The Hilltop Review

Volume 13 | Issue 1 Article 4

June 2022

Black (Muslim) Lives Matter: African American Muslim Social Activism

Jacob C. Riccioni
Western Michigan University

Black (Muslim) Lives Matter: African American Muslim Social Activism

By Jacob C. Riccioni

Abstract: Over the past eight years, the Black Lives Matter movement has advocated for marginalized communities within the African American population and called for police brutality and anti-black racism to be abolished. With the rise of Black Lives Matter in contemporary society, I am left wondering, do African American Muslims support the Black Lives Matter movement? There is no simple answer for African American Muslim leaders and laypeople because the Black Lives Matter movement supports LGBTQ+ rights, which some Muslims do not condone, and some rallies have broken out into riots. Religious leaders and scholars are split between supporting Black Lives Matter and supporting alternative faith-based activist groups. This article attempts to explore how African American Muslims engage in activism within the context of the Black Lives Matter movement and other social activism alternatives. Through the analysis of key terms relating to social activism and African American Muslims, this article explores how the Black Lives Matter movement began, the importance of activism online and in-person, exegetical statements on activism, how the concept of "double consciousness" can be applied to African American Muslims, and how African American Muslims engage in activism via the Black Lives Matter movement or alternatives. This research is a contemporary analysis in understanding how African Americans are called to challenge the status quo, anti-black racism, violence, and injustice through race and religion amidst the rise of the Black Lives Matter movement.

Introduction

The goal of this research is to explore how African American Muslims understand and engage in contemporary anti-racist social activism concerning the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement and other social activism alternatives. To better understand this process, this paper explores how African American Muslim leaders and public figures understand how Muslims should engage in activism by analyzing the exegetical statements of several African American Muslims activists and leaders. Ethnographic research previously completed by scholars is incorporated to understand how African American Muslims have engaged in social activism. Research on various media platforms was gathered to understand how African American Muslims are currently engaged in forms of activism. Ultimately, the goal of this paper is to better understand how African American Muslims engage in social activism through race, religion, representation, and power in the 21st century.

Understanding Key Terms

Before exploring how African American Muslims are discussing and engaging in social activism, it is necessary to define multiple terms for the sake of clarity in understanding what specific social groups and categories are being discussed. *The goal of this paper is not to gatekeep whether someone can or cannot ascribe a certain social identity to themselves. Nor is it the goal of this paper to make stipulative boundaries related to social identities.* For these reasons, anyone who identifies as African American is considered African American. However, the "American" of "African American" refers to those born in the United States or living in the United States, whether permanently or temporarily. This is because the goal is to analyze African American Muslim activism in the United States, not the Americas. Also, some scholars and individuals prefer to use the term "Black American" rather than "African American." For this reason, both terms will be used interchangeably. The next social identity that needs to be explored is what "Muslim" means.

Once again, Muslim identity is taken at face value; anyone who identifies as Muslim is a Muslim for the sake of this paper. This includes, but is not limited to, various denominations such as Sunni, Shia, the Nation of Islam, and the Moorish Science Temple. This also includes those who do not ascribe to a specific denomination but identify as Muslim. As described by sociologist Lori Peek in her 2005 article "Becoming Muslim: The Development of a Religious Identity," religious identities can be ascribed (e.g., being born Muslim or being a Muslim nominally), chosen (e.g., someone choosing to be Muslim), or declared (e.g., a Muslim affirming their identity publicly, typically in response to a crisis). These identities should not be understood as salient or static, but that one's understanding of their own religious identity can shift over time. Due to the fluidity of religious identity, the goal of this paper is not to examine to what degree a person's beliefs are held to be considered Muslim. Now that the terms "African American" and "Muslim" are defined, the next key terms to explore are "social justice" and "activism."

Defining an ambiguous term with varying semantics, such as "social justice," can be a daunting task; however, using a definition that encompasses the multiple facets of social reality was opted for. Social justice, as defined by The Investopedia Team in their website article titled "Social Justice," is:

> a political and philosophical theory which asserts that there are dimensions to the concept of justice beyond those embodied in the principles of civil or criminal law, economic supply and demand, or traditional moral frameworks. Social justice tends to focus more on just relations between groups within society as opposed to the justice of individual conduct or justice for individuals (2020).

This definition acknowledges that social justice seeks to rise above already established morals and laws of a group. Social justice seeks to reform these morals or laws to promote equality for a marginalized group. Overall, social justice seeks to correct the societal ills that disenfranchise a group within the larger context of society. Activism is one of the many ways people engage in the fight for social justice.

Like social justice, activism is another term that can be defined in several diverse ways. I will offer a stipulative definition of activism due to this. Activism, as I define it, is the actions of individuals or groups that seek to challenge the status quo and go beyond conventional mores and laws in the pursuit of justice, equality, and/or liberty. Furthermore, activism goes beyond the individual for the sake of a greater cause. Activism can occur in person or online and can be enacted through words (e.g., a sign, social media post, a speech, etc.), through mobilization (e.g., blocking a road, rallying, etc.), through alternative action (e.g., boycotts, draft-dodging, etc.), and more. The end goal of activism typically is social justice. One group fighting for social justice through activism is the Black Lives Matter movement.

The Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement can be considered anything from a Twitter hashtag to the various groups in the United States and abroad challenging racial injustice through protest. The BLM movement was initially started in 2013 by Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors, and Opal Tometi. This movement was started online via *Facebook* posts in response to the police brutality and unjust murders of African Americans in the United States. Typically, these violent acts are committed by white males who often get acquitted of the charges brought against them. Since 2013, the Black Lives Matter movement has grown from a *Facebook* hashtag into a global movement seeking justice for all people of color (Black Lives Matter 2021).

A Hashtag Revolution

On July 13, 2013, Alicia Garza posted on the popular social media site Facebook "black people. I love you. I love us. Our lives matter" (Black Lives Matter 2021). Not long after, Patrisse Marie Cullors-Brignac replied to Garza's post on Facebook adding "declaration: black bodies will no longer be sacrificed for the rest of the world's enlightenment. i [sic] am done. i [sic] am so done. trayvon[sic],

you are loved infinitely #blacklivesmatter" (Black Lives Matter 2021). These words were posted in response to George Zimmerman's acquittal of charges against him for the death and murder of Trayvon Martin, a 17-year-old African American. Also, Cullors' post was the first time the hashtag "#BlackLivesMatter" ever appeared on social media. However, this hashtag would quickly gain popularity among various social media users, and their words would soon transform how people fight for social justice and racial equality in the 21st century.

Incorporating the number of hashtags used by social media users also helps give credence to the importance of social media usage. According to Monica Anderson (2016), associate director of research at Pew Research Center, approximately 13.3 million tweets have used the hashtags #BlackLivesMatter or #AllLivesMatter, a counter-protest hashtag, between July 12, 2013, and March 13, 2016; a vast majority of these posts used the former hashtag. In less than three years, the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter has gained popularity in the U.S. and abroad.

The most notable trends in the use of #BlackLivesMatter are in response to the fatal shooting of Tamir Rice in 2014, when Officer Darren Wilson was not indicted for the shooting of Michael Brown in 2014, and when Sandra Bland was found hanged in her jail cell in 2015 (Anderson 2016). Social media is typically used as a response to hate crimes committed against African Americans based on the trends previously stated. Overall, Anderson's research helps explain how people react to events in the real world through online communication using quantifiable numbers. So, do social media posts count as a form of activism?

Social media posts count as social activism that shapes online discussions and real-life action. Social media serves as a way for African American Muslims and other marginalized groups to gain representation in the public sphere that virtually anyone can access, provided they have access to the internet. The hashtag #BlackLivesMatter is not only a way for people to learn the latest information and opinions related to the topic, but also the hashtag serves as a collective signifier for mobilizing people online and in person. The hashtag helps spread awareness of assorted topics related to anti-racism, protests, and even public lectures on social media. Furthermore, Black Lives Matter groups can be created on various social media platforms, and these groups can create event pages for planned protests or speeches. These groups can make their page more accessible to people looking to be involved in public demonstrations by using the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter. Social media and the use of hashtags proved to be crucial in helping organize protests and disseminate information after unarmed African American teenager Michael Brown was fatally shot by police in 2014.

Cultural anthropologists Yarimar Bonilla and Jonathan Rosa explore how online hashtags and other forms of online media can be used as field sites in their research article "#Ferguson: Digital Protest, Hashtag Ethnography, and the Racial Politics of Social Media in the United States" (2015). Specifically, they are looking at how *Twitter* is used to condemn police brutality and fight racism. Bonilla and Rosa argue that social media platforms are field sites. However, they distinguish that Ferguson, Missouri, and the hashtag #Ferguson are two unique research fields. These fields do overlap, but the online field site allows

individuals from all over the world to protest the murder of Michael Brown, systematic racism, and police brutality in the U.S. (Bonilla and Rosa 2015).

Furthermore, Bonilla and Rosa (2015) argue that digital activism is a "real" form of social activism. They use the hashtag #HandsUpDontShoot as an example to substantiate their claim. Bonilla and Rosa claim that "[t]hrough this campaign [hashtag #HandsUpDontShoot], users sought to call attention to the arbitrary nature of racialized policing, the vulnerability of black bodies, and the problematic ways in which blackness is perceived as a constant threat" (2015:8). The hashtag allows users to fight the portrayals of African Americans in mainstream media and signify what being African American means to the author of the post. Overall, social media allows users to counter-protest the stereotypes and the stigmatization of African Americans in the U.S. The concept of signification plays a major role in how African Americans redefine themselves against stereotypes imposed upon them by white American representations of African Americans.

In *Islam in the African-American Experience* (2003), African American religious studies scholar Richard Brent Turner argues that African Americans have constantly fought to signify themselves while being signified by white Americans. Turner defines signification as "the process by which names, signs, and stereotypes were given to non-European realities and peoples during the western conquest and exploration of the world" (2003:2-3). However, Turner adds that "Islam has undercut this signification by offering black Americans the chance to signify themselves, giving them new names and new political identities and cultural identities" (2003:3). Signification can be used as a method of oppression (e.g., white Americans labeling African American teenage boys as "thugs") or as a method of liberation (e.g., using Islam as a way of reclaiming African American religious heritage). Turner (2003) claims that African Americans continuously contend with how they are signified by white Americans. As stated in the previous paragraph, the BLM movement is a contemporary effort that gives African Americans the power to signify themselves amidst racism and police brutality in the U.S.

Exegetical Activism

Before exploring what Muslim leaders are saying about how Muslims should react to and engaged with the BLM movement, it is necessary to briefly discuss how Muslims define and understand activism. In the Foreword by Imam Zaid Shakir in *Towards Sacred Activism* (2018) by scholar Imam Dawud Walid, Shakir explores how activism is understood as a secular activity in the West. However, Shakir expresses that religion ought to be part of activism. Specifically, Shakir states that "it [justice] is a gift decreed by God" (Walid 2018:14) and that "activism can become a source of despair and frustration" (14) when God is not considered as part of the reason why people should engage in activism. Shakir believes that there should be no divide between religion and activism; activism should rely on God as a source of inspiration. Walid concurs with Shakir's statements throughout *Towards Sacred Activism* and offers his thoughts on justice

and activism.

Walid attempts to explain what justice is and how to define justice, both conventionally and functionally. Walid cites Muhammad bin Abi Bakr ar-Razi and defines justice "as being the opposite of oppression or tyranny which derives from deviation and encroachment" (2018:27-28). Justice serves as a form of equality and equity. Furthermore, Walid concludes that justice is dispensed by Allah and only occurs "[w]hen matters operate within the parameters as Allah[…] made them to operate in" (2018:28). For Walid, Muslims ought to strive for justice because justice is deontologically ethical (i.e., justice is intrinsically good because Allah dispenses justice). In the next chapter, he explains why Muslims should be called to engage in social justice activism.

Walid argues that all able-bodied Muslims are "obligated" to be advocates for and engage in social justice activism. Walid explains that "[s]upporting existing expressions of justice in society, restoring individuals' God-given rights that are currently denied, and interrupting factors that produce injustice are part of the Islamic faith" (2018:31). According to Walid, engaging in social justice activism is not only a civil obligation but also a religious obligation. His overall thesis guiding *Towards Sacred Activism* is that activism is not a secular but a sacred act for Muslims; hence, the title of the book. Walid's and Shakir's understanding of justice and activism are a limited perspective of how African American Muslims ought to understand their religious obligations towards activism. However, it is important to incorporate their perspectives into this paper due to Walid's influence and prominence in the public sphere as an Islamic intellectual. So, what are African American Islamic scholars' opinions on the Black Lives Matter movement and Muslims allying with them?

While Dawud Walid does not discuss BLM in *Towards Sacred Activism*, he does elsewhere. In a recently published article by Walid titled "Muslims' Engagement in 2020 with BLM: Promise and Problems" (2021), he expresses his opinions on whether Muslims should align with BLM or not. First, Walid is appalled when he learns that there is a general apathy toward anti-black racism from non-African American Muslims during the height of the Ferguson protests, especially when the victims of racism are not Muslim (2021). However, he does note that discussions on anti-racism and confronting systematic oppression have become more prominent in Muslim discourses since 2016. According to Walid, many Muslims, regardless of race or national origin, have "seemingly jumped on the BLM bandwagon without critical analysis based on our [Islamic] spiritual tradition" (2021) and critiques these Muslims for not contemplating what BLM stands for.

Furthermore, Walid believes that Muslims can, and ought to, protest racial injustice while not becoming a part of the BLM. He supports his claims by explaining that the Mosque Cares group and the Muslim Alliance of North America group do not sponsor the BLM movement (Walid 2021). Walid concludes that African American Muslims should not support the BLM movement because BLM is partially funded by white foundations, some protests turn into rioting even though BLM does not condone these violent actions, and because BLM supports LGBTQ+ equal rights (2021). Walid claims same-sex attraction and nontraditional gender expressions to be antithetical to Islamic

teachings on gender, sexuality, and marriage (2018). Walid argues that African American Muslims, and Muslims in general, should not ally with the BLM movement because BLM does not align with and, in some instances, contradicts Islamic moral teaching (2021). However, he contends that Muslims ought to engage in social activism and social justice through an Islamic understanding of how to engage in activism (Walid 2018).

As a side note, although Islam is against same-sex attraction dogmatically, not all Muslims would agree with Walid (2018; 2021) and be against supporting LGBTQ+ equal rights. Imam Daayiee Abdullah is one Muslim leader and scholar attempting to reform Islamic teachings on LGBTQ+ rights. He is the director of LGBT outreach for Muslims for Progressive Values and Imam and educational director for Light of Reform Mosque in Washington D.C., a queer and interfaith friendly mosque. Also, he is an openly gay Imam whose work focuses on creating an inclusive space for LGBTQ+ Muslims (Khan 2013). So, while Walid (2018; 2021) and other Muslims may condemn same-sex attraction based on religious understanding, not all Muslims agree with this viewpoint; one can be a Muslim *and* a member of the LGBTQ+ community as is the case for Imam Abdullah.

On the other side of the argument are anthropologist Donna Auston and ethnic studies scholar Sylvia Chan-Malik who discuss the importance of African American Muslims allying with the BLM movement in their transcribed dialogue, "Drawing Near to God's Pleasure: A Dialogue on the Black Muslim Political Tradition and the Moral-Ethical Imperatives of American Islam" (2019). Like Walid, Auston is surprised that engaging in anti-racism, social activism, and condemning the systematic oppression and violence towards African Americans was rarely discussed by non-African American Muslims. Auston continues by arguing that non-African American Muslims do not see the BLM movement as a "Muslim issue" (2019:187), and Chan-Malik adds that this lack of concern "stems from a lack of knowledge on the part of non-Black Muslims" (2019:187). So, the BLM movement has struggled to gain support from Muslims due to the segregation of African American Muslims from non-black Muslims, resulting in some Muslims believing anti-black racism is not a Muslim issue. However, they diverge from Walid on if Muslims should ally with BLM.

Auston and Chan-Malik argue that the BLM movement is a Muslim issue, and that Muslims should ally with the BLM movement. Auston asserts that "*social justice is a moral imperative and an act of worship* [emphasis added by Auston]" (2019:199) and that Muslims ought to align themselves with the BLM movement. Furthermore, she claims that Muslims cannot be tacit when injustice occurs. Auston makes an exegetical statement saying, "the Last Sermon of the Prophet Muhammad[…] is an anti-racist message" (2019:197). Auston backs up her claims that Muslims should ally with BLM by using the Prophet Muhammad as a source of inspiration and religious authority. Muslims can be called to support or find alternatives to the BLM movement depending on how religion is interpreted.

Double Consciousness: Being African American and Muslim

In another article written by Auston titled "Prayer, Protest, and Police Brutality:

Black Muslim Spiritual Resistance in the Ferguson Era" (2017), she explores the concept of "double consciousness" and how it applies to African American Muslims. Auston states that "'double consciousness' allows us to theorize experience through the contemplation of multiple, simultaneously embodied subjectivities, at times with considerable friction and despite one another" (2017:14). This quote explains that African American Muslims are African American *and* Muslim concurrently. However, these two identities can create an identity crisis at times. In the case of the BLM movement, these two identities can create friction.

African American Muslim laypeople can have an identity conflict between their racial identity and religious identity depending on whom they are seeking spiritual guidance from. For example, Dawud Walid (2021) claims that African American Muslims should not ally with the BLM movement. However, laypeople who look to Walid for guidance may feel conflicted because, as African Americans, they feel the need to ally with BLM. However, Walid does offer alternatives to the BLM movement to help alleviate the identity strain this may cause. On the other hand, if the layperson seeks religious guidance from someone who supports BLM, then these two identities are less likely to conflict. Anthropologist Robert Dannin also explores the significance of being African American and Muslim.

In *Black Pilgrimage to Islam*, Dannin explores why African Americans, who are already a minority in the U.S., would make themselves a double minority by becoming Muslim. What Dannin (2002) finds is that Islam reinvents African American identity while connecting to African roots; "Islam promises liberation from social problems" (262); the hijra becomes a symbolic narrative of one's life experience; and "Islam rewrites biography and even seeks to reinterpret history" (263) of African Americans. For African American Muslims, Islam helps solidify their racial and ethnic identities. Islam also justifies the fight for civil rights and equality. Other scholars have examined how Muslims still must fight for civil rights in post 9/11 America.

Anthropologist Sunaina Marr Maira (2016) explores how identity relates to activism in her book *The 9/11 Generation: Youth, Rights, and Solidarity in the War on Terror*. She finds that "activism focused on Muslim civil liberties has also become an opportunity to wage a battle for inclusion into the national community and recognition as political subjects via a discourse of rights" (Maira 2016:82). Not only are African Americans still fighting for equal rights, but Muslims are too. Activism can help coalesce the identity of being African American and Muslim through the fight for equal rights. It can also promote racial solidarity between Muslim groups (Maira 2016).

Overall, the concept of "double consciousness" is important in understanding how African American Muslims live within two unique social identities. These identities can cause internal conflict if the person does not believe the BLM movement aligns with their religious teachings. However, both identities can also coalesce to create an identity that promotes liberation from oppression and activism for civil rights. Indeed, Sherman A. Jackson (2005) argues in his chapter "Islam and Black Religion" from *Islam and the Blackamerican: Looking Toward the Third Resurrection* that Islam was

"appropriated" by African Americans and syncretized with "Blackamerican Religion" to become a theology of liberation (28). Regardless, Islam has served as a means of signifying liberation through religion. With this in mind, let us now look at how African American Muslims are engaged in the Black Lives Matter movement.

African American Muslims, BLM, and Alternative Activism

In the earlier mentioned article by Donna Auston (2017), she explores how African American Muslims support the BLM movement. The first main point that Auston makes is that not all African Americans are Muslim, and not all Muslims are African American. Due to this, African American Muslims and non-Muslim African Americans protest differently in some respects. Therefore, African American Muslims tend to be overlooked by research and media outlets discussing BLM due to them being a small group within the larger protest. However, she argues that social activism and the fight for social justice are integral parts of African American Muslim identity. Auston words this best by stating, "Black American Islam has always been about the struggle for racial equality and religious freedom shaped by the intersectional concerns necessitated by the fight on multiple fronts against state power, anti-Blackness, and entrenched White supremacy" (2017:20). To be an African American Muslim is to be someone who constantly works towards social justice and equality on multiple fronts. Overall, Auston concludes that some African American Muslims are engaged in the BLM movement but are a small group within the movement, causing them to be overlooked (2017). Muslim organizations have also spoken out against racism and how Muslims should engage with BLM.

Muslim Anti-Racism Collaborative (ARC) is a nonprofit organization founded in the U.S. committed to racial justice education with a heavy emphasis on African American Muslims. Muslim ARC started as an online organization in 2014, creating the hashtag #beingblackandmuslim. They created the hashtag to bring awareness to racial and religious topics. The organization has quickly gained prominence and international attention since its inception (MuslimARC 2017). Muslim ARC even created a toolkit to help guide Muslims in their interactions with the BLM movement after Michael Brown's case resulted in a non-indictment. However, Muslim ARC is rather vague about whether Muslims should support and be a part of the BLM movement.

The "#BlackLivesMatter: MuslimARC Toolkit" was first created in 2014, authored by Magari Hill, and revised in 2016. The toolkit offers a variety of information and other resources on how Muslims should interact with BLM. Muslim ARC neither supports nor opposes BLM. However, they offer alternative groups to BLM, including Muslim ARC's "Call for Justice" letter and Muslims for Ferguson. The toolkits discuss how Muslims should engage in activism and anti-racism. Also, the toolkit suggests that if Muslims interact with the BLM movement, they should do so from an Islamic perspective, promoting egalitarianism and engaging in non-violent protests (Hill 2016). Muslim ARC released a letter in 2014 calling Muslims to condemn murder and racism in the wake of the Ferguson trial of Darren Wilson but makes no mention of the BLM

movement (Hill 2014).

The Center for Global Muslim Life is another Muslim organization analyzing how African American Muslims and Muslims, in general, engage in anti-racism and activism through the BLM movement and alternatives. Their article "The Muslim Community Rises with Ferguson: From Ferguson to Palestine" explores how Muslims supported the Ferguson protests after 18-year-old Michael Brown was fatally shot by police officers both within the U.S. and abroad. Many Muslims opted to join the Muslims for Ferguson protesters. However, some Muslims protested as part of the BLM movement (The Center for Global Muslim Life 2015). Overall, African American Muslims found a way to stand in solidarity against police brutality and racism via either group.

African American Muslim support for the BLM is not entirely clear. On the one hand, some African American Muslims seek alternative protest groups more aligned with Islamic teachings, as Dawud Walid (2018; 2021) argues they should be. On the other hand, some African American Muslims see no issues in joining the BLM movement, as Donna Auston (2017; 2019) finds. However, African American Muslims engage in social activism strategically by using their religion to help shape how they protest. Either way, Muslims can be found engaging in social activism and justice.

Conclusion

African American Muslims are strategically engaged in activism. Race and religion play a key role in how African American Muslims understand activism and justice. African American Muslims are caught in a "double consciousness" by being African American *and* Muslim, which can create conflict at times. However, Muslim groups have attempted to rectify this potential conflict of social identities (Auston 2017). Attempts are made through disseminating information such as the Muslim ARC's BLM toolkit and creating alternative activist groups like Muslims for Ferguson (Hill 2016). Regardless, African American Muslims feel racially and religiously obliged to fight for social justice, engage in anti-racism, and support social activism

Activism is one way many African American Muslims are able to challenge the status quo. The power created in numbers through protests challenges the power held by anti-black racists in the U.S. Protestors attempt to give a voice to African Americans that are silenced by racist oppression. The hashtag #BlackLivesMatter is one way African Americans regain the power to represent themselves. Furthermore, African American Muslims leaders such as Dawud Walid (2018; 2021) attempt to inform Muslims on how they should represent themselves when engaging in political activism by discouraging Muslims from allying with the BLM movement. Ultimately, African American Muslims engage in activism in an attempt to gain the power to represent themselves and abolish oppression.

African American Muslims strategically fight for social justice and engage in anti-racism through social media and taking part in protests hosted by the Black Lives Matter movement or alternative protest groups. Social media has played a key role in the BLM movement, broadcasting information and opinions on racial

injustice and creating representation for African American Muslims with hashtags such as #beingblackandmuslim. Muslim leaders, scholars, and groups have spoken out about how Muslims should engage in social activism, both in support and opposition to the BLM movement. However, African American Muslims are caught in a state of "double consciousness" by being African American *and* Muslim. This can cause tension between their religious identity and racial identity, especially when engaging in social activism. Although this may cause friction, African American Muslims have found ways to reconcile potential conflicts by justifying supporting BLM or finding alternative activist groups.

References

Anderson, Monica. 2016. "Social Media Conversations About Race: How Social Media Users See, Share and Discuss Race and the Rise of Hashtags like #BlackLivesMatter." *Pew Research Center: Internet, Science & Tech*. Retrieved December 5, 2021 (https://www.pewresearch.org/internet/2016/08/15/social-media-conversations-about-race/).

Auston, Donna. 2017. "Prayer, Protest, and Police Brutality: Black Muslim Spiritual Resistance in the Ferguson Era." *Transforming Anthropology* 25, no. 1: 11–22.

Auston, Donna, and Sylvia Chan-Malik. 2019. "Drawing Near to God's Pleasure: A Dialogue on the Black Muslim Political Tradition and the Moral-Ethical Imperatives of American Islam." In *Muslims and US Politics Today: A Defining Moment*, edited by Mohammad Hassan Khalil, 185–200. Boston: Ilex Foundation.

Black Lives Matter. 2021. "8 Years Strong." Retrieved November 30, 2021. (https://blacklivesmatter.com/8-years-strong/).

Bonilla, Yarimar and Jonathan Rosa. 2015. "#Ferguson: Digital Protest, Hashtag Ethnography, and the Racial Politics of Social Media in the United States." *American Ethnologist* 42, no. 1: 4–17.

Dannin, Robert. 2002. *Black Pilgrimage to Islam*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hill, Magari. 2014. "A Muslim for Ferguson Letter." *Muslim Anti-Racism Collaborative*. Retrieved December 10, 2021 (https://www.muslimarc.org/muslims_for_ferguson_letter).

Hill, Magari. 2016. "#BlackLivesMatter: MuslimARC Toolkit." *Google*. Retrieved December 10, 2021 (https://docs.google.com/document/d/1q3Cw6YfH8kMQ6E34u0BuMbZzdPDDj1bREGBdgXUoQwk/pub#h.rtuffd1w0hcl).

Khan, Azmat. 2013. "Meet America's First Openly Gay Imam." *Al Jazeera America*. Retrieved March 30, 2022 (http://america.aljazeera.com/watch/shows/america-tonight/america-tonight-blog/2013/12/20/meet-america-s-firstopenlygayimam.html).

Maira, Sunaina. 2016. *The 9/11 Generation: Youth, Rights, and Solidarity in the War on Terror*. New York: New York University Press.

MuslimArc. 2017. *The Muslim Anti-Racism Collaborative (MuslimARC) Story*. YouTube. Retrieved December 7, 2021 (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gDx2kxn6FNw).

Peek, Lori. 2005. "Becoming Muslim: The Development of a Religious Identity." *Sociology of Religion* 66, no. 3:215–42.

Jackson, Sherman A. 2005. "Islam and Black Religion." Pp. 23–57 in *Islam and the Blackamerican: Looking Toward the Third Resurrection*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

The Center for Global Muslim Life. 2015. "The Muslim Community Rises with Ferguson." *The Center for Global Muslim Life*. Retrieved December 15, 2021 (https://medium.com/ummah-wide/the-muslim-community-rises-with-ferguson-1f5880e2fc11).

The Investopedia Team. 2020. "Social Justice." *Investopedia*. Retrieved December 1, 2021 (https://www.investopedia.com/terms/s/social-justice.asp).

Turner, Richard B. 2003. *Islam in the African American Experience*. 2nd ed. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Walid, Dawud. 2018. *Towards Sacred Activism*. Al-Madina Institute.

Walid, Dawud. 2021. "Muslims' Engagement in 2020 with BLM: Promise and Problems." *Islamic Human Rights Commission*. Retrieved December 6, 2021 (https://www.ihrc.org.uk/category/publications/the-long-view/tlv-vol3-issue1/).