Diasporic Muslim Discourses: Revisiting & Challenging the Stereotypes

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Diasporic Muslim Discourses: Re-visiting & Challenging the Stereotypes

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Abstract

As an upshot of 9/11, the Western literary market has been witnessing a proliferation in life narratives by and about Muslim women. Almost all of these narratives focus on Islam, a patriarchal society, and the state's oppression of women. These diasporic Muslim women authors take the Western readers into a journey of unseen and unheard events of their private lives. Their narratives are usually replete with generalizations, exaggerations, stereotypes and reductive images to support and justify the imperial presence and hegemony project in the Middle East. By drawing upon Hamid Naficy's 'here and there' of exile culture, I argue that the second generation Muslim diaspora masters multiple cultural repertoires that can be cherry-picked in response to the stereotypes. They can challenge and reverse the Oriental stereotypes through their creative works. By studying Amin Palangi's 'Waking with Martyrs,' I will demonstrate how this Iranian Muslim in exile demystifies the images of Muslims and creates a better sentiment towards Iranian and Muslims in general.

Keywords: Diaspora, life narrative, Muslim, stereotype, imperialism

Introduction

After 9/11 and the subsequent political aftermath, life narratives by and about Muslim women experienced a boom and have garnered a particular interest in the West. Since then, these life narratives have become a staple of publishing houses. They have been growingly commodified, circulated and consumed uncritically in the hope of journeying 'behind' and 'beyond' the veil of the Muslim world and its women for the unheard and unseen stories. This promising of a peak 'behind' and 'beyond' the veil of the 'Other' have been fodder for a fetishistic voyeurism originated in the Orientalist obsession with 'unveiling' Muslim women's bodies and lives residing in Islamic societies. The rationale behind the proliferation of these life narratives is the unquenchable curiosity of the Westerners about Islam and Muslims which was aroused and revived after the events of 9/11, the consequent President Bush's 'Axis of Evil' speech and his launching of 'war on terror.' This curiosity and the popularity of these life narratives are suggestive of a deeper desire for authoritative knowledge about Muslim societies. Written to
unfold the lives of Muslim women, these life narratives provide the readers with the Orientalist accounts of Muslim women as veiled, abused, silent, powerless, and victim of a patriarchal society. These narratives are usually fraught with generalization, exaggeration and are one-sided. They reduce all diversities of Muslims and Muslim practices to a single image as if one Muslim woman's account is every Muslim woman's story. This depiction has been working in tandem with the Western representation of Muslim women which have been narrowly constructed as weak, inferior and victims of religious and patriarchal rules.

To an increasing number of critics, writings by immigrant Muslim women, particularly the life narratives are forgeries to corroborate the Western derogatory perception of Islam and Muslim women, and they further the American imperialistic agenda. This engineered and institutional mode of representation which has accelerated since 9/11 represents Muslim women as the gendered slave in need of "saving" by the West. The 'shout-to-liberate-women' representation creates justification for the imperialism's project of hegemony disguised under the discourse of 'war on terror.' The war on terror was waged by the United States and its allies partly to bring democracy and human rights, especially women's right to areas where a need to catch up with Western sort of modernity was felt. A case in point is the then President Bush's frequent campaign to gather support for saving the women of Afghanistan from the brutalities of the patriarchal and religious society. This is symptomatic of the fact that Muslim women's rights have been continuously hijacked as a pretext to legitimize West's colonial presence in the East. Thus, it is now transparent that race, gender, and religion are discourses that have scripted the terms of involvement in the 'war on terror.' The systematic representation of Islamic extremism and backward, oppressed and politically immature Muslim women is the revitalization of Orientalist tropes to create Islamophobia. The revitalization of these orientalist stereotypes gains their power through repetition, particularly repetitions of representation of difference. Reiteration of loaded insignias of difference constructs a fixed ‘regime of representation' which celebrates and naturalizes the disparities and inferiority. What contributes to this naturalization of differences is the accessibility and visibility of Muslim life narratives in the West.

The Visibility of Life Narratives

Shortly after 9/11, on November 13, 2001, The New York Times added a new section to its newspaper titled ‘A Nation Challenged.' The New York Times kept publishing a piece in this section daily for four months with titles such as ‘In Pakistan: Jihad 101,' ‘Barbarians at the Gate,' ‘The Core of Muslim Rage,' ‘Dreams of Holy War,' The Deep Intellectual Roots of Islamic Rage, and ‘This is a Religious war' all reinforcing the notion that Islam and the West are in collision. These pieces supported the then President Bush's ‘Axis of Evil' speech and his subsequent launching of ‘war on terror’ but they were not cogent enough to convince the public of the necessity of the war. That is when the United States and the West in a broader sense, welcomed life narratives by and about Muslim women to relate their stories of victimhood in Muslim societies in order to persuade the Western people that the Middle East is in need of
liberation (Zeiny & Yusof, 2016). Due to the genre's hereditary claim to fidelity, these narratives from the Middle East certainly figures in the average readers' opinion formation and support the imperialistic project of hegemony. Since then, Muslim life narratives are being read voraciously by the Western readers in the time of crisis when recognition of speaking subjects in the public domain has become an urgent matter.

Bookstores in the West are replete with Muslim life narratives featuring a woman's full-veiled or half-veiled face, only her eyes are showing, either piercing and staring at the audience or looking down evading the gaze of readers/viewers. Different sorts of Muslim life narratives are congregated on the shelves: the autobiographies from Afghanistan such as *My forbidden face* (2002), the veiled bestsellers from Saudi Arabia by Jean Sasson (2003), the Iranian diasporic memoirs of *Reading Lolita in Tehran* (2003) and *Persepolis: The Story of Childhood* (2003), and Ayan Hirsi Ali's *Infidel: My Life* (2006). What does "the flood of life narratives make available to the metropolitan West: spaces for dialogues and exchange, or a reemergence of stereotypical and mythic East?" (Whitlock 2007, 53). The accumulated array of veiled Muslim women is a powerful and cunning exercise of book marketing when there is a longing and exigency in the West to better comprehend the Muslim communities. This exotic exhibition of many copies of Muslim life narratives, all published from 2001 onwards is suggestive of an old desire to unveil the veiled. It would be an extremely difficult job for the Western audiences of the women's memoir from the Middle East to face a line of veiled women on the covers of multitude memoirs and not get the sense to unveil or 'disentangle' and 'liberate' the Muslim woman. Pulling the Western eyes behind the chador or under the burka is an effective rhetorical strategy that draws out both "sympathy and advocacy" and can be put to quite "various political and strategy uses" (Whitlock 2007, 47).

The propagandistic role of these life narratives makes them 'soft weapons' as these narratives are one of the most alluring forms for the representation and naturalization of the exotic and an offering of genuine others. The life narratives are used to "merchandize exotic cultures" to manufacture the ‘Other’ (Huggan 1997, 412). The proliferation of Muslim women memoirs in bookstores across the West is also indicative of a unique shift in the publishing of life narratives since 2001. The publishing industry circulates these texts as commodities of the ‘postcolonial exotic.’ Postcoloniality, in this sense and as seen by Gayatri Spivak (1990), is a state of consistent and uninterrupted vigilance to the neo-colonial and neo-oriental 'regimes of values' through which literary texts are produced, disseminated and consumed. The global publishing industry produces and markets hard copy of life narratives for the popular consumption rapidly in response to current affairs and popular tastes. This indicates something about life narrative: "it is porous, it is open to fashion, and it maneuvers in networks of power in complex ways" (Whitlock 2007, 54). The cautiously orchestrated engineering of information in these life narratives suggests the presence of an imperialistic control. This control takes the forms of the distribution of certain classifications of information and engenders the engineering of consent through the gentle convincement of public opinion management (Robins and Webster 2001).
Although this burgeoning canon of memoirs by and about Muslim women saturates the Western literary markets, publishers are still keen to publish these narratives because the publishing industry is run according to the neo-colonial market schemes.

Besides the imperialistic desire to augment the visibility of these narratives, it seems that the world of publishing thinks of nothing but a lucrative business which appraises profit as the benchmark of success and pays no slightest attention to the inaccuracy of the life narratives (Fiore 2010). Another industry which promotes these life narratives is educational institutes. These Muslim life narratives which have been promoted as cultural products of ‘marginal' people are now part of a curriculum across North America and Europe in the disciplines of International Relations, Women's Studies, English and Anthropology, with course titles as varied as ‘Women and Islam,' ‘Understanding Totalitarianism,' ‘Understanding Culture and Cultural Difference' and ‘Conflict and Gender. Some of them such as Marjane Satrapi's graphic memoir of *Persepolis: The Story of Childhood* (2003) and *Persepolis 2: The Story of a Return* (2004) are the reading items at West Point, the United States Military Academy. Both the publishing houses and education institutes are participating in what is called an ‘alterity industry:' "one which involves the trafficking not only of culturally "othered" artifacts but of the institutional values that are brought to bear in their support" (Huggan 1997, 413). These life narratives have been taken as a reflection of women's oppression living under the Islamic societies and a lack of every kind of freedom. The fact that they are now part of a curriculum at the military and academic institutions in the West reveals the role of literary pieces and their authors in justifying the imperial rule and intervention in the Islamic societies. I am not accusing all Muslim women memoirists of complicity with imperialism and I am not discrediting their work and agency in its entirety. From their representation of Muslim women, I feel empowered by their resistance to the enforced dress code and feel sympathized with the Muslim women as subordinated to enact the male patriarchal rules. However, I feel alienated as they generalize, exaggerate and come up with reductive images. These traits put their work at the service of imperialism where the terms ‘marginality, authenticity, and resistance' have been exploited as commodities of the exotic culture.

What also put these life narratives on a pedestal and offer more visibility are the international prizes and awards. The international literary award or prize is the legitimizing machinery that confers recognition and prominence to the authors. These awards exist within a broader structure of sanction or "consecration" (Bourdieu 1993). In other words, the literary accolades do more than just "reward the significant achievement of a writer; they stake a claim in the right to judge- to legitimize-that writers' work" (Huggan 1997, 413). Humanitarian awards provide another platform where the life narratives and their authors become the limelight for giving voice to the unseen and unheard. These awards and accolades endorse the "commodification of a glamorized cultural difference" (Huggan 1997, 412). Thus, its easy accessibility and the super-visibility can be sought in the empire's will to perpetrate and perpetuate the orientalist stereotypes. It cannot be refuted that the market, publication, and dissemination of this genre of literature are being watched and controlled vigilantly by the West but critics ironically seem to be participating in
offering more visibility to these life narratives. They are so obsessed with criticizing these life narratives by and about Muslim women and are stuck in a debate on whether they are revealing the domestic violence or creating and corroborating Islamophobia that they overlook to accentuate the significance of other discourses that bring to surface a multi-vocal and multi-layered picture of the diverse realities, interpretation, practices, and ideas that shatter the stereotypes. There are loads of discourses produced by Muslim diaspora that debunk the stereotypical images about Muslims and create a better sentiment towards Muslims.

**Muslim Diaspora & Countering the Stereotypes**

All cultures are located in place and time. Exile culture is located at the intersection and in the interstices of other cultures. Physically placed outside its original homeland, it is mentally and emotionally both here and there, and as a result, it is both local and global. Hamid Naficy (1993, 2)

Muslims forms a growing sect of the world's current migrant and refugee population. These populations are very much heterogeneous not only due to their own "internal differentiation of each community along class, ethnic, rural, urban and sectarian affiliations, but also because of national-cultural idiosyncrasies and the influences on each of the diasporic communities of differing social, cultural and integration policies in the host societies" (Moghissi 2006, xiv). Despite these diverse and distinctive ethnicities, cultures, histories, and languages, they share certain beliefs and practices which help them form a group identity and solidarity. Over the past two decades or so, the Muslim diaspora communities have grown considerably. This growth is not just an increase in population but it is also the growth of the community as a community and as a segment of the society that has been attracting major attention during the past twenty years. The shared beliefs and practices, and the centrality of Mecca are helpful in developing a community, but what makes the Muslim diaspora a diasporic community is a consciousness that many Muslim share. This consciousness is built up and reinvigorated by the hostility, discrimination, and marginalization that Muslims are subject to across the West. The transnational bonds amongst Muslim diaspora no longer have to be "cemented by migration or by exclusive territorial claims. In the age of cyber space, a diaspora can, to some degree, be held together or re-created through the mind, through cultural artifacts and through a shared imagination" (Cohen 1996, 516). The ‘Diaspora consciousness' is a specific type of awareness which is usually produced amongst transnational communities of the contemporary period (Safran 1991; Clifford 1994).

The diaspora consciousness' particularity is described variously "as being marked by a dual or paradoxical nature" (Vertovec 1999, 8). It is comprised negatively by experiences of being discriminated and expulsion, and positively by relating with a historical legacy or political forces of the contemporary period such as Islam. This sense of duality of consciousness is the diasporic community's cognizance of decentered link of being concurrently 'home away from home' or 'here or there'. Clifford (1994, 32) suggests that "the empowering paradox of diaspora is that dwelling here assumes a solidarity and connection there… [It is] the connection (elsewhere) that
makes a difference (here)." Being cognizant of multi-locality provokes the need to conceptually link oneself with others, both 'here' and 'there' sharing the same 'roots' and 'routes'. Anchored within such discourse, community consciousness and awareness within the Muslim diaspora communities led to the production of a myriad of discourses that have brought the Muslim diaspora experience to the realm of popular culture. These narratives, whether visual or textual, can challenge the orientalist stereotypes through reversing the distorted images of Muslims as they are much misunderstood outside of Muslim countries. The 1979 Iranian Revolution and the Hostage Crisis, the return of military regime in Egypt, the rise of Taliban & Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan and Pakistan along with the emergence of ISIS in Iraq and Syria have led to further stereotyping of Muslims as extremists and trigger gloomy images of agonized people, especially black chador-cladded women living under the rules of men with long beard wearing turban in a highly theocratic political system with a deep-seated antagonism towards the West. Many of these sentiments might be true but they are not a proper understanding of Islam and Muslims.

Undoubtedly, Muslim diaspora in the West can challenge the stereotypes and bridge the East-West binary through their creative works. The perception oftentimes is that the first generation Muslim diaspora can better challenge the stereotypes as "the transnational attachments will confine themselves to the first generation" (Levitt 2009, 1225). It has been argued that the immigrants' children do not possess a similar degree of intensity and frequency in engaging with homeland values and practices as their parents (Kasinitz et al. 2008). However, I argue that while first-generation Muslim diaspora invests a great deal in reversing the stereotypes, the second generation feels the fragmentary nature of the world and goes one step further by sewing the splits. Being raised in exile gives the children the opportunity to grow up in an environment where they get to know and appreciate the values, practices, and ideas of both their parents' countries of origin and hostland; hence, they master multiple cultural repertoires that can be cherry-picked in response to the stereotypes. Although a sense of duality creeps up along with the dispersal and fragmentation of identity, the works produced by this group are accounts of an individual quest to negotiate a sense of 'cultural identity.' As Hall puts it, cultural identity is a matter of "becoming" as well as "being" which belongs to future as much as to the past" (2003, 236). For this generation, writing, painting, and filmmaking is a way of negotiating a sense of identities by bridging the cultural gap between their home and host cultures. Once they are grown up, the senses of 'here and there,' hyphenated identities and exile help them become, to borrow the term from Dabashi (2015), actively amphibian. Dabashi (2015) argues that to be actively amphibian, the Muslim immigrants should get rid of senses such as exile and hyphenated identities because those terms make them doubly marginalized. However, I argue that if the senses of exile and hyphenated identities are to be eliminated, then it is an arduous task for the Muslim diaspora to experience the 'double consciousness' which seems to be a prerequisite for being actively amphibian. Amphibians’ adaptability to live on both habitats can be exemplary but they are sensitive to anything that adversely affects either kind of their habitat; this sensitivity comes from consciousness.
One such work produced by amphibian Muslim diaspora is Amin Palangi's *Waking with Martyrs* (2012). Palangi is an Iranian-born Australian filmmaker whose *Waking with Martyrs* is a documentary about his sojourn with Rahian-e Noor to the sites of Iran-Iraq war in Iran. Rahian-e-Noor is a series of pilgrimages to the remote sites of Iran-Iraq war, and is organized and instituted by the Iranian government. It is usually a week-long camp and a twice a year event where a great number of people embark. Although Rahian-e-Noor is a new and unique experience for Palangi, the Iran-Iraq war is by no means unfamiliar to him. Right at the outset of the war, his father left his family to go to Khorramshahr, the then occupied city in the Southwest of Iran. Upon his arrival, his father, Naser Palangi, who was a twenty-four year old art student, started to revive the dusty city by painting on the walls of the mosque in Khorramshahr which later became the iconic site for the city's resistance and triumph. Driven by the craving to see his father's murals and the curiosity to find out the intention and infatuations over this journey, he starts to record the events for his documentary (Palangi 2013). Palangi's *Waking with Martyrs* is one of the few documentaries about Rahian-e-Noor. His documentary brings to light the facts about the often not heard and not seen groups in the Iranian society for the Western audiences.

Palangi enjoys the position of being insider-outsider. As an outsider he knows the culture of the West, the interest of the Western media and audiences and he possesses enough knowledge in framing the concept for better understanding; as an insider he knows the language and the Iranian culture and experiences the pilgrimage in Rahian-e-Noor which offers a new dimension to his outsider status (Palangi 2013). As a culturally hybrid filmmaker, he is fully aware not to fall into the stereotype traps about Iran and tries to be as fair as possible in representing Iran and depiction of the Iranian pilgrims of Rahian-e-Noor. Palangi's documentary is topical in that he has made the film when Rahian-e-Noor made it to the headlines because of all the traffic accident fatalities en route to these sites. What is the obsession with Rahian-e-Noor tours despite all those fatal accidents is the question that Palangi addresses in his documentary. As many of the Rahian-e-Noor pilgrims are pro-government, Palangi offers a glimpse and different viewpoints to his Western audiences about these pro-governments groups. Many people who have either been on the Rahian-e-Noor tours or have sent family members learned that there is more to the simple pilgrimage to the war fronts. While trying to avoid stereotype in representing these pro-government groups, Palangi confirms this sentiment by delving into the issue and digging out the mission of these trips. The relating of a conversion of a Chinese lady who ran into the Rahian-e-Noor tours and upon seeing the war front kneels and instantly converts to Islam and the story of an American woman who accompanied Rahian-e-Noor in skirt and jacket but was so touched by the event that turned into chador reveals the spiritual side of the pilgrimage along with its ideological mission.

Palangi makes it a point to hint that it is not just religious people who go to these sites; irrespective of whether you are pro-government or otherwise, martyrs are always looked up by the general population. It is this insider-outsider position of Palangi that makes him as balanced as possible in representing the group. Another issue that demonstrates Palangi's ambivalent
position is the way he approaches the issue of veiling. In the 'shout-to-liberate-women' life narratives, veiled women have no agency and are reduced to "apparition" (Nafisi 2003, 217), "unrecognizable" (Satrapi 2003, 126), shy, quiet and submissive (Nemat 2007). They are disembodied, fragmented and have no visibility in these life narratives. In his documentary, veiled women move, speak and have authority and agency of their own. Mahya, who is a co-organizer of the trip, is one of these women who recites a poem in front of a camera and even tells the filmmaker how to connect spiritually to the war site to find his "right path." While filming the women section in the entry scene to the chambers of Sayad Shirazi, Mahya faces the camera and speaks. This is where the western audience can feel a chador-cladded woman can have the agency of her own. This sentiment is corroborated as Palangi (2013, 51) argues that "Mahya's confession to and about the camera suddenly gives her a sense of agency...This representation...gives her a sense of individuality and differentiates her from other women who may appear to look similar to the viewer under the chador." Her act of facing the camera and speaking is indicative of the fact that she wants to be "recognized and acknowledged by others who will consequently view her on screen" (Palangi 2013, 52). This is how Palangi reverses the Western perception that Muslim women are static being and shatters the "Oriental lunacy" that Muslim women, be it Iranians or Arabs or Indians, are secluded to home, "while the public domain is left to men" (Dabashi 2005, 47).

Another vibrant scene in regards to veiling is the debate on a bus where women engage in talking about the concept of veiling and hijab. The different and conflicting perspectives on the concept of the veiling are accentuated to show the Western audience that Iranian women have different ideas and perspectives about hijab. The fact that they are arguing about it and have their different views on veiling is conducive to counter the Western perception that veiled Iranian women have no agency. The presence of few women who are not wearing chador also helps the western audience to see that chador is not the only means of coverage for Iranian women and there are Muslim women who wear the veil of their own volition, and they feel liberated, not suppressed. Knowingly or unknowingly, Palangi also shatters the stereotypes of the plastic key to paradise story. A number of diasporic life narratives such as Marjane Satrapi's Persepolis: The Story of Childhood (2003), Azar Nafisi's Reading Lolita in Tehran (2003), and Shirin Ebadi's Iran Awakening (2006) along with many Middle East analysts have referenced this plastic key. Nafisi claims that ten to sixteen year-old kids were promised "keys to heaven where they could finally enjoy all the pleasures from which they had abstained in life" (208-9) Similar claims were made by Ebadi in her book: "young recruits, wearing red bandannas and their keys to heaven around their necks, boarding busses for the Iraqi battlefields" (2006, 61), Satrapi states that their family maid's son was given a key, a plastic one painted in gold, at school. The kids at school were told that "if they went to war and were lucky enough to die, this key would get them to heaven" (2003, 99), and later her cousin who is a soldier asserts that "they key to paradise was for poor people. Thousand kids, promised a better life, exploded on the minefields with their keys around their necks (2003, 101). This myth was taken so far to the extent that there were reports of importing hundreds of thousands golden plastic keys from Taiwan. Palangi reverses this
stereotypical myth through his representation of the variety of experiences that the pilgrims go through but not including a single scene on the plastic key. The fact that there is not a single scene on the plastic key while his aim is to bring to light different aspects of the soldiers and martyrs' life in the front through the representation of Rahian-e-Noor is suggestive of the ludicrosity of the story. Instead, he represents men and women pilgrims reading and reciting Quran and Mafatih-al-Jenan which alludes to the fact that volunteers who wanted to go to the front were not given a plastic key to heaven but a copy of Mafatih-al-Jinan which means the key to paradise by Abbass Qumi.

It is precisely this type of filmmaking that Hamid Naficy terms as ‘accented cinema'; it is a term that refers to the cinema of those who live and work outside of their homeland (Naficy 2001). One of the common attributes of these accented films is that they echo the cultural alterity and "double consciousness" of their authors (Naficy 2001, 22). Accented films such as Palangi's tend to amalgamate the aesthetic and stylistic influences from the cinematic traditions of the filmmaker's homeland and hostland. Being an insider-outsider, Palangi senses the fragmentary nature of the world and simply wants to bridge the differences between West and East. He is cognizant that the most predicament issue of our time is how we are to live together despite all the violence that has filled the world and therefore feels the responsibility to challenge the dichotomization of West-East in his documentary. Focusing on 'we' and 'together,' his documentary shatters the line drawn between 'us' and 'them' or the 'different' and the 'same' as it is a transcultural film. Like his father's painting which revived the dusty city of Khorramshahr during the war, Palangi's documentary rebuilds the image of Iranians in the world and brings a newer understanding towards Iran and Muslims.

**Conclusion**

That life narratives by and about Muslim women support and justify the hegemony project of imperialism does not necessarily mean that these narratives do not possess a degree of truth in them and it by no means suggests that all the diasporic memoirs that have emerged in post-9/11 period have responded to the Western curiosity about Islam and Muslims in the same way. While many have fallen into the trap of neo-orientalism by reproducing the same stereotypical orientalist depictions, some have tried to historicize and represent Islam and their country through a more or less truly objective perspective. Even those memoirs that are involved in the politics of neo-orientalism do possess a degree of truth but what makes them vulnerable to be on the same wavelength with orientalism or put them at the service of imperialism are their one-sided portrayals, depictions out of contexts, generalizations, and selectivity. It is undeniable that some conservative interpretations of Islamic religious scripts are misogynist and in favor of patriarchy but many Muslims are staunch supporter of women's right and there are countless numbers of strong women in the Muslim world. Muslim diaspora communities have always been concerned with theses untrue feelings and are constantly working through their creative work to debunk these images for creating a better sentiment. Amin Palangi's Waking with Martyrs
shatters the Islamophobia/Iranophobia, challenges many stereotypes about the place of women in Muslim countries, and pushes against the individualistic autobiographies of the oppressed Muslim women. In an era when the public discourse in the West is increasingly positioning Muslims as the ‘Other,’ his insider-outsider position helps him in better framing the issues for his Western audiences. Knowing the Western culture and the Western media and being an Iranian gives him the privilege to be as balanced as possible in representing Muslims and Iranians. He brings a newer and better understanding of Iran and Islam while bridging the so-called dichotomy of West/East. Although his primary of reference is Iran, his representation of Muslim veiled women and Muslim men is situated in a broader spectrum within the context of the Muslim world.

References


