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# Introduction

## A Message from the Council on American-Islamic Relations

Islamophobia has unfortunately moved from the fringes of American society to the mainstream.

Viable contenders for the office of the presidency have suggested un-constitutional policies such as banning all Muslims from the United States or suggesting that a Muslims could not be president of the United States. Elected officials in 10 states have enacted legislation designed to vilify or otherwise target Islam. In at least two states, the way school text books are selected was changed because some activists wrongly believe that introductory religious courses that teach children Islam's five pillars are "indoctrination" and "proselytization." Islamophobic groups have enjoyed access to at least \$205 million to spread fear and hatred of Muslims.

The last two months of 2015 saw 34 incidents in which mosques were targeted by vandals or those who want to intimidate worshippers. This is more incidents than we usually record in an entire year.

This report makes a case that those who value constitutional ideals like equal protection, freedom of worship, or an absence of religious tests for those seeking public office no longer have the luxury of just opposing the U.S. Islamophobia network's biased messaging.

The strategy outlined in this report is an evolution from the opposition-centric strategy CAIR's Department to Monitor and Combat Islamophobia has pursued since we published *Legislating Fear* in 2012.

The proposed strategy focuses instead on changing the environment. Islamophobia and groups that promote bias will likely always exist, but the current environment that grants anti-Islam prejudice social acceptability must change so that such bias is in the same social dustbin as white supremacy and anti-Semitism.

I would like to thank Corey Saylor for leading the effort on this report. I would also like to thank the many people—see the acknowledgements section of this report—who gave their time and talent to help craft the strategy we are proposing.

In peace,

*Nihad Awad*

Nihad Awad  
Executive Director



Council on American-Islamic Relations

The Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) is a nonprofit, grassroots civil rights and advocacy organization. CAIR is America's largest Muslim civil liberties organization, with affiliate offices nationwide. Its national headquarters is located on Capitol Hill in Washington, D.C.

Since its establishment in 1994, CAIR has worked to promote a positive image of Islam and Muslims in America. Through media relations, lobbying, education and advocacy, CAIR works to make sure a Muslim voice is represented. Through our work, CAIR seeks to empower American Muslims and encourage their participation in political and social activism.



The Center for Race and Gender (CRG) is an interdisciplinary research center at the University of California, Berkeley that supports critical and engaged research on race, gender, and their intersections. Launched as a result of the 1999 Ethnic Studies Student Strike, the CRG cultivates innovative research and creative projects, and generates exchange among faculty and students throughout the university, between the university and local communities of color, and among scholars in the Bay Area, in the US, and around the globe.

## A Message from the UC Berkeley Center for Race and Gender

The many research advances led by the Islamophobia Research and Documentation Project (IRDP) over the past seven years have been impressive and impactful. Since the UC Berkeley Center for Race and Gender partnered with scholars and community organizations to establish IRDP in 2008, this research initiative has only excelled in building strong partnerships and leading new projects focused on the study of Islamophobia.

IRDP's success is largely due to the visionary leadership of its director, Dr. Hatem Bazian. Since 2008, IRDP has organized annual conferences at UC Berkeley, convening scholars from around the world who are leading cutting edge research on how Islamophobia is produced, structured, and deployed, and how it influences policies and political discourse. Researchers have also detailed the ongoing impact of Islamophobia on Muslim communities in the Bay Area, the U.S., and globally.

These annual conferences have had an important impact on the global community of scholars studying Islamophobia, and researchers and universities around the globe have reached out to IRDP to collaborate and learn from its model. These connections have led to rich partnerships and opportunities for the IRDP to co-host symposia and conferences in Europe, North Africa, Canada, and the Middle East.

In 2012, IRDP continued to cultivate this community of scholars and body of work by launching the Islamophobia Studies Journal, the first peer-review academic journal in the U.S. with a primary interdisciplinary focus on Islamophobia. The journal has become a central resource for scholars to widely share and review innovative thinking in Islamophobia Studies. Additionally, IRDP continues to support students to build online communities that analyze current events and their intersections with issues related to Islamophobia.

Prof. Evelyn Nakano Glenn  
Director, U.C. Berkeley Center for Race and Gender

## Key Findings

This report presents a national strategy that aims to arrive at a shared American understanding of Islam in which being Muslim carries a positive connotation, and in which Islam has an equal place among the many faiths which together constitute America's pluralistic society. The strategy has four priority areas of focus:

- 1.** Advancing Islam's principle of "be a benefit to humanity, avert harm from humanity" by enhancing Muslim involvement in the issues of other domestic communities which face challenges to full and equal protection and participation in society.
- 2.** Establishing in the public conscience that Islamophobia is identical to other forms of prejudice and undermines American ideals.
- 3.** Empowering a diverse range of legitimate voices to persuasively contribute, particularly in the news media, to the views of Islam and American Muslims within public dialogue.
- 4.** Enhancing community ability to impact U.S. political and policy life through public service, voting, and meaningful political contributions.

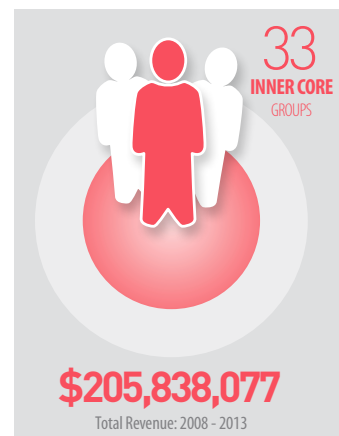
**The report also examines Islamophobia in the United States and offers the following key findings:**

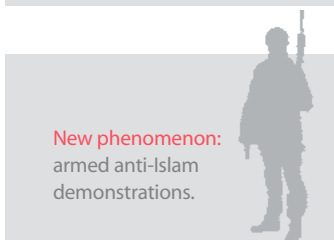
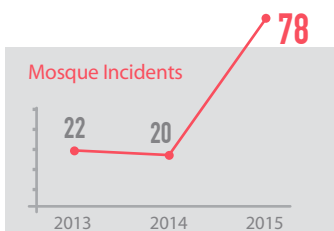
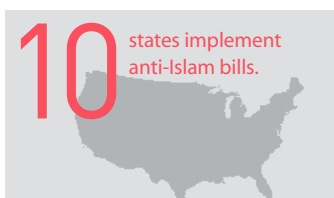
**Key Finding 1:** Seventy-four (up from sixty-nine in 2013) groups are identified as comprising the U.S. Islamophobia network.

**Key Finding 2:** The U.S.-based Islamophobia network's inner core is currently comprised of at least thirty-three groups whose primary purpose is to promote prejudice against, or hatred of, Islam and Muslims.

**Key Finding 3:** Between 2008 and 2013, inner-core organizations had access to at least \$205,838,077 in total revenue.

**Key Finding 4:** An additional forty-one groups whose primary purpose does not appear to include promoting prejudice against or hatred of Islam and Muslims, but whose work regularly demonstrates or supports Islamophobic themes, make up the network's outer core.





**Key Finding 5:** As of the writing of this report, anti-Islam bills are law in ten states. This is one-fifth of the nation. To date, however, none of these laws have been invoked in legal proceedings.

**Key Finding 6:** At least two states, Florida and Tennessee, have passed laws revising the way they approve textbooks for classroom use as a direct result of anti-Islam campaigns. In many instances, teachers simply informing students of the tenets of Islam's central belief system generated backlash and allegations of attempts to indoctrinate students to become Muslims.

**Key Finding 7:** In 2015, there were 78 recorded incidents in which mosques were targeted; more incidents than ever reported in a single year since we began tracking these reports in 2009. Incidents in 2015 have more than tripled compared to the past two years in which there were only 22 mosque incidents reported in 2013 and 20 incidents in 2014. In fact, in both November and December of 2015, there were 17 mosque incidents reported during each of these months, numbers almost equivalent to an entire year's worth of reports from the previous two years. Additionally, 2015 saw the largest number of cases in both the Damage/Destruction/Vandalism category as well as the Intimidation category.

**Key Finding 8:** Progress has been observed in the reduction in frequency and shrinking acceptability of anti-Islam law-enforcement trainings

**Key Finding 9:** Two new phenomenon—Muslim-free businesses and armed anti-Islam demonstrations—raise deep concerns.

## Background and Acknowledgments

### Background

*Same Hate, New Target*, was released by CAIR and the University of California, Berkeley's Center for Race and Gender (CRG) in 2011. The report centrally argued that Islamophobia in the United States is the current manifestation of the prejudice that has plagued our nation since its earliest days: in other words, it is the same old hate, just with a relatively new target. Muslims, like Malcolm X, have been involved in historic movements combating prejudice in America, but only after the 9/11 terror attacks did they emerge a primary target for purveyors of hate.

CAIR's *Legislating Fear* identified the groups which comprise the U.S. Islamophobia network and outlined their funding sources and structures in



detail. It also documented the coordinated national movement to pass laws vilifying Islam.

### **Acknowledgments**

We wish to thank the following interns whose research assistance was invaluable during the production of this report: Asena Acar, Christa Cole, and Jonathan Herrera. John Robbins edited the report text.

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## Definition and Vision Regarding Islamophobia in America

### CRG Definition of Islamophobia

Islamophobia is a contrived fear or prejudice fomented by the existing Eurocentric and Orientalist global power structure. It is directed at a perceived or real Muslim threat through the maintenance and extension of existing disparities in economic, political, social, and cultural relations, while rationalizing the necessity to deploy violence as a tool to achieve “civilizational rehab” of the target communities (Muslim or otherwise). Islamophobia reintroduces and reaffirms a global racial structure through which resource distribution disparities are maintained and extended.

### **CAIR's Vision Regarding Islamophobia in America**

Our vision looks toward the time when being Muslim carries a positive connotation in the US and Islam has an equal place among the many faiths which together comprise America's pluralistic society.

Among the indicators that this vision is a reality would be the following points:

- Islam has a 75% or higher favorability rating among the general public. In July 2014, the Pew Research Center reported that Americans rated Muslims at a mean of 40 on a scale of 0—100. Zero was the groups respondents felt “coldest” toward while 100 was “warmest.” Muslims generated the coldest feeling of all the religious groups.
- A person's Islamic faith is considered an asset in private employment and public service, rather than a liability.
- Politicians welcome and seek public support from Americans of the Islamic faith in the same way they do Christian and Jewish individuals and organizations.
- Association with anti-Muslim movements or rhetoric discredits those who put themselves forward seeking to earn the privilege of public service, as would active or prior membership in the Nazi Party or the KKK today.

### **Caveat: Questioning Islam or Muslims is Not Islamophobia**

It is not appropriate to label all, or even the majority, of those who question Islam and Muslims as Islamophobes. Equally, it is not Islamophobic to denounce crimes committed by individual Muslims or those citing Islam as a motivation for their actions.



# A National Strategy to Confront Islamophobia

## The Context of the Strategy

### **America remains undecided regarding its understanding of Islam.**

A 2015 review of data spanning twenty-two years and 179 polls reports that “Islam is unfamiliar to most [Americans], and unfavorable to many,” but that “a plurality of Americans has reported favorable views of Muslims since 2000.”<sup>3</sup> If Islam were a candidate for public office, the vote for or against would be tight.

The 2015 review also found “Americans tend to see Islam as ‘more violent’ than other religions,” and that “since 2001, one-quarter or more of the population has expressed support for specific measures like religious profiling, special IDs, surveillance, and internment.”

- This shared understanding is affected by more than news events. Acts of violence committed in the name of Islam have undoubtedly contributed to negative public perceptions of Islam and Muslims in the United States, and have certainly fueled Islamophobic reactions.
- However, Islam and Muslims are more likely to be held collectively responsible for the actions of an aberrant few. Atrocities committed in the name of Christianity, by Uganda’s Lord’s Resistance Army or the more recent ethnic cleansing of Muslims by Christian militias in the Central African Republic, have done nothing to darken the reputation of Christianity in the U.S.
- Former Gallup pollster Dalia Mogahed has used statistical data to argue that “anti-Muslim sentiment is almost entirely independent of the events of international conflicts, or even terrorist acts on U.S. soil, and much more tightly linked to election cycles and building domestic consent.”<sup>4</sup>
- Finally, there are certain double standards being upheld: for example, we have heard on several occasions<sup>5</sup> Muslims who drink alcohol being praised as more Western, more assimilated, and by implication more

### **The Strategy’s four priority areas of focus:**

- 1 Advancing Islam’s principle of “be a benefit to humanity, avert harm from humanity” by enhancing Muslim involvement in the issues of other domestic communities which face challenges to full and equal protection and participation in society.
- 2 Establishing in the public conscience that Islamophobia is identical to other forms of prejudice and undermines American ideals.
- 3 Empowering a diverse range of legitimate voices to persuasively contribute, particularly in the news media, the views of Islam and America Muslims to public dialogue.
- 4 Enhancing community ability to impact U.S. political and policy life through public service, voting, and meaningful political contributions.

patriotic (an association which identifies the consumption of alcohol as a definitive American trait). In 2009, Gallup reported that among faith groups Mormons (92%) were less likely to have consumed alcohol in the last seven days than American Muslims (86%)<sup>6</sup>. Both Islam and the Church of Latter Day Saints ban alcohol consumption, but we are unaware of examples of Mormons having their patriotism questioned because they turn down alcohol.

**Since 2010, the U.S. Islamophobia network has not enjoyed high visibility national impact. It has, however, scored troubling local victories. Since late 2014 especially, anti-Islam sentiment appears to have adopted a more violent tone.**

In 2010, the U.S. Islamophobia network enjoyed its most successful national achievement when a contingent of its members managed to engineer a controversy over Park 51, a proposed Islamic cultural center in lower Manhattan. That debate found its way into the 2010 election cycle and the notion of restricting the establishment of places of worship, generally an anathema to American ideals, gained viability among mainstream candidates for public office.

Park 51, and Florida Pastor Terry Jones' 2010 International Burn a Koran Day, was the last observed peak cycle in anti-Islam activity. The 2010 cycle was characterized by efforts to oppose the construction or expansion of Islamic places of worship across the nation.

Between late 2010 and late 2014, the Network was hard at work, but was in many ways invisible to those who were not specifically monitoring its efforts. However, the Network's victories during this period cannot be minimized.

After members of Daesh (ISIS) murdered two Americans in late August of 2014, Americans of all backgrounds, Muslims included, responded with rejection and revulsion. Despite abundant evidence that Daesh was also slaughtering Muslims, the vast majority of whom reject the group's ideology, many in our country blamed all followers of Islam for the group's actions. When the Kouachi brothers attacked the offices of Charlie Hebdo magazine in Paris in January of 2015, this blame was magnified.

This latest cycle of Islamophobia that began in late August 2014 was characterized especially by its violent tone.<sup>7</sup>

### **Legislating Fear and Its Aftermath**

In 2013, CAIR published *Legislating Fear: Islamophobia and its Impact in the United States*.<sup>8</sup> In this report, the organization identified sixty-nine organizations promoting fear of Islam. Thirty-seven of those groups were placed in an “inner core” whose primary reason for existence is to promote prejudice against or hatred of Islam and Muslims. A review of the inner core groups’ tax filings revealed that they had at least \$119 million in total revenue between 2008 and 2011.

After identifying the groups that comprised the U.S. Islamophobia Network, CAIR devoted resources to exposing their bias and challenging their legitimacy. At the time of writing this report, CAIR leadership are optimistic that they have developed a solid set of best practices for when to ignore and when to challenge Islamophobic groups.

However, directly challenging bias groups is only part of a comprehensive strategy. Efforts to directly confront and therefore delegitimize the U.S. Islamophobia Network are important, but the Network can impact America only if it enjoys broader social acceptance; its survival rests on public willingness to support its messages of hate.

### **Lessons from the Klan**

The Ku Klux Klan is the oldest of America’s hate groups, and in 1925 the white supremacist group could boast four million members and enormous political influence and popular support. Today, however, their numbers and resources are vastly diminished, their bigoted views are socially and politically marginalized, and they are virtually irrelevant within the national landscape. The Klan remains legal (even hate speech should be protected), but its message is irrelevant to any serious conversation and association with it is generally seen to be political suicide.

Society’s rejection of the Klan and its message resulted in the group having less public support, less visibility, and less impact. This progressive erosion of the Klan’s social acceptability serves as a model for CAIR’s strategy toward contemporary Islamophobic groups.

### **The Next Phase**

To expand on the opposition-centric strategy, CAIR developed the following question:<sup>9</sup>

How do American Muslims and their allies reduce the public acceptability of Islamophobia in America given that 1) Americans who follow the Islamic faith make up less than two percent of the U.S. population; 2) American Muslim organizations have consequently limited financial resources; and 3) American Muslims are subject to the actions of outsiders at any time.

#### ***Americans who follow the Islamic faith make up less than two percent of the U.S. population***

According to the U.S. Census Bureau, the U.S. population on July 4, 2015, was 321 million. While estimates of the number of Americans who declare Islam as their faith vary, for this report we use six to seven million as an approximate figure. This puts the number of American Muslims at a maximum of 2 percent of the U.S. population.

American Muslims are also not monolithic. According to Gallup, Muslims are the “most racially diverse religious group surveyed in the United States, with African Americans making up the largest contingent within the population, at 35%.”<sup>10</sup> This diversity is furthered by a wide array of interpretations of Islam among its U.S. practitioners and again by the large number of national origins represented among American Muslim immigrants. The American Muslim community also adheres to a broad range of political ideology: Gallup's 2009 survey found that 29% of Americans Muslims self-identify as liberal, 38% as moderate, and 25% as conservative.<sup>11</sup>

Research shows that personally knowing a Muslim reduces the likelihood of a person holding anti-Islam bias. In 2009 the Pew Research Center reported, “Those people who know a Muslim are less likely to see Islam as encouraging of violence; similarly, those who are most familiar with Islam and Muslims are most likely to express favorable views of Muslims and to see similarities between Islam and their own religion.”<sup>12</sup>

#### ***American Muslim organizations have limited financial resources***

There are a sizable number of institutions presently working to represent the interests of segments of the American Muslim community in the national, regional, and local arenas. However, the financial capacity of these institutions is limited.



Gallup's 2011 study, *Muslim Americans: Faith, Freedom, and Future*, asked Muslims which national Muslim group represents their interests. In order, the groups that got the most favorable responses were: Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC), Muslim American Society (MAS), Imam Warith Deen Mohammed Group (Mosque Cares), and the Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA). According to tax records, in 2013 the Muslim American Society reported a total revenue of \$5.5 million to the IRS, while CAIR, MPAC and ICNA did not exceed \$3 million in total revenue that year each.<sup>13</sup>

In 2015, the Georgetown University Bridge Initiative distributed a graphic noting in part that “Muslim family income is only slightly lower than that of the general population.”<sup>14</sup> In 2011, the Pew Research Center found that “45% of Muslim Americans now report having total household income of less than \$30,000 a year, compared with 36% of the general public.”<sup>15</sup>

***American Muslims are subject to the actions of outsiders at any time***

In 2010, the Cordoba House (now known as Park 51) project was rebranded the “Ground Zero Mosque” by Islamophobe Pamela Geller. This piece of anti-branding helped create a controversy around the project. Proximity to a national election further inflamed the controversy as candidates started to address the project, many in ways that took political advantage of anti-Muslim sentiment.

That controversy occurred in parallel with an unfolding drama in Florida that also garnered international news. Pastor Terry Jones of the Dove World Outreach Center announced his International Burn a Koran Day for September 11, 2010. While the announced burnings did not take place on the promised date, the controversy inflamed domestic and international tensions surrounding Islam.

These two events resulted in the most visible crises manufactured by the U.S. Islamophobia network to date. As noted above, the acts of violent extremists in late 2014 and early 2015 set off another high visibility round of anti-Islam sentiment.

Both of these rounds of anti-Islam sentiment did significant damage to the efforts of U.S. Muslims and their allies to earn Islam an equal place in America’s pluralistic landscape.

The question at the beginning of this section was offered to about fifty participants of a high-level Islamophobia summit held in Washington, D.C. in August 2015. The strategy below reflects the consensus on priority actions that emerged from the summit.

## **A Strategy to Combat Islamophobia**

The strategy of working to delegitimize anti-Islam groups following the release of Legislating Fear can be viewed as an opposition-centric approach. The strategy we advocate for below can be viewed as environment-centric. We believe that focusing less on anti-Islam groups and more on the societal acceptance of Islamophobic sentiment will have a more lasting impact in achieving our vision.

### **Goal**

The overarching goal of this strategy is to arrive at a shared American understanding of Islam in which being Muslim carries a positive connotation and Islam has an equal place among many faiths in America's pluralistic society.

### **Benefits**

Achieving this goal offers multiple benefits to our nation:

- Advance the American ideal of “many uniting into one.”
- Allow people of the Islamic faith to contribute ideas and innovations to American public and private society, free of the constraints imposed upon them by bias.
- Further inoculate Americans against the corrupt ideology of Daesh, Al-Qaeda, and their violent extremist ilk.
- Normalize Islam among many faiths in America's pluralistic society, projecting to the world the best of our nation's ideals. Bias and hate toward minorities only projects the worst of our fears. Daesh plays on such divisions and frequently uses it as a recruiting tactic.

### Priority areas of focus

- 1 Advancing Islam's principle of "be a benefit to humanity, avert harm from humanity" by enhancing Muslim involvement in the issues of other domestic communities which face challenges to full and equal protection and participation in society.

Muslims should not ignore the very pressing challenges that confront them in the United States today. Equally, though, Islam teaches its adherents to care about the needs of people from all backgrounds. Traditionally, Islam has been a force for relieving oppression and aiding underprivileged peoples. This strategy advocates positive action on issues that are not necessarily directly about Muslims, but are nevertheless about the preservation of justice and human dignity.

The 9/11 attacks placed many Muslims and their institutions in survival mode, as the community sought to simultaneously push back against violent extremists, address the waves of Islamophobic sentiment and action, and parry multiple threats to the U.S. Constitution and American ideals that evolved from the sometimes ill-advised responses to the 9/11 attacks and subsequent threats to our nation. The presently proposed strategy suggests that American Muslims and their allies must evolve past having their priorities dictated by the actions of violent extremists and Islamophobes.

A number of causes were identified by summit participants as deserving expanded Muslim involvement: Black Lives Matter, anti-torture coalitions, the labor movement, immigration reform, anti-poverty efforts, racial profiling, and law enforcement policies.

- 2 Establishing in the public conscience that Islamophobia is identical to other forms of prejudice and undermines American ideals.

This strategy advocates social, not legal, consequences for prejudiced thought and speech. An individual should be free to choose to be a bigot, or not. However, just as anti-Semitic or white supremacist speech is anathema to society, so too should be Islamophobic speech. Association with anti-Muslim movements or rhetoric must discredit its advocates' participation in legitimate, mainstream public discourse.

Public officials must see that affiliation with anti-Islam bias has negative political consequences at the ballot box, in their campaign coffers, and on their reputation as credible public servants.

### 3 Empowering a diverse range of legitimate voices to persuasively contribute, particularly in the news media, the views of Islam and America Muslims to public dialogue.

Just as the American Muslim community is not monolithic, the voices representing it should be diverse. It is important that those voices also have high-quality communications training and support.

For too long the discourse about Islam in the United States has been dominated by the abnormal interpretation of the faith embraced by both violent extremists and the U.S. Islamophobia network. This abnormal interpretation is simultaneously used to justify atrocities and policies that undermine America's ideals of inclusiveness and equality under the law. The U.S. Islamophobia network has effectively supported undermining the Bill of Rights for all Americans to achieve the goal of vilifying Muslims.

*In September 2015, Media Tenor, a group that focuses on statistical evaluation of media data, observed that “Fourteen years after the September 11 terrorist attacks, U.S. TV news audiences continue to receive high levels of reports about terrorism while news coverage as a whole frames Muslims in an extremely negative light.”*

The narrative in the U.S. media about Muslims has been overwhelmingly negative for many years, particularly in the post-9/11 era. In September 2015, Media Tenor, a group that

focuses on statistical evaluation of media data, observed that “Fourteen years after the September 11 terrorist attacks, U.S. TV news audiences continue to receive high levels of reports about terrorism while news coverage as a whole frames Muslims in an extremely negative light.”<sup>16</sup> Two years previously, Media Tenor CEO and founder Roland Schatz observed, “Despite the increasing need for better understanding between people of all religious faiths, overall the news media is not helping to build compassion and tolerance, but, in many cases, is actively working against it.”<sup>17</sup>

Meanwhile, Daesh, Al-Qaeda, and their ideological allies have developed effective avenues of communicating their message to the world. Multiple documents detail widespread Muslim rejection of the groups and their goals, but these documents are nearly invisible next to the latest video issued by the violent extremists.<sup>18</sup> Despite this clear record, Islamophobes and even mainstream media continue to assert that Muslims have not denounced or acted against terrorists.

This strategy suggests that greater capacity to allow our nation to become familiar with Islam and Muslims be incorporated into social and traditional media.

## 4 Enhancing community ability to impact U.S. political and policy life through public service, voting, and meaningful political contributions.

Summit participants noted the lack of a culture of political giving in the American Muslim community. Where that does culture exist, it is often not informed by the broader policy objectives of the organized Muslim community. Gallup reported in 2009 that Muslims are less likely than other American religious groups to be registered to vote.<sup>19</sup>

This strategy advocates the development of structures within the American Muslim community that allow for coordination on key policy issues among American Muslim institutions. These structures must ensure that interested community members have a voice, a fair process to advance their issues, and are also able to narrow these issues to allow for targeted focus.

### Next Steps

Publishing the strategy is the starting point. Readers will see implementation of the priorities outlined above in upcoming initiatives and documents.



# The U.S. Islamophobia Network

## Classifying the Network

U.S. Islamophobia network groups in this report are categorized using one of two key tags:

**Inner Core:** Groups whose primary purpose is to promote prejudice against or hatred of Islam and Muslims and whose work regularly demonstrates Islamophobic themes.

**Outer Core:** Groups whose primary purpose does not appear to include promoting prejudice against or hatred of Islam and Muslims, but whose work regularly demonstrates or supports Islamophobic themes.

## Summary of the U.S. Islamophobia Network in 2015

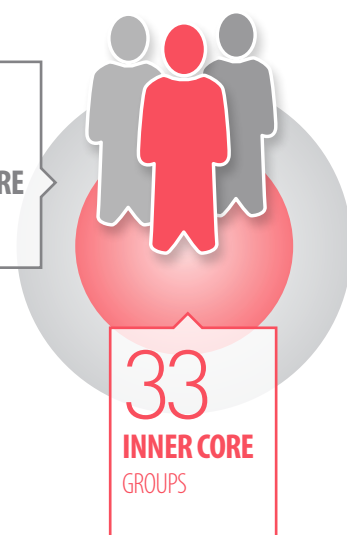
Seventy-four (up from sixty-nine in 2013) groups are identified as comprising the U.S. Islamophobia network.

The U.S.-based Islamophobia network's inner core is currently comprised of at least thirty-three (down from thirty-seven in 2013) groups whose primary purpose is to promote prejudice against or hatred of Islam and Muslims. Six new groups were identified and added to the inner core this year. Ten groups were removed from the inner core since 2013: nine of them appear to be inactive or closed, and another was downgraded to the outer core.

An additional forty-one (up from thirty-two in 2013) groups whose primary purpose does not appear to include promoting prejudice against or hatred of Islam and Muslims, but whose work regularly demonstrates or supports Islamophobic themes, make up the network's outer core.

Eighteen new groups were identified and added to this outer core, one group was downgraded from the inner core to the outer core, and one group, Richard Mellon Scaife Foundation, was removed as it is more accurately three foundations, two of which give to Islamophobic causes. Nine groups were removed from the outer core since 2013: six were removed because no Islamophobic activity on their part was detected in recent years, two appear to be inactive or closed, and one because no further funding to anti-Islam groups was observed.

41  
OUTER CORE  
GROUPS



**\$205,838,077**

Between 2008 and 2013, inner-core organizations had access to at least \$205,838,077 in total revenue.



### Groups in the Islamophobia Network's Inner Core

(Groups listed with a state abbreviation tend to operate only in that state.)

- Abstraction Fund\*
- ACT! For America
- American Freedom Defense Initiative
- American Freedom Law Center
- American Islamic Forum for Democracy
- American Public Policy Alliance
- Americans for Peace and Tolerance\* (Mass.)
- Bare Naked Islam
- Center for Security Policy
- Center for the Study of Political Islam
- Citizens For National Security (Fla.)
- Clarion Project
- Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting\*
- Dailyrollcall.com\*
- David Horowitz Freedom Center
- Debbieschlussel.com (Mich.)
- Florida Family Association (Fla.)
- Former Muslims United
- Forum for Middle East Understanding
- Gates of Vienna
- Investigative Project on Terrorism
- Jihad Watch
- Middle East Forum
- Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI)
- Militant Islam Monitor
- Pamelageller.com (formerly Atlas Shrugs)
- Straight Way of Grace Ministry\*
- Shoebat Foundation
- Society of Americans for National Existence (SANE)
- Stop Islamization of Nations
- Tennessee Freedom Coalition (Tenn.)
- Understanding the Threat\*
- United West (Fla.)

\*Added since Legislating Fear was published in 2013.

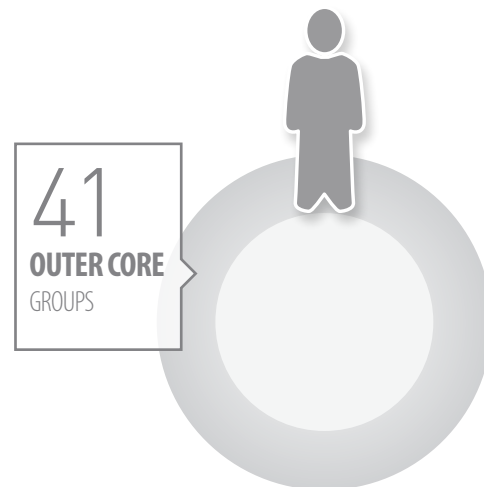
\*\* Reclassified from the inner core.



## Groups in the Islamophobia Network's Outer Core

(Groups listed with a state abbreviation tend to operate only in that state.)

- Adelson Family Foundation\*
- Allegheny Foundation\*
- American Center for Law and Justice (ACLJ)
- American Family Association
- American Islamic Leadership Coalition
- Bible Believers\*
- Cherna Moskowitz Foundation\*
- Christian Action Network\*\*
- Christian Broadcasting Network
- Concerned Women for America\*
- Donors Capital Fund
- Eagle Forum
- Endowment for Middle East Truth
- Family Security Matters
- F.M. Kirby Foundation\*
- Fox News Channel
- FrontPage Magazine\*
- Glenn Beck Program\*
- Government is Not God PAC\*
- HBO's Real Time with Bill Maher\*
- Joyce and Donald Rumsfeld Foundation\*
- Klarman Family Foundation\*
- Liberty Counsel
- Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation
- Mark Levin Show
- National Christian Foundation\*
- National Review
- Newton D. and Rochelle F. Becker Foundation
- Oak Initiative
- Randolph Foundation\*
- Really Big Coloring Books, Inc\*
- Reclaiming America for Christ\*
- Rush Limbaugh Show
- Russell Berrie Foundation
- Sarah Scaife Foundation\*
- Savage Nation
- Security Solutions International
- Traditional Values Coalition
- Truth in Love Project\*
- Washington Times
- WND



Inner Core Total Revenue

Between 2008 and 2013, inner core organizations had access to at least \$205,838,077 in total revenue. This figure is derived from publicly available tax filings and contains updates to the data presented in 2013's Legislating Fear.

Table 1: Inner Core Total Revenue by Year

Year	Year Total Revenue	Cumulative Total Revenue
2008	\$42,692,945*	\$42,692,945
2009	\$26,654,163	\$69,347,108
2010	\$31,624,422	\$100,971,530
2011	\$34,172,316	\$135,143,846
2012	\$36,006,766	\$171,150,612
2013	\$34,687,465	\$205,838,077

\*Spike was the result of a single large donation to the Clarion Fund, now Clarion Project.

Changes from the 2013 List

The following nine groups were removed from the inner core since the finalization of Legislating Fear. We continue to monitor the groups but have placed them in the “of concern” category:

- Americans Against Hate (Fla.): The group's web site has been dormant since 2011. While AAH filed a tax return in 2012, its total revenue was \$1,007; in 2011 the total revenue was \$0.
- Bay People (N.Y.): Researchers identified no activity from the group in recent years.
- Concerned American Citizens (Calif.) appears inactive. Its website has not been updated since 2013 and no recent appearances of its founder, Mano Bakh, have been identified.
- Concerned Citizens for the First Amendment (Calif.) appears inactive. Founder Steve Klein also appears inactive.
- Counter Terrorism Operations Center (Fla.) appears inactive. Its website has not been updated since 2012 and no recent appearances of its founder, Sam Kharoba, have been identified.
- Dove World Outreach Center was supposed to relocate to Tampa Bay, Fla., but researchers found no new location. Pastor Terry Jones now runs a furniture removal company and is listed as a candidate in the 2016 U.S. presidential election.<sup>20</sup>
- SAE Productions appears inactive. Researchers found no references to the Steven

Emerson project in recent years.

- Strategic Engagement Group: Its web site no longer exists and no tax documents have been filed since 2011. Stephen Coughlin is a senior fellow at Frank Gaffney's Center for Security Policy. John Guandolo founded Understanding the Threat.
- Virginia Anti-Shariah Task Force appears to be inactive. Founder James Lafferty is a board member of both Jihad Watch and American Freedom Defense Initiative.

The following nine groups were removed from the outer core since the finalization of Legislating Fear. We continue to monitor the groups but have placed them in the “of concern” category:

- The anti-Islam activities of the Carroll County Republican Party (Tenn.), Stewart County Republican Party (Tenn.), and Williamson County Republican Party (Tenn.) have not risen to the visible level of passing resolutions targeting public servants of the Islamic faith as they did in the past.
- Extreme Terrorism Consulting appears inactive. President Richard Hughbank lists it as “past” on his LinkedIn profile and the company has no Internet presence.
- Family Leader: Researchers identified no Islamophobic activity from the group or its leader, Bob Vander Platts, in recent years.
- Fairbrook Foundation: According to the Foundation's 2012 and 2013 Form 990s, no funds were donated to groups identified in as part of the U.S. Islamophobia network.
- Grace Baptist Church (Tenn.), in the wake of the controversy over the expansion of the Murfreesboro Islamic Center, the church has faded from public view.
- The Rutherford Reader (Tenn.) continues to publish Islamophobic material in the wake of the controversy over the expansion of the Murfreesboro Islamic Center, but with center's success the paper has faded from public view.
- William Rosenwald Family Fund was dissolved on February 23, 2012. Remaining assets were disbursed to the Middle Road Foundation (31%), the Alice Rosenwald Fund (55%) and the Abstraction Fund (14%).

The Richard Mellon Scaife Foundation is now more accurately listed as the Sara Scaife Foundation and the Allegheny Foundation. The other grant-making group under the Scaife family umbrella,<sup>21</sup> the Carthage Foundation, was not identified as giving funds to groups in the U.S. Islamophobia network.



# Anti-Islam Legislation

To date, none of these laws has been invoked in legal proceedings in order to “protect American citizens’ constitutional rights against the infiltration and incursion of foreign laws and foreign legal doctrines, especially Islamic Shariah Law” as its advocates claim is imperative.<sup>22</sup> As far back as 2012, a writer in the conservative *National Review* concluded, “This ‘creeping Sharia’ phenomenon supposedly going on in American courts is not even happening, even according to the ‘report’ most cited by the notion’s proponents.”<sup>23</sup>

This fact reinforces three points made by opponents of the anti-Islam legislation movement:

1. Islamic religious principles are not modern day barbarians at the gates of American courts.
2. Anti-Islam laws are an unnecessary waste of valuable legislating time and a distraction from substantive issues facing America.
3. Anti-Islam laws are redundant. The U.S. Constitution already guarantees American citizens’ constitutional rights.

On the other hand, one of the laws, passed in Oklahoma in 2010, was struck down as un-constitutional after an American citizen of the Islamic faith living that state asserted that the law violated his constitutional rights. Unfazed by the legal rebuke, Oklahoma legislators passed a second anti-Islam law in 2013, but this time circumvented constitutional issues by hiding the bias behind a broader “foreign law” ban.

The template for such foreign law bans is American Laws for American Courts (ALAC), authored by Islamophobe David Yerushalmi. While such a broad term has legal implications far beyond its intended target, the debates and conversations around ALAC-inspired bills leave little doubt that the movement is motivated by religious bias.



As of the writing of this report, anti-Islam bills are law in ten states. This is one-fifth of the nation.



The text focuses on 2014 and 2015. For more information on 2013, see the Additional Resources section at the end of this report.

Table 2: Anti-Islam Bills by Year

Year	Total Bills or Amendments Introduced	Total States in which Anti-Islam Legislation was Introduced	Percent of Bills with ALAC* Language	States where Bill Became Law
2013	36	16	92%	Oklahoma, North Carolina
2014	14	11	100%	Alabama, Florida
2015	31	17	75%	Mississippi

\*American Laws for American Courts, the template anti-Islam bill.

2013

- **Total legislation and states:** In 2013, thirty-six bills or amendments designed to vilify Islamic religious practices were introduced in the legislatures of sixteen states.
- **Original sponsorship:** All thirty-six bills were originally sponsored solely by Republicans.
- **ALAC inspired bills:** Thirty-three (92 percent) of these bills contained language that was extracted from the American Laws for American Courts (ALAC) model legislation.
- **Fate of legislation:** Bills became law in Oklahoma and North Carolina. Alabama’s legislature approved an anti-Islam amendment to the state’s constitution for voters to accept or reject in 2014.

2014

**Total legislation and states:** In 2014, fourteen bills or amendments designed to vilify Islamic religious practices were introduced in the legislatures of eleven states.

**Original sponsorship:** Twelve of the bills were originally sponsored solely by Republicans. Florida’s HB903 was introduced by four Republicans and one Democratic sponsor, Rep. Daphne Campbell (D-Miami). Vermont’s SB265 was introduced solely by Democratic Sen. Robert Starr (D-Essex-Orleans).

**ALAC-inspired bills:** All of the 2014 anti-Islam bills contained language that was extracted from American Laws for American Courts.

**Fate of legislation:** Bills became law in Alabama and Florida. Alabama voters approved SB4, which then became Amendment One to the state’s constitution. Florida’s SB386 was approved by the governor on May 12, 2014.

## 2015

**Total legislation and states:** In 2015, thirty-one bills or amendments designed to vilify Islamic religious practices were introduced in the legislatures of seventeen states.

**Original sponsorship:** Only one out of the thirty-one bills was not sponsored solely by Republicans: New Hampshire's HB461. It was introduced by seven Republican representatives and Democrat Rep. Deborah Wheeler (D-Merrimack).

**ALAC-inspired bills:** Twenty-three (75 percent) of the 2015 anti-Islam bills contained language that was extracted from ALAC.

**Fate of legislation:** Mississippi's HB177 was approved by the governor on March 23, 2015, becoming law on July 1, 2015.

In 2014, the Institute for Social and Policy Understanding published a review of state-level legislative efforts and reported, "630 of the total 3813 (16.5%) Republican state legislators have sponsored or co-sponsored an anti-sharia/anti-foreign law" bill.<sup>24</sup>

## Religious Intolerance and Ignorance Emerging from Anti-Islam Legislation

Florida's SB386, sponsored by Sen. Alan Hays (R-District 11), was signed into law by Governor Rick Scott on May 12, 2014. Hays had previously distributed literature in Tallahassee that read, in part: "Our religious, political, & peaceful way of life is under attack by Islam and Sharia Law. Save my generation from this ideology that is invading our country and masquerading as a 'religion.' It's SEDITION: They are determined to overthrow our State and our Country." The flier goes on to call Islam, a religion practiced by 150,000 registered Florida voters, an "Enemy." The Senator has also compared Islam to a "dreadful disease" which requires a vaccination.<sup>25</sup>

*Sen. Alan Hays distributed literature in Tallahassee that read, in part: "Our religious, political, & peaceful way of life is under attack by Islam and Sharia Law. Save my generation from this ideology that is invading our country and masquerading as a 'religion.' It's SEDITION: They are determined to overthrow our State and our Country."*



# 2013-2015 Anti-Islam Legislation Map

## Anti-Islam legislation in brief

- 10 states have enacted anti-Islam legislation
- 81 total bills or amendments introduced between 2013-2015
- 80 of these bills or amendments were sponsored solely by Republicans
- According to the Institute for Social Policy and Understanding (ISPU) 16.5 percent of “Republican state legislators have sponsored or co-sponsored” an anti-Islam bill.

**66%**  
February 2016

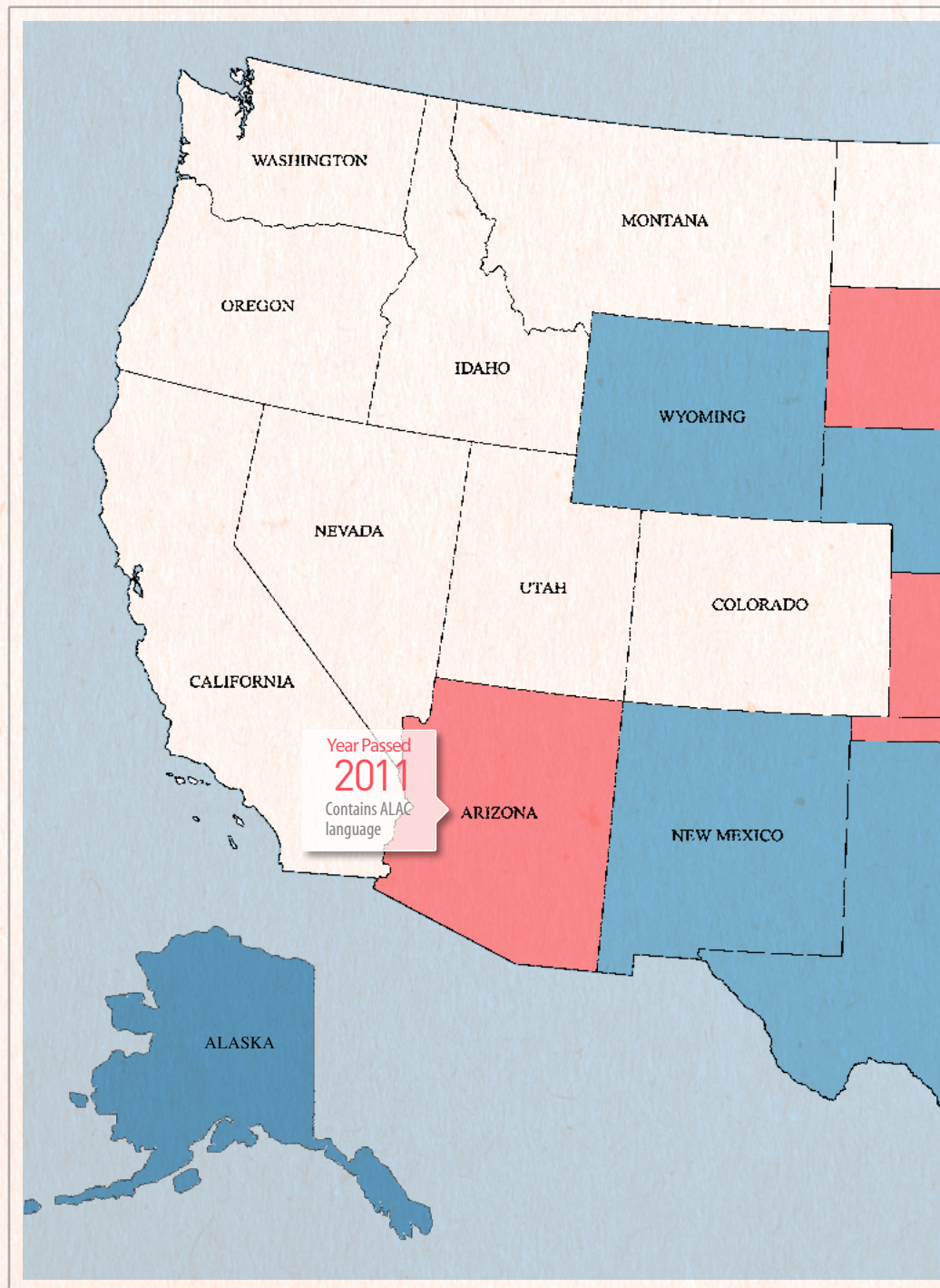
66% of Republicans voting in the New Hampshire primary favored banning Muslims from the U.S.  
February 2016

**40%**  
October 2015

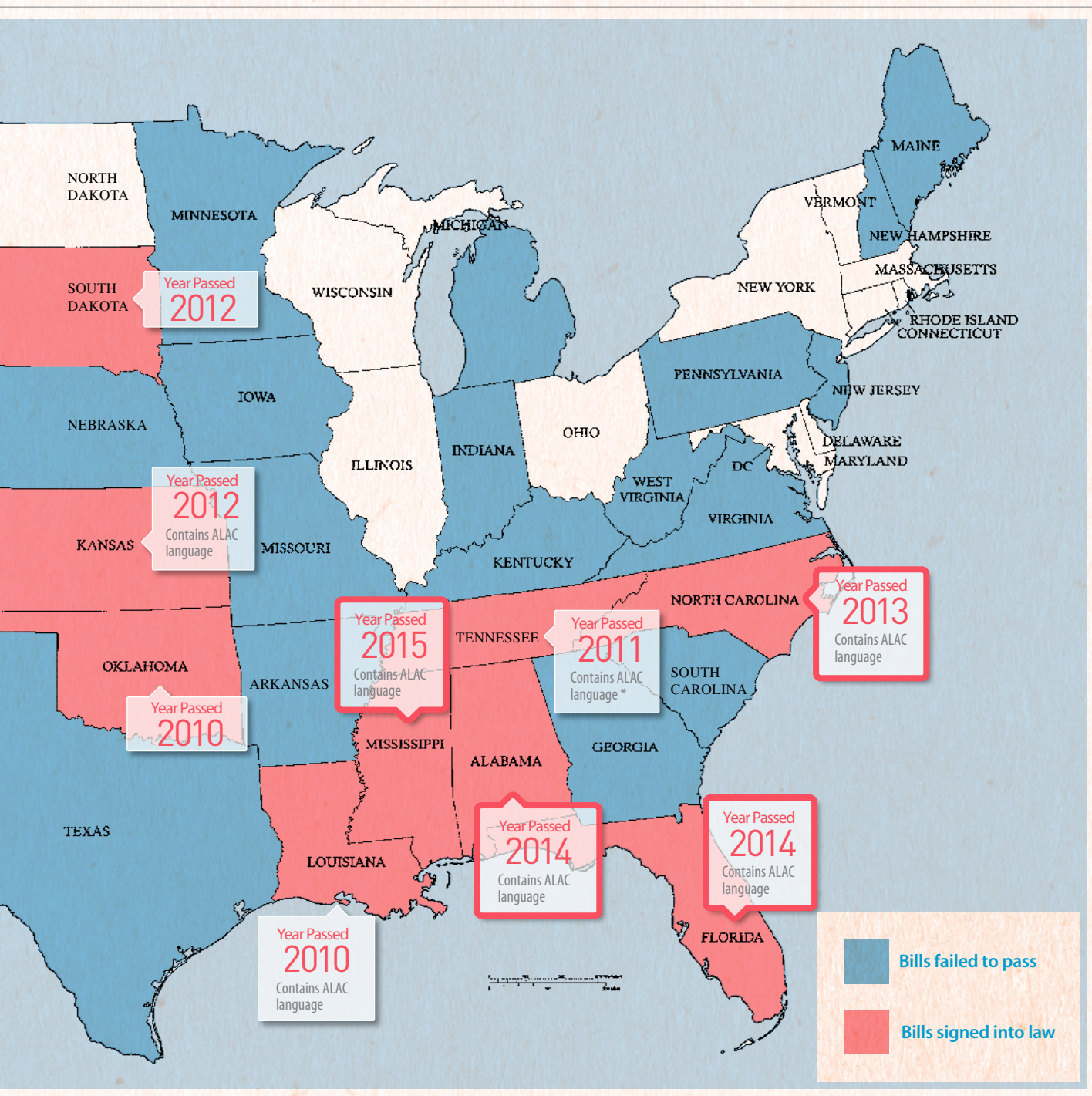
30% of Republican voters in Iowa think Islam should be illegal.  
September 2015

40% of conservatives in North Carolina favored a legal ban on Islam.  
September 2015

**30%**  
September 2015







\* The original bill was not based on ALAC, but it was written by Yerushalmi.

In 2011, Alabama State Sen. Gerald Allen (R-Tuscaloosa, Pickens and Lamar Counties) could not define Sharia. At the time, legislative staff admitted the definition of the term in Allen's bill was copied from Wikipedia. Nevertheless, Allen pursued his mission to ban Islamic religious principles' perceived threat. In 2014, Allen's SB4 was approved by voters as constitutional amendment 1.

Georgia Rep. Dustin Hightower (R-Carrollton) said his ALAC bill “is not only about Sharia law. It also addresses the documented creep and threat of foreign and anti-public policy laws being recognized by state and federal courts in the U.S. and elsewhere in the world.”<sup>26</sup> Creep, or more fully “creeping sharia” is a term often used by the Center for Security Policy, an Islamophobic organization that employs ALAC author Yerushalmi.

Oregon Sen. Brian Boquist's (R-Dallas) SB176 may be one of the shortest anti-Islam bills to hit the nation, but certainly not the most covert: SB176 simply reads “A court of this state may not consider Sharia law in making judicial decisions.” Sen. Boquist attempted to steer controversy regarding this

bill to his constituent Ted Campbell, who is the author and true sponsor of SB176. Campbell's reasoning for urging the Senator to sponsor this bill is due to some ‘internet articles’ he read where courts allowed Sharia law to be used as a defense for men that beat their wives.<sup>27</sup>

*State Sen. Lee Bright (R-Spartanberg) “We got to be careful about who we let into this country, a lot of these folks from terrorist nations are coming in on student visas, and we shouldn't allow it.”*

In Pennsylvania, Rep. Daryl D. Metcalf (R-District 12) sponsored

his own ALAC legislation in HB1288. In 2008, Metcalf refused to support a resolution which honored a local Muslim organization because “the Muslims do not recognize Jesus Christ as God and I will be voting negative (on the resolution).”<sup>28</sup>

Of his bill, South Carolina Rep. Harry Limehouse (R-Charleston) said, “I think in order to avoid the constitutional challenges that will certainly come, we're gonna change the word Sharia Law to foreign law.”<sup>29</sup> HB3521 will carry over into 2016. The Islamophobia does not end there for South Carolina's legislators: State Sen. Lee Bright (R-Spartanberg), who accuses U.S. Sen. Lindsey Graham (R-SC) of being a “community organizer for the Muslim Brotherhood” because the senator accompanied U.S. Sen. John

McCain (R-Ariz.) on a diplomatic trip to Egypt, is now sponsoring his own “Anti-Foreign Law” bill (SB101), which will carry over into 2016. According to Bright; “We got to be careful about who we let into this country, a lot of these folks from terrorist nations are coming in on student visas, and we shouldn’t allow it.” Bright views immigrants crossing the Southern border illegally as “an invasion,” fearing their potential connections with the Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>30</sup>

In 2015, Sen. Janna Taylor (R-District 6) introduced Montana’s first anti-Islam bill. In a recording of the proceedings, Sen. Taylor specifically mentioned the threat of “sharia law.”<sup>31</sup>

### **Tennessee’s Anti-Islam No-Go Zone Bill**

Senator Ketron (R-Murfreesboro) and Rep. Susan Lynn (R-Wilson) introduced companion bills SB 1040 and HB 1141 in the early part of 2015. The bills would have required the state’s “Attorney General and Reporter to report to the Department of Justice that a no-go zone exists within the political subdivisions of the state” and require “the Attorney General to take all necessary steps to eliminate the no-go zone to enforce compliance with state and federal law.”

The bills are based upon a discredited and widely ridiculed claim that Muslims in Europe have set up so-called no go zones that people of other faiths and police are not allowed to enter. In January 2015, Fox News was forced to apologize several times on-air for a no-go zone claim made by self-proclaimed terrorism expert Steven Emerson.

Sen. Ketron has a well-documented history of supporting anti-Muslim legislation and making biased comments that have drawn negative attention to the Tennessee General Assembly. Among his many anti-immigrant, anti-Muslim statements and initiatives, he is best known for the following:

- In 2013, Ketron promoted another non-existent anti-Muslim controversy when he raised concerns that a mop sink in the state capitol building might actually be a facility for Muslim religious ablutions.
- In 2012, Senator Ketron introduced The Putting Tennessee First Act. According to the Tennessean, Senator Ketron introduced the bill after “A conservative group ... warned of the growing influence of Islam” and that it “would limit how many legal immigrants charter schools can hire,” which drew opposition from many charter school and immigrant groups.

- In 2011, Sen. Ketron introduced Senate Bill 1028, the Material Support to Designated Entities Act. As introduced, it would have essentially made it illegal to be a Muslim and outlawed the practice of Islam in the state of Tennessee.

**Irving, Texas' Anti-Islam bill**

The city council in Irving, Texas, considered an anti-Islam bill after Mayor Beth Van Duyne alleged that local Muslims sought separate laws and courts.<sup>32</sup> According to local reporting on the issue, “The mayor provided no evidence and later acknowledged she had not spoken to local Islamic organizers.”



# Targeting Students and Education

At least two states, Florida and Tennessee, have passed laws revising the way they approve textbooks for classroom use as a direct result of anti-Islam campaigns. In many instances, teachers simply informing students of the tenets of Islam's central belief system generated backlash and allegations of attempts to indoctrinate students to become Muslims.

## California Report on Bullying

In October 2015, CAIR-California released “Misabeled: The Impact of Bullying and Discrimination on California Muslim Students.” The report states that 55% of Muslim students in that state have been subject to at least one form of religion-based bullying. This is twice as high as the national average of students reporting being bullied at school.

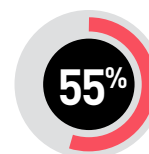
The report also found that more male students reported experiencing bullying than female students; however, the percentage of females who reported experiencing discrimination by a teacher or administrator was slightly higher. Additionally, of the female respondents who wear a hijab, the Islamic headscarf, 29% reported being offensively touched by another student, and 27% reported being discriminated by their teacher.

Furthermore, American Muslim youth identified student-teacher relations as needing improvement. Notably, the percentage of students who felt comfortable discussing Islam or Muslims in the classroom dropped from 80% in 2012 to 76% in 2014.

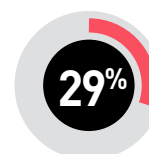
## Introductory Religion, World History Textbooks Accused of Bias

In *Legislating Fear*, it was reported that introductory religion courses were being rebranded as “culture jihad” by the U.S. Islamophobia network.

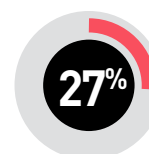
We also reported that “this form of anti-Muslim activity is frequently linked to ACT! for America, which has a textbook analysis project and produced a report titled *Education or Indoctrination: The Treatment of Islam in 6th Through 12th Grade American Textbooks*.”



percent of California Muslim students have been subjected to religion-based bullying



percent of California Muslim hijab wearing students reported being offensively touched by another student.



percent of California Muslim hijab wearing students reported being discriminated by their teacher.

**Note:**

The five pillars of Islam are considered the key tenets of the faith. They are:

1. the profession of faith, “There is no God but God and Muhammad is God’s prophet.”
2. five times daily prayer.
3. giving charity.
4. fasting from sunrise to sunset during the month of Ramadan.
5. making pilgrimage to Mecca at least once for those who are physically and financially capable.

Learning these pillars is central to understanding the faith’s differences from religious traditions that are more familiar to most Americans. Knowing the pillars is in no way considered adopting the faith.

Another group linked to efforts to censor Islam from school textbooks is the Tennessee-based Proclaiming Justice to the Nations. According to a flyer announcing a PJTN sponsored event, the organization has been mobilizing against, “instructional material being used to indoctrinate children into Islam, not merely teaching its history but its religious tenets.”<sup>33</sup>

Generally, texts were accused of containing too much information on Islam compared to other faiths. Textbooks often include additional material on subjects, such as Islam, to which children growing up in the United States may not receive much exposure. Additionally, introductions to the tenets of different faiths may occur at different times during a child’s education; for instance in some places Christianity and Judaism are covered in middle school, while Islam is covered in high school. As a result, the high school text would likely contain more information about Islam.

**Alabama**

Representatives of the Eagle Forum of Alabama and the Birmingham chapter of Act! for America objected to social studies books used in that state. Among their concerns were that in the textbooks there was “no mention of (Jesus’) virgin birth or of His Deity as the Son of God.”<sup>34</sup> State Superintendent of Education Tommy Bice reviewed the textbooks, and in January 2014 the board approved the books for use.

**California**

Middle-school parents and others challenged the Manhattan Beach Unified School District’s Islam curriculum during a board meeting in December 2014.<sup>35</sup>

The concerns emerged after a seventh grader showed his homework on the subject to his parents. The student’s worksheet included questions like, “what are some of the teachings of the Quran,” “What is the sunna,” “What is a mosque,” and “what are some common features of mosques?”<sup>36</sup> The student’s mother, Judy Diethelm, told the gathering, “He had to write down ‘Allah is the one true God.’ The curriculum being presented is indoctrination, and we are opposed to this.”

Diethelm told a reporter that she was working with attorney Bill Becker, who is reported to be active on opposing Islam in Tennessee textbooks, in considering a lawsuit.

During the board meeting, Steve Amundson said, “Mein Kampf reads like

a love story compared to the Quran. I propose Islam be removed from the curriculum. It's more akin to Nazism than a religion.”<sup>37</sup>

A pair of protestors outside the hearing held signs that read “Stop teaching Islam” and “No Islam en la escuela [sic].” The pair distributed fliers reading, “TEACHING ISLAM WITHOUT WARNING LABELS IS LIKE STORING DRAINAGE IN A SUGAR BOWL.”

Ultimately, no changes were made to the curriculum.

## Florida

In Florida, the Prentice-Hall high school level textbook World History was targeted as biased by anti-Islam groups in several school districts. Responding to the incident in Volusia County, State Senator Alan Hays (R-District 11) offered legislation that would remove the state’s review and short-listing of textbooks and instead leave the entire process in the hands of local school boards. A less extreme version of the bill, which makes the district school board responsible for selecting instructional materials but leaves in place the option to choose from a state-adopted list, became law in May 2014.<sup>38</sup>

### ■ Brevard County, Fla.

In 2013, a textbook was approved for use after a challenge that appears to have originated from Citizens for National Security and the Space Coast chapter of ACT! for America.<sup>39</sup> However, the school board insisted that a supplemental text with additional information be provided. School board members made some troubling statements during the process, including Michael Krupp who said, “The subtlety of words, especially knowing the Islamic goals for the world, is such that they want to take over. That has been announced time and again.” In an article published on November 3, 2013, Florida Today described the ten-member committee’s makeup: “At times, Sayyed Bashir, the one Muslim on the committee, said he felt the bias of some volunteers: The tendency to overgeneralize his faith, to attribute goals of some sects as the beliefs of all. The committee consists of parents, community leaders, former teachers and retired military officers. Three had studied Islamic history extensively, two for self-published novels about Islamic terrorists and worldwide Jihad.”

### ■ Charlotte County, Fla.

In January 2015, about 100 adults led by Florida’s Charlotte/Desoto chapter of ACT! For America protested a world history book that included material on Islam used by the Charlotte County school district. “It’s



Alan Hays

Florida State Senator



Brevard County  
Florida



Charlotte County  
Florida

disturbing to me we have things in textbooks that are stirring children toward Islam and away from Christianity,” tea party activist David Morris told the Charlotte Sun.<sup>40</sup>

#### ■ **Marion County, Fla.**

Randy Osborne, chairman of Florida’s Marion County Republican Party, supported the removal of books in 2013 saying, “We came from a Judeo-Christian country. This is the country that we live in, and for a textbook to be propagating an Islamic religion is not acceptable.”<sup>41</sup> At the time of this report’s completion, there appears to be no substantive follow-up from Osborne.



#### ■ **Volusia, Fla.**

Tony Ledbetter, chairman of the Volusia County Republican Executive Committee led a protest against the textbook. Hundreds of people said they would take part in the protest. Media reports said another protest organizer, Rick Sarmiento, wanted students to go home and tear the section on Islam out of their books, though he changed that position after it drew backlash. Local students, members of the Democratic Party, moderate Republicans, and local Muslim groups joined at a school board meeting in Deltona, Fla., to counter an organized protest against the textbook. Local students presented the board with a petition signed by some 500 classmates rejecting the call for censorship. Most of those who spoke at the school board meeting spoke for religious tolerance and against censoring textbooks. In 2013, the school board ultimately resisted calls to remove the book from use.



### **Tennessee**

In a February 22, 2014 article in the Tennessean, journalist Heidi Hall observed, “A fight over content in Tennessee’s social studies textbooks is part of an emerging national effort by groups who believe God commands Christians to support the nation of Israel and that Islamic radicals are the biggest problem in America.”

That fight, which erupted in several counties, saw Laurie Cardoza-Moore visit her state legislator Glen Casada (R-Franklin).

Cardoza-Moore leads Tennessee-based Proclaiming Justice to the Nations, a group that “educates media professionals, Christian leaders and Christians around the world about the biblical responsibilities to act against the ‘new anti-Semitism.’” According to the group’s web site, “PJTN was founded in 2001 in response to 9/11. As Americans learned more about the



suicide-bombers who ended the lives of over 3,000 people that day, we came to understand that this sort of evil wasn't 'new' – it just had never impacted us in America so directly.”<sup>42</sup>

Cardoza-Moore, in part, alleges that a range of Tennessee textbooks violate the constitution by “teaching the religious dogmas of one religion.”<sup>43</sup> Brietbart reports that at an event in September 2015, “Cordoza-Moore said that some of the textbooks being used in American schools actually violate the Establishment Clause of the U.S. Constitution because they tend to favor the establishment of the religion of Islam over all others.”<sup>44</sup>

Not long after meeting with Cardoza-Moore, Casada introduced a bill that alters the way a state textbook and instructional materials quality commission is composed. On May 22, 2014, Governor Bill Haslam signed Public Chapter No. 981 into law.<sup>45</sup>

Cardoza-Moore is not alone in her objections to Islam's presence in textbooks.

According to an article on the ACT! for America – Jonesboro, Arkansas site, parents in Rutherford County Tenn. were upset by what was deemed an “overwhelming amount of text dedicated to Islam” and the “sheer propaganda [and] indoctrination of Islamic content” in a middle school textbook.<sup>46</sup>

In September 2015 Maury County parents objected to students writing out Islam's profession of faith, one of the five key tenets of Islam crucial for students to understand the faith's beliefs, “There is no God but Allah. Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.”<sup>47</sup>

Writing in a local paper, Lisa Moore of ACT! for America opined, “If you're OK with your children/grandchildren being taught extreme Islamic Bias and indoctrination ... ignore the fact that your children's minds are being stolen right out from under your nose and it is all indeed part of the grand design to bring this country and everything it stands for to its knees.”<sup>48</sup> Moore was also a plaintiff in a lawsuit targeting a local Islamic center.

*In September 2015 Maury County parents objected to students writing out Islam's profession of faith, one of the five key tenets of Islam crucial for students to understand the faith's beliefs, “There is no God but Allah. Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.”*

### **Texas**

In 2014, the Texas State Board of Education approved a set of textbooks, some of which contained “revisions of passages that had promoted unfair negative stereotypes of Muslims” according to the Texas Freedom Network.<sup>49</sup> The group Truth in Texas Textbooks had worked to insert material that portrays Islam in a negative or misrepresentative light. Truth in Texas Textbooks is led by former Lt. Col. Roy White. White's LinkedIn profile, which uses the same photo as that on the TTT web site, identifies him as the chapter coordinator for ACT! for America's San Antonio chapter.<sup>50</sup>

### **Other instances of anti-Islam sentiment relating to education**

In October 2014, it was reported that some parents in Revere, Mass. were angry when they learned that students were being taught about Islam. One parent took offense to a section of his son's textbook, which reads, “I bear witness that there is no God but Allah,” taken from the Islamic call to prayer. “That's insulting to me, as a Christian who just believes in Jesus only,” the parent complained, despite the fact that the textbook was simply listing the tenets of Islam's central belief system.<sup>51</sup>

In February 2015, the Islamic School of Rhode Island in West Warwick, R.I., was vandalized with anti-Muslim slurs spray-painted on the school, including “Now this is a hate crime” and “pigs,” along with expletives referring to Islam's Prophet Muhammad and to “Allah.”<sup>52</sup>

U.S. Rep. Walter Jones (R-N.C.) came out against a National Endowment for the Humanities (NEA) grant of the “Bridging Cultures Bookshelf: Muslim Journeys” to North Carolina's Craven Community College. The grant was twenty-five books and three films that covered various aspects of Islam and Muslims. In a letter, Jones wrote, “It is appalling to me that a federal agency like the NEA is wasting taxpayer money on programs like this.” Jones added, “It makes zero sense for the U.S. government to borrow money from China in order to promote ‘the rich cultural heritage of Islamic civilizations.’” Jones urged the college to accept a donation of similar books on Christianity. This request makes it clear that his concern was less about China and more about the subject matter of the Muslim Journey's grant.<sup>53</sup>

When students at a Colorado high school translated the Pledge of Allegiance into Arabic and recited it for the student body, it generated hate calls and threats from parents. Translations of the pledge into French and Spanish had previously been recited to students without incident. Principal Tom Lopez said that he was being worn down by “how intense their sense of hate has been.”<sup>54</sup>

Parents of students in Daphne High School in Daphne, Ala. opposed an Arabic language class, because they claimed it would cause students to learn a “culture of hate.” One parent was concerned because “[Arabic] is not just another language; it is a language of a religion of hate.” Another parent said, “[Arabic] culture is intertwined with Islam.”<sup>55</sup>

A display introducing the Islam’s five pillars to elementary school students in Wichita, Kan. was removed after critics circulated a photo of the display titled “Prepare to take America back” on Facebook and conservative blogs. Critics also claimed the school had banned Christian prayer but a spokesperson for Wichita public schools said students have the right to “engage in private prayer or religious activities.”<sup>56</sup> The display was part of a curriculum on world religions including Christianity, Judaism, and Hinduism, and the school had used the curriculum previously. Kansas State Lawmaker Rep.

Dennis Hedke (R-Wichita) said he was appalled by the display and added, “If you’re going to talk about Islam and make it sound like it’s another one of those religions that needs to be understood and contemplated by mankind, there’s a serious misunderstanding.”<sup>57</sup>

A scheduled talk about Islam to inform students of the faith’s central beliefs by a Muslim at Sheridan Middle School in Sheridan, Ark. was canceled after community members complained. Explaining her opposition to the presentation, Kathy Wallace told a local newspaper, “Since that nationality was responsible for 9/11, we just didn’t feel like it was right for him to come speak on 9/11 to the American children.”<sup>58</sup>

Jo Lynn Haussmann, a member of the Keller Board of Education in Texas, posted a comment on Facebook in which she criticized people in South Lake, Texas, for not voting which, she stated, led to a Muslim being voted onto the City Council. “Do you realize because SO FEW voters took the time and responsibility to VOTE in the municipal elections – YOU NOW HAVE A ‘MUSLIM’ on the City Council!!!! WHAT A SHAME!!!!!!” Haussmann wrote in the post.<sup>59</sup>

*“Do you realize because SO FEW voters took the time and responsibility to VOTE in the municipal elections – YOU NOW HAVE A ‘MUSLIM’ on the City Council!!!! WHAT A SHAME!!!!!!”*  
- Jo Lynn Haussmann



In April, 2015, a teacher at Foster High School in Richmond, Texas passed out virulently anti-Muslim materials in class.<sup>60</sup> The materials contained claims such as: “Both Jesus and Paul warned that after they were gone many false prophets would come. Muhammad is simply one of them ...”

Other misinformation in the teacher’s handouts included:

- “Islam is more of an ideology than a religion. It is also an ideology of war ...”
- [Islam forces] its ideology on cultures and ultimately on the world through propaganda, subversion, and even physical force when it is deemed necessary, one area of the world at a time.”
- “You will either give into their demands recognizing Islam's 'noble' rule, you will become a Muslim yourself, or you will die.”
- “[Muslims believe] All governments – except Islam – should be overthrown.”
- “... everyone will be brought under the yoke of Islam, willingly or unwillingly.”
- “... even though generally Islamic followers will say that the ‘believe’ in Jesus and respect Him and the Bible, in fact, neither is really true.”

### Sample Cases of Bullying

A teacher in Clark County School District in Las Vegas, Nev. was quoted as telling a student, “This is America, and if you can’t stand for the pledge of Allegiance in my class, you can go back to Iraq.” The student in question was wearing a leg brace at the time of the incident and unable to stand without pain. The teacher was reprimanded.<sup>61</sup>

In March 2014, a substitute teacher in Grand Rapids, Mich. scolded a sixth-grade student for nearly an hour, calling him names like “terrorist” with a “stupid” and “fake” religion after hearing him talk about his religion with a classmate. Following this incident, the teacher told her class to stay away from another Muslim student, who began to cry. The teacher responded by claiming that the student’s tears were fake. The teacher was sued by the former student’s family.<sup>62</sup>



In March 2015, a teacher at Cypress Bay High School in Fort Lauderdale, Fla. called a Muslim student a “raghead Taliban.” News reports indicate the teacher admitted calling the student names on several occasions. The teacher was suspended for five days.<sup>63</sup>

In October 2014, a teacher at Parkdale High School in Riverdale, Md., allegedly told students at the school that all Muslims are terrorists who “will kill you.” He also allegedly continued: “You guys did 9/11.” The teacher denied making a derogatory remark.<sup>64</sup>





# Targeting Mosques

More mosque incidents were recorded in 2015 than in any year since we started keeping this tally in 2009. 2015 accounted for the most ever cases in both the Damage, Destruction, Vandalism category and the Intimidation category, adding weight to assertions that the most recent cycle of Islamophobia is characterized by its violent tone.

The last significant spike in mosque incidents was 2010, when the controversy over the Park 51 Islamic Cultural Center became an election issue. That cycle of Islamophobia was characterized by efforts to prevent the expansion or construction of mosques.

November and December 2015 tied at 17 for the most incidents in one month since we started tracking this information in 2009. In November, all but two of those incidents occurred in the wake of the November 13 Paris terror attacks. In December, all of the incidents occurred after the December 3 San Bernardino terror attack.

*More mosque incidents were recorded in 2015 than in any year since we started keeping this tally in 2009.*

No comparable spike was observed following the January 7, 2015 Paris terror attacks, with 5 incidents occurring the entire month of January.

That both the 2010 spike in incidents and the late 2015 spike both occurred when Islam was an election campaign issue lends additional weight to the argument that “levels of anti-Muslim sentiment follow trends in domestic U.S. politics, not international terrorism.”<sup>65</sup> By November 2015, Islam was a central issue in the 2016 presidential campaign. In December 2015, this focus was magnified when GOP frontrunner candidate Donald Trump put forward a policy proposal that would ban all Muslims from entering the United States.

**DDV:** Incidents involving property damage, destruction, or vandalism.

**Harassment:** Demonstrations or acts that involve Islamophobic slurs.

**Intimidation:** Threats of violence or other acts not involving property damage that are apparently intended to cause fear in those targeted by the act. This category includes armed anti-Islam demonstrations, brandishing weapons and placing severed pig's heads on mosque property.

**Zoning:** Islamophobic issues raised during zoning proceedings. We include an incident in the zoning category only if bias is clearly identified in zoning proceedings. Places of worship of many faiths routinely face opposition from neighbors due to traffic or land use concerns. Incidents where no overt bias is independently identified are not including in our counts.

In 2015, the number of incidents are alarmingly high.

It is highly likely that the numbers below significantly underreport the actual number of incidents. Our incidents are collected from news searches and incidents reported to CAIR. Conversations with local community leaders often reveal that they do not report mosque incidents to media, CAIR or law enforcement.

Table 3: Mosque Incidents by Year and Type

Year	DDV*	Harassment	Intimidation	Zoning	Total
2015	31	11	31	5	78
2014	9	2	3	6	20
2013	13	2	4	3	22
2012	14	3	3	9	29
2011	13	3	4	2	22
2010	18	10	10	15	53
2009	10	1	0	2	13

\*Damage, destruction, or vandalism

Table 4: Mosque Incidents by State, Year

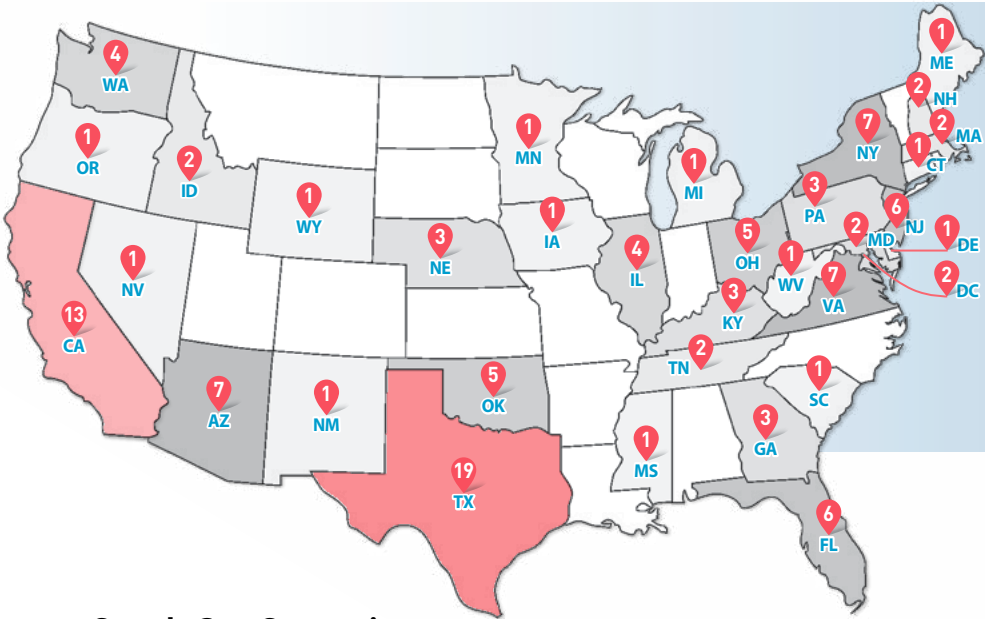
State	2013	2014	2015
Alabama			
Alaska			
Arizona		1	6
Arkansas			
California	3	4	6
Colorado			
Connecticut			1
Delaware	1		
Florida	1		5
Georgia	1	1	1
Hawaii			
Idaho		1	1
Illinois		1	3
Indiana			
Iowa			1
Kansas			
Kentucky			3

State	2013	2014	2015
Louisiana			
Maine			1
Maryland			2
Massachusetts	1		1
Michigan			1
Minnesota	1		
Mississippi		1	
Missouri			
Montana			
Nebraska			3
Nevada			1
New Hampshire	2		
New Jersey	2	1	3
New Mexico		1	
New York	3	2	2
North Carolina			
North Dakota			

State	2013	2014	2015
Ohio			5
Oklahoma	2	1	2
Oregon			1
Pennsylvania		1	2
Rhode Island			
South Carolina	1		
South Dakota			
Tennessee			2
Texas	2	2	15
Utah			
Vermont			
Virginia	1	1	5
Washington		2	2
West Virginia	1		
Wisconsin			
Wyoming			1
District of Columbia			2



2013-2015 Anti-Mosque Acts by State



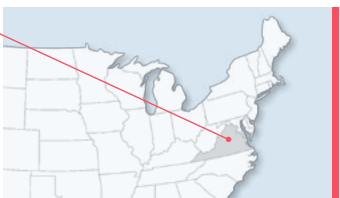
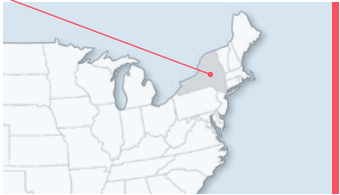
State	Total Incidents in State 2013-2015
Texas	19
California	13
New York, Virginia, Arizona	7
Florida, New Jersey	6
Oklahoma, Ohio	5
Washington, Illinois	4
Georgia, Kentucky, Nebraska, Pennsylvania	3
Idaho, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Tennessee, District of Columbia	2
Connecticut, Delaware, Iowa, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, South Carolina, West Virginia, Wyoming	1

Sample Case Summaries

**Queens, N.Y., April 2013** - A worshiper who had just left Masjid al-Saaliheen was followed by a suspect “who then pulled up beside him in an SUV and flashed a firearm while shouting death threats and anti-Muslim statements, according to police.”<sup>66</sup> [Intimidation]

**Victoria, Texas, July 2013** - A vandal spray-painted “H8,” a symbol used in white supremacist circles as shorthand for “hate,” on the Victoria Islamic Center.<sup>67</sup> [DDV]

**Virginia Beach, Va., September 2013** - City Councilman Bill DeSteph alleged that a proposed mosque posed a threat to national security and said “he had information linking the Muslim Brotherhood to the mosque but would not say what the connection was or how he obtained the information.”<sup>68</sup> It was later revealed that DeSteph was relying on a 25-slide PowerPoint presentation produced by ACT! for America, a group in the inner core of the U.S. Islamophobia network.<sup>69</sup> Residents opposed to the mosque crowded a city council hearing. “We do not want mosques in Virginia Beach. Personally, I don’t want them anywhere,” said Roger Dadiomoff, who got a cheer from the crowd for his comments.<sup>70</sup> Resident Atwood Brooks wrote, “It is well known that mosques are the recruiting and training ground for radical Islamists and terrorists.” Audience members threatened to work to remove any council members who voted in favor of the mosque construction plan from office. The council voted 9-1 in favor of the plan.<sup>71</sup> [Zoning]





**Myrtle Beach, S.C., September 2013** - A man drove his car into the parking area of the Grand Strand Islamic Center and made several biased statements.<sup>72</sup> He also asked a member of the worship center what the building was. After receiving an answer, he “asked whether or not the member had killed anyone that day.” **[Harassment]**



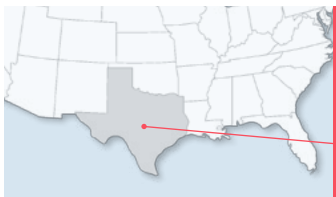
**Princeton, W.Va., December 2013** - Hate graffiti making obscene references to “Allah,” the Arabic word for God, was sprayed on the Islamic Society of Appalachian Region. **[DDV]**



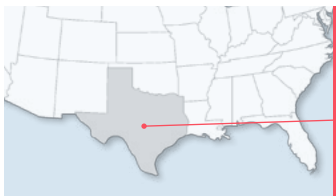
**Brooklyn, N.Y., July 2014** - Witnesses say that a car drove by the Tayba Islamic Center, and the driver yelled remarks such as “This is for your Allah” and threw eggs at several congregants who were dressed in traditional Muslim attire.<sup>73</sup> **[Harassment]**



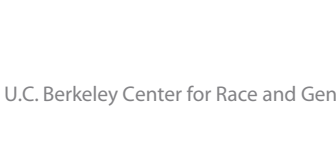
**Midland Park, N.J., July 2014** - During a land-use hearing considering an application to convert an old church into a mosque, a resident yelled “Build the mosque in your town!” at a Muslim man from a neighboring town. Another commented: “I don’t care if they worship their God, just not in our town.” There was another man holding a sign that read “Stop Application” and “Keep R Kids Safe.”<sup>74</sup> **[Zoning]**



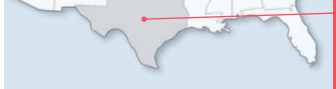
**San Diego, Calif., October 2014** - A threatening letter with an unknown substance was sent to the Islamic Center of San Diego. The letter referred to the substance as a “DEATH sentence.”<sup>75</sup> **[Intimidation]**



**Coachella, Calif., November 2014** - Shots were fired at the Islamic Society of the Coachella Valley. According to local law enforcement authorities, the mosque was occupied at the time of the attack, but no one was injured.<sup>76</sup> A local news crew counted six bullet holes in the mosque and a car parked outside.<sup>77</sup> **[DDV]**



**Richardson, Texas, January 2015** - A group of demonstrators led by Ruben Israel of Bible Believers carried signs and yelled through a bullhorn at Muslims attending prayers at the Islamic Association of North Texas. “Islam is filled with murder,” Israel yelled and added, “How many of you Muslims are terrorists?”<sup>78</sup> **[Harassment]**

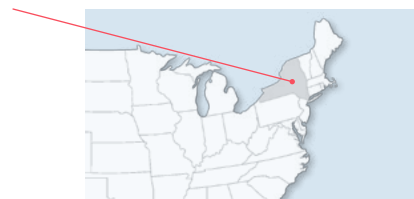


**Houston, Texas, February 2015** - The Quba Islamic Institute was damaged by a fire that was deliberately set. Darryl Ferguson was later arrested for the crime.<sup>79</sup> During his arraignment prosecutors reported that Ferguson had

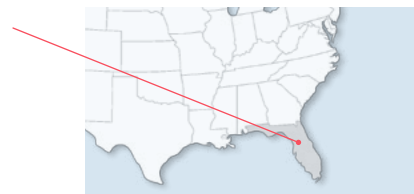
told a store clerk that he “hated Muslims, they got what they deserved, and things happen for a reason.”<sup>80</sup> [DDV]

**Hancock, N.Y., April 2015** - Robert Doggert was arrested and later indicted on a charge of “soliciting another person to attack [a] mosque.” Doggert “was recorded on a wiretapped phone talking about his plan to travel along with members of a private militia to an area near Hancock, New York, known as Islamberg, to burn down a mosque, school and cafeteria, while gunning down anyone from the community who tried to stop them.” According to court documents, Doggert had written “We shall be Warriors who will inflict horrible numbers of casualties upon the enemies of our Nation and World Peace.” Doggert was later released. [Intimidation]

*Note: Hancock is the location of Dogget’s target, he was arrested elsewhere.*

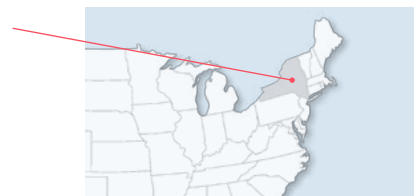


**Kendall, Fla., September 2015** - Worshippers arriving for Eid prayers at the Islamic School of Miami, which is also identified as a mosque, found a ceramic skull, bouquets of flowers like those used at funerals, and other objects.<sup>81</sup> Henri Thomas Borno was later arrested by police. According to police Borno, “has a strong desire to harm the individuals at the [mosque] based on their religious beliefs.”<sup>82</sup> [Intimidation]

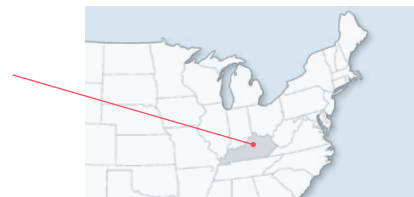


**Albion, N.Y., September 2015** - Three young men burned three crosses on the lawn of the World Sufi Mosque Foundation.<sup>83</sup> [DDV]

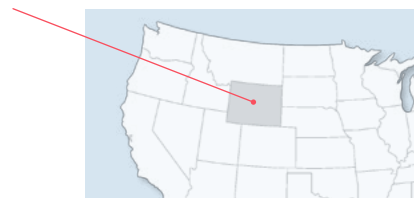
*Note: John Ritzheimer’s Global Rally for Humanity occurred in October 2015. Ritzheimer had called for demonstrations in front of mosques worldwide. None of the very few actual demonstrations that took place merited inclusion in this print report. For more details on Ritzheimer and the rallies see the “armed anti-Islam demonstrations” section of this report.*

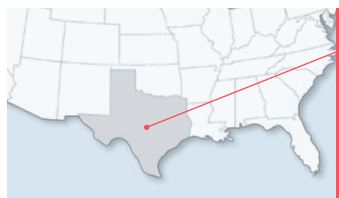


**Lexington, Ky., November 2015** - The Islamic Center of Lexington received an email which stated: “I’m going to kill everyone I there [sic] you Muslim f\*\*ks. Salabis is coming for you.”<sup>84</sup> Anthony Catapano subsequently turned himself in and was charged with third-degree terroristic threatening.<sup>85</sup> [Intimidation]

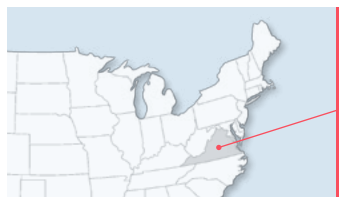


**Gillette, Wyo., November 2015** - Bret Colvin and his Stop Islam in Gillette group protested at the Queresha Masjid. The group’s Facebook page asserts that its goal is to “Stop the Islam invasion sponsored by Matt Mead and Barrack (sic) Obama. Remove the mosque and Islam school from Gillette.”<sup>86</sup> According to Colvin, “There’s no version of this story that ends with the Muslims in Gillette.” [Harassment]





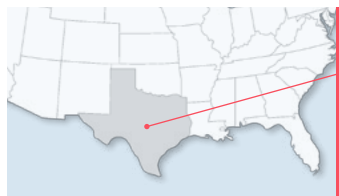
**Irving, Texas, November, 2015** - A group of demonstrators calling themselves the Bureau of American Islamic Relations (BAIR) held an armed anti-Islam demonstration outside the Islamic Center of Irving. One of the demonstrator's signs read, "Stop the Islamization of American." This may be a reference to the campaign of the same name launched by inner core staple Pamela Geller. Responding to a reporter's question, a spokesperson for BAIR said, "We do want to show force. ...It would be ridiculous to protest Islam without defending ourselves."<sup>87</sup> **[Intimidation]**



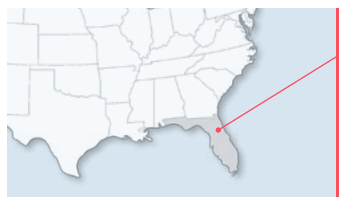
**Falls Church, VA, November, 2015** - Chester Gore left a fake explosive device at the Dar al-Hijrah Islamic Center and caused \$200 in damage to the mosque's front gate. Gore was charged with using a hoax explosive device and entering a property to cause damage based on religious conviction.<sup>88</sup> **[DDV]**



**Meriden, Conn., November 2015** - Shots were fired into the Baitul Aman Mosque. No one was in the facility at the time and the damaged was discovered later.<sup>89</sup> Ted Hakey Jr., a former Marine, was subsequently arrested and charged with the crime. According to local reporting, "Hakey lives next door to the mosque and fired several rounds using his high-powered rifle." Hakey's Facebook account featured messages such as "I hate Muslims" and "Kill all Muslims." **[DDV]**



**Austin, Texas, November 2015** - Vandals targeted the Islamic Center of Pflugerville covering the door of the mosque in feces and tearing pages of the Quran and throwing them to the ground.<sup>90</sup> **[DDV]**



**St. Petersburg, Fla., November 2015** - A voicemail threat was left at the Islamic Center of St. Petersburg just hours after the Paris terror attacks. The caller said in part: "We are tired of your [expletive] and I [expletive] personally have a militia that is going to come down to your Islamic Society of Pinellas County and firebomb you and shoot whoever is there in the head. I don't care if they are [expletive] two-years-old or 100." Authorities later arrested Martin Alan Schnitzler in relation to the threat.<sup>91</sup> **[Intimidation]**

**Philadelphia, Penn., December, 2015** - A severed pig's head was left outside the Al Aqsa Islamic Society.<sup>92</sup> [Intimidation]

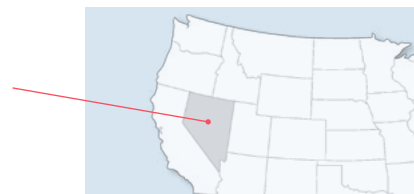
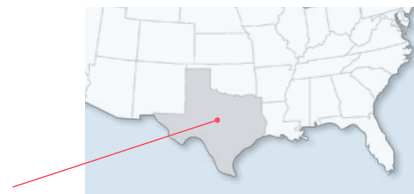
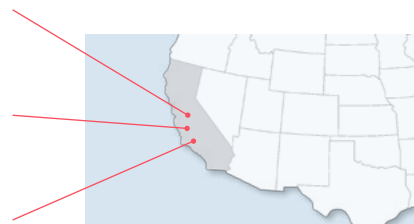
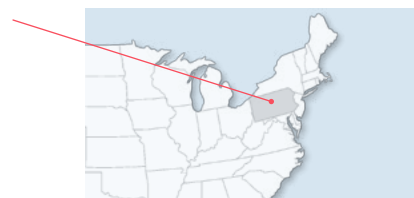
**Coachella, Calif., December, 2015** - Shortly before a prayer service, the Islamic Society at the Coachella Valley was firebombed. First responders contained the fire in the lobby, but smoke from the fire damaged the rest of the building.<sup>93</sup> Carl Dial was later arrested and charged with arson, commission of a hate crime and burglary.<sup>94</sup> [DDV]

**Hawthorne, Calif., December, 2015** - Police were informed that the words "Jesus is the way" were scrawled on the Islamic Center of Hawthorne.<sup>95</sup> [DDV]

**Richmond, Calif., December 2015** - William Celli yelled "I'm going to kill you all." at congregants of the Islamic Society of West Contra Costa County after a prayer service. He was subsequently arrested after he posted a photo of a pipe bomb on social media.<sup>96</sup> Celli "pleaded not guilty to charges of making a criminal threat with a hate crime enhancement" and was later released while awaiting trial.<sup>97</sup> [Intimidation]

**Richardson, Texas, December, 2015** - David Wright and the Bureau of American Islamic Relations held an armed anti-Islam demonstration at the Islamic Association of North Texas.<sup>98</sup> [Intimidation]

**Las Vegas, Nev., December 2015** - Someone wrapped raw bacon around the door handles of Masjid-e-Tawheed.<sup>99</sup> [Harassment]



**Note:** Cases are identified by the location of the targeted mosque. When that is not available, we use the location of the suspect's arrest. Only a portion of the recorded cases are presented here, for the full list see [www.islamophobia.org](http://www.islamophobia.org).



# Hate Crimes and Discrimination

## Studies and Statistics

In February 2015, the Washington Post published a review of FBI statistics tracking hates crimes against Muslims and concluded that such incidents are occurring at a rate “roughly five times higher than the pre-9/11 rate.”<sup>100</sup>

Two studies conducted by the University of Connecticut found that employers “are demonstrably less likely” to respond to resumes in which the applicant lists a faith affiliation, with Islam being “far and away” the faith group employers least wanted to engage.<sup>101</sup>



The funeral service of Deah Barakat, Yusor Abu-Salha and Razan Abu-Salha in Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Craig Stephen Hicks confessed to murdering the three students.

## Cycles of Intensity

In the past, CAIR has observed that Islamophobia in America goes through cycles of intensity.

The 2010 controversy over Park 51, a planned Islamic cultural center in lower Manhattan, was the last observed peak in anti-Islam activity. It was characterized by efforts to oppose the construction or expansion of Islamic places of worship across the nation.

Another cycle appears to have started after Daesh murdered two Americans in Syria and then intensified after the Kouachi brothers attacked the offices of Charlie Hebdo magazine in Paris in February 2015.

This more recent outburst is characterized by its violent tone. Information through July 2015 is documented in *Toxic Hate* and will not be repeated here. See the Additional Resources section in this report to locate *Toxic Hate*. Backlash resulting from the November 2015 Paris attacks was ongoing at the time this report was finalized and will be compiled in a subsequent report.



# Islamophobic Media

## Unbalanced News Reporting

A study published in the *Journal of Communication* in December 2014 found that “Viewers of national television news see far more images of Muslims as domestic terrorists and Latinos as immigrant lawbreakers than is actually the case in statistics.” The study’s author “found that among those described as domestic terrorists in the news reports, 81 percent were identifiable as Muslims. Yet in FBI reports from those years, only 6 percent of domestic terror suspects were Muslim.”<sup>102</sup>

As noted in the strategy section of this report, in September 2015, Media Tenor, a group that focuses on statistical evaluation of media data, observed that “Fourteen years after the September 11 terrorist attacks, U.S. TV news audiences continue to receive high levels of reports about terrorism while news coverage as a whole frames Muslims in an extremely negative light.”<sup>103</sup>

A number of media outlets feature in the U.S. Islamophobia network, and more detail on the stereotypes they advance can be found at [Islamophobia.org](http://Islamophobia.org). For this report, we will focus on case studies of a select few incidents observed in recent years.

## ABC Family Channel’s *Alice in Arabia*

The ABC Family Channel decided not to produce a series called “*Alice in Arabia*” after negative stereotypes in the series’ pilot script drew criticism. According to BuzzFeed, the show “broadly plays on a familiar narrative of a beautiful girl kidnapped from the United States by sinister Arabs, held against her will in the desert, and threatened with early marriage.” The script’s reviewer went on to write, “At one point, the heroine generically describes Muslim social views — the opposition to drinking, for instance — as ‘extreme.’ The script also describes veiled Muslim women as ‘completely formless, anonymous.’ One sympathetic female character, in describing her lavish Riyadh home, lauds it as ‘worth having to wear a silly veil while outside.’”<sup>104</sup>

## Clarion Fund’s *Honor Diaries*

*Honor Diaries* is a documentary that, according to its creators is “meant to inspire viewers to learn more about issues facing women in Muslim-majority societies, and to act for change.”



National television portrays Muslims as domestic terrorists.

The enormous importance of eradicating violence against women from all societies is undermined by the agenda of the film's executive producers, anti-Islam activists Ayaan Hirsi Ali and Raphael Shore. Hirsi Ali has a reputation for anti-Muslim and anti-Constitution rhetoric. Shore is a key member of the Clarion Project team.



Ayaan Hirsi Ali

Activist,  
Author

During the course of a single 2007 interview with Reason Magazine, Ali said “I think that we are at war with Islam” and called for Islam to be “defeated.” Later in the interview, Ali suggested that the U.S. Constitution should be amended to allow for discrimination against Muslims saying, “There were no Muslim schools when the constitution was written. There were no jihadists.”<sup>105</sup> In 2014, Brandeis University withdrew its invitation to Ali to receive an honorary degree at commencement ceremonies. In its statement announcing the withdrawal of Ali's invitation, the university said “We cannot overlook that certain of her past statements are inconsistent with Brandeis University's core values.”

The Clarion Project (formerly the Clarion Fund) is a nonprofit group that produces and distributes anti-Muslim propaganda films such as *Obsession: Radical Islam's War Against the West* and *The Third Jihad: Radical Islam's Vision for America*.



Jeff VanDenBerg

Director of Middle  
East Studies,  
Drury University

Jeff VanDenBerg, director of Middle East studies at Drury University, called *Obsession* “a blatant piece of anti-Muslim propaganda.” Dr. Khaleel Mohammed, a Muslim interviewee for *Obsession*, now calls the production a “vile piece of propaganda.” The Endowment for Middle East Truth (EMET), a pro-Israel think tank, also pulled its support of the project.



Ray Kelly

Former New York  
Police Commissioner

Third Jihad made headlines in 2011 after revelations that it was used in officer training by the New York Police Department. Following these revelations, Police Commissioner Ray Kelly called the film “wacky” and “objectionable.” Deputy Commissioner Paul Browne said, “[The Third Jihad] was reviewed and found to be inappropriate.”

## Real Time with Bill Maher

Maher acts as the liberal counterpart to Fox News when it comes to broad-brush attacks on Islam.

While discussing Boko Haram's kidnapping of a large number of female students in 2014, Maher asserted, "There's no mention here of connecting this to the religion, which is always what I am seeking to do because I think that's the elephant in the room. And that in the religion at large, women are seen as property, second-class at best, often property."<sup>106</sup>

ThinkProgress documented a number of Maher's troubling broad-brush attacks on Islam:<sup>107</sup>

- In October of 2014, he called Islam "the only religion that acts like the mafia — that will (expletive) kill you if you say the wrong thing, draw the wrong picture or write the wrong book."
- "The Qur'an absolutely has on every page stuff that's horrible about how the infidels should be treated."

Self-described liberal agnostic Omar Baddar observed that Maher, "insists that extremism and intolerance are problems that afflict Muslims at large, and not just 'a few bad apples.'"<sup>108</sup> In October 2014, Bill Maher made generalizations about the status and treatment of women in Islam, including terming female genital mutilation (FGM) as "an Islamic problem."<sup>109</sup>

During one discussion on the program, actor Ben Affleck criticized Maher's representation of Islam as "gross" and "racist."<sup>110</sup>



**Bill Maher**

HBO's Real Time with Bill Maher



**Omar Baddar**

Political analyst,  
Digital producer,  
Human rights  
advocate



**Ben Affleck**

American actor,  
Filmmaker



# Islamophobic Politics

Politically, the perception of Islam and Muslims continues to be reflected in party affiliation. According to a Pew survey conducted in 2014 when asked to rate Muslims on a “feeling thermometer” ranging from zero (coldest) to one-hundred (warmest), Republicans gave Muslims an average of thirty-three while Democrats gave Muslims forty-seven.<sup>130</sup> In February 2015, a Vox poll found that 54% of Republicans believe that deep down, President Obama is a Muslim.<sup>131</sup>

The following examples serve to give readers insight into the use of Islamophobia by public officials or those hoping to be elected to public office.

## 2016 Presidential candidates, the U.S. Islamophobia Network, and threats to America’s values and freedoms

Mainstreamed Islamophobic rhetoric was legion during the 2015 nomination phase of the 2016 U.S. Presidential election. This rhetoric is recorded in detail elsewhere.<sup>111</sup> Here we will focus on two specific issues: anti-constitutional statements by presidential contenders, and documented influence of U.S. Islamophobia Network groups or individuals on presidential campaigns. This section only includes candidates who have made statements or taken actions that fit in one of those two categories.

### Former Florida Governor Jeb Bush

In March 2015, Bush appointed Jordan Sekulow of the American Center for Law and Justice as a senior advisor to his Right to Rise Political Action Committee.<sup>112</sup>

### Texas Senator Ted Cruz

Cruz appointed Kevin Kookogey, the former chair of the Williamson County, Tenn. Republican Party as his 2016 Presidential Campaign’s Tennessee chair. In 2012, Kookogey oversaw the adoption of a resolution condemning Tennessee Governor Bill Haslam for appointing a Muslim lawyer to the state’s Department of Economic and Community Development.<sup>113</sup>



54% of Republicans believe that deep down, President Obama is a Muslim.  
- Vox poll



Jeb Bush

Former Florida Governor



Ted Cruz

Texas Senator



Bobby Jindal

Louisiana Governor

"As Americans, we respect human dignity, even when we're threatened, which is why I've prohibited torture, [applause] "and worked to make sure our use of new technology like drones is properly constrained [applause]. "It's why we speak out against the deplorable anti-Semitism that has resurfaced in certain parts of the world [applause].

"It's why we continue to reject offensive stereotypes of Muslims — the vast majority of whom share our commitment to peace [SILENCE].

"That's why we defend free speech, and advocate for political prisoners, and condemn the persecution of women, or religious minorities, or people who are lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender [applause]. "We do these things not only because they're right, but because they make us safer" [applause].

*- Excerpt from President Obama's 2015 State of the Union speech with annotations on applause by Sharona Coutts.<sup>129</sup> Coutts was highlighting the silence after a positive remark about Muslims when every other line was receiving applause.*

In 2015, Cruz spoke at three summits hosted by Frank Gaffney's Center for Security Policy, one in Iowa, one in Washington, DC, and one in South Carolina.<sup>114</sup> In 2013, Cruz was a guest speaker at the David Horowitz Freedom Center's Restoration Weekend Conference.

### Louisiana Governor Bobby Jindal

In early 2015, Jindal adopted the discredited claim that Muslims in Europe have set up no-go zones that people of other faiths and police are not allowed to enter.<sup>115</sup> When a journalist later pressed Jindal to provide examples of no-go zones, he could not offer specifics to support his claim. Previously, Fox News was forced to apologize several times for a similar "no-go zone" claim made by self-proclaimed terrorism 'expert' Steven Emerson, who heads the Investigative Project on Terrorism.

Jindal then proposed barring "dangerous" Muslims "who want to come to our country but not adopt our values" from entering the U.S. While all Americans value national security, the notion of government policing ideology or interpreting religion is Constitutionally-questionable. Fox News' Megyn Kelly challenged Jindal saying, "This is a country with lots of crazy beliefs. And actually, some religions continue to treat women as second-class citizens — and it's not just some forms of Islam. Are we going to start banning everybody who doesn't treat women or children or criminals, for that matter, the way we like?"

Jindal issued a statement in which he said, "If you can find me a Muslim candidate [for the U.S. presidency]...who will place their hand on the Bible and swear to uphold the Constitution, then yes, I will be happy to consider voting for him or her."<sup>116</sup> Article 2 of the Constitution, which provides for the presidential oath of office, imposes no requirement that the presidential oath be with a hand on taken on a Bible, or any other book. For example, neither John Quincy Adams nor Teddy Roosevelt used a Bible for their swearing in ceremonies.

### Ben Carson

Speaking on Meet the Press, Carson said Islam is not consistent with the U.S. Constitution.<sup>117</sup> He also said he would not vote for a Muslim for President. Even after it was pointed out that Article VI of the Constitution prohibits such religious tests for public office, Carson refused to alter his stand and later added that the next president should "be sworn in on a stack of Bibles, not a Qur'an."<sup>118</sup>

Asked about his Meet the Press remarks during a CNN interview, Carson add, "I would have problems with somebody who embraced all the doctrines associated with Islam. If they are not willing to reject sharia and all the portions of it that are talked about in the Quran."<sup>119</sup> Carson has said he would appoint a Muslim to the Supreme Court if the individual rejected "Sharia," or Islamic religious principles.<sup>120</sup>



**Ben Carson**

Retired American  
neurosurgeon

To get around the U.S. Constitution's ban on considering candidate for public service's religion, Carson would "spend a good deal of time looking at their background and seeing if it is consistent with the kinds of standards that we expect from such a position, I would take that into account much more than what they had to say."<sup>121</sup>

In 2013, Carson was listed as a confirmed speaker at the David Horowitz Freedom Center's Restoration Weekend Conference.<sup>122</sup>

### **Former Texas Governor Rick Perry**

In 2014, Perry was a keynote speaker at the David Horowitz Freedom Center's Restoration Weekend Conference.<sup>123</sup>



**Rick Perry**

Former Texas  
Governor

### **Donald Trump**

Trump has called for a "total and complete shutdown" of Muslims entering the United States. In the press release announcing that policy proposal, Trump cited a biased and unscientific poll conducted by Islamophobe Frank Gaffney's Center for Security Policy.<sup>124</sup>



**Donald Trump**

American business  
magnate

Asked about establishing a possible database of Muslims and Muslims carrying special identification cards in the United States, Trump responded, "I would certainly implement that. Absolutely." In an NBC News video Trump added his support for such registration being required by law, "They have to be."<sup>125</sup>

Trump said he would "shut down" mosques he deemed "extreme" if he is elected president.<sup>126</sup>

In September, 2015, Trump spoke at a Capitol Hill rally sponsored by Frank Gaffney's Center for Security Policy.<sup>127</sup>

## U.S. Congress

Islamophobic statements by federal elected officials are well-documented in other sources, so we will limit ourselves to two examples here.<sup>128</sup>

Speaking on the floor of the U.S. Senate in April 2014, Sen. Jim Inhofe (R-OK) alleged that many Oklahomans believe the Obama administration promotes Islam while suppressing Judeo-Christian values. “Oklahomans regularly ask me -- and I don’t really think this is unique just to Oklahoma, I think it can be in almost any state -- but how they regularly ask me why we have an administration that suppresses our Judeo-Christian values while praising Islam,” Inhofe said.

In April 2015, U.S. Reps. Louie Gohmert (R-Texas) and Steve King (R-Iowa) gave a legitimizing platform to Dutch Islamophobe Geert Wilders by inviting him to speak to U.S. lawmakers at a gathering of the Conservative Opportunity Society. They then hosted him at a Capitol Hill press conference. Wilders has stated “I hate Islam,” called the Quran a “fascist book” that should be banned, referred to the Prophet Mohammed as “the devil,” and proposed putting a tax on Islamic head scarves (hijab) worn by Muslim women.<sup>132</sup> Rep. King says has not observed any discrimination against Americans of the Islamic faith.<sup>133</sup>



**Jim Inhofe**

U.S. Senator



**Louie Gohmert**

U.S. Representative

## State Elected Officials

In *Manufacturing Bigotry* the Institute for Social Policy and Understanding concluded that “630 of the total 3,813 (16.5%) Republican state legislators have sponsored or co-sponsored” an anti-Islam bill. This figure offers some insight into how widespread Islamophobic sentiment is among GOP officials in the various states. The below examples give the reader a further sense of the ways some officials choose to marginalize Muslims in their state.

### California

California State Assembly member Melissa Melendez (R-Murrieta) tweeted using the hashtag #standupagainstIslam seemingly equating the actions the ISIS terrorist group with all Muslims. Melendez’s tweet read: “Gut wrenching news today. American Kayla Mueller murdered by Islamic savages. There MUST be consequences. MM #standupagainstIslam”<sup>134</sup> Melendez used subsequent calls for an apology as an opportunity to fundraise, issuing an email with the subject line #standupagainstislam, Melendez asked supporters to give \$15, \$25, \$50 or more.<sup>135</sup>



**Melissa Melendez**

American politician.  
California State  
Assembly



In May 2015, Art Barrios, a planning commissioner for California's City of El Monte and a former El Monte city council member, posted an article headlined "China Makes Major Moves to Ban Islam" on his Facebook page and then commented, "Sounds good maybe the rest of the world should do the same."<sup>136</sup>

## Idaho

In March 2015, Idaho state lawmaker Rep. Vito Barbieri (R-Dalton Gardens) gathered fellow lawmakers for a lecture titled "The True Face of Islam in Idaho." The presenter was the Truth in Love Project's Shahram Hadian whose work is to warn about the alleged "true goal of Islam and threat of Shari'ah law in America."<sup>137</sup>

In April, 2015, the Bonneville Republican Central Committee distributed a newsletter that included an article authored by committee member Becky Prestwich titled "Islam in Idaho." In it, Prestwich warned that Muslims are "infiltrating" the state and have been taught to "be ready to rise up and kill" and to be "two-faced" to deceive people of other faiths. She also wrote: "So when someone brings to our attention that Muslims are infiltrating even in places like Idaho, we must pay attention." Readers were asked to "demand that our lawmakers and law enforcers pay attention and ascertain whether or not there is a potential threat." The newsletter also falsely alleged that "There are at least 109 (chapters of the Quran) that advocate violence and death towards infidels" and claimed that a Pocatello, Idaho, mosque was built "over the objections of many of the citizens of that town." In fact, only a tiny minority of city residents opposed the mosque. Prestwich now says she was talking about "radical Muslims," but that she is "hard pressed to find very many peaceful Muslims who will condemn the acts of these radicals."<sup>138</sup>



Vito Barbieri

Republican Idaho  
State Representative

## Kansas

In August 2014, Gavin Ellzey resigned as the vice chairman of the Kansas GOP's 3rd District Congressional Committee. The previous month he had posted a tweet saying, "offending Muslims is the duty of any civilized person, especially with a .45." GOP leaders in the state said Ellzey's comments do not represent the viewpoint of the Republican Party.<sup>139</sup>

## Maine

In Maine, State Sen. Michael Willette (R-District 2) shared a Facebook post on March 1, 2015 that implied that President Obama's relatives are in the terrorist group ISIS. Willette apologized for sharing the post publicly but not for its content.<sup>140</sup>



Michael Willette

Republican Maine  
District 2

### Minnesota

In November 2014, Big Stone County GOP Chair Jack Whitley called Muslims “parasites” and wrote “FRAG ‘EM!,” slang for using a fragmentation hand grenade to kill someone, on his Facebook page. Chairman of the Republican Party of Minnesota Keith Downey later condemned these comments, stating that they “could not be further from the Republican Party’s beliefs.”<sup>141</sup> Whitley was ultimately compelled to resign.

### Montana

In September 2014, the mayor of Great Falls condemned a public relations campaign that sent a copy of the Qur’an to his door right before Sept. 11. The mayor claimed that the arrival date of the Qur’an is no coincidence, arguing that Americans could see the campaign as a “subtle threat.”<sup>142</sup>



**Paul Smith**

Union Beach Mayor  
New Jersey

### New Jersey

In New Jersey, in March 2015 Union Beach Mayor Paul Smith shared an image on Facebook that called President Obama “a communist, a Muslim, and an illegal alien.”

In the same county as Smith, Marlboro Board of Education Vice President Victoria Dean posted a story on Facebook about a school district that had added Muslim holidays to its calendar, writing “Pandora’s box opened.” Below that post a man commented, “Because America isn’t American any-more! its [sic] run by foreigners including this RAG HEAD PRESIDENT!” Dean apparently “liked” that comment. She later apologized.<sup>143</sup>

### Oklahoma

In September 2014, Oklahoma state representative John Bennett (R-Sallisaw) wrote an anti-Muslim post on his Facebook page stating that Christians should be “wary” of Muslims: “The Quran clearly states that non-Muslims should be killed. Arab is the ethnicity, not Muslim or Islam. Be wary of the individuals who claim to be ‘Muslim American.’ Be especially wary if you are Christian.” Later that month, Bennett was quoted saying, “If they’re Muslim Americans and they subscribe to Islam, then they’re just as bad as ISIS that’s overseas doin’ what they’re doin’ under the flag of Islam.”<sup>144</sup>



**John Bennett**

Oklahoma state  
representative

In October 2014, in a town hall appearance in Muskogee, Okla., Bennett compared the expansion of rights for Muslim Americans to the growth of the Nazi Party in Germany before World War II. He argued that there is no difference between radical Muslims and everyday Muslims because they are all programmed by their faith to attack and destroy Christians. Bennett claimed that Muslims can only be trusted if they renounce their faith.<sup>145</sup>

Oklahoma Republican Party Chairman Dave Weston backed Bennett's statements, saying, "if local Muslims don't like it, so be it"<sup>146</sup> and holding Muslims responsible for most of the unrest around the world.<sup>147</sup>

### South Carolina

In September 2014, South Carolina State Rep. Alan Clemmons (R-Myrtle Beach) posted a claim on his Facebook page that he has "proved [sic]" that worldwide domination and a caliphate built upon shariah law is a mainstream Muslim goal.<sup>148</sup>

### South Dakota

In October 2014, Betty Olson (R-Prairie City) concluded her Sept. 10 column with a made-up warning from ISIS and the Muslim Brotherhood that claimed if the U.S. continued meddling in Middle Eastern hot spots, they would end up cutting off America's supply of 7-11 and Motel 6 managers, cab drivers, customer service reps for Dell, AT&T and AOL, as well as U.S. presidents. Her comments went viral.<sup>149</sup>

### Texas

During the 2015 Texas Muslim Capitol Day, state Rep. Molly White left an Israeli flag on her desk and instructed her staff to "ask representatives from the Muslim community to renounce Islamic terrorist groups and publicly announce allegiance to America and our laws."<sup>150</sup> In response to White, Texas House Speaker Joe Straus (R-San Antonio) released the following statement: "The Texas Capitol belongs to all the people of this state, and legislators have a responsibility to treat all visitors just as we expect to be treated -- with dignity and respect. Anything else reflects poorly on the entire body and distracts from the very important work in front of us."

### Tennessee

In February 2015, in response to a letter asking GOP Presidential contenders to reject Islamophobia, Tennessee state Rep. Sheila K. Butt (R-District 64) wrote: "[I]t is time for a Council on Christian Relations and an NAAWP in this Country."<sup>151</sup> The reference to "NAAWP" is an apparent racist twist to the name of the African-American civil rights organization, the NAACP, or National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. "NAAWP" would therefore mean "National Association for the Advancement of White People." The name "National Association for the Advancement of White People (NAAWP)" has been used by several white supremacist organizations. Butt's post has since been deleted.



**Dave Weston**

Republican Party  
Chairman Oklahoma



**Alan Clemmons**

State Representative  
South Carolina



**Molly White**

State Representative  
Texas

**Virginia**

Bob FitzSimmonds, treasurer for the Republican Party in Virginia, posted anti-Muslim and anti-Sikh remarks on Facebook in response to President Obama releasing a statement about Eid al-Fitr (the Islamic holiday marking the end of Ramadan) in July 2014: “To mark the end of Ramadan, on Sunday, Obama released a statement thanking Muslim Americans ‘for their many achievements and contributions...to building the very fabric of our nation and strengthening the core of our democracy.’ It is one thing to be gracious on religious holidays, but this is pure nonsense. Exactly what part of our nation’s fabric was woven by Muslims? What about Sikhs, Animists, and Jainists? Should we be thanking them too?” wrote FitzSimmonds, who later resigned.<sup>152</sup>

**Wisconsin**

In September 2014, Cathy Spears, a member of the city council of Appleton, Wis., shared two messages on her Facebook page that listed terror attacks perpetrated by Muslims and questioned whether Islamic teachings are peaceful. Spears claimed the posts were not intended to offend anyone but rather to gather comments from others. Mayor Tim Hanna and other officials rebuked Spears for the posts.<sup>153</sup>

In October 2014, a Muslim woman asked Green Bay, Wis. Alderman Chris Wery about city bus service. Wery responded by asking her if she condemned Islamic terrorism.<sup>154</sup>

# Armed Anti-Islam Demonstrations

*Most of the text below originally appeared in Toxic Hate. References may be found in that document, see the Additional Resources section of this report.*

While many states have laws permitting the open carrying of firearms, the movement to do so at anti-Islam protests is new to this most recent cycle of anti-Islam vitriol. The most prominent such event, titled ‘The Rally for Free speech,’ occurred in Phoenix, Ariz.

After two violent extremists were killed by police while trying to attack an anti-Islam event in Garland, Texas, anti-Islam activist Jon Ritzheimer started selling t-shirts “bearing a profanity-laced message denouncing Islam.” He then announced an event outside a Phoenix mosque. A Facebook post announcing the demonstration read, “People are also encouraged to utilize their second amendment right at this event just in case our first amendment comes under the much anticipated attack.”

The demonstration attracted national attention, and approximately 250 anti-Islam protesters, many armed, attended the event. They were met by a similar-sized group of Americans who disagreed with the event’s bias. Among the anti-Islam protesters was a least one man wearing a white supremacist shirt.

After the attempt to intimidate Phoenix Muslims, Ritzheimer launched at bid to raise \$10 million to continue his anti-Islam actions, but the effort failed. He made headlines again as retail stores pulled Confederate flags from their shelves after the terror attack in Charleston, S.C. by leading a demonstration denouncing Walmart for pulling the slavery-era symbol.

Following the Phoenix demonstration, a similar event was announced but canceled at the last minute. Prior to the cancellation, the Islamic Center of Tucson issued a statement in which its leadership observed, “gathering in front of a religious institution with guns in order to verbally insult and intimidate law-abiding community members is a peculiar assertion of one’s rights to freedom of expression.”



Armed anti-Islam protesters.  
Phoenix, Arizona

In August, Ritzheimer announced a globe spanning “Global Rally for Humanity” to follow-up to the Phoenix protest. Announcing the event, Ritzheimer said, “I got contacts in Canada, Australia, and all across Europe –everybody’s onboard.”<sup>155</sup> Ritzheimer instructed participants to hold events at mosques and urged them to come armed.

Dates were set for October 9 and 10, 2015. The rally was timed to coincide with an event planned by Louis Farrakhan’s Nation of Islam commemorating the twenty-year anniversary of that group’s Million Man March.

In a Facebook post, Ritzheimer warned “The likelihood for blood will be high.”<sup>156</sup> American Muslim groups issued warnings to local Islamic centers and mosques. The Department of Homeland Security prepared a list of resources available to targeted communities.



Islamic Center of Murfreesboro  
Murfreesboro, Tennessee

The Center for New Community identified thirty-two announced rallies.<sup>157</sup>

We confirm seven actual rallies occurred, or were attempted, at mosques.<sup>158</sup> Three of those had two people or less. One was apparently not allowed to occur by local law enforcement. Firearms could be identified at only two of the events.

The only event that drew more than a handful of confirmed anti-Islam demonstrators was in Phoenix, Ariz.

Muslim-free gun store owner Andy Hallinan brought a few people to a mosque in Ocala, Florida and six people were photographed outside a mosque in Richardson, Texas. A group of apparent demonstrators were turned away from the property of the Islamic Center of Murfreesboro, Tennessee by sheriff’s deputies.



Noor Islamic Cultural Center  
Dublin, Ohio

In Amarillo, Texas there was one confirmed rally participant and a hundred mosque supporters. A single anti-Islam demonstrator picketed the Noor Islamic Cultural Center in Dublin, Ohio, but the woman was invited into, and then warmly welcomed in, the mosque.<sup>159</sup> Two anti-Islam demonstrators were filmed outside of a mosque in Plano, Texas.

Three events that drew inspiration from the announced rallies, but had a somewhat different form took place. According to local news reports, “About a dozen people, some armed with rifles” attended an anti-Islam demonstration held at the Henry Ford Centennial Library in Michigan.<sup>160</sup> In Edmund,

Oklahoma, a lone anti-Islam demonstrator held up a sign that read “know Sharia” near an Islamic conference. In Medford, Oregon, the event was re-branded as a pro-police rally and held in front of a police station.<sup>161</sup>

In most cases, evidence of protests actually occurring could not be located,<sup>162</sup> or the events were canceled or demonstrators were instructed to support a different rally.

In other cases, even when anti-Islam demonstrators failed to appear at announced rally sites, those wishing to show solidarity with Muslims did show up. Outside the former location of the Islamic Society of Bremerton, Washington about “40 community members came to show solidarity” with local Muslims. No anti-Islam demonstrators appeared.<sup>163</sup> No anti-Islam demonstrators were seen at the Islamic Society of South Texas in Corpus Christi; however, a group of people “who wanted to show support for the Islamic Society were present.”<sup>164</sup> The Ellicott City, Maryland anti-Islam demonstration was canceled, yet approximately 25 supporters of the Dar al-Taqwa mosque showed up unsolicited.<sup>165</sup>



Dar al-Taqwa  
Ellicott City, Maryland

### Other recorded armed anti-Islam demonstrations include:

- Well before the Jan. 7, 2015 terror attack on Charlie Hebdo magazine, the “Stand with the Prophet against Hate and Terror” was scheduled to occur in Garland, Texas on Jan. 17, 2015. Sound Vision Foundation, the event’s sponsor, said that the gathering was designed to help challenge growing Islamophobia in American society. After the Paris terror attacks, event organizers reported that a number of threatening messages targeting the conference were posted online.

One message stated: “I know where Garland is, I have guns, and I hope someone has some Dynamite.”

Another claimed that “My gun won’t be empty of bullets until the end so f\*\*\* you and your religion.”

Yet another message stated: “I can be there within 9 [hours] with guns from where I live now ... (and maybe matches just in case we

need dynamite).” On the day of the “Stand with the Prophet against Hate and Terror” event, anti-Islam protesters, some carrying weapons, picketed the venue.

*“I can be there within 9 [hours] with guns from where I live now ... (and maybe matches just in case we need dynamite).”*

*- Post Paris attacks threat message*



Texas Muslim event disrupted.  
Austin, Texas

- When Texas Muslims went to Austin in January 2015 to meet with state elected officials, some demonstrators who objected to the event came armed.
- In August 2015 leadership at the Nur Islamic Center Kokomo, Ind. reported that “gun toting, confederate flag waving racists” had recently demonstrated at the facility.<sup>166</sup>
- In September, 2014 a man stood outside the Islamic Center of the Tri-Cities in Washington with a sign that read “Death to Islam” on one side and “Islam is Evil” on the reverse. The man wore a pistol after verifying with local police that he was allowed to do so.



# Muslim-Free Businesses

Since 2014, businesses in Arkansas, Florida, Kentucky, New York, Oklahoma, and New Hampshire have publicly declared themselves “Muslim-Free.”

The legality of such actions was questioned when a coalition of eighty-two civil liberties, human rights, immigrant rights, faith, and cultural organizations sent a letter to Attorney General Loretta Lynch asking her to investigate the phenomena.

In the September 2015 letter, the groups cited Title II of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, asserting that it “makes clear that it is unlawful for certain establishments to deny any person, ‘full and equal enjoyment of the goods, services, facilities, and privileges, advantages, and accommodations of any place of public accommodation ... without discrimination or segregation on the ground of race, color, religion, or national origin.’”

The letter went on to assert, “American businesses posting ‘Muslim-Free Zone’ declarations are no different than the ‘Whites Only,’ ‘No Dogs, No Jews,’ ‘No Mexican’ and ‘Irish Need Not Apply’ signs that were posted during past shameful periods of our nation’s history that we hoped were over.”

In September, 2014 Jan Morgan, the owner of the Gun Cave Indoor Shooting Range in Arkansas, announced that her facility would be a “Muslim-free zone.”<sup>167</sup>

Soon afterward a Hindu father and son, who local news outlets allowed to remain anonymous for fear of their safety, were turned away. “I’m not

*“American businesses posting ‘Muslim-Free Zone’ declarations are no different than the ‘Whites Only,’ ‘No Dogs, No Jews,’ ‘No Mexican’ and ‘Irish Need Not Apply’ signs that were posted during past shameful periods of our nation’s history that we hoped were over.”*

*- September 2015 letter to Attorney General Lynch  
signed by 82 organizations*

Muslim, I'm just brown," one of the pair were quoted as saying.<sup>168</sup> According to the son, when they entered the store they were asked where they were from and told the store was "Muslim-Free."<sup>169</sup>

In September 2014, Jan Morgan, the proprietor of a Hot Springs, Ark. business called The Gun Cave Indoor Shooting Range, announced on social media that she was banning all Muslims from her establishment, calling it a "public safety move."<sup>170</sup>

In October 2014, Larry Pratt of Gun Owners of America wanted to give an award to Morgan. Pratt praised Morgan's ban, saying that she was "on very sound ground." "I know there will be a lot of people that will be outraged at that, but we don't facilitate murderers and if you read the Quran, it's an instruction to go kill people, lots of them," Pratt said. "And there are Muslims that don't buy into that, well, how do I know which one you are?"<sup>171</sup>

The Save Yourself Survival and Tactical Gear store in Oktaha, Okla., placed a sign in its window stating it was a "Muslim-free establishment." The sign also stated, "We reserve the right to refuse service to anyone," the same language used by businesses that refused to serve African-American customers in the 1950s.

Florida Gun Supply in Inverness, Fla., produced and distributed a video in which a representative of the business appears before a Confederate flag and announces the "Muslim-free zone" as a response to the shooting in Chattanooga, Tenn. In the video, that representative also defends the Confederate flag as a symbol of "heritage," blames the election of President Obama for a rise in racism, and decries the "lies" of American leaders that "Islam is not evil." After the announcement, the shop began to sell prints of a Confederate flag printed by George Zimmerman to help raise fees for a possible legal defense. Zimmerman is the former neighborhood watch member who shot and killed the African-American youth Trayvon Martin in 2012.<sup>172</sup>



Florida Gun Supply  
Inverness, Florida

# Anti-Muslim Law Enforcement Trainings

Among the inner and outer core are several organizations known to participate in training of law enforcement, the military, and other similar entities on Islam and counterterrorism. In a welcome development, those groups tracked in previous Islamophobia reports appear to be going inactive. Law enforcement appears to be more likely to reject the biased training offered by a number of non-subject matter experts who use such training sessions to spread inaccurate information about Muslims.

Extreme Terrorism Consulting appears to no longer be in business. President Richard Hughbank lists it as “past” on his LinkedIn profile and the company has no internet presence. Sam Kharoba's Counter Terrorism Operations Center has been silent since 2013; and Former FBI Agent John Gunadolo's appeal is becoming increasingly limited to fringe entities.

## **Oklahoma's Counterterrorism Caucus's CLEET Seminar**

In October, 2013 the Counterterrorism Caucus of the Oklahoma legislature hosted a Council on Law Enforcement Education and Training (CLEET) seminar, called “Iran, Hezbollah and the Drug Cartels: Counterterrorism Considerations,” in the Oklahoma House of Representatives chamber. While the topic was substantive and worthwhile, the presence of Islamophobia network speakers raised flags. Indeed, the use of such speakers may have violated CLEET's “Values and Behaviors” policy, which states that the Council must conduct itself and its training “with the highest of standards and instill this value in all administrators and officers” and “provide programs, courses and services that enhance justice and public safety.” Speakers included Lt. Gen. (Ret.) William G. “Jerry” Boykin, Frank Gaffney, and Clare M. Lopez. The event was initially announced as open to the public, but then closed after concerns were raised about the trainers' objectivity. Event organizers later said that the announcement that the event would be open to the public was made in error. During the event, an attorney with the organizers told members of the public who were observing the presentations from the gallery that it was closed. But the head of the caucus later said this too was an error.



**Sam Kharoba**

Anti-Islam trainer

### Three Illinois trainings featuring Sam Kharoba canceled

In 2013 in Illinois, the Lombard, Elmhurst, and Highland Park Police Departments canceled previously-scheduled trainings featuring controversial anti-Islam trainer Sam Kharoba after dozens of callers from the community, as well as partner coalition members from the Jewish, African-American, and Latino communities, expressed outrage at the training. The training had been organized by the North East Multi-Regional Training academy (NEMRT). Officials at CAIR-Chicago cautioned that NEMRT Executive Director Phil Barkin's ongoing support for Kharoba, despite his Islamophobic public record, is greatly concerning. In a phone call with CAIR-Chicago's Communication Coordinator, Barkin stated: "I believe that this curriculum is accurate and a good program. I will not back down in my support for his curriculum."

### John Guandolo's woes

In August 2015, Guandolo tweeted that Denver's police chief had sent a detective to an Understanding the Threat event in Colorado to ensure none of the department's officers were in attendance.<sup>173</sup> In January 2015, the FBI withdrew its representative from an event hosted by St. Mary's University's Center for Terrorism Law in San Antonio, Texas when it was announced that Guandolo would be a speaker and that ACT! for America would sponsor the event.

In May of 2014, a sheriff in Kansas decided not to partner with a citizens group sponsoring a Guandolo training after being informed of his conspiracy theories. When a journalist at Kansas' Wichita Eagle covered the controversy, Guandolo accused the reporter of material support of terrorism.

In September of 2014, when Maricopa County, Ariz. Attorney Bill Montgomery brought Guandolo to conduct a presentation, a number of Arizona police departments decided not to send their officers.

In February of 2014, Virginia's Rappahannock Regional Criminal Justice Academy rescinded its earlier approval of in-service training credits for state law enforcement scheduled to attend a training Guandolo was conducting in Culpeper, Va., after being made aware of his anti-Islam rhetoric.

Major General Tony Cucolo, Commandant of the US Army War College, informed CAIR in an email: "Mr. Guandolo's claim (in print) that he teaches at the Army War College and any other references (e.g., online) identifying him as an adjunct instructor here are simply untrue."

## Discredited trainer Walid Shoebat welcomed in New Jersey's Ocean County

Sponsored through New Jersey's "Ocean County Police Academy, which is under the jurisdiction of the Sheriff's Office," Walid Shoebat "spoke to more than 60 law enforcement officers about his views on Islam" in November 2015.



Walid Shoebat

Discredited trainer

In 2011, researcher Thom Cincotta found, "In dozens of YouTube videos, Shoebat suggests Islam is the fake religion of the 'anti-Christ' and implies that Muslims bear the "Mark of the Beast." He denounces Islam and Muslims as inherently violent and savage, recounting an endless litany of (non-terrorist) violent acts committed by individuals in a manner that suggests an irredeemably violent culture."

Shoebat's assertion of being a former terrorist was exposed as a fabrication in 2011 by CNN researchers who "found no evidence" to support his trademark claim of being a "former PLO terrorist."

A key part of the claim is that Shoebat conducted a terrorist attack on a bank next to the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. In one interview available on YouTube Shoebat says, "I heard this big explosion behind me and I ran away and I was never caught." However, during a Fox News interview, Shoebat says he did not throw the bomb at the bank because he saw "some Arab kids rolling around the bank and the intention was not to kill any Arab kids." In a CNN interview, he says he was caught and served time in jail.

Shoebat.com features an article published October 16, 2015 that was headlined, "Obama administration is establishing a new Homeland Security program that will monitor Christians," the listed author is Walid Shoebat. As of April 14, 2014, the group's web site included headlines such as "Demons Have Possessed Muslims And They Are Doing Horrific And Cruel Massacres," authored by Walid and Theodore Shoebat.

After the Shoebat event, the New Jersey Attorney General's Office announced plans to issue new guidelines on police training in the state.

*"Mr. Guandolo's claim (in print) that he teaches at the Army War College and any other references (e.g., online) identifying him as an adjunct instructor here are simply untrue."*

*- Major General Tony Cucolo, US Army War College*



# Additional Resources

## **CAIR's Islamophobia Monitor**

[www.islamophobia.org](http://www.islamophobia.org)

## **UC Berkeley Center for Race and Gender**

<http://crg.berkeley.edu/>

## **CRG Islamophobia Research and Documentation Project**

<http://crg.berkeley.edu/content/islamophobia>

## **Follow CAIR's Islamophobia monitor on Twitter**

[@Islamophobia](https://twitter.com/CAIRIslamophobia)

## **Toxic Hate: American Muslim Experiences of Violent Backlash Since Late August 2014**

<http://www.islamophobia.org/15-reports/171-toxic-hate.html>

## **Islamophobia in the 2014 Election**

<http://www.islamophobia.org/143-reports/2014-election-report/156-2014-election-report.html>

## **Anti-Islam Legislation in 2013**

<http://www.islamophobia.org/images/pdf/2013LegislationUpdate.pdf>



[www.islamophobia.org](http://www.islamophobia.org)





# Appendix 1

## Brief Descriptions of Inner and Outer Core Groups

*[Given space limitations for this report and the number of groups in the network, the below descriptions are intended solely to give the reader a brief sense of each institution. Readers who wish to review extended descriptions are invited to visit [www.islamophobia.org](http://www.islamophobia.org).]*

### **Abstraction Fund [Inner Core]**

The Abstraction Fund is a tax-exempt private foundation established in 2006 which provides financial support to groups promoting anti-Islam bias. Nina Rosenwald, who serves as board president and treasurer, joined the fund in 2011. The daughter of William Rosenwald, she is an heir of the Sears Roebuck fortune.

### **Adelson Family Foundation [Outer Core]**

Dr. Miriam and Sheldon G. Adelson established the foundation in 2007 to “strengthen the State of Israel and the Jewish people.” The Foundation awarded \$1,225,000 to U.S. Islamophobia Network groups during the 2011-2013 period. This includes \$375,000 to the Endowment for Middle East Truth, \$750,000 to the Middle East Media and Research Institute and \$100,000 to Charles Jacobs’ Massachusetts-based Americans for Peace and Tolerance.

### **ACT! for America [Inner Core]**

According to an exposé of the group published in 2011, “ACT members see themselves as warriors in a clash between Western civilization and Islam.” Founder Brigitte Gabriel once told the Australian Jewish News: “Every practicing Muslim is a radical Muslim.” Gabriel has said, “America and the West are doomed to failure in this war unless they stand up and identify the real enemy: Islam.”

### **Allegheny Foundation [Outer Core]**

The Allegheny Foundation is one of a group of grantors known collectively as the Scaife Foundations.

According to the foundation’s 2013 annual report, it “concentrates its giving in the Western Pennsylvania.” However, the foundation’s tax records show it provides financial support to groups promoting anti-Islam bias.

**American Center for Law and Justice [Outer Core]**

The American Center for Law and Justice is a conservative legal foundation established by Televangelist Pat Robertson and Jay Sekulow.

**American Family Association [Outer Core]**

The American Family Association is a conservative advocacy group that aligns itself with nativist and Islamophobic ideologies. President and founder Timothy Wildmon has claimed that “[Islam] is, in fact, a religion of war, violence, intolerance, and physical persecution of non-Muslims.”

**American Freedom Defense Initiative (AFDI) [Inner Core]**

AFDI is led by Pamela Geller, one of the network's most recognizable spokespersons. The group is best known for its inflammatory public ad campaigns. According to the group's web site, they act “against the treason being committed by national, state, and local government officials, the mainstream media, and others in their capitulation to the global jihad and Islamic supremacism, the ever-encroaching and unconstitutional power of the federal government, and the rapidly moving attempts to impose socialism and Marxism upon the American people.”

**American Freedom Law Center [Inner Core]**

The AFLC describes itself as a “public interest law firm” aiming to “defend our Nation's Judeo-Christian heritage in courts.” Its co-founder, David Yerushalmi, often acts as the U.S. Islamophobia network's legal counsel. His American Laws for American Courts legislation, which is intended to vilify Islam, has been introduced in state legislatures across the country. The center is also known for its lawsuits seeking to compel public transportation systems to display AFDI's inflammatory ads.

**American Islamic Forum for Democracy [Inner Core]**

According to AIFD's website, the group's mission is to “advocate for the preservation of the founding principles of the United States Constitution.” However, the AIFD has allied itself with institutions and legislative efforts that attempt to limit Muslims' access to enumerated freedoms in the Bill of Rights.

**American Islamic Leadership Coalition [Outer Core]**

The American Islamic Leadership Coalition is a vehicle group for Zuhdi Jasser's AIFD. AILC appears to be mostly inactive. As of September 12, 2015, the group's most recent press release on its website was issued in 2012. However, on AIFD's 2013 Form 990, the coalition is listed as one of its “three largest program services as measured by expense.”

**American Public Policy Alliance [Inner Core]**

APPA is the source of the American Laws for American Courts' template anti-Islam legislation.

**Americans for Peace and Tolerance [Inner Core]**

The Boston-based Americans for Peace and Tolerance is a hate group dedicated to undermining mainstream Muslim institutions and promoting Islamophobia within the media.

**Bare Naked Islam [Inner Core]**

Bare Naked Islam attempts to rebrand the Islamophobia movement as an exercise in political correctness. The site regularly features discussions promoting violence against Muslims.

**Bible Believers [Outer Core]**

Ruben Israel, identified as a Los Angeles-based "street preacher" and the leader of Bible Believers, and his followers have been spotted at a number of anti-Islam demonstrations. During an event in Garland, Texas in 2015 Israel yelled "Islam is filled with murder! This is your wake up call." and "How many of you Muslims are terrorists?" at attendees.<sup>174</sup> A sign at held by one of Israel's group during an event in Washington, D.C on September 11, 2013 announced that God has a "pressure cooker (The Lake of Fire) for every dead Muslim." Israel is also known for virulent anti-homosexual messages.

**Dailyrollcall.com [Inner Core]**

Established by Cathy Hinnners, a former police officer, the web site is a collection of Islamophobic material.

**Center for Security Policy [Inner Core]**

CSP is a think tank based out of Washington D.C. Founder Frank Gaffney is a key propagandist and conspiracy theorist for the Islamophobia movement. The Center produces propaganda that identifies Islamic religious principles as an existential threat to America.

**Center for the Study of Political Islam (Tenn.) [Inner Core]**

The Center is a think tank founded by Bill French, who also goes by the alias Bill Warner. Its mission is "to educate the world about political Islam, its founder Mohammed, his political doctrine and his god, Allah."

**Cherna Moskowitz Foundation [Outer Core]**

Between 2012-2013 the Foundation awarded \$120,000 in grants to groups in the U.S. Islamophobia Network. David Yerushalmi's American Freedom Law Center received \$70,000 in funding while the Clarion Fund was awarded \$50,000.

**Christian Action Network [Outer Core]**

The Christian Action Network (CAN) was founded by Martin Mawyer in 1990 "to protect America's religious and moral heritage through educational efforts." The group's film "Islam Rising" features prominent Dutch Islamophobe Geert Wilders saying "There is no such thing as moderate Islam. The Quran is a fascist book." In 2009, Maine fined CAN \$4,000 in part because of a mailing containing "an inflammatory anti-Muslim message."

**Christian Broadcasting Network [Outer Core]**

The Christian Broadcasting Network was founded by Pat Robertson, a notable Islamophobe who has repeatedly come under fire for Islamophobic comments on his program the "700 Club." In 2013, he said of Islam, "it's almost like its demonic" and "it's a religion of chaos."

**Citizens for National Security (Fla.) [Inner Core]**

Citizens for National Security files its tax returns as Friends of Intelligence Practitioners. The group produces documents alleging a vast Muslim conspiracy to undermine America and produces reports on what it alleges are "Islam-biased textbooks" in Florida.

**Clarion Project [Inner Core]**

The Clarion Project (formerly the Clarion Fund) is a nonprofit group distributing anti-Muslim propaganda films such as *Obsession: Radical Islam's War Against the West* and *The Third Jihad: Radical Islam's Vision for America*.

**Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting [Inner Core]**

According to its website, CAMERA is "a media-monitoring, research and membership organization devoted to promoting accurate and balanced coverage of Israel and the Middle East" and is a "non-partisan organization." However, CAMERA's coverage is inaccurate and the group disguises its anti-Islam agenda by omitting important information.

**Concerned Women for America [Outer Core]**

Concerned Women for America is "the nation's largest public policy women's organization with a rich 30-year history of helping our members

across the country bring Biblical principles into all levels of public policy.” The group is known to have been involved in anti-Islam legislative efforts in Florida and North Carolina. CWA groups across the nation regularly host anti-Islam speakers at their functions.

### **David Horowitz Freedom Center [Inner Core]**

The Southern Poverty Law Center, a group that tracks hate movements in the United States, labels David Horowitz “the godfather of the modern anti-Muslim movement.”

### **Debbieschlüssel.com (Mich.) [Inner Core]**

Debbieschlüssel.com is a blog operated by Debbie Schlüssel, a Michigan-based author and commentator known for her anti-Islam viewpoints.

### **Donors Capital Fund [Outer Core]**

Based in Virginia, Donors Capital Fund provides a service to donors who wish to “[fund] sensitive or controversial issues” anonymously. The Fund has been linked to numerous donations to Islamophobic groups.

### **Eagle Forum [Outer Core]**

The Eagle Forum is a neoconservative advocacy organization that focuses on traditional family and education policy. Forum representatives have been involved in anti-Islam legislative efforts in several states. President Phyllis Schlafly is known to rely on ACT! for America material in her commentaries on Islam.

### **Endowment for Middle East Truth [Outer Core]**

The Endowment for Middle East Truth is a “think tank and policy center with an unabashedly pro-America and pro-Israel stance.”<sup>175</sup> EMET leader Sarah Stern is a former employee of Steven Emerson’s Investigative Project on Terrorism. In 2014, Stern alleged that Muslim student groups want to destroy America from within.<sup>176</sup> EMET’s board of advisors features prominent U.S. Islamophobes such as Frank Gaffney and Daniel Pipes.

### **Family Security Matters [Outer Core]**

Family Security Matters is a conservative news source sponsored by Frank Gaffney’s Center for Security Policy. The site makes use of Islamophobic themes in its reporting.

### **Florida Family Association [Inner Core]**

Founded in 1987 by David Caton, FFA employs email pressure campaigns in an effort to compel businesses to adhere to anti-Islam viewpoints.

**F.M. Kirby Foundation**

The F.M. Kirby Foundation was established in 1931 by one of the founders of the F.W. Woolworth Company. The foundation has provided financial support to an inner core Islamophobic organization in at least 2012 and 2013.

**Former Muslims United [Inner Core]**

Former Muslims United (FMU) is an anti-Islam group founded by Nonie Darwish. During a speech in 2011, Darwish asserted that “Islam should be fought and should be conquered and defeated and annihilated.” She told the New York Times: “A mosque is not just a place for worship. It’s a place where war is started, where commandments to do jihad start, where incitements against non-Muslims occur. It’s a place where ammunition was stored.”

**Forum for Middle East Understanding [Inner Core]**

FFMU founder Walid Shoebat suggests Islam is the fake religion of the ‘anti-Christ’ and implies that Muslims bear the “Mark of the Beast.” In 2011, CNN researchers “found no evidence” to support Shoebat’s trademark claim of being a “former PLO terrorist.”

**Fox News Channel [Outer Core]**

Fox News Channel, created by media moguls Roger Ailes and Rupert Murdoch in 1996, is a conservative news network that provides a forum for prejudice targeting the Muslim community. In 2012, the Public Religion Research Institute found that “There is a strong correlation between trusting Fox News and negative views of Islam and Muslims.” A similar correlation was not found among Republicans who most trusted other news sources.

**FrontPage Magazine [Outer Core]**

Along with Robert Spencer’s Jihad Watch, FrontPage magazine is a project of the David Horowitz Freedom Center. The online publication operates under the tag line “Inside every liberal is a totalitarian waiting to get out.” The site regularly features Islamophobic material.

**Gates of Vienna [Inner Core]**

A blog established on the idea that, “At the siege of Vienna in 1683 Islam seemed poised to overrun Christian Europe. We are in a new phase of a very old war.” The blog features an ongoing stream of Islamophobic material.

**Glenn Beck Program [Outer Core]**

Beck is a former host of a Fox News program and currently hosts television and radio programs. He is the founder of TheBlaze, a conservative news

network. According to Beck, “The ones who are really truly the most Islamic are with ISIS and Al-Qaeda. They are living it to the letter, and they are living Sharia Law.”<sup>177</sup>

### **Government is Not God PAC [Outer Core]**

The PAC advertises itself as a “political action committee for social conservatives. In early 2015, the group’s site featured an article alleging, “This effort to bring Muslims into the U.S. poses a grave national security threat to America and inevitably brings social chaos in its wake in communities where there are large populations of Muslims living.”<sup>178</sup> During the 2014 election cycle the PAC distributed \$21,250 to candidates for Federal Office.”<sup>179</sup>

### **HBO’s Real Time with Bill Maher [Outer Core]**

Maher has made his show and other public appearances a forum for advancing anti-Islam tropes. On his September 11, 2015 show, Maher expressed concern that Muslims migrating to Europe would result in societies that are “less moderate, less tolerant.”<sup>180</sup>

### **Investigative Project on Terrorism [Inner Core]**

The Investigative Project on Terrorism, founded and operated by Steve Emerson, claims to investigate the activities and finances of radical terrorist groups, but makes all of Islam culpable. Emerson is known for repeated inaccurate claims such as the existence of so called “no-go zones” in Europe.

### **Jihad Watch [Inner Core]**

Jihad Watch is the primary internet vehicle for Robert Spencer. Spencer has referred to Islam’s Prophet Muhammad as a “con man. Someone who is knowing [sic] that what he is saying is false, but is fooling his followers.” In the same video he asserts, “From a historical stand point, it is not even clear that Muhammad existed.”

### **Joyce and Donald Rumsfeld Foundation [Outer Core]**

The Joyce and Donald Rumsfeld Foundation was founded in 1985. Donald Rumsfeld served as U.S. Secretary of Defense from 2001 until 2006. The foundation has provided financial support to multiple inner core Islamophobic organizations.

### **Klarman Family Foundation [Outer Core]**

According to its website, the Klarman Family Foundation’s intention is to “help make measurable progress in improving the lives of others.” Many of its grants reflect this laudable goal.

The Foundation also gifted \$1,025,000 to four groups that are part of the U.S. Islamophobia Network. These included \$150,000 to Zuhdi Jasser's American Islamic Forum for Democracy, \$75,000 to Daniel Pipes' Middle East Forum, \$600,000 to the Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America, and \$200,000 to the Middle East Media and Research Institute.

### **Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation [Outer Core]**

The Foundation was founded after the deaths of Lynde and Harry Bradley, a pair of philanthropist brothers. Groups the foundation funds indulge in broad-brush smears of the entire Islamic faith tradition.

### **Liberty Counsel [Outer Core]**

According to the group's web site, the "purpose of this ministry is to preserve religious liberty and help create and maintain a society in which everyone will have the opportunity to discover the truth that will give true freedom." In 2013, Liberty Counsel Chairman Mathew Staver wrote a letter urging supporters to reject the nomination of John Brennan as CIA Director. Staver warned that, "if confirmed, Brennan would be the most pro-Islam director to ever head that agency." Staver also noted that "It is alleged by an ex-FBI Agent that Brennan made a conversion to Islam while in Saudi Arabia." In October 2014, Staver wrote, "Sharia is a vehicle for the overthrow of Western Civilization through the imposition of Islamic law and culture!"<sup>181</sup>

### **Mark Levin Show [Outer Core]**

Levin is a syndicated radio talk show host and author. He uses his broadcast to advance false allegations, such as claiming that President Obama is a Muslim who seeks to advance Islam in America.<sup>182</sup>

### **Middle East Forum [Inner Core]**

According to its website, the Middle East Forum "works to define and promote American interests in the Middle East and protect Western values from Middle Eastern threats." The group's founder and director is Daniel Pipes, known as the grandfather of Islamophobia in the United States.

### **Middle East Media Research Institute [Inner Core]**

On its website, MEMRI claims to "bridge the language gap between the West and the Middle East" by translating Arabic, Persian, Urdu, and other languages into English. Their translations have been widely criticized for inaccuracy and inflammatory misrepresentation.



### **Militant Islam Monitor [Inner Core]**

The website's announced "mission is to provide an online resource documenting the activities and identities of Islamist individuals and groups in the United States and abroad."

### **National Christian Foundation [Outer Core]**

The National Christian Foundation (NCF) is a tax-exempt private foundation established in 1982. According to the NCF web site, its mission is "To enable followers of Christ to give wisely to advance His Kingdom." The foundation has provided financial support to multiple inner core Islamophobic organizations.

### **National Review [Outer Core]**

The National Review is a prominent neoconservative magazine which features anti-Islam commentary from Islamophobes such as Daniel Pipes and former Assistant U.S. Attorney Andrew McCarthy. In 2015, the Review published an article by McCarthy in which he engaged in a broad brush attack on Islam rather than singling out a corrupt interpretation of the faith: "The violence is caused by Islamic supremacist ideology and its law that incites Muslims to kill those they judge to have disparaged Islam."<sup>183</sup>

### **Newton D. and Rochelle F. Becker Foundation [Outer Core]**

The Foundation is a family fund established by Newton and Rochelle Becker with the aim of directing philanthropic efforts to the Jewish community and countering anti-Israel bias. The foundation has provided financial support to multiple inner core Islamophobic organizations.

### **Oak Initiative [Outer Core]**

Oak Initiative President Rick Joyner believes that the Quran "enslaves" Muslims which is why "we have more slaves in the world today than before the Civil War here in America." Organization Board Member Fmr. Lieutenant General William G. Boykin asserts that "[Islam] should not be protected under the First Amendment," and that there should be "no mosques in America."

### **Pamelageller.com [Inner Core]**

Formerly known as Atlas Shrugs, the web site is the blog of Pamela Geller, who has been described as a "caustic mouthpiece" for the Islamophobia movement.

**Randolph Foundation [Outer Core]**

The New York-based Randolph Foundation was originally a trust of the Smith Richardson Foundation but became its own distinct entity around 1993. The foundation has granted money to a number of organizations in the inner core of the U.S. Islamophobia Network.

**Really Big Coloring Books, Inc. [Outer Core]**

Headquartered in St. Louis and established in 1981, Really Big Coloring Books is a multi-national company that distributes a variety of activity books for children. In *We Shall Never Forget 9/11*, the company details every action of the 9/11 attackers describing, “when they have boarded their flights, they are praising their God they call Allah. The terrorists believe they are doing the work of their God Allah...as they die that day they scream the words, ‘Allahu-Achbar.’” In the second volume of “*We Shall Never Forget 9/11*,” young readers are warned that “evil may sit next to you on an airplane as a radical Islamic.”

**Reclaiming America for Christ [Outer Core]**

The organization was founded by Oklahoma-based Rev. Paul Blair with the goal of being “a source of information for pastors who wish to reclaim their own states for Jesus Christ.” The organization falsely alleges that “the stated goal of Islam [is] – bringing the ENTIRE world under Sharia (Islamic) Law.” In 2013, Blair was slated to appear in Muskogee, Okla. to “explain how government operations are influenced by Islamic devotees who hold positions of power and influence in all levels of government.”

**Rush Limbaugh Show [Outer Core]**

Rush Limbaugh is a radio talk show host. His anti-Islam rhetoric has subsided in recent years; however, in early 2014 Limbaugh falsely asserted that “NASA's a museum for Muslim outreach now.”<sup>184</sup>

**Russell Berrie Foundation [Outer Core]**

The Russell Berrie Foundation is a New Jersey-based nonprofit. The foundation has granted money to a number of organizations in the inner core of the U.S. Islamophobia Network.

**Sarah Scaife Foundation [Outer Core]**

The Sarah Scaife Foundation’s “grant program is primarily directed toward public policy programs that address major domestic and international issues.” The foundation is chaired by Richard Mellon Scaife, a donor known for his largess regarding conservative issues. The foundation has

granted money to a number of organizations in the inner core of the U.S. Islamophobia Network.

### **Savage Nation [Outer Core]**

Savage Nation airs on hundreds of radio stations nationwide and is hosted by Michael Savage. Savage has an extended history of Islamophobic rhetoric. In 2015, Savage attempted to make the argument that President Obama's campaign logo was a symbol of Islam and that the President wants to "subordinate the West for the spread of Islam."<sup>185</sup>

### **Security Solutions International [Outer Core]**

Security Solutions International's website describes its mission as "to serve the nation's Military and First Responders" as well as to aid or consult "an agency that has a problem with a homegrown extremist group." Past trainings featured Islamophobic elements and in 2013 the group featured notorious Islamophobe Steven Emerson as a keynote speaker at its eighth annual conference.<sup>186</sup>

### **Shoebat Foundation [Inner Core]**

The Shoebat Foundation is an organization closely linked to Walid Shoebat's Forum for Middle East Understanding and the site [rescuechristians.org](http://rescuechristians.org). A survey of the foundation's website in July 2014 found that the donation link sends the user to [rescuechristians.org](http://rescuechristians.org), a foundation that has non-profit status under the 501(c)3 of Forum for Middle East Understanding.

### **Society of Americans for National Existence [Inner Core]**

On its now password-protected website, SANE once offered a policy proposal that would make "adherence to Islam" punishable by twenty years in prison, called for the immediate deportation of all non-citizen Muslims, and urged Congress to declare war on the "Muslim Nation," which SANE defined as "all Muslims." Founder David Yerushalmi today appears to focus more on his efforts at the American Freedom Law Center and the Center for Security Policy. According to the group's 2013 Form 990, its largest program service as measured by expense is "information dissemination through advertising and web site."

### **Stop Islamization of Nations [Inner Core]**

SION is vehicle for Pamela Geller of AFDI that appears close to being inactive. As of Sept. 12, 2015, the SION web site was last updated 8/17/2014, with an ad for an AFDI event. The last release specific to SION was on April 23, 2013. An item tagged "SION" on [Pamelageller.com](http://Pamelageller.com) announces a March

10, 2014 SION event in Australia, but the linked SION Australia web site is a plain page with non-English language content. The SION Facebook page acts as a feed for articles from Pamelageller.com with no apparent SION specific content. When it was more active, SION acted to connect international entities interested in fostering Islamophobia.

### **Straight Way of Grace Ministry [Inner Core]**

According to the group's website, "The goal of The Straight Way of Grace Ministry is twofold. The first is to expose Islam for what it is, and yes it is worse than a cancer, and this can be shown clearly in the reading of the Qur'an and the Hadith." Founder Usama Dakdok believes, "The day will come and Muslim in America will have the upper hand, and they will kill your children for not eating what is liked. For not eating the lawful foods."

### **Tennessee Freedom Coalition (Tenn.) [Inner Core]**

The Tennessee Freedom Coalition was very active during opposition to the expansion of a mosque in Murfreesboro, Tenn. Chairman Andy Miller is active in Tennessee Republican-party politics, heading "fundraising and get-out-the-vote efforts as chairman of the 2010 Tennessee Victory Leadership Team and is a member of the Williamson County GOP Chairman's Circle."<sup>187</sup>

### **Traditional Values Coalition [Outer Core]**

The Traditional Values Coalition is a conservative Christian non-profit based in Washington, DC. TVC asserts that it is "America's largest non-denominational, grassroots church lobby." As of September 13, 2015, the group's website features articles such as "Islam vs. the Constitution: A TVC Special Report" and "Are Muslims Exempt from Obamacare?" which features the allegation, "Muslims don't have to participate in Obamacare due to "religious exemptions" not extended to Christians!"<sup>188</sup>

### **Truth in Love Project [Outer Core]**

Pastor Shahram Hadian of the Truth in Love Christian Fellowship is proudly "anti-Islam."<sup>189</sup> The Truth in Love Project's web site features common Islamophobic statements such as, "True Islam, as modeled by the Islamic prophet Muhammad, is what we are witnessing in the actions of jihadists like the Muslim Brotherhood, ISIS, Al Qaeda, Hamas, Hezbollah and their many supporters. This Islam is not radicalism or an aberration."<sup>190</sup> A DVD released by the Project in 2015 contains a feature titled, "Al Hijra: The Trojan Horse of Islamic Migration," which attempts to inspire fear of Muslim immigrants coming to the U.S.

### **Understanding the Threat [Inner Core]**

Understanding the Threat is a consultation and training group founded by former FBI agent John Guandolo. Guandolo claims that CIA Director Brennan is a secret Muslim agent for a foreign power. In his training materials, Guandolo refers to America's mosques and Islamic centers as “barracks” and falsely claims “it is a permanent command in Islam for Muslims to hate and despise Jews and Christians.”

### **United West (Fla.) [Inner Core]**

The United West's stated goal is to unite Western countries against Islam.

### **Washington Times [Outer Core]**

The Washington Times is a conservative newspaper circulated in the DC metro area. The paper publishes articles by inner core Islamophobes such as Frank Gaffney and Clare Lopez, giving their bias a legitimizing platform.

### **WND [Outer Core]**

WND, formerly World Net Daily, is a media group that publishes conservative news and commentary online, and print books under the imprint WND Books. World Net Daily often gives Islamophobes a platform from which to disseminate their bias.



# Endnotes

Intro.

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