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'Sexual Misery' or 'Happy British Muslims'?: Contemporary Depictions of Muslim Sexuality

Journal:	<i>Ethnicities</i>
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Manuscript Type:	Article
Keywords:	Muslim, sexualities, media, misery, happiness, literature, Shelina Zahra Janmohamed, Ayisha Malik, Amjeed Kabil, Sara Ahmed
Abstract:	<p>We begin this article with a close look at some contemporary pictures of sexual life in the Muslim world that have been painted in certain sections of the Western media, asking how and why these pictures matter. Across a range of mainstream print media from the New York Times to the Daily Mail, and across reported events from several countries, can be found pictures of 'sexual misery' (Daoud, 2016: np.). These 'frame' Muslim men as tyrannical, Muslim women as downtrodden or exploited, and the wider world of Islam as culpable (Morey and Yaqin, 2012). Crucially, this is not the whole story. We then consider how these negative representations are being challenged and how they can be challenged further. In doing so, we will not simply set pictures of sexual misery against their binary opposites, namely pictures replete with the promise of sexual happiness (Ahmed, 2010). Instead, we search for a more complex picture, one that challenges stereotypes about the sexual lives of Muslims without simply idealizing its subjects. This takes us to the journalism, life writing and creative nonfiction of Shelina Zahra Janmohamed and the fiction of Ayisha Malik and Amjeed Kabil. We read this long-form work critically, attending to manifest advances in depictions of the relationships of Muslim-identified individuals over the last decade or so, while also remaining alert to lacunae and limitations in the individual representations. More broadly, we hope to signal our intention to avoid both Islamophobia and Islamophilia (Shryock, 2010) in scrutinizing literary texts.</p>

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6 **Sexual misery' or 'happy British Muslims'?: Contemporary depictions of Muslim**
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10 Claire Chambers, Richard Phillips, Nafhesa Ali, Peter Hopkins and Raksha Pande
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14 **Introduction**
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16 Writing for the *New York Times* in February 2016, the French–Algerian writer Kamel Daoud
17 painted a picture of ‘one of the great miseries plaguing’ ~~the~~ Arab nations and indeed the
18 Muslim world in general: ‘its sick relationship with women’ (2016b: np.). Daoud
19 consequently located a series of sexual assaults within an expansive sexual ecology,
20 encompassing intersecting cultural, ethnic, national and religious groups, which he took to
21 include Arabs, North Africans, refugees and, above all, Muslims. The sexual assaults
22 examined in Daoud’s article had taken place in the German cities of Cologne, Hamburg and
23 Stuttgart a month earlier. This article published in the *New York Times*, like many other
24 reports and features disseminated across a number of different media platforms including
25 newspapers and websites, communicated a seemingly coherent picture, which appeared to
26 explain the assaults with ease. It portrayed Muslim men as tyrannical, Muslim women as
27 downtrodden or exploited, and the wider world of Islam as culpable (see also Morey and
28 Yaqin, 2011). Daoud linked the actions of a small number of individuals to wider cultural and
29 religious groups, beginning with the million or so refugees who had recently been granted
30 asylum in Germany and extending to the wider Arab world, North African and Middle
31 Eastern peoples and cultures, and as well as to the Islamic world more broadly.
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47 The counterpoint to the ‘miserable’ Muslims depicted in the *New York Times* article
48 was, of course, an equally stereotypically portrayed West. Daoud implicitly characterized the
49 West as a culture and people who uphold values pertaining to gender equality and sexual
50 harmony. In the context of powerful Orientalist myths about the Arab and Muslim world as a
51 hotbed of repressed sexuality—which Daoud admittedly acknowledged—it was damaging
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6 that his article also employed the diction of contagion. It portrayed Muslims and Arabs as
7 sexually dangerous, their 'sick relationship with women' threatening the 'healthy' European
8 body politic.¹ According to Daoud, a disease—implied as sexual in nature—is 'spreading to
9 [Western] [...] lands'. This 'pathology' is also broadening from a mental to a physical
10 register, where its expressions range from hymen reconstruction surgery to the actions of
11 suicide bombers (2016b: np.). It should not escape the reader's notice that, both according to
12 Daoud and amongst the Islamic religious authorities he decries, an emphasis on what is
13 deemed 'healthy' and wholesome and what is labelled as sick forms an ideological
14 substratum for controlling what women do with their bodies and with whom. Small wonder
15 that feminists and queer theorists such as Sara Ahmed and Ann Cvetkovich have called for
16 the 'depathologization' (Cvetkovich, 2012: 5) of negative affects such as misery. These
17 scholars have drawn attention to various manifestations of unhappiness as racialized
18 categories associated with 'melancholy migrants' (Ahmed, 2010: 121–159). They posit that
19 in the context of (neo-)colonialism such emotions are 'not so much a medical or biochemical
20 dysfunction as a very rational response to global conditions' (Cvetkovich, 2012: 5).
21 Accordingly, these theorists call for a recalibration of widespread, and potentially damaging,
22 assumptions that happiness is automatically equated with the reductive concept of 'good' and
23 misery is diametrically opposed as 'bad'.
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41 Returning to Daoud, his argumentational thrust is remarkably familiar. Indeed, this
42 latest iteration of counterproductive stereotypes and sometimes wilful confusions can be
43 traced back through European colonial histories. However, this moralistic discourse of
44 difference has shifted and expanded over time, mapping onto contemporary developments
45 and events. Kamel Daoud's *New York Times* article reworked an original piece—'*Cologne,*
46 *lieu de fantasmes*'—which the French newspaper *Le Monde* printed on 31 January 2016.
47 These two articles were simply the latest instalments from a subgenre of journalism in which
48 current events with broadly sexual content were, and, indeed, are, reported on and interpreted
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against a common backdrop or, as Edward Said put it (2003/1978), an imaginative geography. A jumbled picture of Arab and Islamic worlds is sketched on this backdrop, centring on North Africa and the Middle East and spilling over into any place where Arab and/or Muslim men come into contact with others. Such an imaginative geography exists primarily in the European mind, but it is mapped onto real people and places, forming the lens through which events are interpreted. This is a metaphorical place of misery, where tyrannical men objectify and exploit women and girls, both within and outside their own communities.

To understand this emphasis upon misery, it helps to focus more closely on Sara Ahmed, whose monograph *The Promise of Happiness* identifies an emotional apartheid in which unhappiness (or, in our case, misery) is kept quarantined as far away from happiness as possible:

[T]he very idea of contagion can be evoked in the self-regulation of feeling worlds. You might refuse proximity to somebody out of fear that you will be infected by unhappiness, or you might seek proximity to somebody out of hope that you will be infected by happiness. An affective geography of happiness takes shape. Unhappiness is pushed to the margins, which means certain bodies are pushed to the margins, in order that the unhappiness that is assumed to reside within these bodies does not threaten the happiness that has been given. (2010: 97–98)

Ahmed communicates that the much-vaunted affect of happiness, which is usually portrayed as within every individual's grasp, is intimately connected to privilege. Denying the significance of 'the hap of what happens' (2010: 31, 33, 41) means that '[f]eelings can get stuck to certain bodies' (2010: 69). Thus, happiness and misery map onto 'good' and 'bad' Muslims respectively, and in turn, as we will argue, 'good' and 'bad' Muslims map onto

~~Islamophobia and Islamophilia~~ and Islamophobia.

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7 At stake in Daoud's article, as in several other media reports and commentaries on the
8 sexual assaults in Germany, is the creation of a composite category of the sexually rapacious
9 refugee, Arab and Muslim man. As previously mentioned, the actions of relatively few
10 individuals are axiomatically identified with this increasingly capacious and allegedly
11 predatory group. Each of the subcategories matters, but one stands out as the usual suspect in
12 this burgeoning genre of current affairs reporting: the Muslim man. In response to the *New*
13 *York Times* article, a group of academics, including David Theo Goldberg, Ghassan Hage and
14 Laleh Khalili, published an open letter also in *Le Monde* on 11 February protesting Daoud's
15 'psychologization' of 'more than a billion individuals' from Muslim backgrounds (Goldberg
16 et al., 2016: np.).

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Muslim studies tends to be dominated by social science disciplines, including sociology, human geography, religious studies and criminology. Breaking new ground, the [AHRC-funded Storying Relationships](#) research project from which this article stems focuses on the concomitant importance of [arts and](#) humanities scholarship in the field of Muslim studies. By bridging the social sciences and literary or cultural studies approaches and aiming to transcend the pernicious dichotomies of good Muslim and bad Muslim or [Islamophobia](#) ~~and~~ [Islamophilia](#) [and Islamophobia](#), our research seeks to find a middle ground between polarized positions. This is especially salient in light of the recent rise of extremism—*Islamist*, *Hindutva* *and* white supremacist. In Tariq Ali's 2002 book *The Clash of Fundamentalisms*, he describes American imperialism as the most dangerous 'fundamentalism' of our contemporary moment. More recently, in *Age of Anger* Pankaj Mishra explores how ISIS, white supremacy and Hindu fundamentalism have a surprising amount in common ~~and~~. Like Ali, Mishra categorizes blind adherence to global capital as a type of fanaticism (2017: 37, 44, 78, 351). Keeping in mind the rise of both violent extremism accreting to Islam and of the far right, we seek to unsettle hostility towards, as well as uncritical praise of, Muslims through [detailed](#) analysis of literary texts. The

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7 contrasting pictures of the ‘sexual misery’ of Muslims on the one hand and ‘happy British
8 Muslims’ on the other is unpicked in this article, which takes creative non-fiction and novels
9 as more illuminating points of reference than media representations. While this article begins
10 with an in-depth discussion of the depiction of Muslim men, the article then moves on to
11 examine the portrayal of Muslim women and to a particularly female-associated literary
12 genre—namely, chick lit. Finally, we consider the stories about Muslim sexualities that are
13 not yet in circulation. We ask how these stories could be produced, circulated and consumed,
14 and whether through their telling and sharing sexual relationships could be reimagined.
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24 **Mainstream depictions of Muslim sexualities**

25 Before examining the work of a number of Muslim-identified writers who relate stories about
26 relationships and sexualities within their communities—thus bringing hitherto unheard stories
27 and experiences to wider audiences—it is necessary to develop a clearer picture of what they
28 are writing *against*, whether explicitly or implicitly. As outlined above, journalists have
29 adumbrated an expansive sexual ecology of Islamic sexualities through reference to
30 stereotypes and caricatures. This article is concerned with the form that these stereotypes
31 currently take in the UK, as well as with writers’ responses to such depictions. Close reading
32 allows us to differentiate a series of themes that go beyond the inflammatory headlines
33 equating sexual misery with Muslim men—and literature by Muslim-identified writers
34 fleshes out conventional mediations of this ‘misery’.
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45 First, it is essential to identify some of the specific ways in which Muslim sexualities
46 have been portrayed in mainstream discourse in the context of the United Kingdom. An
47 important and indicative example of this mainstream discourse, in the form of media and
48 political commentary, is provided through representations and discussions of Child Sexual
49 Exploitation (CSE) and Child Sexual Abuse (CSA). CSE/A has been widespread throughout
50 the UK, but has been especially and alarmingly prominent in a number of post-industrial,
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6 socially and economically deprived parts of the Midlands, Lancashire, Yorkshire and now
7 Tyne and Wear. Geographically, there is an overlap between areas affected by CSE/A and
8 those with substantial populations of Black, Asian, and minority ethnic (BAME) groups,²
9 notably those with Pakistani Muslim heritage .

14 Dominating prevailing discussions of CSE/A is a narrative in which commentators
15 claim to have identified and transgressed a wilful and cowardly silence maintained by liberals
16 and those belonging to associated professional classes in their refusal to blame Pakistani,
17 Muslim or Asian men and their wider communities for acts of sexual exploitation and abuse.
18 Breaking this taboo— acknowledging what the (London) *Times* reporter Andrew Norfolk has
19 called the ‘elephant in the room’—these commentators go to some lengths to explain
20 precisely how and why the men in these targeted minority groups are culpable. Today, their
21 interventions have become sufficiently commonplace that any claims about elephants in the
22 room are no longer tenable. Indeed, these claims have reached beyond their most obvious
23 home—right-wing and populist British print newspapers such as the *Times* and *Daily Mail*—
24 to permeate more liberal-identified voices, including that of the former New Labour Home
25 Secretary and Blackburn MP Jack Straw. This observation resonates with Joseph Massad’s
26 argument that Islamophobia and liberalism are not mutually exclusive; on the contrary, he
27 argues, they are mutually constitutive (Massad, 2015; see also Phillips, 2016). Commenting
28 on the conviction of two rapists in 2011, Straw asserted:

43 We need to get the Pakistani community to think much more clearly about why this is
44 going on [...] These young men are in a western society; they act like any other young
45 men, they’re fizzing and popping with testosterone, they want some outlet for that, but
46 Pakistani heritage girls are off-limits and they are expected to marry a Pakistani girl
47 from Pakistan, typically. (BBC, 2011: np.)

52 Straw’s confidently confrontational tone has been echoed and apparently vindicated more
53 recently by those in the professional classes and others in positions of power and authority,
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7 evidenced by the Jay Report (2014), which investigated the circumstances surrounding the
8 sexual abuse of at least 1400 children in Rotherham between 1997 and 2013 (see Tufail,
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10 2015), and the Casey Review, which examined (the alleged failures of) social integration in
11 the UK. These discourses, which have clearly become orthodox wisdom and therefore no
12 longer taboo, demand a closer look.
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16 The dominant and arguably hegemonic discourse on Muslim sexualities is
17 inconsistent in its use of ethnic, racial and religious categories and terms, but its primary
18 concern ultimately lies with Muslims. In an op-ed on the Rotherham child abuse, Norfolk
19 accused ‘Muslim men, mostly of Pakistani origin’ of being the perpetrators (Norfolk, 2012a:
20 11); this demonstrates a widespread tendency to slip between these and related terms,
21 effectively using them as synonyms. In another article entitled ‘Role of Asian Gangs is
22 Played Down by Report on Thousands of Child Victims’, Norfolk quotes Michael Gove, the
23 Conservative Member of Parliament, former minister and jingoistic Brexiteer, as complaining
24 about the establishment’s silence on ‘Asian abusers’ (Norfolk, 2012b: 12). The media’s far
25 too regular (and unexamined) slippage between categories, including Muslim, Pakistani and
26 Asian, refugee and immigrant, is open to interpretation. It may be argued that journalists,
27 seeking to vary their language, are merely reaching for synonyms. Equally, it may be that
28 their muddled reportage betrays ignorance. Whatever the case, categories are conflated,
29 particular terms are used as surrogates for others, and out of this confusing picture the
30 category of the Muslim floats to the surface. In the context of post-7/7 British media
31 reportage on Muslims, Maria Sobolewska and Sundas Ali argue that the coverage ‘follow[s] a
32 pre-existing media narrative’ (2015: 677), which may in turn be located within a much larger
33 discursive system—namely, that of sexualized Orientalism (Phillips, 2016).
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50 Sexualized Orientalism, though a historically coherent and repetitive narrative, is also
51 marked by local variations and apparent contradictions. Sexualized Orientalist figures—of
52 which Muslim men are prime examples—are in some cases depicted as sensuous and
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6 hypersexualized, in others as sexually repressed, and in certain cases as embodying both of
7 these contradictory tendencies at once (Phillips, 2016). Straw's description of British Muslim
8 men, for example, simultaneously refers to young men 'fizzing and popping with
9 testosterone' and to a culture that denies them a healthy sexual 'outlet', allegedly driving
10 them to take action in extreme ways, such as through the sexual exploitation of children. In
11 his assertions about the closed sexual ecologies of British-Pakistani Muslims, Straw also
12 dismissed the women in those communities, constructing them as sexually unavailable,
13 repressed figures, devoid of sexual desire and experience.

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22 Although this damaging and incorrect portrait of Muslim sexualities is becoming
23 increasingly common and widespread, the media and various individuals responsible for
24 creating and sustaining this story have not been successful in entirely eradicating other
25 perspectives ~~or silencing dissenting voices~~. The simplistic picture of Muslim sexual
26 aggressors and white victims has been undercut, for example, by Manveen Rana's report for
27 the BBC's *File on 4* radio documentary series (2014: np.). In this programme Rana exposed
28 the fact that Asian women were victims in Rotherham too, but that their voices have been
29 silenced. Similarly, the *Guardian* ran an article by Deputy Children's Commissioner Sue
30 Berelowitz, who unequivocally stated that CSE/A is 'not a problem within one particular
31 faith or ethnic group' (Berelowitz, 2012b: np.). Berelowitz argued that the ethnicities of
32 abusers and victims alike mirrored those of the communities in which these events took
33 place—with a majority of abusers, in fact, being white.

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The BBC and *Guardian*'s critical and sympathetic coverage illustrates that the
emergent narrative of CSE/A as a Muslim problem is contested. Furthermore, this is not
simply a matter of mainstream voices (of non-Muslims and white people) being pitted against
those of Muslims, even though this is part of the story. And, while some non-Muslims are
searching for a gradated approach, a number of Muslim-identified commentators are taking
an opposing stance. Yasmin Alibhai-Brown, identifying herself as Muslim, took issue with

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6 Berelowitz (2012a), whom she accused of failing to name and blame those who were
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8 disproportionately responsible for CSE/A: Muslim men of Asian heritage, specifically
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10 Pakistani. Alibhai-Brown alleged that this official was held back by political correctness and
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12 the fear of being labelled 'racist'. In keeping with the shrill and combative tone of the right-
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14 wing British tabloid newspaper for which she was writing, Alibhai-Brown dramatized and
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16 sensationalized. 'Circles of sexual hell for young girls are run by gangs of Muslim men (most
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18 of Pakistani or Bangladeshi heritage) who mostly prey on white girls', she claimed (2012:
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20 np.). This journalistic extrapolation, in which localized events are linked to a bigger picture
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22 and Muslims are identified as blameworthy, is often implicit; however, there are also
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24 instances where this is undeniably spelt out for the reader. The *New York Times*' reporter
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26 Emma-Kate Symons drew simplistic parallels between the New Year assaults in Cologne and
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28 those that took place in Rotherham. Symons claimed that white girls in the northern English
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30 town were 'targeted ethnically by Pakistani gangs', and she identified both Rotherham and
31
32 Cologne as forming part of a wider 'sexual jihad' (2016: np.). This phrase seems to have been
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34 borrowed from India, where a right-wing Hindutva urban myth, spread through social media
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36 platform WhatsApp, has whipped up majoritarian anger over allegations of Hindu women
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38 being abducted by Muslim men, forcibly converted to Islam, coerced into marriage and then
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40 held captive by their 'husbands' (see Sethi, 2015: 33–37). The coinage of 'sexual jihad' may
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42 also be a reaction to Amina Wadud's 2006 publication of an urgent, radical book entitled
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44 *Inside the Gender Jihad: Women's Reform of Islam* (notably, Wadud is an African-American
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46 academic and in 2005 became the first woman to lead a New York City mosque congregation
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48 in prayer). More generally, though, the idea of sexual jihad revisits and renews a wider
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50 discourse in which Muslim men are portrayed as sexual tyrants and, conversely, sexual
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52 tyrants are portrayed above all as Muslims.

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54 The issue of CSE/A is not just explored with journalistic relish, as evidenced by its
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56 treatment in Nadeem Aslam's acclaimed anti-clerical novel, *Maps for Lost Lovers*. From his

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6 controversial opening line on the subject—'[s]emen was found on the mosque floor late last
7 evening' (2004: 234)—onwards,³ Aslam provides details of the sexual abuse of a child by a
8 Muslim cleric. This cleric has been employed in a northern English mosque despite his
9 known history of assaults on children, and the novel traces the religious community's cover-
10 up of this abuse. It is important to examine this example in the context of Aslam's manifest
11 aesthetic qualities, as well as his problematic overloading of religious maltreatment in the
12 novel. *Maps for Lost Lovers*' primary plotline centres on the 'honour' killing of an unmarried
13 British-Pakistani couple who live together, but subsidiary cruelties include the violent
14 exorcism of djinns, women's lack of rights under Islamic divorce and the pernicious effects
15 of gender segregation.
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These depictions, some of them caricatures and all of them freighted with negativity, touch on many of the themes that various Muslim-identified and non-Muslim writers, from journalists to novelists, have written against. We will now turn to some of the counter-hegemonic representations that these writers have produced.

Happier pictures of Muslim sexualities

Responding to the pervasive pictures of misery described above, more positive perspectives on Muslim sexualities are gaining traction and attention. To begin with the mainstream media, the *Herald Scotland* (Duffy, 2014: np.), BBC (2003: np.) and *Guardian* (Ahmed, 2013: np.) have run stories about the popularity of speed dating and modern matchmaking experiences in Muslim communities. The very act of publishing these stories serves to depict Muslims as rounded human beings who engage in diverse dating and relationship norms, thus challenging commonplace perceptions of Muslim relationship practices. Within such reportage, young British Muslim men and women openly break down stereotypes of the traditional Muslim and instead reveal a glimpse of the real-life experiences of the contemporary everyday Muslim who could easily be the assumed white, secular reader's

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6 Muslim neighbour, colleague or friend. For example, in the *Guardian* article ‘Single Muslim
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8 Women on Dating: “I Don’t Want to Be the Submissive Wife”’, the journalist focuses on
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10 Esma, who is depicted as ‘a modern Muslim with an age-old dilemma’ (Ahmed, 2013: np.).
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12 Similarly, in 2015 left-leaning tabloid the *Mirror* published an article ~~entitled~~ “‘Tinder for
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14 Muslims’ Targets Religious Singletons who Are Sick of Shallow Hook-up Services’. In ~~this~~
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16 ~~article~~it, Jasper Hamill interviewed Shahzad Younas, the 30-year-old founder of halal dating
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18 app Muzmatch, who drew attention to his female-focused algorithms and the app’s emphasis
19
20 on encouraging marriage matches over dick pics. In a longer journalistic investigation into
21
22 the ‘Islamic Tinder’ phenomenon, Triska Hamid (2017) spoke to the users (rather than the
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24 CEOs, as had previously been the norm) of dating apps such as Muzmatch, Minder and
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26 Salaam Swipe. In this article, three consumers—Amira, Noura and Ayesha (respectively a
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28 lawyer, a civil servant and an entrepreneur)—bemoan the ‘quality’ of men to be found online
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30 and in the ‘real world’, stating that their high-powered jobs make them ‘intimidating’ to
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32 single men of their own age (Hamid, 2017: 84). As single Muslim women looking for love,
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34 Esma, Amira, Noura and Ayesha highlight through their stories those challenges faced by
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36 ordinary Muslim women. These challenges often turn out to be not so different from those of
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38 any other single woman looking for love, irrespective of religion or culture.

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40 Working alongside and sometimes within the mainstream media, a new wave of
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42 young Muslims are also finding ways to present their friends, families and communities as
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44 confident, contented people who enjoy life and engage in well-rounded relationships. For
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46 example, in 2014 a YouTube video entitled ‘Happy British Muslims’ was disseminated by an
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48 incognito group of British Muslims known as Honesty Policy as a tribute to African
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50 American singer-songwriter Pharrell Williams. ‘Happy British Muslims’ quickly went viral
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52 as a joyous antidote to the dominant narrative of ‘sick’ Muslim sexuality. At the time of
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54 writing, the video has garnered 2,348,089 views and many inches of newsprint. It features
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56 men, women and children from various ethnic groups dancing, even body popping, to

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6 Williams' hit song 'Happy'. Encompassing a representative slice of contemporary Muslim
7 society, some of the women featured are muhajibah while others are not. Similarly, the
8 everyday people featured in the video wear everything from Guy Fawkes masks to abayas,
9 shalwar kameez to jeans and children's fancy dress costumes. It is the ordinariness of the
10 people depicted in the video together with the upbeat soundtrack that is both affecting and
11 effective. ~~Quintessentially-Identifiably~~ British settings, such as skateboard parks, suburban
12 living rooms, a greasy spoon café, council estates, dreaming spires, ~~and a mosque, fountains~~
13 ~~and a meadow,~~ form the backdrop to the video.

21 Two record-scratch moments briefly pierce the exuberant optimism, providing hints
22 of a gloomier experience. Firstly, Cambridge scholar Sheikh Abdal-Hakim Murad, also
23 known by his birth name of Tim Winter and renowned for his serious demeanour, stares
24 impassively at the camera before holding up an explanatory 'I'm happy' sign (Honesty
25 Policy, 2014: np.). Later in the YouTube clip, another discomfoting moment arises and then
26 quickly passes when two Muslim men appear to square up to each other, but ~~suddenly-soon~~
27 stand down and break into jiving together to Williams' catchy vocals. There was limited
28 criticism of the video as haram, and this judgement that it was not permissible for believing
29 Muslims possessed a sexual angle, because music and dancing are seen as gateways to
30 impropriety. However, the primary critic—an online Muslim news source the *Shaam Post*—
31 quickly removed its article stating that Sheikh Murad had distanced himself from the video,
32 when Murad turned around and contradicted this stance by speaking to the *Independent* in
33 favour of Honesty Policy's activism (Merrill, 2014: np.). Some online commenters were less
34 circumspect, however, with one, Mohammad Ghasemi, expressing his strong distaste for the
35 free interaction between the male and female dancers, as well as the expressions of sexuality
36 present in the video when he remarked: 'It is Haram (against Islam) for women to dance in
37 front of men. You are not real muslims. This video is vomiting [*sic*]'. At the other end of the
38 political spectrum, another commenter (A Freeman) succinctly demonstrated the prevalent

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6 | 'everyday racism' Muslims regularly encounter ~~on a daily basis~~ when (s)he wrote as follows:
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8 'There are NO "British Muslims"—only alien invaders and colonists OR native convert
9 traitors to their nation and heritage. Their nation is Islam, not Britain, and their British
10 passport is simply a flag of convenience' (Honesty Policy, 2014: comments section, 5
11 January 2017). Freeman's rather incoherent comment seems to accuse all Muslims of being
12 'enemies within' the British nation state, whose loyalties reside outside Britain with the
13 Ummah or global community of Muslims. Honesty Policy's presentation of British Muslims'
14 performance of happiness was innovative in that it cut across and contradicted contemporary
15 depictions of British Muslims as dour, sexually repressed and 'alien' to perceived Western
16 contemporary lifestyles.
17

18 However, there is an adversarial quality to the stories we have discussed so far.
19 Stereotypes of miserable Muslims, personified in the figure of the tyrannical Muslim man
20 who preys on white girls and women while his wife, daughters and sisters fester at home
21 behind closed doors, are countered by depictions of happy and sexually liberated Muslims.
22 Arguably, both of these perspectives are simplistic; one dwelling on problems that have some
23 substance but which are exaggerated and wildly distorted, and the other glossing over
24 tensions and challenges in its effort to present a more positive picture of the sexual lives of
25 Muslims. The latter, however well-meaning, idealizes Muslims, potentially dehumanizing
26 them. Imen Neffati (2016: np.), a Tunisian researcher based at the University of Sheffield,
27 contends that Muslims are too often portrayed as 'angelic' and 'innocent', especially by
28 leftist writers. Neffati defends Daoud in the face of such *angélisme*, portraying him as a
29 North African Muslim scholar criticizing Islam from the inside. And yet, as we have argued,
30 Daoud's article is unbalanced in its attempt to confront the problems, however real, that led
31 to the sexual attacks in Germany.
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33 Pulling in an opposite direction, Pnina Werbner provides fascinating but perhaps
34 overly optimistic discussion of everyday multiculturalism and conviviality amongst British
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6 Muslim communities, even as she recognizes that these positive interactions usually take
7 place in gender-segregated private spaces (2013: 405). However, her references to displays of
8 'interethnic amity' (2013: 402) at the 2012 London Olympics and the mostly warm British
9 reception towards then-emerging Muslim athlete Mo Farah are complicated by her own
10 acknowledgement that no British Asians won medals at those Games and that the *Daily Mail*
11 ignorantly labelled Farah and other British medal-holders born outside the UK as 'plastic
12 Brits' (2013: 413).
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20 In the face of pervasive stereotype and counter-stereotype, hard criticism and pulled
21 punches, a balanced approach is sorely needed. This, we suggest, cannot be found in
22 combative or sensational writing, nor in turning a blind eye to horrific and extreme events. A
23 more variegated picture of the sexual lives of Muslims is found in stories told *by*, rather than
24 *about*, the people who are involved. It is, of course, unwise to treat one person who identifies
25 as a Muslim as representative of all (British) Muslims. It is important to query this claim of
26 authenticity, as evinced by our discussion of Yasmin Alibhai-Brown's comment piece in the
27 *Daily Mail*, Daoud's bleak view of Muslim sexuality as 'diseased', and Honesty Policy's
28 Pollyannaish counter-vision of harmonious, music-loving Muslims. Operating 'as Muslims',
29 Alibhai-Brown added her weight to the agenda the *Daily Mail* had been peddling for some
30 time, while the translation of Daoud's article was undertaken by the *New York Times* directly
31 following a period of significant trauma and tension for Germany. Although there are many
32 problematic representations of Muslims by Muslims, both in fiction and in the media, it
33 remains crucial to hear *from*, rather than just *about*, this cultural and religious group. If we
34 are to challenge negative stereotypes with something more layered than a counter-stereotype
35 like that created by Honesty Policy, it is necessary to examine long-form non-fiction and
36 creative writing by Muslims of various political persuasions. Leaving aside a few honourable
37 exceptions of non-Muslim authors who write about Muslims with sensitivity (Caute, 1998;
38 Sahota, 2011), many others such as Martin Amis (2008), Ian McEwan (2005), Sebastian
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7 Faulks (2010) and Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs Boris Johnson
8 (2005) have fictionalized sensationalist topics such as terrorism and created simplified
9 representations of the figure of the violent extremist. The legacy of this kind of pigeonholing
10 of the Muslim experience is damaging (Morey and Yaqin, 2011). Turning to Muslim writers,
11 they are uniquely capable of examining Islam from an insider's perspective in a variety of
12 subtle ways, while sometimes also voicing criticism of religious practice and cultural
13 accretions.
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20 21 **More nuanced stories of Muslim sexuality: Shelina Zahra Janmohamed**

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23 While the most successful critical journalism creates nuanced stories with space for
24 unresolved tensions and manifest complexities, the natural home for depiction of these stories
25 is undoubtedly fiction. For subtle and searching depictions of Muslim experiences of
26 courtship and marriage, then, we reach for works such as Ayisha Malik's (2016) *Sofia Khan*
27 *Is Not Obligated* and Shelina Zahra Janmohamed's *Love in a Headscarf: Muslim Woman Seeks*
28 *the One* (2009).⁴ While not discussed at length in this article, the grittier topic of forced
29 marriage is the subject of Sufiya Ahmed's *Secrets of the Henna Girl* (2012), whereas in her
30 debut novel *Stained* (2016), Abda Khan broaches the complex nature of 'honour' crimes,
31 rape and the shame that surrounds it in one northern English Pakistani community. Several
32 other published works (while not focused on to any significant degree here) also encompass
33 exploration of extra-marital affairs, such as in Hanif Kureishi's *The Black Album* (1995) and
34 Nadeem Aslam's (2004) *Maps for Lost Lovers*, as well as young people coming of age, as in
35 Kureishi's *The Buddha of Suburbia* (1990) and Zahid Hussain's *The Curry Mile* (2006).⁵
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49 To explore literary depictions of Muslims' relationship experiences, close reading—
50 the *sine qua non* of literary studies—is employed as a methodology (see Lentricchia and
51 DuBois, 2003; Federico, 2016) through which to interpret Muslim-identified authors and
52 their written works. In searching for a figure who is capable of communicating a particular
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6 religious Muslim experience but does not claim to speak for all Muslims, we come to Shelina
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8 Zahra Janmohamed—a writer whose extensive works range across the spectrum of journalism,
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10 as well as complex, playful and literary media. Janmohamed is a practising Muslim with East
11
12 African Asian heritage who has regularly lectured at her local mosque (Janmohamed, 2009:
13
14 129), and is increasingly in demand as a media spokesperson on Muslim issues such as
15
16 2016's burkini ban in France. Until 2015 Janmohamed wrote a popular blog, *Spirit 21*, and
17
18 she often contributes opinion pieces for such print media as the *Times*, *Guardian* and *Muslim*
19
20 *News*. In both her fiction and her journalistic reportage she presents textured pictures of
21
22 Muslims' sexual relationships and explores connections between religious, national and
23
24 ethnic identities, thus enabling her to tell stories and share experiences with greater precision
25
26 and wholeness than those found in the mainstream media.

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28 In 2013, Janmohamed wrote a much-discussed article for the *Telegraph*, entitled
29
30 'What Muslim Women Really Want in the Bedroom'. According to Islamic teaching, sex is
31
32 supposed to be between a married couple, but within that prescription the author takes pains
33
34 to communicate that there is considerable leeway. For example, she interviewed the CEO of
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36 El Asira, an online shop selling a range of halal sensual unguents and candles, as well as an
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38 Irish Muslim convert who runs a course teaching Muslim women their sexual rights.
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40 Peppering the article with examples from Islamic teaching, Janmohamed recalls a famous
41
42 incident from the Sunnah describing the Prophet Mohammed's rebuke to an overly pious
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44 husband for sexually neglecting his wife. Also recounted is the teaching that Allah gave nine
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46 parts of desire to women and only one to men. At its heart, 'What Muslim Women Really
47
48 Want in the Bedroom' makes clear, ~~perhaps~~ contrary to popular belief, that 'Islam has always
49
50 been extremely open about sexual pleasure, and in particular women's pleasure'
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52 (Janmohamed, 2013: np.).

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54 This understanding also runs through her first book, *Love in a Headscarf*, which was
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56 published in 2009. *Love in a Headscarf* is at once a memoir, a *Bildungsroman* and, as

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6 Lucinda Newns demonstrates (2017~~8~~), a type of self-help book and chick lit novel.⁶ With a
7
8 narrative arc shaped by the author's search for a compatibly religious, attractive and
9
10 intelligent husband, it is a memoir heavily inflected by what Sara Ahmed calls 'the promise
11
12 of happiness'. Indeed, as Sara Ahmed demonstrates (2010: 7), heteronormative positive
13
14 psychology problematically posits marriage as one of the foremost gauges of happiness.
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17 *Love in a Headscarf* contains echoes of the genres to which Janmohamed is
18 indebted—there is more than a touch of Bridget Jones in the protagonist—but it is strikingly
19 different from bestselling chick lit novels such as Helen Fielding's fiction, as it explores
20 relationships through a Muslim-identified lens. For example, the story departs from the
21 individualistic underpinnings of other works in this genre: 'My marriage', declares
22 Janmohamed, '[...] was a collective experience' (2009: 64). *Love in a Headscarf* describes
23 the author's wearisome relationship journey as she deals with interfering aunties and
24 matchmakers, hapless and unsuitable rishtas and the emerging rules of (Muslim) Internet
25 dating—all the while striving not to compromise her faith.
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33 Janmohamed incorporates an experience of speed dating into *Love in a Headscarf*.
34 This contemporary dating phenomenon is detailed towards the end of the book when the
35 narrator has almost given up on finding a husband, and the tone is thus ruefully reflective.
36 She attends two speed dating events designed specifically to connect single Muslims. From
37 the outset, the first event instills a sense of uneasiness due to the (remarkably unsuitable)
38 venue—a 'nightclub-cum-bar'. Naturally, as a teetotaler, she is unfamiliar with this
39 environment. Her discomfort fails to dissipate over the course of the evening; in fact, if
40 anything it increases. There are few men, and those who do circulate the tables show no
41 interest in this modest hijabi, only having eyes for women who are dressed with Bollywood
42 extravagance. The second speed dating function has more promise, largely because there is a
43 substantial fee involved and the organizers undertake vetting procedures, which Janmohamed
44 compares to 'an all-encompassing Auntie process' (2009: 242). With this comment, she
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gestures towards the often-made point that online dating algorithms are not dissimilar to the matchmaking techniques responsible for many South Asian arranged marriages. Yet even at the more professional function, men are in short supply and largely uninterested; indeed, it transpires that a number of them have even been paid to attend the event and make up the numbers. Janmohamed concludes this speed dating chapter by depicting the 'paired' couples at the event dissolving into the throngs encircling the sacred Kaaba at Mecca on her subsequent Hajj pilgrimage. Watching the reverential crowd, her narrator positions love as a communitarian rather than an individual pursuit:

I knew that I was different because I was me, but I was also the same as everyone, because I was a human being. Each of us occupied so many spaces and identities, and that made us multiversal, not identical.

I had been searching to find a partner to love and had been trying to learn about Divine love. In front of me now I realised that there was one more kind of love that was essential: the love for other human beings. (2009: 246)

In *Generation M: Young Muslims Changing the World* (2016), a work of creative non-fiction, Janmohamed develops a number of themes related to relationships and sexuality, while representing young practising Muslims—'Generation M'—as a digitally connected, creative and enterprising faith group. The Continuing Love in a Headscarf's agenda and chiming with the increasingly prevalent literary strategy (also seen in Ayisha Malik's fiction) of writing against the 'misery memoir' (see Chambers, 2013). *Generation M* book is centrally concerned ~~involveds to disputing-dispute~~ the intertwined stereotypes of the repressive Muslim man and downtrodden Muslim woman. Without denying that some Muslim women face oppression, Janmohamed depicts a group of exuberantly consumerist yet pious women who identify as British Muslims and who possess complete agency over their lives, including their sexuality and relationships. When describing themselves, their choice of clothing and the businesses they have established to market their stylish but pious

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6 lifestyles, these women use playful portmanteau words like ‘hijabilicious’ and ‘Mipster’
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8 (Janmohamed, 2016: 135–136; 28–29).⁷ All this is summed up in a single Tweet that
9
10 Janmohamed uses as a chapter heading: ‘Forgot to be Oppressed, Too Busy Being Awesome’
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12 (2016: 221–244). Raising the issue of how Muslims meet their future partners, she argues
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14 that Generation M are engaging in leading-edge practices just as they are in the finance, tech,
15
16 food, creative and fashion industries which she also explores in detail. Evaluating Muslim
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18 matrimonial sites such as SingleMuslim.com, Janmohamed insists that these form ‘a natural
19
20 extension’ of longstanding networks of family members (2016: 92) as well as unrelated
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22 ‘Buxom Aunties’ and other fixers, who are described in *Love in a Headscarf* (2009: 46) as
23
24 setting up meetings with potential husbands. As such, the Internet is identified as a
25
26 convenient and efficient space in which to find a fellow Muslim life partner without having to
27
28 adjust to the perilous world of “Western-style” dating’ (2016: 92).

29
30 Janmohamed has long been an advocate of stories and narratives as vehicles through
31
32 which to disseminate positive aspects of Muslim experiences, including those related to
33
34 sexuality. In ‘What Muslim Women Really Want in the Bedroom’, she draws attention to
35
36 ‘contextually appropriate teachings’ (2013: np.) on sexuality, from Saudi Arabian author
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38 Randa Abdel-Fattah’s *No Sex in the City* to the controversial UAE sex manual, *Top Secret:*
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40 *Sexual Guidance for Married Couples* by Wedad Lootah. By focusing her full attention on
41
42 ‘good news stories’, though, Janmohamed sometimes misses details that complicate the
43
44 bigger picture. For example, in her discussion of Sufiya Ahmed’s writing (2013: np.), she
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46 concentrates on Ahmed’s self-published Khadija Academy series about a Muslim boarding
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48 school, but fails to mention her more high-profile Puffin Young Adult novel about forced
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50 marriage, *Secrets of the Henna Girl* (Ahmed, 2012). Tellingly, the latter text does not fit with
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52 Janmohamed’s anti-miserabilist approach to Islam and literature; ~~h.~~ Her neglect of stories that
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54 do not tessellate with her approach suggests that there are limitations to Janmohamed’s
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56 purview. Before discussing these limitations, it is worth ~~considering-noting~~ the sad fact that

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6 Janmohamed's work seems innovative precisely because she reframes British Muslim female
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8 sexuality as happy, healthy and ordinary.
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10 11 12 **Sexuality as silence and tension** 13

14 Janmohamed's exclusion of Ahmed's most well-known novel from her analysis points to a
15
16 more general argument: stories about Muslims exploring and enjoying their sexualities, at
17
18 least within married life, do not tell the whole truth. If we took this discussion no further, we
19
20 would be guilty of glossing over tensions and complexities which are perhaps universal
21
22 experiences of human sexuality. Indeed, the purpose of this article is to contest the simplistic
23
24 but widespread binary thinking about Muslims, including in relation to their sexuality. This
25
26 binary way of thinking was especially evident in Tony Blair's Manichean rhetoric and
27
28 policies, but continued in David Cameron's diction of 'muscular liberalism', which he
29
30 preferred to the so-called 'passive tolerance of recent years' (Cameron, 2011: np.). Today, it
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32 also informs Theresa May's dualistic identification of 'organisations that respect British
33
34 values' as opposed to 'extremist organisations' (May, 2014: np.). These specific interventions
35
36 mobilize a more generic binary discourse, which Mahmood Mamdani (2002, 2004) has
37
38 influentially called the 'good Muslim, bad Muslim' dichotomy: 'Good Muslims are modern,
39
40 secular, and Westernized, but Bad Muslims are doctrinal, antimodern and virulent'
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42 (Mamdani, 2004: 25). In other words, Muslims constructed as 'good' are those who conform
43
44 to Western understandings of happiness, who have given up their heritage and community in
45
46 favour of individualism, believe religion should be relegated to the private sphere, and are
47
48 unequivocally in favour of liberal democracy. Within this Eurocentric discursive logic, the
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50 'good Muslim' is the exception that proves the rule since, as Joseph Massad (2015)
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52 persuasively argues, Islam is constructed as liberalism's 'other'. From this perspective, the
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54 'bad Muslim' comes to be seen as Islam's true face and the 'good Muslim' is viewed as an
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56 aberration (Shyrock, 2010).
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It may be tempting to counter negative representations of Muslims by asserting counter-stereotypes, which answer Islamophobia with Islamophilia, ‘bad Muslims’ with ‘good Muslims’. And yet, as Andrew Shryock argues in his 2010 monograph *Islamophobia/Islamophilia*, this simply reproduces problematic binaries and stereotypes:

The ‘good Muslim,’ as a stereotype, has common features: he tends to be a Sufi (ideally, one who reads Rumi); he is peaceful (and assures us that jihad is an inner, spiritual contest, not a struggle to ‘enjoin the good and forbid the wrong’ through force of arms); he treats women as equals, and is committed to choice in matters of hijab wearing (and never advocates the covering of a woman’s face); if he is a she, then she is highly educated, works outside the home, is her husband’s only wife, chose her husband freely, and wears hijab (if at all) only because she wants to. (2010: 10)

Shryock argues that Islamophilia—as well as its more obviously harmful opposite Islamophobia—rests on stereotypes. Islamophilia, he suggests, constrains Muslims within black and white saintly categories out of ‘wishful thinking and a politics of fear’ (2010: 10).

There are important implications here for thinking beyond simplistic representations of Muslims’ sexualities and relationships, beyond the clichés that they are either ‘miserable’ or ‘happy’. While it is important to recognize the happiness and fulfilment which many Muslims experience in their sexual relationships, it is equally important to acknowledge the difficulties that also exist, some of which are directly related to being a Muslim and a member of a family and community influenced by Islam.

One specific issue, which is emblematic of the limitations some Muslims experience in their sexual lives and which speaks to the existence of desires that cannot be contained within conventional marriage, is same-sex sexuality. This is addressed by Muslim writers in two different ways: first, through silences or awkward mentions, much as though it were an

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6 elephant in the room; second, through stories of love and desire featuring gay or bisexual
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8 Muslim men and women. In Janmohamed's work, homosexuality constitutes silence. As a
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10 sexual preference, it is either avoided altogether or only very briefly mentioned. A possible
11
12 reason for this could be that her views on sexuality are heteronormative, as are those (broadly
13
14 speaking) of the chick lit genre in general. ↵

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16 Without straying too far from our primary focus, it should also be observed that chick
17
18 lit in general and Janmohamed's work in particular often reinforce traditional gender binaries.
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20 *Love in a Headscarf* is hardly a feminist text and, while Janmohamed pays some lip service
21
22 to feminist achievements around women's dress choice and campaigns for workplace gender
23
24 equality, her argument implicitly conflates diverse feminist groupings as being
25
26 transhistorical, Islamophobic, and concerned with the single issue of white women's rights
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28 (2009: 170). Although inventive in the way that ~~it~~ the book challenges the norms of
29
30 companionate marriage (Newns, 2017⁸) and ~~stereotypes of received ideas about~~ submissive
31
32 hijabis (Ahmed, 2015: 208), this post-feminist chick lit-esque memoir may also be
33
34 responsible for feeding patriarchal discourses →.

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36 To provide an example of heteronormativity from *Love in a Headscarf*,
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38 Janmohamed's narrator takes issue with some orthodox Muslims' belief that it is necessary
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40 for women to cover their hair, in order to forestall men's inevitable and uncontrollable sexual
41
42 desire. Her objections to this position of belief concentrate on refuting the implication that
43
44 men are 'sex-crazed monsters' (2009: 160) and asserting that modest dress is necessary for
45
46 women *and* men, both of whom are perfectly capable of self-restraint. Same-sex desire is
47
48 never even raised as a possibility in this piece of life writing which recounts the search for a
49
50 marriage partner to complete one's faith.

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52 Moving to *Generation M*, homosexuality is only discussed on one occasion, during
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54 exploration of sexuality as a 'hot topic' for contemporary global Muslims. In this instance,
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56 Janmohamed acknowledges in a carefully neutral tone that '[t]he place and role of LGBTQ

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6 groups is part of the mix' of such discussion (2016: 189). She goes on to condemn the mass
7 shooting perpetrated by an American Muslim at Pulse—the gay nightclub in Orlando—in

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9
10 June 2016, just as *Generation M* was going to press. The murders of gay clubbers, [she](#)
11 [Janmohamed](#) blandly suggests, 'further heightened discussions that were already happening
12 about Islam and sexuality, pushing for greater openness and understanding' (2016: 189).
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16 Lack of clarity around the grammatical subject allows [Janmohamed-her](#) to evade specificity
17 as to who is doing the pushing and what this 'openness and understanding' will entail. She
18 then moves swiftly on to repeat a rather conservative point made in 'What Muslim Women
19 Really Want in the Bedroom'—namely, that the modern world's 'highly sexualised'
20 atmosphere is difficult and fraught for 'those Muslims who want to live a chaste life—
21 especially in environments where virginity is often seen as freakish' (2016: 189; see also
22 2013: np.). The juxtaposition of the Orlando nightclub shooting alongside her [argument-point](#)
23 about preserving virginity in a sexualized environment implies that gay sex is a sin that
24 should be discouraged, but that the sinner should be granted understanding and support. This
25 viewpoint is reinforced by the fact that while Janmohamed interviews a range of Muslim men
26 and women for *Generation M*, she does not reach out to speak to any openly gay Muslims.
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38 Recently, a new type of chick lit novel has emerged which focuses on Muslim dating
39 and marriage, both of which are tackled in Ayisha Malik's two novels, *Sofia Khan Is Not*
40 *Obligated* (2016) and its sequel *The Other Half of Happiness* (2017). Like *Love in a Headscarf*,
41 these novels aim to rework Helen Fielding's *Bridget Jones's Diary* (1996) and *Bridget Jones:*
42 *The Edge of Reason* (1999) from a Muslim perspective and explode some stereotypes in the
43 process. Indeed, in her article 'Quand l'Angleterre invente la «Bridget Jones» musulmane'
44 ('When England Invented the Muslim "Bridget Jones"'), H elaine Lefran ois quotes Malik on
45 her motivations for writing the novel: '*Je ne voulais pas d'une  ni me histoire sur une femme*
46 *musulmane qui arrache son voile, couche avec des hommes et, au final, adopte une mode de*
47 *vie auquel elle ne croit pas*' ('I didn't want another story about a Muslim woman who
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6 removes her veil, sleeps with men, and ultimately adopts a lifestyle she doesn't believe in')
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8 (Lefrançois, 2016: np.; our translation).
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10 Unlike her predecessor, however, Malik does make some effort to acknowledge or at
11 least register homosexuality as a sexual possibility. Like Bridget Jones and Malik herself,⁸
12 *Sofia Khan Is Not Obligated's* titular protagonist works for some time in the publishing
13 industry. After her office Christmas party, a senior colleague and friend, Katie, persuades
14 Sofia to go clubbing with her, setting the scene for some of the novel's finest jokes and most
15 intriguing reflections. Outside the club, Sofia runs into a man she had gone on an online date
16 with some weeks before, during which he impressed upon her how much he enjoyed
17 attending mosque with his father. This good-looking young British-Pakistani that she had
18 privately nicknamed 'Hottie' is shamefaced to see her there and it slowly dawns on Sofia that
19 he is gay. Of course, Hottie may genuinely enjoy attending mosque and also be gay. Sofia's
20 thought process, however, appears to be that Islam and LGBTQ sexualities are incompatible,
21 as evidenced when she guiltily thinks: 'I've not punctured a tiny hole in his veneer—I've
22 exposed everything completely' (2016: np.). Sympathetic to his apparent fear that Sofia
23 might 'out' him to his family, she plays along with his pretence that he is simply waiting for
24 friends coincidentally outside the predominantly gay superclub Heaven. While Malik's
25 engagement with same-sex desire is for the most part witty and open-minded, it is
26 disappointing that the encounter is so brief and tinged with sympathy for the gay man's
27 apparent melancholia. As Hottie and Sofia are about to part ways, he calls out to her:
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45 I turned around. He stood isolated in the middle, cast in the shadow of flashing lights.

46 'I really do love going to the mosque with my dad.'

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48 In that moment he looked so beautiful and so sad, I wanted to take him home
49 and make him a cup of tea. But I couldn't. He won't ever want to see me again. I
50 smiled and nodded. 'Never doubted it.' (2016: np.)
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6 Here, Malik portrays her heroine as free-thinking and tolerant—as well as quintessentially
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8 British, given the suppressed impulse to tackle a crisis with tea. Problematically, Hottie is
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10 portrayed as a misfit who is wistful that he can never share his full self with his parents
11
12 without the spectre of potential ostracization or similar ramifications. Malik seems unable to
13
14 imagine a positive future for a gay man within family-oriented British Muslim culture. Sara
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16 Ahmed perceptively discusses such projection of sadness by straight people onto what she
17
18 terms ‘unhappy queers’: ‘[T]he queer life is already constructed as an unhappy life, as a life
19
20 without the “things” that make you happy, or as a life that is depressed as it lacks certain
21
22 things: “a husband, children”’ (2010: 93). Entirely pushed to the margins and confined within
23
24 an assumed affective geography, Hottie swiftly disappears from the pages of what *Candis*
25
26 magazine dubs a ‘light-hearted book crammed with witty humour’ (2016: blurb).

27
28 If Ayisha Malik constructs *Sofia Khan Is Not Obligated* as a counter-narrative to the
29
30 Muslim misery memoir (~~see Chambers, 2013~~), then her sequel, *The Other Half of Happiness*
31
32 focuses on ~~the a relationship’s aftermath~~~~afterlife~~—_once the euphoria wears off—~~of a~~
33
34 ~~relationship~~. As Sofia tells a journalist who interviews her about her Muslim marriage
35
36 guidance book: ‘You and I both know that happily ever after doesn’t exist’ (2017: 188). The
37
38 ‘other half’ of the title is Sofia’s Irish convert husband Conall who, to adapt Sara Ahmed
39
40 (2010: 17, 223), makes Sofia ‘hapless’ in love. The novel pivots on the couple’s fraught first
41
42 year of marriage, replete as it is with misunderstanding and discord, despite their mutual
43
44 desire and affection. The novel goes further, indicating that Pakistani Muslim marriage is not
45
46 merely made up of the two ‘halves’ of husband and wife. Readers are also presented with
47
48 Sofia’s widowed mother, who sacrifices her own hard-won new romantic relationship out of
49
50 sympathy when Sofia and Conall separate. The mother too frames this in terms of misery and
51
52 joy, so that Sofia realizes ‘[t]he only threat to Mum’s happiness has been me’ (2017: 362).
53
54 One of the factors that contributes to Sofia’s marital breakdown is her paranoia about the
55
56 beauty and easy intimacy of Conall’s friend and colleague, Hamida. That she turns out to be a
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6 lesbian is merely a plot device to reveal that she is no threat to Sofia and Conall's happiness.
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8 As with Hottie in *Sofia Khan Is Not Obligated*, Hamida vanishes for a significant portion of the
9
10 novel; however, unlike Hottie, Hamida does reappear, albeit briefly. Indeed, when Hamida
11
12 reappears, it is to demand that Sofia gives Conall a divorce, thus allowing him to find
13
14 happiness in the future. Interestingly, Hamida is also present in Pakistan for the novel's
15
16 cliffhanger of an ending where Sofia confronts Conall. In this coda, Hamida accuses Sofia of
17
18 being ~~overly a bigoted concerned-fear~~ that Hamida will make sexual advances towards the
19
20 straight woman, to which Sofia self-deprecatingly responds by stating that she does not view
21
22 this possibility as any danger (2017: 398). Once again, Malik's gay-queer character merely
23
24 serves to showcase Sofia's open-mindedness and remains little more than a cipher. Sofia
25
26 claims not to judge Hamida, but as Sara Ahmed astutely observes (albeit in another context),
27
28 the straight subject pushes the queer body to the margins, associating her with 'an imagined
29
30 future of necessary and inevitable unhappiness' (2010: 93). This is made apparent when Sofia
31
32 claims that '[t]he only thing that made me sad for [Hamida] was that people had rejected her
33
34 so spectacularly that she'd rejected her faith' (2017: 399). With Sofia disassociating herself
35
36 and her Islamic faith from Hamida's parents' and others' homophobia, Malik seems to have
37
38 an imaginative blockage that prevents her from conceptualizing same-sex love as anything
39
40 but peripheral and 'sad'.

41 In fine, it is important to acknowledge that much of this women's writing is market-
42
43 driven and as such seeks to present a commercial 'Muslim Bridget Jones' that at times
44
45 recycles gender and sexual norms and stereotypes. Yet it is also necessary to highlight the
46
47 self-conscious timbre of Malik's novels in particular, wherein the heroine works for a
48
49 publisher and is invited to write her books for overtly commercial, profit-oriented reasons. In
50
51 this way, Malik does not pretend that the books are more or less than what they are, working
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53 within the constraints of the medium and market. The light-hearted tone that is a key feature
54
55 of 'chick lit' (problematic though that term may be),⁹ is also positive in its efforts to work

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6 against the portrayal of misery and to demonstrate something light, breezy and undeniably
7 engaged in the pursuit of happiness.
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10 11 12 **Same-sex Muslim relationships** 13

14 We now make space for texts that give same-sex Muslim relationships direct and full
15 attention—such as Amjeed Kabil’s *Straightening Ali*—even if these texts have blind spots of
16 their own. Kabil’s novel is about 24-year-old Ali Mirza, a gay Pakistani-heritage man from
17 Birmingham. Ali comes out to his family before the novel opens after exploring his sexuality
18 while a student at Wolverhampton University. However, regardless of his open
19 communication regarding his sexuality, he is nonetheless under pressure to submit to an
20 arranged marriage with a 20-year-old woman, Sajda, whom he has never met. Emotionally
21 blackmailing Ali, his mother fakes a heart attack to force him into accepting her wishes. Ali’s
22 family also have an ulterior motive, as they hope that the marriage between Ali and Sajda
23 will function as a conduit to gain entrance into the high echelons of the Nottingham Pakistani
24 community, where Sajda’s family hold prestige and power. The Mirzas are also keen, as the
25 title suggests, to ‘straighten’ out the youngest boy in the family. They view Ali’s sexuality as
26 a phase brought on by contact with white fellow students who fail to ‘understand [...] our
27 culture’ (2007: 8), as his sister puts it. Awash with guilt over his mother’s distress and ‘heart
28 attack’, Ali ends his long-distance relationship with his boyfriend, Steve, who has been living
29 in Strasbourg. However, despite his compliance with the proposed marriage, Ali still faces
30 horrific homophobic abuse from his family. For example, his ‘fundamentalist’ elder sister
31 Yasmin argues that gay people ‘should all be put on an island and shot’ and informs him that
32 it is a parent’s ‘Islamic duty’ to arrange their child’s marriage (2007: 134, 4), while his
33 macho older brother Yunus repeatedly beats him and calls him a ‘batty boy’ (2007: 8, 10).
34 Even Ali’s supportive younger sister Aneesa insists that he is ‘lucky’ and the family
35 ‘modern’ to allow him to meet his bride before the wedding (2007: 23, 25).
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6 A series of set pieces unfolds; these scenarios are typical of the British-Asian
7 marriage plot but are poignantly altered by the backdrop of non-heteronormative sexuality.
8
9 The two prospective families-in-law meet over samosas, and Sajda and Ali are generously
10 given five minutes together while they are watched from a distance by a chaperone (2007:
11 51–52). After a mournful twist on the British tradition of the stag party at a Bollywood night
12 in Ali's favourite gay club, Sajda and Ali partake in gender-segregated events such as the
13 mehndi ceremony. At the wedding, Ali's father-in-law communicates the bride's consent,
14 while Sajda's emotional response is limited to crying (as is customary) on leaving her family.
15 Sajda's distress soon abates, it becoming awkwardly apparent that she and Ali have different
16 expectations of their wedding night.
17

18 Kabil seems just as incapable of imagining happiness for his protagonist within the
19 'gay community' as he is of envisioning a positive future for him in a British-Pakistani
20 milieu. After fobbing Sajda off from her conjugal rights, Ali considers suicide and dreams of
21 escape. He flees his marriage without consummating it, boarding a plane to Strasbourg, on
22 which he has to fend off the advances of a lecherous older Italian man named Benigno. If
23 contentment for Ali cannot be found within the family, equally outside of this kinship group
24 he is bereft of the social and economic security he once knew and relied on. This leaves Ali
25 vulnerable and dependent on equally undesirable sources of livelihood, symbolized by
26 Benigno. When Ali arrives in Strasbourg it transpires that Steve has quickly moved on to a
27 new relationship. With no other option and rapidly running out of money, Ali returns to
28 Britain. While his father-in-law sends him a poisonous letter and Sajda tries to convince him
29 that she can help him 'be normal', Ali descends into depression and poverty, eventually
30 succumbing to homelessness and becoming prey to an older gay man. Finally, Ali is offered a
31 glimpse of freedom—~~t~~. This support does not come from either the Pakistani or gay
32 communities, but rather from HITS Homes Trust (a Leicester based social housing
33 organization that Kabil worked for for several years). The Trust offers Ali a small flat, and
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6 the novel closes with his bittersweet pleasure on moving into this new, if isolated home. This
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8 plot device carefully avoids accusations of white saviour discourse by introducing a
9
10 Pakistani, Naureen, as one of the HITS employees. However, as Shamira Meghani states,
11
12 Naureen 'is undeveloped as a character, and [only] appears at a point in the narrative that is
13
14 invested in Ali's survival' (2015: 178).

15
16 Kabil's novel cuts through the silence and tensions that envelop Janmohamed's
17
18 representation of same-sex desire and relationships. However, its publication by an under-
19
20 resourced American press means that the writing is often error-ridden, inelegant and clichéd,
21
22 its narrative at times little more than an extended family argument with the volume turned up.

23
24 The novel largely falls back on stereotypes that taint ~~most~~ Muslims as 'homophobic [and]
25
26 sexist' (Haritaworn et al., 2008: 85) and Islam as easily co-opted into Muslim parents'
27
28 oppressive obsession with arranging marriages for their single children. As Kavita Bhanot
29
30 writes with heavy irony about this overworked trope in her anthology of 'new generation'
31
32 British Asian fiction *Too Asian, Not Asian Enough*: '[O]ppressive parents [...] hold us back
33
34 from the pleasures and normality of western life: they don't let us [...] go to pubs and clubs;
35
36 [...]; they don't allow us to have relationships of our choice and want us to have arranged
37
38 marriages' (2011: vii–viii).

39
40 The received ideas in *Straightening Ali* can be usefully interrogated in the light of
41
42 Jasbir K. Puar's notion of 'homonationalism'. In *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in*
43
44 *Queer Times*, Puar coins this term to describe how America and the wider 'Western world'
45
46 scrambled to reinvent itself as tolerant towards same-sex desire after 9/11. Puar argues that
47
48 this rush towards national identification as open-minded and tolerant was simply a means by
49
50 which to cast Muslims, especially Arab Muslims, as 'a queer, nonnational, perversely
51
52 racialized other' (Puar, 2007: 37). Certainly, Ali's mother is portrayed as irredeemably
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54 'other' and non-national, evidenced by her wedding—at the alarmingly young age of fifteen
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56 to a stranger more than a decade older than she—as the bleak marital model. Ali's mother

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6 repeatedly uses her late husband's, her own and Ali's happiness as the excuse to pressure him
7
8 into agreeing to a joyless marriage (Kabil, 2007: 7–13). This accords with Sara Ahmed's
9
10 exploration of the 'speech act' 'I just want you to be happy', through which, Ahmed argues,
11
12 'the desire for just happiness appears to give the other a certain freedom and yet directs the
13
14 other toward what is already agreed to be the cause of happiness' (2007: 133). In this way
15
16 and similarly to *Sofia Khan Is Not Obligated* and its sequel *The Other Half of Happiness*,
17
18 *Straightening Ali* is complicit with certain Western narrative conventions (in this case, the
19
20 myth of European 'tolerance' of non-normative sexualities) for the sake of marketability.

21
22 *Straightening Ali* is nonetheless significant in being one of only a few texts¹⁰ that deal
23
24 with the experiences of British Muslims whose desires and relationships are oriented towards
25
26 their own sex. It is to be hoped that over the coming years the British literary scene will be
27
28 able to boast some subtler representations of same-sex Muslim relationships,¹¹ just as Saleem
29
30 Haddad's new novel *Guapa* (2015) is receiving plaudits in the United States for its portrayal
31
32 of gay Arab-American Muslims. This is not to call for a 'British Muslim gay literature'
33
34 modelled on its non-Muslim British and American counterparts. It may take that form, but
35
36 equally it may explore same-sex desires and relationships in ways that have not yet been
37
38 imagined.

41 **Conclusion: The way forward**

42
43 A challenging but valuable component of some Muslim-identified literature is the
44
45 acknowledgement that sexual intimacies and relationships can be both joyful and difficult,
46
47 and that many of these contrasting experiences stem from being Muslim. In this
48
49 acknowledgement, which moves beyond negative stereotypes of miserable Muslims but
50
51 refuses to counter these with equally simplistic stories of happy Muslims, it is possible to
52
53 move beyond the repetitive clichés that dominate the mainstream media. That said, it would
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55 be simplistic and sweeping to dismiss media representations as caricatures while celebrating

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6 the supposedly subtler achievements of creative writers. The former may be disappointingly
7 accurate, as illustrated in the first part of this article, although exceptions and counter-
8 currents must also be acknowledged in the form of critical journalism. The latter—literary
9 works as nuanced and critically engaging—must equally be interrogated rather than simply
10 applauded. This interrogation should include a critical examination of commercially driven
11 publishers which encourage works that engage with problematic genres such as ‘Muslim
12 chick lit’. Critics should also look for literary works that may be located within, as well as
13 against, dominant discourses, such as the Western and arguably neo-colonial liberal discourse
14 that gives rise to binary depictions of good and bad Muslims (Massad, 2015).
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24 More sustained and nuanced explorations of same-sex desire and relationships in
25 Muslim-identified literature, situated in the context of a broader discussion rather than just
26 concentrating on same-sex sexualities, are surely a constructive way forward. Such literary
27 work, in the form of storied explorations of Muslims’ relationships and sexualities, would
28 find ways to attend to various taboo issues. Stories might achieve this through modes that are
29 appropriate in different Muslim-identified settings, not necessarily replicating the taboo-
30 busting gestures of the wider society. This creative work could also examine themes that
31 some mainstream sources regularly misrepresent or confuse. These include the different roles
32 played by religion, ethnicity and culture in the relationship experiences and practices of
33 Muslims.
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43 While calling for more direct attention to the silences inherent in some Muslim-
44 identified literature, the real achievements that have already been made are to be celebrated.
45 There are other writers—some publishing through formal channels, others self-publishing,
46 still others blogging or using alternative media (see, for example, Qureshi, n.d.; Humza
47 Productions, 2010)—who have not yet received the attention they deserve. Critics, ourselves
48 included, therefore must be more imaginative and probing in the Muslim literatures we
49 recognize and engage with. The Bradford Literature Festival, as well as various other
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6 festivals and literary events that are already providing space for new writers to share their
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8 work and for audiences to engage with them and with each other, should be encouraged and
9
10 further developed.

11
12 Throughout this article, we have discussed journalists and writers, newspapers and
13
14 publishers, and have therefore focused upon those with the privilege and the power to convey
15
16 their experiences and views through formal and high-profile channels. In doing so, we realize
17
18 that we have omitted many people who really count: those who buy newspapers, browse
19
20 newspaper websites online, read novels and discuss all these stories with their friends and
21
22 families. Here, among unseen audiences, is where many of the real meanings are made:
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24 where stories are believed or doubted, where individuals recognize themselves or their family
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26 members or where they decide that their own experiences have been misrepresented or
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28 ignored.
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¹ The authors would like to thank Ghaziyah Weller for suggesting this point.

² We use the term BAME to reflect British policy discourses, which employ it to refer to minority ethnic populations of non-white backgrounds. This is similar to 'Black (and) Minority Ethnic' (BME), but the 'A' in 'BAME' singles out Asian communities as the largest minority assemblage alongside Black British. However, it is important to note that the term bundles together populations with highly diverse national, cultural and ethnic origins. Whilst such acronyms have their uses when grouping those people who find themselves on the receiving end of racism, it is also important to acknowledge the limitations of such homogenizing terminology, which can mask the varying degrees of disadvantage suffered by people from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds within that grouping.

³ In this sentence, Aslam recalls an inflammatory story from *Angaaray* (Shingavi, 2014), the 1933 collection of socialist short stories which was banned by the Indian government in response to protests. Sajjad Zaheer's story, 'A Vision of Paradise', concerned a Muslim cleric who falls asleep while he is praying and has a wet dream while still on the prayer mat. Aslam

would be aware of this story, which sparked riots in India, because his father was an communist poet exiled from Pakistan due to his political beliefs (Jaggi, 2013: np.).

⁴ Nasreen Akhtar's (2008) *Catch a Fish from the Sea (Using the Internet)* was more interesting for being one of the earliest novels in this emerging genre centring on a Muslim woman searching for a suitable partner than for its (rather uneven) form or content.

⁵ It is important to recognize that these texts often explore several topics at once, with Aslam's novel, for example, dealing with 'honour' killing (as well as the CSE/A we have already explored), and Kureishi representing same-sex desire in *The Buddha of Suburbia*.

⁶ 'Chick lit' consists of 'heroine-centered narratives' (Smith, 2008) about the triumphs and tragedies of women 'in their twenties and thirties' (Ferriss and Young, 2006: 3), with their subject matter mostly clustering around love, work and friendship. Often humorous (Lefrançois, 2016: np.), their frequent celebration of consumerist culture leads to them being described by Rocio Montoro as 'cappuccino fiction' (2012: 1).

⁷ 'Mipster' is a blend word that means Muslim hipster (see also, Sheikh Bake, 2013; Herding, 2013).

⁸ Ayisha Malik worked for several years as for Random House. By coincidence, one of the project team, Claire Chambers, interviewed her in 2009 about her experiences as a young muhajibah publisher. In this interview Malik stated that she had not been on the receiving end of any discrimination during her few years in the publishing industry. However, she did feel marked out at book launches, where she was usually the only person present with her head covered. She also wryly noted: 'if there's a book being published about Muslims, I find that some editors will come to me and ask me you know, what do you think of this? Is this offensive? Is this not offensive?' (qtd. in Chambers, 2009: np.). These experiences doubtless informed her portrayal of the publishing industry in both novels to date. It is finally worth noting that Malik recently ghostwrote *The Secret Lives of the Amir Sisters* (Hussain 2017)

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for Nadiya Hussain, the articulate and popular British-Bangladeshi who in 2015 won the BBC show *Great British Bake-Off*.

⁹ H elaine Lefran ois claims that Ayisha Malik ‘*pr ef ere parler de “fiction commercial”*’ (‘prefers to speak of ‘*commercial fiction*’) (Lefran ois, 2016: np.; my translation; emphasis in original).

¹⁰ See also Sarif (2008). Because Samim Sarif’s novel *I Can’t Think Straight* is about a lesbian relationship between a Christian Palestinian and a South Asian British Muslim, it falls outside the immediate purview of this study, which deals with depictions of British Pakistani Muslims’ sexual relationships. However, for discussion of this novel and its film adaptation (*I Can’t Think Straight*, 2008), see Alberto Fern andez Carbajal’s excellent (2017) article.

¹¹ Near to the time when this article was going to press, a play by one of the research project Storying Relationships’ partner writers, Kamal Kaan, was broadcast on BBC Radio 4. Kaan’s *Breaking Up with Bradford* centres on Kasim, who returns to his hometown of Bradford after having fallen in love with another man, Richard, during three years of university life in Cambridge. Given the theme of same-sex desire, it would have been easy for this young playwright to perambulate the well-travelled ‘woe is me’ road. As is the case with Janmohamed and Malik, Kaan chooses to say little about extremism, honour killings and child grooming, instead finding clever but unobtrusive ways to poke fun and subvert all those expectations (bearing in mind the generally mild Radio 4 audience). He takes a more joyous and only occasionally poignant route, exuberantly referencing the northern works Emily Bront e’s (1847 /1996) *Wuthering Heights*, Ayub Khan-Din’s (1999/2007) *East Is East* and Chris Morris’s (2010) *Four Lions*, among other imaginative texts that have acted as influences. Although from a Bangladeshi background, Kaan’s upbringing and residence in Bradford makes him intimately familiar with British Pakistani Muslim ways of life, and it is

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7 to be hoped that his radio play heralds the emergence of other creative works treating same-
8 sex relationships with wit and subtlety.
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