100 Days of Building Power and Solidarity
Observations and Recommendations about Immediate and Long-Term Infrastructure Needs for Palestinian, Muslim, and Arab Groups in the U.S.

January 2024
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ABOUT BUILDING MOVEMENT PROJECT AND MUSLIMS FOR JUST FUTURES

The Building Movement Project (BMP) is a national non-profit organization that catalyzes social change through research, relationships, and resources that strengthen the nonprofit sector. This report is part of BMP’s series about the infrastructure needs for nonprofits and the broader movement. Muslims for Just Futures (MJF) is a grassroots organization that builds power in Muslim communities through collective care, organizing, advocacy, and movement-building. MJF’s local organizing works spans the DC, MD, VA and Chicagoland areas, while the organization’s national work is focused on advocacy and movement-building.

BMP and MJF started to work closely together in October 2023 in the wake of the genocide in Gaza and as Palestinian, Arab, and Muslim community members began experiencing backlash and scapegoating here in the United States. After the brutal murder of 6-year-old Wadee Alfayoumi in the Chicagoland area, MJF received multiple reports from community members expressing their fears and needs for healing spaces and legal defense. During the same time period, BMP received multiple requests from organizations needing support with solidarity actions and narratives. In order to exchange information, facilitate rapid response, and catalyze solidarity practices, MJF and BMP’s teams began to coordinate weekly calls for organizations and develop materials and resources, relying on our past experiences with rapid response efforts. This report draws directly upon the observations and recommendations that emerged over the past 100 days from the weekly calls, as well as our individual organizational work.

The 100 Days of Building Power and Solidarity report is organized into three main sections:

1. First, it identifies **key observations about the unprecedented nature** of the current environment and how groups are responding with limited resources.
2. Second, it provides **recommendations to build movement infrastructure** that can connect existing rapid response efforts with long-term power-building.
3. Third, it **documents the ways in which communities are experiencing discrimination** (via the Appendix).

We are grateful to BMP’s Deepa Iyer, Priti Nemani, and UyenThi Tran Myhre and MJF’s Darakshan Raja for developing this report.
INTRODUCTION:  
100 DAYS OF BUILDING POWER AND SOLIDARITY

What is happening in Palestine is affecting community members across the diaspora. As the genocide in Gaza passes the 100 day mark in January 2024, Palestinian Americans and allies are mourning the 24,000 Palestinian people killed by the government of Israel, while also dealing with a relentless wave of scapegoating and targeting in the United States.

100 Days of Building Power and Solidarity provides a snapshot of how the field of Palestinian, Arab, and Muslim organizations in the United States is responding to the current crisis, and highlights observations and recommendations for both immediate and long-term community building and solidarity. Of note, this report touches upon the unprecedented nature of the current backlash, how community organizations are addressing diverse and high-volume community needs with very few resources, and how solidarity efforts uplift common goals and add necessary visibility. The report uses the acronym BAMEMSA, a term derived by the field, to include and describe the ecosystem of Black, Arab, Middle Eastern, Muslim, and South Asian community-based groups.

The goals of 100 Days of Building Power and Solidarity are to:

(1) Preserve in real time the needs of organizations that emerged in weekly rapid response calls co-facilitated by MJF and BMP beginning in October 2023

(2) Document examples of the backlash facing Palestinian, Arab, Muslim, Black and South Asian communities in the US since October 2023

(3) Highlight the tremendous organizing, advocacy, legal, community care, and solidarity responses led by Palestinian, Arab, Muslim and allied groups

(4) Amplify recommendations that can build infrastructure and solidarity during and beyond this period of acute urgency; and,

(5) Offer ideas that connect the current rapid response work to longer-term power-building efforts
100 Days of Building Power and Solidarity is rooted in what MJF and BMP learned from a series of organizational and collaborative efforts that have happened over the past 100 days. Together, we co-facilitated weekly calls beginning in October 2023 with an average of 25-30 organizations around the country. During these rapid response calls, groups around the country shared updates regarding local and federal advocacy efforts, mobilizations and direct actions, strategic communication and narrative guidance, legal resources, and solidarity.

The resources and contributions from each weekly call resulted in a rapid resource guide that included accessible information about legal resources, digital security, organizing, solidarity efforts, talking points for narratives, and community care. During the calls, groups also identified infrastructure and capacity needs both in the short-term and the long run, many of which have been synthesized in this report.

Photo by Patrick Perkins on Unsplash
In addition to the calls, both MJF and BMP worked on organizational initiatives related to the current context. For example, MJF directly mobilized and engaged over 9,000 community members over the past 100 days through direct and virtual actions, membership meetings, direct outreach to working-class communities, and healing and processing circles. In October, in coordination with Muslim Women For, Muslim Advocates, and Center for Constitutional Rights, MJF organized a national Divest and Reinvest virtual convening with 40 organizations focused on building movement-led advocacy against the “War on Terror.”

MJF also spearheaded a solidarity call to movements alongside PARCEO, INCITE! Palestine Force, Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP), U.S. Campaign for Palestinian Rights (USCPR), Dream Defenders, Rising Majority and 100 organizations, to center an abolitionist response and reject the weaponization of the hate violence framework to expand the “War on Terror.” Finally, MJF has been supporting Chicago Progressive Staffers at the local level in Chicago to pass a ceasefire resolution.

Over the past 100 days, BMP has been supporting the field of directly affected groups through rapid response and solidarity resources. In response to needs that emerged during the weekly calls, BMP documented reports of backlash and developed a national map to track local ceasefire resolutions. BMP also created several resources for movement partners including a guide called Constructing Solidarity Narratives in Challenging Times and a Solidarity Is This podcast episode that offer direction and ideas for solidarity by movement partners in this current moment.

We hope that 100 Days of Building Power and Solidarity can be used by various stakeholders - the field of BAMEMSA groups, movement partners, civic, faith, and nonprofit leaders, philanthropic institutions, government agencies, and elected officials - to robustly support the ecosystem of organizations working with directly affected communities during this time of crisis and beyond.

In this report, we honor the breadth of work that the movement ecosystem has been holding over the past 100 days. At the same time, this report is not comprehensive, and we hope that even more resources, data and documentation, community stories, and reports emerge from various stakeholders to shed deeper insights about the current context.
THE TOLL OF CONSTANT RAPID RESPONSE CYCLES

For at least two decades, the field of organizations working in what is often called the BAMEMSA ecosystem (Black, Arab, Middle Eastern, Muslim, and South Asian) have been moving through constant cycles of rapid response following watershed events including the 9/11 attacks, the election of Donald Trump in 2016, and the genocide in Gaza. During each of these events, community members have endured significant backlash in various contexts. For example, Muslims and those perceived to be Muslims have been targeted by government policies codified during the “War on Terror” such as Bush’s special registration policy, Obama’s countering violent extremism initiative, and Trump’s Muslim ban. Additionally, community members have faced an increase in hate violence including the 2012 massacre at a Sikh gurdwara in Wisconsin, and the coordinated pushback on the construction and operation of mosques around the country.

More recently, many organizations have been responding to overlapping crises, including the COVID pandemic, the uprisings in 2020 following the police murder of George Floyd, the insurrection at Capitol Hill in 2021, the rising tide of anti-Asian violence, and the restrictions on asylum and refugee programs.

These crises have been jarring and unsettling. Constant rapid response cycles have taken a unique and significant toll on many BAMEMSA organizations, both externally and internally. BAMEMSA organizations are expected to respond to a complex terrain of issues including Islamophobia, xenophobia, anti-Black racism, white supremacy, the “War on Terror,” and myriad social justice issues that sit at the intersection of multiple systems of violence. And, given the rich diversity of BAMEMSA communities, multiple different approaches are required in order to effectively meet the needs of BAMEMSA groups.

Additionally, groups are contending with burnout and high turnover rates of staff and leadership, ineffective and weak organizational infrastructure, the lack of investment in individual BAMEMSA movement leaders, and coordinated campaigns of surveillance and scrutiny of organizations and leadership. Finally, many organizations in the BAMEMSA sector focused on power-building, advocacy, organizing, and movement-building were formed just in the last ten years and are not at the scale of sustaining a coordinated response to the relentless threats they face.
Operating in frequent rapid response cycles in this context has led to various consequences, including:

- Limited time to reflect, rebuild or recover
- Vicarious and direct trauma
- Staff burnout and leadership transitions
- Programs that are shaped by crisis and occur in bursts without long-term sustainability
- Philanthropic funding that follows a boom-and-bust cycle, leaving nonprofit leaders with immense anxiety about future support
- Transactional solidarity efforts that do not last given the lack of capacity and opportunity to build longer-term relationships
- Lack of space to connect rapid response efforts to an individual organization’s long-term power-building goals
- Ineffective containers to engage community members in between crises
- Quick decision-making that is focused on responding to a given moment rather than strategic analysis about the broader goals
- Tendency to isolate one’s organization, work in silos, and focus on specific lanes due to the urgency of a situation and limited capacity
- Erasure of the efforts and work carried out by BAMEMSA organizations and movements, including a siloing of the issues faced by BAMEMSA communities as separate and disconnected to broader movements fighting for justice and collective liberation

Moving beyond crisis cycles and building long-term power requires organizational and movement infrastructure.
In the case of the BAMEMSA ecosystem, the field's existing rapid response mechanisms can lead to long-term power and solidarity in the long run with a range of scaffolding and support systems. In order to anchor rapid response work and foster long-term community power-building, organizations need robust infrastructure in the form of funding, programs, staffing, operations, strategies, skills-building, field-wide coordination, community care, narratives, and partnerships.

Power-building, according to MJF, is a strategy utilized by communities directly impacted to bring about change by reshaping systems and transforming material conditions. This involves engaging in sustained, long-term organizing and base-building with the goal of achieving narrative, legislative, advocacy, and political power. At its core, power-building is centered on cultivating and leveraging collective people power for long-term social change.

For example, during rapid response moments, organizations are often engaged in vital crisis communications. In order to transform crisis communications into strategic narrative development, organizations need infrastructure in the form of skills, staffing, and partnerships.

Another example is in the context of base building. During crises, hundreds of individuals join causes and campaigns. In order to transform that energy and momentum into long-term base building, organizations require the capacity to build various points of entry and programs that can incorporate new individuals. Community members who are activated by a crisis to take action, join an organization, or engage in advocacy often move on after the “movement moment” abates because there is no infrastructure to sustain their ongoing involvement.

And lastly, during movement moments, solidarity can become a buzzword, infusing slogans, statements, and actions. In order to capitalize on these solidarity moments for the long-term, organizations require time, coordinated collaborations, and gatherings that can build meaningful relationships with movement partners.
In order to anchor rapid response work and foster long-term community power-building, organizations need a range of scaffolding and support in the form of funding, programs, staffing, operations, strategies, skills-building, narratives, field-wide coordination, community care, and partnerships.

how can rapid response...

- crisis communications
- mobilizations, protests, and marches
- solidarity statements

...also build community power and solidarity in the long-term?

- strategic narratives
- base-building and sustaining relationships with community
- deeper movement partnerships and solidarity practices
THREE KEY OBSERVATIONS ABOUT THE CURRENT CLIMATE FOR ORGANIZATIONS

1) The current backlash is unprecedented in its scope and magnitude.

2) Despite significant challenges and a historic lack of investment in BAMEMSA groups, organizations working with affected community members have been doing a lot with very little over the past 100 days.

3) Over the past 100 days, groups have been utilizing solidarity practices, narratives, and partnerships.
Observation 1: The current backlash is unprecedented in its scope and magnitude.

Throughout their histories in the United States, BAMEMSA communities have faced a steady barrage of attacks, exclusion, profiling, and divestment. For example, after the 9/11 attacks and the 2016 election, affected communities endured discrimination by people and institutions (in the form of hate violence, school bullying, employment bias, and intimidation), and by state and federal government actors (as a result of policies such as special registration, watch lists, surveillance, joint terrorism taskforces, and the Muslim ban). Palestinian Americans in particular have endured efforts to silence and suppress advocacy, activism, and solidarity for decades. In addition, BAMEMSA organizations such as mosques, community centers, student groups, charity groups, and nonprofits have experienced decades of surveillance, monitoring, and direct attacks which has resulted in a weaker community defense infrastructure.

The current environment, however, stands in stark contrast to the past. The sheer scope of discrimination complaints is happening at a fast clip, touching multiple sectors and occurring in a range of contexts. Over the past 100 days, during weekly rapid response calls, organizations have described the backlash as falling into these categories: (1) Hate violence; (2) Violations of civil and constitutional rights in schools, workplaces, homes, and other public and private spaces; (3) Attacks on organizations; (4) Unfair government actions and policies; and (5) Climate of dehumanization.
Backlash and Scapegoating in the Current Context

On community calls, leaders mentioned time and again that the scope and extent of the backlash since October 2023 has been unlike anything they have experienced before. For example:

- An October 2023 poll by the Arab American Institute found that 50% of Arab Americans are concerned about facing discrimination at school, work, and in their community.
- Palestine Legal, the Center for Constitutional Rights, the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee and local CAIR chapters are fielding thousands of requests for support.
- Since October 7, CAIR’s San Francisco Bay Area chapter has reported a staggering 434% rise in complaints, 69% of which are Palestine-related.
- The American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) received over 1,000 intakes and complaints about censorship and suppression of speech on social media platforms, especially on Meta (Instagram) and X (formerly known as Twitter) within a span of just 24 hours.
- Palestine Legal received over 1,000 reports since October 7th from people targeted for Palestinian advocacy in numerous arenas, from students to middle school teachers to law firm associates and entertainers.

In many instances, advocating for a ceasefire, uplifting the human rights of Palestinians, or critiquing the government and military of Israel are being characterized as anti-Semitic, leading to investigations, suspensions, and revocations of job offers, as well as deactivation of organizations and the retraction of philanthropic funding.

Anti-Semitism is a grave form of discrimination that should be addressed by all sectors. However, in the current context, many BAMEMSA groups and allied groups are concerned that characterizing Palestinian solidarity and activism as anti-Semitic could lead to harmful consequences for all communities and create a chilling effect on protected political speech and activities.
Examples of the Current Backlash*

Hate Violence
- Three Palestinian American college students were shot by a white man as they took a walk in Burlington, Vermont

Individual Civil Rights Violations: Workplace and Campuses
- At the Los Angeles Times, staff members were reportedly suspended in November from covering the Middle East crisis after signing an open letter criticizing Israel’s conduct
- At least five public school teachers were suspended in Maryland after publicly expressing support for Palestinian human rights

Backlash Against Organizations Representing Affecting Communities
- Colleges and universities have deactivated, sanctioned, or suspended student groups such as Students for Justice in Palestine
- Events planned by USCPR, CAIR National, and more were postponed or canceled after venues were pressured by anti-Palestinian, anti-Muslim, and anti-Arab individuals and groups
- Mosques in Springfield (MO), Philadelphia (PA), Burtonsville (MD), and Minneapolis (MN), have reported vandalism and/or receiving death and bomb threats

Government Policies and Practices
- The FBI questioned and detained numerous Palestinian nationals and made visits to multiple mosques

Fueling a Climate of Dehumanization
- The House of Representatives censured Rep. Rashida Tlaib (MI-D) for her remarks about the genocide in Gaza
- Missouri State Rep. Chris Dinkins called for a statewide prohibition of the resettlement of any Palestinian refugees

*The appendix at the end of this report provides additional details and examples for each of these categories.*

Photo by Patrick Perkins on Unsplash

Photo by Michael Kamal via peopledemand.org
Observation 2: Despite significant challenges and a historic lack of investment in BAMEMSA groups, organizations working with affected community members have been doing a lot with very little over the past 100 days.

In the midst of an unprecedented crisis, organizations have been engaging in a variety of strategies to respond to the avalanche of needs from community members. Over the past 100 days, local organizations have been fielding numerous requests from community members around multiple needs, including economic, legal, health, and overall safety concerns for their children and family members. Below is a snapshot of some of the ways in which organizations that attended our weekly rapid response calls have been responding.

**MOBILIZATIONS AND DIRECT ACTION**

Groups are turning out hundreds and thousands of individuals in massive rallies, marches, and protests in cities across the country. Some organizers are using strategic direct action tactics in the form of civil disobedience through blockades and shutdowns of bridges, freeways, and ports, as well as entrances to weapons defense companies. Others are focused on pressuring elected and government officials to call for a permanent ceasefire. Student organizers in particular are taking action on college campuses, often risking doxxing and investigation, by calling for a ceasefire and demanding their campuses divest from companies that support the genocide. Workers in the private sector, such as No Tech for Apartheid, are calling on their employers such as Google and Amazon to stop providing cloud technology to the government of Israel.

*Photo courtesy of Muslims for Just Futures*
Palestinian, Arab, Muslim, and solidarity groups including Palestinian Youth Movement, USCPR, Arab Resource & Organizing Center (AROC), Dissenters, US Palestinian Community Network (USPCN), Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) chapters, American Muslims for Palestine (AMP), the Palestinian Feminist Collective and others have organized rallies and protests in major cities around the country, including the historic march in Washington, D.C. on November 4, 2023, that drew over 300,000 people.

Jewish and solidarity groups such as Jewish Voice for Peace, IfNotNow, and Rising Majority have also mobilized individuals and organizations to take sustained direct action. In addition to these organizations, there are numerous newly formed collectives, movement groups, and student groups that have coalesced to respond to the current crisis in Gaza and Palestine.

Groups such as MSA West, Students for Justice in Palestine, and others have been supporting students on college campuses who are advocating for expansive curricula and organizing consciousness-raising events, direct actions, and rallies, while also enduring a range of threats from doxxing to deactivation of student groups. Additionally, the National Network for Arab American Communities (NNAAC) has been hosting webinars to combat disinformation, which has been rampant during this time.

FEDERAL, STATE, AND LOCAL ADVOCACY CAMPAIGNS

Groups such as USCPR have launched advocacy campaigns and initiatives to call for a ceasefire in Gaza by organizing sit-ins at congressional offices, shutdowns of government meetings, and testifying at city council sessions. In an October 2023 poll of Arab American voters conducted by the Arab American Institute, 68% supported a ceasefire in Gaza. As of January 12, 2024, 64 members of Congress had called for a ceasefire or endorsed H.Res. 786 which calls for an immediate cessation of hostilities, and 44 municipal resolutions have been passed in places such as Bridgeport (CT), Iowa City (IA), Olympia (WA), Atlanta (GA), Akron (OH), and Providence (RI).

Not surprisingly, advocacy campaigns for ceasefire resolutions were more successful in parts of the country with a strong network of local organizations that had historically invested resources into base-building, solidarity, and community awareness. For example, the Arab Resource and Organizing Center (AROC)’s long-standing work to organize community members and build partnerships led to the passage of a ceasefire resolution in San Francisco.
In Michigan, a strong base of Arab Americans and a local crisis working group organized efforts that led to the passage of ceasefire resolutions in Ann Arbor, Canton, Detroit, Dearborn, Dearborn Heights, Hamtramck, and Ypsilanti. In North Carolina, Muslim Women For has been mobilizing community members through forming partnerships, co-organizing marches, rallies, phone banks and direct outreach to the governor’s office to call for a permanent ceasefire.

Beyond ceasefire resolutions, organizations are also working on affirmative legislation such as the federal WADEE Act (in honor of the 6-year-old Palestinian American child killed by his landlord in a Chicago apartment) that denounces anti-Muslim and anti-Palestinian hate. Additionally, groups have advocated at the federal level against the proposed expansion of mass surveillance via Section 702 of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA), and against efforts to provide additional funding for military aid to Israel and US immigration enforcement.

**LEGAL SUPPORT AND REPRESENTATION FOR INDIVIDUAL COMMUNITY MEMBERS**

Amidst the surge of complaints from community members experiencing discrimination for their expressions of solidarity with the Palestinian people, BAMEMSA organizations and allies have been providing legal support through representation and advocacy. Palestine Legal has been managing the bulk of Palestine-related targeting and repression at the staff level, and relying on the support of a network of volunteer lawyers being co-trained by groups such as the Movement Law Lab.

In addition, groups such as the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) and CAIR National have been fielding thousands of calls related to anti-Palestinian racism, anti-Arab racism, and anti-Muslim racism. Muslim Advocates and CUNY CLEAR have been offering Know Your Rights materials and training. The National Association of Muslim Lawyers and the American Muslim Bar Association have released community advisories and connected volunteer lawyers with clients. While these legal resources exist, a stronger infrastructure for community defense is necessary for community members, as described in the recommendations section below.
The current backlash against Palestinian, Arab, and Muslim communities is producing a devastating economic impact that directly affects the livelihoods of individual community members, organizers, and frontline responders. Loss of jobs and wages hampers the well-being of families that rely on breadwinners. Students that have lost out on scholarships or economic opportunities are struggling with the loss of critical career opportunities. That is why setting up mutual aid funds, such as the ones built by MSA West and HEART, are important. In addition, MJF is working with Beloved Community Incubator to urge the solidarity economies movement to support BAMEMSA communities during this time and in the future.

The human cost of the current moment is not lost on organizations. Staff and leaders of BAMEMSA organizations have consistently acknowledged the lives lost in Palestine and Israel, and the emotional toll on community members in the United States. Organizations have held vigils and solidarity actions, including an interfaith vigil for lives lost at Detroit’s Hart Plaza in November 2023.

Groups have also been creating healing circles and resources for community members, such as HEART’s INAYA Care Fund that provides mutual aid to survivors of violence and focuses on grief, care, and wellness. The INAYA Care Fund also mobilizes community members who want to show up as caregivers in the current moment by organizing meal trains and providing childcare.

HEART’s INAYA Fund is a powerful example of the importance of developing a care infrastructure for community and movements. Additionally, MJF has continued their work in offering regular virtual and in-person processing, grieving, and healing sessions across the DMV and in Chicago, while ADC has developed a mental health resource hub for Arab Americans and Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services (ACCESS) has provided trainings on secondary trauma and compassion fatigue.
Observation 3: Over the past 100 days, groups have been utilizing solidarity practices, narratives, and partnerships.

Over the past 100 days, organizational leaders and staff consistently uplifted the vital importance of cross-racial and cross-movement solidarity during weekly rapid response calls. Given that many BAMEMSA organizations working with affected communities are themselves a target of backlash, the solidarity efforts of ally groups has been an anchoring strategy. Ally groups have supported the BAMEMSA space through solidarity statements, narratives, coalition efforts, and actions.

For example, groups such as Rising Majority, Jewish Voice for Peace, Black for Palestine, 18 Million Rising and United We Dream have been amplifying the demands of affected communities through action alerts, educational webinars, community power hours and phone jams. Jewish Voice for Peace has organized numerous direct actions to demonstrate solidarity with Palestinian community members, including during Hanukkah (December 2023) when protests were organized in eight cities around the country.

BAMEMSA groups have also engaged in solidarity, particularly around addressing anti-Semitism. For example, in Oakland, after a menorah was vandalized in December 2023, BAMEMSA organizations spoke out against such acts of anti-Semitism. Other solidarity efforts have brought a cross-section of groups together. In December, directors from 74 progressive organizations representing a coalition of Palestinian, immigrant, Jewish, veteran, climate, labor, and youth groups staged a sit-in. In December 2023, over 50 leaders were arrested for demanding a ceasefire and calling for community investments.

December 2023 action organized by Adalah Justice Project, Action Center on Race and the Economy, Grassroots Global Justice Alliance, USCPR, MPowerChange and many more organizations.
Organizations have also used an intersectional lens to inform their solidarity practices. For example, Queer Crescent, an organization that centers LGBTQI+ Muslims, organized a statement from over 300 LGBTQ organizations and individuals to express solidarity with Palestinians.

Additionally, a range of Asian American and South Asian organizations such as Alliance of South Asians Taking Action (ASATA), Jahajee Sisters, South Asian SOAR, and 18 Million Rising have held community teach-ins and developed informative materials for their own members in order to raise awareness. And, finally, a range of groups have been issuing statements of solidarity as ways to offer support and make connections.

“As members of Asian diasporas whose families and ancestors have known the brutality of colonization and war, and as activists deeply committed to dismantling systems of racism, imperialism, patriarchy, and capitalism, we know no other option.”

- Asian American Feminist Collective

“In every Indigenous language in the world, there is a word meaning ‘we are all related.’ We are in a critical moment where we need to call upon our Indigenous knowledge and act upon that worldview, treating everyone as relatives. This moment requires us to act upon our values, so that a history of genocide does not continue to be repeated.”

- NDN Collective

“We make this commitment in a long tradition of Black people standing with other peoples around the world in our shared struggle against oppression, racism, and colonialism.”

- Black for Palestine

“The path towards a peaceful future for both Israelis and Palestinians will require a reckoning with the past. Reconciliation can only occur when there is space for truth-telling, justice and healing.”

- International Sites of Conscience
Despite the mobilization and rapid response efforts over the past 100 days, individual organizations and the ecosystem at large cannot keep up the current pace or address ongoing community needs and external threats without strategic, long-term, and robust movement infrastructure. Even before October 2023, many BAMEMSA organizations were operating in constant rapid response mode with limited staff, resources, and partnerships. The current crisis in Gaza is pushing organizations to their limits. It is next to impossible to maintain the balancing act of responding to crises while planning for the future, which is why building movement infrastructure is essential.

Movement infrastructure refers to the foundational needs of nonprofit groups and the broader ecosystem to advance their mission and vision, including staffing, funding, partnerships, operations, strategies, skills-building, field-wide coordination, programs, community care, and solidarity. When organizations are able to build infrastructure, they can better strengthen their solidarity practice, address multiple community needs, reflect and share their learnings with others, and be better prepared for unanticipated events.

Movement infrastructure includes the capacity to engage in a range of activities that build long-term power and solidarity, including:

- Mobilization and direct action
- Base-building, membership development, and community organizing
- Legal defense
- Federal, state, and local advocacy
- Cross-movement participatory community defense
- Coordination and convening
- Organizational operations
- Robust rapid response
- Skills-building and leadership development
- Security and safety
- Community care, mutual aid, and healing
- Communications and narrative development
- Solidarity and partnerships
During our weekly calls with groups representing affected communities, a range of recommendations emerged around building strong and long-lasting infrastructure for organizations and the field at large, including:

### LONG-TERM FUNDING AND CAPACITY-BUILDING INVESTMENT FROM PHILANTHROPY INTO PALESTINIAN, ARAB, AND MUSLIM GROUPS

While funders such as Emergent Fund, Rise Together Fund, and Solidaire have mobilized to support BAMEMSA organizations, many organizations have identified a lack of consistent and robust support from philanthropy. During our calls, movement leaders mentioned the need for general and multi-year support for Palestinian, Arab, and Muslim organizations time and again. Many leaders also worry that their organizations might face funder backlash for speaking out on Palestinian human rights.

These concerns are not unfounded or new. For years, BAMEMSA groups and solidarity organizations that have taken public positions on Palestine, Zionism, and the “War on Terror” have faced significant push-back or blacklisting from funders. More recently, some groups and academic institutions have been denied funding because of their positions and statements on Palestine, according to an article by Saqib Bhatti and Anna Lefer Kuhn in *Nonprofit Quarterly*. Just in the past 100 days, organizations such as CASA Maryland, a statewide immigrant rights group, experienced threats to funding from elected officials, and a revocation of a foundation grant after sharing their solidarity statement.

It is vital that community-based organizations do not face even more restrictions and revocations of funding at this time. The current climate requires philanthropic institutions committed to equity and justice to double down on their support for the ecosystem of Palestinian, Arab, and Muslim groups.

*Photo by Eman Mohammed at Survival Media Agency*
Key recommendations to funders include:

- Multi-year general operating funds to BAMEMSA organizations, including groups that seek to shift power and underlying systems
- Support for BAMEMSA grantees and solidarity organizations when they are under attack, including facing retaliation from funders for Palestine work
- Grants to support organizational partnerships and collaborations to deepen cross-racial and cross-movement solidarity
- Support for developing abolitionist responses and community defense
- Investments to develop backend organizational infrastructure in the form of support for communications, grassroots fundraising, legal infrastructure, finances, data systems, digital, organizational, and staff security
- Investments that strengthen the broader BAMEMSA ecosystem through field-wide coordination and convening efforts
- Education of funders and donors on understanding the issues that BAMEMSA communities face and how issues such as Zionism, Islamophobia, and white supremacy are intertwined
- Sector-wide exploration of how philanthropic institutions are uplifting their commitments to transform philanthropy, model accountability, and trust the wisdom of grantees and directly affected communities in this moment
Organizations focused on base-building and membership development at the local level need support to absorb the hundreds and thousands of individuals who are being mobilized at this moment. In order to incorporate these motivated volunteers into long-term power-building programs, BAMEMSA groups need support to onboard, train, create accessible political education, and provide entry points for long-term programs. Furthermore, BAMEMSA base-building organizations need support to bring along community members who are impacted by discrimination and targeting in the current moment. This infrastructure is also critical to develop given that there are numerous collectives and configurations that do not fit the traditional non-profit model but are vital and frequent entry points for community members.

MOBILIZATION AND DIRECT ACTION INFRASTRUCTURE

Currently, there are thousands of individuals who have been mobilized to take direct action through rallies, marches, and protests. Infrastructure support is needed to support new organizers who are putting together direct actions and mobilizations. For example, Dissenters has set up a coaching program for new members interested in organizing actions. While mobilizations and direct actions are powerful and effective, movement infrastructure is needed to support new organizers holding mobilizations to understand legal, security, and doxxing risks, and overall protest safety, as Vision Change Win has previously reported. This is especially important when mobilizing communities that are already heavily criminalized and targeted through policing and surveillance.

BASE-BUILDING, MEMBERSHIP DEVELOPMENT, AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZING INFRASTRUCTURE

Organizations focused on base-building and membership development at the local level need support to absorb the hundreds and thousands of individuals who are being mobilized at this moment. In order to incorporate these motivated volunteers into long-term power-building programs, BAMEMSA groups need support to onboard, train, create accessible political education, and provide entry points for long-term programs. Furthermore, BAMEMSA base-building organizations need support to bring along community members who are impacted by discrimination and targeting in the current moment. This infrastructure is also critical to develop given that there are numerous collectives and configurations that do not fit the traditional non-profit model but are vital and frequent entry points for community members.
For decades, the legal system has given a blank check to the government on matters of national security and the “War on Terror.” Already, over the past 100 days, the Virginia Attorney General opened an investigation into American Muslims for Palestine, and the San Francisco Unified School District began an investigation of the Arab Resource and Organizing Center after receiving complaints.

In the near future, BAMEMSA groups anticipate a range of legal issues will continue to arise. These could include representation of protesters being charged with civil disobedience, advocating against restrictions of free speech on social media, and supporting BAMEMSA organizations being targeted or investigated by state actors.

Legal infrastructure includes developing and implementing creative and collective legal defense strategies, rooted in movement lawyer approaches, including translated know your rights information, mechanisms for intakes and interviews, coordination of pro bono lawyer networks, and hiring and training legal staff.

Recommendations include:

- Investing in collective legal defense infrastructure for individuals facing discrimination and civil rights issues, including targeting of protesters and organizations, material support charges, and the expansion of the “hate crime” frame
- Investing in BAMEMSA movement lawyering and legal defense that is accountable to communities and works alongside other partners utilizing organizing, advocacy, and other strategies to build power

Left: Photo by Michael Kamal via peopledemand.org
Right: Instagram Post from Palestine Legal @pal_legal
In addition to legal infrastructure, various organizations mentioned the need for field-wide coordination, skills-building, and convenings related to developing and executing advocacy strategies at the local, state, and federal levels. These resources are critical given the ways in which new issues keep emerging. Additionally, groups are identifying ways to engage with government agencies and elected leaders on issues ranging from local ceasefire and anti-bias resolutions to the White House Islamophobia strategy at the national level.

- **Federal Advocacy**: It is important to develop federal advocacy infrastructure that is rooted in community accountability, solidarity, and movement-building frameworks. For example, the divest and reinvest framework in the federal advocacy space offers an opportunity for groups that work across movements such as climate justice, labor, racial justice, immigration, gender justice, anti-militarism, and foreign policy to build policy demands that connect multiple issues. Investing in a range of BAMEMSA organizations and a robust federal advocacy infrastructure is important to move from a defensive strategy to one that builds long-term power.

- **State and Local Advocacy Infrastructure**: Racist, xenophobic, and Islamophobic policies are often first introduced in state and local legislatures and serve as models for federal legislation. Investing in a robust state advocacy infrastructure for BAMEMSA communities includes the capacity to connect and collaborate regionally, exchange information, build relationships with local stakeholders, participate in advocacy events, and develop affirmative policies.

**CROSS-MOVEMENT PARTICIPATORY COMMUNITY DEFENSE INFRASTRUCTURE**

It is vital to develop a community organizing infrastructure that can support community members facing discrimination and targeting. This infrastructure includes the capacity to support their families, protest prosecutorial overreach, and show up to courtrooms and hearings with a broad community presence. Groups like Believers Bailout, Muslims for Just Futures, AROC, DRUM - Desis Rising Up and Moving, Arab American Action Network, and others have experience providing such support. In addition, learning from the Movement for Black Lives, Landback and Stop Cop City movements, and the long history of political prisoners being targeted within BAMEMSA communities will be critical for movement preparedness and solidarity.
Groups expressed the need to convene quickly and regularly both at the national and local levels in order to coordinate rapid response strategies, build deeper relationships, and plan for long-term collaboration. Groups are also interested in understanding the ecosystem of organizations in the field to assess strengths and gaps, avoid duplication of efforts, and foster collaboration and trust. Developing networks, coalitions, and tables will ensure that there is a structure and container for relationship-building, consistency, and joint campaigns that last well beyond a rapid response moment.

Many BAMEMSA organizations have been established over the recent decade, and given the rapid response context, they do not have sufficient back end office infrastructure. Organizations need support with financial planning, accounting services, directors and liability insurance, board governance, digital security, databases to track donors and volunteers, grant research and writing, staff management, and office and meeting space. Often, in smaller groups, the executive director is expected to handle all of the back end office needs as well as serve as the visionary for the organization. Executive directors of newer and under-resourced BAMEMSA groups have to be the accountant and financial planner, as well as a strategic thinker, spokesperson and advocate, leading to overwhelm and inconsistency, given the breadth of needs and skills required.

These barriers could be addressed in a variety of ways, from hiring skilled staff for operations to creating a back end infrastructure that can provide services to the field as a whole, or a combination. Additionally, newer directors, especially those who are just beginning to understand nonprofit structure and/or who are newer immigrants or whose primary language is not English, need culturally and linguistically accessible skills support around financial planning, budgeting, and staff management.
Given the constant barrage of violence that BAMEMSA communities have endured over the past 22 years and beyond, it is clear that crisis response must be an actual program for many organizations. At the same time, rapid response work must have an eye towards long-term movement building. Robust rapid response infrastructure then moves beyond immediate responses in an urgent period to also include the capacity for:

- Timely resource development and sharing
- Identifying and vetting emerging information in real-time
- Identifying local responders and supporting their work, coordinating groups and multiple stakeholders, including providing consistent communication and updates
- Engaging in rapid response communications and narratives
- Data tracking and documentation

FOR GROUPS AND NETWORKS DEALING WITH COMMUNITY CRISES:
Suggested Approaches for Navigating the First 48 Hours

1. ASSESS the scope of the community crisis.
2. EXPRESS care and support for victims, survivors, families, and community at large.
3. CONNECT with affected community members and local organizations.
4. SHARE information and demands for media, policy stakeholders, and allies publicly.
5. MOBILIZE the rapid response ecosystem.
6. ASK for solidarity statements from ally groups and partners.
7. IDENTIFY long-term needs for survivors and families.
8. REFLECT, evaluate, and course correct as needed.
Organizations have consistently mentioned during weekly rapid response calls that their staff need training and support around maintaining their safety, in terms of securing private information, office spaces, computer equipment and databases, and more. This is especially important during a time of greater scrutiny. Groups like Equality Labs, Vision Change Win, and Lucy Parsons Labs have already been providing vital support to BAMEMSA organizations that are concerned about their digital safety.

**SKILLS-BUILDING AND LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT**

Organizations identified the need for opportunities to build the skills of staff and leadership both at a subject matter and practical level. Given that the BAMEMSA field now includes new staff members who might not have the experiences of responding to previous crises, it is important to create opportunities for intergenerational learning exchanges around post-9/11 movement history, advocacy skills, and organizing strategy. Additionally, groups mentioned the need for more co-learning spaces to develop and sharpen their stances and values around community safety, abolition, and structural violence.

**SECURITY AND SAFETY INFRASTRUCTURE**

Activists today are facing unprecedented threats—from surveillance and harassment to doxing, and disinformation. For our movements to persist and succeed, security infrastructure is key. The threats we are facing can be abated by implementing concrete digital security measures. Link in bio to learn more about our digital security initiatives.

100 Days of Building Power and Solidarity
Building Movement Project and Muslims for Just Futures
COMMUNITY CARE, MUTUAL AID, AND HEALING INFRASTRUCTURE

Over the course of our weekly rapid response calls, organizational staff and leadership consistently voiced the need for opportunities to pause and provide space to grieve and process at an individual and community level. Many feel overwhelmed, confused, scared, and hopeless, and are experiencing direct or vicarious trauma as a result of witnessing the images and news from Gaza, while also responding to hate violence and discrimination, and being part of the same communities that are being affected or targeted. Some have lost loved ones in the genocide.

Organizational staff need ongoing access to care, from coaches, therapists, and somatic healers to grief counseling and community spaces that center trauma and processing to mediators and facilitators who can assist groups in moving through generative conflict. Groups such as Coaching for Healing, Justice and Liberation have a network of trained BIPOC coaches, some of whom have been providing support to BAMEMSA organizations. Investing in such resources for staff and leaders is vital to the health of the BAMEMSA ecosystem. Additionally, groups need the necessary space and support to adapt their organizational culture and practices to ensure their work and staff remain sustainable and strategic for the long-term.

STRATEGIC COMMUNICATIONS AND NARRATIVES

A key component of rapid response is to be able to adapt communications in a strategic manner when there is breaking news or when a crisis moment occurs. Yet, strategic communications is extremely challenging to add to the list of activities for frontline groups addressing community concerns. Additionally, many groups do not have the capacity to move beyond immediate crisis communications to narrative development. Most groups in the BAMEMSA field do not have dedicated communications staff and rely on helpful partners such as ReThink Media. Spokesperson bureaus, narrative strategy resources, templates and talking points, joint op-ed writing with cross-movement leaders, social media assets, and resources for dedicated communications staff are vital to help organizations move from crisis communications to strategic communications and narrative development.
SOLIDARITY AND PARTNERSHIPS

One of the most pressing needs for the BAMEMSA field is to strengthen partnerships with organizations across movements, faiths, and backgrounds. These alliances can lead to meaningful solidarity, expressed through narratives and solidarity statements, direct actions, and coordinated policy advocacy. In particular, groups mentioned the importance of collaboration with the immigrant rights movement given issues around temporary protected status and refugee related concerns for Palestinians.

Solidarity infrastructure includes:

- Capacity to deepen relationships and trust between and among groups within the BAMEMSA ecosystem
- Strategy sessions/collaborative experiments with Black, Native, Latinx, LGBTQ, and Asian American leaders and with organizations across movements including immigrant rights and climate justice
- Narrative capacity to dismantle wedges that pit communities against each other within and outside of the BAMEMSA ecosystem
- Co-learning spaces with Black, Native, Latinx, LGBTQ, and Asian American leaders in the United States and in other parts of the world to understand connections and commonalities across communities, issues, and movements
- Scenario planning to understand how the broader movement will respond to a range of external threats, such as the use of the material support statute to target dissenters, the possible expansion of the "War on Terror" domestically and abroad, investigations into movement organizations, and even a second Trump presidency

Clockwise from top right: Instagram post from 18 Million Rising @18millionrising (Art by @brendachiart); Instagram post from Queer Crescent @queercrescent; Photo by Patrick Perkins on Unsplash
CONCLUSION

During our weekly calls, groups noted that the backlash against communities and movements is, in part, a response to the powerful organizing and solidarity that has occurred over the past 100 days. Because of movement work, the political conversation on Palestine and Zionism; solidarity narratives; the connections between divestment from local communities and the investment into militarism; and the underlying infrastructure of Islamophobia and the “War on Terror” have moved along further in the past 100 days than over the 22 years since 9/11.

As we finalize this report in early 2024, the need to strengthen immediate and long-term movement infrastructure is as pressing as ever given the relentless backlash targeting Palestinian, Arab, Muslim and allied communities. For example, in January, the home of a Chicago resident displaying a Palestinian flag was vandalized with the words “Burn Gaza,” a Muslim organization’s conference in Florida was abruptly canceled by the Marriott, and a teacher in Maryland was subjected to an investigation after asking colleagues to be “mindful” about rhetoric used when discussing a curriculum about Israel and Gaza.

Unfortunately, the current political moment and the consistent escalation of violence and targeting of communities will continue to worsen, especially in light of an election year, the increasing repression of dissent and movements, and a bleak forecast of the political future.

And yet, even in the midst of these challenges, BAMEMSA organizations are responding with rigor and compassion, while simultaneously addressing systemic injustices, building community power, and practicing solidarity. We hope that this report increases awareness and spurs timely and appropriate action steps by community organizations, movement partners, and funders. For example, funders could double down on their support at this time by providing support for organizational infrastructure and field-wide scaffolding. Movement partners could build deeper awareness within their own constituencies about the historical context facing affected communities. BAMEMSA groups could organize regional rapid response task forces that can be nimble and adaptive to emergent situations.

The path ahead will not be easy. Effective nonprofit and movement infrastructure is necessary to manage the crises and emergencies of this time, and to prepare for threats to democracy in the future. A strong, vibrant, multi-strategy, and interdependent ecosystem of BAMEMSA groups will bolster all movements for solidarity and justice.
APPENDIX

Below are examples of five types of backlash happening in the current moment targeting Palestinian, Arab, and Muslim communities and those perceived to be from those communities or in solidarity with them, including (1) Hate violence; (2) Violations of civil and constitutional rights; (3) Backlash towards organizations; (4) Unfair government actions and policies; and, (5) Climate of dehumanization.

While innumerable instances exist in each of these areas, below are a few examples of each, as of early January 2024.

Hate Violence

- On October 14, 2023, a six-year-old Palestinian American boy, Wadiee Alfayoumi, was stabbed 26 times by his family’s landlord who said “You Muslims must die” during the rampage inside the family’s apartment in Plainfield, a suburb of Chicago, IL. The boy’s mother was also attacked.
- On November 26, 2023, three 20-year-old college students, Hisham Awartani of Brown University, Kinnan Abdalhamid of Haverford College, and Tahseen Ahmad of Trinity College, were shot by Jason Eaton, as they took a walk during Thanksgiving break in Burlington, Vermont. The students were speaking Arabic and two of them were wearing keffiyeh scarves.
- On November 7, 2023, a South Asian man in New York City wearing a keffiyeh while holding his 16-month-old son at the park was assaulted by a woman who threw hot coffee at him and his baby; the woman told the man that she wished his baby would "burn in an oven."
- On November 20, 2023, a Yemeni American Muslim woman was riding the subway to a protest in support of Palestine when a man attacked her, breaking her Palestinian flag and hitting her in the chest.
- In January 2024, the home of a Chicago resident displaying a Palestinian flag was vandalized with the words “Burn Gaza,” which has been condemned by the alderwoman for the 48th city ward.

Individual Civil Rights Violations: Workplace and Campuses

- Many Palestinian, Arab, and Muslim American employees speaking out about human rights in Gaza have been disciplined or suspended by employers, including a Google employee, a doctor at NYU Langone, and a professor at Smith College. Law firms including Davis Polk and Wardwell and Winston and Strawn have rescinded job offers to law students who signed on to public statements critiquing the Israeli government’s actions in Gaza.
- A 13-year-old in Orange County, CA, was suspended for three days in November 2023 for remarks made to another student that included “Free Palestine.”
Individual Civil Rights Violations (continued)

- At the Los Angeles Times, at least a dozen staff members were reportedly suspended in November from covering the Middle East crisis after they signed an open letter criticizing Israel's conduct.
- At least five public school teachers have been suspended in Maryland after publicly expressing support for Palestinian human rights. One Maryland teacher is pursuing a discrimination complaint after being subjected to an investigation for 'replying all' to an email about the Israel-Gaza curriculum in which she asked colleagues to be “mindful” about rhetoric used when discussing Israel and Gaza.
- Last November, an 8th grade Palestinian Muslim student at Tappan Middle School in Ann Arbor, Michigan was waiting to speak with his guidance counselor when he asked the sixth-grade counselor if he could leave the office to get a drink of water. The sixth-grade counselor allegedly told the student that he could not leave to get a drink of water because she “did not negotiate with terrorists.”

Backlash Against Organizations Representing Affecting Communities

- A number of colleges and universities, including George Washington University, Brandeis, Columbia, and Rutgers, have deactivated, sanctioned or suspended student groups such as Students for Justice in Palestine that have long organized for Palestinian human rights. “Doxxing trucks” have also appeared at campuses including Harvard, Yale, and Columbia, in an attempt to intimidate and silence students speaking out in support of Palestine.
- Conference venues across the country are breaking contracts for events organized by affected communities. Recent events planned by US CPR, CAIR National, and Connect Arab America in various cities have been postponed or canceled after venues were pressured by anti-Palestinian, anti-Muslim, and anti-Arab individuals and groups.
- The Coral Springs Marriott abruptly canceled a contract with the South Florida Muslim Federation for a family-focused conference on January 12-13, 2024, following publication of a defamatory article that falsely labeled the entire South Florida Muslim community as "Hamas Sympathizers."
- After CASA Maryland posted a statement on November 6, 2023, condemning the violence in Palestine and calling for a ceasefire and to end ethnic cleansing of Palestinians, Montgomery County and Maryland state lawmakers launched attacks on CASA, threatening to pull critical funding and donations. On November 16, The Harry and Jeanette Weinberg Foundation, one of the biggest philanthropic entities in Maryland, announced that it would be revoking a $150,000 grant to CASA MD for 2024.
- Mosques in Springfield (MO), Philadelphia (PA), Burtonsville (MD), and Minneapolis (MN), have reported vandalism and/or receiving death and bomb threats.
Government Policies and Practices

- The Virginia Attorney General’s office has launched an investigation into the nonprofit American Muslims for Palestine for allegedly using funds “raised for impermissible purposes...including benefitting or providing support to terrorist organizations.”
- FBI agents questioned and detained numerous Palestinian nationals and made visits to multiple mosques in the wake of Hamas' attack on Israel.
- New York Governor Kathy Hochul wrote a letter to leadership of the State Universities of New York (SUNY Schools), demanding that the schools protect students from anti-Semitism on their campuses. The letter notes that the state will take legal action against schools that do not comply. No similar statement was issued related to protecting students from anti-Palestinian racism or Islamophobia.
- After a direct action on the Bay Bridge in San Francisco, the District Attorney brought charges of civil disobedience against 78 protesters.

Fueling a Climate of Dehumanization

- The House of Representatives censured Representative Rashida Tlaib (MI-D), the only Palestinian American member of Congress, for her remarks to raise awareness about the genocide in Gaza.
- In a speech at the Central Synagogue in Manhattan, New York Mayor Eric Adams said: “I say to my Muslim brothers and sisters, ‘Separate yourselves and acknowledge your hatred, and you cannot do that by celebrating October 7.’”
- In Florida’s State Congress, when State Representative Angie Nixon asked how many dead Palestinians are enough, Republican Representative Michelle Salzman remarked, “All of them.”
- Missouri State Representative Chris Dinkins has called for a statewide prohibition of the resettlement of any Palestinian refugees in Missouri.
- Attendees at a ceasefire rally organized by a multifaith coalition in Rockville, MD, on November 5, 2023 were met with hate speech from anti-Palestinian protesters holding a counter-demonstration, during which they made violent and racist statements, captured on video. The video portrays a person saying “We’ll take your heads, we’ll take your lives […] because we are white, and you are murderers.”
MUSLIMS FOR JUST FUTURES

Find this report online at bit.ly/100-days-report

For more information, please visit

Building Movement Project
web: buildingmovement.org
email: info@buildingmovement.org

Muslims for Just Futures at
web: muslimsforjustfutures.org

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