim Ban, national anti-Muslim political discourses asserted by President Donald Trump have been localised in the San Francisco Bay Area, much like other parts of the nation (e.g., see Nagel, 2016; Fritzsche & Nelson, 2019). A number of Islamophobic incidents surfaced in the Bay Area region following the 2016 election, which challenged the reputation of the Bay Area as a progressive hub of belonging for racialised minorities (Maira, 2016). One example included the racial attack of a 19-year-old student at San Jose State University who was choked with her hijab by an attacker in the campus parking garage the day after Trump was elected (Noguchi, 2017). A local Stanford University student was removed from a Southwest airlines flight in California after a co-passenger reported him as a security threat, simply for speaking Arabic (Stack, 2016). Local Muslim sites of worship were also targeted with vandalism, hate speech, and received a series of genocide threat letters in late 2016 (Veklerov, 2016). These Islamophobic incidents in the Bay Area are covered in greater detail in Chapter 6 which maps the spatial imaginaries of Islamophobia following the election. Despite the increased reports of Islamophobia in the San Francisco Bay Area, there remains a lack of empirical research documenting experiences of Muslims residing in the region, particularly following the 2016 election. Much of the existing scholarship noted Islamophobia as a key issue that emerged within their broader

¹⁷ It is important to note that while Trump’s ‘Muslim Ban’ is a more blatant enactment of the nexus between Islamophobia and national security, with rhetoric treating Muslim refugees as Islamic extremists, this rhetoric is not new and, according to Fritzsche and Nelson, (2019), mirrors debates taking place across Europe and in Australia (see Dunn, Klocker, & Salabay, 2007; Hyndman & Mountz, 2007; Rexhepi, 2018).

studies on Muslim identities in the Bay Area (e.g., Senzai and Bazian, 2013; Maira, 2016), however there is yet to be a single study that critically examines local experiences and impacts of Islamophobia on Muslims residing in the region. It is thus critical to examine local geographies of Islamophobia and document the spatial impacts of such instances on young Muslim safety and belonging as they move across urban spaces in the San Francisco Bay Area region, an analysis which is provided in the remainder of the thesis (Chapters 6, 8, 9-10).

4.1.3 IMPACTS OF ISLAMOPHOBIA IN THE USA AND AUSTRALIA

Existing commentaries on the impacts of Islamophobia on Muslims living in both the USA and Australia have specified a range of negative consequences on experiences of belonging, citizenship, safety and wellbeing. For Australian Muslims, Islamophobia has produced social exclusion, a weakened sense of personal safety, higher rates depression and anxiety symptoms, and a corrupted national identity (Poynting, 2006; Noble, 2005; Dunn & Kamp, 2009; Paradies, 2006; Barkdull *et al.*, 2011; Aziz, 2012; Senzai & Bazian, 2013). Australian Government reports following the 9/11 attacks found that young Muslims experienced higher levels of Islamophobia, and in turn suffered the negative effects associated with racism (HREOC, 2004; DOIC, 2008). The DOIC (2008) emphasised that despite young Muslims being born, educated and employed in Australia, they still felt a lack of belonging and ‘faced discrimination, as well as barriers to participation in the wider community’ (p. 5)¹⁸. These disadvantages have extensive implications, particularly for those aged between 15 and 34 years, who comprised 37 per cent of the Muslim population in Sydney in 2011 (ABS, 2014). There is therefore a need to further examine Young Muslim experiences of discrimination, particularly the way in which anti-Muslim attitudes from the wider community, as well as encounters of everyday incivilities (HREOC, 2004; Poynting & Noble, 2004; DOIC, 2008; Noble, 2010) are shaping their everyday urban experiences.

Islamophobia in the USA has been found to violate civil rights and produce everyday discrimination and against Muslims and those perceived to be Muslim within a racialised lens of the criminalised ‘Muslim prototype’ (Chao, 2015; Hopkins *et al.*, 2017; Kaplan, 2006;

¹⁸ The extent to which these barriers are faced by the wider Muslim community are questionable, due to limitations in the sample size of participants surveyed the DOIC study.

Müller & Schwarz, 2018; Volpp, 2002). These forms of everyday Islamophobia also include violent hate crimes against Muslims in public spaces (Kaplan, 2006; Müller & Schwarz, 2018; Bridge Initiative, 2016). For example, in June 2017 during the holy month of Ramadan, Nabra Hassanen, a 17-year-old teenager was beaten to death as she walked along a road to her local Mosque evening prayers in Virginia in what was believed to be a hate crime (Guardian, 2017; see also Itaoui, 2017). Such violence directed towards Muslim communities in the USA has resulted in fears of facing hate crimes, and anxiety about future threats to loss of community, isolation, stigmatisation and safety in the public sphere where these incivilities take place (Livengood & Stodolska, 2004; McGinty, 2020). It is therefore vital to examine in greater detail how Islamophobia has led to a corrupted sense personal safety in various public spheres among Muslims navigating hostile socio-political contexts (Cainkar, 2005; Livengood & Stodolska, 2004).

As specified in Chapter 2, this project is particularly interested in Noble and Poynting's (2010) speculation that experiences of racism affect how Muslims engage in public spheres. As the evidence for a relationship between experiences of anti-Muslim racism and mobility in both case study sites remains limited, this thesis responds to the urgent need to examine the socio-spatial impacts of racism on how young Muslim Australians and Americans perceive and engage with various urban spaces.

4.2 CONNECTING THE CASES USING A COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY APPROACH

This thesis aims to compare the spatial imaginaries of Islamophobia across both cities and examine the role of socio-political context site in shaping how Islamophobia affects the mobilities of Muslim Australians and Americans residing in each respective city. Comparative analyses draw attention to both spatial variation and place, revealing how social and physical processes impact unevenly across the planet (Dunn, 2008). In 'thinking (cities) through elsewhere' (Robinson, 2015), comparisons facilitate understandings of how similar or different processes lead to various outcomes (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017). Cross-national comparative studies in particular can inspire conceptualisation (Robinson, 2015) and strengthen theory by portraying, isolating and explaining the causes and consequences of similarities and differences between cities (Ward, 2010). Furthermore, comparative

approaches have the potential to name and trace the production and effect of various phenomena (Robinson, 2015; 2017). In the case of this thesis, a comparative approach is utilised to trace the impacts of the politics of anti-Muslim racism (within the circulation of discourses and practices) in shaping Muslim mobilities both between and across the cities of Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area.

The approach to comparing the two cases: Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area presented in this thesis responds to recent calls by scholars for shifts towards a processual approach to comparative urbanism (see Castree, 2005, Ward, 2010; Robinson, 2017). This approach continues to compare similarities, differences, as well as *relational* (Ward, 2010) connections between cities in a globalised world.

A generative approach to comparison between the two cases is therefore adopted in this research and focusses on ‘starting anywhere’ (Sydney) and ‘thinking elsewhere’ (the Bay Area) to conceptualise the relationship between Islamophobia and mobility (Robinson, 2016). Generative comparative tactics bring different cases into conversation in order to build connections with and identify differentiations across other instances (Robinson, 2016). A generative approach to comparative analysis therefore considers how strings of relevant events and actors across space and time have affected the phenomenon of Islamophobia in these two cities. In doing so, it compares what is happening in one locale with what has happened in other places and times (Yin, 2018). The Comparative Case Study (CCS) approach encourages such generative analyses, advocating that much can be learned from contrasting sites, *as well as* focusing on linkages (Bartlett and Vavrus, 2017). The comparative analysis presented in this thesis (Chapters 9-10) therefore adapts the axes proposed by Bartlett and Varus (2017)’s CCS approach to the geographical focus of the project by adopting the following categories: the vertical (scalar), the horizontal (spatial) and the transversal (contextual), which is explained further in the following section.

4.2.1 THE COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY (CCS) ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

To achieve the objective of undertaking a processual approach to comparison, connections and differences between the two case studies are organised in two discussion chapters (9-10) using the Comparative Case Study framework. Developed by contemporary

anthropology, the CCS approach encourages comparative analyses of similarities, differences, and possible linkages across *sites*, across *hierarchies of power/levels* and across *time*. This multi-scalar critique thus encourages an appreciation of how phenomenon under study Islamophobia is differentially produced, interpreted and negotiated by young Muslims in each case study site according to these contextual factors (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017, p. 41). The three axes of the anthropological CCS approach were inspired by developments in human geography (e.g., Massey 2005, Herrod, 2001), which were adapted to the geographical objectives of this research (see Table 4.1). This comparative discussion of the two case studies thus provides both a *located* and *relational* analysis of the relationship between Islamophobia and spatial mobility in both sites, based on the data presented within the four empirical papers in the body of this thesis (Chapters 5-8). The use of the CCS approach in this discussion is further examined in section 4 of the thesis.

TABLE 4.1 THE CCS AXES OF COMPARISON

Axis	Description	Application in cross-case comparative analysis of Islamophobia and mobility
Horizontal (Spatial)	Compares how similar policies unfold in distinct locations that are socially produced (Massey 2005) and 'complexly connected' (Tsing 2005) cited in Bartlett & Vavrus (2017, p. 3).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Compares how the geographies of perceived Islamophobia are spatialised in both cities according to traditional Urban models <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Sydney: multiple nuclei model ○ San Francisco Bay Area: Centre-Periphery model
Vertical (Scalar)	Insists on simultaneous attention to and across scales, looking for what they might have in common (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Explores the multi-scalar nature and impact of racial events (i) the Cronulla riots (local > suburban) and (ii) the 2016 election (national > city)
Transversal (Contextual)	Historically situates the processes or relations under consideration by exploring how these horizontal and vertical connections were formed historically and have led to spatially differentiated effects (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Historical influence of 9/11 on Islamophobia in both case-study sites (relational) ▪ Historical longstanding impact of the Cronulla Riot on Muslim mobilities in Sydney <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Muslim responses: disengagement and avoidance from Cronulla in 2014 ▪ Contemporary nature and impact of the 2016 election of Donald Trump on Muslim mobilities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Muslim responses: Young Muslims negotiate, subvert and resist the impact of Islamophobia on their mobilities

4.2.2 LIMITATIONS AND CHALLENGES OF COMPARATIVE CASE STUDIES

The comparative approach adopted in this thesis to analysing both case studies presented a number of key challenges. As Dunn (2008) stresses, 'the most obvious angst in comparative analyses has concerned the match between analogues' (p.3). Indeed, critics of comparative analyses draw attention to the lack of objective standards of comparability, or to contrasts in data or indicators used for each case (Dunn, 2008). As recommended by Dunn (2008), this project aimed to address this concern by using a similar methodology for both city case

studies Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area. However, these similarities were limited due to a number of factors, including:

- *Temporal differences:* the data are collected from distinct time periods. The Sydney case study data was collected in 2014, while the San Francisco case study was undertaken between 2016-2017. This difference in timing was attributed to extensive logistical/administrative delays associated with undertaking international fieldwork. For example, seeking university approval for the international fieldwork, successfully processing funding applications, as well as VISA delays in receiving the J1 Visiting Scholar visa required to legally reside in the U.S. This impact of these temporal differences was exacerbated by the election campaign of Donald Trump in 2016 that intensified anti-Muslim rhetoric and policies both within and outside of the U.S. (Pulido, 2019). As a result, the potential global impacts of the Trump Administration's anti-Muslim rhetoric and policies such as the Muslim Travel Ban (Gorman & Culcasi, 2020) on Muslims in Sydney is not captured in the Sydney dataset collected in 2014 before this critical turning point in global Islamophobia. However, as emphasised by Baxter (2016), 'although the research context of the case may change, it does not necessarily invalidate the original theory in relation to the overall phenomenon' (p. 140). Therefore, the thesis acknowledges the impact of these temporal differences on the comparative analyses presented in the thesis where relevant, while still advocating for the value of both datasets in providing rich empirical insight for theorising the relationship between Islamophobia and spatial mobility.
- *Sample size:* A larger amount of time was allocated to the San Francisco Bay Area due to a significant surge in funding for this field work after being awarded the Endeavour Postgraduate Scholarship. This funding supported twelve months of fieldwork in an international site and therefore could not be used to support additional data collection in Sydney. Spending a significant amount of time in the international site (12 months > 2 months) resulted in the recruitment of a significantly larger sample of surveys and interviews in the Bay Area than the Sydney case-study. However, in comparative case studies 'the emphasis is not on the number of cases per se, but on understanding how the phenomena are manifest in different contexts' (Baxter, 2016, 142). Therefore, as mixed-method case studies are generally not approached with the purpose of

establishing statistical generalisability (Baxter, 2016), the comparison between the two cases is undertaken to generate valuable insight regarding the process of Islamophobia and spatial mobility (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2016).

- *Themes explored:* In response to recent calls in urban studies for a less quasi-scientific format to comparison (Robinson, 2015) this research employed an emergent design to the comparison between both cities. Robinson (2016) advocates that comparisons should start anywhere and think elsewhere in order to generate new conceptualisations of phenomena that are otherwise limited in traditional comparisons that tend to be focused on replicability. Therefore, a generative approach required that this research incorporated additional themes and refined areas of focus in the second study conducted in the San Francisco Bay Area. For example, the public spaces of focus were expanded in the second case study from the initial focus on parks and beaches in Sydney. This allowed the project to uncover additional 'spaces' of Islamophobia such as the airport in the San Francisco Bay Area study (see Chapter 5). In addition, a focus on gender was incorporated in the San Francisco interview schedule after noting a difference in the perspectives of men and women in the Sydney dataset. However, the emphasis on gender was not included in the original interview schedule for Sydney as it was a theme that emerged throughout the analysis of the Sydney data, rather than in the design of the initial study. While the absence of these variables in the Sydney case study limited the ability for this project to undertake a comparison of these intersecting factors across sites, their emergence provided valuable insight into the impact of various intersecting identities on Muslim mobilities.
- *Geographical units and categories:* The geographical characteristics of Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area are also distinct, resulting in different geographical categories being employed and analysed in each respective region. In the first instance, Sydney is an individual city comprised of multiple suburbs around a single, distinct urban core, and is therefore analysed accordingly. Meanwhile, the San Francisco Bay Area is comprised of multiple, interconnected cities bound by major highways and multi-modal transport networks. As outlined previously, the Bay Area is therefore typically analysed as a single inter-commuter region by urbanists, which is linked by various movements, activities and economies (Walker & Schrafran, 2015). Therefore, the Bay Area is approached as a

connected region in the remainder of the thesis, particularly in the comparative analysis between both case study sites.

- *Population data:* As religious beliefs are not tracked in the U.S. census this research uses the estimate of the Muslim population provided in the Bay Area Muslim Study that predicted there were approximately 250,000 Muslims living in the region in 2013. This limited the ability for the study to cross-analyse Muslim demographics in the Bay Area with the Sydney dataset. As a result, there are discrepancies in how the data across both sites is presented in the thesis. For example, Chapter 5 cross-analyses spatial imaginaries of Islamophobia with Muslim population data in Sydney, while this type of demographic cross-analysis was not achievable for the Bay Area case in Chapter 6.

The comparative analysis presented in this thesis is undertaken in acknowledgement of the above limitations, including differences in sample, timing and unique socio-political environments that ensued throughout the duration of the project. These limitations have restricted the ability to undertake a more traditional variable-oriented cross case analysis (e.g., Yin, 2018) on the factors that shaped or caused the relationship between Islamophobia and spatial mobility such as gender, class, age, race and perceived levels cultural diversity across both case studies. However, recent calls for reformatted comparative methods have problematised such variable-oriented approaches, claiming that they (often subconsciously) embrace a positivist epistemology, limiting the very analytical and *generative* advantages of case studies (Robinson, 2015). This case study therefore responds to calls to avoid the tendency in comparative research to ‘ignore valuable contextual information or impose concepts or categories taken from one site onto another’ (Bartlett & Vavrus, p.39), and instead generate a more global urban comparison that focusses on shared features across cases to explore interconnected, as well as unique processes across different cases.

As highlighted in the evolving socio-political context of the research over the last five years (chapter 3), human behaviour and cultural production are, indeed, unpredictable (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017). The comparative approach to analysing both case studies therefore apply the intellectual dexterity and methodological flexibility required to respond to evolving research conditions, while maintaining an awareness of the implications on conceptual frames and

changes in the research (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017, p. 124). As a contingent process, this research has responded to the shifting socio-political conditions of the 2016 election of Donald Trump, as well as the longstanding impacts of the Cronulla riots on young Muslim belonging in Sydney (e.g., see Fahmi, 2015; Taha, 2015). Through an iterative research design, this thesis has responded to rapid socio-political changes and thus provided rich empirical insights into the impacts of the 2016 election on the connection between Islamophobia and spatial mobility in the San Francisco Bay Area.

The comparative analysis presented in this thesis thus places emphasis on depth and analytical insight on the relationship between Islamophobia and spatial mobility. It does so by moving beyond the logic of replication that dominates much of the comparative case study analyses (Yin, 2018) and instead, pays attention to the role of context as a critical point of comparison to generate insight into the link between Islamophobia and mobility across the case studies of Sydney, Australia and the San Francisco Bay Area, USA.

4.3 CONCLUSION

This section has provided an overview of the two key case studies that form the focus of this thesis: Sydney, Australia and the San Francisco Bay Area, USA. In reviewing the research on Islamophobia in both contexts, the need to examine the spatial implications of Islamophobia on Muslim mobilities in both cities is established. Further, this chapter outlines the Comparative Case Study (CCS) approach adopted in this research to analyse the connections and differences in how Islamophobia shapes the way young Muslims perceive and engage with urban spaces across both case studies. The CCS approach is situated as valuable for uncovering both the relational links across both cities, as well as the contextual differences in how Islamophobia shapes the mobilities of Muslim Americans and Australians. The following section of the thesis presents the empirical findings of the research, uncovering how young Muslims in the two major Western Cities of Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area, perceive and map the spatial distribution of Islamophobia across their respective localities (Chapters 5, 6). This analysis is extended with a qualitative account of how such spatial perceptions of Islamophobia impact the way young Muslims engage in various public spaces, demonstrating how the relationship between racism and mobility operates in these

two cities (Chapters 7–8). Further, a comparative analysis of the relationship between Islamophobia and mobility for Muslims living in Australia and the USA is provided to capture both the relational spatial impacts of Islamophobia across both cities, while also accounting for the role of socio-political context in shaping the geographically distinct links between Islamophobia and mobility in each locality (Chapters 9–10).

SECTION II: THE GEOGRAPHIES OF PERCEIVED ISLAMOPHOBIA

The second section of the thesis addresses the first research aim by mapping the geographies of perceived Islamophobia according to young Muslims residing in Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area. This section consists of two key chapters (5-6) that have been published as academic journal articles.

Together, both chapters provide the first spatial analysis of perceived Islamophobia in each case study site. These findings enhance understandings of the geographies of racism by highlighting the merit of mapping perceptions of new racism by targeted ethnic minorities in future geographical studies of racism.

5 THE GEOGRAPHY OF PERCEIVED ISLAMOPHOBIA IN SYDNEY

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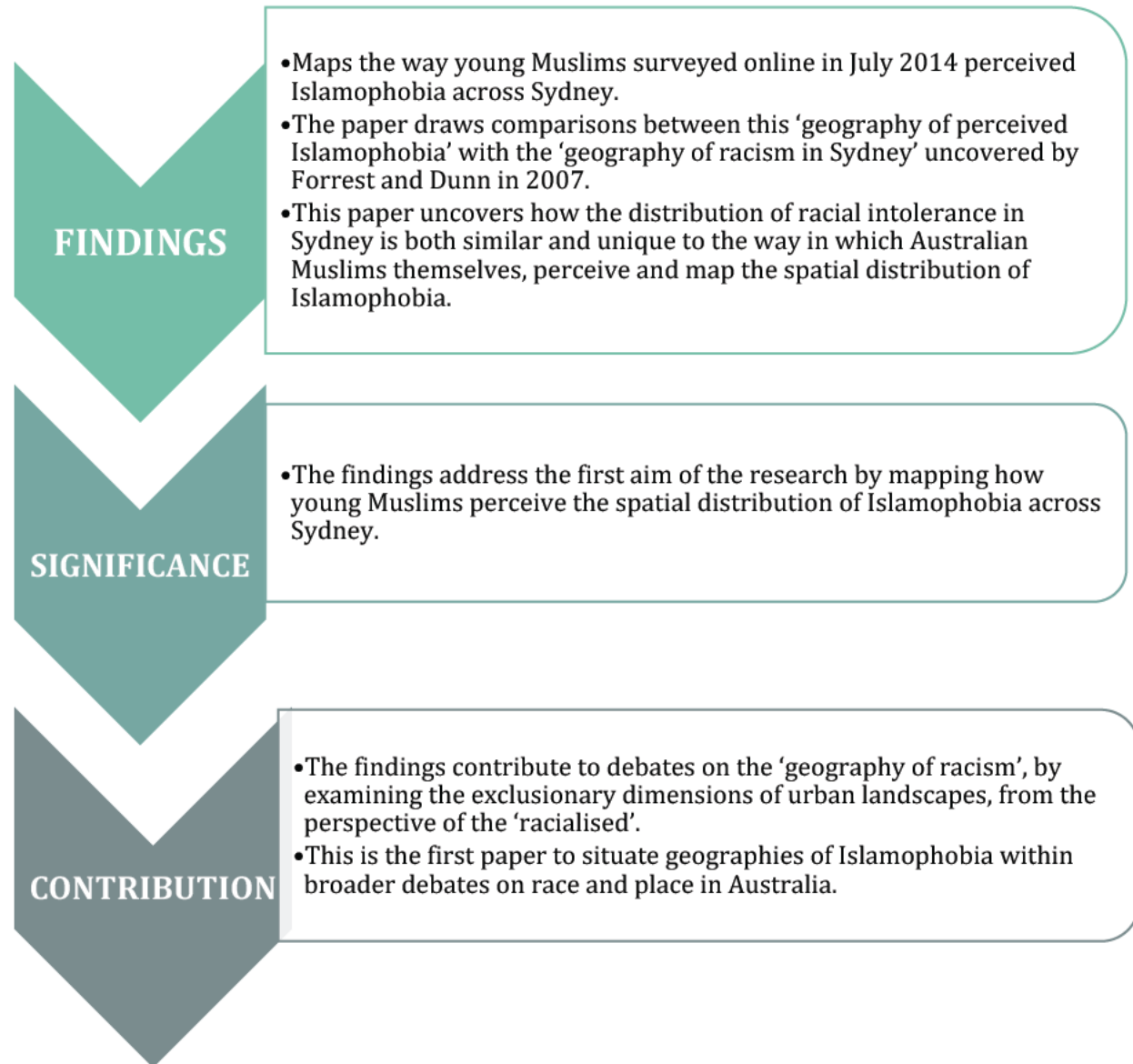


FIGURE 5.1 SUMMARY OF PAPER 1: THE GEOGRAPHY OF ISLAMOPHOBIA IN SYDNEY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Everywhere you go you have this constant fear that someone's going to attack you, or you expect it, *everywhere you go* someone's going to be racist to you, unfortunately. For example, *we don't go to the beach alone*, you can't anymore, because there's been so many incidents of racism. Wherever I go I have to take my sister with me, I can't go alone (Lena, quoted in Noble & Poynting, 2010, p. 498, emphasis added).

Lena's experiences are not exceptional from those of young Australian Muslims in the everyday public sphere. The Human Rights and Equal Opportunities Commission (HREOC) reported similar experiences in their *ISMA* 'Listen' project conducted in 2003. The inquiry, designed to explore the experiences of Arab, and in particular, Muslim Australians in the wake of the September 11, 2001 (9/11) terrorist attacks in the United States of America (USA), uncovered frequent experiences of racial vilification and discrimination. Prior to and since this inquiry, researchers from a wide range of disciplines have noted a common increase in anti-Muslim sentiment in Australia and other Western nations (HREOC, 2004; Poynting & Noble, 2004; Poynting & Mason, 2006; Poynting & Perry, 2008; Barkdull *et al.*, 2011) intensified by subsequent terrorist events and moral panics. Key international events, particularly the 9/11 attacks, and recent self-proclaimed statehood by al-Qaeda splinter group ISIL (Lentini, 2015)¹⁹ have produced a persistent global climate of fear around 'Islamic terrorism' (Noble and Poynting, 2010; Dunn *et al.*, 2015). This has been synonymous with a growth in racist attitudes against Islamic groups (Poynting & Noble, 2004) to the extent of producing anti-Arab and Muslim violence, as reflected in the Cronulla riot of December 2005 (Noble, 2009a); organised anti-Islam groups such as 'Reclaim Australia'²⁰; and other forms of Islamophobic hate crime, racial vilification and discrimination (Barkdull *et al.*, 2011). Commonly labelled as 'Islamophobia' (Barkdull *et al.*, 2011; Runnymede, 1997), this ideology has been characterised as analogous to racism in that it propagates negative perceptions of Muslims and Islam. Australian scholarship interested in Islamophobia developed in concert with key reports published by the Australian government, including

¹⁹ ISIL – the "Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant", also known as the "Islamic State in Iraq *al-Shā m*" (ISIS) has occupied territory in Iraq and Syria since late June 2014. For an overview of the demonisation of ISIL in Australian political discourse see Lentini (2015).

²⁰ Reclaim Australia is a loosely structured right-wing movement formed through street rallies in 2015, predominantly against 'Islamism', halal certification and mosque development across Australia.

the HREOC *ISMA* (listen) inquiry (2004), Poynting and Noble's (2004) report on 'Arabs and Muslims living with Racism' on behalf of the HREOC, as well as the National Muslim Youth Summit initiated in 2005 by the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DOIC) (2008). Over the last two decades, the Australian Muslim community has voiced concern over the effects of Islamophobia on Muslims in everyday life, including various NGOs such as the Islamic Women's Welfare Council of Victoria (IWWCV) (2008), the Islamophobia Register²¹ and community members and commentators, such as author and PhD candidate, Randa Abdel-Fattah (2014a, 2014b) and Mohamed Taha (2015, see also Kearney & Taha, 2015). Notably, government inquiries (HREOC, 2004; DOIC, 2008) suggested that young Muslim's experience particularly high levels of Islamophobia in the form of anti-Muslim attitudes from the wider community and encounters of everyday incivilities that disadvantage young Muslims in social, economic and political spheres (DOIC 2008; HREOC 2004; Poynting and Noble 2004). Within the context of these debates, this paper is particularly interested in Noble and Poynting's (2010) discussion of the potential socio-spatial implications of this racism on how young Australian Muslims engage in public spheres.

First, reporting on one aspect of a larger mixed-method study (Itaoui, 2014), this maps the way young Muslims surveyed online in July 2014, perceive Islamophobia across Sydney. These mental maps of Islamophobia across Sydney are illustrated to contribute to debates on the 'geography of racism', uncovering the exclusionary dimensions of urban landscapes, from the perspective of the 'racialised'. Secondly, the paper draws comparisons between the 'geography of Islamophobia' provided by young Muslims with the 'geography of racism in Sydney' uncovered by Forrest and Dunn in 2007 (based on data collected in 2001). This comparison interrogates whether the general distribution of racial intolerance in Sydney is consistent with how specific minority groups, like young Australian Muslims themselves, perceive and map this spatial distribution.

To achieve this, this paper begins with an overview of current debates on the negative impacts of Islamophobia. The *potential* socio-spatial implications evident in existing but dated empirical accounts of young Australian Muslims are demonstrated. In addition, the paper draws on social constructivist discussions around the racialisation of religion, to

²¹ Islamophobia Register Australia is a community-initiated service that offers an online portal to report Anti-Muslim abuse.

rationalise the conceptualisation of Islamophobia as a form of ‘new racism’ in the Australian imaginary. Islamophobia is thus situated in a body of literature on the ‘geographies of racism’, to facilitate the analysis of how young Muslims map the ‘geography of Islamophobia’ in Sydney.

The findings of the online web-survey indicate a correlation between in-group presence (Muslim residential population) and a greater sense of acceptance across Sydney’s regions. Forrest and Dunn’s (2007) ‘Geography of Racism in Sydney’ thus provides a valuable point of comparison to explore whether the mental maps of Islamophobia from the perspective of the ethnic minority – the young Muslims – match the geography of racial attitudes in Sydney almost a decade after their publication of this geography.

The perspectives of young Australian Muslims highlight that geographies of ‘perceived exclusion’ vary amongst ethnic and/or religious minorities in Australia, and subsequently, highlight the need for culturally specific approaches to (anti-)racism. Secondly, the findings in this paper provide conceptual foundations for uncovering links between experiences of racism and mobility, primarily by capturing how experiences of racism translate into spatial imaginaries of exclusion. This provides a valuable premise from which future studies can examine whether such mental maps impact the way ethnic and/or religious minorities engage in public spaces.

5.2 THE SPATIAL IMPLICATIONS OF ISLAMOPHOBIA ON AUSTRALIAN MUSLIMS

Drawing on the experiences of Islamophobia uncovered in the HREOC (2004) *ISMA* inquiry, Noble and Poynting (2010) highlighted that racial incidents reported by Muslims often occurred in very public spaces at the hands of other citizens, limiting Muslims’ ability to access, inhabit and move through social spaces. Noble and Poynting (2010) therefore suggested a potential relationship between experiences of racism, perceptions of national belonging, and movement across space. These links are conceptually logical, and anecdotes such as Lena’s opening statement provide examples; however, this link has not yet been empirically tested. A critical examination of the socio-spatial impacts of Islamophobia on

young Muslims' engagement in public spaces requires an investigation of how young Muslims themselves perceive or 'map' racism across city spaces.

Evolving debates on the geography of racism surrounding the inclusionary and exclusionary nature of space (Ruddick, 1996; Poulsen *et al.*, 2004; Forrest & Dunn, 2010) provide useful conceptual foundations for interrogating the geographies of Islamophobia in Australia. Tim Cresswell (1996) inspired such engagements, combining the spatial with the social, to highlight that inherent inclusions and exclusions lead to an awareness of being 'in place' or 'out of place' among minority groups in urban spaces. In relation to everyday racial experiences, key voices have since accounted for the way spaces embody meanings around national belonging, freedom, citizenship and democracy (Noble & Poynting, 2010; Bonnett, 1996; Dunn and Mahtani, 2001; Dunn *et al.*, 2007; Dunn, 2009). Specific to the 'Australian Arab or Muslim' experience, Noble and Poynting (2010) interrogated this 'power of place', emphasising the vital role of spatial inclusion or exclusion in influencing experiences of national belonging and cultural citizenship (see also Sibley, 1995; Mitchell, 2003). Forrest and Dunn's (2010) work from the *Challenging Racism Project* provides a useful basis for analysing these spatial aspects of racism (Forrest *et al.*, 2003; Dunn *et al.*, 2005). Stressing that attitudes about ethnic or racial 'others' are both socially and spatially constructed, Forrest and Dunn's (2010), maps of 'racial attitudes' in Brisbane (2011), and Sydney (2007) are foundational developments that pave the way towards an understanding of how racial attitudes are spatially distributed across 'multicultural' cities like Sydney. Despite this increased recognition of 'space' in racial studies, and the mapping of racial attitudes and (in)tolerance across Australian cities (Forrest & Dunn, 2007, 2011), human geographers and social scientists have not yet captured the way ethnic minorities, as targets of racial intolerance, perceive the distribution of racism across their city.

5.3 SITUATING ISLAMOPHOBIA: 'NEW RACISM' AND MENTAL MAPS OF EXCLUSION

As geographers have shown, public spaces play a central role in (re)producing societal norms, serving to normalise and naturalise certain behaviours and identities (Bondi &

Domosh 1998; Iveson 2003; Keith 2005; Mitchell 2000; Valentine 1996), ultimately highlighting who does, or does not have a 'right to the city' (Fenster, 2005). Social constructivist discussions around racialisation have been instrumental in developing geographical understandings of an 'everywhere different' nature of racism (Forrest & Dunn, 2006, 2007; Poynting & Mason, 2006).

Social constructivist approaches to the 'racialisation of religion', shed light on how the construction of the 'Muslim other' has led to the operation of Islamophobia as a form of 'new racism' in the Australian context (Dunn *et al.*, 2007). Viewing 'race' as a socially constructed category rather than a natural order (Dunn & McDonald, 2001), the social constructivist theoretical approach attempts to explain emerging forms of 'new racism'. 'Old Racism' commonly refers to a sociobiological perspective of race, including the belief in racial hierarchies and the 'natural superiority' (Wieviorka, 1995; Forrest & Dunn, 2006). A study of racist attitudes by Forrest and Dunn (2006) found that a small minority holds these views whereas those influenced by 'new racism' form a larger group (Sniderman *et al.*, 1991)²². This new racism relies on stereotypes of cultural group traits, or the 'othering' of minorities within the national space (Cole, 1997; Gilroy, 1991; Hall, 1992, p. 256 8), reproduced through the media (Klocker, 2014; Klocker & Stanes, 2013) and political debates (Goodall, 1994; Van Dijk, 1991; Dunn *et al.*, 2004).

Prominent constructivist works on the 'racialising of religion' have thus categorised anti-Muslim sentiment as part of the racism orbit, despite this minority forming a 'religious' rather than a 'racial' group (Poynting & Noble, 2004; Dunn *et al.*, 2007; Poynting & Mason, 2006). Asserting that anti-Islamic sentiment takes place on the grounds of both religion *and* culture (particularly physical indicators such as religious attire) Dunn *et al.*, (2007) framed Islamophobia as a racialisation. Recent evidence and reflections of the Australian Muslim experience support this premise, asserting that Muslims are firstly among the most racialised groups in Australia since 9/11 (Noble & Poynting, 2010; Barkdull *et al.*, 2011; Patton, 2014), and secondly, experience three times the rate of discrimination than the average Australian (Dunn *et al.*, 2015). The othering of Australian Muslims as an 'out-group' has indeed resulted in a corrupted sense belonging and citizenship, as well as a degraded

²² Although Dunn *et al.*, (2007) make a distinction between coloured (old) and cultural (new) racism, they argue that both types of racist attitudes are operationalised into racist acts in an essentially similar way.

sense of personal safety in the public sphere (Brondolo *et al.*, 2009; Dunn and Kamp, 2009; Paradies, 2006; Williams & Mohammed, 2009).

Spatial imaginaries, or ‘mental maps’ attempt to conceptualise the way ideas about spaces and places may be shared and internalised collectively (Driver, 2005; Watkins, 2015), could lead to this damaged sense of belonging in the public space. As Watkins (2015) points out, the way spaces are perceived (re)produce social perceptions about places, and who belongs within ‘inside’ versus ‘outside’ boundaries. Noble and Poynting’s (2010) concept of a ‘*pedagogy of unbelonging*’ maintains that racism and the ‘othering’ of certain groups from national belonging can transform the spatial imaginaries of Australians from migrant backgrounds (such as Muslims) by ‘teaching’ them to feel less comfortable in certain neighbourhoods and the wider national space simultaneously. This concept suggests that an anticipation of racism produces ‘inventories of spaces of fear’, which, according to the current literature for Australian Muslims, include the beach, streets shopping malls, driving or on public transport, as well as leisure places such as parks and sportsgrounds (Poynting & Noble, 2004).

Although the assertions of Noble and Poynting (2010) add nuance to scholarship on the socio-spatial implications of racism, human geographers and critical race scholars are yet to provide contemporary, empirical evidence of connections between racism and the spatial mobility of ethnic minorities. Specifically, a more comprehensive and place-based analysis of how young Australian Muslims themselves ‘map’ the spatial distribution of Islamophobia across Sydney is fundamental to encouraging robust geographical debates on the socio-spatial manifestations and implications of racism on ethnic and/or religious minorities in the public spaces of Australian cities.

5.4 SURVEY AND DATA

A mixed-method case study was conducted in July 2014 and involved the analysis of a web-based survey, as well as semi-structured interviews with young Muslims living in Sydney. This approach facilitated a more comprehensive understanding of how experiences of Islamophobia affect not only the way young Muslims perceive regions in Sydney (web-

survey), but also access and engage with these spaces as a result (interviews). This paper focuses exclusively on the quantitative findings of the *web-based survey*, reporting on the way young Muslim residents of Sydney mapped Islamophobia across their home city. Survey respondents ranged from 18 to 30 years old and resided in Sydney at the time of participation. In addition to being the most ethnically diverse city in Australia (Forrest & Dunn, 2007), Sydney was the geographical focus of the study as it is home to over 44 per cent of Australia's Muslim community (ABS, 2014). From the 102 web-based surveys that were commenced, 74 were completed between the 12th and 30th of July 2014. Both purposive and snowball sampling were employed to recruit these participants via the Islamic Sciences Research Academy (ISRA), a community education facility for Muslims located in Auburn, a Western Sydney suburb. Due to an initially insufficient number of responses, the survey web link was also posted on social media, including Facebook groups targeted at young Muslims living in Sydney²³, a population highly engaged in the online space (Lenhart *et al.*, 2010). The sample depicted in Table 5.1 represents a reasonably diverse sample in terms of age, ethnicity²⁴, education and residential location.

²³ These Facebook groups included: 'Y factor radio show', 'Sydney Muslim Youth', 'Muslim Trading Post Aus' and 'Muslim Student Association' pages for the following universities: Western Sydney University (WSU), University of Technology Sydney, University of New South Wales and University of Sydney.

²⁴ Where multiple ethnicities were indicated, these results were combined in each category.

TABLE 5.1 PARTICIPANT CHARACTERISTICS, SYDNEY SURVEY

Gender	
Male	30%
Female	70%
Age in years	
18- 21	27%
22- 25	36%
26- 30	37%
Ethnicity	
Australian	43%
Other Oceania	1%
South and Eastern Europe	5%
North African /Middle Eastern	39%
North-Eastern Asian	3%
Southern and Central Asian	22%
African	1%
Other	16%
Not specified	3%
Level of Education	
High School	32%
TAFE/Trade Qualification	18%
University Degree	50%

TABLE 5.2 PLACE OF RESIDENCE, SYDNEY SURVEY

Place of residence	Respondents (%)
Baulkham Hills and Hawkesbury	4.1%
Blacktown	8.1%
City and Inner Southern Sydney	4%
Sydney's Eastern Suburbs	1.4%
Inner South Western Sydney	28.4%
Inner Western Sydney	2.7%
Outer South Western Sydney	2.7%
Outer Western Sydney and Blue Mountains	6.8%
Parramatta	33.8%
South Western Sydney	6.8%
Sutherland	1.4%

An overrepresentation of females, and high levels of education across the sample is associated with the recruitment via ISRA, an educational organisation that has a large proportion of female students. Further, the concentration of participants living in Western Sydney suburbs such as Parramatta, Blacktown and Bankstown (Table 5.2) may also be linked to this recruitment from ISRA, due to the close proximity of Auburn to these suburbs. The demographics presented in Table 5.1 fail to present information about denominational diversity, as the survey did not request this information.

Overall, the survey sought to capture how young Muslims perceived various regions across Sydney. The first section of the survey focussed on capturing the demographic information of participants, including their gender, age, ethnicity, level of education and current suburb of residence. The section of the survey, which will be analysed in this paper, was comprised of questions with Semantic Differential (SD)²⁵ scale response options a simple and effective tool for measuring the average group perception of urban areas (Winchester & O'Neill, 1992). Scales consisted of word pairs that represented the opposite ends of a construct, which were extracted from the appropriate contrasting adjectives within the constructivist literature on 'new racism' and its concurrent geographies (Forrest & Dunn,

²⁵ SD' is used in the remainder of this paper when referring to the Semantic Differential scale questions in the Survey.

2006, 2007, 2010). The SD questions asked participants to rank regions across Sydney based on perceived levels of multiculturalism, tolerance, perceived levels of racism, and feelings of comfort or safety in public spaces.

The regions used for each SD scale set were based on those in the Forrest and Dunn (2007) study on the 'geographies of racism in Sydney' (Table 5.1). Their data was extracted from the University of New South Wales/Macquarie University (UNSW/MQU) Racism Survey, conducted in late 2001 to capture racist attitudes in New South Wales and Queensland. Questions used in Forrest and Dunn's (2007, p. 706) study were interested in understanding racial attitudes and were spatially analysed using entropy analysis – a 'procedure based on information theory which groups urban sub-areas (Local Government Areas – LGAs in this case) based on commonality of profiles across the range of attitudinal and sociodemographic variables.

Due to this study's interest in perceptions, rather than evaluating attitudes across socio-economic indicators, entropy analysis was not employed to measure the responses collected from the survey. Utilising the regional categories from Forrest and Dunn's (2007) study enabled an assessment of whether young Muslim perceptions of these regions mirrored the geographical distribution of racial attitudes in Sydney proposed by Forrest and Dunn (2007). As the 'geographies of racism in Sydney' reported by Forrest and Dunn (2007) were based on data collected in 2001, prior to the Cronulla Riots of 2005 (Noble, 2009), it was deemed necessary to add this region to this analysis of Islamophobia in Sydney. The final section of the questionnaire required respondents to list up to 10 suburbs in Sydney where they felt their Islamic identity was most or least accepted. This contextualised how young Muslims perceived the geographies of Islamophobia beyond the prescribed parameters of Forrest and Dunn's (2007) regions.

Relevant data were manually coded in geographical units, according to the regions prescribed by Forrest and Dunn (2007) (Table 5.3 and Figure 5.2) and Sydney sub-state (SA4) regions (Table 5.4 and Figure 5.3).

Coding the geographic survey data at the SA4 level²⁶ facilitated a deeper microanalysis of Sydney's regions, than what is provided by the eight Forrest and Dunn (2007) categories.

²⁶ SA4 regions are the largest sub-State regions in the main structure of the Australian Statistical Geography Standard (ASGS) - the Australian Bureau of Statistics' geographical framework. See Figure 5.2 for spatial distribution of SA4 regions

The 'SD scale questions' were analysed using the statistical analysis computer program *SPSS 22.0*, specifically by calculating the mean average 'overall score' of the ranks assigned to all five variables per region. In determining whether participants viewed these regions positively or negatively, this 'overall score' enabled a preliminary, thematic assessment of whether these perceptions aligned with Forrest and Dunn's (2007) 'geography of racism' illustrated in Table 5.3 on the following page.

TABLE 5.3 SD REGIONS/THE GEOGRAPHY OF RACISM IN SYDNEY.

Sydney Region	'Geography of racism' description (Forrest and Dunn, 2007, p.g. 714-715)	Level of racism*:
SYDNEY'S NORTH SIDE AND EASTERN SUBURBS	'more accepting of cultural diversity at the national level., arguably among the 'new racisms', but lesser identification of out-groups...low levels of cultural diversity' (p. 714)	Medium
SYDNEY'S UPPER NORTH SHORE:	'Generally opposed to cultural diversity... people there are more prepared to identify out-groups..., rejection of racism in society... greater acknowledgement of personal racism in this region,... neutral on 'old racist' attitudes... low levels of cultural diversity' (p. 714).	High
SYDNEY CBD	'...particularly tolerant and pro-diversity attitudes' (p. 714).	Low
INNER CITY TO MIDDLE SUBURBIA	'Generally accepting of cultural diversity, recognise that others are racist and that Anglo privilege exists, yet support 'old racist' attitudes, but do not identify any out-groups (p. 714).	Medium
SYDNEY'S INNER WEST	'Shares many of the characteristics [Sydney CBD], but respondents are more likely to deny that racism exists in any form and are generally tolerant' (p. 714).	Medium
SYDNEY'S SOUTH WEST	'the least tolerant part of Sydney. Here, there is opposition to cultural diversity and to multiculturalism; personal and general racism is admitted and recognised; cultural privilege is seen to be strongly present; however, respondents are less likely to identify out-groups' (p. 714).	High
SYDNEY'S OUTER COMMUTER AND RURAL URBAN FRINGE	'...is more culturally homogeneous, dominated by Australian-born residents. Attitudes on issues of cultural diversity, and on multiculturalism, range from mildly to strongly opposed... strong support for 'old racism' attitudes...among the least tolerant areas in Sydney' (p. 715)	High
SYDNEY'S WEST	'Attitudes to cultural diversity and to multiculturalism...around a middle position, from generally unconcerned about diversity or multiculturalism to mildly opposed... they reject racism in themselves and in others while sharing some aspects of 'old racisms' (p.715)	Medium

SOURCE: FORREST AND DUNN 2007

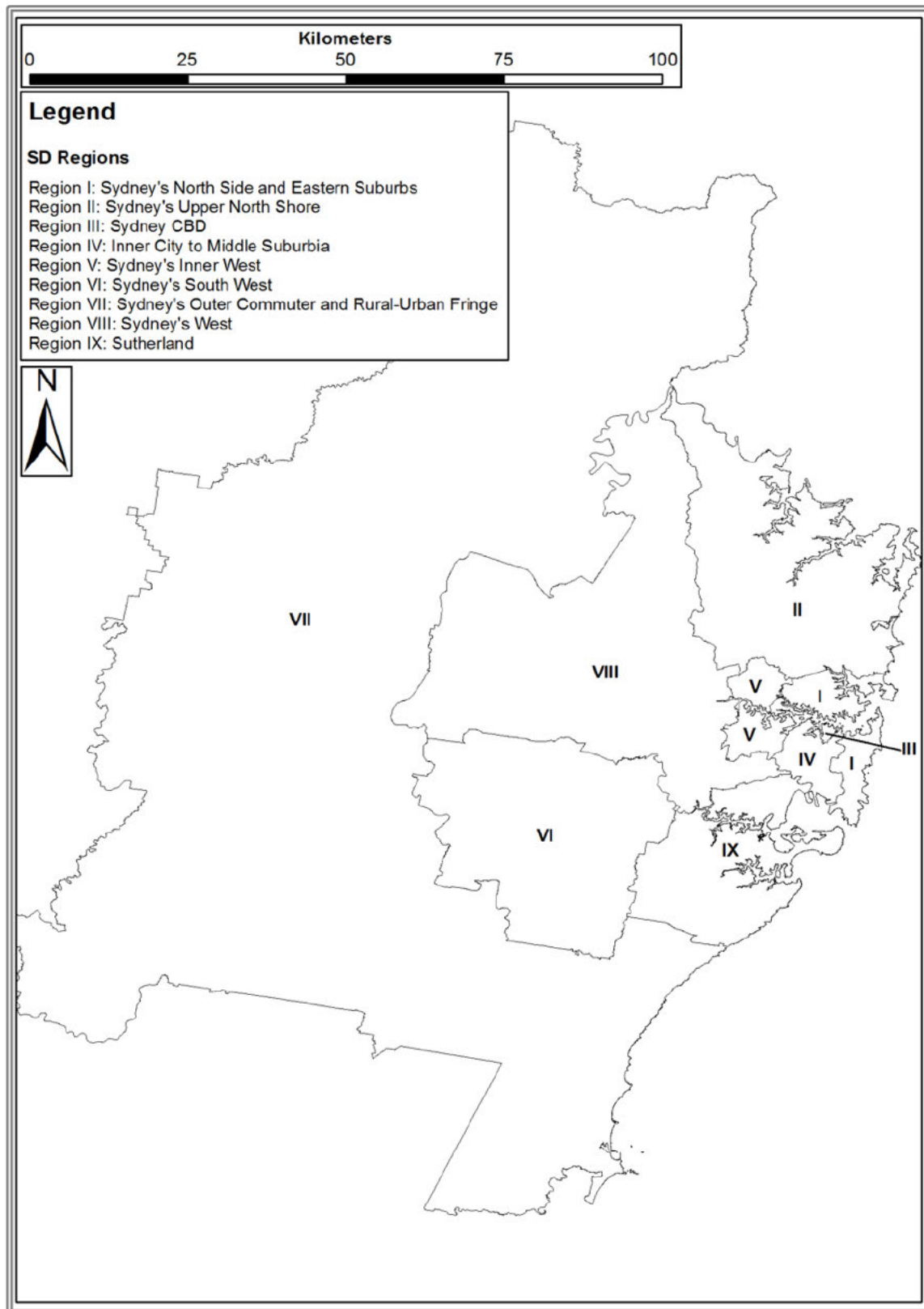


FIGURE 5.2: SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF SD REGIONS ACROSS SYDNEY
SOURCE: ARCGIS (based on the regions prescribed by Forrest and Dunn, 2007).

TABLE 5.4 SYDNEY SUB-STATE (SA4) REGION CATEGORIES

SA4 Code	SA4 Region
114	Southern Highlands and Shoalhaven
115	Baulkham Hills and Hawkesbury
116	Blacktown
117	City and Inner Southern Sydney
118	Sydney's Eastern Suburbs
119	Inner South Western Sydney
120	Inner Western Sydney
121	North Sydney and Hornsby
122	Sydney's Northern Beaches
123	Outer South Western Sydney
124	Outer Western Sydney and Blue Mountains
125	Parramatta
126	Ryde
127	South Western Sydney
128	Sutherland

SOURCE: ABS (2014)

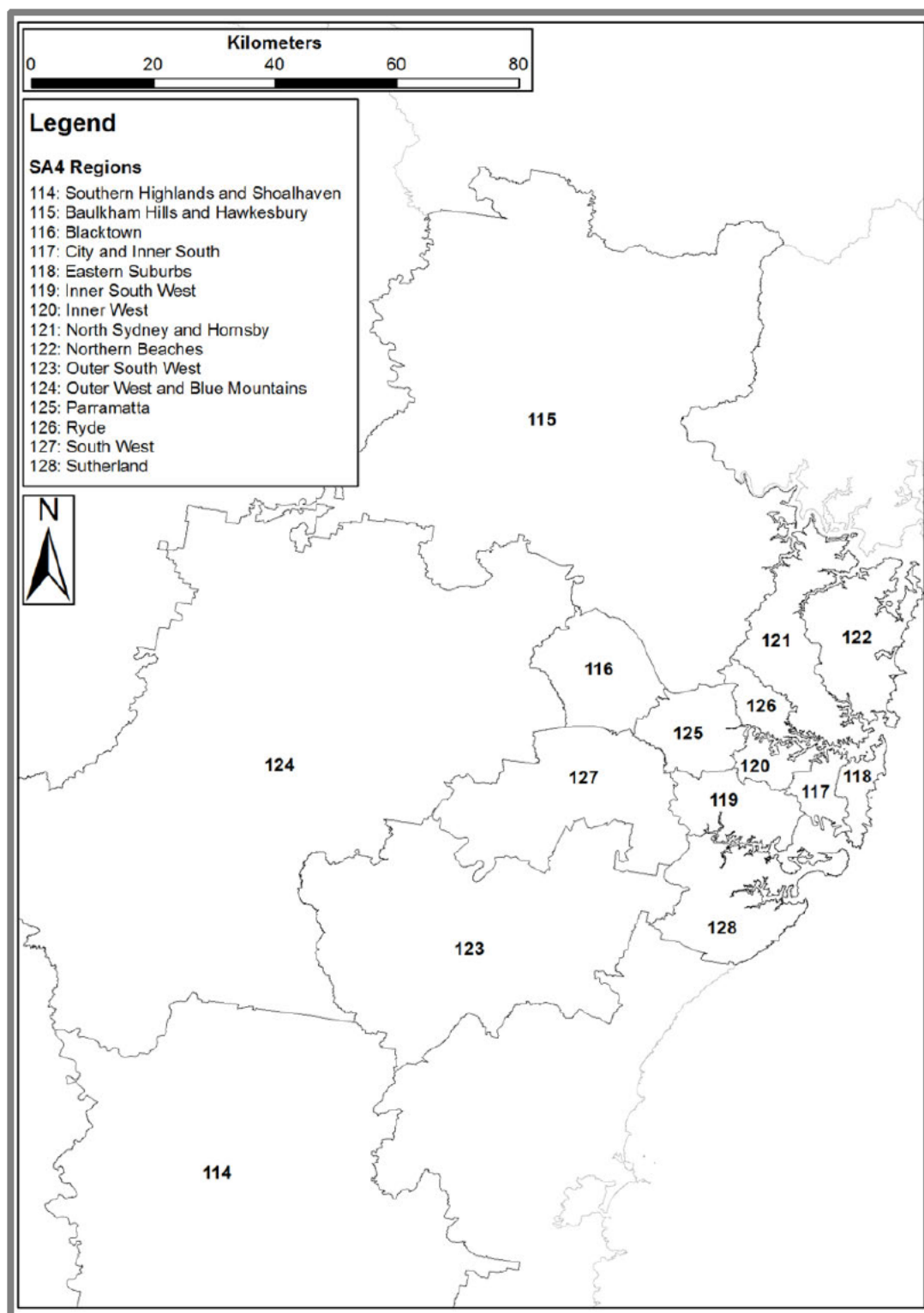


FIGURE 5.3 SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF NSW SUB-STATE (SA4) REGIONS ACROSS SYDNEY

SOURCE: ARCGIS, ADAPTED FROM ABS (2014).

5.5 YOUNG MUSLIM MENTAL MAPS OF ISLAMOPHOBIA IN SYDNEY

Young Muslim mental maps of perceived ‘acceptance’ or ‘rejection’ of Islamic identity illustrate a clear spatial distribution of inclusion and exclusion across Sydney. Further, SD ranking of Sydney regions among young Muslim survey respondents reveals that their perceived ‘geography of Islamophobia’ varies from the geography of racism mapped by Forrest and Dunn (2007). These findings underscore a need for localised and culturally specific geographical approaches to the conceptualisation and measurement of racism across multicultural cities like Sydney.

5.5.1 ACCEPTANCE OF ISLAMIC IDENTITIES IN SYDNEY

To contextualise the geographies of perceived inclusion or exclusion among the Australian Muslim community in Sydney, a section of the survey required respondents to list up to ten suburbs where they felt their Islamic identity was most or least accepted. As depicted in Figure 5.4, the top suburbs specified by participants as most accepting of their Islamic identity were located in SA4 regions of Parramatta (>50%) and Inner-South Western Sydney (25-50%).

In contrast, the suburbs listed as being most associated with lower levels of acceptance were predominantly located in the region of Sutherland, especially Cronulla (>20%), followed by the Eastern Suburbs and North Shore (10 - 20%). As illustrated in Figure 5.5, when respondents were provided an open-response option, there was a common consensus on where young Muslims felt their Islamic identity was most or least accepted across Sydney.

The Sydney SA4 localities with larger Muslim populations of residence, such as Parramatta and the Inner-South West, were associated with higher levels of perceived acceptance among respondents. Accordingly, the regions in Sydney with smaller Muslim populations, and possibly lower levels of ‘presence’, were associated with being less accepting of the young Muslims’ physical Islamic identity.

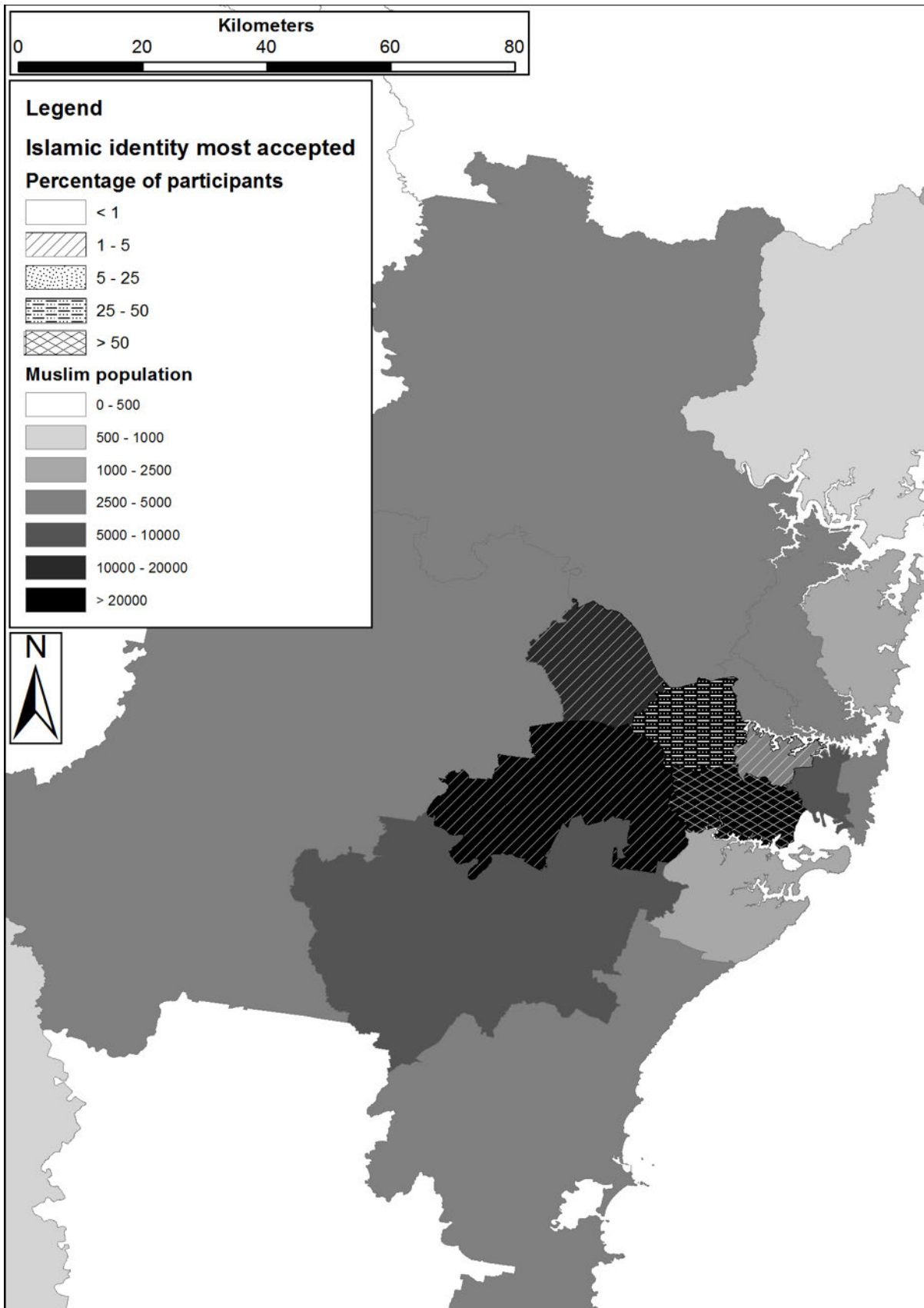


FIGURE 5.4 ISLAMIC IDENTITY MOST ACCEPTED BY SUB-STATE (SA4) REGION

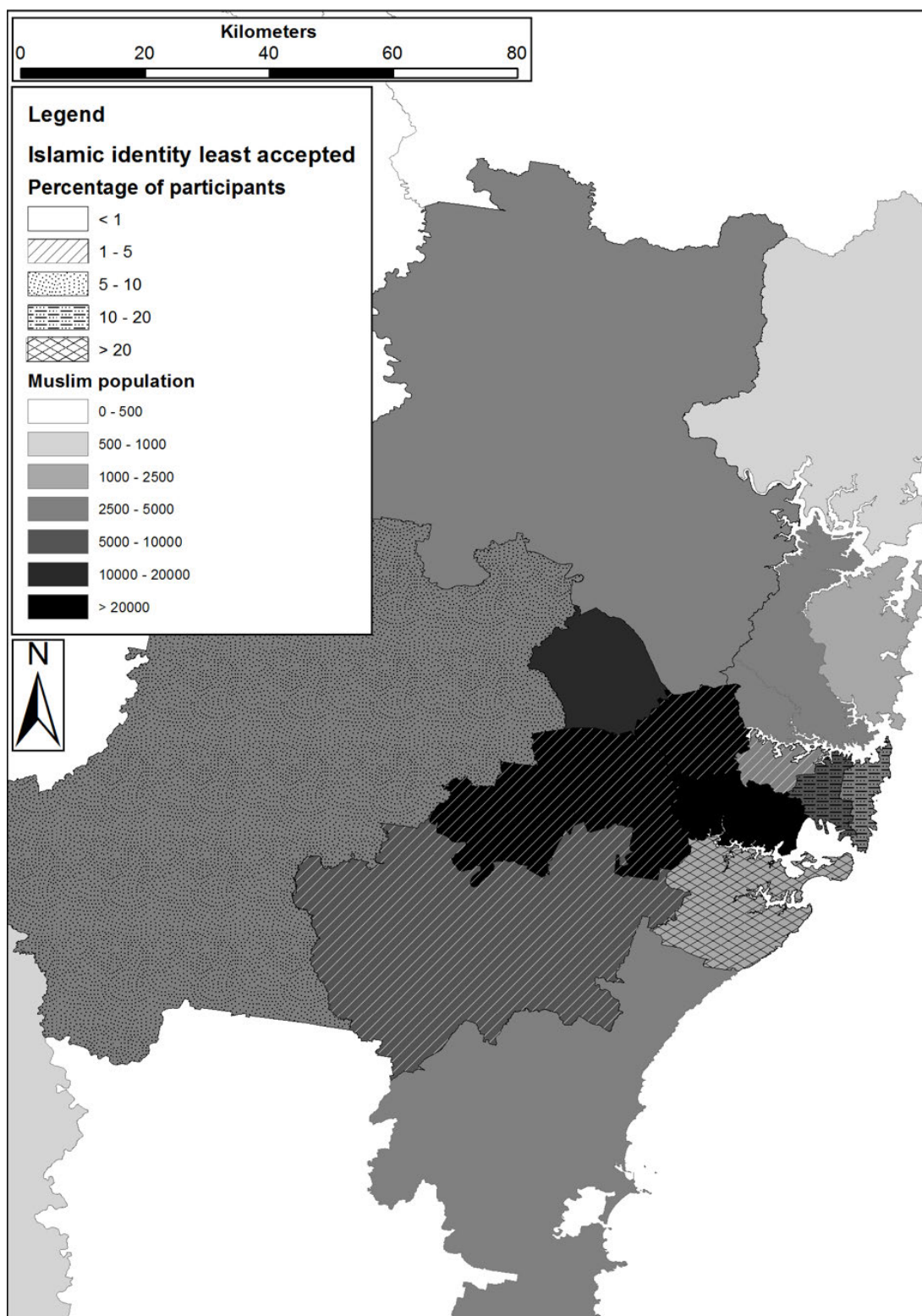


FIGURE 5.5 ISLAMIC IDENTITY LEAST ACCEPTED BY SUB-STATE (SA4) REGION

SOURCE: PROJECT SURVEY AND ABS (2014)

5.5.2 'THE GEOGRAPHIES OF RACISM' AN ACCURATE INDICATION OF EXCLUSION ACROSS SYDNEY?

Survey responses to the Semantic Differential Scales (SDs) indicated that although young Muslim perceptions of Islamophobia across Sydney are somewhat consistent with those areas specified by Forrest and Dunn (2007), there are minor variations between the two studies that suggest some regions are more, or less 'Islamophobic' than they are 'racist'. These perceptions were measured by calculating the mean average of the values allocated to the SD scale question which was then computed into an 'overall score', based on a scale of -2 for high levels of perceived racism, 0 for neutral perceptions and +2 for low levels of perceived racism.

As illustrated in Figure 5.6, the Western and Inner-Western Sydney regions scored most positively, ranked between +2 to +1 by young Muslim survey respondents. South-Western Sydney, Rural-Urban Fringe, Inner-city to Mid-suburbia and Sydney CBD scored between 0 and +1, indicating that the young Muslims attributed these regions with 'neutral' feelings of acceptance. Significantly, the highest levels of racism or 'spaces of Islamophobia' mapped by young Muslims were predominantly located in Sutherland, the North Side/Eastern Suburbs, as well as the North Shore. These areas were all allocated an overall SD average score of -1 to -2. The descriptions of racism provided by Forrest and Dunn (2007), and depicted earlier in Table 5.3, were also categorised by 'levels of racism' to encourage a comparative discussion²⁷. The most relevant of Forrest and Dunn's (2007) regional descriptions were two variables: racist attitudes and tendency to identify out-groups. Table 5.5 compares levels of Islamophobia according to the overall scores specified by young Muslim survey respondents (illustrated in Figure 5.6) with the levels of racism discussed by Forrest and Dunn (2007) across Sydney's regions.

²⁷ The allocations of positive, neutral or negative' categories are not deterministic, and are provided to encourage comparative discussion.

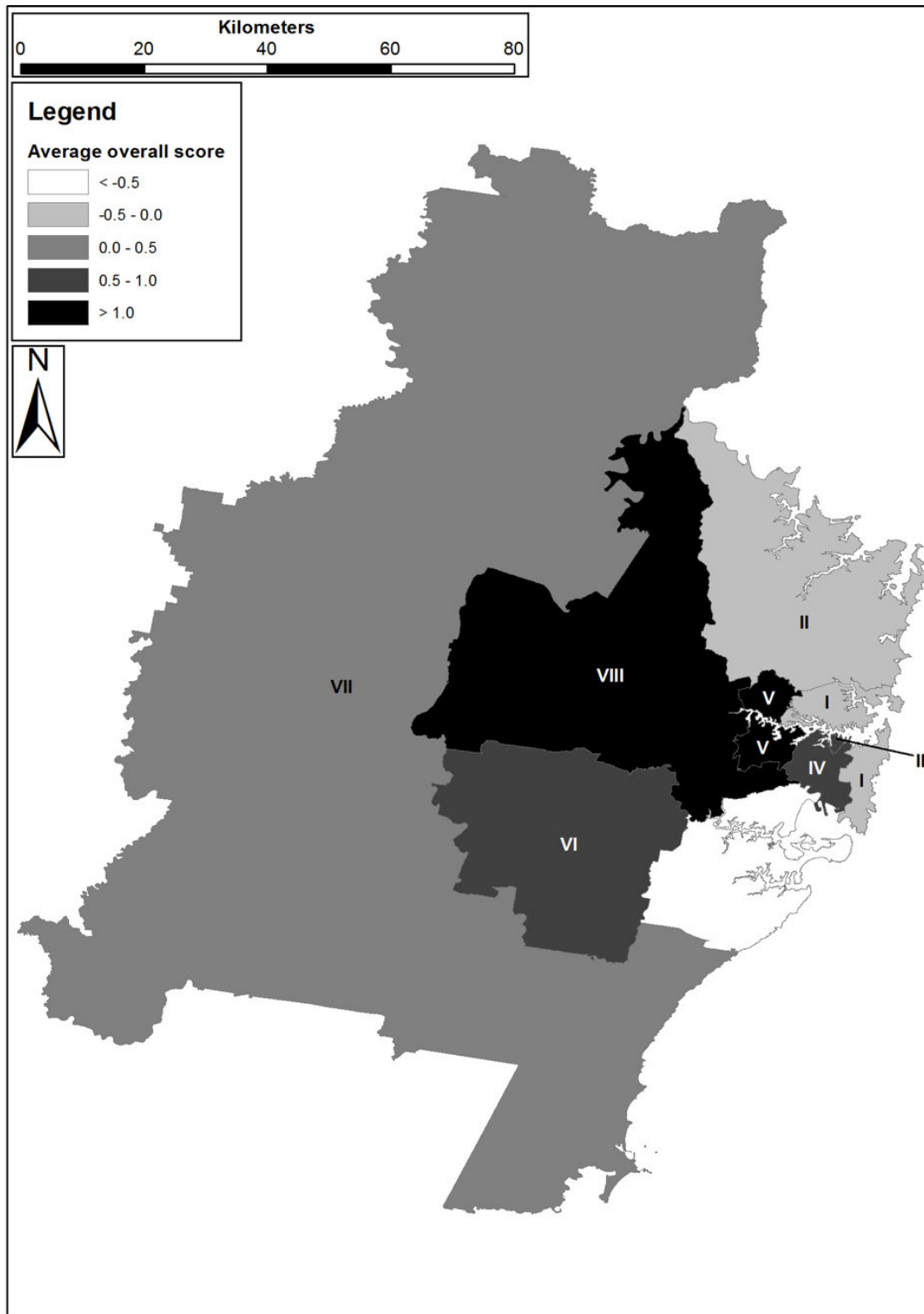


FIGURE 5.6 SPACES OF ISLAMOPHOBIA: OVERALL SD SCORES BY SD REGION, SYDNEY

SOURCE: PROJECT SURVEY.

TABLE 5.5 GEOGRAPHIES OF RACISM VS. ISLAMOPHOBIA IN SYDNEY

SD Region	Level of racist attitudes: Forrest and Dunn's (2007) Geography of Racism in Sydney	Level of Islamophobia anticipated: Young Muslims in Sydney
Region I: Sydney's North Side and Eastern Suburbs	Medium	High
Region II: Sydney's Upper North Shore:	High	High
Region III: Sydney CBD	Low	Medium
Region IV: Inner City to Middle Suburbia	Medium	Medium
Region V: Sydney's Inner West	Medium	Low
Region VI: Sydney's South West	High	Medium
Region VII: Sydney's Outer Commuter and Rural Urban Fringe	High	Medium
Region IX: Sydney's West	Medium	Low
Region X: Sutherland	High	N/A

SOURCE: SURVEY DATA/FORREST AND DUNN (2007)

Data in Table 5.5 indicate that the geographies of Islamophobia across some regions of Sydney were comparable, but also varied from those specified by Forrest and Dunn (2007). Both sets of findings reinforced that levels of racism/Islamophobia are consistently high in Sydney's Upper North Shore, and at a 'neutral medium' in Inner City to mid-Suburban regions. Young Muslim perceptions of Islamophobia, however, point to Forrest and Dunn's (2007) potential underestimation of racism in Sydney's North Side, Eastern Suburbs and CBD compared to the way Muslims imagine these spaces. Interestingly, the reverse also applied: Forrest and Dunn (2007) indicated higher levels of racial attitudes (2007) for regions that young Muslims had attributed with lower levels of Islamophobia. For example, young Muslims associated Sydney's West and Inner-West regions with low levels of racism, although Forrest and Dunn's (2007) descriptions implied that racist attitudes were at a medium level in this area. These findings suggest that, contrary to the claims of Forrest and

Dunn (2007), levels of cultural diversity across space may not be reliable predictors of racism. Rather, for Muslims, a stronger 'in-group' presence through a larger Muslim population within 'Sydney's West' is a stronger indicator of acceptance, minimising perceptions of Islamophobic sentiment across Sydney. This reinforces the findings on perceptions of acceptance or exclusion against Muslim population statistics provided in Figures 5.4 and 5.5, where a higher in-group presence of Muslim population resulted in a greater sense of acceptance, whilst lower population statistics in certain regions was mutually associated with a stronger sense of rejection. Discrepancies in the way young Muslims perceive these regions, compared with how they have been categorised by Forrest and Dunn (2007), affirm the way racial attitudes in Australia may be evolving, and translating into perceptions of racism that are unique to different minority groups. It must also be remembered that Forrest and Dunn mapped attitudinal data from a random sample of Sydney residents, whereas the Islamophobia data are based on perceptions of Islamophobia, and these are important differences.

5.6 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Drawing on an increased recognition of 'space' in critical race studies over the last decade, including the mapping of racism across Australian cities (Forrest and Dunn, 2007, 2011), it is clear that human geographers are yet to critically examine the way ethnic minorities perceive, map or imagine the distribution of racism across their city spaces. Despite the racial experiences of Muslims reported in the HREOC (2004) *ISMA* inquiry highlighting the impacts on young Muslims' engagement in public spheres, Noble and Poynting (2010) are unique in researching the socio-spatial implications of racism on ethnic minorities. Their speculation that experiences of racism generate a 'pedagogy of unbelonging' provides a conceptual angle from which connections between experiences of Islamophobia and perceptions of spatial exclusion can be established. Their speculations lacked contemporary empirical evidence, highlighting the need to verify whether an association between experiences of racism and 'mental maps of exclusion' is evident in the spatial imaginaries of young Muslims in Sydney. Forrest and Dunn's (2007) 'Geography of Racism in Sydney' provided a useful point of

comparison to capture whether young Muslim 'mental maps of Islamophobia' matched this geography of racial attitudes, almost a decade after publishing their findings.

With a primary objective to provide an in-depth understanding of how young Muslims in Sydney perceive Islamophobia across spaces in their cities, this paper has illustrated how young Muslim's 'map' Islamophobia across Sydney. In doing so, the merit of undertaking a socio-spatial examination of perceived racism through the lens of the 'minority', is established. Building on Creswell's (1996) notion of minority awareness of the exclusionary nature of space, the survey findings indicate that this exclusion across space is culturally specific. As illustrated earlier, although young Muslims' perceptions of Islamophobia across Sydney are in some instances, consistent with the spatial distribution of racial attitudes mapped by Forrest and Dunn (2007), there are minor variations that imply some Sydney regions are more or less 'Islamophobic' than they are 'racist'. The 'mental maps of Islamophobia' illustrated in this paper suggest that contrary to the claims of Forrest and Dunn (2007), levels of cultural diversity across space may not be the only reliable predictor of racism. Rather, for Muslims, the absence of Muslim populations across space appears to be a stronger indicator of racism, and vice versa, where greater Muslim populations are associated with a stronger sense of acceptance across space. These variations between the geographies of Islamophobia across Sydney provided by young Muslims, to the geography of racial attitudes mapped by Forrest and Dunn (2007), highlight not only the unique ways racism is perceived by particular ethnic and/or religious minority groups, but also the equally diverse ways these perceptions are spatially distributed. This highlights the need for geographical research to undertake more 'specialised' studies on the spatial distribution of racism.

Although meaningful conclusions can be drawn from these data, the small sample of 74 respondents calls for an engagement with a larger population across multiple cultural groups to comprehensively explore the relationship between experiences of racism and mental maps of exclusion. Future research should examine the ongoing spatial effects of racism on minority groups. To understand the wider issues, sample populations of minorities across a range of cities would capture more universal aspects of the mental maps of racism. Researchers interested in the geographies of racism should adopt a specialised approach when addressing the socio-spatial implications of racism, by deconstructing the

variety of factors that could be fostering or weakening feelings of acceptance across space, such as levels of cultural diversity and 'in-group presence'. However, as elucidated in this paper, the 'geographies of racial attitudes' in cities cannot be read universally as the spatial distribution of racial experiences vary across cultural groups. Thus, in order to adequately conceptualise the socio-spatial implications of racism on certain ethnic and/or religious minorities, a specialised, empirical approach should be adopted to capture the nuances of racism, across cultures, space and time.

6 THE GEOGRAPHY OF PERCEIVED ISLAMOPHOBIA IN THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

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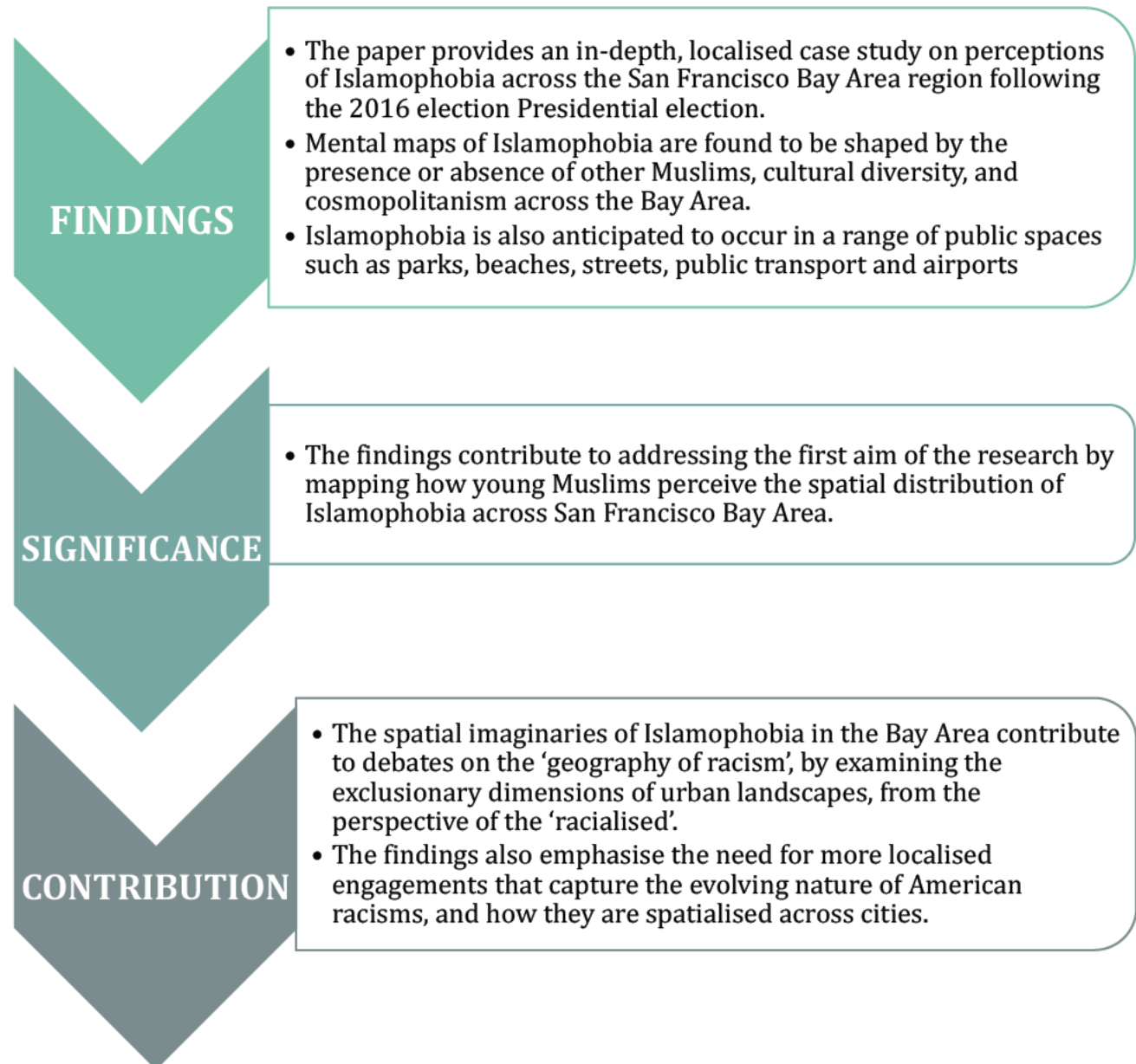


FIGURE 6.1 SUMMARY OF PAPER 2: GEOGRAPHY OF ISLAMOPHOBIA IN THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Rising levels of anti-Muslim sentiment in the United States of America have been well-documented by a range of scholars over the last decade, which intensified since the 2016 election campaign, and recent presidency of Republican Candidate Donald Trump (Abdelkader, 2016). According to the Southern Poverty Law Center's (SPLC) Annual Census of Hate Groups and Extremist Organisations (2017), there has been a three-times increase of hate groups and a soaring in Islamophobic hate-crimes since Trump's election. SPLC (2017) also documented 300 bias-related incidents that targeted immigrants or Muslims in the first 10 days after Trump's election. These incidents of Islamophobia are not unique to the post-election climate, rather they have been fuelled by ongoing fear and hostility towards Muslims. Such hostility has been exacerbated by international terrorist attacks associated with 'Islam', the ongoing war in Syria, and consequent stigmatisation of Syrian refugees, as well as consistent anti-Muslim rhetoric and sentiment within political and public debates (Abdelkader, 2016; Samari, 2016). Although Islamophobia was present in the US prior to 9/11 (see Ali, 2012)²⁸, the practical effects of Islamophobia on Muslims intensified post 9/11, as well as after Obama's 2008 presidency campaign (Ali, 2012) sparking the introduction of anti-Sharia Law bills and legislation from 2010 onwards (El Sheikh *et al.*, 2017).

The term 'Islamophobia' has been increasingly employed in the last decade, particularly in the first wave of 'post-9/11 scholarship' to interrogate anti-Muslim ideologies towards Muslims, and the resulting experiences of religious discrimination among Muslim communities across the world (Barkdull *et al.*, 2012; Garner & Selod, 2015; Poynting & Morgan, 2012; Sayyid & Vakil, 2010). This includes the harassment of Muslims in public spaces or on campuses, vandalism of mosques, the freezing of Muslim charity assets and ongoing racial profiling at airports and on the streets (Allen, 2010; Baker, 2002; Considine, 2017; Samari, 2016). Young Arabs and Muslims who have no significant adult experience of the world prior to September 11, 2001 bear the greatest impacts of this Islamophobia (Bayoumi, 2008), growing up in a political climate where their identity of being Muslim and

²⁸ Pioneered by Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978), a wide range of scholars have discussed the long-standing history of anti-Muslim sentiment and discourse in the American psyche from the Iranian 1979 Revolution, onwards, and the ongoing othering of the Arab Muslim terrorist' as political enemy (Maira, 2016, Orfalea 2006).

American is problematised and questioned. Namely, young Muslims are framed as being susceptible to indoctrination or radicalisation, and in a position of negotiating the compatibility of Islam with 'Western values' (Maira, 2016). Thus, the religious activity and appearance of Muslim youth in public arenas inevitably entangles the young Muslim adult into sites where the feeling of alienation and "otherness" surfaces (Bayat & Herrera, 2010). The concept of Islamophobia (Barkdull *et al.*, 2011; Runnymede, 1997) is thus approached in this paper as an ideology analogous to racism, in that it propagates negative perceptions of Islam (Itaoui, 2016). In light of this approach, this research asks the following questions: where does Islamophobia occur across the region, what are the public spheres of inclusion or exclusion, and how do Muslims perceive these spaces in response to their perceived inclusion or exclusion? The Bay Area, celebrated for its presumed multicultural inclusion, particularly based on the successes of model minorities in Silicon Valley (Maira, 2016), provides an interesting case study to explore the spatial impacts of Islamophobia. In particular, there remains limited scholarly engagement in how the post-9/11 experiences of Muslims in Bay Area reflect broader racial struggles within the region. The lack of critical engagement in the Bay Area Muslim experience is often due to the region's place reputation of 'liberal multiculturalism and diversity' (Maira, 2016; Schrafran 2013). While the Bay Area is a hub of progressive politics and liberal multiculturalism in the American cultural imaginary, Senzai and Bazian's (2013) reports of rising Islamophobia in this region compels an interrogation of this reputation in light of the Muslim experience.

Indeed, over the last few years, local news outlets have documented an increase in incidents of Islamophobia in the Bay Area. In late 2015, A Castro Valley woman verbally attacked a group of Muslims with anti-Islam slurs and threw hot coffee on Muslims enjoying a picnic, at Lake Chabot (Hurd, 2015), while police arrested a man who threatened a Richmond mosque with a pipe bomb (Gulezian, 2015). The day after Trump was elected as president, a 19-year-old student at San Jose State University was choked with her hijab after it was pulled by an attacker in the campus parking garage (Noguchi, 2017). A few days later, a passenger travelling on the Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) train was verbally attacked and abused by a co-passenger who accused her of being a 'Middle Eastern terrorist' and threatened that she would be 'deported by Trump' after hearing the victim speak Assyrian on the phone (Bhattacharjee, 2016). Similarly, a local Stanford University student was removed from a

Southwest airlines flight in California after a co-passenger reported him as a security threat, simply for speaking Arabic (Stack, 2016). Local acts of Islamophobia were also directed towards Muslim sites of worship, including a series of genocide threat letters being sent to mosques in California, such as the Evergreen Islamic Centre in San Jose (Veklerov, 2016). Whilst these reports shed light on instances of Islamophobia across public spaces of the Bay area, there have been a number of contrasting reports of social inclusion and solidarity with Muslims, that oppose Islamophobia. To name a few, protests at the San Francisco International airport against the Muslim Ban Executive order were among the largest in the country, accompanied by local government opposition to the ban. Such opposition was echoed by executive leaders in tech giants such as Google and Facebook and Lyft, who condemned the ban (May, 2017). This wide-spread condemnation of the ban represented the competing voices against Islamophobia and a sense of solidarity in the Bay Area with the local Muslim community.

Reporting on one aspect of a larger mixed-method study, this article presents the way young Muslims, surveyed online in September 2016 – April 2017, map the perceived spatial distribution of Islamophobia across the Bay Area, California. 'Visualising Young Bay Area Muslims' mental maps of Islamophobia illustrates how ideas about spaces or places may be shared and internalised collectively (Driver, 2005; Watkins, 2015) and lead to a damaged sense of belonging in the public space. The spatial imaginaries (Watkins, 2015) of Islamophobia among Muslims in the Bay Area ultimately bring to light, the way spatial perceptions may (re)produce social perceptions about places, and who belongs 'inside' versus 'outside' place boundaries. Young Muslim mental maps of belonging provided in this article contribute to social and cultural geographical debates on the 'geography of racism', ultimately uncovering the exclusionary dimensions of urban landscapes through the perspective of the racialised Muslim other. Furthermore, the paper sheds light on the types of public spheres in which Islamophobia is most likely to take place in the Bay Area. These findings highlight the merit of localised approaches in social and cultural geography to understanding the unique, spatialised forms of Islamophobia across nation-states, and the need to identify the influence of local conditions on this manifestation and experience.

6.2 THE RACIALISED MUSLIM IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE

6.2.1 ISLAMOPHOBIA AND THE RACIALISATION OF MUSLIMS IN AMERICA

In recognition that forms of racism are fluid in nature, and specific to historical, cultural, geographic and political contexts (Garner & Selod, 2015; Love, 2009), scholars have discussed how the constructed otherness of Muslims has racialised the religion of Islam across predominantly non-Muslim nations (Meer & Modood, 2010; Rana, 2011; Selod & Embrick, 2013; Itaoui, 2016). Specific to the USA, there is a need for race scholarship to engage in how the evolving racial and ethnic landscape of the nation has shaped the experiences of Muslims in America (Selod, 2015, see also Beydoun, 2018). These efforts are reflected in a vast range of cross-disciplinary research that has critiqued the social construction, othering and racialisation of Muslim American identities. Such breadth is reflected by over ninety-one citations listed under ‘theorising the field of Islamophobia’ in a Reading Resource Pack on Islamophobia published by UC Berkeley’s Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society (Itaoui and El Sheikh, 2018, p. 7-13)²⁹. These engagements in the racialisation of Muslims in the US were preceded by discussions of experiences among racialised populations who migrated to the U.S. after the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act, such as Skop and Li (2005) on Asians in America’s suburbs, Smith and Furuseth (2004) on the geographies of housing among Hispanics in North Carolina, and Nagel (2013) on the geography of ‘white privilege’ in the US South. Scholarship on the racialisation of Muslims in America, similarly, attempts to theorise the way post-9/11 manifestations and experiences of Islamophobia, have operated as a new form of racism in this broader context of racism (Dunn *et al.*, 2007; Forrest and Dunn, 2011; Itaoui, 2016). This scholarship on the racialisation of religion creates a place in theory for the incorporation of signifiers other than skin tone in the racism orbit, such as clothing, language and religious symbols (Selod, 2015). In the case of Muslims in the West, Vakil and Sayyid (2010) highlight that ‘religion is raced, and Muslims are racialised’ (p. 276), often through a lens of a good Muslims/bad Muslim binary that homogenises Muslims and leaves little room for complexities and diversity of a Muslim identity (Shryock, 2010). The othering of Muslims in America undermines the

²⁹ Now known as the ‘Othering and Belonging Institute’.

diverse ways of understanding and practicing Islam and is thus deeply intertwined with essentialised images of the immigrant, the militant, the uncivilised, the patriarchal, the submissive, anti-American, the disloyal (Selod, 2015) and the Black-American (Maira, 2016).

This racialisation that deprives Muslims in America of cultural citizenship, is based on the premise that a Muslim religious identity is incompatible with American-ness. This identity can be associated with “Muslim-like” physical markers, such as religious clothing or a Muslim name resulting in experiences of racism (Chao, 2015; Love, 2009; Samari, 2016; Selod, 2015). Muslims are homogenised and degraded by Islamophobic discourses in politics and across various media outlets, which materialise into Islamophobic practices and behaviours that affect their everyday lives (Garner & Selod, 2015). This paper therefore approaches Islamophobia as a new form of racism in the US context, allowing the deeper examination of how anti-Muslim sentiment impacts Muslims while navigating urban spaces (Meer & Modood, 2010).

6.2.2 THE IMPLICATIONS OF ISLAMOPHOBIA AS A NEW FORM OF RACISM

The negative impacts of this racialisation and the intensified racism against Muslims in the USA have been well-documented, ranging from public opinion polls that reflect anti-Muslim attitudes (see Pew 2014) to experiences of Islamophobia among various Muslim American communities across the nation in contexts such as the legal system (see Beydoun, 2016a, 2016b, 2016c, 2017; Choudhury, 2015; Dubosh *et al.*, 2015; El Sheikh *et al.*, 2017; Ibrahim, 2008) workplace (CAIR, 2015; Padela *et al.*, 2016), healthcare (see Samari, 2016) and national security settings such as airports (Ali, 2012; Pitt, 2011). The implications of Islamophobia documented so far include a series of violated civil rights; everyday discrimination and often violent hate crimes against Muslims and those perceived to be Muslim within this racialised lens of the ‘Muslim prototype’ (Chao, 2015), who is more than often criminalised (Volpp, 2002). This racialisation has resulted in the exclusion of Muslims from the social, religious, and political spaces (Bayoumi, 2008), their subjection to threats, violence, discriminatory acts, denial of employment, and racial profiling (CAIR, 2015, 2015b; Samari, 2016; Barkdull *et al.*, 2011; Byers *et al.*, 2007; Cainkar, 2009; Husain, 2017). The racialisation of Muslims is often gendered, whereby Muslim men and women are reported

to experience Islamophobia in different ways. Muslim women are particularly vulnerable to the brunt of Islamophobia in everyday experiences, attributed to displaying racial indicators of “Muslimness” such as wearing a *hijab* or *burqa* in a public space (Perry, 2013; Alimahomed-Wilson, 2017). Some have argued that anti-Muslim sentiment has both led to, and been exacerbated by the organised, well-funded ‘Islamophobia Industry’ (Lean, 2012, Duss et al., 2015; Schwartz, 2010) that had access to over two-hundred and five million dollars between 2008-2013 (CAIR, 2015b). This every day, as well as organised, Islamophobia has manifested in violent hate crimes against ‘racialised Muslims’ in the public space (Kaplan, 2006; Müller and Schwarz, 2018), such as the attacks on and deaths of six Sikhs at a temple in Wisconsin on 7 August 2012 (Yaccino *et al.*, 2012; Samari 2016), or the May 2010 bomb explosion at an Islamic Center in Jacksonville, Florida. That same year, in August, a man slashed the neck and face of a New York taxi driver after finding out he was a Muslim (Chao, 2015). In June 2017 during the holy month of Ramadan, Nabra Hassanen, a 17-year-old teenager was beaten to death as she walked along a road to her local Mosque evening prayers in Virginia (Guardian, 2017). Despite police claims that the attack was motivated by road rage, the victim’s family and local activists have insisted that Islamophobia was the driving factor and should be thus treated as a hate crime (Itaoui, 2017). Such attacks against Muslims in the community have led to fears of hate crimes, and anxiety about future threats to loss of community, isolation, stigmatisation, and safety in the public sphere where these incivilities take place. It is therefore vital to critically examine how the racialisation of American Muslims as an ‘out-group’ has led to a corrupted sense personal safety in the public spheres of fear and risk that Muslims must negotiate (Cainkar, 2005). In doing so, geographers can uncover the social-spatial components, and implications of these racist incidents and attacks on the spatial mobility of racialised minorities (Itaoui 2016; Itaoui & Dunn, 2017).

6.2.3 THE EXCLUSION OF MUSLIMS FROM THE PUBLIC SPACE

Tensions over the Muslim ‘right to the city’ are reflected in the contestation for Muslim ‘places in space’, such as opposition the development of Islamic Centre’s, Schools and Mosques around the world (Dunn, 2001; Al-Natour, 2010; Göle, 2011; Cainkar, 2005, Cheng, 2015). In the U.S. context, one of the most controversial oppositions to a ‘Muslim space’ was

reflected in debates around the building of the Park 51 mosque near Ground Zero in New York City (Selod, 2015). These oppositions to the spatial presence of Muslim sites reflects the ways that social anxieties are mapped onto geographical space in which the locality and globalism of Islamophobia are entwined in what Appadurai (2006) calls a 'geography of anger' (Noble & Poynting, 2010). Ongoing scrutiny and interrogation of *where* Muslim sites, buildings and organisations belong, have been met with an equal desire to regulate, monitor and control the way Muslim bodies access, and engage in city spaces. Personal attacks, hate crimes, racial slurs and discrimination in the public sphere have made it increasingly difficult for Muslims to locate safe spaces post 9/11 in the West, particularly for 'visible Muslims' who wear physical Muslim markers, such as a *hijab* or *kufi* in public (Cainkar, 2005).

Over the last decade, social and cultural geographers have brought attention to the 'geography of Islamophobia' in various contexts (Dunn, 2005; Dunn *et al.*, 2007, Dunn & Hopkins, 2016; Hopkins, 2009; Hopkins & Gale, 2009). Itaoui (2016), in particular, highlighted the way racialising acts of everyday incivility not only limit the rights of Muslims to be in a given place, but also 'teaches' young Muslims (Noble & Poynting, 2010) how to perceive and engage with public spaces across their cities, based on spatial imaginaries of Islamophobia (see also Itaoui & Dunn, 2017). This builds on commentaries around Islamophobia and reduced spatial mobility of Muslims, located in early reflections on 'Flying while Muslim' (Bennet & Phillips, 2006). Such perspectives have critically examined how the racial profiling of Muslims by security personnel, in the name of 'national security' has threatened and restricted the movements of Middle-Easterners, and those of 'Arab appearance' (Bennett and Phillips 2006; Noble and Poynting, 2010) across nation-states (Ali, 2012; Love, 2009).

The impacts of such exclusion from the public space are reflected in spatial management strategies employed by young Muslims to alleviate the threat of racial attacks in public spaces. Strategies include concealing Muslim identities by erasing physical markers or changing a Muslim sounding name (Sirin, 2007; Ghanesh, 2015), avoiding particular public spaces at particular times (Garner & Selod, 2015), an apprehension to appear in public alone (Perry, 2013), or engaging in counter-stereotypic behaviour (Kunst *et al.*, 2012; Mythen *et al.*, 2009) that transcends the racialised expectations of Muslims. On the other hand, Kunst *et al.*, (2012) also point to tactics of Muslims proactively countering Islamophobia by further

increasing engagement in threatening domains or developing innovative strategies to overcome obstacles of Islamophobia and achieve positive outcomes, and relations. Attacks against Muslims in Western contexts such as Britain (Ghanesh *et al.*, 2015) and Australia (Blair *et al.*, 2017; Iner *et al.*, 2017) are most common in public areas or on various modes of transport networks at random times making Muslims navigate these spaces with the knowledge that their outward racialised ‘physical expression’ of their faith is associated with increased risk and insecurity. This exclusion from the city and its inherent public spaces therefore inhibits one’s sense of national belonging, cultural citizenship and overall experiences of freedom to access, inhabit, and move through social spaces (Noble & Poynting, 2010) within what Ghanesh *et al.* (2015) characterise as the ‘geography of risk’. The geography of Muslim communities (see D’alibera, 2005; Kinder, 2016; Schmidt, 2004) as well as the socio-spatial dimensions of Islamophobia have been examined by social and cultural geographers across a range of cities including Chicago (Cainkar, 2005; Rana, 2012), Columbus, Ohio (Mei-Po, 2008), Milwaukee, Wisconsin (McGinty, 2012; McGinty *et al.*, 2013; Sziarto *et al.*, 2014) and South Carolina (Nagel, 2016). However, there remains a lack of engagement in the potential geographies of Islamophobia in the Bay Area, California. The analysis of Islamophobia in the Bay Area provides new insights into the evolving forms of racism in the US, and how racisms operate within the broader historical context of racial tensions on the local level to shape geographies of perceived Islamophobia.

6.3 RACISM AND ISLAMOPHOBIA IN THE BAY AREA, CALIFORNIA

6.3.1 THE RACIAL GEOGRAPHIES OF THE BAY AREA, CALIFORNIA

Commentaries on racial geographies of the Bay Area provide the necessary context for situating the racialised experience of Muslims within the region. To date, these discussions have focused on housing displacement, economic inequality, racial segregation and the racial suburbanisation of the poor. However, such discussions are yet to document everyday experiences of racism across the region. According to Schrafran (2012), the Bay Area epitomises the contemporary, contradictory American metropolis. This ‘land of opportunity’, often characterised by innovation, economic and technological shifts, and rapid knowledge production, is mutually associated with increasing levels of income inequality, ongoing racial

tensions and racial segregation. As the only U.S. metropolis with three central cities: San Francisco, Oakland and San Jose, the Bay Area has been labelled 'strange' - with little consensus on the actual geography and parameters of this definitionally challenged area (Walker & Schrafran, 2015). The Bay Area is typically divided into three parts, roughly balanced in population - West Bay (1.75 million), East Bay (2.5 million), and South Bay (1.75 million), followed by the North Bay (1 million), based on 2010 figures (Walker & Schrafran, 2015).

A mythologised image of the Bay Area, and California silences much-needed critiques of racial experiences and discrimination within this 'progressive hub of American cultural diversity' (English-Lueck, 2002). Local issues of rising inequality and racial segregation are masked by the regions reputation that enshrines individual entrepreneurship and a 'heterogeneity of classes, ethnicities, national cultures, self-identified subcultures, and organisational cultures' (English-Lueck 2002). Walker and Schrafran (2015) draw our attention to this paradox, highlighting that despite this reputation, the Bay Area should be known for, among many other things - the production of racial segregation, rising inequality, and the ongoing suburbanisation of communities of colour. Maira (2015) similarly draws our attention to how the image the 'Bay Area' progressive politics often:

...thwarts a discussion of contemporary police brutality (except in horrifying moments such as the murder of Oscar Grant in Oakland), the mammoth prison-industrial complex, gentrification, and the flight of people of colour from Berkeley/Oakland. Yet there is indeed traffic between the 'city' (San Francisco) and the East Bay and South Bay, and social networks that connect them, within the limits of a challenging terrain where class and racial segregation and limited public transit are often deeply confining (p. 42).

A great deal has been written over the past few years about these contradictions - namely between increasing diversity of suburbs, the changing geographies of race and class in the American metropolis, and the simultaneous increasing poverty in both inner-ring suburbs and on the urban fringe³⁰. These debates mainly focus on economic inequality across race, class, and gender in the region (Pellow & Park, 2002, p. 67-68). Eviction, debt, and class

³⁰ See for example, Lucy and Phillips (2001) and Vicino (2008a, 2008b).

divisions are thus key issues facing the 9/11 generation in Silicon Valley (Maira, 2016) and the Bay Area broadly.

In addition to rapid gentrification of city centres, and racial segregation driven by the suburbanisation of communities of colour, Maira (2016) highlights the contradictions between idealised narratives of liberal “diversity,” achievement, and self-reinvention in Silicon Valley versus the realities of the conservative political culture in this hyper-capitalist region. Maira (2016) challenges the regions reputation for liberal diversity, by drawing on the resistance of white residents against the growth of the Afghan enclave in Fremont/Hayward in this presumably “liberal” area. Noting community campaigns against naming a section of Fremont “Little Kabul” in the 1990’s, where there is a cluster of Afghan businesses, Maira (2016) highlights the racial tensions that had surfaced over the years between whites and the expanding Asian American population in particular regions of the Bay Area. Religious tensions, specifically against Muslim communities can similarly be traced to the shootings and murders of three Indian Sikh taxi drivers in the Bay Area in 2003, as well as three genocide-threat letters posted to Islamic Centers around the Bay Area in late November 2016 following Trump’s election as president (Veklerov, 2016). Such cases highlight the need to critically examine the place of Muslim communities, and the extent to which they are welcome within the ‘liberal and progressive’ fabric of cosmopolitan, diverse regions like the Bay Area.

While debates on the racial geographies of the Bay Area have centred on the suburbanisation and displacement of communities of colour in the context of housing economies, they are yet to examine the nuances of racism in the Bay Area – namely, where is it distributed, how is it experienced, and the implications of these everyday experiences on victims from these excluded communities. In particular, they are yet to investigate the way Islamophobia, as a new form of racism entwines with this broader geography of racism in the Bay Area.

6.3.2 THE BAY AREA MUSLIM COMMUNITY

The Bay Area is home to one of the largest concentrations of Muslim populations in the US, housing over an estimated 250,000 Muslims, forming 3.5% of the local population (Senzai and Bazian, 2013). This community has undergone rapid growth in the last two decades, now housing over eighty-four mosques and religious centres representing most groups and sects

within the Islamic fold. The Bay Area is seen as a significant hub and geographical leaders of Muslim political, and civil rights activism in the United States (Senzai and Bazian, 2013). It is home to a vibrant cluster of Muslim civic and cultural institutions ranging from national groups like the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), Islamic Networks Group (ING), as well as Zaytuna College – the first Muslim liberal arts college to be founded in 2005 and accredited in the United States in 2015. It is also home to vibrant Muslim community centres such as Ta’leef Collective – a dynamic “third space for Muslims between Mosque and Home” (Fadel, 2018), as well as one of the only Women’s mosques in the US, which opened doors in Berkeley in April 2017 (Taylor, 2017). The Muslim population surveyed in the 2013 Bay Area Muslim study represented a diverse mix of ethnic groups, including a large number of immigrants, who are attracted to the economic and educational opportunities in the local area, as well as ‘the region’s reputation for diversity and inclusion that allows religious and cultural diversity to flourish’ (Senzai & Bazian, 2013, p. 7).

Senzai and Bazian’s study (2013) utilised a mixed-methods research design, including fifteen face-to-face interviews, five focus groups, and 1,108 surveys administered across Islamic Centers in the region. Similar to the participants in Maira’s (2016) Silicon Valley study, Senzai and Bazian’s (2013) respondents presented a strong sense of religiosity, which they claimed, was influenced by the 9/11 spotlight on their faith. The 9/11 attacks not only shaped their specified religiosity, but also had a fair amount or great effect on their lives, particularly in experiences of anti-Muslim discrimination. Sixty percent of respondents said they knew someone who had been discriminated against while 40% said that they had experienced personal discrimination. About half reported knowing a victim of a hate crime, and 23% indicated that they themselves had been victims of a hate crime. In addition, many Muslims claimed to face a ‘double minority status’ due to their racial/ethnic and religious backgrounds. Islamophobia was particularly associated with the preponderance of negative incidents related to security services and FBI intrusion into community affairs. The Bay Area Muslim Study therefore highlighted that despite high levels of religiosity, and socio-economic successes, Muslims living in the Bay Area experience significant levels of Islamophobia, impacting the community’s sense of citizenship, belonging, and safety.

A normalisation of Islamophobia among Bay Area Muslims was observed by Maira (2016) in her fieldwork with South Asian, Arab, and Afghan American youth in Silicon Valley, who were

also Muslim. Maira (2016) highlighted that the youth she interviewed felt grateful for residing in the “oasis” of the Silicon Valley, particularly in the more heavily Muslim-populated regions of Fremont/Hayward, away from anti-Muslim sentiment and racism that they deemed more rampant in other parts of the nation. Maira (2016) cited a number of incidents of racist violence reported by her own respondents in her study, as well as news reports and community incidents that undermined this narrative of a multicultural and generally nonracist, if not antiracist, political culture in San Jose, the greater Bay Area, that deserve further attention and analysis (see p. 52). Despite Maira’s (2016) respondents emphasising that the ‘South Bay’ was safe due to their local resident familiarity with Muslims and Middle Easterners, there remained ‘an interesting contradiction in this narrative of ‘open-minded’, liberal multiculturalism expressed by many of these youth, who would, often in the same breath, also comment on an episode of racism that had occurred in their school or neighbourhood’ (Maira, 2016, p. 50). This denial of racism accompanied by self-contradictory statements and admissions of racist incidents amongst Muslim youth in Silicon Valley, was situated by Maira (2016) as a possible defence mechanism in response to a traumatic assault on what had, in many cases, been ‘a relatively comfortable life’. Maira (2016) further highlights that this denial of Islamophobia can be connected to the larger shift to post-racality in the USA that has resulted in an insistence that racism is “over” and behind us. This is particularly evident in communities like the Bay Area, renowned for their liberal multi-racial identities whereby racial diversity becomes an alibi for the denial of racism (Alsultany 2012).

The results of Senzai and Bazian’s (2013) community survey relating to reports of anti-Muslim discrimination highlights the need to understand, at a deeper level, the way Islamophobia is experienced, as well as where this anti-Muslim sentiment is concentrated. Maira’s (2016) fieldwork with South Asian youth in Silicon Valley provides preliminary insight into how Islamophobia is impacting this ethnic group, including the ways in which Islamophobia has been normalised, or silenced by the region’s reputation of political progressivism and diversity. Both studies, however, do not critically engage with the spatial dimensions of Islamophobia across all ethnic groups. Thus, the geography of Islamophobia in the Bay Area remains unknown namely where it occurs across the region, and the specific public spaces that compromise the safety and belonging of Muslim bodies. This

paper responds to this gap in understanding, by providing an in-depth, localised case study on Islamophobia in the Bay Area region. This not only provides a place-specific depiction of Islamophobia, but also highlights the geographies in which racial incidents occur for Muslims across a range of ethnic groups. This case study focused on Islamophobia in the Bay Area uncovers how the racialisation of Muslims has impacted their experiences of belonging across the region, exposing the local factors that influence the way Islamophobia, as a new form of racism manifests across and within the various localities of the Bay Area.

6.4 SURVEY AND DATA

A case study on the geography of Islamophobia in the Bay Area was conducted in September 2016 to April 2017, involving the analysis of a web-based survey³¹ that reports the way one-hundred-and-ninety-six Young Muslim residents of the Bay Area map Islamophobia across the region, as well as the public spheres in which these experiences of Islamophobia are perceived to occur. Survey respondents were self-identified Muslims, ranging from eighteen to thirty-five years old, current US Citizens or Green Card holders and had lived in the Bay Area for at least one-year at the time of completing the survey. In addition to being one of the most ethnically diverse regions in the U.S, and being celebrated for its progressive politics (Maira, 2016), the Bay Area was the geographical focus of the study as it is also home to one of the largest concentrations of Muslims in the U.S (Senzai & Bazian, 2013). Further, the Bay Area Muslim community remains under-represented in academic discussions around the contemporary Muslim American experience, despite community calls for engagement and critique of the Islamophobia reported in Senzai and Bazian's (2013) *Bay Area Muslim Study*. Between September 2016 and April 2017, 283 web-based surveys were commenced. Of this sample, one-hundred-and-ninety-six were completed and qualified for analysis³². Both purposive and snowball sampling were used to recruit these participants through email invitations distributed via local community organisations such as the Council for American Islamic Relations (CAIR), and flyer distribution at a range of community events and fundraisers in the Bay Area. The survey web-link was also posted on social media,

³¹ The study also involved semi-structured interviews which are not analysed in this paper.

³² Surveys were excluded from analysis on the following basis: immigration status that did not satisfy the requirements of participation, exceeding the age-range of 18-35 years, or partially completed surveys.

including Facebook groups targeted at young Muslims living in the Bay Area³³. Recruiting respondents via social media with a young population highly engaged in the online space (Lenhart *et al.*, 2010) was an efficient avenue for gaining a larger sample, however, was still ineffective in capturing the anticipated sample. As a result, the web-based survey was also administered face-to-face at a range of community events across the Bay Area, where participants completed the survey onsite via electronic devices. These responses formed over sixty percent of the surveys analysed in this paper, and therefore had an impact on the characteristics of respondents such as age, gender and religiosity. For example, these events were usually attended by large groups of young adults who had relocated to the Bay Area for employment, or to attend a local university. The Muslim population that engaged in the fieldwork of this case study were therefore predominantly young professionals working in the tech industry and had often relocated from other parts of the US. This had implications on higher levels of socio-economic status, and more limited knowledge of the local Bay Area including its history and overall geography. Further, collecting data at Muslim community events such as gatherings at Ta'leef Collective in particular, attracted young professionals and students with higher levels of reported religiosity, which can be attributed to the theological focus of the event.

Overall, the survey sought to gauge how young Muslim adults perceived levels of Islamophobia across various regions of the Bay Area. The first section of the survey focused on capturing the demographic information of participants, including their gender, age, ethnicity, Islamic identity³⁴, level of education, current neighbourhood and county of residence. A significant section of the survey, which will be analysed in this paper comprised of questions using Semantic Differential (SD)³⁵ scale response options – a simple and effective tool for measuring average group and ranges perceptions of urban areas (Winchester & O'Neill, 1992). The scales consisted of word pairs that represent the opposite ends of a construct on various indicators of racism, particularly Islamophobia across six regions of the Bay Area. These regions were developed based on a review of various

³³ These groups included: Bay Area Muslims', Muslim Writers Collective' and Muslim Student Associations across the Bay Area

³⁴ Questions on Islamic identity were interested in Muslim dress codes adopted, levels of religiosity, commitment to prayer and duration of religious practice in years.

³⁵ SD' is used in the remainder of this paper when referring to the Semantic Differential scale questions in the Survey.

geographical literature, (see Walker, 1996; Schrafran, 2013), consultation with geographers from the department of Geography at the University of California, Berkeley, and leaders of local Muslim community organisations including CAIR. The six regions used to categorise the Bay Area in the survey included: North Bay, San Francisco, Peninsula, South Bay, Inner-East Bay and Outer-East Bay (see Figure 6.2).

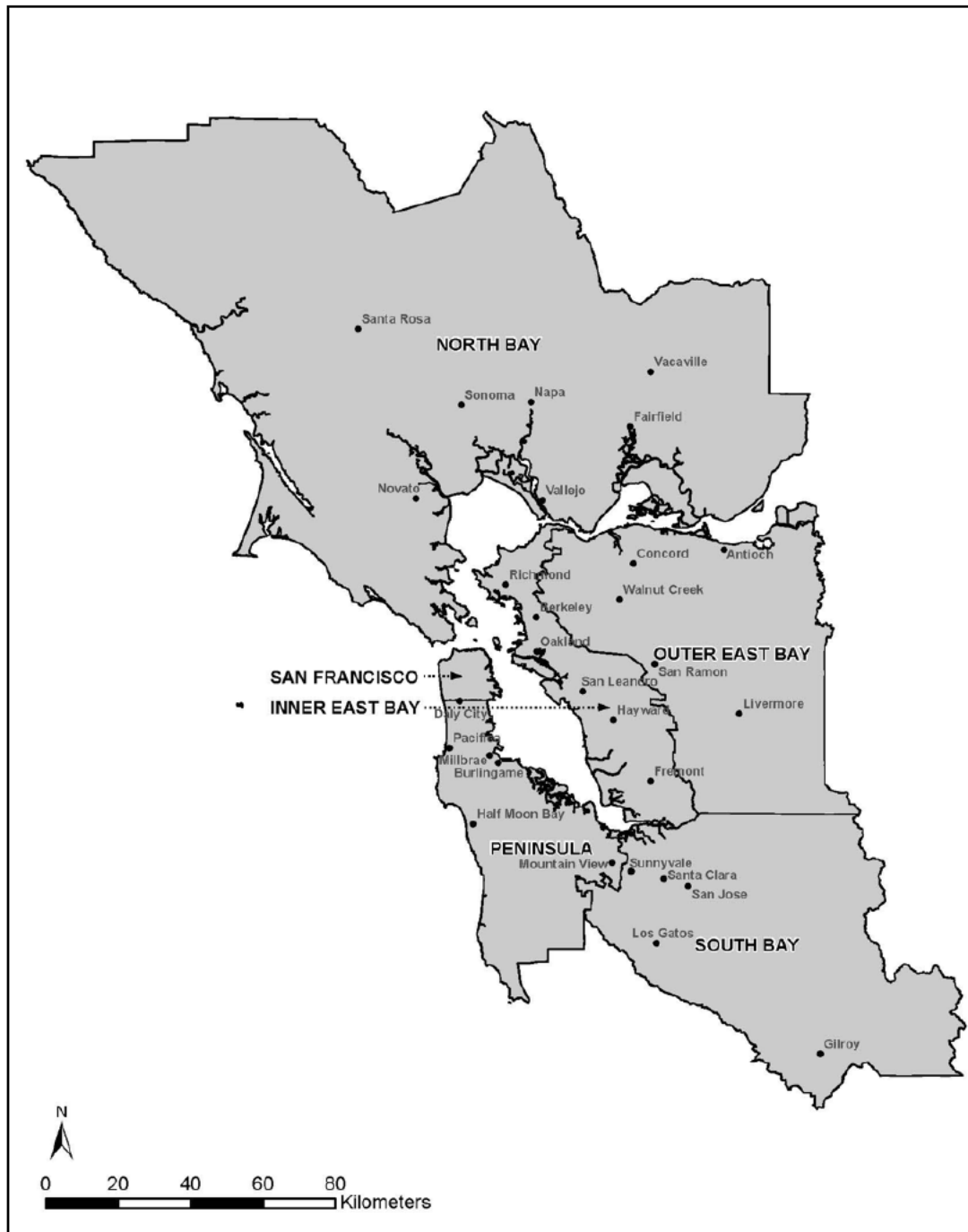


FIGURE 6.2 SD REGIONS, SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

SOURCE: SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA CASE STUDY SURVEY DATA

The contrasting adjectives used for the SD scales were extracted from the background literature reviewed in the earlier sections of this paper, particularly constructivist perspectives on ‘new racism’ and its concurrent geographies (Forrest and Dunn, 2006, 2007, 2010).³⁶ The opposing SD scale adjectives analysed in this paper include: culturally diverse/mono-cultural, white/non-white, tolerant/intolerant, harmonious/racially tense, pro-Muslim, anti-Muslim, comfortable/uncomfortable, or safe (for Muslims)/unsafe (for Muslims)³⁷. In addition, the survey captured respondent perceptions and experiences of hate-crimes, as well as various forms of anti-Muslim discrimination and Islamophobia in the Bay Area. Respondents were required to comment on the geography of anti-Muslim discrimination in the Bay Area, by locating the public spheres where they had experienced Islamophobia and identify the type of public spaces in which they felt Muslims might experience anti-Muslim discrimination. The public spaces listed included shopping centres, public parks, public beaches, public transport, sports stadiums, places of entertainment, airports, and an option to specify other public spaces where they anticipated that Islamophobia could take place. Combined with the SD scale responses, these responses provided a more localised understanding of Islamophobia in the context of racism and racial tensions in the Bay Area. The data collected through the survey not only shed light on *where* young Muslims locate Islamophobia, via various public spaces, but also on the various regions in which they occur.

6.5 IDENTITY, RELIGIOSITY AND ISLAMOPHOBIA IN THE BAY AREA

The Muslim community in the Bay Area is one of the most diverse, as well as politically active populations in the United States (Senzai and Bazian, 2013). The participants surveyed in this 2016-2017 study reflected common characteristics with those surveyed by Senzai and Bazian (2013), including high levels of educational attainment, relatively high levels of income (Table 6.1), high levels of religiosity and a strong connection with their Islamic identity (Table 6.2). Fifty-three percent of respondents were female, while forty-seven

³⁶ These had been tested and superseded with scales used in Itaoui’s (2016) mapping of Islamophobia across Sydney, Australia.

³⁷ Safe (crime rates)/unsafe (crime rates) and wealthy/poor were also used in the survey, however these SD adjectives were not analysed in this paper as they were the two sets of indicators that did not reflect rates of Islamophobia.

identified as male, with a fairly equal distribution in age range, with those aged 18-25 years forming 52% of the respondents, and the remaining 48% aged between 31-35 years.

The Muslim community surveyed in this current case study also represented similar ethnic diversity to the Senzai and Bazian (2013) study. A large percentage were first-generation American's (Table 6.1) from a range of ethnic backgrounds. Across the board, the majority of respondents (86.4%) identified as first generation American (neither of their parents born in the US), followed by a small 7.9% who were second, or third (5.6%) generation American. The group represented a broad range of ethnicities, predominantly South Asian (45.8%), Arab (19.8%), Afghan (7%) and Black/African American (6.7%) (Table 6.1). The higher proportion of South Asian respondents is attributed to the recruitment of participants at events administered by South Asian Organisations, such as the SABA Islamic Center at San Jose, and the Muslim Community Association (MCA) Islamic organisations made up of predominantly Pakistani ethnic congregations. Most respondents, irrespective of ethnicity however, indicated a strong sense of religiosity, which can also be attributed to administering the survey at community events with a theological and religious focus, such as Ta'leef Collective, Zaytuna College and various mosques. Over 76% of participants claimed that religion is very important in their daily life, and 16% claimed it is somewhat important. Over 95% of the sample claimed to have performed Islamic prayers³⁸ at one stage of their day in the last six months. Over 26% of respondents claimed to have prayed the prescribed five daily prayers on time, while 33% were still praying these prayers, but not on-time, followed by 21.4% praying less than five times, daily. The higher level of religiosity indicated by the group can be partly attributed to sampling methods being targeted at social media groups, organisations and community events run by, and attended by active, practicing and self-identifying Muslims who tend to associate with other community members in these spaces.

38 Muslims are commanded to perform salah - prayers, five times a day, assigned to prescribed times which are measured according to the movements of the sun.

TABLE 6.1 EDUCATION AND INCOME, SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

Level of Education attained	
Less than High School	2.9%
High School Graduate	12.9%
Some College/Technical School	22.9%
College Graduate	34.7%
Graduate School	24.1%
Ph.D	4%
Annual Income (USD)	
< \$50,000	29.6%
\$50,000 - \$74,999	14.8%
\$75,000 to \$124,000	26.6%
\$125,000 to \$199,000	5%
\$200,000 >	14.7%

SOURCE: SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA CASE STUDY SURVEY DATA

TABLE 6.2 IDENTITY AND RELIGIOSITY, SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

Ethnicity	
Black/African American (non-Hispanic)	6.7%
South Asian	45.8%
Arab	19.8%
Iranian/Persian	3.1%
Afghan	7.2%
Hispanic/Latino	2.6%
Native American	0%
Asian	4.6%
Pacific Islander	0.52%
Other	3.1%
Importance of religion in Daily Life	
Very important	76%
Somewhat important	16%
Not too important	5%
Not at all important	0%
Rather not answer	3%
Frequency of Performing Prescribed Prayers	
Five daily prayers, on time	26.1%
Five daily prayers, but not on time	33%
Less than five prayers daily	21.4%
Once per week	10%
Less than once per week	5%
Never	4.5%

SOURCE: SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA CASE STUDY SURVEY DATA

The public visibility of Muslim identity amongst this group varied, with only 38% claiming they were easily identified as Muslim, an equal 38% believing they were somewhat identifiable and 23.8% describing themselves as non-identifiable. In accordance with a general 'low public visibility' of Muslim identity, this group expressed that although they were committed to performing Islamic prayers, only a small number felt comfortable enough to perform these prayers in a public space (15.6%) or a shopping centre (8%). Mutually 50.9% of participants expressed being 'uncomfortable' to perform prayers in a shopping centre or a public space (33.7%). Higher levels of comfort were associated with performing prayers in the workplace (33.5% comfortable) versus the more 'unregulated' public sphere. Love (2009) almost a decade ago, drew our attention to the criminalisation of Muslim prayer in the American public sphere, critiquing the detainment of five men during a sporting event at the Giants Stadium outside of New York City because they were observed praying near a food preparation station. As reflected in other Western contexts, the majority of such Islamophobic attacks occur in 'outdoor public spaces' (Iner *et al.*, 2017), and to a lesser extent in shopping centres or workplaces (Ghanesh, 2015). The discomfort among Muslims in the Bay Area to perform prayers in these public spaces of risk, highlights the impact of the spatial exclusion on everyday Muslim life. According to these findings, the racialisation of religious practices may have resulted in an apprehension and reluctance to display such rituals in the internalised, perceived exclusion from performing religious rituals in the public sphere that is now a 'geography of risk'.

Space	Comfortable	Somewhat comfortable	Somewhat uncomfortable	Uncomfortable
Workplace	33.5%	31.6%	16.7%	18%
In a public space (park, beach, street)	15.6%	25.6%	25%	33.7%
Shopping centre	8%	21.7%	19.2%	50.9%

TABLE 6.3 COMFORT PERFORMING PRAYERS IN PUBLIC SPACES

SOURCE: SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA CASE STUDY SURVEY DATA

These levels of expressed discomfort in performing prayers in the public sphere can be connected with reports of anti-Muslim discrimination by this group, in addition to instances

of Islamophobia reported by those surveyed by Senzai and Bazian in 2013. Reports of hate-crimes were lower in this case study group, with only 25% claiming to have experienced a hate-crime personally. However, a larger portion of this group (63%) knew someone else who had been a victim of a hate crime, highlighting the potential vicarious impacts of this racism. The potential implications of vicarious Islamophobia were captured in a study on Muslims in Sydney (Itaoui, 2014) which found that Muslims who had not faced Islamophobia personally were negatively impacted by the experiences of their friends, family members and wider Muslim community. Reports of Islamophobia by their wider network of anti-Muslim discrimination or hate crimes had a negative impact on their sense of identity and safety in public spaces across the city, particularly if they felt they were visible Muslims.

Although only seven percent of respondents felt that anti-Muslim discrimination was always an issue in the Bay Area, 38.7% felt that it was *sometimes* an issue, with a larger 44.5% claiming it was an issue in *some places* – a point which deserves attention. If Islamophobia is an issue sometimes, where does it occur? Respondents indicated that public spaces (33.7%) and shopping centres (50.9%) were both sites in which they had most often experienced anti-Muslim discrimination, while other respondents indicated that they had sometimes experienced Islamophobia in public spaces (25.6%) and shopping centres (19.2%). Participants were asked to indicate the spaces they felt anti-Muslim discrimination could occur and to highlight the modes of transport where Islamophobia was most anticipated. Over ninety participants cited streets as a site of potential Islamophobia, followed by other ‘public spaces’ such as shopping centres (n=62), public parks (n=54), and to a lesser extent, public beaches (n =49), sports stadiums (n= 44) and places of entertainment such as cinemas and theatres (n= 39). Most interestingly, survey respondents indicated that airports (n= 123) and public transportation (n = 84) were the primary sites of Islamophobia. These figures reflect reported local cases of Islamophobia, such the verbal abuse towards an Assyrian-speaking passenger travelling on the Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) train, a few days after Trump’s election in late 2016 (Bhattacharjee, 2016).

TABLE 6.4 SPACES OF ANTICIPATED ANTI-MUSLIM DISCRIMINATION IN THE BAY AREA

Space	Number of respondents
Shopping Centres	62
On the street	94
Public Parks	54
Public beaches	49
Public Transport	84
Sports Stadiums	44
Places of entertainment (e.g., cinemas, theatres)	39
Airports	123

SOURCE: SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA CASE STUDY SURVEY DATA

According to respondents in this survey, this geography of perceived risk is however, most significant in airports, where Muslims racialised as disloyal outsiders and noncitizens under the broad umbrella of ‘national security policy’ (Ali, 2012) are racially profiled and singled out by airport security. This concern with racial profiling at airports was similarly reflected by Bay Area Muslims surveyed by Senzai and Bazian (2013), whereby close to 60% believed that security in airports targeted Muslims. Most interestingly, Yemenis, Afghanis, Pakistanis and Palestinians ethnic groups that fall within the racialised stereotype of ‘Muslim identities’ were more likely to report various types of delays and secondary searches in the airport (Senzai and Bazian, p. 98). Findings across both surveys can be connected to the local cases reviewed in the earlier parts of this paper, such as a local Stanford University student who was removed from a Southwest airlines flight in California after another passenger reported him as a security threat, for speaking Arabic on the phone (Stack, 2016), as well as the ongoing experiences of anti-Muslim discrimination reported by local Silicon Valley computer scientist Salman Azhar on three separate United Airlines flights by staff and co-passengers (Louie, 2017). These findings point to the challenges of ‘Flying while Muslim’ (Considine, 2017; Bennet & Phillips, 2006; Baker, 2002; Noble & Poynting, 2010; Pew Research Center, 2011) in a post-9/11 context, where discriminatory conduct by local law enforcement and national security personnel takes place. Such discrimination is founded in

the racialisation of Muslims and subsequent racial profiling, based on the ‘Islamic appearance’ of Muslims in America of Middle Eastern and South in particular (Love, 2009). The survey findings on identity, religiosity and Islamophobia reported in this section highlight that Muslims in the Bay Area are highly educated, ethnically diverse, and express a strong sense of committed religiosity. Despite these positive indicators of belonging and identity, there remains an overall apprehension by Muslims to display their Muslim identity or perform Islamic spiritual practices, such as prayer in the public sphere. Such apprehensions are supported by their reports of anti-Muslim discrimination, experienced personally or vicariously by their wider community. This can be connected to the work of Budhwani and Hearld (2017) who found a direct connection between depression and internalised stigma amongst Muslim women, which was measured through heightened vigilance in accessing social spaces or avoiding social situations where they anticipated Islamophobia. The apprehension for Bay Area Muslims to display and express their ‘Muslimness’ in public is verified by survey participants who reported anticipation of Islamophobia in predominantly ‘public places’. These spaces are the seemingly unregulated arena where unequal power dynamics and racial tensions around Islam and Muslims manifest in Western cities (Itaoui 2016; Itaoui & Dunn, 2017). Such findings reinforce the reports of Islamophobia in other studies across Western contexts on the geography of Islamophobia. Specifically, public transport and public spaces were mutually identified as primary sites of Islamophobia in both the UK (Ghanesh *et al.*, 2016) and Australia (Blair *et al.*, 2017; Iner *et al.*, 2017). In drawing our attention to the main sites of Islamophobia public transport, and airports the way in which the racialisation of Muslims leads to experiences of Islamophobia is exemplified. Namely, in the instance of airports, both survey respondents, and those in Senzai and Bazian’s (2013) study anticipate racial profiling and discriminatory conduct by security personnel when ‘flying while Muslim’ in the Bay Area’. In addition to these findings drawing attention to the specific geographic public spheres that Islamophobia takes place, it is important to locate *where* these sites of Islamophobia are concentrated across the Bay Area. The following section maps the geography of Islamophobia across specific regions of the Bay Area in order to provide a deeper understanding of local conditions that affect the prevalence of Islamophobia across urban spaces.

6.6 YOUNG MUSLIM MENTAL MAPS OF ISLAMOPHOBIA IN THE BAY AREA, CALIFORNIA

Young Muslims' mental maps of perceived Islamophobia illustrate a clear spatial distribution of inclusion or exclusion across the Bay Area. Young Muslim mental maps of perceived 'geography of Islamophobia' across the Bay Area stress the spatialised nature of racism, and the need for localised and culturally specific geographical approaches to the conceptualisation and measurement of racism in across cities such as those in the Bay Area. To contextualise the geographies of perceived inclusion or exclusion amongst the Muslim American community in the Bay Area, a section of this case study survey required respondents to rank six regions on levels of perceived Islamophobia. Using Semantic Differential scales on a range of factors such as levels of cultural diversity, perceived levels of racism, and pro vs. anti-Muslim sentiment, participants expressed their levels of perceived Islamophobia in each of the regions depicted in Figure 6.2. Perceptions of Islamophobia were measured by calculating the average of the values allocated to the SD scale questions which were then computed into an 'overall score', based on a scale of -2 for highest levels of perceived racism, 0 for neutral perceptions and +2 for lowest levels of perceived racism.

As depicted in Figure 6.3, on a scale of +2 to -2, the South Bay ranked most positively (0.77), followed closely by San Francisco (0.76), and the Inner-East Bay (0.67), whilst Peninsula ranked neutrally with an overall score of 0.46. The highest levels of perceived racism amongst these young Muslim adults were attributed to the North Bay (-0.42) and Outer-East Bay (-0.10) who scored in the negative range of figures. Both regions located further from the central Bay employment hubs, and major city centres like Oakland, San Francisco, San Jose and parts of Silicon Valley. The attribution of these semi-rural areas of the Bay Area with higher levels of Islamophobia suggests a potential relationship with a rural vs urban divide on levels of perceived diversity and the geography of Islamophobia across American urban areas. This point should be further examined in future work (examined further in Chapter 10).

The regions associated with the most positive scores, and subsequently lower levels of perceived Islamophobia are located in regions with higher Muslim populations, and of in-group residence amongst survey participants. As illustrated in Table 6.5, the North Bay, which scored most negatively, was home to a small number of participants while the

majority of participants resided in the inner/outer East Bay, as well as in the South Bay, that predominantly scored most positively. Although it is difficult to verify these population statistics against Census data in the USA (which does not collect religious affiliation information), the survey population in Senzai and Bazian's (2013) study did reflect a similar population distribution to what was found in this study. Namely, the majority of their sample resided in the South and East Bay of the region. Together, Muslims in the Bay, a stronger 'in-group' presence through a larger Muslim population within the South Bay and East Bay is an indicator of acceptance, minimising perceptions of Islamophobic sentiment across these areas. This correlation was similarly reflected in Itaoui (2016)'s study of the geography of Islamophobia in Sydney, whereby Sydney's Western suburbs, home to the largest concentration of Muslims in the city was viewed most positively by young Australian Muslims. Conversely, regions like the Eastern Suburbs, Sutherland and the Northern suburbs in Sydney, with low levels of Muslim population, and a majority of Anglo-Saxon population were identified as being the most Islamophobic regions of the city.

Mutually, higher levels of cosmopolitanism around city centres like San Francisco and parts of Silicon Valley (Peninsula and South Bay) were also positively associated with being more welcoming of Muslim identities, and space of comfort among Bay Area Muslims. In contrast, the counterparts of the Bay Area in the North and Outer-East Bay were associated with a higher sense of rejection and anti-Muslim sentiment. Interestingly, Maira's (2016) interviews with Arab, South Asian and Afghan youth support this potential geography of the incidence of Islamophobia across the Bay Area. Maira (2016) draws on an account by Farida, a Pakistani American woman from San Jose who wore the hijab, that highlights a spatialised sense of belonging and comfort in different regions of the Bay Area:

I was a junior in high school, and I didn't really have anything happen to me. I've heard about a lot of people who were egged and stuff, but they were mostly from Livermore and other areas where the communities weren't as multicultural. So that's why I don't think I went through as much here in San Jose during high school (quoted in Maira (2016, p. 51).

Farida's contrast between San Jose, and Livermore, in the Outer East Bay brings our attention to this geography of Islamophobia across the region. Farida seemed to suggest that this "multicultural" space in San Jose was markedly different from other Bay Area towns that

were only thirty miles away, such as Livermore where Muslims were being assaulted after 9/11 (p. 51). Farida's direct distinction between her place of residence, the South Bay, rich in diversity, against other parts of the region not only bring to the forefront, her mental maps of exclusion across the Bay Area, but also the role of perceived cultural diversity in either strengthening or undermining these mental maps of belonging in different parts of the Bay Area.

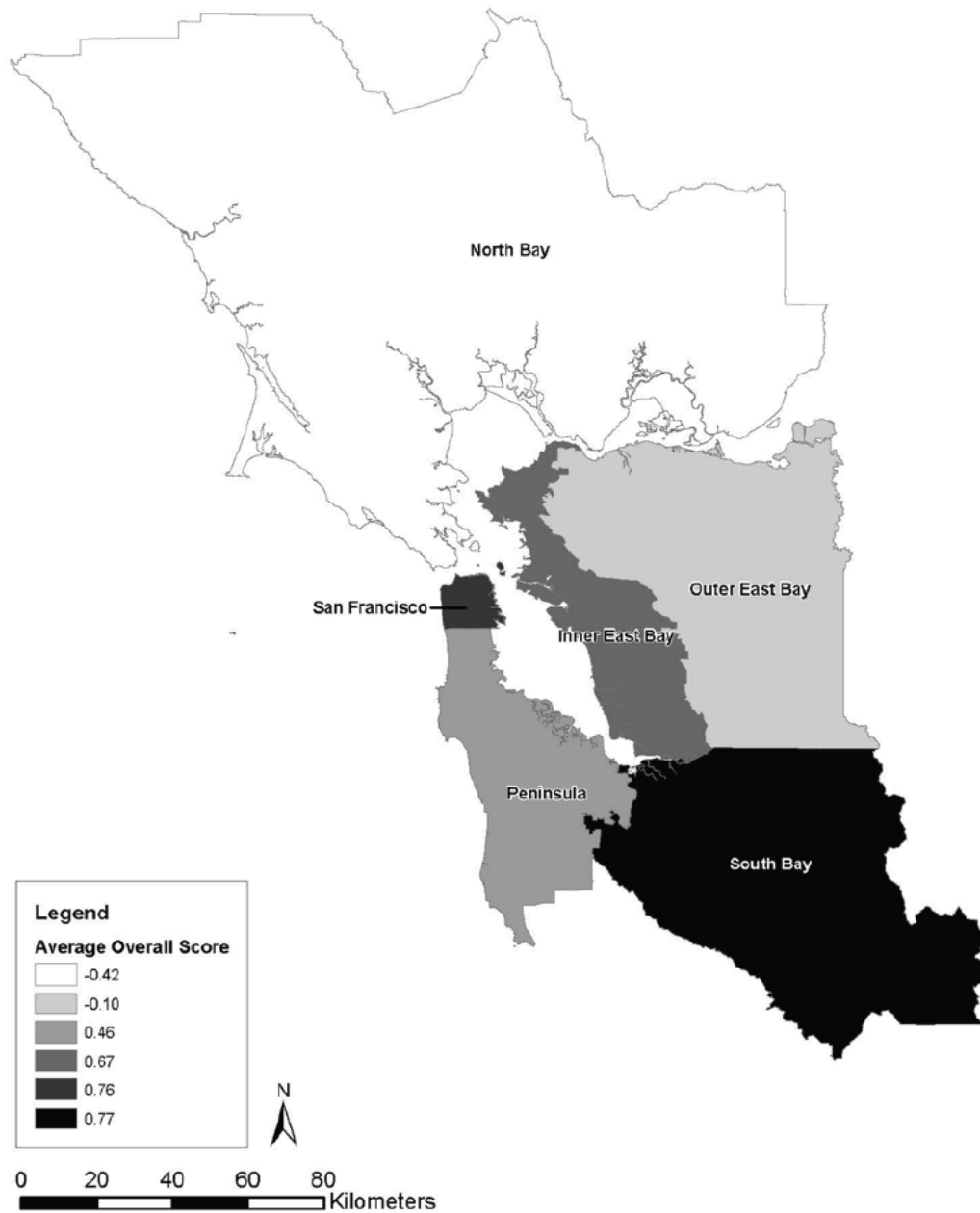


FIGURE 6.3 SPACES OF PERCEIVED ISLAMOPHOBIA: OVERALL SD SCORES BY SD REGION

TABLE 6.5 SURVEY PARTICIPANT'S REGION OF RESIDENCE

Region	Participants (%)
Inner-East Bay	38.1%
South bay	25.4%
Outer-East Bay	18.6%
Peninsula	10.2%
San Francisco	5.1%
North Bay	2.5%

SOURCE: SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA CASE STUDY SURVEY DATA

Similar to Itaoui's (2016) case study in Sydney, both Farida, and the survey respondents of this current case study affirm that the absence of Muslim populations across space in regions like the Outer-East Bay are associated with higher levels of racism. In contrast, the greater presence of Muslim communities in a city or neighbourhood is associated with a stronger sense of acceptance, and thus, lower levels of Islamophobia across the region. These geographies of perceived Islamophobia mapped by young Muslim residents of the Bay Area draw our attention to the spatial dimensions of racism, demonstrating how this region that is reputable for being a 'progressive hub of multiculturalism' is not immune to the rise of Islamophobia in the USA. Further, these geographies of perceived racism affect the Muslim community broadly. As proposed by Itaoui (2016) "spatial imaginaries", 'mental maps' about spaces and places, may be shared and internalised collectively (Driver 2005; Watkins 2015), leading to a collectively damaged sense of belonging in the public space. Indeed, the way in which spaces are perceived '(re)produce social perceptions about places, and who belongs 'inside' and 'outside'" (Watkins, 2015, p. 316). The perceptions of Islamophobia mapped by young Muslims in the Bay Area highlight the way in which the racialisation of Muslims has led to their perceived exclusion from various parts of the region. This exclusion has been internalised in the collective spatial imaginaries of young Muslims, which may be shaped by the presence of other Muslims, or cultural diversity across the Bay Area. Thus, these findings highlight the way Islamophobia has evolved as a new form of racism on a national level in the USA, and most importantly the way in which this new form of racism has spatialised in

the localities of the Bay Area. In the case of the Bay Area, Islamophobia has manifested through various experiences of anti-Muslim discrimination within public spaces, that vary in prevalence and intensity across the various parts of this interconnected commuter region.

6.7 CONCLUSION

Human geographers have recently brought our attention to the need for an increased recognition of 'space' in critical race studies, primarily by mapping evolving forms of racism across city contexts (Forrest & Dunn, 2007; 2011; Nelson & Dunn, 2017; Itaoui, 2016). Itaoui's (2016) case study on young Muslims in Sydney provided a critical examination of the way young Muslims perceive, map and imagine the distribution of Islamophobia across Sydney, Australia. This built on the work of Noble and Poynting (2010) who brought our attention to the *potential* socio-spatial implications of racism on ethnic minorities perceptions, and engagement with space. The wide breadth of scholarly engagements in the American Muslim experience of Islamophobia are, however, yet to critically engage in the socio-spatial dimensions of Islamophobia, as a new form of racism in cosmopolitan, 'liberal' regions like the Bay Area.

While a number of geographers have engaged in how the othering of American Muslims as an 'out-group' has led to a corrupted sense personal safety in the US public sphere (Cainkar, 2005; Cainkar, 2005; Rana, 2012; Mei-Po, 2008; Sziarto *et al.*, 2014; Nagel, 2016), the impacts of spatial impacts of this racism on perceptions of belonging across city regions, were yet to be comprehensively analysed. Further, the few localised case-studies on the American Muslim experience of Islamophobia broadly, had focused on the East Coast of the U.S., in close vicinity to the 9/11 attacks (see Bayoumi, 2008), or in more politically conservative parts of the nation such as Milwaukee (see McGinty, 2012 and McGinty *et al.*, 2013), or South Carolina (Nagel, 2016). Thus, there remains much uncertainty on the American Muslim experience in more seemingly 'progressive' parts of the nation like California, and in the 'hub of liberal politics' the Bay Area California (see Senzai & Bazian, 2013; Schrafran, 2012, 2013). This paper contributes to these bodies of literature, providing an in-depth understanding of how young Muslim adults in the Bay Area, California perceive, and map Islamophobia across the various cities and public spheres in the region.

Firstly, in providing a benchmark academic analysis of how Islamophobia is perceived among young Muslim adults in the Bay Area, this paper contributes valuable empirical data on the prevalence of Islamophobia in this region. In cross-analysing this case study survey administered in 2016-2017, with the Bay Area Muslim Study conducted by Senzai and Bazian, this paper accounts for way in which Islamophobia, as a new form of racism impacts Muslims in this region within the broader historical context of racial tensions and segregation in the Bay Area. As demonstrated in these findings, political rhetoric and debates around racialised groups, like Muslims in America are written onto the physical and social landscapes (Hague, 2010), regulating the way in which the 'unwelcomed other' perceives their sense of belonging across spaces within cities of the Bay Area. Namely, the data analysed in this paper indicates that young Muslims in the Bay Area are highly educated, ethnically diverse, and express a strong sense of committed religiosity. However, despite these positive social indicators, the majority of participants have either faced Islamophobia, or personally know someone who has been victim of Islamophobia in the region. Such experiences may be vicariously internalised, and lead to their reported apprehension to perform prayers in public spaces.

Secondly, this paper provides the first spatial analysis of Islamophobia in the Bay Area region. According to the findings of the survey, cases of anti-Muslim discrimination either occur or are anticipated to occur in the public sphere. The 'geography of risk' for Muslims (Noble & Poynting, 2010) in the Bay Area, is concentrated in public spaces such as public parks, beaches and streets. Most significantly, Islamophobia is most anticipated on various forms of public transport and overwhelmingly in airports (n= 123), exemplifying how the ability to navigate city places is undermined by the racialised targeting of Muslims in the public sphere. Namely these findings verify that Muslims in the Bay Area also experience problematic racial profiling by security agencies, particularly by airport security when 'flying while Muslim' across Western Contexts (Bennet & Phillips, 2006; Love, 2009; Ali, 2012). In drawing our attention to the main sites of Islamophobia – public transport, and airports – the way in which the racialisation of Muslims leads to experiences and perceptions of Islamophobia is demystified. The anticipation of anti-Muslim racial profiling, discrimination, or hate crimes across these public spaces may very well curtail the mobility of Muslim bodies

across the city (see Ghanesh *et al.*, 2016) or across the globe via various airports (Ali, 2012; Love, 2009), and this potential correlation is in need of further investigation.

Finally, the perceived geography of Islamophobia indicated by young Muslims in the Bay Area represent how the racialisation of young Muslims has been internalised into spatial imaginaries of belonging or exclusion. These mental maps are mainly shaped by the presence of other Muslims, or perceptions of cultural diversity, and cosmopolitanism across the Bay Area. This geography of perceived Islamophobia in the Bay Area similarly reflects the spatial imaginaries of Muslims in Sydney, Australia, which are both impacted by the presence or absence of Muslim communities across neighbourhoods in the region (see Itaoui, 2016). For example, the absence of Muslim populations across spaces in regions like the North and Outer-East Bay are associated with higher levels of Islamophobia. In contrast, the greater presence of Muslim communities in a city or neighbourhood like the South Bay, results in a stronger sense of acceptance, and thus, lower levels of perceived Islamophobia across the region among young Muslims. The reported tension between committed religiosity, and simultaneous apprehension to perform religious practices in the public sphere compels researchers to question the potential relationship between the performance or visibility of religiosity in the public space, the spatiality of anticipated anti-Muslim hostility, and mental maps of Islamophobia across public spaces.

Overall, the findings of this research bring to light, the merit of undertaking localised, geographical studies of racism. Such localised analyses of the geography of racism provide a deeper understanding of how new forms of racism like Islamophobia evolve within the broader racial formation of the USA, and manifest across metropolitan regions and urban spaces. The perceptions of Islamophobia reported by young Muslims in the Bay Area verify that seemingly progressive and cosmopolitan regions like the Bay Area, are not immune to racisms such as Islamophobia. The localised approach taken in this case study to unpacking the geography of Islamophobia in the Bay Area has therefore captured the unique, local factors that shape this geography, including levels of cultural diversity and in-group presence of targeted minority groups. Future work should critically examine the contradictions between the historical claim of the Bay Area to liberal and progressive values, and the way minority groups perceive and experience racism in this region. In particular, critical examinations of the contestation between liberal values and public expressions of

Islam in the Bay Area would provide a much-needed critical perspectives on the place of Muslim communities in Western liberalism.

In addition, the way in which young Muslims map this geography highlights that Islamophobia may impact the way Muslims in the Bay Area navigate city spaces in the public sphere. Future research should thus unpack how the geographies of perceived Islamophobia may undermine the 'rights to the city' among visibly Muslim bodies. Future studies should thus continue to interrogate the evolving racial landscape of the U.S., and the way in which these evolving forms of racism manifest uniquely across different regions of the nation. Specifically, localised, culturally specific geographical approaches to the conceptualisation and measurement of 'new' racial attitudes and experiences in cosmopolitan cities can provide a deeper understanding of how new forms of racism manifest across various contexts according to their racial histories, and local politics of racism.

This paper explored how the racialisation of Muslim's has led to experiences of Islamophobia in the Bay Area. The localised analysis of this community provided a deeper understanding of the spaces in which Islamophobia occurred most often or was most anticipated to occur. A significant area of research that can build on these findings, in an engagement in the intersectionality of gender, age or class with perceptions and experiences of Islamophobia across regions like the Bay Area. The examination of these intersections would reveal the various spaces in which men and women may experience such Islamophobia differently according to displaying racial indicators such as a *hijab*, or the way in which age and class can mitigate or exacerbate experiences of Islamophobia.

The case study reported in this paper has brought to the surface, how the racialisation of Muslim identities has affected the way young Muslims in the Bay Area perceive the geographies of inclusion in the region. This paper thus advances a critical contribution to understandings of how 'rights to the city' afforded to racialised minorities, such as visibly Muslim bodies, are undermined by new forms of racism like Islamophobia

SECTION III: THE RACIALISED POLITICS OF MUSLIM MOBILITY

The third section of the thesis builds the argument that geographies of perceived Islamophobia affect the spatial mobility of Muslims in Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area.

Organised in two empirical chapters presented in academic journal article format, this section addresses the second research aim by employing the new mobilities framework to examine the links between Islamophobia and spatial mobility. These links are examined within the context of key local racial events that shaped the socio-political context, and thus spatial implications of Islamophobia within each case study: the Cronulla Riots (Sydney) and the 2016 Election (San Francisco Bay Area).

7 YOUNG MUSLIM (IM)MOBILITIES IN CRONULLA, SYDNEY

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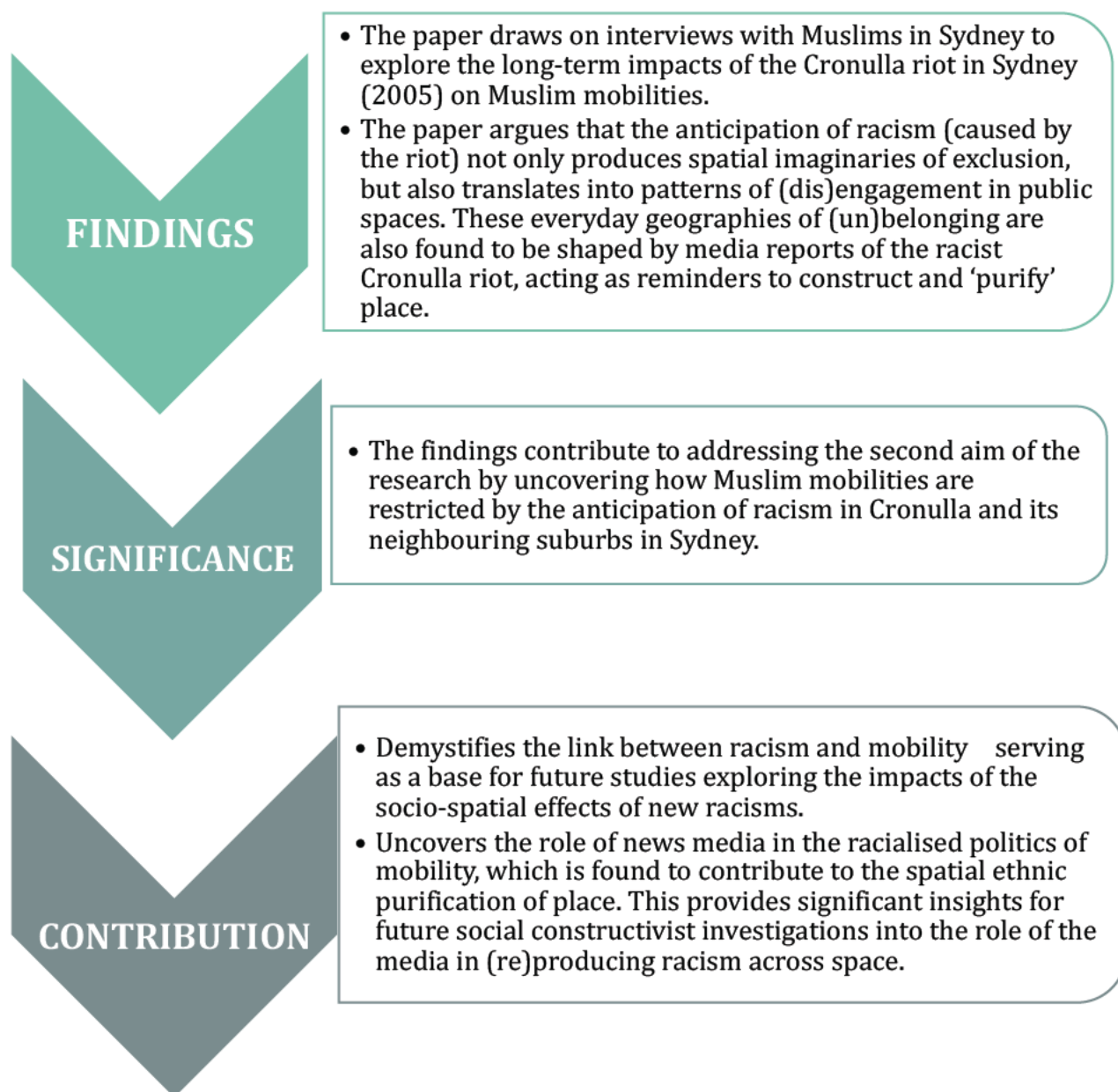


FIGURE 7.1 SUMMARY OF PAPER 3: YOUNG MUSLIM (IM)MOBILITIES IN CRONULLA, SYDNEY

7.1 INTRODUCTION: CRONULLA A PLACE “I’D RATHER NOT GO TO”

Although I don’t go there, I’ve never been there, just based on what was seen in the media and what was the aftermath of the Cronulla riots I just feel like, ‘well look, it’s just a place I’d rather not go to”.

Sumaya, aged 25, currently living in Merrylands, a small Western Sydney suburb, articulates an apprehension as a young Australian Muslim about visiting the Sutherland region, ten years after the Cronulla riot. This riot was extensively streamed, debated, analysed, condemned and in some instances ‘celebrated’. It was a day that not only unsettled the Australian nation, but it continues to shape the lives of some of those targeted in December 2005. Valuable inquiry on the riot has provided critical examinations of the potential causes, and the ongoing consequences of the riot. Suggested causes have included the role of media personalities, community relations between micro stakeholders, histories of gendered and racialised ‘place possessiveness’, and the structural context of white privilege (Dunn, 2009; Poynting, 2009; Shaw, 2009; Strike Force Neil, 2006; Wise, 2009). However, there has been rather less discussion of the way this event has continued to regulate the *spatial* belonging or exclusion from Cronulla of Australian citizens. The immensity of the event, and the immediate attention, particularly from major news media outlets initiated a dramatic impact. Representations of Cronulla as Islamophobic may require continued repetition to generate a proscription of Muslims from that place.

The Cronulla riot was a blatant manifestation of Islamophobia – a form of the so-called ‘new racism’³⁹ in the national public space (Dunn & McDonald, 2001; Dunn *et al.*, 2007). The rioters and their sponsors racialised the ‘Muslim other’ on the grounds of both religion *and* culture. Particular physical indicators (such as religious attire) were operationalised by ‘white spatial managers’ in the ‘national space’ (Cole, 1997; Gilroy, 1991; Hall, 1992, p. 256) of Cronulla beach (Dunn *et al.*, 2007). The embodied nature of the performance, and of the exclusion, may provide clues on the longevity of the riots’ effect.

Although the focus of the riot was directed to ‘Arab’, specifically Lebanese Australians, analyses have drawn our attention to the exclusionary anti-Muslim sentiment at the core of

³⁹ For a detailed overview of social constructivist understandings of Islamophobia as a form of ‘new racism’, see Itaoui (2016), Dunn *et al.*, (2007), Poynting & Noble, 2004 and Poynting & Mason, 2006.

the riot, and its aftermath (see Kabir, 2015). For example, the racist chants that were initially targeted towards 'Lebanese' Australians during the riot quickly took a shift towards the religion of Islam:

...some young men had stripped to the waist and painted obscene slogans about Allah [the Muslim name for God] and the Prophet Muhammad [Peace be Upon Him] on themselves and attacked people of Middle Eastern appearance (Overington and Warne-Smith, 2005, p. 20, cited in Kabir, 2015). A male youth had this written on his singlet: Mohammed [Muslims' Prophet Muhammad, PBUH] was a camel raping faggot (The Australian, 13 December 2005, p. 11). Some yelled, Love Nulla [Cronulla] fuck Allah, Wog-free zone, Lebs go home and Osama don't surf (Kabir, 2015, p. 272).

The religious inflection of the Cronulla riots was strong, and so the instructions sent to Australian Muslims about their welcome in Cronulla, and in Australia more broadly, were overtly asserted by the rioters.

7.2 A SPATIAL PEDAGOGY OF UN-BELONGING

In a highly mobile world, the ability to access, move between, and inhabit space is fundamental to citizenship and belonging (Noble & Poynting, 2010). The 'rights to the city' (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 174) have been identified as core to citizenship, what Isin and Wood (1999) refer to as urban citizenship. These rights include the ability to move, to be mobile and to use transport systems, to use and consume public space, and to 'be in' the various parts of the city. Belonging in space, indeed was one of the core issues at the heart of the Cronulla riot where tensions around the 'right to territory' were written in the sand of the beach, and on the bodies of the rioters, who felt entitled to regulate access to 'their' territory. Cronulla beach, an 'iconic Australian space' was exclusively possessed as an artifact of white separatism (Jakubowicz, 2009; Kabir, 2015; Poynting, 2009). To use Hage's concept, the rioters were making an unambiguous claim as spatial managers, they were stating clearly who belonged in Cronulla, and who did not, and by extension, a statement on who belonged in Australia, and who did not. This direct action was a form of spatial ordering, crafting boundaries of separation between those who belong and who did not (Nelson, 2014; Cresswell, 1996). Geographers have long recognized that space can be racialised and can

construct some cultural groups as in place and others as out of place (Sibley, 1995). The rioters asserted territorial rights over who the beach belonged to, but also posed confrontational questions around the position of Arab and Muslim Australians in the 'white' national space (Kabir, 2015). What continued success have the rioters' had in their 'place-defending' intentions, ten years on?

Influenced by Hage's notion of spatial managing, and the geographers mentioned above, Noble and Poynting (2010) developed the concept of a '*pedagogy of un-belonging*' to explain the process of an internalised perceived 'exclusion' among young Muslim Australians. Noble and Poynting (2010) drew on HREOC (2004) data to show how the experience of racism resulted in public spaces being associated with fear by Muslims in Sydney. Essed's (1991) work demonstrated that it is the *accumulated* effect of everyday racisms that generates the most morbid effects on citizenship and belonging (see also Williams & Mohammed, 2009). These include the daily, tedious small scale racist incivilities, which are oftentimes ambiguously racist, which in their accumulation have such strong effect. Butler's (1990) queer theory provided insights into how subjectivities evolve through repetition to gain an apparent permanence. Cultural and religious identities are repeatedly performed, citing an essentialised archetype, and through this repetition substantive identities are sedimented (Dunn, 2005). Similarly, repeated incivilities that are experienced personally, vicariously or via news media, could generate a conviction about the safety or not of public spaces for the members of some minority groups. Repeated statements on who is in, and out of, place may eventually be accepted as a truth. Drawing from Butler and Essed, a racist spatial imaginary may stem from this tedious everyday repetition, driving the internalized pedagogy of un-belonging among Australian Muslims inferred by Noble and Poynting (2010).

The public spaces of the racist encounters described by Poynting and Noble ranged from the street, shopping malls, driving or on public transport, as well as places of leisure, such as parks, sports grounds and beaches (Poynting & Noble, 2004). The experiences included acts and threats of violence or abuse, which together 'embodies the spatial regulation of cultural difference' (p. 496). Avoiding spaces and transport modes that are perceived as unsafe is a low-risk strategy deployed by those from minority groups who are at risk of racist violence and incivility. Only a handful of disrupters take the risk of troubling such constructions. Poynting and Noble focused on the spatially limiting effects of these accumulated

experiences, outlining their concern that Arab and Muslim Australians were limiting their use of public space, as influenced by this pedagogy of un-belonging, and as a consequence were having their urban citizenship curtailed.

Beaches, as a 'shared', nationally symbolic space of belonging (Evers, 2008; Taylor, 2009) were identified as a site of 'exclusion' among participants in the HREOC inquiry (2004). Noble and Poynting (2010) observed that this exclusion *may* have intensified following the events of the 2005 Cronulla riots. To what extent was the riot part of a pedagogy that specifically excluded Arab and Muslim Australians from the Cronulla Beach and surrounding areas? There has not been any empirical examination of this asserted relationship between a wide-scale racist attack, and the spatial mobility of Australian Muslims. Mohammed Taha (2015) in an online piece provided insight into these possible implications of the Cronulla riot, emphasising the damaging effects of this attack on his personal sense of belonging and identity as an Australian Muslim:

Ten years on, the riots still have ramifications. I am 24 now, but as I grew up the riots affected my outlook, feelings and sense of belonging. It's difficult enough to navigate your way through life as a teenager with all the standard teen woes and problems. Add the complexities of racism, politics, media coverage and figuring out my identity and it can be very overwhelming (n.p).

Taha's (2015) testimonial reinforces the sentiment of exclusion and discrimination reported by participants in the HREOC *Isma* study (2004), as well as the young Australian Muslims recently interviewed by Kabir (2015). Randa Abdel-Fattah (2017c) in her recent opinion piece 'Burkinis and Belonging: It's this feeling the beach and Hijab don't mix', similarly reflected on the exclusion of Muslims, particularly women from the iconic space of the Australian beach which '...has always privileged a white sensory landscape. 'What looks and feels and sounds and smells as though it belongs is a function of power relations' (n.p). The potential exclusion of Australian Muslims from recreational spaces such as the 'iconic Australian beach' reinforces the way 'lines of whiteness' are being drawn around spaces, spatially regulating national belonging and cultural citizenship (Noble, 2009; Hage, 1998). However, the Cronulla riots were not an 'every day or tedious event' (after Essed), they were a spectacular pogrom that drew international attention and national condemnation. How can the riots be seen as a part of a pedagogy of un-belonging given that they were not an on-

going, every day, tedious experience? What ongoing effects from the riots can we look to in order to explain an ongoing pedagogy? Drawing from Butler, there is a concrete understanding, or reality, that has emerged about Cronulla, from the riot and its media representation. One likely source of ongoing pedagogy are media representations of the riot, its history, and of Cronulla.

Our view is that we can use the concept of a pedagogy of un-belonging to explain how experiences of Islamophobia, like the Cronulla riot shape the 'spatial imaginaries' of Australian Muslims (see Watkins, 2015; Driver, 2005) by 'teaching' them to feel less comfortable, not just in the national space, but specifically in certain neighbourhoods. There has been less reflection on the spaces which have been constructed as safe or safer for Muslim Australians. Conversely, the pedagogies of un-belonging around Cronulla, may carry a flip-side pedagogy of belonging in other parts of the city. This is interesting, as it could potentially trouble national discourses of un-belonging and place identity. Researchers have not yet provided contemporary, empirical evidence on the pedagogies of un-belonging as they effect Australian Muslims. Further, the way mainstream media coverage of the events like the Cronulla riot can shape perceptions and spatial behaviour amongst an 'ethnic other'

in this case Australian Muslims has yet to be empirically tested. This paper thus seeks to address the following three questions. First, ten years after the Cronulla riot, how do young Muslims, living in Sydney, perceive and engage with Cronulla and the broader Sutherland region? Second, how do media representations of the Cronulla riot since the event, influence these perceptions and willingness of young Australian Muslims to visit Cronulla beach and the wider Sutherland region? This question is answered in relation to relevant literature on media and Islamophobia in Australia that is reviewed in the following section. Finally, in addressing the above aims, we extend Noble and Poynting's (2010) pedagogy of un-belonging to an iconic event (not everyday relations). We apply the concept to a specific place, rather than public mobility in general, and situate media representations of the riot as the source of that ongoing pedagogy.

7.3 ISLAMOPHOBIA AND AUSTRALIAN NEWS MEDIA

'New racism' literature on racialization has increasingly problematised the role of media in 'othering' minority groups (Klocker & Stanes, 2013), such as young Muslims, with Poynting *et al.*, (2004) positioning the media's perpetuation of stereotypes as a form of Islamophobia in itself. A good deal of scholarship has connected western media representations of Islam and Muslims (Runnymede Trust, 1997; Said, 1981), to prejudicial treatment and everyday violence experience by Muslims in western countries like Australia. In Australia, surveys have revealed that both Muslims and also non-Muslims are of the view that Muslims are unfairly represented in media (El Matrah & Dimopoulos, 2008; Dunn *et al.*, 2015). These misrepresentations have been linked to substantive inequalities in having places of worship and private schools approved, as well as uneven access to scarce urban resources like housing and employment (Dunn, 2001; Al-Natour, 2010; Macdonald *et al.*, 2016; Booth *et al.*, 2012). Such representations of Muslims in Australian news media may have contributed to the drawing of 'white lines', and the ethnic purification of space (Sibley, 1995) such as was intended by the Cronulla riot (Noble & Poynting, 2010; Nelson, 2014; Norquay & Drozdowski, 2017).

Klocker (2014) has drawn our attention to the way the media actively reproduces 'new racism' and the inherent stereotypes of cultural group traits, or 'othering' of minorities within the national space (Cole, 1997; Gilroy, 1991; Hall, 1992). The role of tabloid media in producing the racist discourses that fuelled and exacerbated the Cronulla riot was comprehensively examined by Poynting (2006; 2007; 2009) and Noble (2009). Recently, Nelson (2014) drew on the way Australian news media not only assisted with inciting the riots, but also that much of their coverage of the attack, and its aftermath were largely sympathetic to the White Australian 'place-defending' rioters (see also Quayle & Sonn, 2009). These discourses were predominantly centred around place identity and included promotion of the dominant groups' 'acceptable' beach performances (Nelson, 2014), in contrast with the "Lebanese community" commonly labelled as "Middle Eastern grubs" by far-right wing media outlets (Noble & Poynting, 2010).

Australian news media discourses prior to, and following the riot, not only 'bolsters stereotypes and inflames community tensions, fear and moral panics' (Klocker, 2014, p. 37),

but also transforms the way individuals interpreted their social world (Hall, 2000), and their *place in it*. Reflecting on foundational works of Zonn (1985) on media transmission of information about place, we must interrogate whether information shared by mainstream media outlets can characterise spaces as ‘racist’ or in the case of Australian Muslims - Islamophobic. In the case of Cronulla, Norquay and Drozdowski’s (2017) media content analysis of four key newspapers⁴⁰, found that 50 of the 224 articles analysed had contributed to the construction of the Sutherland region as ‘racist’, ‘white’ and ‘Anglo’. Media coverage of the Cronulla riot provides an example of not only how the media can be a purveyor of ‘racist experiences’, but also the way it can construct spaces as racist and exclusionary, to ultimately dictate and regulate the use of these spaces by ethnic minority groups.

In this paper we examine the way media representations of the Cronulla riot have *socio-spatial* implications on the way Muslims in Australia navigate public spaces. The representation of places like Cronulla, and specifically the Islamophobia attached to those places, could narrow the spatial opportunities of Muslims to experience everyday citizenship and belonging in urban spaces.

7.4 BELONGING AND EXCLUSION IN CRONULLA

Geographers have demonstrated how ‘place’ is imbued with meanings, including nationalism, ethnicity and religion (Cresswell, 1996; Noble & Poynting, 2010; Bonnett, 1996; Dunn & Mahtani, 2001; Dunn *et al.*, 2007; Dunn, 2009). The Cronulla riot was a first-hand manifestation of how unequal power relations can dictate the inclusionary and exclusionary nature of the ‘national space. Klocker (2015) argued that the continuing negative stereotypes of Cronulla after the riot had a substantial influence on ethnic and religious minorities specifically those excluded from the space. The 2014 survey work of Norquay and Drozdowski (2017) on the ‘stereotyping of the Shire⁴¹’ found that over 24% of respondents described the Sutherland Shire as ‘racist’. These perceptions of the Sutherland Shire were directly attributed to the Cronulla riot. Notably, ‘57% of non-residents and 89.3% of

⁴⁰ Media articles analysed were published from December 1997 to December 2013 from the *Sydney Morning Herald*, the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Australian*, and the *St George and Sutherland Shire Leader*. Articles were searched for reference to key terms including ‘Sutherland Shire’, and ‘the shire’, ‘reputation’, ‘stereotype’, and ‘identity’ in the *Sutherland Shire Leader*.

⁴¹ The Shire’ is a common short-hand term used to refer to the Sutherland Shire, a Local Government Area (LGA) in Southeast Sydney where the suburb of Cronulla is located.

Sutherland Shire residents agreed that the riots had affected public opinion of the community's identity' (p. 102). The collective spatial imaginaries generated by the Cronulla riots and subsequent reputation of the wider Sutherland Shire community as 'racist', verify the boundary-making intent and potential ongoing effect of the riot (Klocker, 2015). Norquay and Drozdowski explained that this data set did not question survey respondents on their ethnicity, making it difficult to trace the impacts of the Cronulla riots on specific ethnic minority groups, such as Arab and Muslim Australians.

Researchers have examined the negative perceptions of Cronulla following the riot among young Muslims (Itaoui, 2016) and Sydney residents generally (Norquay & Drozdowski, 2017). Itaoui's (2016) place-based analysis of how Young Muslims 'map' the spatial distribution of Islamophobia across suburbs of Sydney, provided a step forward in understanding the impact of the Cronulla riot on how the Sutherland region is perceived. Itaoui (2016) found that Sutherland was described by survey respondents as being the most Islamophobic region, followed by Sydney's North Side/Eastern Suburbs, as well as the North Shore. There is an anticipation of racism in Cronulla, by Australian Muslims, and generally by 'non-residents' of the Sutherland Shire (Norquay & Drozdowski, 2017). This suggests that mediated constructions of racism might shape the spatial imaginaries and mental maps of belonging, inclusion and citizenship across the Australian public space, and we test for that relationship in this paper. Further, the impact of media reporting of the Cronulla riot on how young Muslims the targeted 'other' engage with the Sutherland region, and Cronulla beach today, is an unexplored area we also address.

7.5 METHOD

A mixed-method case study was undertaken in July 2014 to empirically examine the impacts of Islamophobia on the spatial mobility of young Muslims in Sydney. This involved a quantitative analysis of a web-based survey that captured how young Muslims map Islamophobia across Sydney (see Itaoui, 2016), supplemented by an analysis of semi-structured interviews that explored how such perceptions impact the way respondents engage in regions across the city of Sydney. Utilising both purposive and snowball sampling,

the web-based survey was distributed by the Islamic Sciences Research Academy (ISRA) a community education facility for Muslims in Western Sydney and posted on Facebook groups targeted at young Muslims aged 18-30 years living in Sydney. These Facebook groups included 'Y factor radio show', 'Sydney Muslim Youth', 'Muslim Trading Post Aus' and 'Muslim Student Association' pages for the following universities: Western Sydney University (WSU) Bankstown, Campbelltown, Penrith and Parramatta Campuses, as well as University of Technology Sydney, University of New South Wales and University of Sydney. Seventy-four surveys were completed between the 12th and 30th of July, and resulted in ten face-to-face, follow-up interviews.

Overall, the survey sought to capture how young Muslims perceived various regions across Sydney. The regions were categorised according to the findings in the 2001 Forrest and Dunn (2007) study on the 'geographies of racism in Sydney' (Figure 7.2). The Sutherland region was included as an additional spatial category to those of Forrest and Dunn. The survey captured a series of demographic data including age, gender, level of education and place of residence. It also questioned respondents on the suburbs of Sydney where they felt their Islamic identity was most or least accepted. This paper will exclusively report on the section of the survey that employed Semantic Differential (SD)⁴² scales to facilitate the 'ranking' of perceived Islamophobia across Sydney's regions. SDs are a simple and effective tool for measuring the average group perception of urban areas (Winchester & O'Neill, 1992).

These scales consisted of word pairs that represented the opposite ends of a construct, which in the case of the survey included: multicultural/mono-cultural, tolerant/intolerant, welcoming/racist, comfortable/uncomfortable, or safe/unsafe (Itaoui, 2016). Survey respondents were then required to comment on how likely they were to engage in each region based on the SD scale rankings they assigned to each region. Relevant data were manually coded in geographical units, in accordance with the regions prescribed by Forrest and Dunn (2007) and analysed using statistical analysis computer program *SPSS 22.0*, by calculating the mean average 'overall score' of the ranks assigned to all five variables. This 'overall score' facilitated a comparative analysis of how regions of Sydney were perceived by young Muslims in Sydney.

⁴² SD' is used in the paper when referring to the Semantic Differential scale questions in the Survey.

In-depth, follow-up interviews took place from the 31st of July 2014 to the 13th of August 2014 with ten of the survey respondents in various public locations in Sydney. Interviewees were recruited using a purposive selection process, drawing on the contact details respondents provided at the conclusion of the survey. Participants were selected on the basis that they held a range of demographic characteristics of interest to the study, including an equal diversity of gender, age, and residential locations across Sydney. The resulting participant sample represented a gender breakdown of five males and five females, aged 20 to 29, living across a range of suburbs in Sydney. The interviews explored the way participants experienced Islamophobia, and how these experiences affected their perceptions of, and engagement in public spaces, across Sydney. A thematic coding scheme was developed based on the key findings that emerged from statistical analysis of the survey data. This mixed-method approach provided a deep insight into not only the way young Muslims map Islamophobia across Sydney, but also how they rank Sutherland in comparison to other regions. This quantitative map of Islamophobia was supported with the personal insights of young Muslims as provided throughout the interviews. Together they facilitate a deeper exploration of the connections between the Cronulla riots as an 'Islamophobic experience', perceptions of Cronulla and subsequent mobility of young Muslims in the Sutherland region.

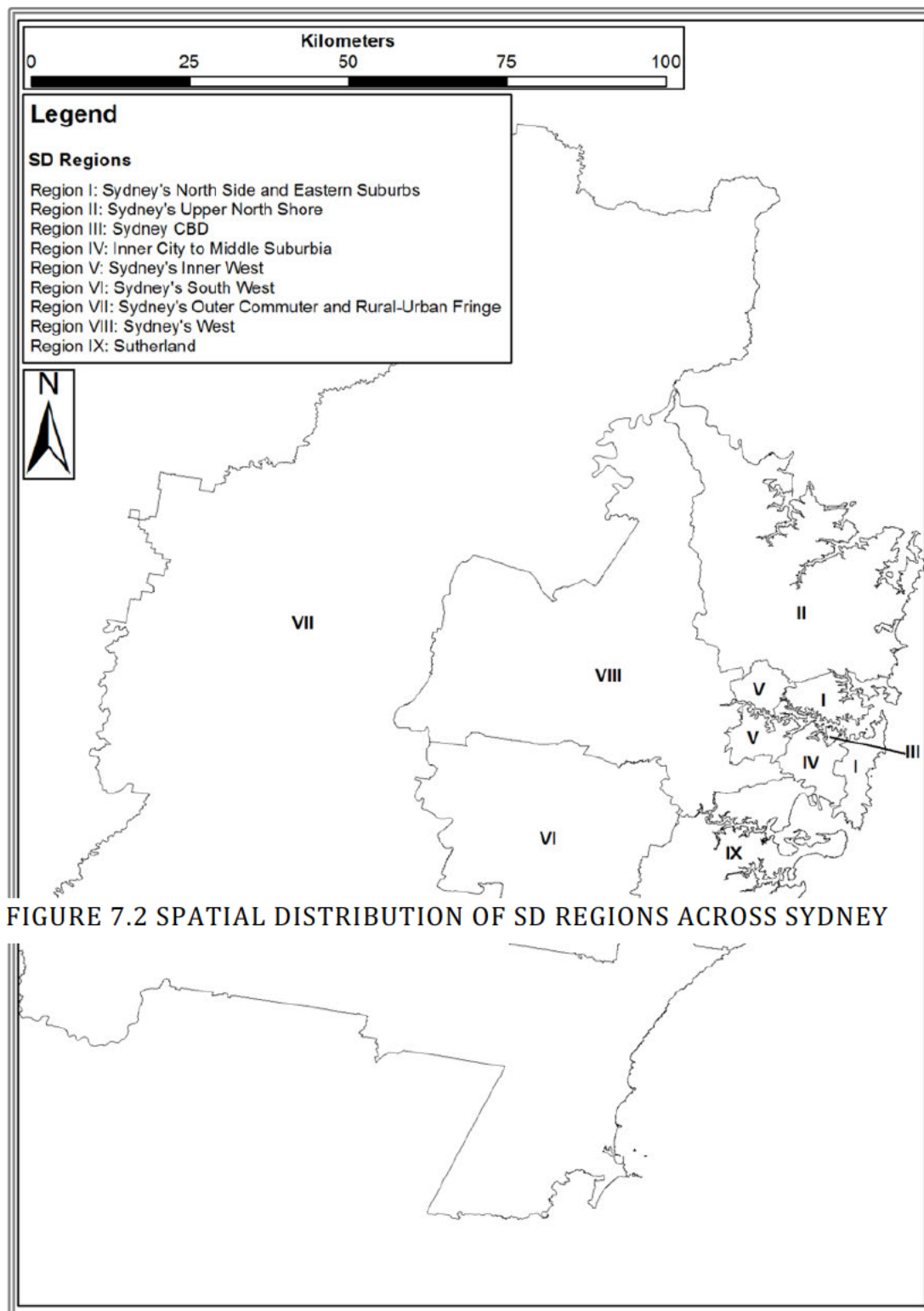


FIGURE 7.2 SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF SD REGIONS ACROSS SYDNEY

SOURCE: ARCGIS (BASED ON THE REGIONS PRESCRIBED BY FORREST AND DUNN 2007)

7.6 MAPPING PERCEPTIONS OF ISLAMOPHOBIA IN SYDNEY

As outlined in Itaoui (2016), and depicted in Figure 7.3, a geographic analysis of survey responses to the Semantic Differential Scales (SDs) reveals a clear *spatial* variation in how young Muslims perceive the spatial distribution of Islamophobia across Sydney. The respondents had positive perceptions of Sydney's Western suburbs and neutral perceptions of inner-city or suburban areas. However, the Sutherland, North Side/Eastern Suburbs and the North Shore of Sydney were ranked most negatively, achieving an overall SD average score of -1 to -2. Sutherland was allocated the lowest overall score, with the following SD scale responses attributed to the region. The scores in Table 7.1 show that young Muslims consistently placed a negative score against the Sutherland area. The Sutherland area, which surrounds the Cronulla Beach, is therefore a no-go zone for young Muslims. A pedagogy of unbelonging has generated this contemporary racist spatial imaginary.

The semantic differential scales allocated by respondents to Sutherland in Table 7.1, illustrate that young Muslims associate the region with being highly 'mono-cultural', as well as relatively 'intolerant' and racist. Further, a general discomfort in this region was accompanied by lower levels of perceived safety than for other regions of Sydney. In one of the field interviews, Thaalia provided a sense of how strongly felt this construction was, by herself and her peers.

Cronulla, even if it was a nice beach, just again based on what happened years ago, so for me **that's really ingrained in my mind** (Int. 6, Female, 29, Strathfield, our emphasis).

TABLE 7.1 YOUNG MUSLIMS' CHARACTERISATION OF SUTHERLAND, SYDNEY (SD SCALES)

SD Word Pair	Average Score
Multicultural/Monocultural (Anglo)	-1
Tolerant/Intolerant	-0.76
Welcoming/Racist	-0.80
Comfortable/Uncomfortable	-0.72
Safe/Unsafe	-0.46

SOURCE: SYDNEY CASE-STUDY SURVEY DATA

This suggests that the specular and sensational event of ten years ago is the key driver of unbelonging. Others made clear that these perceptions were generating alternative, more onerous, spatial decisions. These included avoiding Cronulla or driving further afield to different beaches. These give a sense of the tedious and everyday outcomes of a pedagogy of unbelonging.

Some of my Arab friends didn't like to go to other beaches other than like the whole La Perouse, Brighton circuit... That's just because they didn't want any trouble and stuff like that... after the Cronulla riots (Ali, Male, 25, Greenacre).

Post Cronulla riots those that would have gone to Cronulla beach, I find just based on observation and talking to people, that they will drive a little bit further and go toward, go toward a beach in the National Park, rather than go to Cronulla Beach, because I think it's just, I know it's been so long, but ... it's also very raw because it was a direct attack ... directed at a community and a certain faith (Khadija, Female, 25, Merrylands).

Interestingly, Khadija's account sheds light on not only the impact of this media coverage on how she perceives Cronulla today, but also the way this beach is 'avoided' by her wider social network who now choose to visit alternative beaches instead Cronulla. These are examples of the substantive and disabling impacts of these constructions. Further, her emphasis on the ongoing impacts of this event despite it 'being so long', provides significant insight into the long-lasting pedagogical impacts (Noble & Poytning, 2010) that racist incidents can have on the 'ethnic other' who is being taught where they do, or do not belong in the national

space. Also, this repeated behaviour would reinforce the pedagogy of un-belonging and feed into a continuing spatial proscription.

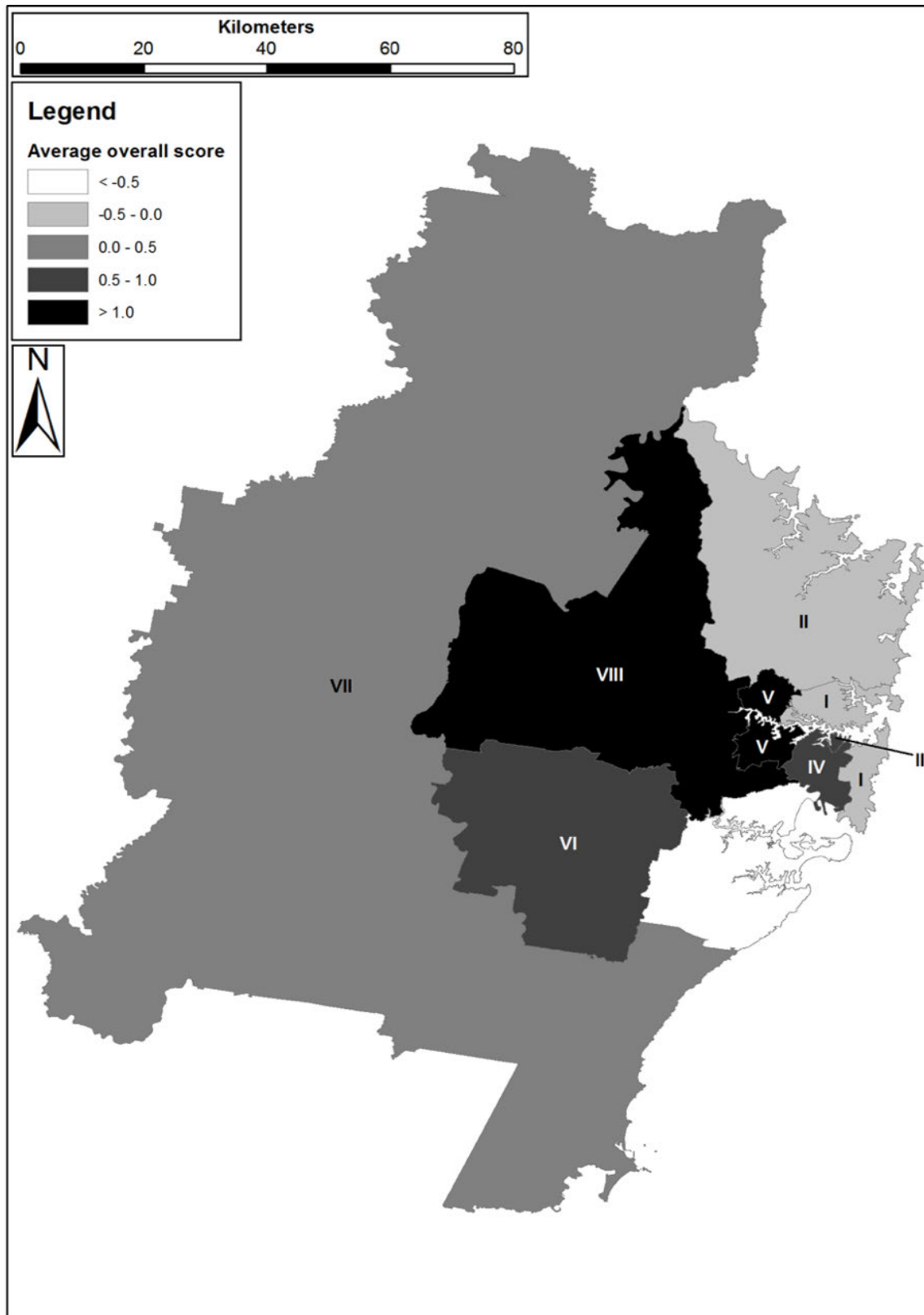


FIGURE 7.3 OVERALL SD SCORES BY SD REGION, SYDNEY

7.7 REPEATED CONFIRMATIONS OF THE PERCEPTION OF SUTHERLAND

In-depth follow-up interviews provided young Muslims with the opportunity to account for and rationalise the ‘geography of Islamophobia’ that the survey data had indicated. Nine of ten interviewees made explicit references to the Cronulla riots to justify their view that Sutherland was an ‘Islamophobia hotspot’. Khaled, for example explained:

When people think of Sutherland, they think, it might not be the right, but I still do judge the entire Sutherland on Cronulla suburb and *hearing about Cronulla now*, I just can’t help but think back to the Cronulla riots...You come to think of Cronulla as not a very accepting suburb (Male, 21, Greenacre, our emphasis).

A reflexive link between perceptions of Islamophobia across space and patterns of (dis)engagement from various public spaces highlights the deeper spatial implications of racism on ethnic minority groups such as young Muslims. Based on the low overall score allocated to Sutherland, sixty-two percent (62%) of survey respondents indicated that they were to some degree, unlikely to use public spaces in this region, with eleven percent (11%) undecided, and the remainder of participants (27%) indicating they were only somewhat likely to engage in the Sutherland region. This purification of space is shown through the informants’ comments, leading to an overall reluctance to visit the suburb of Cronulla by the wider Muslim community. Nadim pointed to how acts of violence and racist incivility, beyond those of just the riot, had repeated the pedagogies of un-belonging.

Since then [Cronulla riots] you feel not so comfortable going to those areas because you know for a fact of previous incidents that have occurred in areas similar to Cronulla and Cronulla in general (Male, 25, Granville).

As depicted in Table 7.1, Sutherland was associated with the lowest rates of comfort, belonging and subsequent engagement among young Muslims, receiving the lowest overall score of all regions. Informant discomfort, fear, frustration and anger around the Cronulla riot draws our attention to the ongoing effect of this event on the way Muslims perceive themselves as ‘outsiders’ within this suburban space.

There was a common perception of un-belonging among the informants, and a subsequent disengagement from the Sutherland region. A common theme in most accounts was that although the respondents had never personally visited Cronulla

beach, or the wider Sutherland region, there was a collective understanding of being 'unwelcome' as a Muslim in the Sutherland region. Sumaya drew direct links between her physical Muslim identity i.e., the wearing of the *hijab* (veil) and her symbolic exclusion from Cronulla beach.

Nah not Cronulla, never there... No never, it's just a feeling I've got especially after the incident that happened there... *I haven't been there personally myself but I have developed this fear* that if I go there, there will be something like you know, they definitely will do something wrong, so I won't go there...but yeah like Cronulla Beach I said that I, I've never been there but just because you know *my community perceive it as a non-friendly beach for Muslims and Hijabis* I avoid it, like I don't go there (Female, 28, Merrylands, our emphasis).

Nadim was also aware of the symbolic exclusion of hijab-wearers from Cronulla beach, and explained that 'If I went on my own [to Cronulla] I'd be okay, but I wouldn't feel comfortable going with family members that are covered' (Male, 25, Granville).

Based on this repeatedly 'taught' perception of un-belonging, respondents were now reluctant to engage in spaces within the Sutherland region. This points to the self-sustaining and reflexive links between the racist riot and the rehearsed spatial imaginaries of exclusion among the Muslim community. As we show in the next section, this is a mediated pedagogy.

7.8 THE MEDIATED CONSTRUCTIONS OF CRONULLA 10 YEARS ON

Central to interview informants' accounts was an emphasis on the role of media coverage in producing a perception of Sutherland as being Islamophobic. This perception pertained even among young Muslims who were not physically present in Cronulla during the riot and who were not old enough to have been able to independently visit Cronulla in 2005. Thalia highlighted the way media representations of the Cronulla riots formed her understanding of the event and her subsequent perception of Sutherland as a region:

Seeing it on the TV and news and the aftermath from there...I put it [Sutherland] in this extreme category but I never go there. Just simply because...my perspectives of the riots, the Cronulla Riots like all those years ago till today will still make me think, do I really

want to go to Miranda shopping centre? What's it going to be like if I go there? (Female, 29, Strathfield).

The informants stated that their perception of the riots was formed exclusively by repeated media reports of the riot on TV or in newspapers. There was a conscious association made by participants between their mediated experience of the Cronulla riot to how these young Muslims now perceive the entire region. Interviewees attributed their low scores for Sutherland, their negative perceptions of the region, to Australian news media coverage of the December 2005 Cronulla riots.

For example, Khadija explained the way media coverage of the Cronulla riot led to her disengagement from the suburb, and an overall avoidance of Cronulla beach, along with her young Muslim peers:

Although I don't go there, I've never been there, just based on *what was seen in the media and what was the aftermath of the Cronulla riots* I just feel like, 'well look, it's just a place I'd rather not go to'... post Cronulla riots those that would have gone to Cronulla beach, I find just based on observation and talking to people, that *they will drive a little bit further and go toward, go toward a beach in the National Park, rather than go to Cronulla Beach*, because I think it's just, I know it's been so long, but it's always, it's also very raw because *it was a direct attack...directed at a community and a certain faith* (Female, 25, Merrylands, our emphasis).

Nadim, who had previously alluded to his discomfort in visiting Cronulla, explained the explicit connection between media reporting of the riot and his subsequent reluctance to engage in the Sutherland region:

I haven't gone to experience it. But at the same time the Islamophobia presented from that region to the media has altered...and it just sorta leaves a mark there, where you think oh, I'm just not gonna bother (Male, 25, Granville).

These perspectives on the direct impact of media reporting around this event on disengagement from the Sutherland region demonstrates how continued everyday media reporting of the event not only played a vital role in the construction of place (Norquay & Drosdzewski, 2017), but actively reproduced the 'ethnic purification' of the Sutherland region catalysed by the Cronulla rioters (Noble, 2009; Noble & Poynting, 2010). Khadija's quotation is also evocative of other core aspects of a pedagogy of un-

belonging, including the naturalised status of the construction of Cronulla as Islamophobic. Repeated and everyday constructions of a 'racist Cronulla' in both the riot, and media reminders of the event give rise to a concretised representation of Cronulla acting as teaching tools for a pedagogy of unbelonging. Khadija also articulates the direct and unambiguously anti-Muslim message that was carried in this pedagogy and the subsequent personal mobility costs of avoidance that have ultimately impaired the Muslim 'right to the city', and overall urban citizenship.

7.9 CONCLUSION

The primary objective of this paper was to explore the reflexive link between racism, spatial perceptions of (un)belonging, and the use of public space. In examining the 'pedagogical impact' of the Cronulla riot, we have demonstrated how the media representation of this racist event shapes young Muslims' maps of Islamophobia and limits their engagement with the wider Sutherland region. The case-study survey, and interview data analysed in this paper, bring to light the active role of Australian mainstream media reporting of racist incidents or events in contributing to a 'pedagogy of unbelonging' (Noble & Poynting, 2010). This pedagogy generates spaces of exclusion from which young Muslims actively disengage. Reflecting on our first question, our findings indicate that the Cronulla riot had explicit impacts on how young Muslims living in Sydney, perceive and engage with Cronulla and the broader Sutherland region today. Firstly, young Muslims' awareness of being the primary target of the riot signifies the way that the racialization of the Muslim in the Australian imaginary has continued the exclusionary work of the rioters – the catalytic white spatial managers. Further, negative perceptions of Sutherland and a general reluctance to access this region highlights how Muslims' rights to mobility, and to the city, have been impaired (Cresswell, 2006). These impacts of the riot on the spatial imaginaries (Itaoui, 2016, Watkins, 2015; Driver, 2005) and behaviours of young Muslims reinforce the boundary-making effect of the place-claiming riot (Klocker, 2015; Nelson, 2014; Norquay & Drosdzewski, 2017). Indeed, the boundaries drawn ten years ago persistently exclude Muslims from Cronulla beach today. These findings emphasise that anticipation of racism (caused by the riot) not only produces spatial imaginaries of exclusion, but also translates into patterns of

(dis)engagement in public spaces, and to the Muslim community rehearsing of exclusion. We have shown the everyday tedious impacts of the riot in producing an immobile Muslim further entrenching, rather than challenging the exclusionary politics of racism.

Our second question concerned the role of the media in impairing mobility of an ethnic other. Both our survey and interview data reveal a link between media constructions of Cronulla Beach as an Islamophobic space and young Muslims' responsive disengagement from this beach and the surrounding suburbs. Young Muslim interviewees disclose the *dual* role of Australian news media in producing disadvantage. First, the media perpetuate labels and stereotypes fundamental to the construction of Australian Muslims as an out-group in the national space (Cole 1997; Gilroy, 1991; Hall, 1992, p. 256 8; Klocker, 2014; Noble & Poynting, 2010). Australian news media coverage not only transmits information about place (Zonn, 1984), but it repeatedly shapes spatial imaginaries of exclusion and mobility. Everyday geographies of (un)belonging, are directly shaped by media reports of racist events, acting as reminders to construct and 'purify' place.

Finally, we return to Noble and Poynting's (2010) conceptualization of the racialised pedagogy of space, where they question: 'how some Australians acquire the capacity to act on their sense of belonging in racist ways, and how other Australians acquire the sense of not belonging' (p. 500). The perspectives of young Australian Muslims discussed in this paper address the latter. The notion of a pedagogy of unbelonging helps conceptualise exclusion from the national space. Our analyses drew on this framework to examine how Australian Muslims acquire, internalise and reproduce this sense of not belonging in specific spaces Cronulla beach and the Sutherland region. Interviewee accounts on the 'practical' impacts of the Cronulla riot on socio-spatial feelings of (un)belonging affirm the way racism teaches the 'other' to feel less comfortable in a specific neighbourhood (Noble, 2005). Noble and Poynting's (2010) 'pedagogy of unbelonging' sheds light on how the 'direct action' (Nelson, 2014) of the Cronulla rioters acted as a catalyst for a pedagogic process around rights and access to public space, that has 'managed' the movement of young Muslims, and thus, their capacity for civility and citizenship in urban spaces. Over a decade after the riot, we highlight that this pedagogy is sustained through repeated proclamations that the space is not Muslim friendly. Ordinary members of this religious group reinforce this message in their everyday discussions and considerations. Drawing from Butler's ideas on repetition

and sedimentation and Essed's everyday racism, we have shown how such pedagogies are sustained. The apparent stability and force of the pedagogy depends on the sedimentation of that idea.

Taken together, the perspectives of young Australian Muslims discussed in this paper demystify a reflexive link between racism and mobility – serving as a base for future studies exploring the impacts of the socio-spatial effects of new racism. The direct association drawn between Australian news media, and its contribution to the spatial ethnic purification of Sutherland highlights the need for more critical constructivist investigations into the role of the media in (re)producing racism across space. Such investigations must undertake empirical work, with a large sample of various ethnic minorities to comprehensively explore these connections. Considerations must move beyond preliminary discussions of how news media can perpetuate the othering of out-groups and examine its role in producing specific spatial exclusions and motility. As comprehensively articulated by Noble and Poynting the implications of this 'pedagogy of unbelonging' are extensive (see pp. 500–502). Our findings provide empirical evidence of these implications, verifying the way rejection from and anticipation of racism across the national space produces inventories of fear that reduce mobility capacities and engagement in public spaces. Young Muslims in our case study emphasised the practical consequences, and they highlighted the anticipated impacts of racism if they engaged in certain public spaces. More deeply, racist events and their media coverage, feed into socio-spatial exclusion and a broader limitation on national belonging and citizenship. However, constructing spaces as Islamophobic does existentially open up the prospect that other parts of the city are Muslim friendly. This possibility may or may not assuage national unbelonging, as some space is then preserved for the excluded minority. The affirmative possibilities of such usurpatory claims to space are worthy of future nuanced research.

8 ANTI-RACIST MUSLIM MOBILITIES IN THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

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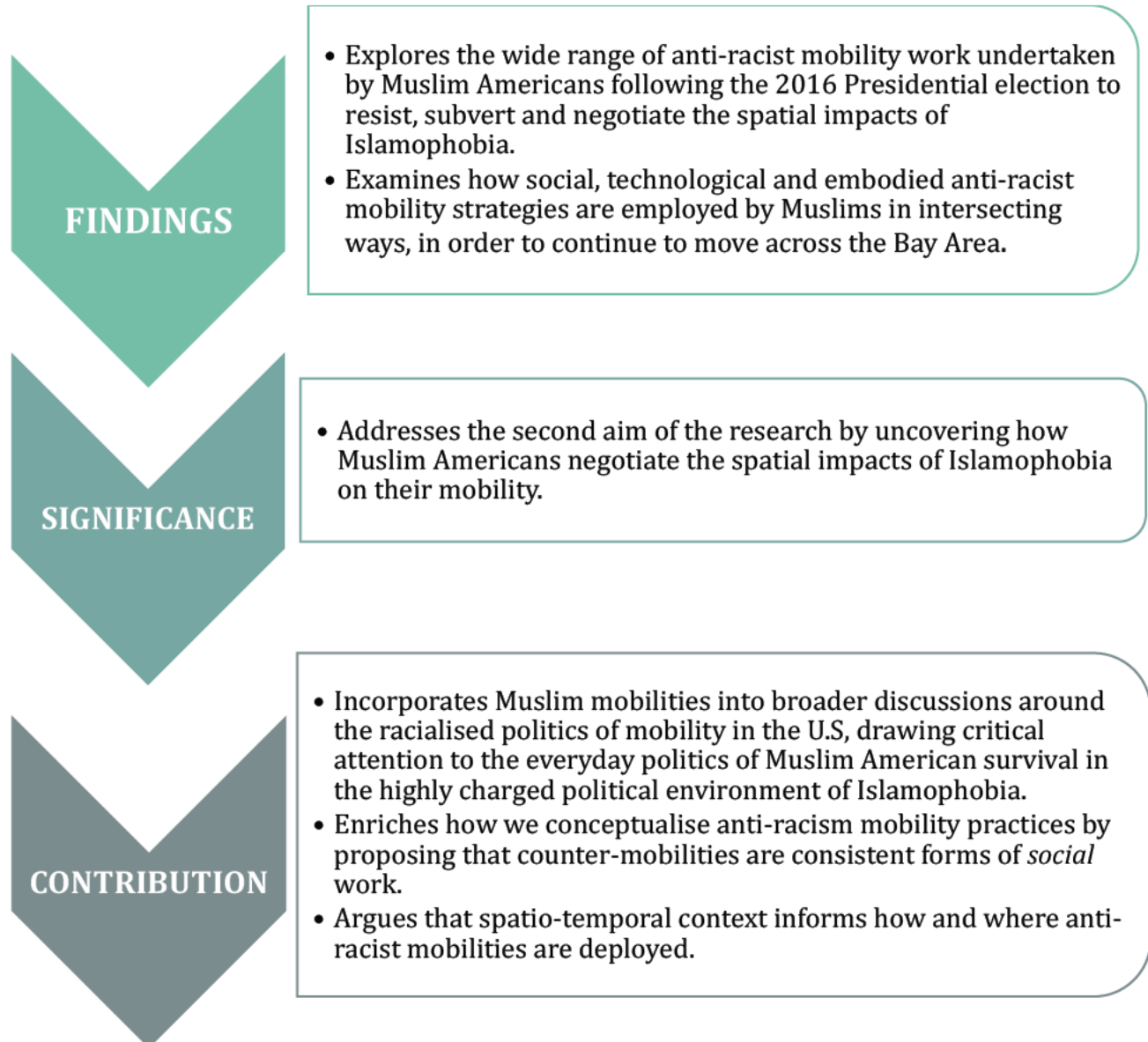


FIGURE 8.1 SUMMARY OF PAPER 4: ANTI-RACIST MUSLIM MOBILITIES IN THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

8.1 INTRODUCTION

In this article, we explicitly connect geographies of Islamophobia with the anti-racism mobilities framework. We contend that there is a compelling case for geographers to critically examine the contemporary mobility tactics and strategies employed by racialised targets, and to conceptualise these geographies as significant forms of anti-racist practice. By establishing a connection between geographies of Islamophobia with understandings of mobility as a racialised technology we can augment critical geographical analyses of Islamophobia and Muslim mobility practices; recognising mobility as an important part of wider anti-racist responses to Islamophobia that manifest within certain spatio-temporal contexts.

Since the turn of the twenty-first century there has been a significant increase in the legislative tools and practices used to profile, survey and police Muslim bodies as they move through space (Kumar, 2012; Kudnani, 2014; Najib & Hopkins, 2019; Selod, 2019). Specifically, these tools work to restrict the how Muslim bodies move both across, and within national borders (Considine, 2017; Maira, 2016; Lejevardi & Oskooi, 2018; Selod, 2019). Efforts to control Muslim movement in the West have been rationalised along the lines of governmental surveillance, securitisation and restriction (Finlay & Hopkins, 2020; Considine, 2017; Selod, 2015), which are particularly evident in the case of the United States (US) where the mobility of Muslim bodies has been constructed as a threat to homeland security (Selod, 2019). Such perspectives can be traced back to the War on Terror that followed the September 11 attacks in 2001 (9/11) and has continued through to the introduction of the US Muslim Travel Ban in January 2017 (Pulido *et al.*, 2019; Selod, 2019; Tesler, 2018).

While efforts to problematize, control and contain Muslim mobilities are not limited to the United States (US) (Itaoui, 2019; Selod, 2015) the incidence and impact of anti-Muslim political discourse, events and policies have amplified since the election of President Trump in late-2016 (Pulido *et al.*, 2019)⁴³. Because of this, there is a particular need to examine how

⁴³Scholars have highlighted that the anti-Islam rhetoric and policies by the Trump presidential campaign and administration specifically targeting Muslims and Arabs (as well as Mexicans/Latinx) over black people and Native Americans has reshaped the racial formation of the United States (Pulido *et al.*, 2019). This builds on ongoing debates around the racialisation of Muslims and Arabs in the US, particularly following the 9/11 attacks in 2001 (e.g., Rana, 2012; Selod, 2015; Selod, 2019).

Islamophobia affects Muslim American mobilities, and to capture how Muslim Americans respond to and survive these political technologies through anti-racist mobility strategies, tactics and performances.

Drawing on the work of Alderman and Inwood (2016) we describe the range of movement controlling discourses and practices that structure the spatial lives of Muslims within the wider exercise of Islamophobia as *Muslim mobility*⁴⁴. Also like Alderman and Inwood (2016), we understand mobility as a political technology that is racialised and used at a variety of scales to control and exclude individuals and populations.

We adopt Alderman and Inwood's (2016) understanding of mobility as a racialised technology for two reasons. First, this framework recognises that the everyday racialised geographies of spatial mobility experienced by Muslim Americans are *contextual*. That is, they are constituted spatially and temporally (c.f. Castree, 2009; Hannam, Sheller & Urry, 2006; Maira, 2016; Beydoun, 2018; Kundani, 2014). This means that any analysis of contemporary racialised mobilities in the US should be understood within the context of the long-tradition of movement-controlling practices that have been directed towards various racialised groups living in the US⁴⁵. Second, understanding mobility as a racialised technology also creates analytical space for this research to identify and examine how racialised geographies of spatial mobility are actively negotiated, resisted and challenged as forms of anti-racist practice⁴⁶ (Alderman & Inwood, 2016; Alderman *et al.*, 2019).

In the paper that follows we begin with a critical review of the geographical work on Islamophobia noting that, while this work has examined the spatial impacts of Islamophobia, it is yet to connect with the concept of mobility as a racialised technology. This paper addresses this gap through our analysis of the experiences of Muslims in the San Francisco

⁴⁴ Muslim mobility builds on the concept of *black mobility*. *Black mobility* is defined by Alderman and Inwood (2016, 602) as 'the range of movement-controlling practices' that structured the lives of African Americans and the wider exercise of white supremacy and segregation in the Jim Crow South'.

⁴⁵ For example, Native Americans (McKittrick, 2007), African Americans (Hague, 2010; Alderman and Inwood, 2016; Alderman, Williams and Bottone, 2019), undocumented immigrants (Stuesse and Coleman, 2016; Bullard, 2004) and Japanese Americans (Cheung, 2008; Kobayashi, 2005).

⁴⁶ The term "anti-racist" is the subject of lively debate inside and outside of academia (e.g., Aquino, 2015, 2016). In the majority of political conversations, the need to be "anti-racist" implies a need to actively challenge racism where and when it occurs. While this conventional definition would imply that this is different to actions that avoid racism, we seek to broaden the definition of anti-racism by drawing necessary attention to the anti-racist intent and impact of seemingly mundane everyday behaviours of racialised individuals when surviving the everyday racialised politics of mobility, such as continuing to occupy space, avoiding spaces of risk, or negotiating racism in strategic ways beyond conventional protest (Alderman & Inwood, 2016; Alderman *et al.*, 2019; Aquino, 2015, 2016).

Bay Area following the election of Donald Trump in 2017. We document for the first time, the range of anti-racism mobility practices employed by young Muslims in the US to “subvert, negotiate and survive” the impacts of Islamophobia on spatial mobility, and continue to move in transgressive and resistant ways (Alderman & Inwood, 2016, p. 597). We apply this understanding of mobility as a racialised political technology to examine Muslim Americans’ responses, and argue that these practices were developed and spatialised in the context of surviving the impacts of the 2016 election, influencing how, when and where various counter-mobilities were deployed by Muslims.

8.2 GEOGRAPHIES OF ISLAMOPHOBIA AND ANTI-RACIST MOBILITIES

Social and cultural geographers have conceptualised Islamophobia as a form of everyday, systemic and embodied racism and discrimination against Muslim populations and people who are perceived to be Muslim’ (Itaoui, 2016; McGinty, 2020; Najib & Teeple Hopkins, 2020)⁴⁷ Since late 2000s, geographers have demonstrated that place and space are significant factors that actively work to shape the racialisation of Muslims, contributing to the reproduction of Islamophobia at a variety of scales (Siraj, 2011; Listerborn, 2015; Najib, 2020; Najib & Hopkins, 2019; 2020; Najib & Teeple Hopkins, 2020; Itaoui, 2016, 2019; Hancock, 2020; Gorman & Culcasi, 2020). Multiples studies have shown the complex ways that anti-Muslim racisms are constructed and manifest spatially, and how Islamophobia has come to powerfully inform the spatial imaginaries and practices of both Muslims and non-Muslims. This work has focused on how discourses of belonging have driven these outcomes, of who belongs in urban spaces (Noble & Poynting, 2010; Itaoui 2016, 2019; Itaoui & Dunn, 2017).

Contributions to the geographies of Islamophobia have focused on urban settings, in a range of national contexts across Europe (Mythen *et al.*, 2009, 749; Najib & Hopkins, 2019; Listerborn 2015) and in Australia (Itaoui and Dunn, 2017; Gholamhosseini *et al.*, 2018; Dekker, 2020). Common across these studies is the finding that fear of Islamophobia works

⁴⁷ It has been noted that the constructed otherness of Muslims has racialised the religion of Islam in the United States (Omi and Winant, 1994; Selod, 2015; Beydoun, 2018). Anti-Islamic sentiment is thus framed as a racialisation, which essentialises and homogenises Muslims on the grounds of religion and culture, including physical, cultural and religious aspects of their religious identity (Jamal & Naber, 2008; Najib & Teeple Hopkins, 2020; Sayyid & Vakil, 2010).

to determine everyday spatial choices and patterns of engagement in various parts of the city. For example, avoidance or disengagement with certain places because of a fear of encountering Islamophobia (Itaoui and Dunn, 2017) or navigating public spaces while managing fear and being hyper vigilant (Najib and Hopkins 2019; Listerborn, 2015). While geographers are yet to directly examine the impact of Islamophobia on Muslim American mobility, research on experiences of Islamophobia more generally in the US (Cainkar, 2005; Kwan, 2008; McGinty, 2012; Sziarto, McGinty and Seymour-Jorn 2014) has found that Muslims have experienced difficulty locating safe spaces from Islamophobia following the 9/11 attacks.

Notwithstanding the awareness in the geographies of Islamophobia literatures on the connections between Islamophobia and its impact on Muslim mobility there has been limited empirical work on how Islamophobia informs and influences the everyday counter-mobility practices of Muslims (although see Najib and Hopkins, 2019)⁴⁸. Furthermore, little is known about the everyday politics of surviving the War on Terror's racialised processes, practices and policies as Muslim Americans continue to move through racialised urban landscapes. Other disciplines have documented the ways Muslims have challenged Islamophobia in non-spatial ways (Rana, 2012; Maira, 2016; Love 2009). Despite the ongoing politicization of Muslim movements in the last few decades (see Selod, 2015; Selod, 2019; Kumar, 2012; Pulido *et al.*, 2019), geographical work on Islamophobia has been yet to connect the impacts of Islamophobia on Muslim mobilities with the work on the politics of mobility and race (Alderman and Inwood, 2016). Such a connection is significant, augmenting analyses of Muslim anti-racist mobility practices, and positioning as a type of anti-racist response when surviving Islamophobia across space and in place.

8.2.1 ANTI-RACIST MUSLIM MOBILITIES

This paper contributes to the geographies of Islamophobia by connecting to recent work around the concept of anti-racist mobilities. Drawing on the mobility turn and the argument

⁴⁸ Najib and Hopkins (2019) demonstrated the diverse ways that Muslim women in Paris adjusted and developed new strategies and practices of mobility in response to geopolitical events and the politicisation of their religious faith, however these practices were not situated within broader anti-racist mobility literatures.

that there is a politics to mobility (Adey, 2010; Cresswell, 2006; Dufty-Jones, 2012; Hannam *et al.*, 2006; Sheller, 2018), Alderman and Inwood (2016, p. 602) defined anti-racism mobilities as ‘the meaningful counter-mobilities that subvert racism’. Various described as ‘counter-mobilities’, ‘anti-racism mobilities’ or ‘altermobilities’, anti-racism mobilities are the strategies used to anticipate, negotiate, subvert, survive and/or resist efforts to constrain or contain racialised bodies and how they move through spaces and places.

The concept of anti-racism mobility builds on wider calls for consideration of how spatial mobility is shaped by the politics of racism: that is, mobility is a racialised technology of power (Seiler, 2007; Cresswell, 2010b, 2016; Hague, 2010; Noble and Poynting, 2010; Nicholson & Sheller, 2016)⁴⁹. The ordering and controlling the movement of people, space, and spatial boundaries is a key practice in maintaining racial disparities in urban spaces (Mitchell, 2000). Therefore, ‘unequal relations of power in both mobility and race shape a racialised politics of mobility’ (Nicholson & Sheller, 2016, p. 4)⁵⁰, and results in the increased vulnerability and immobilization of racialised bodies, across diverse spaces, sites and practices of mobility (Wilson, 2011; Slocum, 2008; Leitner, 2012; Lobo, 2014; Phillips, 2015). Spatial mobility is therefore understood to be embedded within unequal racialised hierarchies of power (Seiler, 2007) and is intertwined with the construction of racial identities’ (Hague, 2010, p. 331), which go on to produce further racialised inequalities (Allen, Lawhon & Pierce, 2019; Alderman & Inwood 2016; Hague 2010; Mitchell, 2000; Seiler, 2007). As emphasised by Cresswell (2016, p. 21), ‘race and mobility are socially produced in a constantly iterative and circular manner’, especially in the US where the politics of race and the politics of mobility are ‘joined at the hip’ Cresswell (2008, p. 134). U.S. culture has consistently problematised and restricted the mobility of racialised bodies.

“Arguably, racial profiling, be this of African American drivers or Pakistani American air travellers, indicates a continuing relationship between mobility and race in the contemporary United States, and simultaneously reaffirms that a white

⁴⁹Such perspectives have emerged among a range of different approaches to studying politics and mobility.

⁵⁰ For example, refer to Special Issue on Race and Mobility in ‘Transfers’ (Volume 6, Issue 1).

racial identity confers relatively unfettered mobility”. (Hague, 2010, p 336, emphasis added)

Mobility has therefore been conceptualised a resource that is “differentially accessed” by racialised communities in America (Cresswell, 2010b, p. 21), such as African Americans (Hague, 2010), Native Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans, Japanese Americans (Carpio, 2019, Cheung, 2008; Stuesse & Coleman, 2014). However, despite this scholarly attention paid in recent years to how mobility and race have intersected in the U.S., little scholarship currently focuses on intersections of mobility and race for Muslims as a newly racialised group in America today.

The concept of anti-racism mobility also draws on the geographies of anti-racism literatures (Slocum, 2008; Nelson, Dunn & Paradies, 2011; Nelson & Dunn, 2017). Ranging from everyday forms of activism (Pulido, 2002), to bystander action (Nelson *et al.*, 2011; Paradies, 2006), geographies of anti-racism research has explored both organized and everyday forms of anti-racism in various spaces to challenge racial injustice (Nash, 2003). Of particular relevance, the geographies of anti-racism have also examined how in a variety of spaces and places anti-racist actions are undertaken by those who are the *targets* of racism (Kobayashi & Peake, 2000; Pulido, 2002; Allen *et al.*, 2019). These contributions have expanded our understandings of “the strategies of resistance and survival” (Kelley 1993, p. 4) employed by people of colour to resist the negative impacts of racism. Specific to racialised mobility, the “right to survive” (Heynen, 2009) has been defended as a radical political action (Alderman & Inwood 2016). Employing the politics of survival framework, Alderman and Inwood (2016) and Alderman *et al* (2019) have examined how African Americans have historically used their own geographic mobility as a form of resistant survivability in countering and negotiating racism in white places. Specifically, Alderman *et al* (2019) highlighted how the seemingly mundane driving practices, decisions and preparations employed by African American’s travelling in the South during the Jim Crow era represented a ‘counter-mobility that subverted, negotiated, and survived racial apartheid’ (p. 2). In employing the politics of survival framework, these contributions have emphasised that survival and resiliency are interrelated tools in challenging racism among racialised individuals. This body of work compels that we question how specific aspects or practices of

movement among newly racialised groups such as Muslims may take on political anti-racist importance within the broader context of survivability in racialised landscapes (Alderman & Inwood, 2016; Alderman *et al.*, 2019).

Despite being a relatively new contribution to the politics of mobilities and geographies of anti-racism literatures, there are now several studies that employ the concept of ‘anti-racist mobility’ (Alderman & Inwood, 2016; Alderman *et al.*, 2019; Finney & Potter, 2018; Stuesse & Coleman, 2014). Together, these studies have identified three types of mobility strategies – technological, embodied and social – that are employed by different individuals and groups to resist, subvert or survive racialised efforts to constrain their spatial mobility.

Technological mobility strategies refer to the use of a range of technologies, infrastructures and/or non-human entities (e.g., transport, communication etc.) to facilitate physical movement across racialised landscapes. These strategies include acquiring and using technical skills to use and maintain technologies that facilitate movement (e.g. a drivers licence or mechanical skills), utilising social media to educate and coordinate mobilities in geographies of risk (e.g. the use of telecommunications technology by undocumented immigrants to organise carpools with licensed drivers (Stuesse & Coleman, 2014), or using maps and road networks to plan the pace, timing and route of driving in an effort to avoid racism (Alderman *et al.*, 2019; Pesses, 2017)⁵¹.

Embodied anti-racist mobility strategies refer to the various performances, behaviours and choices of racialised individuals to negotiate and moderate the possible and actual experiences of racism while moving through different landscapes. For example, African American NASCAR driver Wendell Scott used his lighter skin complexion to ‘pass’ as white in situations where he or others were under threat (Alderman & Inwood, 2016). Finney and Potter (2018) also showed how African American college students have carved out a black sense of place on Tybee Island via their ongoing presence at the disputed ‘Orange Crush’ festival.

Last, *social anti-racist mobility strategies* involve practices that are used with the intent to manage tense social relations of racism on both racialised individuals, as well as their wider

⁵¹ Pesses (2017) explains the way in which The Negro Motorist Green Books (published by Victor H. Green & Company between 1936 and 1967) provided references for black motorists on road trips to help them avoid dangerous towns, racist establishments, and the effects of a segregated America.

communities. On the NASCAR racetrack in the 1960-70s, Scott practiced a creative mixture of self-defence and tactical avoidance to manage stressed social relations with fellow drivers (Alderman & Inwood, 2016), while undocumented immigrant drivers in present-day Atlanta harnessed social networks to evade unfair policing of their driving and to continue moving across their cities (Stuesse & Coleman, 2014).

The research on anti-racism mobilities demonstrates the broad array of creative and strategic mobility practices that are worked by targeted individuals and groups in order to move through a range of places in transgressive and resistant ways. Yet, because of the nascent status of the anti-racism mobility literatures, little is known about the contemporary anti-racist mobility practices of other racialised groups, such as Muslims, with much of the anti-racism mobility work focusing mostly on the experiences of African Americans (with the exception of Stuesse & Coleman, 2014). Furthermore, current analyses of anti-racist mobilities have concentrated on specific spaces when examining anti-racist mobilities such as the beach (Finney & Potter, 2018), the racetrack (Alderman & Inwood 2016) and car travel (Stuesse & Coleman, 2014; Alderman & Inwood, 2016; Alderman *et al.*, 2019). Our assessment of Islamophobia addresses this limitation and broadens the application of the anti-racism mobility framework to examine the everyday survivability of Muslim Americans in the face of Islamophobia across a wider range of public spaces.

Exploring the racialised counter-mobilities of Muslim Americans provides a valuable opportunity to address gaps in understanding of the geographies of Islamophobia, specifically the emerging work on Muslim mobilities. While the research on racialised Muslim mobilities hints at the anti-racist possibilities therein (e.g., see Najib & Hopkins 2019; Itaoui & Dunn 2017), this work, thus far, has not explicitly connected Muslim mobilities to the politics of mobility and as a specific form of anti-racist action. Similarly, anti-racism geographies (e.g., Nelson *et al.*, 2011, Nash 2003, Slocum 2008) have yet to engage in developments around racialised countermobilities as examples of anti-racism among targets of racism. This gap remains despite the wide calls for more critical engagements in the creative agency and survival among people of colour (Gilbert, 1998; McKittrick, 2011), including practices that racialised individuals have actively fashioned and employed to transform their geographic immobility.

By bringing together the critical literatures on the geographies of Muslim mobilities, and geographies of anti-racism into dialogue with the anti-racism mobility framework this paper contributes to both bodies of work by demonstrating how the everyday mobility strategies and performances of Muslim Americans living in the Bay Area should be viewed as significant forms of anti-racist practice.

8.3 ANALYSING THE ANTI-RACIST MOBILITY PRACTICES OF YOUNG MUSLIM AMERICANS LIVING IN THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA.

Interviews were conducted with twenty-eight (28) young Muslims (defined as those aged between 18-35 years old) living in the San Francisco Bay Area, between January 2017 to April 2017, in a variety of public locations in the Bay Area (see Table 8.1)⁵². Interviewees were recruited through a questionnaire⁵³ for a broader study of the ‘Geographies of Islamophobia in the Bay Area’, where participants indicated their interest in being interviewed.⁵⁴ The project was designed by the Challenging Racism Project at Western Sydney University, along with researchers from the Islamophobia Research and Documentation Project (within the Center for Race and Gender) at the University of California Berkeley. Overall, the project sought to uncover the spatial imaginaries of Islamophobia across the Bay Area (see Itaoui 2019), and how these mental maps of racism impact the spatial mobility practices of young Muslims.

Interviewees were aged from 19 to 35 years old (see Table 8.1). The gender breakdown of this cohort was 13 males and 16 females. The majority of participants (53%) were Pakistani-American (15)⁵⁵. The ethnic background of the remainder of participants were Egyptian (3), African American (3) Palestinian (2), Anglo American (2), Afghan American (2) and Sri Lankan American (1). All interviewees were either employed (21) or full-time students (7). The respondents had lived in the San Francisco Bay Area for at least two-years, were

⁵² The principal researcher met the interviewees in public places including cafes, parks and common areas on various campuses or buildings of local Muslim community organizations.

⁵³ This survey does not form the analysis of the paper, rather is being referred to as a recruitment tool for the interviews analysed.

⁵⁴ The research was approved by the Western Sydney Human Ethics Committee (approval number H11351)

⁵⁵ This reflects the demographic profile of participants of Senzai and Bazian’s (2013) Bay Area Muslim study which comprised of a large South Asian population.

generally familiar with the region, and able to provide valuable insights into their mobility and experience of Islamophobia.

TABLE 8.1 PARTICIPANT PROFILES: INTERVIEWS WITH YOUNG MUSLIMS IN THE BAY AREA

Name	Gender	Age	Ethnicity/Race	City of Residence
1. Feroza	Female	22	Pakistani American	Berkeley
2. Angela	Female	27	Anglo American	San Francisco
3. Abeer	Female	26	Pakistani American	Fremont
4. Samira	Female	34	Pakistani American	Fremont
5. Noor	Female	28	Afghan American	Fremont
6. Sandra	Female	22	Anglo American	Berkeley
7. Zaynab	Female	32	Pakistani American	San Jose
8. Alima	Female	25	African American	Oakland
9. Saida	Female	21	Pakistani American	Fremont
10. Iman	Female	20	Sri-Lankan American	Berkeley
11. Maryam	Female	33	Palestinian American	Richmond
12. Maleeka	Female	19	African American	Berkeley
13. Sana	Female	32	Palestinian American	Berkeley
14. Huda	Female	25	Pakistani American	San Francisco
15. Maysa	Female	22	Pakistani American	Fremont
16. Nadeem	Male	23	Egyptian American	Hayward
17. Ali	Male	28	Egyptian American	Millbrae
18. Khaled	Male	23	Pakistani American	Fremont
19. Zeeshan	Male	19	Pakistani American	San Jose
20. Usama	Male	22	Pakistani American	Pleasanton
21. Bilal	Male	29	Pakistani American	Berkeley
22. Rasheed	Male	23	Pakistani American	Fremont
23. Ahmed	Male	26	Pakistani American	Milpitas
24. Hamza	Male	28	Pakistani American	Fremont

25. Nabeel	Male	27	Pakistani American	Union City
26. Yehya	Male	22	Afghan American	Fremont
27. Maurice	Male	31	African American	Oakland
28. Omar	Male	26	Egyptian American	Oakland

The national political context was an important factor that influenced the interview data collected. Specifically, the interviews were conducted in the months leading to, and following the 2016 US election, and therefore provided unique insight into how participants⁵⁶ understood Islamophobia as it was manifest in the San Francisco Bay Area immediately after the election. President Donald Trump ran an anti-Muslim presidential campaign, promising to create a Muslim registry, close mosques and deport Syrian Muslim refugees (Tesler, 2018; Gorman & Culcasi, 2020). Months after the election, Trump signed two Executive Orders often referred to as 'The Muslim Ban' that limited the immigration of individuals from majority Muslim nations (Fritzsche & Nelson, 2019; McGinty 2020). The rhetoric and the policies of the 2016 election led to a significant rise in Islamophobia in the US. There was a reported 197% rise in anti-Muslim groups in American between 2015-2016 (Potok, 2018); local Islamophobia intensified in various parts of the nation (Nagel, 2016; Fritzsche & Nelson, 2019) and the entire American Muslim community was affected, regardless of national and ethnic background or legal status (McGinty, 2020).

The interviews sought to understand where anti-Muslim experiences occurred, and how perceptions of Islamophobia across space affected interviewee's mobility practices across the Bay Area. An anti-racism mobility framework was used to analyse the interview transcripts, looking specifically at *technological*, *embodied* or *social* anti-racism mobility practices.

8.4 THE ANTI-RACIST MOBILITIES OF MUSLIMS IN THE BAY AREA

The anti-racism mobility strategies of Muslim Americans represent a dynamic a combination of technological, embodied and social practices. Anti-racist mobilities practices of Muslims are therefore employed to negotiate, challenge and survive the socio-political context of Islamophobia on their spatial mobility and are thus discovered to be 'always social'⁵⁷ in their anti-racist intent and impact.

⁵⁶ We use a pseudonym to protect the privacy of participants.

⁵⁷ These findings reinforce the argument of the large body of literature that has emphasised that the body is 'always social', demonstrated in the ongoing social work of challenging embodied racism across a range of spaces.

The analysis presented in this section reports on two of the possible four additional anti-mobility categories that could develop when merging bodily, social and technological practices: 1) *socio-bodily* and 2) *socio-technological*. These two categories represented the most prominent forms of anti-racist mobility work undertaken by Muslims, demonstrating the continuing social work of negotiating the spatial impacts of racism. Within this discussion, we also uncover the diverse spaces in which these anti-racist mobilities are enacted following the 2016 election, including public transport, the airport, the street, the grocery store, and Muslim sites of worship or congregation.

8.4.1 SOCIO-BODILY PRACTICES

Bodily and social anti-racism mobility practices of young American Muslims living in the Bay Area intersect. This socio-bodily anti-racism mobility took two main forms: '*proactive prevention*' and '*bystander action*'.

8.4.1.1 'PROACTIVELY PREVENTATIVE' SOCIO-BODILY ANTI-RACIST MOBILITY PRACTICES

Geographers have established that Muslims are negatively targeted by Islamophobia in the public sphere (Hopkins, 2016; Listerborn, 2015; Najib & Hopkins, 2020). In response to fears of racist interactions, Muslim Americans in the Bay Area navigated everyday public spaces with a heightened sense of 'preparedness', in a bid to detect and mitigate potential Islamophobic attacks (see Livengood & Stodolska, 2004; Najib & Hopkins, 2019). These anti-racist mobility tactics of 'proactive prevention' (Alderman & Inwood, 2016) were used in a range of spaces across the region.

The vigilance of Muslims in public spaces was regularly accompanied by a range of socio-bodily anti-racism mobility practices employed strategically to resist, subvert and minimise the risk of Islamophobia. For example, Maleeka explained that as she moved through public spaces, she reminded herself:

Don't make eye contact. Keep walking. Seem happy. Don't seem scared. There are certain cues that you take when you walk down the street with a hijab... [because] at the end of the day...instead of it [fear of Islamophobia] affecting if you use this space, it's more so you're being actually vigilant when you're in that space (Maleeka, Female, 19 years old, African American).

Feroza described how she used eye contact with bystanders as a way of defusing and resisting an instance of Islamophobia while travelling on public transport.

Once a guy on BART [the train]⁵⁸ looked me and yelled 'Is there a bomb, is there a bomb, is there a bomb?!' ... I started looking at everyone because *I think eye contact is a good way to just like let people know that I don't mean harm and I acknowledge you. It's not that I'm being shady or you don't know what I'm doing like I'm just another person* (Feroza, Female, 22 years, Pakistani American, emphasis added).

Rasheed also described how he used different bodily practices to communicate and reassure people that as a Muslim moving through public spaces, he posed no threat.

I think it's how I approach people as well. ... *I'm not aggressive*. If I'm walking, [I don't want people to] ... *think 'Oh that's a dangerous guy'*. *I smile at people* as much as possible. ... I try to do the small things that people will notice (Rasheed, Male, 23, Pakistani American, emphasis added).

Nadeem also drew on more socio-bodily practices that he employed to negotiate the tense social relations of Islamophobia by providing opportunities for multicultural encounters with others in public spaces. For example, he explained how himself, and other members of the Muslim Students Association (MSA) hosted public education events about Islam and created forums for members of the public to ask them questions about their faith in public spaces. They utilised the space a local shopping mall to gift fellow shoppers' fresh roses, with sayings of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH⁵⁹ attached as a note.

⁵⁸ BART is a common abbreviation used to refer to the Bay Area Rapid Transit rail service which connects San Francisco and Oakland with urban and suburban areas in Alameda, Contra Costa, Santa Clara and San Mateo counties.

⁵⁹ Peace be upon him (abbreviated to PBUH in English-language writing) is a conventional phrase attached to the names of prophets in Islam.

We're just giving out [roses] to random people. We had 500 roses with the true message of Islam - so we reached 500 people. That's one of the biggest ways that I feel I deal with Islamophobia...just continue doing whatever you're doing and setting the bar higher. Hey this is a Muslim and he's giving out free lunch; this is a Muslim and he's giving out free roses during [mid-term] week just to uplift people's spirits. That goes a long way I feel. (Nadeem)

Nadeem's pro-social behaviour was employed to directly challenge negative stereotypes of Muslims as violent or unapproachable (Selod, 2019) in the public sphere, using gift-giving to open opportunities for multicultural encounter (Wilson, 2011; Hopkins *et al.*, 2017). This embodied practice was driven by a desire to disrupt and challenge social tensions of Islamophobia by cultivating opportunities for social bridging, connection and understanding. Importantly, this practice was employed in a geography of risk the shopping centre- by strategically using his visibility as a Muslim to redefine public perceptions of Muslim mobility in this space.

When navigating everyday spaces, young Muslim Americans in the Bay Area employed a delicate balance in both being prepared for Islamophobic attacks, whilst also employing pro-social *bodily* anti-racist practices as a way of 'softening' their encounters with others in public spaces and facilitating their mobility through public spaces. These findings parallel those by Alderman and Inwood (2016) who found that Wendell Scott balanced bodily performances of self-defence and tactful avoidance on the NASCAR racetrack to negotiate social tensions around the presence of his body in 'white' space.

Our findings advance the anti-racism mobility framework by demonstrating how the embodied anti-racism mobility practices of the young Muslim Americans we interviewed intersect in strategic ways with social anti-racism objectives in managing cross-cultural relations. Specifically, young Muslim Americans used their bodies to undertake the social work of connecting and communicating with those around them in nuanced and sophisticated ways that challenged racist perceptions of their religious identities. The diverse range of embodied anti-racist mobility approaches of young Muslim Americans from avoiding or making eye contact to consciously presenting their Muslim bodies as

courageous, strong and/or kind can therefore be understood as social anti-racism mobility practices employed to navigate, survive and resist the threat of Islamophobia on Muslim mobility in the Bay Area.

8.4.1.2 IN-GROUP 'BYSTANDER' ANTI-RACISM

The spatial risk of Islamophobia is negotiated by Muslim Americans through the strategic use of in-group bystander anti-racism. The visibility of Muslim bodies works to deepen their racialisation process, subjecting them to higher levels of racial profiling and Islamophobic abuse across public spaces (Budhwani & Herald, 2017; McGinty, 2020; Najib & Hopkins, 2019). In particular, those who adopt a visible Muslim identity (e.g., clothing, performances of religiosity etc.) are disproportionately targeted by Islamophobic abuse in everyday spaces (Hopkins, 2016; Kwan, 2008; McGinty, 2014; Perry, 2013; Selod, 2019).

The embodied performances of religiosity of young Muslims in public spaces were facilitated by social anti-racism mobility practices. We describe these as 'bystander' socio-bodily anti-racist mobility practices because individuals would co-ordinate their embodied practices to protect others from Islamophobia⁶⁰. For example, a number of interviewees enabled the bodily performances of prayers in public spaces by providing peer protection as a form of bystander anti-racism to each other. Sana explained that:

[When] I'm with someone else, we will take turns [praying]. So, someone just stands behind [you] ... because you can't turn around and see what someone is doing behind you, so if I'm at a beach or the park, yeah, especially if there is foot traffic, I'll make sure that someone is watching me (Sana).

Yehya described a similar socio-bodily approach to enabling congregational prayer when in public.

There were like six of us praying on a tarp together. One of my friends decided not to pray with us, just so like - in case someone did say something. Apparently, someone was staring at us, but they just left." (Yehya)

⁶⁰ Bystander anti-racism is action taken by ordinary people in response to incidents of interpersonal or systemic racism (Nelson *et al.*, 2011).

Sometimes such interventions did not always rely on individuals knowing each other, as Usama's account shows.

I noticed another incident where one of my friends who's *hijabi* was praying in Berkeley, right next to her car, and two men stood by to make sure nothing happened. I guess they told her afterwards [that they were looking out for her] like 'Is everything okay?' and they just walked away after that (Usama, Male, 22 years, Pakistani-American).

In all these instances, embodied anti-racism mobility practices strategically intersected with the social work of bystander anti-racism. These bystander anti-racism mobility practices allowed young Muslim Americans to perform prayer while moving through and occupying public places. In congregation, young Muslims supervised each other while praying, guarding each other in protection from anticipated Islamophobic attacks. While this meant that Muslims felt that they could not pray alone in public spaces we found that Muslims proactively responded to the spatial exclusion of Muslim prayer (Love, 2009) and the tensions around practices of Muslim religiosity in the public sphere by working together as a community to resist the bodily threat of Islamophobia.

'Bystander' socio-bodily anti-racism mobility practices were also employed in other ways. Khaled, a 23-year-old Muslim American from Pleasanton, described how he employed such practices to intervene in and de-escalate an Islamophobic attack on his sister while they were shopping:

I remember my sister when she started wearing the head scarf...outside of Safeway [grocery store] this old white lady...started walking towards her trying to pull it [her hijab] off. I kind of like pushed my sister out of the way and confronted this lady and was like, 'What's wrong with you?' Then she just kept walking away. She failed on her mission to pull the scarf off (Khaled, Male, 23, Pleasanton, Pakistani-American).

The above testimonials by young Muslim Americans of the sense of responsibility to 'look out' for and defend other Muslims Americans against Islamophobia while in public spaces are all evidence of bystander socio-bodily anti-racism mobility practice. These actions reflect how collective, and cross-group actions are utilised to facilitate the movement of racialised bodies across public spaces (Alderman & Inwood, 2016). Our findings show that racialised individuals, in this case Muslim Americans, combined social and embodied anti-racism

mobility strategies to enable not only themselves but also other members of their communities to continue to occupy and move across racialised urban spaces such as the grocery store, the parking lot, and the sidewalk. These findings reinforce the pro-social and normative effects of anti-racist responses to racism (Nelson *et al.*, 2011) and extend understandings of bystander anti-racism by drawing attention to how racialised individuals themselves, secure the mobility of their own communities in contemporary racialised urban landscapes. Socio-bodily bystander anti-racism mobility strategies are found to serve as valuable anti-racist mobility practices for (re)securing spatial mobility across a range of spaces, particularly in the everyday politics of survival among Muslims following the 2016 election.

8.4.2 SOCIO-TECHNOLOGICAL ANTI-RACIST MOBILITY PRACTICES

Socio-technological anti-racism mobility practices refer to the intersection of the use of a range of technologies, infrastructures and/or non-human entities (e.g., transport, communication etc.) to facilitate physical movement across racialised landscapes *and* to manage tense social relations of racism on both racialised individuals, as well as their wider communities. Our analysis of the *socio-technological anti-racism mobility practices* employed by young Muslim Americans included the strategic use of transport and communication technologies to negotiate and resist Islamophobic efforts to restrict access to and movement through urban spaces both for themselves and other members of their communities.

8.4.2.1 TRANSPORT ANTI-RACIST MOBILITIES

Muslims are at an increased threat of facing Islamophobia while accessing a range of technologies such as public transport (Iner, 2019; TellMAMA, 2015) and while flying (Chandrasekhar, 2003; Considine, 2017). There was a general awareness among respondents that they were at a substantially increased risk of facing Islamophobia in these spaces following the 2016 US Election. In response to this threat, Muslims navigated both public transport and airport spaces strategically, employing socio-technological anti-racist mobility practices to moderate their risks of facing Islamophobia while accessing these transport technologies.

For example, Maleeka explained that she preferred to drive around the Bay Area rather than use the BART (train) or buses to navigate the region because of the increased risk of Islamophobia travelling on public transport presented.

Let's say, you can get in your car and drive... You're not interacting with people as much as someone who takes the bus to BART, BART, walks to school and so forth. I face the most attacks when I am on BART or waiting for the bus so I *always beg my mom to drive me so that I can avoid those public transit spaces* (Maleeka)

We argue that Maleeka's strategy of using the car was not simply technological but intersected with the social in two important ways. First, using car transport allowed Maleeka to reduce her interactions with strangers on public transport and other public spaces and therefore minimise the risk of Islamophobic attacks. Second, Maleeka's access to private car transport relied on her mother facilitating this form of mobility. Maleeka's strategic use of car transport to navigate the risk of Islamophobia while moving through the Bay Area is an example of socio-technological anti-racist mobility practices.

Muslim American movement is also particularly targeted when flying. When moving through airport spaces, research has found Muslim Americans to be disproportionately treated with suspicion and subject to racial profiling under national security policies (Considine, 2017; Selod, 2019). Significantly, these interviews were conducted in the leadup and following the introduction of the Muslim Travel Ban in January 2017 which intensified the threat of Islamophobia for Muslims moving through public spaces, particularly when using airports. This prompted the use of socio-technological anti-racism mobility practices by young Muslim Americans to negotiate their mobility in and through air travel. Some interviewees, like Ali, decided to not travel at all.

I intentionally chose not to travel this summer because of the issues that we are having [with the Muslim Travel Ban] ...we were going to go to Canada, and I was just like, I'm going to skip out on that. It's just not important that I'm going to go because I don't want to come back into the country. I don't want to deal with it [border security] until we figure out what's going on (Ali, Male, 28 years, Egyptian American, emphasis added).

Alderman *et al.* (2019) argue that the refusal to travel is a form of anti-racism mobility practice, employed by racialised individuals as a direct response to the perceived threat of

racism in this space. However, while some respondents like Sana and Ali chose to change their travel plans and choose to disengage from air-travel, others decided to pursue their plans for air travel but developed a series of strategies to negotiate the risk of Islamophobia in this space. For example, some interviewees prepared for the racial profiling and surveillance they anticipated when ‘flying while Muslim’ (Chandrasekhar, 2003; Considine, 2017).

My brother was in Turkey and Greece. He was actually there to help refugees, but I told him, you need to make sure that you have receipts, you know where you're going and all these things because when you come back, you might be interviewed by the FBI. You need to be prepared (Sana).

As reflected above, in the cases that Muslims did travel, they employed technical planning, organising documentation and proof to negotiate counterterrorism policing and interrogation in air travel spaces. Other respondents chose to adjust their Muslim visibility while travelling. For example, Huda chose to remove her hijab to avoid facing Islamophobia at the airport as she suspected she “would have been more of an easy target of random selection” when displaying her Muslim visibility (Levitt, Lucken & Barnett, 2011). Sandra similarly described the way her visibly Muslim female friends chose to reduce the visibility of their *hijab* when travelling together after the election of Donald Trump, by tucking their “hair under a hat so that they’re still covering their hair but not looking visibly Muslim” (Female, 32 years, Anglo American). Like African Americans travelling through the Jim Crow South, Muslims carried out the emotional and social work of ‘planning around’ the racialised politics of mobility to continue to move in and through geographies of risk (Alderman *et al.*, 2019).

The Muslim Travel Ban intensified the racialised politics of mobility through surveillance and securitisation (Sheller, 2015) in airport spaces that were propagated by the War on Terror (Kudnani, 2014; Kumar, 2012). The anti-racism mobility practices of Muslims employed in response, highlight how embodied and social strategies intersect with modern technologies to negotiate the racialised politics of Muslim mobility in the air travel space. This has important implications firstly on our understanding of the larger apparatus of securitisation and surveillance (Sheller, 2015) of Muslim bodies in surviving War on Terror

policies and practices. Avoiding or preparations for the humiliating, abusive and interrogative national security practices that young Muslims in the Bay Area anticipated when #FlyingWhileMuslim (Considine, 2017) was a necessary means of surviving the politics of Muslim mobility. Further, these findings highlight where anti-racist mobilities take place beyond the road (Alderman *et al.*, 2019; Stuesse & Coleman, 2014;), racetrack (Alderman & Inwood, 2016) or festivals (Finney & Potter, 2018), by emphasising public transport and air travel as key spaces for Muslim anti-racism mobility.

8.4.2.2 COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY STRATEGIES

Our respondents also demonstrated the dynamic intersection between social and technical anti-racist mobility strategies in their strategic use of communication technologies. Muslims in the Bay Area proactively responded to the threat of Islamophobia against their own spaces by implementing both formal and informal security measures following the 2016 election of Donald Trump. These measures were taken to protect Muslims sites and spaces following a general upsurge of violent attacks against mosques and congregations in North America (Tesler, 2018), including local genocide threats (Veklerov, 2016) and vandalism of Mosques in the Bay Area.

Young Muslim Americans described a range of techno-social anti-racist mobility strategies employed to protect Muslim sites including organising police patrols, paid security, volunteer security coalitions and lockdown or evacuation plans.

Mosques now hire security guards to help people stay safe during and after prayer where they didn't used to before (Zaynab, Female, 32 years, Pakistani American).

We're working with the police department as well, having their patrols on Fridays - Friday nights, Saturday nights during times that people are there more. I think doing those things are needed. Just to let people know we're taking care of our own property, so don't try to do anything [with] our property (Nadeem).

Notably, Muslims in the study mentioned their organisation of volunteer security via support networks that were coordinated using communication technologies directly after the 2016 election via social media groups such as Facebook or WhatsApp.

...we started a WhatsApp group of security. We make sure that we know that if something's happening at the mosque then we're going to be their security; some of us attending in the crowd and some of us just outside patrolling the mosque around it" ... (Nadeem).

These formal anti-racist measures coordinated via social media networks were particularly critical during large Muslim events or Islamic holidays, where Muslim bodies and sites were at an increased threat of racial attack and hate crimes. Like the counter-mobilities of immigrant's drivers in Atlanta (Stuesse & Coleman, 2014), communications technologies were leveraged by Muslims to mobilise and work together against the threats to Muslim movement within and across space. American Muslims undertook social and technological work, through the use of social media, to respond to the intensified attacks against Muslims places of worship following the 2016 election, and therefore resecure Muslim safety and mobility in these geographies.

Technological and social anti-racist mobility practices intersected in unique ways to survive, negotiate and resist spatialised threat of Islamophobia. We showed how the tactical use of technology facilitated the security and movement of Muslim bodies within various public and Muslim spaces. These technological practices were collectively organised and enacted to secure the safety and mobility of various Muslim communities. We therefore argue that these practices should be understood as sophisticated social responses to the spatialised threat of Islamophobia in everyday spaces, facilitated by the strategic use of security technologies to resist, subvert and survive the violent biopolitics of Islamophobia on Muslim mobility.

8.5 CONCLUSION

Our critical study of Muslim American movement examines the spatial impacts and responses to the 'violent biopolitics of mobility' that has surrounded almost every facet of moving through and against War on Terror practices intent upon controlling Muslim bodies, and their occupation of spaces (Alderman *et al.*, 2019; Kumar, 2012; Kudnani, 2014; Selod, 2019).

Following the 2016 election of Donald Trump Muslim Americans resisted and survived the negative impacts of Islamophobia on their movement across space through the employment of anti-racist mobility practices. Our analysis of their anti-racist mobility work yields three significant contributions to the literature on the racialised politics of mobility, anti-racism in geography and the geographies of Islamophobia.

First, our analysis has connected the geographical critique of Islamophobia, work on counter-mobilities and anti-racist geographies. Specifically, we have extended emerging studies on the geographies of Islamophobia by connecting anti-racism research in geography with an anti-racism mobility framework. Bridging these bodies of literature, for the first time, incorporates Muslim mobilities into broader discussions around the racialised politics of mobility in the U.S, drawing critical attention to the everyday politics of Muslim American survival in the highly charged political environment of Islamophobia. We find that in the context of the War on Terror, and the recent Trump administration by extension, Muslim movement is maintained by contesting and resisting against the forces of racism. These findings contribute to the nascent anti-racist mobility literature that has sought to expand our vision of antiracism beyond sheer protest or conventionally defined radical change by instead, examining the movement of racialised Muslim bodies as a politically significant form of anti-racist practice. We encourage that future studies engage in the various anti-racist mobility work of newly racialised groups to uncover the antiracist mobility strategies employed to resist, challenge and survive the spatial impacts of contemporary forms of racism.

Second, our study has enriched how we conceptualise anti-racism mobility practices by arguing that counter-mobilities are consistent forms of *social* work. We therefore overcome the limitations of Alderman and Inwood (2016), who separated the technological, embodied, and social work or practices undergirding antiracist movement strategies. Our innovation was to merge the original three-way classification to uncover the intersecting and relational dynamics of anti-racism mobility practices as ‘always social’. For example, our development of ‘proactive prevention’ and ‘in-group bystander anti-racism as socio-bodily forms of racism is indicative of the heavy social management that discriminated groups must undertake to

mitigate the danger of moving through and occupying public places. Further, we uncover the perceptive, collective use of communication technologies to safeguard mobilities in and around racialised spaces, providing valuable insight into the sophisticated socio-technological responses to the racialised politics of mobility. These concepts provide a clearer picture into intersecting physical, emotional and social labour required to live and move in a racist society.

Finally, we have contributed to an understanding of how the spatio-temporal context informs how and where anti-racist mobilities are deployed. In drawing on the politics of Muslim survival under the Trump Administration, we move well beyond the specific and narrow environments examined in the past by scholars, to examine the wide variety of public spaces in which Muslims must subvert and survive Islamophobia in contemporary times from riding public transit, walking and praying on streets to avoiding racial profiling at airports, traveling by car or attending their own spaces of gathering and worship. The fact that place matters and is so central to these antiracism practices is not incidental but expressive of the expansive geographies of Islamophobia that have emerged within the socio-political context of the War on Terror and recently, the Trump administration. These insights enhance broader debates around anti-racist mobilities, capturing the role that spatio-temporal context plays in shaping the racialised politics of mobility, and therefore *how* as well as *where* anti-racist mobility practices are employed across spaces and places.

Scholars interested in the racialised politics of mobility can benefit from engaging in the countermobilities of newly racialised groups, giving prominence to the role of mobility as a form of empowerment and anti-racist resistance. In doing so, geographers can contribute to clearer understandings of how countermobilities are employed as significant forms of anti-racist social work to (re)secure individual, and collective racialised mobilities. Future engagements should pay critical attention to the role of spatial and temporal context in shaping how countermobilities are deployed differentially across place and space by diverse racialised groups.

SECTION IV: COMPARATIVE GEOGRAPHIES OF ISLAMOPHOBIA AND MUSLIM (IM)MOBILITIES

The fourth section of the thesis connects all four of empirical chapters through a Comparative Case Study (CCS) analysis of both the similar and unique geographies of perceived Islamophobia, accounting for the role of socio-political context in shaping Muslim Muslim mobilities across cases.

The analysis presented in this section addresses the second and final aims of this research by i) comparing the spatial organisation of perceived Islamophobia across the two cities (Chapter 9) and (ii) examining the role of socio-political context in shaping how young Muslims in Sydney and San Francisco respond to the impacts of Islamophobia on their spatial mobility (Chapter 10).

Section two of the thesis addressed the first aim of the research by mapping the spatial imaginaries of Islamophobia among Muslims in Sydney (Chapter 5) and the San Francisco Bay Area (Chapter 6). The third section of the thesis examined the links between perceived geographies of Islamophobia and spatial mobility in both Sydney (Chapter 7) and the San Francisco Bay Area (Chapter 8) in response to key socio-political events that took place in each case study. This fourth section of the thesis builds on these contributions through a comparative discussion of the previous empirical papers presented in the thesis.

This analysis in this section of the thesis advances a number of theoretical contributions by providing insight into how the spatial organisation of perceived Islamophobia is shaped by specific factors including in-group presence of other Muslim populations, as well as the distinct social class of Muslim populations within the broader socio-economic structures of each city. These findings add nuance to studies on geographies of racism by uncovering (i) the mutual impact of the district of residence on *perceptions* of belonging and exclusion across space by racialised individuals in both cities, and (ii) how geographies of perceived racism are shaped by unique socio-economic structures of city regions as well as the respective social class positioning of racialised groups within each city. Secondly, in drawing on key socio-political events of Islamophobia across both cities, the findings presented within the comparative discussion advance an understanding of both the relational connections as well as contextual variations in how Islamophobia shapes Muslim mobilities across each city. Firstly, a relational comparison of Islamophobia in both cities exposes the mutual influence of the 9/11 attacks in New York City on the racialising process and spatial impacts on Muslim mobilities in both Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area (Chapter 10). On the other hand, Chapter 10 also uncovers how processes of Islamophobia were formed historically by key local racial events in each context, and thus resulted in spatially differentiated effects (Bartlett and Vavrus, 2017) on young Muslim mobilities. This contextual comparison advances a theoretical understanding of how key global and local racial events differentially shape and determine the local socio-political contexts of racism, as well as the (im)mobility and mobility responses adopted by racialised individuals across space. The critical significance of context (Castree 2005; Gough 2012; Bartlett and Vavrus 2020) in shaping not only how the relationship between racism and mobility operates, but also how it is negotiated is thus established.

Section 4 of the thesis is comprised of three parts. In this first, section the comparative approach adopted in the research (CCS framework) is outlined. This reinforces the utility of the CCS framework for facilitating a comparative analysis that pays attention to relational processes and spatial impacts of Islamophobia across cases, while also accounting for the contextual variations in how Islamophobia shapes Muslim mobilities across both cities. Chapter 9 then presents a horizontal (spatial) analysis of the spatial organisation of perceived Islamophobia across Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area. In doing so, it responds to the second aim of the research, which was to compare the spatial organisation of perceived Islamophobia across the two cities. By comparing the unique urban models of perceived Islamophobia across both case studies, the findings account for the impact of in-group Muslim presence, as well as the unique socio-economic class on the geography of anti-Muslim racism in both cities. Chapter 10 addresses the final aim of the research by providing a transversal (contextual) comparison of the role of socio-political events in shaping Muslim mobilities across the cities of Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area.

Overview of the Comparative Case Study Approach

The comparison presented in this section of the thesis adapts the Comparative Case Study (CCS) approach of anthropologists Bartlett and Vavrus (2017) to a geographical study of Islamophobia and Muslim mobilities. Adopting the CCS framework allows this thesis to respond to calls in human geography for a renewed interest in *relational comparative research* (Castree, 2005; Ward, 2010; Robinson, 2011; Binnie, 2014). According to these perspectives, it is important for urbanists to consider the *related experiences* of cities across the globe, providing a more *open, embedded and relational* conceptualisation of cities in an increasingly globalised world (Massey, 2007).

Accordingly, this section of the thesis conceptualises both cities as interconnected and interdependent, since socio-political discourses and social activities around Islamophobia are linked together through spatially extensive flows of various kinds and intense networks of communication (Cesari, 2011; Ward, 2010). While a relational approach is not suitable to all aspects of the analysis provided in the chapters presented within this thesis, it is primarily utilised to examine the global processes and impacts of the 9/11 attacks in the mutual spatialisation of Islamophobia in both contexts.

A response to calls for a more relational comparative approach is achieved through the CCS framework which encourages a processual, rather than a categorical approach to the analysis (Castree, 2005; Maxwell, 2012). Developed by contemporary anthropology, the Comparative Case Study (CCS) approach encourages comparative analyses of similarities, differences, and possible linkages across *sites*, across *hierarchies of power/levels* and across *time*. This multi-scalar critique thus encourages an appreciation of how phenomenon under study Islamophobia is differentially produced, interpreted and negotiated by young Muslims in each case study site according to these contextual factors (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017, p. 41). The three axes of the anthropological CCS approach were inspired by developments in human geography (e.g., Massey 2005, Herrod, 2001), which were adapted to the geographical objectives of this research (refer back to Chapter 4, section 4.3).

As previously explored in Chapter 4, Bartlett and Vavrus' *horizontal axis* is referred to in this thesis as the 'spatial axis'. The spatial axis compares how similar policies or practices unfold in distinct locations that are socially produced (Massey, 2005) and "complexly connected" (Tsing, 2005). The practices under examination in the spatial axis usually unfold at roughly the same level or scale and are guided by a logic of connection that seeks to trace a phenomenon across sites. In the comparative discussion presented in this section, the spatial axis is employed to compare the ways that spatial imaginaries of Islamophobia are spatialised and mapped across the regions of the San Francisco Bay Area and Sydney (Chapter 9), reflecting different urban models of spatial organisations. This spatial comparison also requires attention to how historical and contemporary processes have differentially influenced the two cases, which might be defined as actors, groups of people, social movements or events (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017). This axis is thus also employed for a relational comparative analysis of how the September 11 attacks in 2001 mutually shaped the history and context of Islamophobia in both case study sites. In particular, it pays attention to the role of the 9/11 as a racial event with multi-scalar impact, shaping Islamophobia at a regional scale in the San Francisco Bay Area, and a global scale in the city of Sydney in Australia (Section 10.1, Chapter 10).

Bartlett and Vavrus' (2017) *vertical axis*, referred to in this thesis as the 'scalar' axis, urges comparison across micro-, meso-, and macro-levels or scales (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2020). This

approach encourages the tracing across and through sites and scales, paying attention to how actions at different scales mutually influence one another (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017). The scalar axis is thus employed to follow the phenomenon of Islamophobia across each site, capturing multi-scalar practices, policies, and actors that often operate beyond bounded spaces of a given city (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017). This axis is utilised to trace of connections and differences in the contexts that shape Muslim mobilities in Sydney and the Bay Area. It is important to note that while the two case study sites are constituted by different scales of municipalities and local governments with varied judicial powers, these scalar differences do not form the main point of comparison in this project. This is due to the relatively similar land size and populations of both regions, as well as mutual functionality of both sites as commuter city regions connected by multi-modal transport networks (e.g., see Walker & Schafran, 2013)⁶¹.

Therefore, rather than drawing attention to varying scales in the geography of both sites themselves, the vertical axis is used to draw attention to how actors, networks and processes operating at different scales (such as the media or immigration policy makers), shape Islamophobia in both case studies. The scalar axis of analysis is employed consistently across both Chapters 9 and 10, engaging in the suburban, city, regional and global scales of practices, actors, events and policies that shape geographies of perceived Islamophobia and Muslim mobilities in each city. For example, in addition to the aforementioned discussion of the 9/11 attacks as a multi-scalar racial event, local racial events are examined within each context, exploring the processes and implications of these events on local experiences of Islamophobia at various scales (Chapter 10). This approach therefore facilitates an analysis of the multi-scalar processes, events and connections in the relationship between Islamophobia and spatial mobility within and across both case study sites. In turn, the comparison uncovers both the globalised and localised spatial impacts of Islamophobia on young Muslim mobilities.

Tying these two axes together, Bartlett and Vavrus' *transversal axis* compares how horizontal and vertical connections are formed historically and have led to spatially differentiated

⁶¹ The greater Sydney region 12,368km² is home to approximately 4.9 million people (ABS 2020), while the Bay Area nine-counties take up 18,040 km² and house approximately 7.75 million people (California State Association of Counties, 2014).

effects. In this thesis it is referred to as the contextual axis, and it examines the socio-political histories, events and processes that shape the similar, relational or differential impacts of Islamophobia on Muslim mobilities. In this thesis, the contextual axis is employed to examine how historical racial events that have occurred at different scales and at different times have shaped young Muslim mobility in each city (Chapters 9–10). First, the contextual axis is used to examine how the historical 9/11 attacks have mutually shaped the geographies of Islamophobia and Muslim mobilities relationally across both cities. The contextual axis is also employed to examine the uniquely local impacts of historical versus contemporary racial events in shaping Muslim mobilities across both cities. In Sydney, the historical event of the Cronulla riots limited the mobility practices of young Muslims almost a decade following the race riot. On the other hand, young Muslims in the Bay Area faced a contemporary racial event—the 2016 election of Donald Trump—that they continued to negotiate throughout. In analysing the changing temporalities and assemblages across sites and scales, this axis is utilised to uncover the critical role of socio-political context in influencing the varied spatial mobility practices employed by young Muslims in both cities. The comparative discussion of the two case studies presented in the thesis (Chapters 9-10) thus provides both a *located* and *relational* analysis of the relationship between Islamophobia and spatial mobility in both sites, based on the data presented within the four empirical papers in the body of this thesis (Chapters 5-8).

Overall, the processual approach to comparison within the CCS framework provides a strategy for meeting the first and third aims of this research as it facilitates an interrogation of how the similar phenomena of Islamophobia (i) unfolds in distinct, socially produced locations that are connected in multiple and complex ways (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017, p. 51), and (ii) influences Muslim mobilities within and across both case study sites in ways that are contextually variable. Therefore, the CCS framework allows the research to pay attention to connections between both sites, while also facilitating a positional analysis (Peck, 2014) of contextual variations in how Islamophobia is spatialised and goes on to inform Muslims mobilities. The chapters that follow examine the relational connections and local variations in how Islamophobia is spatialised across both sites (Chapter 9), whilst also situating the critical role of local socio-political context in shaping Muslim mobilities in each site (Chapter 10). Therefore, the comparison presented in the following chapters consider both

interconnections and differences between cities (Robinson, 2017; Peck, 2014) in how Islamophobia shapes Muslim mobilities.

In doing so, this section builds on the previous papers included in the thesis, bringing together the key empirical findings through a dynamic comparative analysis of how perceived geographies of Islamophobia shape the mobility of Muslims residing in both Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area.

9 COMPARING THE GEOGRAPHIES OF PERCEIVED ISLAMOPHOBIA - SYDNEY AND THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

9.1 INTRODUCTION

Attitudes to immigrants from other cultural backgrounds across space are best thought of as 'social constructions from within place' (Dunn et al., 2004; Dunn and McDonald, 2001). But the increased recognition of these spatial variations in racism over the last decade (Forrest & Dunn, 2007, 2010, 2011) has failed to capture how ethnic minorities perceive or visualise the distribution of racism across city spaces. This chapter therefore seeks to demystify the impacts of racism on spatial imaginaries of belonging and exclusion by comparing the spatial organisation of perceived Islamophobia across two case study sites. In doing so, the findings presented in this chapter address the first aim of the research by comparing the spatial imaginaries of Islamophobia that were mapped in Chapters 5 and 6.

Emerging social and cultural geographical literature on Muslim exclusion and Islamophobia has engaged in mapping Islamophobic incidents, including a recent comparative analysis of the geographies of Islamophobic incidents in Paris and London (Najib & Hopkins, 2020). Like the geography of racism research, they uncovered that Islamophobia occurs in specific places and spaces, and its spatial distribution reflects specific urban patterns (Najib & Hopkins, 2020). Najib and Hopkins' (2020) comparative spatial analysis mapped anti-Muslim incidents and enhanced our understanding of the urban locations and patterns of Islamophobia. However, like the geography of racism research it did not map and compare the spatial imaginaries of anti-Muslim racism among Muslims who are targeted by the phenomenon of Islamophobia. The discussion presented in this chapter contributes to these gaps by cross analysing the spatial imaginaries of Islamophobia in both Sydney and the Bay Area that were previously presented in Chapters 5 and 6. In doing so, the spatial logics of Islamophobia are compared across both cities using a horizontal (spatial) axis of comparison.

As summarised in Table 9.1, the comparison presented in this chapter draws attention to key connections and trends in how Islamophobia not only shapes spatial imaginaries of belonging or exclusion in both cities, but also how these mental maps of Islamophobia are

mutually shaped by levels of in-group presence and socio-economic factors. The first section of this chapter illustrates and compares the unique urban models of perceived Islamophobia depicted in each city, examining the role of Muslim residence in shaping these perceived geographies. The second section then compares how the distinct urban models of perceived Islamophobia across each city are shaped by the social class of Muslim populations within the broader socio-economic structures of each city. These findings contribute unique comparative insights on how Islamophobia produces both similar and distinct spatial imaginaries of inclusion or exclusion among Muslim minorities in global cities.

TABLE 9.1 COMPARING THE SPATIAL IMAGINARIES OF ISLAMOPHOBIA: SYDNEY AND THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

Measures	Sydney	San Francisco Bay Area	Comparison
URBAN MODEL	<p>Multiple nuclei model: Rural urban divide less important.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Clusters of belonging and exclusion across the city – e.g., Parramatta city-centre as space of belonging 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Centre-periphery and Sector model: - Islamophobia is perceived to be concentrated in rural areas outside of the three major city centres - Oakland, San Francisco, San Jose 	≠
GEOGRAPHICAL DIMENSIONS AND/OR TENSIONS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In-group presence: Perceived Islamophobia lowest in Muslim neighbourhoods and highest in neighbourhoods with low Muslim population - Socio-economic structure of the city: Phenomenon of Islamophobia concentrated in clusters around the inner city (high SES areas); clusters of inclusion in stigmatised suburbs (low SES). - Clusters of exclusion in Sydney's coastal regions: Northern beaches, Eastern Suburbs and Sutherland - Migration history and socio-economic standing: Sydney Muslims from low SES migrant groups. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In-group presence: Perceived Islamophobia lowest in Muslim neighbourhoods and highest in neighbourhoods with low Muslim population - Socio-economic structure of the city: Phenomenon is concentrated in rural-fringe areas of the region: Outer-East Bay and North Bay (higher SES); lower levels of Islamophobia in low to middle SES inner city areas. - Migration history and socio-economic standing: Bay Area Muslims from diverse levels of SES groups including highly skilled and affluent migrant groups. 	= and ≠

9.2 COMPARING THE URBAN MODELS OF PERCEIVED ISLAMOPHOBIA: SYDNEY AND THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

As uncovered in the previous empirical chapters, perceived Islamophobia is spatially organised across both Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area. These findings respond to emerging calls in human geography for closer examinations of spatial context when examining the intraurban variation of racism (see Forrest & Dunn, 2010; 2011). In this section of the discussion chapter, the geographies of perceived Islamophobia (presented in Chapters 5 and 6) are compared according to their spatial organisation in accordance with traditional urban models developed by the Chicago School (Burgess, 1925; Hoyt 1939; Harris & Ullman, 1945). As Najib and Hopkins (2020) explain...

The first of these three traditional urban models is the *concentric model*, which is also called the *centre-periphery urban model* (Burgess, 1925), contrasting the City centre with its suburbs. The *second model is the sector model which takes into account the importance of the specific axes, and notably transport axes* (Hoyt, 1939). And the third one is the *multiple nuclei model* (Harris & Ullman, 1945) that describes an urban structure in mosaic where focal points present a certain competition between primary and secondary centralities (p. 16).

This discussion draws primarily on the *centre-periphery model*, evident in the geography of Islamophobia in the Bay Area, as well as the *multiple nuclei model* which is represented in the Sydney case study. Based on these spatial logics of perceived Islamophobia, this chapter concludes with a discussion of the geographical tensions and connections between the spatial organisation of perceived Islamophobia in Sydney and the Bay Area. Perceptions of Islamophobia in both regions were measured by calculating the mean average of the values allocated to the SD scale question which was then computed into an 'overall score', based on a scale of -2 for high levels of perceived racism, 0 for neutral perceptions and +2 for low levels of perceived racism.

9.2.1 THE MULTIPLE NUCLEI MODEL OF ISLAMOPHOBIA IN SYDNEY

Beginning with Sydney, as demonstrated in Figure 9.1, the spatial distribution of perceived Islamophobia across the city represents a *multiple nuclei model*, whereby clusters of belonging and exclusion are concentrated across the greater Sydney region.

This spatial organisation suggests that the inner-city areas such as the North Shore, the Northside and the Eastern Suburbs are identified as primary spaces of Islamophobia among young Muslims. This is contrary to previous studies on geographies of racism that identified some of these centres and surrounding areas as places with pro-multicultural attitudes and stronger levels of acceptance of cultural diversity (Forrest & Dunn, 2007, 2010). Figure 9.1 suggests that young Muslims associate these cosmopolitan inner-city areas with non-acceptance of Muslims, and higher levels of Islamophobia (discussed further in sections 9.3-4).

As demonstrated in the multiple nuclei model of perceived Islamophobia in Sydney, coastal areas of the Northern beaches, the Eastern suburbs and Sutherland are identified as primary clusters of anti-Muslim exclusion. This finding broadly supports the work of other studies in this area that have emphasised the historical and ongoing exclusion of racialised bodies from Australian beaches (Lobo, 2014; Noble & Poynting, 2010). Muslim perceptions of exclusion in these coastal areas where Sydney's beaches are located provides interesting insight into the perceived exclusion of Muslim bodies from the white national space of the beach (Johns 2017; Lobo 2014; Lems, Gifford & Wilding 2016; Taylor, 2009). In respect to the exclusion of Muslim bodies from these coastal areas, these findings also reflect the ongoing impacts of the exclusionary message of the Cronulla riot in removing Muslim bodies from Australian beaches (Abdel-Fattah 2017c; Kabir 2015; Noble, 2009a). As examined in Chapter 7 the Sutherland region, where Cronulla beach is located, was identified as the primary cluster of perceived Islamophobia in the Sydney region. In line with the multiple nuclei model, these findings demonstrate that coastal areas of the city are identified as primary spaces of exclusion among Muslims. This extends broader geographical understandings of the exclusionary nature of beaches in Australia as 'white spaces', highlighting the way in which racialised groups interpret and spatialise their spatial imaginaries of exclusion in response to the 'pedagogies of unbelonging' (Noble & Poynting, 2010). The primary cluster of

perceived exclusion from the Sutherland region in particular, demonstrates the ongoing impact of the Cronulla riot in translating into the spatial imaginaries of exclusion among young Muslims.

Looking to the cluster of perceived inclusion in Sydney, there are distinct hubs of the city where Muslims feel a stronger sense of acceptance and belonging compared with other regions. As demonstrated in Figure 9.1, these areas of inclusion are evident in the inner-Western and Western suburbs. While these suburbs are home to emerging city-centres including Sydney's 'second CBD' Parramatta the Western Suburbs are commonly constructed in media and public discourses as under-privileged areas, with higher levels of crime, higher socioeconomic disadvantage, lower levels of education and moderate to high levels of racist attitudes (Forrest and Dunn, 2007; Forrest & Dunn, 2011). Positive perceptions of Western Sydney suburbs among Muslims thus challenge the common constructions of Western Sydney suburbs as socio-economically deprived and stigmatised (Hodge, 1996; Morgan, 2005; Powell, 1993) (explored further in section 9.4). This reflects a similar correlation to what was found by Najib and Hopkins (2020) in their study of anti-Muslim geographies in Paris, as well as Phillips (2015) study on geographies of inclusion among British Asian Muslims. Muslims in Paris identified 'disadvantaged suburbs' of the city as places of Muslim belonging and inclusion (Najib & Hopkins, 2019), which was supported by British Asian Muslims who emphasised the strong social capital and sense of security derived from residing in Muslim clusters in the inner-city (Phillips, 2015).

Importantly, the clusters of belonging in Sydney are accompanied by clusters of neutrality in Sydney's South, Sydney's South West as well as outer rural-fringe suburbs of the Blue Mountains, demonstrating that these areas furthest from the city centre are neither hubs of Islamophobia nor acceptance according to Muslims in Sydney. The geography of perceived Islamophobia therefore represents a multiple-nuclei model in Sydney organised in three main clusters: regions with high levels of Islamophobia (Sutherland, Inner-city areas of Eastern Suburbs, North-Side and Northshore), neutral levels of Islamophobia (Sydney's CBD district, Sydney's Urban Rural Fringe) and clusters of low levels of Islamophobia (Sydney's West and Inner-West).

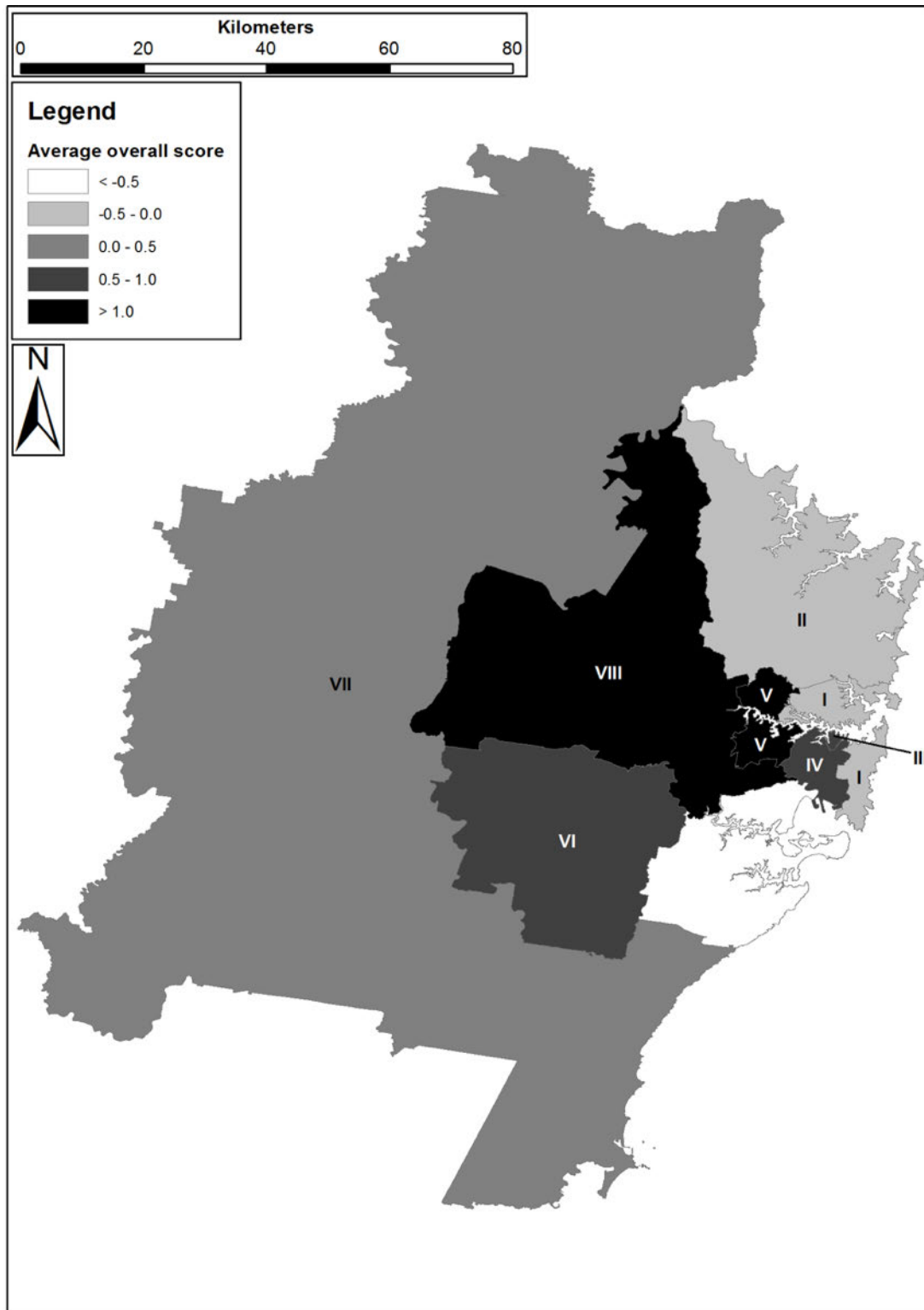


FIGURE 9.1 SPACES OF ISLAMOPHOBIA: OVERALL SD SCORES BY SD REGION, SYDNEY

SOURCE: PROJECT SURVEY, SYDNEY CASE STUDY

9.2.2 THE CENTRE-PERIPHERY MODEL OF ISLAMOPHOBIA IN THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

The San Francisco Bay Area is a highly suburbanised region and is the fourth largest urban area in the U.S (Walker & Schafran, 2015). In 2010, most of its seven million residents were spread out across a suburbanised city of enormous extent: orbiting 100 miles north to south by 50 miles east to west covering nearly 7000 square miles of territory (Walker & Schafran, 2015). As a result of urban sprawl, there are pronounced local differences among residents with the diverse political landscapes of over a dozen counties, over 100 municipalities, and nearly 400 special districts (Walker & Schafran, 2015).

As demonstrated in Figure 9.2, the spatial distribution of perceived Islamophobia in the San Francisco Bay Area represents a centre-periphery model, whereby Islamophobia is concentrated in the urban-fringe areas of the outer-East Bay and the North Bay, away from the three main city centres of the Bay Area: Oakland (Inner-East Bay), San Francisco and San Jose (South Bay). The three city centres are where the majority of economic and social activity takes place. In contrast to the geographies of perceived exclusion in the rural fringe of the San Francisco Bay Area, the three city centres were associated with the lowest levels of perceived Islamophobia, and thus represented the most welcoming regions of belonging among Muslims. Accordingly, Islamophobia is present in spokes rather than hubs, along routes rather than foci, and dispersed in rural-fringe areas furthest from the main economic city centres of the San Francisco Bay Area. These findings reflect the common structure of US metropolitan areas where diversity rises with distance from the urban cores before declining as neighbourhoods become more rural in character (Walker, 2016). This urban model of perceived Islamophobia thus reinforces earlier studies on the geography of racism, where inner-city areas were associated with higher levels of support for cultural diversity (Forrest & Dunn, 2011), as well as the subsequently higher levels of intolerance towards diversity among residents of rural areas than those living in metropolitan regions (Forrest & Dunn 2013; Mormont, 1990; Wilson, 1992). The urban-periphery model of perceived Islamophobia thus supports the findings of earlier geographical contributions that described how rural areas as 'white' spaces that were home to lower levels of cultural diversity (Agyeman and Spooner, 1997: 197; Cresswell, 1996), higher levels of 'rural racism' (Clope, 2004; de Lima, 2004; Dufty, 2009), and included more conservative attitudes as well as

somewhat higher levels of intolerance towards out-groups than people in metropolitan areas (Forrest & Dunn, 2013). This spatial patterning contrasts with the urban model of Islamophobia in Sydney, in that this urban-rural divide in the data was not evident across the various regions of Sydney. In contrast, the rural urban fringe was perceived positively among young Muslims in Sydney who identified these regions as geographies of belonging or neutrality, rather than exclusion.

This urban-periphery model of perceived Islamophobia in the Bay Area is particularly significant, as it has become increasingly difficult for scholars to define a clear line between the exurban fringe and rural areas within the rapid suburbanisation of the region (Walker & Schafran, 2015). Further, the Bay Area is an inter-commuter region, in which daily traffic between the “city” (San Francisco) and other parts of the region for employment in the local tech industries ‘connects’ and redefines social networks in these cosmopolitan city centres (Maira, 2016). Recently, commuting numbers have reversed between the South and Central Bay Areas as Silicon Valley has colonised much of the region’s employment headquarters (Walker & Schafran, 2015), with more commuters heading south from SF than north into the city. This has been accompanied by the expansion of suburbia into rural-fringe areas of the North and Outer East Bay Areas, which were identified as geographies of Islamophobia. The daily commute of residents from these rural geographies of risk to more ‘welcoming’ city-centre regions such as San Francisco and the South Bay may have implications on the experiences of Islamophobia within these geographies of belonging (Walker & Schafran, 2015). Therefore, while the geographies of perceived Islamophobia reflect an urban-periphery model of Islamophobia according to patterns of residence, the everyday commute and movement of residents from rural fringe areas of the North and Outer East Bay into cosmopolitan city-centres of San Francisco, Silicon Valley and the South Bay for employment, may affect lived experiences of Islamophobia on the ground. The suburbanisation of the region thus has implications for how the geographies of Islamophobia are spatialised across the region. Namely, while the urban model of perceived Islamophobia highlights the importance of city-centres in cultivating a sense of belonging and acceptance among Muslims, the potential implications of inter-commuter patterns and suburbanisation on transporting racist attitudes from geographies of risk, to “safe city centres” in the Bay Area is a critical area worthy of further examination. This is particularly significant for young

Muslims in the Bay Area who undertake a great deal of “crisscrossing” between towns and cities in the larger Bay Area for work, education, entertainment and social life among Muslims living in the Bay Area (Maira, 2016). Taken together, the findings of this spatial (horizontal) comparative analysis suggest that Islamophobia is mapped uniquely across different cities, as reflected in the distinct urban models of perceived Islamophobia discussed. Similar to Najib and Hopkins’ (2020) findings around the unique spatial organisation of Islamophobic incidents in Paris and London, the geographies of perceived Islamophobia in Sydney and the Bay Area also reflect a distinct spatialisation. These inter-city variations extend our theoretical understanding of how global racisms are uniquely spatialised across different cities, by exploring these variations according to the spatial imaginaries of racialised individuals. This comparative analysis enhances our understandings of the geographies of racism, raising important questions about the factors that influence this varied spatial organisation of Islamophobia. The remaining sections of the chapter comparatively examine these factors across both cities, focusing on Muslim in-group presence, as well as the dynamic interplay between migration histories and socioeconomic class in shaping geographies of perceived Islamophobia .

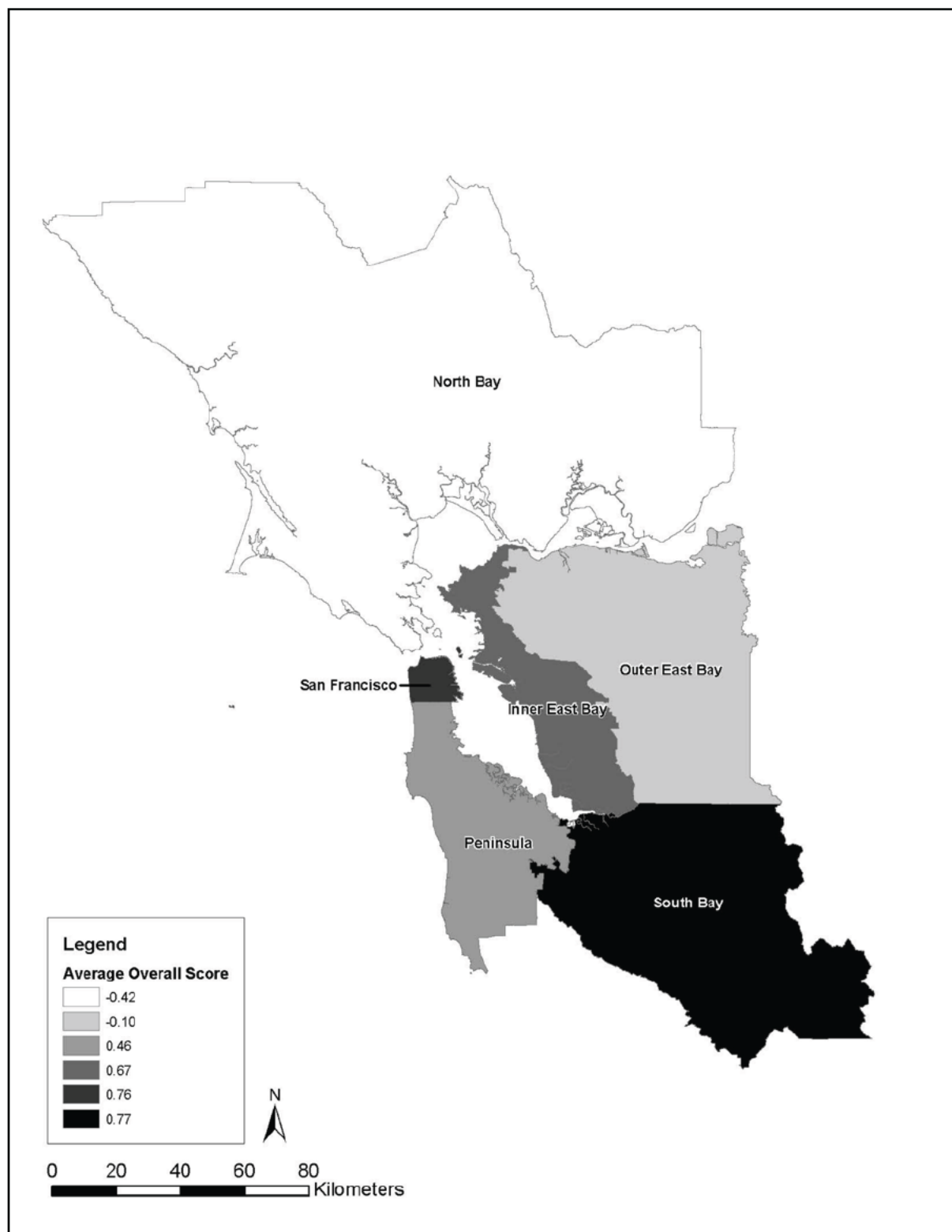


FIGURE 9.2 SPACES OF ISLAMOPHOBIA: OVERALL SD SCORES BY SD REGION, SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

SOURCE: PROJECT SURVEY, SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA CASE STUDY

9.3 MUSLIM RESIDENCE AND GEOGRAPHIES OF BELONGING IN SYDNEY AND THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

A range of factors may shape the spatial imaginaries of Islamophobia across both cities. The scale of the district of residence is among the prominent factors known to shape cross-cultural relations. The scale of a place is known to foster encounters and exchanges (Ahmed, 2000; Hopkins, 2014) that may prevent or reduce levels of Islamophobia. Many social scientists use contact and conflict theory (Letiner, 2012; Putnam, 2007, p. 434–435; Valenty & Sylvia, 2004) to suggest that contemporary exposure to outgroups may be associated with both more positive and more negative intergroup attitudes (Rae *et al.*, 2015). Contact theory argues that intergroup contact, through increased population diversity at the local level, is associated with greater acceptance of cultural and religious minority groups (cf. Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Conflict theory argues the opposite, that intergroup contact may be associated with intolerance (Barlow *et al.*, 2012, p. 1629).

Accordingly, the geographies of perceived Islamophobia in both regions support contact theory, whereby a mutual connection between the presence of Muslim populations, and lower levels of perceived Islamophobia across both cities is evident. As demonstrated in Table 9.2, and discussed previously in Chapters 5 and 6, the level of anticipated Islamophobia across both Sydney and the Bay Area was lower in areas with significant Muslim populations. On the other hand, higher levels of Islamophobia were associated with neighbourhoods with smaller Muslim populations.

In Sydney, regions with the largest Muslim populations were recorded with the highest SD scores, indicating an overall lower level of perceived Islamophobia. For example, Sydney's Inner Western and Sydney's Western suburbs are home to more than 20,000 Muslims in each area and home to 62% of Sydney's mosques in the year 2014 (Underabi, 2014). On the other hand, three regions in Sydney that scored lowest in the SD range were also home to smaller Muslim populations. Namely, the Upper North Shore, Sydney's North Side and Eastern suburbs had Muslim populations ranging from only 500–2500 Muslim residents in total.

This correlation between levels of Muslim population and Islamophobia was similarly reflected in the San Francisco Bay Area case study⁶². As demonstrated in Table 9.2, the South Bay and Inner East Bay – home to the largest Muslim populations in the region (Senzai & Bazian, 2013) – were associated with the lowest levels of perceived Islamophobia. The South Bay was home to 25% of the Bay Area case study population in this research, while the Inner East Bay was home to 38.1% of the case study group. Both of these regions scored high SD average scores, indicating they were labelled as the least Islamophobic parts of the region by young Muslims. However, the North Bay, home to only 2.5% of the case study sample, was associated with the highest level of Islamophobia in the region. The outer-East Bay was also associated with higher levels of Islamophobia and is home to 18.6% of the case study population⁶³. An exception to this relationship between Muslim population and perceived levels of Islamophobia is observable in the region of San Francisco, where the Muslim population is low in the case study population (Table 9.2). However, Senzai and Bazian (2013) noted a significant population of Yemeni and Somali immigrations residing in the Tenderloin district of San Francisco where they operate local businesses such as liquor stores.

As reflected in the spatial comparative analysis presented, the presence and absence of Muslim populations have mutually influenced levels of perceived Islamophobia across both cities. These findings reinforce the patterns of anti-Muslim acts in both Paris and London, whereby spaces of Islamophobia generally contrasted with spaces where Muslim populations and places of worship are overwhelmingly located (Najib & Hopkins, 2020). This comparison therefore adds nuance to studies of how cross-cultural relations in the contact zones of contemporary cities shape geographies of racism (see Amin, 2002; Forrest & Dunn, 2010; Noble, 2009b, pp. 46–65; Wise, 2005). Specifically, the comparative analysis presented in this section uncovers the impact of district of residence on *perceptions* of belonging and exclusion across space by racialised individuals. Taken together, the results of this

⁶² As there are no official statistics of the Bay Area’s Muslim community, it made it difficult to determine the community’s exact size. However, estimates are provided based on the residential location of the case study group and cross-referenced with estimates provided by Senzai and Bazian’s (2013) in their Bay Area Muslim study.

⁶³ The higher number of Muslim populations in the case study residing in the East Bay may have resulted from collecting surveys at community events at MCC Pleasanton.

comparison indicate that in-group presence determines how racialised individuals map and perceive geographies of belonging or racism geographies across global cities.

TABLE 9.2 THE GEOGRAPHY OF PERCEIVED ISLAMOPHOBIA ACCORDING TO MUSLIM POPULATION

Region	SD Score Range	Level of Anticipated Islamophobia	Muslim Population*
<i>San Francisco Bay Area *(% of Case Study Group)</i>			
North Bay	-0.5 0.0	High	2.5%
Outer East Bay	-0.5 0.0	High	18.6%
Peninsula	0.0 0.5	Medium	10.2%
Inner East Bay	0.5 1.0	Low	38.1%
San Francisco	0.5 1.0	Low	5.1%
South Bay	0.5 1.0	Low	25.4%
<i>Sydney *(ABS, 2011)</i>			
Region I: Sydney's North Side and Eastern Suburbs	-0.5 0.0	High	1,000 2,500
Region II: Sydney's Upper North Shore:	-0.5 0.0	High	500 1,000
Region III: Sydney CBD	-0.5 0.0	Medium	2,500 5,000
Region IV: Inner City to Middle Suburbia	0.0 0.5	Medium	2,500 5,000
Region V: Sydney's Inner West	1.0 >	Low	>20,000
Region VI: Sydney's South West	0.5 1.0	Medium	10,000 - 20,000
Region VII: Sydney's Outer Commuter and Rural Urban Fringe	0.0 0.5	Medium	2,500 5,000
Region VIII: Sydney's West	1.0 >	Low	>20,000
Region IX: Sutherland	-1.0 - 0.5	High	1,000-2,500

SOURCE: PROJECT SURVEY, SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA CASE STUDY AND ABS (2011)

9.4 SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACTS ON GEOGRAPHIES OF ISLAMOPHOBIA IN SYDNEY AND THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

In addition to the presence of Muslim populations across space, the geographies of perceived Islamophobia in both cities are mutually shaped by socio-economic factors. Existing constructivist studies on the geographies of racism have emphasised how the particular history and socioeconomic circumstances of a place will influence residents' dispositions and attitudes towards cultural diversity (Betts 1999; Forrest & Dunn, 2011; Forrest *et al.*,

2020)⁶⁴. However, less is known about the ways in which perceptions of racism across space among racialised minorities are also shaped by socio-economic circumstances of a place. In this section, the geographies of perceived Islamophobia in both international sites are compared according to the migration histories of Muslim communities and how these histories have shaped the socio-economic positioning of Muslims within the broader socio-economic structure of each city. In both cities, high SES localities are associated with higher levels of Islamophobia, whereas low SES areas are constructed as more welcoming of Muslim communities. The comparative analysis presented in this chapter thus provides insight into the connection between socioeconomics and perceived Islamophobia across space.

As discussed in section 9.2.1, the geographies of perceived Islamophobia in Sydney represent a multiple nuclei model, with higher levels of Islamophobia clustered in the inner-city privileged and high socio-economic status (SES) areas of the North Side, Eastern Suburbs and Upper-North Shore. These findings support previous work that demonstrated a decreased support for multiculturalism in the culturally homogenous, high-status area of Sydney's North Shore (Forrest & Dunn, 2006), which was also associated with high levels of Islamophobia among young Muslims in this case study. Despite this correlation, these geographies of perceived Islamophobia in Sydney also challenge previous research which found that residents of elite and high socioeconomic status inner city areas of the city, such as the Northside and Eastern suburbs stood out with markedly positive attitudes towards multiculturalism (Forrest & Dunn, 2011). However, these regions were associated with high levels of Islamophobia by young Muslims in the Sydney case study. These variations support the recent research on geographies of racism in Sydney which brought attention to the coexistence of pro-multicultural values and higher levels of Islamophobia in higher SES areas. For example, in reporting on attitudes towards racism in 2015, Forrest *et al.*, (2020) found that there was an increase in 'new racist' attitudes such as Islamophobia and stronger prejudice towards other cultures, particularly Muslims in higher socioeconomic (SES) areas of Sydney such as the Northern Beaches Pittwater, Eastern Suburbs-Northern suburbs. Therefore, support for diversity in socio-economically privileged places can also co-exist

⁶⁴ Albeit in varying ways (reflecting, for instance, class, racial and gender positioning of residents) (Forrest and Dunn 2011).

with higher levels of anti-Muslim attitudes in ‘cosmopolitan’ inner-city areas such as the Eastern Suburbs, and Northern suburbs of Sydney (as reflected in Figure 9.1). These perceived geographies of Islamophobia in monocultural and elite suburbs of Sydney thus reinforce the potential links between anti-Muslim racism and high levels of Anglo privilege in socio-economically privileged areas.

According to the spatial imaginaries of Islamophobia in Sydney, lower SES and stigmatised neighbourhoods in Western Sydney are perceived as positive spaces of belonging and safety among young Muslims. These findings conflict with previous research which uncovered a high rejection of multicultural values as well as anti-cultural diversity attitudes in these low SES areas of Sydney (Forrest & Dunn, 2011; Forrest *et al.*, 2020). This supports the spatial patterning of anti-Muslim incidents in Paris which identified a higher incidence of anti-Muslim incidents in cosmopolitan spaces of the city that were generally well considered and socially valued (high SES), and lower levels of anti-Muslim incidents in suburbs that were generally stigmatised (low SES) across Paris (Najib & Hopkins, 2019).

Higher feelings of acceptance and belonging among Muslims in Sydney within stigmatised and low SES suburbs of the city can be attributed to the unique migration history of Muslims to Australia and the impact on their overall lower socio-economic standing. Muslims in Sydney largely arrived in Australia from non-English speaking background (NESB) refugee groups mainly from Lebanon, Turkey and other south-east Asian origins in the 1970s and 80s (Forrest & Dunn, 2011) to work in manufacturing industries. Loss of manufacturing job opportunities coupled with the rising cost of housing in the inner Sydney region resulted in the movement of immigrants, including Muslim groups to the more affordable western suburbs of Sydney, where the ABS (2011) now report a higher concentration of Muslims (Underabi, 2014). The social and economic effects of recent immigration, unemployment and poor levels of social services have misrepresented Western Sydney neighbourhoods where significant Muslim populations reside, as the hotbeds of criminality and endangerment, which the media have notoriously dubbed ‘Gangland’ (Turner, 2008; Poynting, Noble, Tabar & Collins, 2004). Higher levels of perceived belonging and acceptance among Muslims in these stigmatised areas of Western Sydney therefore challenge existing work on the connections between socio-economic status and pro-multicultural values in high SES areas of Sydney (Forrest & Dunn, 2011). Instead, the spatial imaginaries of Islamophobia among

young Muslims bring to light, the increased prejudice against Muslims in privileged localities of the city (Forrest *et al.*, 2020), as well as the polarisation of Muslim communities residing in Western Sydney, compared with the cosmopolitan inner-city areas (Turner, 2008).

On the other hand, in the *San Francisco Bay Area*, the centre-periphery model of perceived Islamophobia situates the cosmopolitan inner-city centres of San Francisco, Oakland and San Jose as primary spaces of inclusion by young Muslims. Spaces of Islamophobia in the Bay Area are identified in areas furthest away from the three city-centres of San Francisco, Oakland and the South Bay. In contrast to Sydney, lower levels of Islamophobia were reported in the inner-city areas of the Bay Area, which is reflective of the unique socio-economic structure and ongoing transformation of the region. The Bay Area has one of the highest concentrations of wealth, and second highest percentage of degree-carrying working population in any large metropolitan area of the US (Walker and Schafran 2015).

Significant to this discussion on the spatial distribution of socio-economic status, is the migration history of Muslims to the U.S., which has implications on the socio-economic standing of Muslims in the San Francisco Bay Area. Earlier studies of Muslim immigrants suggest that those who arrived in the US were already highly educated, while many others enrolled in various colleges and universities after their arrival (Senzai & Bazian, 2013)⁶⁵. The majority of Muslim migrants to the Bay Area have been categorised by Maira (2016) into three groups – Afghan, South Asian (Pakistani and Indian), and Arab (Iraqi, Lebanese, Egyptian, Libyan, and Palestinian, among other nationalities) who live across the Bay Area in San Francisco, the East Bay and in Silicon Valley. The migration histories of each group are complex and therefore accompanied by varied levels of labour skills, and subsequent professions and socio-economic status. There has been a longstanding presence of Muslims in the Bay Area that can be traced to as early as 1920⁶⁶. Large Arab communities arrived following political unrest in the Middle East from the 1950s onwards, including a significant

⁶⁵ It is important to note that there are also significant populations of working-class indigent Muslim communities in America. For example, a Pew Research Center study (2011) found that 45 percent of Muslim American households reported a household income of less than \$30,000 per year. However, scholarly interventions have not yet examined the critical link between race and poverty among Muslim Americans, which requires further attention (Beydoun 2016).

⁶⁶ Some families in the Arab American community in northern California in particular have resided in the Bay Area for three generations, since the early 1900s, and migrated from what was known as Greater Syria (now Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and Palestine) at the time (Maira 2016)

population of blue-collar workers. The *Immigration Act of 1965* later attracted heterogeneous immigrants in terms of class, including both highly educated professionals and scientists as well as technical workers on H-1B visas (Maira, 2016). A large population of Afghan refugees also arrived in the Bay Area starting in the 1970s and late 1990s, who were primarily less affluent and less highly educated than South Asian and Arab Americans in the region and reside primarily in the cities of Fremont and Hayward (East Bay). The overall Bay Area Muslim community occupies middle to high socio-economic standing, including higher levels of education which is mostly attributed to the longstanding establishment of Muslim communities since the 1950-60s, as well as increased skilled migration to the region on H1B visas (Maira, 2016). For example, Senzai and Bazian's (2013) study of the local Muslim population found that 74 percent of their respondents had completed between at least some college and graduate school education. Further, Muslims in the Bay Area showed a fairly strong household incomes, with 46% of respondents in Senzai and Bazian's (2013) study indicating that their financial situation was good or excellent. However, there remain significant financial inequalities along geographic lines, as well as educational inequalities along racial/ethnic lines, particularly among Somali, African American, Afghan and Yemeni Muslims residing in the inner-city areas of San Francisco and across the East Bay (Senzai & Bazian, 2013).

The socio-economic structure and positioning of Muslims has implications on the geographies of perceived Islamophobia in the Bay Area. While wealth is dispersed across the region, high levels of wealth are concentrated in North Bay areas such as Marin, which is the richest county in the nation (Walker & Schafran, 2015), as well as in the sprawled suburbs of the outer-East Bay home to elite and monocultural neighbourhoods such as Danville and Walnut Creek (Walker & Schafran, 2015) where a significant population of 'white flight' residents relocated following the increased cultural diversity introduced to parts of the Bay Area such as Fremont (Maira, 2016). Accordingly, the high SES areas of the North and Outer-East Bay regions were associated with the highest levels of perceived Islamophobia in the region (refer back to Figure 9.2). In contrast to Sydney, wealthy districts are less prominent in the inner-city areas of the Bay Area, particularly within the East Bay (Walker & Schafran, 2015). Interestingly, these inner-city areas of the East Bay, San Francisco and Peninsula were associated with lower levels of perceived Islamophobia. Inner-city areas such as San

Francisco, Oakland and Berkeley, have been historically home to the working class, and lower SES groups where levels of poverty continue to grow, particularly among communities of colour (Walker & Schafran, 2015). Specific to the SES of Muslim communities in these areas, many Arab, including Iraqi refugees, as well as Yemeni immigrants who work in low-wage blue-collar jobs generally live across small pockets of San Francisco, such as the Tenderloin – a racially mixed, working-class and working-poor neighbourhood (Maira, 2016; Senzai & Bazian, 2013). There are also pockets of working- to middle-class Arab, South Asian, and Afghan immigrants in inner-city towns in the East Bay and South Bay such as Alameda, Emeryville, Sunnyvale, Union City and Newark (Maira, 2016).

In examining these socio-economic geographies of Muslim residence and perceptions of Islamophobia it is worthy to note that the socio-economic structure of the Bay Area is rapidly evolving. In particular, communities of colour have been displaced from the inner-city areas and pushed to suburbs in the urban fringe that were historically predominantly white neighbourhoods and associated with higher levels of racism (see for example, Lucy & Philips, 2001, Murphy, 2007; Vicino, 2008a; Schafran, 2012; Short *et al.*, 2007). This is particularly the case in recent years whereby the rapid gentrification caused by the local technology industry has threatened the historical pattern of racial settlement in the Bay Area region⁶⁷. Nonetheless, the perceptions of Islamophobia across the Bay Area are shaped by the geography of SES. Lower to middle-class SES suburbs were associated with higher levels of acceptance of Muslim populations in the inner-city Areas of the East Bay and San Francisco compared with higher levels of Islamophobia in the higher SES elite areas of the North Bay and Outer East Bay neighbourhoods.

The results of this spatial (horizontal) comparative analysis suggest that levels of perceived Islamophobia across both sites are shaped by the different socio-economic structures of each city region as well as the respective social class positioning of Muslims. These variations are connected to the unique migration histories of Muslims which have influenced the socio-economic position, and thus residential location of Muslim populations across each city. This

⁶⁷ In response to gentrification, diverse communities of colour who made up the Bay Area's working class in inner-city areas have relocated to far-flung suburbs like Antioch, Brentwood, Stockton and Modesto located up to 100 miles from San Francisco (Walker and Schafran 2015). The exurbanisation of communities of colour has also coincided with the foreclosure crisis of the Bay Area.

approach to mapping perceptions of racism among racialised individuals enhances existing constructivist studies on geographies of racism that have traditionally focussed on mapping racial attitudes (Forrest & Dunn, 2011) or racist incidents within a space (Najib & Hopkins, 2020). This comparative analysis has unearthed a different geography on the correlation between racism and SES across space, highlighting the need to examine racialised geographies according to socio-economic structures that shape how racism is organised across urban spaces.

9.5 CONCLUSION: THE COMPARATIVE GEOGRAPHIES OF PERCEIVED ISLAMOPHOBIA IN SYDNEY AND THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

As uncovered in this chapter, Islamophobia is spatialised across both cities according to two distinct urban models. The horizontal (spatial) comparison provided in this chapter brings the various factors that shape the distinct geographies of perceived Islamophobia across the two case study sites.

Firstly, the comparative analysis uncovered the mutually significant influence of in-group presence of other Muslims on shaping perceptions of Islamophobia across both cities. For both Muslim Australians and Americans, the absence of Muslim populations across space appears to be a stronger indicator of racism, and vice versa, whereas areas with greater Muslim populations are associated with a stronger sense of acceptance. These findings support previous contributions in ‘contact theory’ by highlighting that greater contact with culturally diverse groups leads to a greater sense of acceptance (Wilson, 2011; Najib & Hopkins, 2020), which are found to be internalised in pedagogies of belonging (Noble & Poynting, 2010) among young Muslims in both cities. These findings also support emerging work that has identified stronger racist attitudes in relatively homogenous (Anglo) outer suburban areas where Muslim populations are less significant (Forrest *et al.*, 2020). Together, these findings point to the importance of in-group residence and presence in shaping perceptions of racism across space, and therefore the significance of cross-cultural contact (Forrest & Dunn, 2011) and multicultural encounters in encouraging perceptions of belonging across places among racialised individuals. These insights enrich broader studies on the geographies of racism that have traditionally mapped racist incidents (Najib &

Hopkins, 2019; Tell MAMA, 2018) and general racial attitudes across space (e.g., Forrest & Dunn, 2007; 2011).

Secondly, the distinct urban models of perceived Islamophobia across both sites are found to be shaped by the different socio-economic structures of each city region, as well as the respective social class positioning of Muslims. The socio-economic standing of Muslim communities in both sites varies according to the distinct migration histories of Muslim populations that have influenced the socio-economic position, and residential location of Muslim populations across localities. However, despite the seemingly socio-economically advantaged position of Muslims in the Bay Area compared with Muslims in Sydney, the socio-economic structure of the city itself remained a primary factor shaping their perceived geographies of Islamophobia.

In Sydney, Inner-City areas with higher levels of SES and affluence were associated with higher levels of Islamophobia. In contrast, low SES suburbs in Western Sydney were associated with higher levels of belonging and acceptance among Muslims. In the Bay Area, the geography of class differentiates from Sydney, as the Inner-City areas are not as affluent as they are in Sydney, and home to rising levels of poverty. Subsequently, Inner-City areas are perceived as areas of belonging among Muslims in the San Francisco Bay Area, while the rural-fringe areas of the North Bay and Outer East Bay furthest from the city centre are home to wealthier neighbourhoods, and thus associated with higher levels of Islamophobia. This comparative analysis finds that the geography of class shapes the urban models of perceived Islamophobia across space, inflecting the different cosmopolitanisms of each city. Overall, socioeconomic status mutually cuts across diversity and the embrace of diversity in both cities whereby high SES neighbourhoods were associated with higher levels of Islamophobia and low SES neighbourhoods were associated with lower levels of Islamophobia. In both cases, these findings challenge previous work on racial attitudes that associates high socioeconomic status areas with pro-multicultural values (Forrest & Dunn, 2011), by mapping racism from the perspective of the racialised.

The spatial (horizontal) comparative analysis presented in this chapter therefore uncovers a global trend in (i) the impact of in-group presence of Muslim populations on geographies of perceived Islamophobia and (ii) the role of SES in shaping these geographies in both Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area. In uncovering these connections, both the similar

and unique spatial patterns of racial spatial imaginaries in each city underscore the significance of capturing the perspective of racialised individuals when mapping racisms. Comparative analyses of these geographical studies provide a deeper understanding of how forms of racism like Islamophobia manifest across metropolitan regions, while also conceptualising the local variations in how these patterns are similarly or distinctly produced across global cities (Najib & Hopkins, 2020).

These geographies must, however, be contextualised within the broader socio-political landscape of each city. A deeper contextual analysis of these geographies of Islamophobia is therefore provided in the next chapter of the thesis in order to trace how key racial events shape local socio-political contexts of Islamophobia and examine how this impacts young Muslim mobilities in each local context.

10 COMPARING MUSLIM MOBILITIES IN CONTEXT

Geographies of racism and attitudes to diversity depend on the history and context of cross-cultural relations across space (Forrest & Dunn, 2011). The specific cultural, economic and historical circumstances of place shape experiences of cross-cultural relations and racism across various spaces (Forrest & Dunn, 2011). However, less is known about the ways in which context shapes the geographies of perceived racism, and the subsequent mobilities of racialised minorities across urban spaces. This chapter addresses the final aim of the research by examining the role of socio-political context in shaping the relationship between Islamophobia and spatial mobility across the two cities of Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area. Using the transversal (contextual) axis of comparison, the chapter examines how processes of Islamophobia were formed historically in each context, and thus led to spatially differentiated effects (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017) on young Muslim mobilities. A relational analysis also draws connections between the two sites, by examining the relational impact of the 9/11 attacks in 2001 on Muslim mobilities in both global cities.

The majority of the comparison presented in this chapter is focussed on comparing the processes and impacts of two key racial events: (i) the 2005 Cronulla riots in Sydney and (ii) the 2016 election in the US on young Muslim mobilities across both cities. As summarised in Table 10.1, the chapter examines key themes in order to compare key processes of Islamophobia and measure the spatial impacts of Islamophobia on Muslim mobility practices. Firstly, the chapter historically situates global and local racial events as key processes that shape the relational, as well as the unique geographies of Islamophobia in both cities. Beginning with a comparative analysis of the 9/11 attacks, the chapter presents empirical data that points to the negative impacts of this racial event in shaping the geographies of Islamophobia and Muslim mobilities in both Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area. Drawing on developments in comparative geography for relational comparisons between cities, this event is situated as a key historical process that shaped the contemporary spatialisation of Islamophobia in both Sydney, and in the San Francisco Bay Area. Secondly, key local racial events within each city are compared. Beginning with Sydney, the ongoing historical impact of the 2005 Cronulla riots on geographies of Islamophobia and Muslim immobility ten years following the event are examined. In contrast, the

contemporary threat and impacts of the 2016 election on Islamophobia in the Bay Area are explored, drawing attention to how the hostile political climate of the Trump election compelled the employment of anti-racist mobility practices by Muslim Americans. Overall, the contextual analysis presented in the chapter accounts for specific events and actors that have shaped the differential spatial impacts of Islamophobia on young Muslim mobilities. These findings emphasise that the racialised politics of mobility operates and manifest at various scales, and that socio-political context is critical in shaping local geographies of racism, and the racialised politics of mobility across urban spaces (Castree, 2005; Herbert, 2012; Ward 2010).

TABLE 10.1 CONTEXTUAL (TRANSVERSAL) IMPACTS ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ISLAMOPHOBIA AND SPATIAL MOBILITY

	Sydney, Australia	San Francisco Bay Area, USA	Comparison
Global Racial Events	9/11 attacks producing Islamophobia (2001)	9/11 attacks producing Islamophobia (2001)	= and \leftrightarrow (Similar and Relational)
Local Racial Events	<p>Cronulla riots (2005)</p> <p><i>Actors</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <u>Mainstream Media</u>: media constructions of Cronulla riot reproducing spatial exclusion of the event - From <u>Individuals</u>: perpetrators of Islamophobia i.e., Cronulla rioters <p><i>Time</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historical: 9/11 attacks in 2001 - Historical: Cronulla riots in 2005 fieldwork conducted in 2014 almost a decade later 	<p>Election of President Donald Trump (2016)</p> <p><i>Actors</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <u>The State</u>: Anti-Muslim discourse and policies such as the Muslim Travel Ban - From <u>Individuals</u>: increased everyday acts of Islamophobia following the 2016 election <p><i>Time</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historical: 9/11 attacks in 2001 - Contemporary: 2016 election of President Donald Trump took place during the fieldwork (2016-2017) 	= and \neq (Similar and Different)
Spatial Impacts on Muslim mobilities	<p>The spatial mobility of young Muslims has been impaired, particularly in Sydney beaches and in the Sutherland region where Cronulla is located</p> <p>Young Muslims disengage and avoid the Sutherland region</p>	<p>Muslims are worried about their mobility in their daily lives across the region, as well as experiences with air travel</p> <p>Young Muslims develop a range of spatial mobility strategies to negotiate the spatial impacts of Islamophobia</p>	= and \neq (Similar and Different)

10.1 THE GLOBAL IMPACTS OF THE SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS ON LOCALISED ISLAMOPHOBIA

Urbanists have argued that comparative research must be informed by past work and that providing historical context is vital to undertaking comparative urbanism (Gough, 2012; Ward, 2010). There has been wide consensus that the September 11 attacks (9/11) were a significant turning point in the history of Muslims living in the West, informing their experiences of Islamophobia in both the US (Cesari, 2011; Kudnani, 2014) and Australia (Abdel-Fattah, 2021, 2017a, 2017b; HREOC, 2004)⁶⁸. The 9/11 attacks have been found to increase experiences of anti-Muslim discrimination among Muslims residing as minorities across a range of contexts such as Europe (Bayrakli & Hafez, 2016; Cesari 2011), Asia (Thompson *et al.*, 2018), North America (Itaoui & El Sheikh, 2018; Selod, 2019) and Australia (Abdel-Fattah, 2017, 2021). The significance of the 9/11 attacks in producing Islamophobia across the globe has been captured through comparative analyses, such as in the experiences of the Muslim interviewed by Barkdull *et al.*, (2011) in the United States, Canada, and Australia (Barkdull *et al.*, 2011; see also Poynting and Perry 2008), as well as comparative examinations of anti-Muslim national security policies introduced following the 9/11 attacks within Europe and the United States (Cesari, 2011). However, the spatial impacts of the 9/11 attacks on the geographies of Islamophobia and spatial mobility have not been compared across key urban contexts.

Specific to the case studies explored in this thesis, the chapter argues that the racial politics of Muslim mobility in both Sydney and the San Francisco Bay area were shaped by the historical event of the 9/11 attacks. Due to the limitations of presenting the analysis in the form of academic journal articles in Chapters 4–7, empirical data supporting this historical connection was not yet reported in earlier chapters of the thesis. However, the significance of the 9/11 attacks in shaping geographies of Islamophobia in both cities is examined in this

⁶⁸ As advocated by a number of scholars (Maira 2014; Grewal 2015; Kumar 2012), the September 11, 2001 attacks must be situated in the longer, global history of U.S. imperial policies in West and South Asia and in relation to other, domestic processes of criminalization, regulation, and elimination of racialized peoples by the U.S. state. In acknowledgement of this history, the September 11 attacks are used in this section as a point of connection between the sites and therefore form the main part of the discussion presented.

chapter as a critical point of comparison for examining the 9/11 attacks as an event that has produced global processes and spatial outcomes of Islamophobia in both cities.

Within the *Sydney* dataset, seven of 10 (70%) of interviewees discussed the impacts of the 9/11 attacks on their sense of belonging, and they stressed the negative impact of this event on their experiences of Islamophobia. For example, a number of participants provided references to how the 9/11 shaped their local experiences of Islamophobia in public spaces following this racial event.

After September 11, I would get shouted at... the usual aw "take your scarf off", or "get out of here", just shouting out "terrorist", stuff like that. (Khaled, Male, 21 years, Lebanese Australian)

I was on the bus once after the 9/11 attacks and some guy called me a terrorist, he was really drunk, and he just called me a terrorist... he said something about me having a bomb under my scarf or something (Thalia, Female, 29 years, Egyptian Australian)

I think Islamophobia is connected and became worse after 9/11... I guess it was after 9/11, because before that I didn't know about the term Islamophobia... It was after that when I was like oh there's a term Islamophobia (Sumaya, Female, 28 years, Pakistani Australian)

As highlighted by the testimonials of both young Muslim men and women in Sydney, a rise of Islamophobia following the 9/11 attacks in the USA was experienced in their lives (HREOC, 2004; Poynting & Noble, 2004; Poynting & Mason, 2006; Patton, 2014). Importantly young Muslims traced their contemporary experiences of Islamophobia to the international event of the 9/11 attacks, which produced a climate of fear around 'terrorism' (Poynting & Noble, 2004) that continued to affect their daily intercultural interactions in everyday spaces (HREOC, 2004; Patton, 2014). These testimonials highlight how the 9/11 attacks operated as a critical turning point in their experiences of Islamophobia within a climate of fear that produced a growth in racial and racist attitudes against Islamic groups (Poynting & Noble, 2004; Abdel-Fattah, 2021). As demonstrated by young Muslims in Sydney, the 9/11 attacks resulted in increased experiences of everyday racism in public spaces, and was associated

with anti-Arab and Muslim violence, in their daily lives (Noble, 2009a, 2009b). This international racial event is a critical aspect of the local history and context of Islamophobia in Sydney, particularly in shaping their experiences of anti-Muslim racism in public spaces following the 9/11 attacks.

In the *San Francisco Bay Area*, 80% (n=22) of interviewees also referred to how the 9/11 attacks in New York City shaped their local experiences of Islamophobia across the region. For example, some respondents pointed to the way in which their experiences of citizenship and belonging was affected negatively by the 9/11 attacks.

I think a lot of people are like how dare you be Muslim. Especially after what Muslims have done with 9/11. It is really hard to navigate that all the time (Alima, Female, 25 years, African American).

[After 9/11] I just didn't feel like I could be human and a Muslim. I felt I had to be a good representative. So, 9/11 added a lot of stress in my life. Post 9/11 plus all the anti-Muslim sentiment has definitely made being Muslim feel like a hard thing with extra work (Samira, Female, 34 years, Pakistani American).

Other Muslims living in the Bay Area highlighted the negative impacts of 9/11 on the safety of Muslim bodies navigating various public spaces in the San Francisco Bay Area. For example, Huda described an incident that her friend, who wore hijab, was faced with while riding the BART train.

After 9/11 happened in New York [my friend] was walking to Powell Street BART from her work, and *there was a guy who came up to her* and I think he had been slightly intoxicated, and he had a broken beer bottle in his hand. He was approaching her with the broken bottle asking why she was wearing her hijab, and he was like, why don't you go back from where you came from or whatever? So, he was very angry, very volatile. *She was afraid he was going to bash her head with this bottle* (Sana, Female, 32 years, Palestinian American, emphasis added).

Maryam further shared a tragic outcome of anti-Muslim violence on her Muslim friend who was attacked in a public space for her visible Muslim identity directly after the 9/11 attacks.

After September 11, a friend of mine was attacked, and she lost her baby she was pregnant and lost her child. She was physically attacked. (Maryam, Female, 33 years, Palestinian American).

These findings highlight the ongoing impacts of the historical event of the 9/11 attacks in New York City on how geographies of Islamophobia manifest in the San Francisco Bay Area. In accordance with the diverse scholarship on the impacts of the 9/11 terrorist attacks on Islamophobia, these testimonials reinforce how the 9/11 attacks resulted in the increased targeting of Muslims with racially and religiously motivated violence (e.g., Beydoun, 2018; Bayoumi, 2008; Kumar, 2012; Kudnani, 2014; Maira, 2016), as well as 'citizen surveillance' (Selod, 2019) when navigating everyday geographies following the 9/11 attacks. The 9/11 attacks are therefore traced as a key event among American Muslims in the San Francisco Bay Area, that significantly altered their local experiences of Islamophobia. These experiences ultimately restricted their sense of belonging and safety in everyday public spaces (Selod, 2015; Maira, 2016). These findings bring attention to the longstanding impacts of the 9/11 attacks in producing issues of safety and perceived fear in public spaces among Muslims in the Bay Area (Cainkar, 2005; Kwan, 2008). The historical event of the 9/11 attacks is therefore a key aspect of the local racial history of young Muslims in the Bay Area that has continued to limit their spatial mobility following the 9/11 attacks that took place on the East Coast of the USA. Subsequently, these findings have significant implications for understanding how the 9/11 attacks have relationally produced (Ward, 2010) anti-Muslim discourses and policies (Anwar, 2008; Aziz, 2012; Perry, 2013; Zakia, 2014; McGinty, 2020; Selod, 2019) that are spatialised across local regions in the United States such as the San Francisco Bay Area. These relational impacts of the 9/11 attacks on racialised geographies in the San Francisco Bay Area emphasises the multi-scalar impact of the racial event in New York city in shaping Muslim mobilities on a national scale.

Taken together, in comparing the local impacts of the 9/11 attacks on young Muslims in both Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area, the significance of this racial event in shaping the local histories and contexts of Islamophobia in both cities is uncovered. The relational comparison of the 9/11 attacks presented in this chapter demonstrates how the racialising processes and impacts of 9/11 on young Muslims are produced globally in Sydney as an international site (Ward, 2010), and nationally in the Bay Area. These findings draw critical attention to the various intertwined scales, realms and spaces through which Islamophobia has operated (McGinty, 2020) following the 9/11 attacks. The relational processes and consequences of the 9/11 attacks are therefore found to have produced multi-scalar spatial

effects on the racial politics of Muslim mobility across global cities. Specific to this research, local geographies of Islamophobia, and the racialised politics of Muslim mobility in Sydney and the Bay Area were thus informed by the global event of the 9/11 attacks.

In uncovering the *relational* spatial effects of the 9/11 attacks on Muslim mobility on a global scale, this comparison highlights the importance of this racial event in mutually shaping the local historical contexts of racism (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017; Ward, 2010), and subsequent local geographies of Islamophobia. This relational comparative analysis draws attention to the related experiences of Muslims in these two cities following the 9/11 attacks, and has therefore provided a more open, embedded and relational conceptualisation of the geographies of Islamophobia and Muslim mobilities. Subsequently, these findings contribute to recent debates in relational comparative urbanisms, by demonstrating how experiences of racism in each site are influenced by events or actions well beyond the local context and current moment in the specific places of Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017; Robinson 2011; Ward, 2010). While these findings highlight the ways in which experiences of racism may be relationally produced and informed by events in other places, such as the 9/11 attacks, scholars have also called for an examination of unique local contexts within comparative research, in order to trace the impacts of local events and actors in shaping the phenomenon under examination (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017; Castree, 2005). In the section that follows, the unique local processes and events that shape the racialised politics of mobility, and responses of young Muslims in each case study site, are explored: The Cronulla riots of 2005 in Sydney, and the 2016 Presidential Election in the San Francisco Bay Area.

10.2 RACIAL EVENTS: SHAPING LOCAL SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXTS OF ISLAMOPHOBIA

A conceptualisation of context using spatial theory encourages an engagement with social relations or tensions relevant to one's research (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017, p. 14). This could include for example, the race relations settings in each city, paying attention to how these relations have formed and shifted overtime (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017). Based on the findings examined in the previous chapters of the thesis, this section focusses on the impact of local racial events in shaping the socio-political contexts of Islamophobia in both Sydney and the

San Francisco Bay Area and the subsequent impacts on Muslim mobilities in each city. Two racial events: the Cronulla riot in Sydney (2005) and the election of President Donald Trump (2016) in the USA are situated as key socio-political events that have shifted and impacted Muslim mobilities in each case study examined within this research. Within this comparative discussion, key variations between the two case study sites are uncovered, related to (i) the actors involved in perpetrating these events, (ii) the temporality of the racial events and (iii) the unique capacities for spatial mobility developed in response by Muslims.

In both case studies, local *socio-political racial events* that targeted Muslims have shaped the respective geographies of Islamophobia navigated by young Muslims in each city. As explored in Chapter 7, the main racial event that shaped the context of Islamophobia for Muslims in Sydney was the Cronulla riot that took place in December 2005. The Cronulla riot was an eruption of large-scale racist violence when a mob of 5,000, summoned by vigilante text messages and incitement on talkback radio and in tabloid media, gathered on Cronulla beach (located in Sutherland, Sydney) to ‘claim back our shire’ from ‘Lebs’ and ‘wogs’, to ‘show them that this is our beach and they are never welcome’ (McIlveen 2005, p. 39). The data collected in this case study, revealed the long-term impacts of the exclusionary messages of the event on young Muslim spatial imaginaries and mobility practices ten years after this event took place. Somewhat in contrast, the San Francisco Bay Area case study was undertaken in the lead up to and following the 2016 election of President Donald Trump. This event operated as a contemporary turning point that had immediate implications on the phenomenon of Islamophobia in this region, impacting the way young Muslims viewed and responded to the threat of Islamophobia in everyday spaces. In particular, it heightened national security policies that targeted Muslim immigration and movement in the space of air travel, leveraging from anti-Muslim counterterrorism practices within the War on Terror (Kumar, 2012; Maira, 2016; Selod, 2019).

A processual approach to comparison seeks to trace the relevant *actors* involved in shaping a phenomenon, providing deeper insight into dynamics of power, relationships, encounters, conflicts, accords and interactions (Bartlett & Varus, 2017). In comparing the two racial events in both cities, the thesis argues that *distinct actors* involved in shaping the processes and impacts of these racial events produced varied socio-political contexts of racism in each

locality. In Sydney, the media was identified as a key actor that shaped the spatial impacts of the Cronulla riot on Muslim mobilities in Sydney. In the San Francisco Bay Area, the introduction of state policies that target Muslims, such as the Muslim Travel Ban following the 2016 election are traced as influential in shaping Muslim mobility practices.

10.2.1 THE MEDIA: A KEY ACTOR IN SHAPING THE SPATIAL IMPACTS OF THE CRONULLA RIOT IN SYDNEY

Beginning with Sydney, mainstream media reporting of the Cronulla riot shaped the socio-political context of Islamophobia for Muslims in Sydney. As comprehensively examined in Chapter 7, the Cronulla riot was a key racial event that shaped young Muslim perceptions of Islamophobia across the city, and their mobility practices in the neighbouring suburbs of Cronulla. Based on the analysis presented in Chapter 7, the media is identified as a key actor responsible for depicting the region of Cronulla as a racist place, ultimately leading to the ongoing exclusion of Muslims from the wider Sutherland area. These findings provide deeper insight into how Muslims internalised the place stigma of Cronulla being an unwelcoming, monocultural and racist neighbourhood following the riot (Klocker, 2015; Norquay & Drozdowski, 2017). The role of tabloid media in producing the racist discourses that fuelled and exacerbated the Cronulla riot has been comprehensively examined by a range of scholars over the last decade (Poynting, 2006; 2007; Nelson, 2014; Noble, 2009a; Turner, 2008). However, the findings presented in Chapter 7 extended these understandings and established how the media played a significant role in reproducing the racist, exclusionary intent of the rioters. For example, the NSW Police Force report into the Cronulla race riots pointed to the content and tenor of talk-back radio as a primary cause of the expressed intolerance and racist attacks (Forrest & Dunn, 2011; Hazzard Report, 2006). The Australian news media assisted with inciting the riots and much of their coverage of the attack, and its aftermath, were largely sympathetic to the White Australian 'place-defending' rioters (see also Quayle & Sonn, 2009; Nelson, 2014).

The exclusionary intent of the rioters and their sympathisers was a racist form of spatial management that had both specific and general aims of restricting Arab and Muslim mobility in this space. The media reproduced discourses of race and ethnicity that excluded Muslims, while simultaneously reaffirming the entitlement of the rioters to sovereignty over Cronulla

beach (Klocker, 2014). For example, the slogan, ‘we grew here, you flew here’, followed by the Cronulla postcode, written in marker pen on a young white man’s torso, succinctly demonstrated these messages of spatial exclusion directed toward young Arab and Muslim Australians (Turner, 2008), and was depicted in numerous media stories about the event. Overall, in the coverage of the riot, the Australian news media contributed to the ethnic purification that was originally intended by the Cronulla riots, and the subsequent long-term spatial exclusion of Muslims from Cronulla. These findings highlight the impact of media representations of the Cronulla riot on racism and race relations (Jakubowicz, 2009; Forrest *et al.*, 2020), particularly in producing pedagogies of (un)belonging by Noble and Poynting (2010) among young Muslims in response to media coverage of the riot. In doing so, the findings highlight the critical influence of the media as a key actor that shaped the long-term spatial exclusion and (im)mobility of young Muslims within the specific local context of the Sutherland, Sydney where Cronulla beach is located.

10.2.2 STATE POLICIES: SHAPING THE ANTI-MUSLIM SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT IN THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

In the San Francisco Bay Area, the national policies and practices of the Trump administration were attributed to increased levels of Islamophobia by young Muslims in the local region. As outlined in Chapter 8, the 2016 election was a key event that influenced racialised experiences across the United States including local processes and experiences of Islamophobia (Potok, 2018). For example, there was a reported 197% rise in anti-Muslim groups in America between 2015-2016 (Potok, 2018) and the entire American Muslim community was affected, regardless of national and ethnic background or legal status (McGinty, 2020).

Existing research on the role of state policies in discriminating against Muslims in the US has been well-documented, tracing back mostly the 9/11 attacks (Elsheikh *et al.*, 2017; Cesari, 2011). Notable among these policies was the *Patriot Act*, which was used to hunt down ‘potential terrorists’, subjecting Arab, South Asian (particularly Pakistani), Afghan, Iranian and Muslim Americans to surveillance, detention and deportation (Kudnani, 2014; Maira, 2016). As established in Chapter 8, the introduction of the Muslim Travel Ban in January 2017 by the Trump Administration was an extension of these discriminatory national

security policies in the US, producing significant impacts on the local geographies of Islamophobia for Muslims in the local Bay Area. The anti-Muslim discourses and policies of the Trump Administration leading up to and following 2016 election increased both national and localised experiences of Islamophobia around the nation (Nagel, 2016; Fritzsche & Nelson, 2019). Chapter 8 particularly uncovered how the 2016 election impacted the everyday travel practices of Muslims in the Bay Area due to fears of being targeted by counterterrorism policing after the introduction of the Muslim Travel Ban. Muslims in the San Francisco Bay Area case study also reconsidered where they travelled around the city in fear of facing discrimination from individuals within an increasingly hostile socio-political climate.

The impact of national anti-Muslim discourses and policies following the 2016 election on the local socio-political context of Islamophobia is particularly reflected within heightened national security counterterrorism policies on Muslim mobility in airport spaces. As Fine and Sirin (2008) observe, Muslim American youth 'live in an echo chamber of stereotypes and surveillance' (p. 178; see also Grewal, 2014), particularly following the War on Terror⁶⁹ (Maira, 2016). The War on Terror has thus been described as 'a technology of nation making that produces youth as subjects that must be preserved and protected, as well as monitored, contained, repressed, or removed, if necessary, through violence' (Maira, 2016, p 7). Young Muslims in the San Francisco Bay Area highlighted the significant impact of the War on Terror policies on their use of airport spaces, which was heightened following the introduction of the Muslim Travel Ban in 2017. These findings reflect those reported by Senzai and Bazian (2013) who found that Yemenis, Afghanis, Pakistanis and Palestinians faced intrusion in their daily affairs by security agencies, such as frequent FBI visits, and 60% of their respondents felt security in airports specifically targeted Muslims. These negative implications of national security policing on Muslim movement can be connected to broader debates around race and policing in the US that have predominantly focussed on street policing of black bodies (Dillette, Benjamin & Carpenter, 2018; Nicholson, 2016). The impact

⁶⁹ As highlighted by Maira (2016) post-9/11 repression extends the imperial state's policies of surveilling and containing radicals or leftist "subversives," especially during wartime and through the Cold War, as well as a history of suppressing Arab American activism that precedes the current War on Terror—what Alain Badiou (2011) calls the long war against terrorism' (p. 20).

of national security policies on Muslim mobility uncovered in this thesis enhances these broader debates, highlighting the ongoing role of counterterrorism and CVE policing in restricting the movement of racialized Muslim bodies (Selod, 2019) within practices of surveillance and securitisation in broader national and global security apparatus in the USA. As outlined in Chapter 8, national anti-Muslim policies intensified following the 2016 election, including the introduction of the Muslim Travel Ban. The effects of this policy were particularly spatialised in sites of national security law enforcement such as airports and during air travel. Overall, anti-Muslim discourses and policies from the national scale following the 2016 election, were significant in shaping the local socio-political context of Islamophobia for Muslims in the San Francisco Bay Area.

10.2.3 INDIVIDUAL PERPETRATORS: SHAPING SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXTS ACROSS SYDNEY AND THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

Individual perpetrators of Islamophobia were also influential in shaping local contexts of Islamophobia and Muslim mobilities in both Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area. The individuals who posed a threat to Muslim mobility in Sydney were mainly anticipated in the Sutherland region of Sydney where Cronulla is located, in direct response to the exclusionary message of the rioters. Although the rioters travelled from all parts of Sydney to Cronulla to participate (Klocker, 2014), Muslims in the Sydney case study felt most threatened by individuals residing in the vicinity of Cronulla, ten years on from the event. In contrast, the threat of individual perpetrators of Islamophobia was more spatially diffuse in the San Francisco Bay Area, particularly within the socio-political climate of the 2016 election. As highlighted in Chapters 6 and 8, young Muslims anticipated and responded to Islamophobia across the Bay Area region, rather than the individual geographies of risk identified in the Sydney case study.

Following the 2016 election, Islamophobia became difficult to predict within the expanded geographies of risk produced by this hostile national political climate that manifest in the San Francisco Bay Area. For example, young Muslims in the Bay Area suspected that “closeted racists” would feel emboldened by the anti-Muslim discourses of Donald Trump and therefore more likely to attack. As examined in Chapters 6 and 8, local media reported a rise in Islamophobic incidents increased across the region, which targeted Muslim bodies

and sites in various neighbourhoods of the Bay Area region, including the South Bay where significant Muslim communities reside. Therefore, individual perpetrators were more difficult to 'place' or predict across the region in the Bay Area. This draws critical attention to how a national scale event, such as the election of Donald Trump worked to expand geographies of Islamophobic risk on a local scale across the San Francisco Bay Area region. In contrast, Muslims in Sydney associated that individual perpetrators of Islamophobia were perceived to be located in the specific neighbourhoods within the Sutherland region. This resulted in a more confined geography of Islamophobic risk in Sydney than what was identified in the San Francisco Bay Area.

Tracing the variations in the individual perpetrators involved in shaping these racial events uncovers how national and local events shape the differential local socio-political contexts of racism in both cities. In Sydney, the profile of Islamophobia remained spatially concentrated in Cronulla as Muslims interpreted the local racial event within the local boundaries of Cronulla. This is due to media representations of the Cronulla riot as a problem somewhat exclusive to the suburb of Cronulla, as well as the perpetrators being perceived to be concentrated in this geography. In contrast, the national scale of the 2016 election and anti-Muslim rhetoric, discourses and policies expanded the geographies of risk that young Muslims navigated across the San Francisco Bay Area, producing a more spatially diffuse threat of Islamophobia across the region. Based on this comparative discussion, it is clear that these differentiations shaped the contextual experiences of Islamophobia in Sydney and the Bay Area. However, what has not yet been captured in comparative studies of geographies of racism and Islamophobia, is the way in which distinct socio-political contexts shape the racialised politics of mobility. The subsequent impacts of these key socio-political events: the Cronulla riot and the 2016 election on Muslim American and Australian mobilities are therefore examined in detail in the following section of this chapter.

10.3 CONTEXTUALISING THE VARIED MOBILITY RESPONSES OF YOUNG MUSLIMS IN SYDNEY AND THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

The unique socio-political contexts of a case study site can produce differential outcomes that shape the phenomenon under investigation (Castree, 2005). However, existing comparative studies of Islamophobia and racialised mobilities more broadly (e.g., Alderman

& Inwood, 2016; Stuesse & Coleman, 2014) have not yet cross-examined how local socio-political contexts influence the varied spatial mobility responses of racialised individuals across space. In this section, the subsequent effects of each local socio-political context on Muslim mobilities in each city are compared transversally (contextually), uncovering the differential implications of local racial events on Muslim mobilities. In doing so, the discussion traces the direct influence of key local racial events on how Islamophobia was experienced and negotiated spatially in each city.

Across the two case study sites, there were scalar variations in how the relationship between Islamophobia and spatial mobility operated in the lives of Muslims. These scalar variations are attributed to (i) the distinct temporalities of the racial events that shaped the contexts of Islamophobia in each city – contemporary vs historical, (ii) the varied levels of power and influence of the key actors on the spatialisation of Islamophobia in each context, and (iii) unique local socio-political cultures of activism and civic engagement. Organise around these three factors, this section argues that these contextual variations in the local racial events of Islamophobia have a substantial influence on young Muslim mobilities in each city.

Beginning with the *Sydney* case study, this section claims that there is a longstanding impact of the Cronulla riots on restricted Muslim mobilities within the Sutherland region. As the media reproduced the exclusionary messages of the rioters over time through repetitive representations of Cronulla as a racist place, young Muslims responded by choosing to disengage and avoid this geography (see Chapter 6). Therefore, the racial event of the Cronulla riots is found to have shaped the socio-political context of Islamophobia in Sydney, confining young Muslim immobility to Cronulla beach and the surrounding local region of Sutherland ten years following the event. Based on this, young Muslims chose to disengage and avoid spaces in the region, however this immobility was limited to the Sutherland region in direct response to the racial event that took place at the suburban scale. While these mobility responses reflected the mutual disengagement of Muslims from spaces of Islamophobia in Sweden (Listerborn, 2015), the UK (TellMAMA, 2018) and France (Najib & Hopkins, 2019), the findings around Muslim mobilities in Cronulla uniquely highlight the *enduring* impact of this historical racial event on the mobility practices of young Muslims, in a specific place, ten years on.

Meanwhile, due to the contemporary nature of Islamophobia during and following the 2016 election, young Muslims in the *San Francisco Bay Area* navigated an intensified and spatially diffuse threat of Islamophobia. In the case of the 2016 election, national anti-Muslim discourses and policies of the Trump Administration produced an expanded geography of risk that provided little respite from the spatial threat of Islamophobia. This racial event thus restricted Muslim mobilities when navigating across spaces, as well when *leaving* the Bay Area whereby Muslims both anticipated and experienced discrimination when using air travel. As examined in Chapter 8, young Muslims anticipated Islamophobia while moving across the city in a range of spaces, including public transport, while driving or walking, and while flying in and out of the region. This perceived geography of threat was reflected in local news reports of increased Islamophobia in the region including the removal of a local Stanford University student from a flight for speaking Arabic on the phone (Stack, 2016), to local cases of racial abuse and violence in spaces of mobility such as the BART train or in carparks and shopping centres (Bhattacharjee, 2016). The role of the 2016 Presidential election in cultivating a hostile anti-Muslim socio-political environment reflects the findings of Poynting and Perry (2008) who found that discriminatory policies and practices by government agencies reinforced anti-Muslim attitudes, resulting in a ‘trickle down’ effect, by which ‘official use of profiling sends a message to the larger community that a person who fits a certain physical or religious description is suspect, if not guilty until proven innocent’ (CAIR, 2002, p. 7). Consequently, in the San Francisco Bay Area, political manipulation of public perceptions and its attendant discriminatory practices against Muslims at the national level via the Trump Administration, bestowed permission for other forms of discrimination against Muslims in their daily lives.

The scale of Islamophobic threat was therefore expanded by the 2016 election and required young Muslims to negotiate a diffuse geography of Islamophobia across the Bay Area, and beyond. In response, Muslims employed a range of countermobilities (see Alderman and Inwood, 2016) across all geographies in the Bay Area. This included planning travel routes (Listerborn, 2015; Najib & Hopkins, 2020), travelling in groups, avoiding air travel, employing security measures for their sites of worship and gathering, as well as undertaking bystander anti-racism (Nelson *et al.*, 2011) on behalf of other members of their community in everyday spaces such as the sidewalk or the local grocery store. These responses were

employed in a wide range of geographies, in response to the spatially diffuse threat of Islamophobia following the 2016 election. These unique responses draw critical attention to how national anti-Muslim discourses and policies of the 2016 election manifested locally to produce a contemporary, and spatially diffuse threat of Islamophobia that was difficult to avoid when navigating the Bay Area. The 'blanketing effect' of Trump in expanding local geographies of Islamophobia (e.g., Fritzsche & Nelson, 2019; Nagel, 2016) meant that Islamophobia was less predictable, and required that Muslims in the Bay Area continued to venture out and undertake their daily activities.

The employment of anti-racist mobility strategies in the San Francisco Bay Area can also be contextualised within the broader history and role of the region in leading civic and political resistance across the USA (Maira, 2016). The Bay Area is renowned for its local culture of resistance against injustice, which is often traced to protests in the 1960-70s against involvement in the Vietnam War (Maira, 2016). Specific to Muslim advocacy, the Bay Area is home to the largest Muslim civic engagement organisations which are situated within this broader local culture of activism and resistance against the discrimination of racialised groups in the region (Naber, 2005; Senzai & Bazian, 2013). Across all five counties of the Bay Area, Senzai and Bazian (2013) found Muslim civic organizations working with every ethnic and national group in the region, from Somali, Sudanese, and Eritrean associations to Indonesian, Pakistani, Tajik, Iranian, Bosnian, Malaysian, Turkish, Albanian, and Libyan associations. The Bay Area's vibrant cluster of Muslim civic and cultural institutions cover a full spectrum of activities ranging from such national groups as the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), the Islamic Network Group (ING), Muslim Advocates, the American Muslim Alliance, the Muslim American Society, the Muslim American Voice, the Islamic Scholarship Fund (ISF), Muslims without Borders, and the Islamic Circle of North America. This strong institutional presence of Islamic civic and political activities is particularly significant for situating anti-racist mobility responses of young Muslims in the Bay Area within the broader local culture of Muslim resistance. Muslim advocacy and civil rights organisations were established mostly in response to racial and religious profiling of Muslim (and Sikh) American communities after the 9/11 attacks (Maira, 2016; Senzai & Bazian, 2013). Working in coalition with other liberal and progressive civil rights and anti-racist groups, these organisations have been committed to challenging the rise of Islamophobia as

well as other forms of racial injustice in the region (Maira, 2016; Senzai & Bazian, 2013). The anti-racist mobility work of Muslims who continued to move in public spaces can therefore be contextualised within this broader local culture of political resistance, which is reflected not only in the Muslims interviewed in this case study, but also in the perspectives of Muslim American youth who were also reportedly self-reflexive in ‘taking back their narrative’ in the face of racist attacks within Sunaina Maira’s (2016) study of Arab and South Asian youth in Silicon Valley. Anti-racist mobility practices of American Muslims, therefore, can be understood within the broader culture of activism and resistance pronounced in the Bay Area.

The comparative discussion presented in this section draws attention to the nuances and variations in how young Muslims negotiate the impacts of Islamophobia on their spatial mobility. This approach expands our understanding of how key racial events shape how racialised individuals experience their local socio-political contexts. These socio-political contexts go onto inform Muslim mobilities, depending on a range of variables such as time, scale, actors involved, as well as surrounding cultures of civic engagement and resistance. Firstly, the mobility practices of Muslims in Sydney provide empirical evidence of the longstanding disempowering impacts of racism within the media on the urban citizenship and the movement of racialised bodies across space. Due to the confined geography of Cronulla within the Sutherland region, Muslim Australians chose to disengage from this urban area while continuing to move across other spaces in the city. On the other hand, young Muslim responses to Islamophobia in the San Francisco Bay Area bring to light the wide breadth of counter-mobilities employed by racialised targets to challenge and subvert the impacts of racism on their mobility. These counter-mobilities are employed in response to an expanded geography of risk that was more spatially diffuse and unpredictable following the 2016 Presidential election. In addition, these counter-mobilities are also informed by the broader culture of racial resistance, advocacy and civil rights organising, that influences how young Muslims respond to the spatial threat of Islamophobia. In comparing these two socio-political contexts, the impact of unique dynamics and processes of racial events on Muslim mobility practices are uncovered. This comparison thus reinforces the critical significance of context (Castree, 2005; Gough 2012; Bartlett & Vavrus, 2020) in

shaping not only how the relationship between racism and mobility operates, but also how it is negotiated by racialised individuals.

10.4 CONCLUSION: SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT, ISLAMOPHOBIA AND MUSLIM MOBILITIES

In both cities, Islamophobia negatively impacted the spatial mobility of young Muslims, by restricting their ability to move and navigate across their cities. However, examining both historical and contemporary racial events that shaped the local geographies of Islamophobia has offered insights into the ‘how’ and the ‘why’ (Nash & Gorman-Murray, 2015, p. 89) of current patterns of Muslim mobilities in each city. Further, the convergences and divergences in the influence of these racial events on Muslim mobilities provide critical insight into the impacts of local socio-political contexts on how racism impacts racialised mobility practices across global cities. In the first instance, young Muslims in Sydney responded to the exclusionary message of the Cronulla rioters by choosing to avoid and disengage from the Sutherland region almost ten years after the riot. On the other hand, young Muslims in the Bay Area responded to the ‘anywhere, anytime’ geography of risk created by the 2016 election, by adopting a range of anti-racist mobility strategies to negotiate the hostile socio-political context following the election. Unlike the option of avoiding the Cronulla (and Sutherland) region in Sydney, young Muslims in the Bay Area were compelled to resist the negative impacts of Islamophobia by preparing for and negotiating the expanded spatial threats of Islamophobia following the 2016 election.

The link between Islamophobia and spatial mobility has been mutually verified in both case studies, highlighting the utility of examining Islamophobia within broader research on the racialised politics of mobility (Cresswell, 2010b, 2011, 2016; Hague, 2010; Nicholson & Sheller, 2016). The discussion presented in this chapter demonstrates the utility of examining this relationship with a wide range of racialised groups in diverse urban contexts. In particular, the comparison presented in this chapter underscores the critical significance of context (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2020; Castree, 2005; Gough, 2012) in shaping not only how the relationship between racism and mobility operates, but also how it is negotiated by racialised targets across cities. First, the mobility practices of Muslims in Sydney provide empirical evidence of the disempowering impacts of racism on the urban citizenship and the

movement of racialised bodies across space. On the other hand, young Muslim responses to Islamophobia in the Bay Area Muslims bring to light the breadth of counter-mobilities employed by racialised targets to challenge and subvert the impacts of racism on their mobility, and thus continue to move within geographies of risk.

Across both cities, the insights of this comparative analysis highlight the utility of the new mobilities paradigm's 'politics of mobility' framework in uncovering the role of socio-political context in shaping the reflexive link between racism and spatial mobility. Further, the particular impact of racial events in terms of their timing, actors involved, as well as local cultures on racialised mobility responses has been uncovered through this comparative analysis. These insights are critical for advancing theoretical understandings of how racial events shape local socio-political contexts which ultimately inform racialised mobility responses in contemporary urban spaces. As evidenced by this comparative discussion, comparing racisms while taking into account the political, social, historical and spatial contexts of cities can facilitate localized, place-based responses to racism across various localities (Najib & Hopkins, 2020).

The following chapter concludes the thesis by outlining the theoretical contributions of this research and closes with preliminary policy recommendations for anti-racist responses, strategies and policies that address the relational and contextual impacts of Islamophobia on Muslim mobilities.

SECTION V: CONCLUSIONS

The fifth section of this thesis is comprised of the Conclusion Chapter (11) which reflects on the three main contributions of the research to emerging bodies of literature on geographies of racism, Islamophobia and racialised mobilities in Human Geography.

Based on these three contributions, the conclusion notes the study scope and parameters, and closes with the key theoretical implications of this research for future examinations of the geographies of racism, as well as policy implications for place-based anti-racism praxis.

11 CONCLUSION: GEOGRAPHIES OF ISLAMOPHOBIA AND RACIALISED MUSLIM (IM)MOBILITIES

11.1 INTRODUCTION

This thesis has examined how Islamophobia impacts the way young Muslims perceive and engage with various urban spaces across Sydney, Australia, and the San Francisco Bay Area, USA. This is a critical area of research, as rising experiences of Islamophobia across the globe continue to threaten the safety and spatial belonging of Muslims. Yet, existing research on the geographies of racism are yet to examine how Muslims perceive the spatial distribution of Islamophobia, and how these perceptions influence actual Muslim mobilities across urban spaces.

Responding to some key gaps in the geographies of racism literature, the thesis was framed around the following aims:

1. Map and compare how young Muslims perceive the geographies of Islamophobia across Sydney, Australia, and the San Francisco Bay Area, USA.
2. Analyse how spatial imaginaries of Islamophobia influence the racialised politics of mobility among young Muslims in Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area.
3. Compare how socio-political context shapes the mobility practices employed by Muslim Americans and Australians in response to Islamophobia.

Based on the data examined in the previous chapters, I have argued that there is a complex and relational link between race, place, and Muslim mobility which is shaped by global and local processes of Islamophobia. Using data collected through this research, I have mapped and compared the spatial imaginaries of Islamophobia according to the perspective of racialised Muslims residing in both cities. Further, I have examined how these perceptions of Islamophobia informed Muslim mobilities across both cities in ways that were both relational and contextually variable. Together, the key arguments presented in this project advance three key contributions to the wider field of geographies of racism literatures, as well as the emerging field of racialised mobilities (see Figure 11.1). The remainder of this chapter reflects on these three contributions, noting the study scope and parameters, and concludes with the key theoretical implications of the research for future examinations of

the geographies of racism, as well as the policy implications for place-based anti-racism praxis.

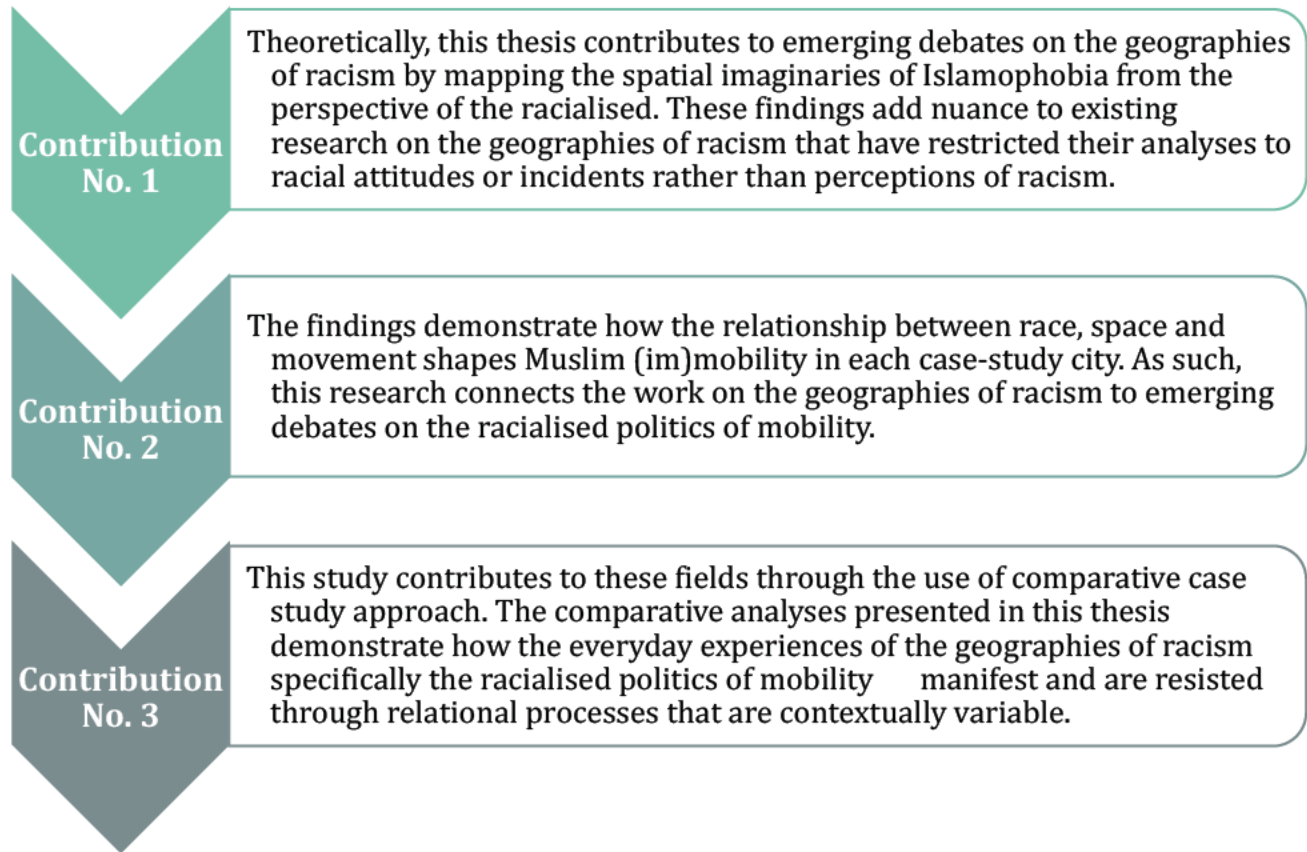


FIGURE 11.1 THESIS CONTRIBUTIONS

11.2 MAPPING AND COMPARING THE SPATIAL IMAGINARIES OF RACISM.

Firstly, the research found that the exclusionary dimensions of urban landscapes are internalised, interpreted and spatialised across urban spaces by racialised Muslims in both Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area. This is important because broader constructivist perspectives on the geographies of racism had not yet captured the spatial dimensions of racism according to the perceptions of racialised individuals – namely, how experiences of racism translate into actual spatial exclusion. This research gap is particularly reflected in the emerging geographies of Islamophobia that were yet to examine how Islamophobia shaped the way that Muslims perceived various regions of their cities. As a result, there

remained a limited understanding of how perceptions of racism are spatialised across city regions.

In mapping and comparing the spatial imaginaries of Islamophobia across Sydney (Chapter 5) and the San Francisco Bay Area (Chapter 6), this research provides unique insights into the range of local and global factors that shape geographies of perceived racism across space. Namely, the distinct urban models of perceived Islamophobia uncovered in the comparative discussion presented in Chapter 9 uncovers how the spatial organisation of perceived Islamophobia is shaped by the in-group presence of other Muslim populations, as well as the social class of Muslim populations within the broader socio-economic structures of each city. These findings add nuance to studies on geographies of racism, by uncovering the mutual impact of the district of residence on *perceptions* of belonging and exclusion across space by racialised individuals in both cities. Further, the influence of socio-economic city structures on spatial variations of perceived racism draws critical attention to higher socio-economic status areas (SES) as regions associated with the highest levels of Islamophobia. These findings challenge the previous work on racial attitudes that traditionally associated high SES areas with pro-multicultural values (Forrest and Dunn, 2011), reinforcing the theoretical value of mapping racism according to the perspective of those targeted by the phenomena.

Overall, the comparative analysis of perceived Islamophobia in Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area presented in this thesis uncovers a global trend in (i) how Islamophobia influences spatial imaginaries of racism (ii) the impact of in-group presence of Muslim populations and (iii) the role of SES in shaping these geographies of perceived racism across both cities. These findings have significant implications for researchers examining the geographies of racism and Islamophobia, underscoring the significance of examining perceptions of racialised individuals within local context. The thesis has provided a conceptual foundation, and a quantitative framework for measuring and mapping perceptions of racism across space. Broader studies on the geographies of racism should pay critical attention to how racism shapes spatial imaginaries of exclusion among racialised individuals.

11.3 CONNECTING RACE, SPACE AND MUSLIM (IM)MOBILITY

This project examined how geographies of perceived Islamophobia have influenced the spatial mobility of young Muslims in both Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area. Prior to this research, the majority of works on the geographies of racism, and the racialised politics of mobility were yet to engage in how Islamophobia impacts Muslim mobilities. By employing the new mobilities research on the racialised politics of mobility, this project advanced (i) a theoretical understanding of how spatial imaginaries of Islamophobia inform Muslim mobilities within the geographies of racism and (ii) expanded the racialised mobilities research to account for Islamophobia as a new form of racism.

Firstly, the analysis presented in this thesis has provided deeper insight into how anticipation of racism caused by socio-political racial events such as the Cronulla riot in Sydney, or the 2016 Presidential Election in the USA have influenced the various (im)mobility practices of Muslims across public spaces. These findings presented in Chapters 7 and 8 yield significant implications for the field of geographies of racism and Islamophobia, by examining the role of socio-political events in shaping the link between anti-Muslim racism and Muslim mobility.

Secondly, the research contributes to the racialised mobilities literatures by broadening examinations of 'anti-racism mobilities' that have traditionally focussed on African American experiences to explore the everyday countermobilities of Muslim Americans in the face of Islamophobia following the 2016 Presidential election in the USA. By bringing together the geographies of Islamophobia, anti-racism research in geography and the recently developed anti-racism mobility framework, the project accounts for Muslim mobilities within broader discussions around the racialised politics of mobility. In doing so, the thesis reconceptualises anti-racist mobilities by uncovering the intersecting and relational dynamics of anti-racism mobility practices as 'always social'. These findings encourage future engagements on the racialised politics of mobility to examine in how spatio-temporal contexts inform how and where anti-racist mobilities are deployed.

My engagement with the mobilities framework also makes significant contributions to emerging racialised mobilities research (Hague, 2010; Cresswell, 2010b, 2011) by encouraging the examination of newly racialised groups in contemporary urban spaces.

Further, the research approach adopted in this thesis lays groundwork for future studies on the geographies of racism to employ the mobilities framework in order to examine the connections relationship between race, space and movement in urban spaces.

11.4 THE ROLE OF SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT IN RACIALISED (IM)MOBILITIES

A key argument that I propose is that that socio-political context influences the varied spatial mobility responses of racialised individuals. Geographers have indeed emphasised that Islamophobia takes various forms in different national contexts, and have therefore advocated for localised, as well as comparative research that attends to the nuances in how Islamophobia is spatialised in various cities (Najib and Teeple Hopkins, 2020). However, as demonstrated in the previous chapters, existing comparative studies on geographies of Islamophobia and racialised mobilities more broadly, had not yet captured how local socio-political contexts shapes the racialised politics of mobility. The Comparative Case Study approach (Bartlett and Vavrus, 2017) to comparison adopted in this research therefore addresses these gaps by providing both a relational (Robinson 2011, 2016; Ward 2010), as well as contextual comparison (Castree 2005) of how global and local socio-political events shaped the way that Muslims move across the cities of Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area.

Beginning with the relational impacts of Islamophobia on Muslim mobilities, the project found that the spatialisation of anti-Muslim racism in each site was influenced by the 9/11 attacks which took place well beyond the local context and current moment in both Sydney and the Bay Area (Bartlett and Vavrus, 2017; Robinson, 2011; Ward, 2010). In drawing attention to the related impacts of 9/11 on Islamophobia in both cities across the globe, the project adds nuance to the limited comparative studies of Islamophobia, by drawing critical attention to the mutual influence of Islamophobia in shaping local geographies of racism and racialised mobilities.

Secondly, a contextual comparison of key local racial events in each context uncovered the spatially differentiated effects of such events (Bartlett and Vavrus, 2017) on young Muslim mobilities. Drawing on the Cronulla riot (2005) in Sydney, and the election of Donald Trump (2016) in the USA, I have traced the influence of these events in shaping local socio-political

contexts of Islamophobia and the subsequent Muslim mobility responses employed in response (Chapter 9). Variations in racialised Muslim mobilities between the two case study cities are attributed to (i) the distinct temporalities of the racial events that shaped the respective local contexts of Islamophobia – contemporary vs historical and (ii) the distinct levels of power and influence of key actors on how Islamophobia is spatialised (iii) the varied scales of geographies of risk within the city regions and (iv) unique socio-political cultures of activism and resistance, which were pronounced within the San Francisco Bay Area Muslim communities.

The contextual comparison presented in the thesis thus advances a theoretical understanding of how key global and local racial events differentially shape the local socio-political contexts of racism, which influence the (im)mobility and mobility responses adopted by racialised individuals across space. The dynamic approach to comparison adopted within this study – relational and contextual – expands the understanding of human geographers, as well as mobilities researchers on how global, as well as local processes shape the spatialisation of racialised mobilities.

11.5 POLICY AND PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

Islamophobia shapes Muslim mobilities, thus allowing pragmatic conclusions, including a list of preliminary recommendations for anti-racism policy and practice that could enhance the spatial mobility of Muslims in both Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area. These recommendations are organised around place-based anti-racism responses and interventions that address two key geographies of Islamophobia: (i) hot spots of Islamophobia and (ii) geographies of inclusion and belonging.

11.5.1 INTERVENTIONS IN GEOGRAPHIES OF EXCLUSION

- I. *Anti-racism education that targets hot spots of racism.* This anti-racism education should be administered at the municipal level, in schools, as well as in local organisations and workplaces within urban areas associated with higher levels of Islamophobia. These education efforts should be modified according to the perceived level of threat identified by Muslims in various localities around the city, the racial literacy of the local community,

as well as the in-group presence of other Muslims and culturally diverse groups. Within Sydney, there is a specific need to address the longstanding place stigma associated with the Sutherland region (Klocker 2015), particularly in encouraging Muslim engagement in Cronulla beach. Unless the Sutherland Shire Council makes concerted efforts towards improving their local image among the Muslim community, the longstanding impact of the Cronulla riots will continue to exclude Muslims from engaging in the local area. The Sutherland shire should therefore pursue place-based inclusivity and anti-racism campaigns, while also educating their local community with the wide diversity of Muslim cultures, beliefs and practices. Within the San Francisco Bay Area, anti-racism campaigns and strategies should target local public transportation services, which were identified as a primary space of anticipated Islamophobia. Local transport providers should implement anti-racism campaigns and initiatives including bystander anti-racism training, promotional campaigns that discourage racism on transport, and advertisements that reaffirm the expectations of equal access to that space among all racial groups. These transport agencies should also invest in monitoring instances of racism and cooperating with local police to report hate crimes and other incidents racial incidents that occur on public transport. Further, there is a need to target racial profiling practices in air travel within the region, which could be achieved by providing anti-racism and intercultural competency training to airport personnel, as well as air hostesses to address discriminatory practices.

- II. *Organise a range of intercultural activities and initiatives.* These activities should connect community values at the local level including the celebration of Muslim holidays, public events and festivals that work to promote an understanding of Muslim values, and encourage intercultural as well as interfaith dialogue in areas that have been identified hot spots of anti-Muslim racism. These activities can work de-centre stereotypes and humanise Muslims within broader communities and provide opportunities for multicultural encounter and cross-cultural contact that encourage bridging and connection within local communities. Pederson, Walker and Wise (2005), emphasise that there are four essential conditions for improving successful intercultural contact. First, conflicting groups should have contact with one another if the aim is to reduce prevailing intergroup tensions. Second, there should be no competition along group lines within the

contact situations. Third, groups must seek superordinate roles in the contact situation. Finally, relevant institutional authorities must sanction the intergroup contact and must endorse a reduction in intergroup tensions (p. 23-24). Based on these conditions, intercultural activities and initiatives should be observed by law enforcement and security personnel to ensure the protection of vulnerable racialised groups in geographies of risk⁷⁰.

- III. *Anti-racism leadership*. Local leaders and politicians should issue declarative statements and advocate for anti-racism, reinforcing the inclusion, belonging and value of Muslim members in their local communities. Local politicians and government should build ongoing partnerships with local Muslim organisations and leaders to foster relationships that could further enhance anti-Islamophobia efforts according to the needs of Muslim communities. This is particularly critical following global or racial events that target Muslim identities, in order to address potential rising levels of Islamophobia following these events at the local level (e.g., see Maira 2016) and foster a local culture of inclusion and safety for all cultural and religious groups.

11.5.2 INTERVENTIONS IN GEOGRAPHIES OF INCLUSION AND BELONGING

Across Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area, a range of localities were identified as positive geographies of inclusion and belonging among Muslims. Policymakers and community practitioners should further strengthen positive community relations within these spaces by supporting and building capacity within these geographies to further enhance positive experiences of belonging in welcoming localities of both case study sites.

- I. *Celebrating the diversity of Muslim cultures*. Local governments should promote and celebrate diverse Muslim identities and practices in their localities such as hosting Islamic festivals, representing Muslim diverse identities in their place branding materials, celebrating Muslim identities (e.g., World Hijab Day), as well as Muslim narratives and experiences of Muslim members of their community. A successful strategy employed by Canterbury-Bankstown Council in Sydney's Western suburbs has been the

⁷⁰ Law enforcement of intercultural contact should be conscious of histories and ongoing tensions around counter-terrorism policing that have disproportionately targeted Muslims in contexts such as Australia (Abdel-Fattah, 2017) and the United States (Kumar, 2012; Kudnani, 2014).

annual Ramadan street festival on Haldon Street in Lakemba. This festival has encouraged the participation of thousands of Sydney residents in Muslim cultures, foods and practices, promoting intercultural contact and exchange via the month-long night food festival.

- II. *Cultural capacity training.* Training and development should be delivered to local law enforcement, businesses and educators in order to further cultivate inclusive practices and environments where Muslims can engage freely and safely in geographies of belonging.
- III. *Protect Muslim sites and spaces.* In response to the tragic Christchurch attacks as well as various forms of vandalism against Muslim sites across the globe, Muslim communities should be supported in providing security services and technologies to protect their sites and congregations against the spatial threat of Islamophobia within these welcoming geographies.

Overall, these formative ideas around the practical implications of the research are proposed in an effort to promote practices, responses and strategies that enhance the belonging and access to the city by racialised individuals such as young Muslims. A key policy priority in both Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area should therefore adopt a multi-pronged approach to the various geographies of Islamophobia including (i) hot spots of racism, (ii) neutral geographies, and (iii) hubs of belonging and inclusion. The development of more robust courses of action and interventions for racialised mobilities in urban spaces can be established through the pursuit of further research and studies, which are outlined in the final section of the thesis.

11.6 STUDY SCOPE AND PARAMETERS

Although a broad range of issues and themes emerged throughout the research process, the practical constraints of a PhD by a series of papers limited my ability to critically engage in diverse concepts, themes that exceeded the parameters of the specified research aims, as well as the requirements of the journals in which this project was published⁷¹. In addition to

⁷¹ The four main papers that form the empirical chapters of the thesis (chapters 5-8) underwent robust peer-review across the diverse journals in which they were published. In order to be accepted, these chapters were

the methodological limitations discussed in Chapter 3 and 4, this thesis is conceptually limited in its ability to:

- Explore the concept of 'Islamophobia' beyond the 'social constructivist' definitions employed within this thesis. Chapter two rationalises the choice of this approach to examining the spatial effects of Islamophobia.
- Examine the range of intersecting factors that shaped Muslim mobilities. Informant responses indicated that these might include intersecting factors include age, gender, race, class and other variables. However due to the time and structural limitations of completing a PhD by a series of papers⁷², this project focused on the role of socio-political contexts (Cronulla riots and 2016 election) as critical factors that shaped the relationship between Islamophobia and mobility.
- Examine how experiences of Islamophobia affect the way Muslims use other private spaces such as workplaces, universities. Although these themes surfaced throughout the research process, the time restrictions of this project necessitated that the thesis was limited to examining the public spaces identified in the research aims.

I do not intend to detract from the value of these excluded themes, or alternate theoretical approaches to studies of Islamophobia and racialised mobilities racism. Particularly important themes that were not analysed in the discussion chapters of this thesis have been recommended in the conclusion as future research. This thesis is primarily focused on comparing spatial perceptions of Islamophobia across the two case studies of Sydney and the San Francisco Bay Area and examining the spatial impacts on Muslim mobilities.

11.7 FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

Studies of race and space have been a productive avenue of research in sociology, anthropology and cultural geographies. Since the commencement of this research project, studies on the geographies of racism have expanded their focus to examine geographies of Islamophobia, reinforcing the importance of examining the racialised geographies of

adapted and adjusted according to the feedback of peer-reviewers who influenced the conceptual framing, argument and approach to data analysis evident in the final drafts of the papers presented in this thesis. Further, as the papers were published throughout the PhD candidature, the analysis presented, and the works cited remained relevant to the timing of the publication across the years of 2016-2021.

⁷² And the narrow focus of argument required within a peer-reviewed journal article.

Muslims and Muslim mobilities. However, the politics of race and space is ever-changing in response to global and local socio-political processes that not only influence the emergence of newly racialised groups, but also the way in which racisms are spatialised and interpreted by racialised groups in their spatial behaviours of mobility. Based on the key aforementioned contributions of this research, I conclude this document by proposing three broad future directions to enrich the conversation around the geographies of racism and the racialised politics of mobility.

Firstly, within the field of constructivist geographies of racism, further research should map perceptions of racism among various racialised groups against the geographies of racial attitudes and incidents. These examinations should account for key local conditions such as racial histories, socio-economic structures, levels of in-group presence and cosmopolitanisms in shaping geographies of perceived racism. Building on the findings in this thesis, future work can test the SD scales of perceived racism utilised in this study to determine whether the conclusions I have proposed apply to other contexts, cultures, spaces and times. However, these future empirical investigations should also adopt different scales of analysis appropriate to the research settings and contexts. To take this analysis further, future examinations of the geographies of perceived Islamophobia should account for the intersection of various social identities such as age, gender, and class on these mental maps of racism. Overall, this future work can deepen our understandings of the geographies of racism by determining whether geographies of perceived racism align with geographies of actual racist incidents (e.g., Najib and Hopkins 2020) and with the geography of racist attitudes (e.g., Forrest & Dunn 2011). In doing so, geographers and anti-racism practitioners can strategically propose place-based spatial interventions and solutions to racism that reflect the lived experiences of racialised groups.

Secondly, researchers should continue to account for newly racialised groups within broader racialised politics of mobility research (Cresswell, 2011; Hague, 2010). This could be facilitated through a deeper engagement with the new mobilities literature among geographers interested in the geographies of racism. On the other hand, mobilities researchers could also focus on newly racialised groups, drawing connections between 'old' and newer forms of racism, such as the way this study examined the impact of Islamophobia as a new form of racism on Muslim mobilities. This could include broadening

the application of Alderman and Inwood's (2016) anti-racism mobility framework to account for the anti-racist mobility work undertaken by racialised individuals as significant forms of anti-racist practice. Geographers interested in anti-racism can also benefit from applying this framework in their research to facilitate a conceptualisation of everyday racialised counter-mobilities as significant forms of anti-racist practice. Overall, in expanding the application of the new mobilities framework to the study of racialised geographies, scholars from a range of disciplines can pay necessary critical attention to the racialised politics of movement, including how racialised individuals navigate and negotiate everyday geographies of risk in contemporary urban spaces.

Finally, geographies of racism, as well as racialised mobilities research should pay critical attention to the role of broader socio-political factors in shaping contemporary racialised mobilities. This research uncovered the role of key racial events in (re)producing racism across space to regulate racialised mobilities. What is now needed is a better understanding of broader socio-political factors and influences on the geographies of racism, and the subsequent racialised politics of mobility of other racialised groups in everyday urban spaces. This can be achieved by undertaking multi-site comparisons of racialised mobilities that pay attention to socio-political factors as critical variables that shape how various mobilities are deployed differentially across place and space by racialised groups. In doing so, we can progress towards empowering and enhancing citizenship and democracy (for all) with what Sheller and Urry (2003) argued, is only achievable through the fairer distribution of capacity to navigate across multiple social settings in an increasingly mobile world.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A FLYER FOR ONLINE SURVEY - SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA CASE STUDY



Islamophobia: the impacts on Young Muslim access to social/recreational public spaces in Sydney

Q1 INTRODUCTION

Participation in this study involves completing a web-based survey. The survey focuses on how young Muslims in Sydney see and feel about various spaces and suburbs in Sydney. Information such as age and gender will also be collected; however, you will not be individually identified in any way, unless you provide your contact details for involvement in a follow up interview. To participate, you must be a Muslim aged 18-30 years of age and be living in Sydney, Australia. Should you wish to complete this survey, it will take approximately 10 minutes of your time. Your responses will be used anonymously within the final thesis and any related publications produced for the purposes of the project. This project (No. H10691) has been reviewed by the University of Western Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee and provided with approval.

Q2 Do you consent to participate in this survey and have your responses used confidentially in this study?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

Q3 How did you find this survey link?

- ☐ Notified by a community organisation
- ☐ Facebook Group
- ☐ Shared on a friends Facebook page
- ☐ Other

Q4 Can you please specify how you heard about this survey?

Q5 Section A: Demographics

Q6 What is your gender?

- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female

Q7 How old are you? (Number in years)

Q8 What is your ethnicity? Select up to two.

- ☐ Aboriginal
- ☐ Australian
- ☐ Other Oceania
- ☐ North and West European (e.g. United Kingdom, France, Germany, Norway, Sweden)
- ☐ South and Eastern Europe (e.g. Spain, Italy, Greece, Hungary, Romania, Ukraine)
- ☐ North African and Middle Eastern
- ☐ Northern-Eastern Asian (e.g. Chinese, Japanese, Korean)
- ☐ Southern and Central Asian (e.g. Indian)
- ☐ North American
- ☐ South American
- ☐ African
- ☐ Other
- ☐ Prefer not to say

Q9 How long have you been a Muslim?

- ☐ Born into a Muslim family
- ☐ Converted to Islam more than a year ago
- ☐ Converted to Islam less than a year ago

Q10 How long ago did you convert to Islam? (Number in years)

Q11 How long ago did you convert to Islam? (Number in months)

Q12 Are you currently undertaking study/training to complete any of the following?

- ☐ High School
- ☐ TAFE or Trade Qualification
- ☐ University Degree
- ☐ Not currently undertaking any further study/training

Q13 What is the highest level of education you have completed?

- ☐ Primary School or Less
- ☐ Some High School
- ☐ High School
- ☐ TAFE or Trade Qualification
- ☐ University Degree

Q14 What is your current Suburb of Residence?

Q15 What is your current Postcode of Residence?

Q16 Section B: Physical Muslim Identity

Q17 How do you categorise your physical 'Islamic' identity?

- ☐ Easily identifiable Islamic identity
- ☐ Somewhat identifiable Islamic identity
- ☐ Non identifiable Islamic identity

Q18 From the following options, select whichever of the clothing you wear on a regular basis

- ☐ Hijab (Headscarf)
- ☐ Niqab (Burqa)
- ☐ No 'Islamic' dress code adopted on a regular basis

Q19 From the following options, select whichever of the clothing you wear on an occasional basis

- ☐ Hijab (Headscarf)
- ☐ Niqab (Burqa)
- ☐ No 'Islamic' dress code adopted on an occasional basis

Q20 From the following options, select whichever of the clothing you wear on a regular basis

- ☐ Abayya (Long traditional Islamic Dress)
- ☐ Sunnah cap/other Islamic headwear
- ☐ No 'Islamic' dress code adopted on a regular basis

Q21 From the following options, select whichever of the clothing you wear on an occasional basis

- ☐ Abayya (Long traditional Islamic Dress)
- ☐ Sunnah cap/other Islamic headwear
- ☐ No 'Islamic' dress code adopted on an occasional basis

Q22 Do you grow a 'Sunnah compliant' beard?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Never

Q23 Section C: Current use of Social/Recreational public spaces in Sydney

Q24 Do you use public beaches in Sydney?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

Q25 How often do you use or access public beaches in Sydney?

- ☐ Never
- ☐ A few times a year
- ☐ Once a Month
- ☐ 2-3 Times a Month
- ☐ Once a Week
- ☐ 2-3 Times a Week
- ☐ Daily
- ☐ Regularly during the summer season

Q26 Do you use public parks in Sydney?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

Q27 How often do you use or access public parks in Sydney?

- ☐ Never
- ☐ A few times a year
- ☐ Once a Month
- ☐ 2-3 Times a Month
- ☐ Once a Week
- ☐ 2-3 Times a Week
- ☐ Daily
- ☐ Regularly during the summer season

Q28 Section D: Perceptions of Spaces in Sydney.

The following questions seek to uncover the way you feel about certain regions of Sydney. You will be required to rank your perceptions of each region on a scale of 2 to -2, with 2 being positive, 0 being neutral and -2 being negative.

Q29 Sydney's North Side/Eastern Suburbs e.g. Vaucluse, Willoughby, Bondi etc.

	-1	-2	0	1	2	
Monocultural (Anglo)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Multicultural
Intolerant	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Tolerant
Racist	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Welcoming
Uncomfortable	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Comfortable
Unsafe	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Safe

Q30 Based on the perceptions you have mentioned, how likely are you to use or access public parks or beaches in this Region? (Sydney's North Side/Eastern Suburbs e.g. Vaucluse, Willoughby, Bondi etc)

- ☐ Very Unlikely
- ☐ Unlikely
- ☐ Somewhat Unlikely
- ☐ Undecided
- ☐ Somewhat Likely
- ☐ Likely
- ☐ Very Likely

Q31 Sydney's upper North Shore e.g. Hornsby, St Ives, Pymble.

	-1	-2	0	1	2	
Monocultural (Anglo)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Multicultural
Intolerant	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Tolerant
Racist	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Welcoming
Uncomfortable	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Comfortable
Unsafe	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Safe

Q32 Based on the perceptions you have mentioned, how likely are you to use or access public parks or beaches in this region? (Sydney's upper North Shore e.g. Hornsby, St Ives, Pymble etc.)

- ☐ Very Unlikely
- ☐ Unlikely
- ☐ Somewhat Unlikely
- ☐ Undecided
- ☐ Somewhat Likely
- ☐ Likely
- ☐ Very Likely

Q33 Sydney City CBD

	-1	-2	0	1	2	
Monocultural (Anglo)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Multicultural
Intolerant	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Tolerant
Racist	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Welcoming
Uncomfortable	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Comfortable
Unsafe	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Safe

Q34 Based on the perceptions you have mentioned, how likely are you to use or access public parks in this region? (Sydney City CBD)

- ☐ Very Unlikely
- ☐ Unlikely
- ☐ Somewhat Unlikely
- ☐ Undecided
- ☐ Somewhat Likely
- ☐ Likely
- ☐ Very Likely

Q35 Inner City to Middle Suburbia e.g. Newtown, Glebe, Marrickville, Leichhardt etc.

	-1	-2	0	1	2	
Monocultural (Anglo)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Multicultural
Intolerant	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Tolerant
Racist	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Welcoming
Uncomfortable	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Comfortable
Unsafe	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Safe

Q36 Based on the perceptions you have mentioned, how likely are you to use or access public parks in this region? (Inner City to Middle Suburbia e.g. Newtown, Glebe, Marrickville, Leichhardt etc).

- ☐ Very Unlikely
- ☐ Unlikely
- ☐ Somewhat Unlikely
- ☐ Undecided
- ☐ Somewhat Likely
- ☐ Likely
- ☐ Very Likely

Q37 Sydney's Inner West e.g. Strathfield, Burwood, Ashfield, Croydon etc.

	-1	-2	0	1	2	
Monocultural (Anglo)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Multicultural
Intolerant	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Tolerant
Racist	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Welcoming
Uncomfortable	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Comfortable
Unsafe	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Safe

Q38 Based on the perceptions you have mentioned, how likely are you to use or access public parks in this region? (Sydney's Inner West e.g. Strathfield, Burwood, Ashfield, Croydon etc.)

- ☐ Very Unlikely
- ☐ Unlikely
- ☐ Somewhat Unlikely
- ☐ Undecided
- ☐ Somewhat Likely
- ☐ Likely
- ☐ Very Likely

Q39 Sydney's South West e.g. Campbelltown, Liverpool, Camden etc.

	-1	-2	0	1	2	
Monocultural (Anglo)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Multicultural
Intolerant	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Tolerant
Racist	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Welcoming
Uncomfortable	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Comfortable
Unsafe	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Safe

Q40 Based on the perceptions you have mentioned, how likely are you to use or access public parks in this region? (Sydney's South West e.g. Campbelltown, Liverpool, Camden etc).

- ☐ Very Unlikely
- ☐ Unlikely
- ☐ Somewhat Unlikely
- ☐ Undecided
- ☐ Somewhat Likely
- ☐ Likely
- ☐ Very Likely

Q41 Sydney's rural-urban fringe (e.g. Blue Mountains, Wollongong etc.)

	-1	-2	0	1	2	
Monocultural (Anglo)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Multicultural
Intolerant	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Tolerant
Racist	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Welcoming
Uncomfortable	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Comfortable
Unsafe	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Safe

Q42 Based on the perceptions you have mentioned, how likely are you to use or access public parks or beaches in this region? (Sydney's South West e.g. Campbelltown, Liverpool, Camden etc).

- ☐ Very Unlikely
- ☐ Unlikely
- ☐ Somewhat Unlikely
- ☐ Undecided
- ☐ Somewhat Likely
- ☐ Likely
- ☐ Very Likely

Q43 Sydney's West e.g. Parramatta, Auburn Bankstown, Granville, Punchbowl etc

	-1	-2	0	1	2	
Monocultural (Anglo)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Multicultural
Intolerant	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Tolerant
Racist	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Welcoming
Uncomfortable	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Comfortable
Unsafe	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Safe

Q44 Based on the perceptions you have mentioned, how likely are you to use or access public parks in this region? (Sydney's West e.g. Parramatta, Auburn Bankstown, Granville, Punchbowl etc.)

- ☐ Very Unlikely
- ☐ Unlikely
- ☐ Somewhat Unlikely
- ☐ Undecided
- ☐ Somewhat Likely
- ☐ Likely
- ☐ Very Likely

Q45 Sutherland (e.g. Cronulla, Miranda, Sylvania etc.)

	-1	-2	0	1	2	
Monocultural (Anglo)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Multicultural
Intolerant	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Tolerant
Racist	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Welcoming
Uncomfortable	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Comfortable
Unsafe	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Safe

Q46 Based on the perceptions you have mentioned, how likely are you to use or access public parks in this region? (Sutherland e.g. Cronulla, Miranda, Sylvania etc.

- ☐ Very Unlikely
- ☐ Unlikely
- ☐ Somewhat Unlikely
- ☐ Undecided
- ☐ Somewhat Likely
- ☐ Likely
- ☐ Very Likely

Q38 Section E: Suburbs of diversity or racism

Q47 List up to ten suburbs in Sydney that you feel your Islamic identity is most accepted.

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10

Q48 List up to ten suburbs in Sydney that you feel your Islamic identity is least accepted.

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10

Q49 Would you be interested to participate in a follow up in-depth interview that will allow you to explain the issues covered within this survey further?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

Q50 Please provide your email address and contact number below so that an interview can be arranged with the principal researcher.

Phone Number

Email address

Q51 *Thank you for participating in this survey. Should you wish to receive a copy of your responses, or remain up to date with how these findings will be used, please do not hesitate to contact the principal researcher Rhonda Itaoui on r.itaoui@uws.edu.au.*

APPENDIX C SURVEY SCHEDULE (SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA)

Q1 Visiting Scholar at UC Berkeley's Islamophobia Research and Documentation Project (IRDP), and PhD Candidate at Western Sydney University, Rhonda Itaoui is interested in hearing how you think Islamophobia is experienced across the various regions of the Bay Area. U.S. Citizen or Green Card holders, aged 18-35 years who have lived in the Bay Area for at least one year are invited to take this 15-minute survey. You can also participate in an optional 1 hour face-to-face or Skype interview. Your responses will be used anonymously in Rhonda's PhD Dissertation/related publications. This project (No. H11351) has been reviewed/approved by Western Sydney University's Human Research Ethics Committee.

Q2 Do you consent to proceed with this survey and have your responses used confidentially?

- ☐ YES
- ☐ NO

If No Is Selected, Then Skip To End of Survey

Q3 How did you find this survey?

- ☐ Community organisation emailed it to me
- ☐ Posted on a Facebook group
- ☐ A friend shared it on Facebook
- ☐ Other

Answer If How did you find this survey link? Other Is Selected

Q4 Please specify how you heard about this survey?

Q5 SECTION A: DEMOGRAPHICS

Q6 What is your Gender?

- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female

Q7 How old are you? (Number in years)

Q8 In what country were you born?

USA

Other

Answer If In what country were you born? Other Is Selected

Q9 Please specify the country you were born in:

Answer If In what country were you born? Other Is Selected

Q10 In which year did you come to the U.S?

Answer If In what country were you born? Other Is Selected

Q11 Are you currently a U.S. citizen?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

Answer If Are you currently a U.S. citizen? No Is Selected And In what country were you born? Other Is Selected

Q12 What is your current immigration status?

- ☐ Green Card (Permanent)
- ☐ Green Card (Temporary)
- ☐ Employment Visa
- ☐ Student Visa
- ☐ Undocumented
- ☐ Political Refugee/Asylee
- ☐ Filing For Papers
- ☐ Other

Answer If What is your current immigration status? Employment Visa Is Selected Or What is your current immigration status? Student Visa Is Selected Or What is your current immigration status? Undocumented Is Selected Or What is your current immigration status? Other Is Selected

Q13 Unfortunately you do not satisfy the participation requirements of this survey. You must be U.S citizen or Green Card holder to have your responses included in the study. Thank you very much for your time and interest in the survey.

If Unfortunately you do not sa... Is Displayed, Then Skip To End of Survey

Q14 Are you a: (please select one)

- ☐ First generation American (neither of your parents were born here)
- ☐ Second generation American (at least one of your parents were born here)
- ☐ Third generation American (at least one of your grandparents were born here)

Q15 What is your ethnicity? (Select as many relevant)

- ☐ Black/African American (non-Hispanic)
- ☐ South Asian
- ☐ Arab
- ☐ Iranian/Persian
- ☐ Afghan
- ☐ Hispanic/Latino
- ☐ Native American
- ☐ Asian
- ☐ Pacific Islander
- ☐ White (non-hispanic)
- ☐ Other

Answer If What is your ethnicity? (Select as many relevant) Other Is Selected

Q16 Please specify your ethnicity

Q17 Do you identify yourself

- ☐ American first
- ☐ Muslim first
- ☐ Both American and Muslim equally
- ☐ Neither American or Muslim (i.e. your ethnicity first - Afghan, Egyptian etc)
- ☐ American, Muslim and your ethnicity
- ☐ Muslim and your ethnicity equally
- ☐ Muslim, American and your ethnicity equally

Q18 Are you a convert to Islam?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

Answer If Yes Is Selected

Q19 In what year did you embrace Islam?

Q20 Place of Residence, Education and Employment

Q21 Are you currently undertaking study/training to complete any of the following?

- ☐ High School
- ☐ College/Technical School
- ☐ Undergraduate Degree
- ☐ Postgraduate Degree
- ☐ Ph.D.
- ☐ None of the above

Q22 What is the highest level of education you have completed?

- ☐ Less than High School
- ☐ High School Graduate
- ☐ Some College/Technical School
- ☐ College Graduate
- ☐ Graduate School
- ☐ Ph. D

Q23 How many years have you lived in the Bay Area?

Q24 Where do you currently live?

City:

County:

Zipcode:

Q25 How many years have you been living in your current neighbourhood?

Q26 What is your current employment status? (Select up to 3)

- ☐ Full-time
- ☐ Part-time
- ☐ Self-employed
- ☐ Under-employed
- ☐ Not employed
- ☐ Looking for employment
- ☐ Full-time student
- ☐ Part-time student
- ☐ Stay-at-home parent

Q27 What industry are you employed in? (select as many relevant)

- ☐ Tech
- ☐ Medical
- ☐ Education
- ☐ Government
- ☐ Retail
- ☐ Service
- ☐ Construction
- ☐ Other
- ☐ Not applicable

Answer If What industry are you employed in? (select as many relevant) Not applicable Is Not Selected

Q28 What is the zip code of your current primary place of employment?

Q29 Which of the following benefits does your family receive? (select as many relevant)

- ☐ Government Assistance
- ☐ Food Stamps
- ☐ Housing Assistance
- ☐ Medical Assistance
- ☐ No Assistance
- ☐ Other

Answer If Which of the following benefits does your family receive? (select as many relevant) Other Is Selected

Q30 What other benefits does your family receive?

Q31 What is your total combined household income?

- ☐ Less than \$10,000
- ☐ \$10,000 to \$14,999
- ☐ \$15,000 to \$19,999
- ☐ \$20,000 to \$24,999
- ☐ \$25,000 to \$29,999
- ☐ \$30,000 to \$34,999
- ☐ \$35,000 to \$39,999
- ☐ \$40,000 to \$44,999
- ☐ \$45,000 to \$49,999
- ☐ \$50,000 to \$59,999
- ☐ \$60,000 to \$74,999
- ☐ \$75,000 to \$99,999
- ☐ \$100,000 to \$124,999
- ☐ \$125,000 to \$149,999
- ☐ \$150,000 to \$199,999
- ☐ \$200,000 or more

Q32 SECTION B: RELIGIOSITY

Q33 How do you categorise your Muslim appearance in public?

- ☐ Easily identifiable Islamic identity (1)
- ☐ Somewhat identifiable Islamic identity (2)
- ☐ Non identifiable Islamic identity (3)

Answer If What is your gender? Female Is Selected

Q34 How often do you wear the following Islamic attire in public?

	Always	Occasionally	Rarely	Never
Hijab (Headscarf)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Niqab (Face Veil)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
'Turban' Style Hijab	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Answer If What is your gender? Male Is Selected

Q35 How often do you wear the following Islamic attire in public?

	Always	Occasionally	Rarely	Never
Abayya/Tawb (Long traditional Islamic Dress)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Kuffah/Sunnah Cap	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Turban	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Answer If What is your gender? Male Is Selected

Q36 Do you grow a 'Sunnah compliant' beard?

- ☐ Always
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Never

Q37 How important is religion in your daily life?

- ☐ Very important
- ☐ Somewhat important
- ☐ Not too important
- ☐ Not at all important
- ☐ Rather not answer

Q38 In the last 6 months, how often have you prayed?

- ☐ All five prayers daily on time
- ☐ Five daily not on time
- ☐ Less than five times daily
- ☐ Once per week
- ☐ Less than once per week
- ☐ Never

If Never Is Selected, Then Skip to Section D: Perceptions of San Francisco Bay Area Regi...

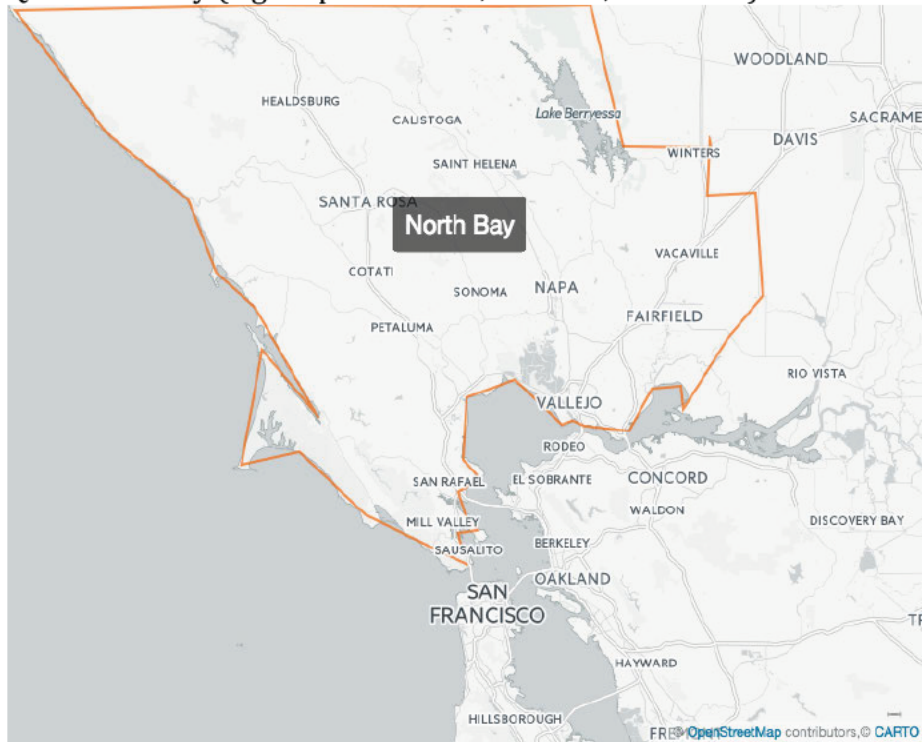
Q39 How comfortable do you feel performing prayers in the following spaces?

	Comfortable	Somewhat Comfortable	Somewhat Uncomfortable	Uncomfortable
Workplace	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
In a public space (e.g. park, beach, on the street)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
In a shopping centre	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q40 SECTION C Perceptions of Bay Area Regions.

The following section asks you to provide your perceptions of 6 regions across the Bay Area - regardless of whether you have been there or not.

Q41 North Bay (e.g. Napa, Fairfield, Sonoma, Marin etc)



Q42 Perceptions of North Bay (e.g. Napa, Fairfield, Sonoma, Marin etc.)

	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Culturally Diverse: Monocultural	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Non-white: White	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tolerant: Intolerant	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Harmonious: Racially tense	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pro-Muslim: Anti-Muslim	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Comfortable: Uncomfortable	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Safe (crime rates): Unsafe (crime rates)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Safe (for Muslims): Unsafe (for Muslims)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Wealthy: Poor	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q43 Based on your above responses, how likely are you to use the following spaces in the 'North Bay'?

	Very unlikely	Unlikely	Somewhat unlikely	Undecided	Somewhat likely	Likely	Very likely
Live	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Work	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Use public transport	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Use grocery stores/shopping centres	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Use other public spaces (e.g. sports stadiums, beaches)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q44 San Francisco



Q45 Perceptions of San Francisco

	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Culturally Diverse: Monocultural	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Non-white: White	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tolerant: Intolerant	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Harmonious: Racially tense	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pro-Muslim: Anti-Muslim	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Comfortable: Uncomfortable	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Safe (crime rates): Unsafe (crime rates)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Safe (for Muslims): Unsafe (for Muslims)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Wealthy: Poor	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q46 Based on your above responses, how likely are you to use the following spaces in San Francisco?

	Very unlikely	Unlikely	Somewhat unlikely	Undecided	Somewhat likely	Likely	Very likely
Live	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Work	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Use public transport	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Use grocery stores/shopping centres	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Use other public spaces (e.g. sports stadiums, beaches)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q47 'Peninsula'



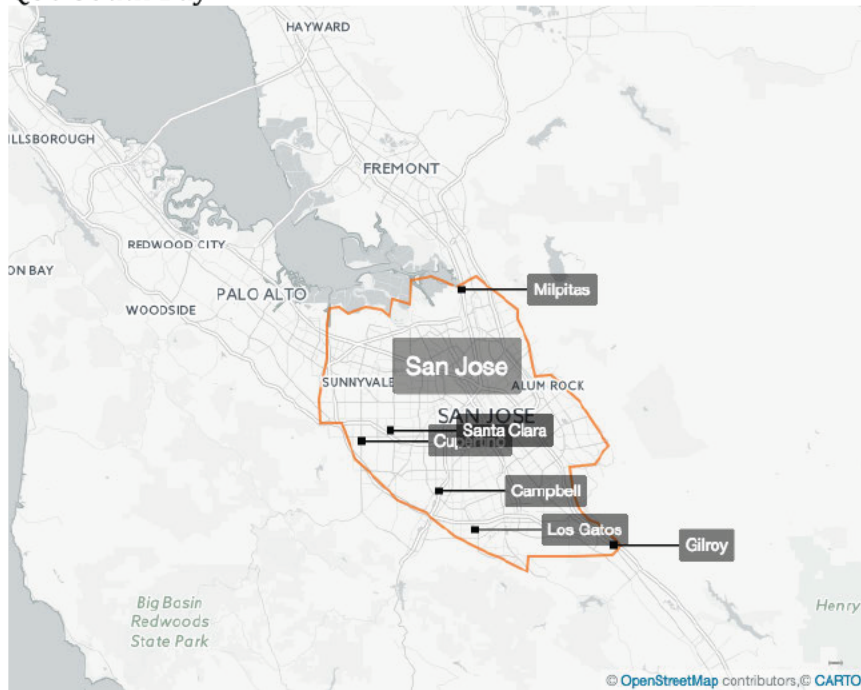
Q48 Perceptions of 'Peninsula'

	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Culturally Diverse: Monocultural	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Non-white: White	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tolerant: Intolerant	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Harmonious: Racially tense	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pro-Muslim: Anti-Muslim	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Comfortable: Uncomfortable	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Safe (crime rates): Unsafe (crime rates)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Safe (for Muslims): Unsafe (for Muslims)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Wealthy: Poor	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q49 Based on your above responses, how likely are you to use the following spaces in 'Peninsula'?

	Very unlikely	Unlikely	Somewhat unlikely	Undecided	Somewhat likely	Likely	Very likely
Live	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Work	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Use public transport	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Use grocery stores/shopping centres	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Use other public spaces (e.g. sports stadiums, beaches)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q50 South Bay



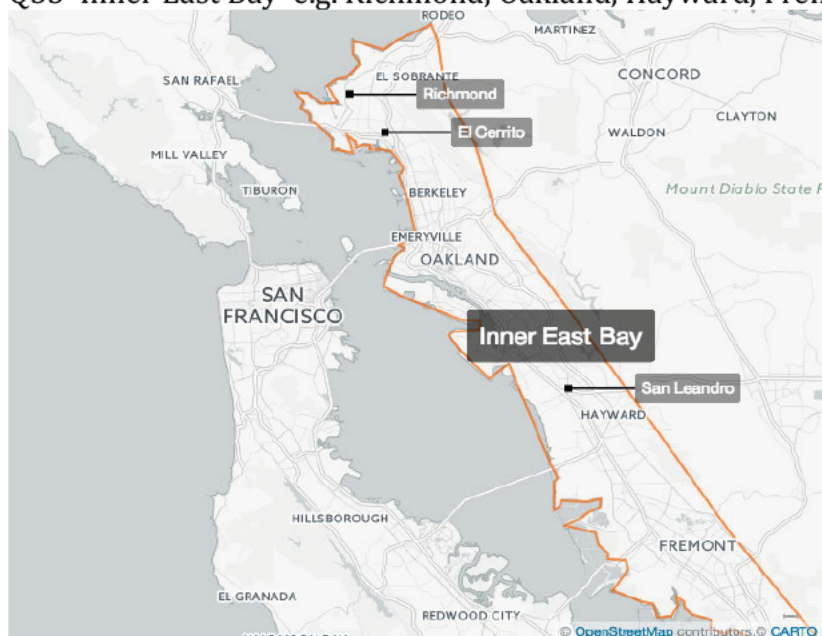
Q51 Perceptions of 'South Bay'

	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Culturally Diverse: Monocultural	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Non-white: White	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tolerant: Intolerant	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Harmonious: Racially tense	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pro-Muslim: Anti-Muslim	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Comfortable: Uncomfortable	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Safe (crime rates): Unsafe (crime rates)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Safe (for Muslims): Unsafe (for Muslims)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Wealthy: Poor	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q52 Based on your above responses, how likely are you to use the following spaces in 'South Bay'?

	Very unlikely	Unlikely	Somewhat unlikely	Undecided	Somewhat likely	Likely	Very likely
Live	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Work	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Use public transport	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Use grocery stores/shopping centres	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Use other public spaces (e.g. sports stadiums, beaches)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q53 'Inner East Bay' e.g. Richmond, Oakland, Hayward, Fremont



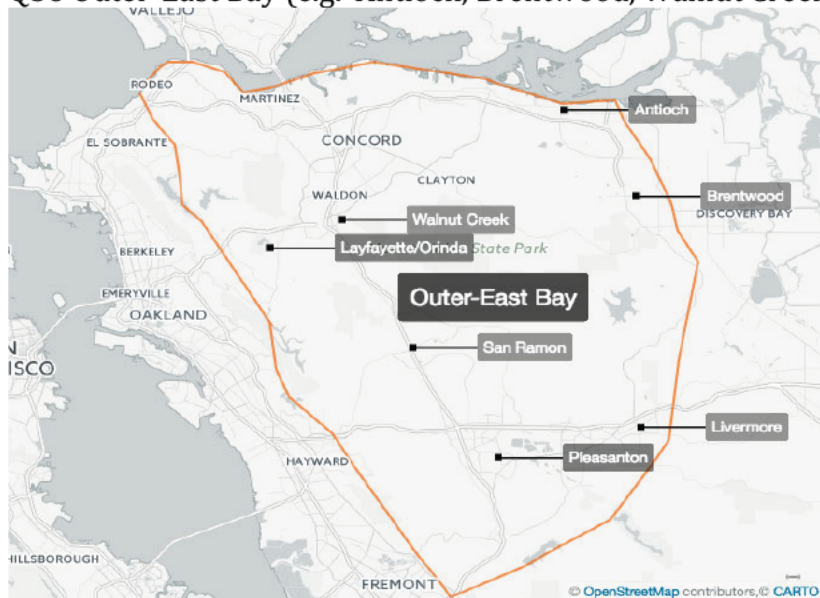
Q54 Perceptions of 'Inner East Bay' (e.g. Richmond, Oakland, Hayward, Fremont)

	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Culturally Diverse: Monocultural	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Non-white: White	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tolerant: Intolerant	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Harmonious: Racially tense	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pro-Muslim: Anti-Muslim	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Comfortable: Uncomfortable	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Safe (crime rates): Unsafe (crime rates)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Safe (for Muslims): Unsafe (for Muslims)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Wealthy: Poor	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q55 Based on your above responses, how likely are you to use the following spaces in 'Inner East Bay'?

	Very unlikely	Unlikely	Somewhat unlikely	Undecided	Somewhat likely	Likely	Very likely
Live	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Work	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Use public transport	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Use grocery stores/shopping centres	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Use other public spaces (e.g. sports stadiums, beaches)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q56 Outer-East Bay (e.g. Antioch, Brentwood, Walnut Creek, Pleasanton etc)



Q57 Perceptions of Outer-East Bay (e.g. Antioch, Brentwood, Walnut Creek, Pleasanton etc.)

	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Culturally Diverse: Monocultural	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Non-white: White	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tolerant: Intolerant	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Harmonious: Racially tense	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pro-Muslim: Anti-Muslim	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Comfortable: Uncomfortable	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Safe (crime rates): Unsafe (crime rates)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Safe (for Muslims): Unsafe (for Muslims)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Wealthy: Poor	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q58 Based on your above responses, how likely are you to use the following spaces in 'Outer East Bay'?

	Very unlikely	Unlikely	Somewhat unlikely	Undecided	Somewhat likely	Likely	Very likely
Live	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Work	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Use public transport	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Use grocery stores/shopping centres	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Use other public spaces (e.g. sports stadiums, beaches)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q59 SECTION D: Understanding Islamophobia in the Bay Area

12 Q60 Do you think that anti-Muslim discrimination is a problem in the Bay Area?

- ☐ Always
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Some places
- ☐ Never

If Never Is Selected, Then Skip To Interested in being interviewed?Your ...

Answer If Do you feel that Australian Muslims living in the San Francisco Bay Area face discrimination? Yes Is Selected

Q61 What makes you feel that this racial discrimination exists? (select as many relevant)

- ☐ Personal experiences of racism/discrimination
- ☐ The experiences of other Muslims you know
- ☐ News media portrayals of Muslims
- ☐ News media reporting of anti-Muslim racism
- ☐ Experiences of online anti-Muslim racism
- ☐ Online social media reports of anti-Muslim racism
- ☐ Negative portrayals of Muslims on social media
- ☐ Government statements about anti-Muslim racism in the Bay Area (e.g. politicians)
- ☐ Other

Answer If On what basis do you feel this discrimination exists? (you can make multiple selections) Other Is Selected

Q62 What other factors make you feel like American Muslims living in the Bay Area face anti-Muslim discrimination?

Q63 Who do you think experiences anti-Muslim racism/discrimination most often?

- ☐ Muslim men
- ☐ Muslim women
- ☐ Muslim men and women equally

Q64 Have you been a victim of hate crime based on your Muslim identity in the Bay Area?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

Q65 Does someone that you know ever been a victim of hate crime based on their Muslim identity in the Bay Area?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

Q66 How often have you experienced discrimination because of your religion in the following situations?

	Never	Hardly ever	Sometimes	Often	Very often
On public transport (e.g. train or bus)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
In a public space (e.g. park, beach, on the street)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
In online spaces (e.g. social media)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
At a shop or restaurant	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
In education i.e. at a school, college or university	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
In your workplace	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
When seeking employment	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
When accessing healthcare	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Interactions with the police	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
At an airport	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q67 From the following public spaces, please select where Muslims in the Bay Area might experience anti-Muslim discrimination (you can make multiple selections)

- ☐ Shopping Centers
- ☐ On the Street
- ☐ Public Parks
- ☐ Public Beaches
- ☐ Public Transport
- ☐ Sports stadiums
- ☐ Places of entertainment (e.g. cinemas, theatres)
- ☐ Airports
- ☐ Other

Answer If From the following public spaces, please select where American Muslims in the Bay Area might experience anti-Muslim discrimination (you can make multiple selections)
Other Is Selected

Q68 Please provide examples of public spaces where American Muslims in the Bay Area might experience anti-Muslim discrimination

SECTION E: CITIES OF INCLUSION/EXCLUSION

Q69 List up to five cities in the Bay Area where you feel your Islamic identity is most accepted

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5

Q70 List up to five cities in the Bay Area where you feel your Islamic identity is least accepted

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5

Q71 Do you have any further comments on the questions asked in this survey?

Q72 Interested in being interviewed?

Your responses have been very helpful. Unfortunately, a survey cannot fully capture your perspectives and experiences - all of which should be heard! Would you be interested in providing your perspectives in more detail? I would love to hear from you. Please indicate if you are interested in a confidential follow-up interview below:

Yes I am happy to donate some of my time to be interviewed for your PhD project. (1)

No thank you, but good luck with your project. (2)

Answer If Would you be interested to participate in a follow up in-depth interview? Yes Is Selected

Q73 Thank you for agreeing to participate in an interview. Please provide your details below so I can contact you and organise a time to meet.

Cell Number:

Email address:

Q74 Thank you for taking your time out to complete this survey. If you have any comments, concerns, or want to stay up to date with how these findings will be used, please do not hesitate to contact me on r.itaoui@berkeley.edu



A. PERCEPTIONS OF ISLAMOPHOBIA

1. In what ways do you feel Muslims in Sydney experience racism? (e.g., media, everyday racism, discrimination in the workplace?)
2. This type of racism has been labelled as 'Islamophobia'? What is your understanding of this term?
3. Have you ever experienced any acts of Islamophobia?
4. Have any of your friends, colleagues, family, or other acquaintances experienced Islamophobia before?
5. Have you heard about, or witnessed Islamophobia through mainstream media, e.g., newspapers, TV, social media?
6. Have you heard about, or experienced Islamophobia through any other sources?

B. MAPPING ISLAMOPHOBIA ACROSS SYDNEY

1. Are there any particular suburbs in Sydney that you feel Islamophobia may be most experienced? Why?
2. Are there any particular suburbs in Sydney that you feel Islamophobia may be least experienced? Why?
3. Are there any particular suburbs in Sydney that you feel Muslims are excluded from? Why?
4. Are there any particular suburbs in Sydney that you feel Muslims are most welcome? Why?

C. PATTERNS OF ENGAGEMENT IN SOCIAL/RECREATIONAL PUBLIC SPACES

Reflecting on the Aussie outdoors culture, do you enjoy spaces like beaches, parks etc?

1. What beaches do you visit most often in Sydney? Why?
2. What beaches do you visit least often in Sydney? Why?
3. In what ways do you use beaches? Do you ever use this space to incorporate the performance of Islamic acts of worship?
4. What parks do you visit most often in Sydney? Why?
5. What parks do you visit most often in Sydney? Why?
6. In what ways do you use various parks? Do you ever use this space to incorporate the performance of acts of worship?

D. IMPACTS OF 'MENTAL MAPS OF ISLAMOPHOBIA ON ENGAGEMENT WITH SOCIAL/RECREATIONAL PUBLIC SPACES.

Reflecting on the questions asked previously on what suburbs and spaces you feel most welcome or excluded from, please comment on how you feel your fear of Islamophobia has affected the way you use public spaces. Please do so by answering the following questions:

1. Provide an example of how your fear of experiencing Islamophobia at a particular beach in Sydney has resulted in you choosing not to visit this beach
 - a. If applicable, comment on another person's experience
2. Provide an example of how your fear of experiencing Islamophobia at a particular park in Sydney has resulted in you choosing not to visit this beach
 - a. If applicable, comment on another person's experience
3. Provide a situation where you have chosen to visit a particular beach, over another as you feel that Muslims are welcome there?
 - a. If applicable, comment on another person's experience
4. Provide a situation where you have chosen to visit a particular park, over another as you feel that Muslims are welcome there?
 - a. If applicable, comment on another person's experience
5. Does your fear of experiencing Islamophobia in particular beaches or parks stop you from publicly performing acts of worship in these spaces?
 - a. If applicable, comment on another person's experience

A. LIFE AS A MUSLIM IN THE BAY AREA

1. How long have you lived in the Bay Area?
2. What is your main occupation?
 - a. Where do you work/study?
 - b. How do you travel there?
 - c. How would you summarise your experience in your workplace/educational institution as a Muslim?
 - i. Positive/negative aspects
3. How would you describe your identity as a Muslim living in America?
Any challenges?
4. What is it like living as a Muslim in The Bay? (Post vs. Neg)
5. Have you lived in any other city beforehand?
 - a. What are your experiences living as a Muslim in the Bay compared to *<previous city?>*
6. Have there been any key historical moments or events that have impacted your experience as a Muslim in America?
7. Has the 2016 election of Donald Trump shaped your experience as a Muslim in the Bay Area?
 - a. If not, why not?
 - b. If so, in what ways? (*explore the relevant categories*)
 - i. Lead-up to election
 - ii. Following the election
 - iii. Social media/online space
 - iv. Supreme Court decision of upholding the recent Travel Ban
 - v. How does this impact you on an everyday level?
 1. Does this impact how you use airports or comfort travelling abroad?

B. PERCEPTIONS OF ISLAMOPHOBIA

1. Where do you currently live in the Bay Area?
 - a. What do you like/dislike about this neighbourhood?
2. Where do you hang out/ spend most of your recreational time in?
3. Do Muslims experience racism in in The Bay Area?
 - a. If so, what forms of racism? (*examples/probes: media, everyday racism, workplace*)
4. How do you understand the term Islamophobia?
5. Have you personally experienced Islamophobia? (*probes: when/where did it happen, who did you tell about it, how did it make you feel?*)

6. Has anyone that you know experienced Islamophobia?
7. What are some factors that may place a Muslim at risk of experiencing Islamophobia? (*probes: religiosity, displaying physical identity, age?*)
8. Has this type of Islamophobia always existed? (*P: when did you notice an increase/decrease?*)
9. Have you heard about, or witnessed Islamophobia through media? E.g., anti-mosque protests
10. Have you ever encountered Islamophobia online? (*where and when?*)
11. Have you heard about, or experienced Islamophobia through any other sources?
12. Do experiences of Islamophobia differ by gender?
 - a. Are there certain scenarios where men/women may experience different levels of Islamophobia?
13. Do these experiences differ by Muslim visibility? (religious markers)
14. Do these experiences differ by race? (different ethnicities)
15. Do these experiences differ by economic success and/or class?

C. MAPPING ISLAMOPHOBIA ACROSS THE BAY AREA

1. Are there any particular neighbourhoods in The Bay Area, that you feel may be most vs. least affected by Islamophobia? Why?
2. Are there any particular locations/suburbs in The Bay Area, that you feel Muslims are excluded from? Why?
3. Are there any particular locations/suburbs in The Bay Area, that you feel Muslims are most welcome? Why?
4. How did you gather these views?

D. IMPACTS OF ISLAMOPHOBIA ON SPATIAL MOBILITY

**Based on responses earlier about 'Islamophobic neighbourhoods/regions.'*

1. How do you engage in the spaces you feel your Islamic identity is not accepted? Why?
2. How do you engage in spaces you feel your Islamic identity is accepted? Why?
3. How likely are you to use public spaces where you have experienced Islamophobia? Why?
4. How likely are you to use public spaces where others have experienced Islamophobia? Why?
5. If you weren't Muslim, how would your daily use of spaces be different?
6. What are your suggestions on how to improve the Muslim experience in the Bay Area?



Project Title: Experiences of Islamophobia: impacts on Young Muslim access to public spaces in Sydney

Who is carrying out the study?

You are invited to participate in a study conducted by Miss Rhonda Itaoui, a Doctor of Philosophy student from Western Sydney University.

What is the study about?

The purpose is to investigate the effects of Islamophobia on the way Young Muslims in Sydney engage with different public spaces in Sydney. This research aims to understand how Islamophobia influences the way various public spaces in Sydney are viewed amongst young Muslims living within the city. Through gaining this understanding, the study will try to connect how the perceptions of space, as influenced by Islamophobia, influence the mobility of young Muslims in accessing and engaging with various spaces across different suburbs in Sydney.

What does the study involve?

Participation in this study involves taking part in a face-to-face interview, which is audio-recorded. The interview is focussed on the way Islamophobia may be influencing the way you engage with different public spaces in Sydney. Information such as age and gender will also be collected, however, participants will not be individually identified in any way and will remain anonymous. As a small number of interviews can only be conducted for this study, your expression of interest will not guarantee an interview, however the researcher will contact you as soon as possible to confirm these details.

How much time will the study take?

The interview will take approximately 1 hour.

Will the study benefit me?

Participation in this study will provide you with an opportunity to discuss and reflect on your perceptions of Islamophobia, as well as various public spaces in Sydney. Your participation and contribution will provide important Muslim community views of how Islamophobia may be affecting the way you interact in your city.

Will the study involve any discomfort for me?

The main issues covered in the interview are unlikely to cause any discomfort or distress. However, if something upsetting does come up, you are free to skip any questions without explanation or discontinue completing the interview. In the unlikely case that you do experience discomfort or distress as a result of the interview, you will be referred to free and independent counselling services including:

- Mandala Community Counselling Service ph 02 8250 8865; Exodus House 63 Norton St Ashfield, NSW 2131);
- Centrelink Personal and Family Counselling Services ph. 131 794;

- UWS Counselling Service if you are a UWS Student or staff member. You can make an appointment by emailing counselling@uws.edu.au or calling 02 9852 5199.

How is this study being paid for?

The study is being funded by the student, Rhonda Itaoui as part of completing the course requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy (PhD).

Will anyone else know the results? How will the results be disseminated?

All aspects of the study, including results will be confidential and only the researchers will have access to information on participants. Only anonymous statistics and quotations will appear in the final thesis report and published papers. The anonymous data collected may be used for other related projects in the future.

Can I withdraw from the study?

Participation is entirely voluntary: you are not obliged to be involved and - if you do participate - you can withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without any consequences.

Can I tell other people about the study?

Yes, you can tell other people about the study by providing them with the principal researchers contact details. They can contact the chief investigator to discuss their participation in the research project and obtain an information sheet.

What if I require further information?

When you have read this information, the principal researcher, Rhonda Itaoui can discuss it with you further and answer any questions you may have. If you would like to know more at any stage, please feel free to contact her on r.itaoui@westernsydney.edu.au.

What if I have a complaint?

This study has been approved by the Western Sydney University Human Research Ethics Committee. The Approval number is H11351. If you have any complaints or reservations about the ethical conduct of this research, you may contact the Ethics Committee through the Office of Research Services on Tel 02-4736 0883 Fax 02-4736 0013 or email humanethics@westernsydney.edu.au. Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated fully, and you will be informed of the outcome.

APPENDIX H PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET, INTERVIEWS (SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA)

WESTERN SYDNEY
UNIVERSITY



Project Title: Islamophobia: impacts on Young Muslim access to public spaces in The Bay Area, California

Who is carrying out the study?

You are invited to participate in a study conducted by Miss Rhonda Itaoui, a Doctor of Philosophy student from Western Sydney University, Australia.

What is the study about?

The purpose is to investigate the effects of Islamophobia on the way Young Muslims in The Bay Area, California engage with different public spaces in The Bay Area, California. This research aims to understand how Islamophobia influences the way various public spaces in The Bay Area, California are viewed amongst young Muslims living within the city. Through gaining this understanding, the study will try to connect how the perceptions of space, as influenced by Islamophobia, influence the mobility of young Muslims in accessing and engaging with various spaces across different suburbs in The Bay Area, California. The researcher will compare these experiences with young Muslims in Sydney, Australia.

What does the study involve?

Participation in this study involves taking part in a face-to-face interview, which is audio-recorded. The interview is focussed on the way Islamophobia may be influencing the way you engage with different public spaces in The Bay Area, California. Information such as age and gender will also be collected, however, participants will not be individually identified in any way and will remain anonymous.

How much time will the study take?

The interview will take approximately 1 hour.

Will the study benefit me?

Participation in this study will provide you with an opportunity to discuss and reflect on your perceptions of Islamophobia, as well as various public spaces in The Bay Area, California. Your participation and contribution will provide important Muslim community views of how Islamophobia may be affecting the way you interact in your city, and help working towards the promotion of further tolerance and understanding of the Muslim Community in The Bay Area, California and other American cities.

Will the study involve any discomfort for me?

The main issues covered in the interview are unlikely to cause any discomfort or distress. However, if something upsetting does come up, you are free to skip any questions without explanation or discontinue completing the interview. In the unlikely case that you do experience discomfort or distress as a result of the interview, you will be referred to free and independent toll-free counselling hotlines including:

- Teenline ph +1 310-855-4673

- Helpline Youth Counseling Community Hotline ph. +1 877 541-2525.

How is this study being paid for?

The study is being funded by the student, Rhonda Itaoui and Western Sydney University as part of completing the course requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy (PhD).

Will anyone else know the results? How will the results be disseminated?

All aspects of the study, including results will be confidential and only the researcher will have access to information on participants. Only anonymous statistics and quotations will appear in the final thesis report and published papers. The anonymous data collected may be used for other related projects in the future.

Can I withdraw from the study?

Participation is entirely voluntary: you are not obliged to be involved and - if you do participate - you can withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without any consequences.

Can I tell other people about the study?

Yes, you can tell other people about the study by providing them with the principal researchers contact details. They can contact Rhonda Itaoui to discuss their participation in the research project and obtain an information sheet.

What if I require further information?

When you have read this information, the principal researcher, Rhonda Itaoui can discuss it with you further and answer any questions you may have. If you would like to know more at any stage, please feel free to contact her on r.itaoui@westernsydney.edu.au.

What if I have a complaint?

This study has been approved by the Western Sydney University Human Research Ethics Committee. The Approval number is H11351. If you have any complaints or reservations about the ethical conduct of this research, you may contact the Ethics Committee through the Office of Research Services on Tel +61 02-4736 0883 Fax +61 02-4736 0013 or email humanethics@westernsydney.edu.au. Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated fully, and you will be informed of the outcome.

APPENDIX I INTERVIEW CONSENT FORMS (SYDNEY AND SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA)

WESTERN SYDNEY
UNIVERSITY



Project Title: Islamophobia: the impacts on the mobility of Muslim youth living in Western Cities

I,.....consent to participate in the research project titled 'Islamophobia: the impacts on the mobility of Muslim youth living in Western Cities'.

I acknowledge that:

I have read the participant information sheet and have been given the opportunity to discuss the information and my involvement in the project with the researcher.

The procedures required for the project and the time involved has been explained to me, and any questions I have about the project have been answered to my satisfaction.

I consent to the interview and understand that it will be audio-recorded.

I understand that my involvement is confidential and that the information gained during the study may be published but no information about me will be used in any way that reveals my identity.

I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time, without affecting my relationship with the researcher now or in the future.

Signed: _____

Name: _____

Date: _____

Return Address:

--

APPENDIX J CODING FRAMEWORK FOR SURVEY DATA (SYDNEY CASE STUDY)

Section A: Demographics

Code (A) – How did you find this link?

- 1) Notified by a community organisation
- 2) Facebook group
- 3) Shared on a friends Facebook group
- 4) Other
 - a. Researcher (5)
 - b. Friend (6)
 - c. Email (7)

Code (B) – What is your gender?

- 1) Male
- 2) Female

Code (C)- Age

- 1) Male
- 2) Female

Code (C)2- Age Groups

- 1) 18-21 Years
- 2) 22-25 Years
- 3) 26-30 Years

Code (D) – Ethnicity (if 2 were selected, non-Australian ethnicity applies here)

- 1) Aboriginal
- 2) Australian
- 3) Other Oceania
- 4) North and West European (e.g. United Kingdom, France, Germany, Norway, Sweden)
- 5) South and Eastern Europe (e.g. Spain, Italy, Greece, Hungary, Romania, Ukraine)
- 6) North African and Middle Eastern
- 7) North-Eastern Asian (e.g. Chinese, Japanese, Korean)
- 8) Southern and Central Asian (e.g. Indian)
- 9) North American
- 10) South American
- 11) African
- 12) Other
- 13) Prefer not to say

Code (D)2- Ethnicity No. 2 Mentioned Groups

- 1) Aboriginal
- 2) Australian

- 3) Other Oceania
- 4) North and West European (e.g. United Kingdom, France, Germany, Norway, Sweden)
- 5) South and Eastern Europe (e.g. Spain, Italy, Greece, Hungary, Romania, Ukraine)
- 6) North African and Middle Eastern
- 7) North-Eastern Asian (e.g. Chinese, Japanese, Korean)
- 8) Southern and Central Asian (e.g. Indian)
- 9) North American
- 10) South American
- 11) African
- 12) Other
- 13) Prefer not to say

Code (E)- How long have you been a Muslim?

- 1) Born into a Muslim family
- 2) Converted to Islam

Code (F)- (If E is 2) How long ago did you convert to Islam? (Open answer)

Code (G) - Current study

- 1) High School
- 2) TAFE or Trade Qualification
- 3) University Degree
- 4) Not currently undertaking any further study/training

Code (H) - Level of completed education

- 1) Primary School or Less
- 2) Some High School
- 3) High School
- 4) TAFE or Trade Qualification
- 5) University Degree

Code (I) - Current Suburb of Residence- SA4

- Southern Highlands and Shoalhaven = 114
- Sydney Baulkham Hills and Hawkesbury = 115
- Sydney Blacktown = 116
- Sydney City and Inner South = 117
- Sydney Eastern Suburbs = 118
- Sydney Inner South West = 119
- Sydney Inner West = 120
- Sydney North Sydney and Hornsby = 121
- Sydney Northern Beaches = 122
- Sydney Outer South West = 123
- Sydney Outer West and Blue Mountains = 124
- Sydney Parramatta = 125
- Sydney Ryde = 126

Sydney South West = 127
Sydney Sutherland = 128

Code (J) – Current Suburb of Residence- SD Regions

- 1) Sydney's North Side/Eastern Suburbs: e.g. Vaucluse, Willoughby, Bondi
- 2) Sydney's upper North Shore e.g. Hornsby, St Ives, Pymble
- 3) Sydney City CBD
- 4) Inner City to Middle Suburbia e.g. Newtown, Glebe, Marrickville, Leichhardt
- 5) Sydney Inner-West e.g., Strathfield, Burwood, Ashfield, Croydon etc.
- 6) Sydney's South West e.g. Campbelltown, Liverpool, Camden
- 7) Sydney's rural-urban Fringe (e.g. Blue Mountains, Wollongong
- 8) Sydney's West e.g. Parramatta, Auburn, Bankstown, Granville, Punchbowl
- 9) Sutherland- E.g. Cronulla, Miranda, Sylvania

Section B: Physical Muslim Identity

Code (K) – Physical Muslim Identity

- 1) Easily identifiable Islamic Identity
- 2) Somewhat identifiable Islamic Identity
- 3) Non identifiable Islamic Identity

Code (L) - Islamic attire, regular basis (Females)

- 1) *Hijab* (Headscarf)
- 2) *Niqab* (Burqua)
- 3) No 'Islamic' dress code adopted on a regular basis

Code (M) - Islamic attire, occasional basis (females)

- 1) *Hijab* (Headscarf)
- 2) *Niqab* (Burqua)
- 3) No 'Islamic' dress code adopted, even on an occasional basis

Code (N) - Islamic attire, regular basis (males)

- 1) *Abaya* (Long traditional Islamic Dress)
- 2) *Sunnah Cap/other Islamic Caps*
- 3) No 'Islamic' dress code adopted on a regular basis

Code (O) - Islamic attire, occasional basis (males)

- 1) *Abaya* (Long traditional Islamic Dress)
- 2) *Sunnah Cap/other Islamic Caps*
- 3) No 'Islamic' dress code adopted, even on an occasional basis

Code (P) – Sunnah beard (males)

- 1) Yes
- 2) No

Section C: Perceptions of Social/Rec Spaces (Beaches and Parks)

Code (Q) – Do you use public beaches?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No

Code (R) – Frequency of beach use

- 1) More than once a week
- 2) A few times a month
- 3) Regularly during summer
- 4) Often during summer
- 5) Rarely

Code (S) – Do you use public parks?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No

Code (T) – Frequency of park use

- 1) More than once a week
- 2) A few times a month
- 3) Regularly during summer
- 4) Often during summer
- 5) Rarely

Code (U) – Semantic Differential Scales & Code (V) – Likeliness to engage

Overall mean score between -2 to +2 for Code U

(RegionI Multi Mono + RegionI Tol Intol + RegionI Welcoming Racist +
RegionI Comf Uncomf + RegionI Safe Unsafe) / 5.

(U1) - Region I Overall Score: Sydney's North Side/Eastern Suburbs: e.g. Vaucluse, Willoughby, Bondi

(V1) – Region I: Likeliness to engage in space

- 1) Very unlikely
- 2) Unlikely
- 3) Somewhat unlikely
- 4) Undecided
- 5) Somewhat likely
- 6) Likely
- 7) Very Likely

(U2) Region II Overall Score: Sydney's upper North Shore e.g. Hornsby, St Ives, Pymble

(V2) Region II: Likeliness to engage in space

- 1) Very unlikely
- 2) Unlikely
- 3) Somewhat unlikely

- 4) Undecided
- 5) Somewhat likely
- 6) Likely
- 7) Very Likely

(U3) Region III Overall Score: Sydney City CBD

(V3) Region III: Likelihood to engage in space

- 1) Very unlikely
- 2) Unlikely
- 3) Somewhat unlikely
- 4) Undecided
- 5) Somewhat likely
- 6) Likely
- 7) Very Likely

(U4) Region IV Overall Score - Inner City to Middle Suburbia e.g. Newtown, Glebe, Marrickville, Leichhardt

(V4) Region IV: Likelihood to engage in space

- 1) Very unlikely
- 2) Unlikely
- 3) Somewhat unlikely
- 4) Undecided
- 5) Somewhat likely
- 6) Likely
- 7) Very Likely

(U5) Region V Overall Score: Sydney Inner-West e.g., Strathfield, Burwood, Ashfield, Croydon etc.

(V5) Region V: Likelihood to engage in space

- 1) Very unlikely
- 2) Unlikely
- 3) Somewhat unlikely
- 4) Undecided
- 5) Somewhat likely
- 6) Likely
- 7) Very Likely

(U6) Region VI Overall Score - Sydney's South West e.g. Campbelltown, Liverpool, Camden

(V6) Region VI: Likelihood to engage in space

- 1) Very unlikely
- 2) Unlikely
- 3) Somewhat unlikely
- 4) Undecided
- 5) Somewhat likely

- 6) Likely
- 7) Very Likely

(U7) Region VII- Sydney's rural-urban Fringe (e.g. Blue Mountains, Wollongong)

(V7) – Region VII: Likelihood to engage in space

- 1) Very unlikely
- 2) Unlikely
- 3) Somewhat unlikely
- 4) Undecided
- 5) Somewhat likely
- 6) Likely
- 7) Very Likely

(U8) Region X- Sydney's West e.g. Parramatta, Auburn, Bankstown, Granville, Punchbowl

(V6) Region X: Likelihood to engage in space

- 1) Very unlikely
- 2) Unlikely
- 3) Somewhat unlikely
- 4) Undecided
- 5) Somewhat likely
- 6) Likely
- 7) Very Likely

(U9) Region XI- Sutherland- E.g. Cronulla, Miranda, Sylvania

(V6) Region XI: Likelihood to engage in space

- 1) Very unlikely
- 2) Unlikely
- 3) Somewhat unlikely
- 4) Undecided
- 5) Somewhat likely
- 6) Likely
- 7) Very Likely

Code (W) –Islamic identity most accepted- SA4 Regions

- Southern Highlands and Shoalhaven = 114
- Sydney Baulkham Hills and Hawkesbury = 115
- Sydney Blacktown = 116
- Sydney City and Inner South = 117
- Sydney Eastern Suburbs = 118
- Sydney Inner South West = 119
- Sydney Inner West = 120
- Sydney North Sydney and Hornsby = 121
- Sydney Northern Beaches = 122

Sydney Outer South West = 123
 Sydney Outer West and Blue Mountains = 124
 Sydney Parramatta = 125
 Sydney Ryde = 126
 Sydney South West = 127
 Sydney Sutherland = 128

Code (X) -Islamic identity most accepted- SD Regions

- 1) Sydney's North Side/Eastern Suburbs: e.g. Vaucluse, Willoughby, Bondi
- 2) Sydney's upper North Shore e.g. Hornsby, St Ives, Pymble
- 3) Sydney City CBD
- 4) Inner City to Middle Suburbia e.g. Newtown, Glebe, Marrickville, Leichhardt
- 5) Sydney Inner-West e.g., Strathfield, Burwood, Ashfield, Croydon etc.
- 6) Sydney's South West e.g. Campbelltown, Liverpool, Camden
- 7) Sydney's rural-urban Fringe (e.g. Blue Mountains, Wollongong)
- 8) Sydney's West e.g. Parramatta, Auburn, Bankstown, Granville, Punchbowl
- 9) Sutherland- E.g. Cronulla, Miranda, Sylvania

Code (Y) -Islamic identity least accepted- SA4

Southern Highlands and Shoalhaven = 114
 Sydney Baulkham Hills and Hawkesbury = 115
 Sydney Blacktown = 116
 Sydney City and Inner South = 117
 Sydney Eastern Suburbs = 118
 Sydney Inner South West = 119
 Sydney Inner West = 120
 Sydney North Sydney and Hornsby = 121
 Sydney Northern Beaches = 122
 Sydney Outer South West = 123
 Sydney Outer West and Blue Mountains = 124
 Sydney Parramatta = 125
 Sydney Ryde = 126
 Sydney South West = 127
 Sydney Sutherland = 128

Code (X) -Islamic identity most accepted- SD Regions

- 1) Sydney's North Side/Eastern Suburbs: e.g. Vaucluse, Willoughby, Bondi
- 2) Sydney's upper North Shore e.g. Hornsby, St Ives, Pymble
- 3) Sydney City CBD
- 4) Inner City to Middle Suburbia e.g. Newtown, Glebe, Marrickville, Leichhardt

- 5) Sydney Inner-West e.g., Strathfield, Burwood, Ashfield, Croydon etc.
- 6) Sydney's South West e.g. Campbelltown, Liverpool, Camden
- 7) Sydney's rural-urban Fringe (e.g. Blue Mountains, Wollongong
- 8) Sydney's West e.g. Parramatta, Auburn, Bankstown, Granville, Punchbowl
- 9) Sutherland- E.g. Cronulla, Miranda, Sylvania

APPENDIX K CODING FRAMEWORK FOR SURVEY DATA (SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA CASE STUDY)

CODE A: DEMOGRAPHICS

Code (A1) – Consent

- 1) Yes (1)
- 2) No (0)

Code (A2) – How did you find this link?

- 1) Community organisation emailed it to me
- 2) Posted on a Facebook group
- 3) A friend shared it on Facebook
- 4) Other
 - a. Researcher
 - b. Friend
 - c. Email
 - d. Face-to-face event

Code (A3) – Gender

- 1) Male
- 2) Female

Code (A4) – Age

- 1) 18-21 Years
- 2) 22-25 Years
- 3) 26-30 Years
- 4) 30-35 Years

Code (A5) – Country of Birth

- 1) USA
- 2) Other

Code (A6) – Year of Arrival to USA

- 1) Open response

Code (A7) – U.S. citizenship

- 1) Yes
- 2) No

Code (A8) – U.S. citizenship

- 1) Green Card (Permanent)
- 2) Green Card (Temporary)
- 3) Employment Visa
- 4) Student Visa
- 5) Undocumented
- 6) Political refugee/asylee
- 7) Filing for papers
- 8) Other

Code (A9) - Generation

- 1) First generation American (neither of your parents were born here)
- 2) Second generation American (at least one of your parents were born here)
- 3) Third generation American (at least one of your grandparents were born here)

Code (A10) - Ethnicity

- 1) Black/African American (non-Hispanic)
- 2) South Asian
- 3) Arab
- 4) Iranian/Persian
- 5) Afghan
- 6) Hispanic/Latino
- 7) Native American
- 8) Asian
- 9) Pacific Islander
- 10) White (non-Hispanic)
- 11) Other

Code (A11) - Muslim/American identity

- 1) American first
- 2) Muslim first
- 3) Both American and Muslim equally
- 4) Neither American or Muslim (i.e. your ethnicity first - Afghan, Egyptian etc)
- 5) American, Muslim and your ethnicity
- 6) Muslim and your ethnicity equally
- 7) Muslim, American and your ethnicity equally

Code (A12) - Muslim Convert

- 1) Yes
- 2) No

Code (A13) - Education and Training in Progress

- 1) High School
- 2) College/Technical School
- 3) Undergraduate Degree
- 4) Postgraduate Degree
- 5) Ph.D.
- 6) None of the above

Code (A14) – Education Completed

- 1) Less than High School
- 2) High School Graduate
- 3) Some College/Technical School
- 4) College Graduate
- 5) Graduate School
- 6) Ph.D

Code (A15) – Years of residence in the Bay Area

- 1) < 2 years
- 2) 2-5 years
- 3) 5-10 years
- 4) 10 years +

Code (A16) - Zip code

- 1) Open response

Code (A17) – Years of residence in neighbourhood

- 1) < 2 years
- 2) 2-5 years
- 3) 5-10 years
- 4) 10 years +

Code (A19) – Employment Status

- 1) Full-time
- 2) Part-time
- 3) Self-employed
- 4) Under-employed
- 5) Not employed
- 6) Looking for employment
- 7) Full-time student
- 8) Part-time student
- 9) Stay-at-home parent

Code (A20) – Industry of Employment

- 1) Tech
- 2) Medical
- 3) Education
- 4) Government
- 5) Retail
- 6) Service
- 7) Construction
- 8) Other
- 9) Not applicable

Code (A21) – Location of Employment

- 1) Zip code (open response)

Code (A22) – Government family benefits?

- 1) Government Assistance
- 2) Food Stamps
- 3) Housing Assistance
- 4) Medical Assistance
- 5) No Assistance
- 6) Other

Code (A23) – Annual Household Income

- 1) Less than \$10,000
- 2) \$10,000 to \$14,999
- 3) \$15,000 to \$19,999
- 4) \$20,000 to \$24,999
- 5) \$25,000 to \$29,999
- 6) \$30,000 to \$34,999
- 7) \$35,000 to \$39,999
- 8) \$40,000 to \$44,999
- 9) \$45,000 to \$49,999
- 10) \$50,000 to \$59,999
- 11) \$60,000 to \$74,999
- 12) \$75,000 to \$99,999
- 13) \$100,000 to \$124,999
- 14) \$125,000 to \$149,999
- 15) \$150,000 to \$199,999
- 16) \$200,000 or more

CODE B: RELIGIOSITY

Code (B1) - Muslim appearance in public

- 1) Easily identifiable Islamic identity
- 2) Somewhat identifiable Islamic identity
- 3) Non identifiable Islamic identity

Code (B2) – Islamic attire (female)

- 1) Hijab (headscarf)
 - a. Always
 - b. Occasionally
 - c. Rarely
 - d. Never
- 2) Niqab (Face Veil)
 - a. Always
 - b. Occasionally
 - c. Rarely
 - d. Never
- 3) 'Turban' Style Hijab
 - a. Always
 - b. Occasionally
 - c. Rarely
 - d. Never

Code (B3) – Islamic attire (Male)

- 1) Abayya/Tawb (Long traditional Islamic Dress) Always
 - a. Occasionally
 - b. Rarely
 - c. Never
- 2) Kuffah/Sunnah Cap
 - a. Always
 - b. Occasionally
 - c. Rarely
 - d. Never
- 3) Turban
 - a. Always
 - b. Occasionally
 - c. Rarely
 - d. Never

Code (B4) – Islamic beard (Male)

- 1) Always

- 2) Sometimes
- 3) Never

Code (B5) – Importance of religion in daily life

- 1) Very important
- 2) Somewhat important
- 3) Not too important
- 4) Not at all important
- 5) Rather not answer

Code (B6) – Prayer in last few months

- 1) All five prayers daily on time
- 2) Five daily not on time
- 3) Less than five daily
- 4) Once per week
- 5) Less than once per week
- 6) Never

Code (B7) – Comfort performing prayers

- 1) Workplace
 - a. Comfortable
 - b. Somewhat comfortable
 - c. Somewhat uncomfortable
 - d. Uncomfortable
- 2) In a public space
 - a. Comfortable
 - b. Somewhat comfortable
 - c. Somewhat uncomfortable
 - d. Uncomfortable
- 3) In a shopping centre
 - a. Comfortable
 - b. Somewhat comfortable
 - c. Somewhat uncomfortable
 - d. Uncomfortable

CODE C, D, E - PERCEPTIONS OF BAY AREA REGIONS AND ENGAGEMENT IN SPACES.

For each of the six regions:

- Code C (Semantic Differential Scales)

- Overall mean score between -2 to +2 for Code U
- Code D (likeliness to engage in space)
- Code E (likeliness to use various spaces)

Code (C1) - Region I Overall Score: North Bay (e.g. Napa, Fairfield, Sonoma, Marin etc.)

Code (D1) Region I North Bay: likeliness to engage in space

- 8) Very unlikely
- 9) Unlikely
- 10) Somewhat unlikely
- 11) Undecided
- 12) Somewhat likely
- 13) Likely
- 14) Very Likely

Code (E1) Region I North Bay: likeliness to engage in various spaces

- 1) Live
 - a. Very unlikely
 - b. Unlikely
 - c. Somewhat unlikely
 - d. Undecided
 - e. Somewhat likely
 - f. Likely
 - g. Very Likely
- 2) Work
 - a. Very unlikely
 - b. Unlikely
 - c. Somewhat unlikely
 - d. Undecided
 - e. Somewhat likely
 - f. Likely
 - g. Very Likely
- 3) Use public transport
 - a. Very unlikely
 - b. Unlikely
 - c. Somewhat unlikely
 - d. Undecided
 - e. Somewhat likely
 - f. Likely
 - g. Very Likely
- 4) Use grocery stores/shopping centres
 - a. Very unlikely
 - b. Unlikely

- c. Somewhat unlikely
 - d. Undecided
 - e. Somewhat likely
 - f. Likely
 - g. Very Likely
- 5) Use other public spaces (e.g. sports stadiums, beaches)
 - a. Very unlikely
 - b. Unlikely
 - c. Somewhat unlikely
 - d. Undecided
 - e. Somewhat likely
 - f. Likely
 - g. Very Likely

Code (C2) - Region II San Francisco Overall Score

Code (D2) Region II San Francisco: likeliness to engage in space

- 1) Very unlikely
- 2) Unlikely
- 3) Somewhat unlikely
- 4) Undecided
- 5) Somewhat likely
- 6) Likely
- 7) Very Likely

Code (E2) Region II San Francisco: likeliness to engage in various spaces

- 1) Live
 - a. Very unlikely
 - b. Unlikely
 - c. Somewhat unlikely
 - d. Undecided
 - e. Somewhat likely
 - f. Likely
 - g. Very Likely
- 2) Work
 - a. Very unlikely
 - b. Unlikely
 - c. Somewhat unlikely
 - d. Undecided
 - e. Somewhat likely
 - f. Likely
 - g. Very Likely
- 3) Use public transport
 - a. Very unlikely
 - b. Unlikely
 - c. Somewhat unlikely

- d. Undecided
- e. Somewhat likely
- f. Likely
- g. Very Likely
- 4) Use grocery stores/shopping centres
 - a. Very unlikely
 - b. Unlikely
 - c. Somewhat unlikely
 - d. Undecided
 - e. Somewhat likely
 - f. Likely
 - g. Very Likely
- 5) Use other public spaces (e.g. sports stadiums, beaches)
 - a. Very unlikely
 - b. Unlikely
 - c. Somewhat unlikely
 - d. Undecided
 - e. Somewhat likely
 - f. Likely
 - g. Very Likely

Code (C3) - Region III Overall Score: Peninsula

Code (D3) - Region III Peninsula: likeliness to engage in space

- 1) Very unlikely
- 2) Unlikely
- 3) Somewhat unlikely
- 4) Undecided
- 5) Somewhat likely
- 6) Likely

Code (E3) Region III Peninsula: likeliness to engage in various spaces

- 1) Live
 - a. Very unlikely
 - b. Unlikely
 - c. Somewhat unlikely
 - d. Undecided
 - e. Somewhat likely
 - f. Likely
 - g. Very Likely
- 2) Work
 - a. Very unlikely
 - b. Unlikely
 - c. Somewhat unlikely

- d. Undecided
- e. Somewhat likely
- f. Likely
- g. Very Likely
- 3) Use public transport
 - a. Very unlikely
 - b. Unlikely
 - c. Somewhat unlikely
 - d. Undecided
 - e. Somewhat likely
 - f. Likely
 - g. Very Likely
- 4) Use grocery stores/shopping centres
 - a. Very unlikely
 - b. Unlikely
 - c. Somewhat unlikely
 - d. Undecided
 - e. Somewhat likely
 - f. Likely
 - g. Very Likely
- 5) Use other public spaces (e.g. sports stadiums, beaches)
 - a. Very unlikely
 - b. Unlikely
 - c. Somewhat unlikely
 - d. Undecided
 - e. Somewhat likely
 - f. Likely
 - g. Very Likely

Code (C4) - Region IV San Jose

Code (D4) - Region IV San Jose: likeliness to engage in space

- 1) Very unlikely
- 2) Unlikely
- 3) Somewhat unlikely
- 4) Undecided
- 5) Somewhat likely
- 6) Likely

Code (E4) Region IV San Jose: likeliness to engage in various spaces

- 1) Live
 - a. Very unlikely
 - b. Unlikely
 - c. Somewhat unlikely
 - d. Undecided

- e. Somewhat likely
 - f. Likely
 - g. Very Likely
- 2) Work
 - a. Very unlikely
 - b. Unlikely
 - c. Somewhat unlikely
 - d. Undecided
 - e. Somewhat likely
 - f. Likely
 - g. Very Likely
- 3) Use public transport
 - a. Very unlikely
 - b. Unlikely
 - c. Somewhat unlikely
 - d. Undecided
 - e. Somewhat likely
 - f. Likely
 - g. Very Likely
- 4) Use grocery stores/shopping centres
 - a. Very unlikely
 - b. Unlikely
 - c. Somewhat unlikely
 - d. Undecided
 - e. Somewhat likely
 - f. Likely
 - g. Very Likely
- 5) Use other public spaces (e.g. sports stadiums, beaches)
 - a. Very unlikely
 - b. Unlikely
 - c. Somewhat unlikely
 - d. Undecided
 - e. Somewhat likely
 - f. Likely
 - g. Very Likely

Code (C5) - Region V Inner East Bay

Code (D5) - Region V Inner East Bay: likeliness to engage in space

- 1) Very unlikely
- 2) Unlikely
- 3) Somewhat unlikely
- 4) Undecided
- 5) Somewhat likely
- 6) Likely

Code (E5) Region V Inner East Bay: likeliness to engage in various spaces

1) Live

- a. Very unlikely
- b. Unlikely
- c. Somewhat unlikely
- d. Undecided
- e. Somewhat likely
- f. Likely
- g. Very Likely

2) Work

- a. Very unlikely
- b. Unlikely
- c. Somewhat unlikely
- d. Undecided
- e. Somewhat likely
- f. Likely
- g. Very Likely

3) Use public transport

- a. Very unlikely
- b. Unlikely
- c. Somewhat unlikely
- d. Undecided
- e. Somewhat likely
- f. Likely
- g. Very Likely

4) Use grocery stores/shopping centres

- a. Very unlikely
- b. Unlikely
- c. Somewhat unlikely
- d. Undecided
- e. Somewhat likely
- f. Likely
- g. Very Likely

5) Use other public spaces (e.g. sports stadiums, beaches)

- a. Very unlikely
- b. Unlikely
- c. Somewhat unlikely
- d. Undecided
- e. Somewhat likely
- f. Likely
- g. Very Likely

Code (C6) - Region VI Outer East Bay

Code (D6) - Region VI OuterEast Bay: likeliness to engage in space

- 1) Very unlikely
- 2) Unlikely
- 3) Somewhat unlikely
- 4) Undecided
- 5) Somewhat likely
- 6) Likely

Code (E6) Region VI Outer East Bay: likeliness to engage in various spaces

- 1) Live
 - a. Very unlikely
 - b. Unlikely
 - c. Somewhat unlikely
 - d. Undecided
 - e. Somewhat likely
 - f. Likely
 - g. Very Likely
- 2) Work
 - a. Very unlikely
 - b. Unlikely
 - c. Somewhat unlikely
 - d. Undecided
 - e. Somewhat likely
 - f. Likely
 - g. Very Likely
- 3) Use public transport
 - a. Very unlikely
 - b. Unlikely
 - c. Somewhat unlikely
 - d. Undecided
 - e. Somewhat likely
 - f. Likely
 - g. Very Likely
- 4) Use grocery stores/shopping centres
 - a. Very unlikely
 - b. Unlikely
 - c. Somewhat unlikely
 - d. Undecided
 - e. Somewhat likely
 - f. Likely
 - g. Very Likely
- 5) Use other public spaces (e.g. sports stadiums, beaches)
 - a. Very unlikely
 - b. Unlikely
 - c. Somewhat unlikely
 - d. Undecided

- e. Somewhat likely
- f. Likely
- g. Very Likely

CODE F: UNDERSTANDING ISLAMOPHOBIA IN THE BAY AREA

Code (F1) Do you think that anti-Muslim discrimination is a problem in the Bay Area?

- 1) Always
- 2) Sometimes
- 3) Some places
- 4) Never

Code (F2) What makes you feel that this racial discrimination exists? (select as many relevant)

- 1) Personal experiences of racism/discrimination
- 2) The experiences of other Muslims you know
- 3) News media portrayals of Muslims
- 4) News media reporting of anti-Muslim racism
- 5) Experiences of online anti-Muslim racism
- 6) Online social media reports of anti-Muslim racism
- 7) Negative portrayals of Muslims on social media
- 8) Government statements about anti-Muslim racism in the Bay Area (e.g. politicians)
- 9) Other

Code (F3) Other factors that make you feel like American Muslims living in the Bay Area face anti-Muslim discrimination? (open response)

Code (F4) Who do you think experiences anti-Muslim racism/discrimination most often?

- 1) Muslim men (1)
- 2) Muslim women (2)
- 3) Muslim men and women equally (3)

Code (F5) Have you been a victim of hate crime based on your Muslim identity in the Bay Area

- (1) Yes
- (2) No

(F6) Someone you know ever been a victim of hate crime based on their Muslim identity in the Bay Area

- 1) Yes
- 2) No

(F7) Experiences of discrimination in following situations?

- (1) On public transport

- (2) In a public space
- (3) In online spaces
- (4) At a shop or restaurant
- (5) In education
- (6) In your workplace
- (7) When seeking employment
- (8) When accessing healthcare
- (9) Interactions with the police
- (10) At an airport
 - a. Never
 - b. Hardly ever
 - c. Sometimes
 - d. Often
 - e. Very often
 - f. Very often

CODE G: CITIES OF INCLUSION/EXCLUSION

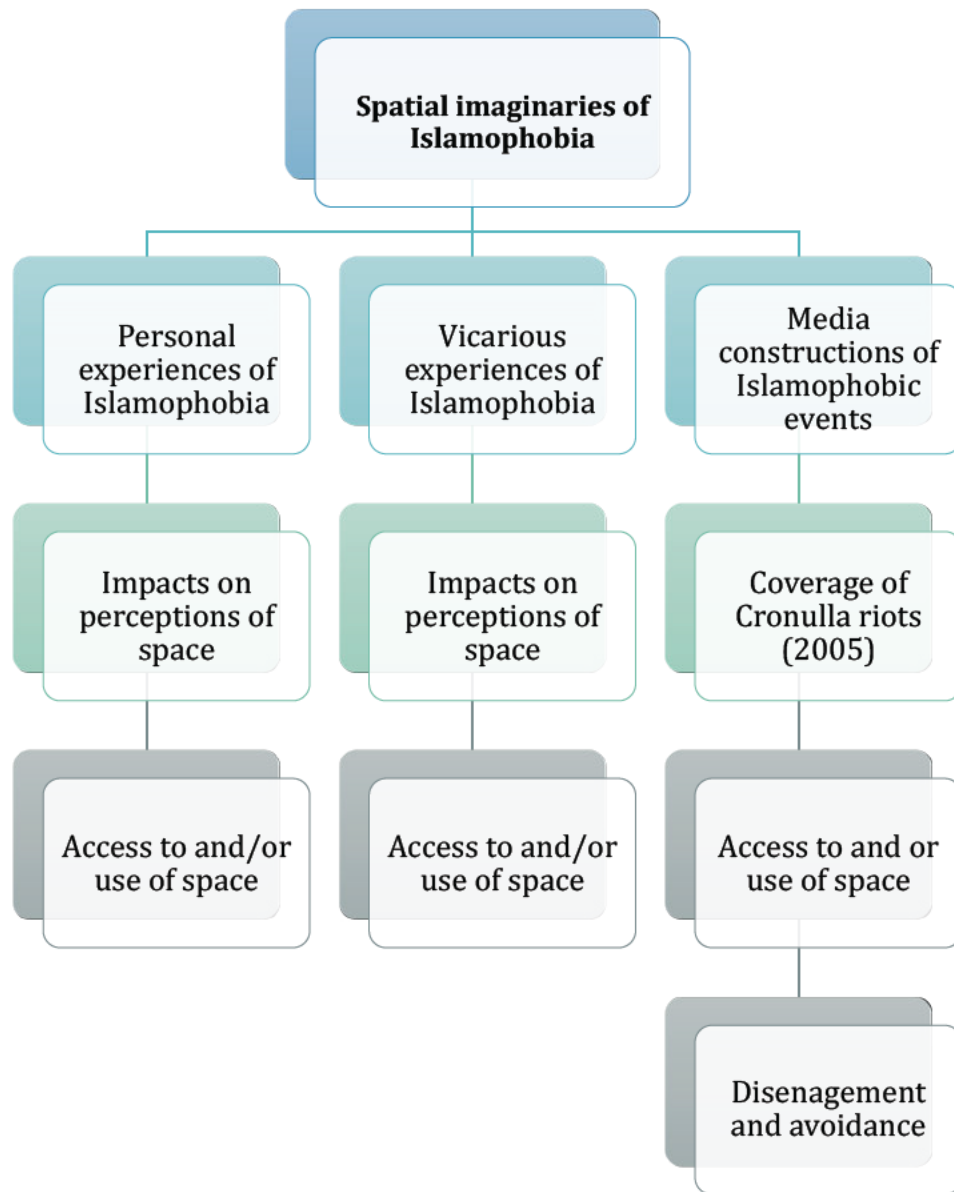
Code (G1) - Islamic identity least accepted

- a) Region I: North Bay
- b) Region II: San Francisco
- c) Region III: Peninsula
- d) Region IV: South Bay
- e) Region V: Inner-East Bay
- f) Region VI: Outer-East Bay

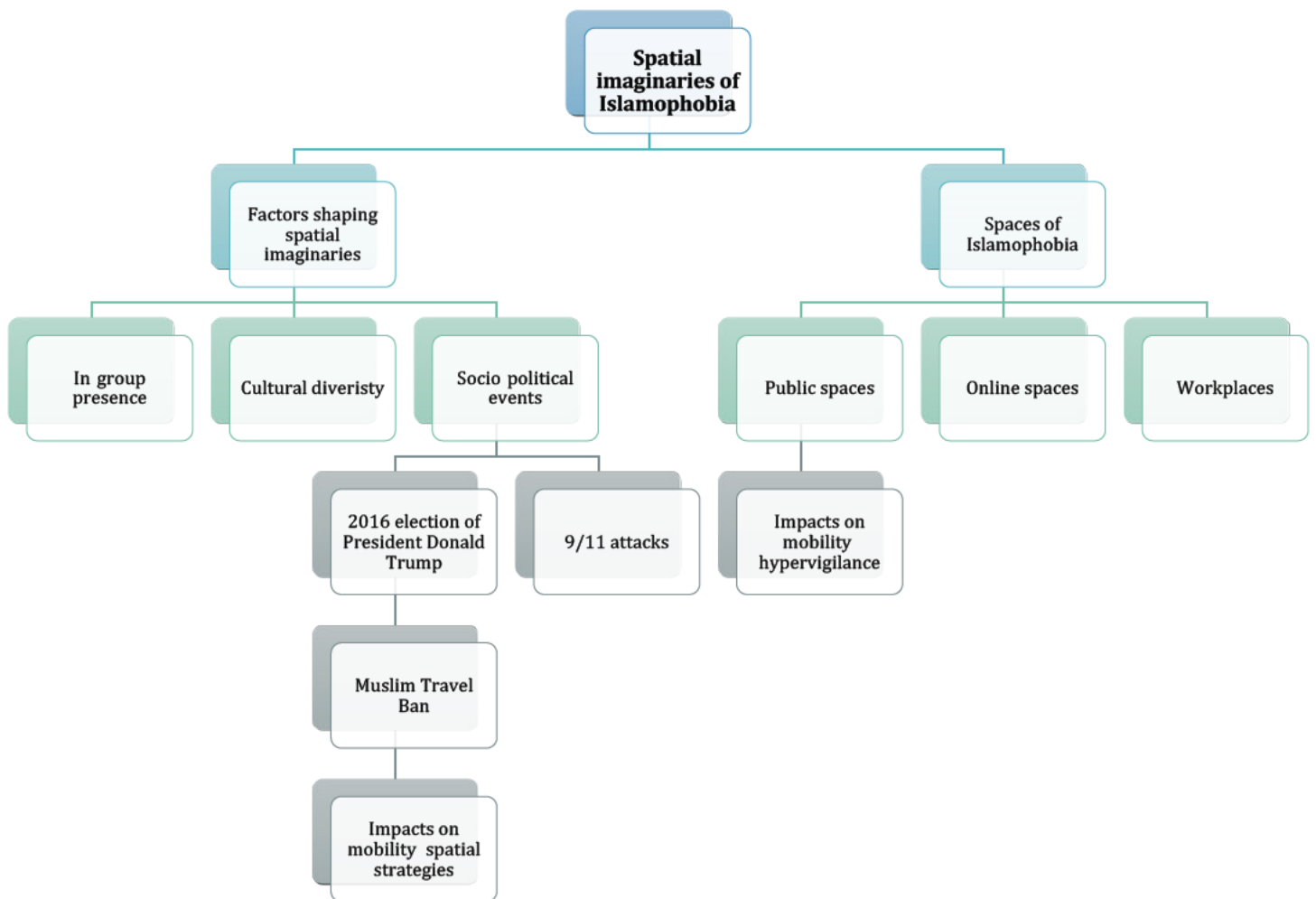
Code (G2) - Islamic identity least accepted

- a) Region I: North Bay
- b) Region II: San Francisco
- c) Region III: Peninsula
- d) Region IV: South Bay
- e) Region V: Inner-East Bay
- f) Region VI: Outer-East Bay

SYDNEY INTERVIEW CODING FRAMEWORK



SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA INTERVIEW CODING FRAMEWORK



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SUPPLEMENTARY RESEARCH OUTPUTS

PODCAST FOR THE CONVERSATION

'Speaking with: Rhonda Itaoui on navigating the city as a young Muslim' (April 2016)

Available at:

<https://theconversation.com/speaking-with-rhonda-itaoui-on-navigating-the-city-as-a-young-muslim-53166>

'Christchurch attacks strike at the heart of Muslims' safe places from Islamophobia' (March 2019)

Available at:

<https://theconversation.com/christchurch-attacks-strike-at-the-heart-of-muslims-safe-places-from-islamophobia-113922>

FACTSHEET ON THE CRONULLA RIOT FOR THE BRIDGE INITIATIVE

'Factsheet: Cronulla Riots' (November 2019)

Available at:

<https://bridge.georgetown.edu/research/factsheet-cronulla-riots/>

'Trump's travel ban is just one of many US policies that legalize discrimination against Muslims' (January 2018)

Available at:

<https://theconversation.com/trumps-travel-ban-is-just-one-of-many-us-policies-that-legalize-discrimination-against-muslims-89334>

'Blog: The Geography of Islamophobia' (November 2017)

Available at:

<https://belonging.berkeley.edu/blog-geography-islamophobia>