"WHY DIDN’T THEY ASK US?: MEMORIES OF MUSLIM YOUNG ADULTS IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN THE U. S. SEPTEMBER 11, 2001

by

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This research began with the Daughters of Abraham, a group of women who have shown me that the commonalities we find after becoming friends overcome any barriers of religion. The support of the faculty in the School of Urban and Public Affairs, and specifically my committee, who have shown me the potential to create a better public world, encouraged this process. My chair, Dr. Edith Barrett has been patient in this process of teaching me to think and express myself more clearly. Dr. Maria Martinez-Cosio has encouraged and advised me through this process; and Dr. Alejandro Rodriguez first showed me the illegitimacy of public administration. The administration of Dallas Baptist University has supported me, and my fellow faculty members have taken up the slack.

My family and friends have been such a support. My husband, John encouraged me to go back to school after thirty years. Our children, Lauren, Jordan, and Josh, have all challenged me to think in different ways. Thank you for your love in this road that goes on forever.

July 15, 2010
ABSTRACT

"WHY DIDN'T THEY ASK US?": MEMORIES OF MUSLIM YOUNG ADULTS IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN THE U. S. SEPTEMBER 11, 2001

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Where were you on September 11, 2001? How did that day change your life? How would you remember September 11, 2001 if you were a young Muslim in the United States during this time, if you become the “enemy”? Young adult Muslims are different from their older generation and from other young religious adults, having become more religious in their twenties. This study focuses on perceived Islamophobia that Muslim students report encountering in public schools, as well as in the larger community, particularly while traveling, resulting from public policies in response to September 11, specifically the Patriot Act.

The methodology used to access young Muslims and their views on Islamophobia include recruitment through Facebook, a social networking site, and online surveys. The purpose of this qualitative study is to explore the heightened religiosity or ingroup cohesion of Muslims post-9/11 through their collective memories of their years in public schools, as well as the consequences of the Patriot Act on their adolescence.
These questions concerning Islamophobia were explored in terms of gender, hijab, race, and migration generation. The results indicate that females experience less severe experiences of Islamophobia from the Patriot Act as compared to males, and fewer problems in public schools. Females did report that wearing hijab increased profiling at airports and the harshest narratives of harassment in schools of those reported by females. Of these young Muslims, racially self-identified Whites describe the anti-Muslim bias of the Patriot Act. The respondents who are second generation Muslim-Americans reported experiencing increased Islamophobia both as a result of the Patriot Act and in school. This increased Islamophobia related to a stronger ingroup cohesion.

The “selective acculturation” process of these second generation Muslim-Americans appears to be have been interrupted in “terrorized assimilation,” in which these young people who were developing their identity became the enemy.

The young Muslim study participants proposed a number of policy recommendations as a result of their experiences in public schools, specifically in regards to halal. They want to be able to pray in a reasonable space, to have halal food and be able to avoid pork, to celebrate their holidays and fasts, and for the girls to be able to wear hijab. They want their teachers and administrators to be aware of their religion and culture, both in our current world and the historical advances of the Muslim world. They ask that opportunities for open discussions between Muslim students and teachers be created. In other words, they ask for the same things that all of our children desire.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Where were you on September 11, 2001? Where were you when the shootings at Columbine took place? When the Challenger crashed? When John F. Kennedy was assassinated? When Pearl Harbor was bombed? How did that day change your life? These societal events frame our nation’s collective memory; these shared memories bind society together. How would you remember September 11, 2001 if you were a young Muslim in the United States during this time?

Since September 11, 2001, the news media have increasingly focused on the Muslim community in the United States, as well as the rest of the world. Turiel (2007) describes the consequence on Muslims, “the attacks of September 11, 2001, as well as the activities of the United States administration of President George W. Bush, have resulted in increased intergroup conflicts, group stereotyping, and discrimination throughout the world” (p. 422). If the activities of the administration, such as the Patriot Act have increased prejudice and discrimination, what are the affects of this increase on the Muslim population, specifically those who were teenagers during this time? How did the experiences these students had in public school post-9/11 affect them? In the words of Mohamed Elmenshaw (2009) editor in chief of Arab Insight, in a column on the eighth anniversary of 9/11, "Why don't 'you' ask 'them'?”

1.1 Introduction

This dissertation records and analyzes the collective memories of Muslims who were adolescences on in America on 9/11, in both their experiences as a result of the

1 In this paper 9/11 will be used to refer to September 11, 2001
Patriot Act in society at large and their experiences in public K-12 schools experiences. The memories formed by experiences in these two areas are collected using an innovative research methodology that includes online surveys recruiting from Facebook, a social networking site. This work builds on research projects conducted originally in Great Britain (Gilroy, 2005; Marranci, 2006; Stephen, 2004; Weller, 2006) and subsequently in Canada (Aboud & Sankar, 2007; Hirji, 2006; Syed, 2008) and the United States (see review of literature) and refers to Muslims as people who adhere to Islam. The Pew Research Center (2007) conducted a nationwide survey of 1,050 Muslims and found that young Muslims (defined as those between the ages of 18 and 29) were more religiously observant and more accepting of extremist Islam than those 30 and older. In addition, these young Muslims self-identify first as Muslims, then Americans linked with religiosity (PewResearchCenter, 2007).

Younger Muslim Americans report attending services at a mosque more frequently than do older Muslims. And a greater percentage of younger Muslims in the U.S. think of themselves first as Muslims, rather than primarily as Americans (60% vs. 41% among Muslim Americans ages 30 and older). (PewResearchCenter, 2007, p. 12)

This strong religious adherence among young Muslims is quite different from that of other faiths in the United States. Uecker, Regnerus, and Vaaler (2007) update research done in the 1970s and 1980s and find that religious attendance declines for the majority of Americans\(^2\) when they reach their twenties, and “[s]eemingly no religious group is immune to this phenomenon” (p. 1667). Yet young Muslims in the U.S. do

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\(^2\) Note, in this paper in light of common usage “Americans” will denote people from the United States.
apparently counter this trend, according to the Pew Study\(^3\), which surveyed 1050 of U.S. residents.

Why then, do young adult Muslims seem to be immune to this phenomenon, calling themselves Muslims first, and then American? Why do these young Muslims attend services at mosques more frequently than their elders do? Moreover, how is their apparent strong ingroup identification impacted by both the experiences they have as a result of the post 9/11 policy initiatives, such as the Patriot Act and in public schools. Thus, the purpose of this qualitative study is to explore the heightened religiosity or ingroup cohesion of Muslims post-9/11 found in the Pew Study, through the Islamophobia\(^4\) resulting from the Patriot Act on their adolescence, as well as their narratives of their years in public schools. This research adds to the body of knowledge of generational collective memories, perceived Islamophobia or discrimination and resulting social cohesion (G. Allport, 1954; Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Connerton, 1989; Coser, 1964; David Sam, Vedder, Ward, & Horenczyk, 2006). This research also makes a methodological contribution through the recruitment of participants on Facebook and builds on several recent ethnographies on Islamophobia (Ali-Karamali, 2008; Bayoumi, 2008; Cainkar, 2009; Karim, 2008; Marranci, 2006) as well as auto-ethnographies (Patel, 2007).

This introductory chapter begins with the theoretical context of work with collective memories, Rejection-Identification Model, and Critical Race Theory. Next is the problem statement, as well as the statement of purpose and research questions. Also included is the research approach and researcher’s perspective. The conclusion focuses on the rationale and significance of this research.

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\(^3\) The Pew Research Center Study will be referred to as the Pew Study.

\(^4\) Islamophobia refers to prejudice and discrimination of Muslims.
1.2 Theoretical Context

This study utilizes collective memory theory in the wake of 9/11, in selecting young adults who had been adolescents in public schools as participants. Critical Race Theory is in gathering and analysis of the narratives of Muslim recording the experiences of perceived Islamophobia that Muslim students encounter in the larger community resulting from the Patriot Act, as well as in public schools. The effects of this perceived Islamophobia on ingroup identification is presented in light of the Rejection-Identification Model.

1.2.1 Collective Memories

Collective memories are not just individual, but are made and constructed through group relations. When we remember 9/11, we do not just remember our actual experiences of that time, but remember the shared experiences of friends, acquaintances, and the media. Halbwachs, a student of Emile Durkheim, introduced the term “collective memories.” “It is in society that people normally acquire their memories. It is also in society that they recall, recognize and localize their memories” (Halbwachs & Coser, 1992, p. 38). If there is a grand narrative of the United States from 9/11, perhaps it is the “pseudo war” that we have been living since the Twin Towers came crashing down on live television, creating a state of “perpetual fear” (Douglass & Vogler, 2003, p. 48). Jeffrey Olick’s (2007, pp. 191-192) work in collective memories describes the move from grand narratives of the nation-state to the multiple frameworks of pluralistic societies. And Pennebaker, Paez, & Rimé (1997) argue that these collective memories are strongest when they are acquired in the “formative years,” as teenagers and young adults.

Ajrouch & Jamal (2007) describe the effects of living in America post-9/11 on a young Muslim, who has not completed the “adolescent identity formation years” (p. 874).
The experiences of discrimination may “influence the likelihood of feeling marginalized…
not identify with the dominant society” (Ajrouch & Jamal, 2007, p. 875). Neal (1998) adds that “Personal encounters with national traumas during formative years tend to have a disproportionate effect on any given generational unit” (p. 200). Wertsch (2002) agrees that collective memories are different among generations. And Connerton (1989) adds that these collective memories insulate the different generations, “the memories of one generation locked irretrievably, as it were, in the body and brains of that generation” (p. 3). These collective memories are also referred to in sociology as generational memories (Hareven, 1978; Mannheim, 1970), social memories (Connerton, 1989) or cohort memories (Pilcher, 1994). This research simply uses the term collective memories. In order to capture a portion of these identity formative years, this research targets young adults between the ages of 20 and 26, who were in public schools post 9/11 to record narratives of their experiences.

1.2.2 Critical Race Theory

This paper will provide a narrative of collective memories of young Muslims through the lens of Critical Race Theory (CRT). Critical Race Theory developed out of critical legal studies, and according to Delgado and Stefancic (2001) has six basic tenets. First, racism is simply the way society works. Second, a white dominated system serves its own purpose. Third, races are social constructions. Fourth is the idea of differential racialization in which a society will racialize groups differently at different times and created different stereotypes. Fifth is the notion of intersectionality, in which people do not have single identities. Lastly is the “unique voice of color” in which minority status provides competency to speak about race. This research will focus on the differential racialization of Muslims post-9/11 and the dual identity or intersectionality of Muslims, as they describe themselves as Muslim first.
Through qualitative content analysis of data collected, topics and themes will be identified as generated from the participants' own words (Johnson-Bailey, Valentine, Cervero, & Bowles, 2009). Critical Race Methodology counters, "deficit story telling" by grounding research in the knowledge of people of color (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002). By asking the participants, what their lives were like in high school and what they would have done differently if they were teachers or administrators, education policy can be explored through the lens of CRT (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004).

1.2.3 Rejection-Identification Model

When a common enemy attacks "us" or any other group, the group tends to become more cohesive (Coser, 1964; G Simmel, 1955). Allport (1954) explains the "cohesiveness of Japanese communities" (p. 148) during World War II in his classic The Nature of Prejudice, as due to the discriminatory laws and practices enacted by the U.S. government. Branscombe, Schmitt, and Harvey (1999) propose a Rejection-Identification Model in which “attributions to prejudice can indirectly enhance well-being by encouraging minority groups identification” (p. 143). Perceived discrimination is positively correlated with increased orientation to one’s ethnic group, and increased marginalization (David Sam, et al., 2006). In this paper, ingroup\(^5\) identification refers to group cohesiveness, minority group identification, and orientation to one’s ethnic group.

1.3 Statement of Purpose and Research Questions

The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore young adult Muslims' narratives of their collective memories of life post-9/11 resulting from the Patriot Act, as well as during their years in public schools. The Pew Study (2007) found that young adults Muslims were "both much more religiously observant and more accepting of

\(^5\) This paper will use ingroup rather than in-group in the tradition of Turner and Tajfel (2008).
Islamic extremism than are older Muslim Americans” (p. 6). Much has been written concerning perceived prejudice and ingroup identification, but not on the relationship between perceived Islamophobia and increased ingroup identification. This qualitative study digs through the “messiness” of why young Muslims are more religious and have a stronger ingroup identification, utilizing qualitative data from online surveys. This research focuses on the experiences of perceived Islamophobia that Muslim students encounter resulting from the Patriot Act in the larger community, and in public schools, and explores whether it fosters stronger ingroup identification. In addition, using the Pew Study (2007) on religiosity as a national comparison sample, this research project explores the apparent differences in religiosity between older generations versus newer generation Muslims. Do the post 9/11 policy responses, such as the Patriot Act, contribute to stronger ingroup identification and higher religiosity for young Muslims? Does the Islamophobia these Muslims experience in public school contribute to stronger ingroup identification and higher religiosity?

The hypothesis of this study was that the experiences of perceived Islamophobia that this cohort has had post-9/11 have increased their ingroup identification and religious participation. This project was based on the following research questions: (1) What experiences of perceived Islamophobia did Muslim students have as a result of the Patriot Act? (2) What experiences of perceived Islamophobia did these Muslim students have in public schools? (3) What are Muslim students’ views concerning the effects of this Islamophobia on their ingroup identification? (4) What policy implications are evident from experiences of perceived Islamophobia that can influence schools’

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Use of the terms “perceived prejudice,” “perceived discrimination,” and “perceived Islamophobia” is not in detract from the reality of these experiences, but is to use the term in common usage in social psychology, i.e. “the perception by a minority group that the majority group holds them at a certain social distance” (Siegel & Greer, 1956, p. 257).
practices? In other words, “why did these young adults say they were Muslim first” in the Pew Study? In addition, what are some policies that would assist student integration into the school community? The student questionnaire was based on these four research questions (Appendix A) which was slightly revised from earlier online focus group questions. A reflexive pragmatism approach was used in interpreting and reinterpreting the data described by Alvesson (2002, p. 172), “The ideal is to maintain an awareness that there is more than one good way of understanding something, and there is a great risk that the one chosen may hide more interesting understandings.”

1.4 Research Approach

With the approval of the University of Texas at Arlington’s Institutional Review Board, four “online focus groups” of young adult Muslims were recruited, with a goal of at least 15 interviewees per group. Participants were to self-select into these groups: a. African American Muslims, b. Non-African American native-born Muslims, c. non-native Muslims whose families have immigrated post 2000\(^7\), and d. non-native Muslims whose families immigrated prior to 2000. The participants would have attended public school for at least one academic year and be between the ages of 20 and 26, targeting those who were in their formative years, seventh through 12\(^{th}\) grade on September 11, 2001. However, lack of response to and participation in these four focus groups led to utilization of an online survey through Survey Monkey\(^8\). This survey was used to record the narratives of Islamophobia resulting from the Patriot Act and in public schools. These narratives of Islamophobia were then used to analyze ingroup identification.

\(^7\) The year 2000 is used in order to compare this group with the Pew Study (2007).
\(^8\) Survey Monkey is an online survey tool (Survey_Monkey).
1.5 The Researcher

For the past seven years, I have been involved in the Daughters of Abraham. This group was formed after September 11, 2001, in an effort to explore the similarities and differences of the Muslim, Christian, and Jewish faiths and to work collectively for peace. As founder Janice Harris Lord states, “The group has continued to grow in number, but more importantly, it has grown beyond mutual education and tolerance to genuine respect and love for each other” (2003, pp. 17-20).

As a member of the Daughters of Abraham, I had the resources for rich material, as well as access to Muslim young adults. I first planned to recruit the children of this group, and then extend the invitation to Muslim college students and young adults. The idea for this study came out of conversations with Muslim friends concerning problems they or their children encounter in schools. My three children have all graduated from public schools, and during that period, I was on PTA executive boards, Booster Club boards, and the Site-Based Decision Management Team for all levels of schools. As an active participant in public schools, I have had conversations with school personnel that focused on the lack of attention given to Muslim students, as opposed to the groups who “count” on the state accountability test, (e.g. Black, White, Hispanic, Native American, Asian, and those economically disadvantaged). Recently in a conversation with a high school principal, I learned that two of the local high schools now have Muslim Student Associations (MSA). Rather than taking a local look, this research project provides a narrative of the experiences of some Muslim students in public schools throughout the United States.

1.6 Rationale and Significance

The history of our country represents a tension between balancing our desire for security and freedom, and this tension is more evident since the September 11 attacks in
New York City. The Patriot Act is one response to calls for increased security through the implementation of many “precautions”. However, the implications of the Patriot Act on Muslim young people in the U.S. are far reaching, and include an increase in Islamophobia as identified by participants in this study. Abdo (2006, p. 84) describes the Patriot Act as “among the most important factors in crystallizing the rise in Muslim American pride and collective identity,” with at least twelve hundred Arab and Muslims held in preventative detention, and were not charged, denied bail, and not allowed to contact their families or legal aid. Lee and Rice (2007) argue that the Patriot Act is a form of national discrimination, or neo-racism based on culture.

Muslim-American young people contend that school response to Islamophobic incidents is inconsistent, at best. Asani (2003, p. 251) argues that schools cannot afford to ignore event the most innocuous incident:

*Islamophobia* must be actively resisted and responded to so that such hate speech becomes totally unacceptable in our national vocabulary and in our national conscience… Every Islamophobic statement or action, no matter how ridiculous, is a deliberate attack on the pluralistic fabric of our society and on our society and on our shared values that demand justice, respect, tolerance, and compassion for all who live in our nation.

For many majority people⁹, the only contact they may have had with Muslims was during their years in public schools. The school experience is very different for these two group, as Spring states: “public education in America has a long history of deculturalization, the process of eliminating dominated cultures” (as cited in Doppen, 2007, p. 104). He adds, “According to Delpit this issue of power is daily played out in classrooms across America, as the dominant group imposes its ‘culture of power’ by silencing the dialogue with those

⁹ In this paper, the term “majority people” will be used to refer to non-Muslims. In discussions of the participants, “majority people” are seen as White Christians.
with less power” (as cited in Doppen, 2007, p. 104). How does this role of deculturalization in schools intersect with Wray-Lake, Syvertsen, and Flanagan’s(2008) description of post-9/11 views of Muslims as the “enemies”?

Through multicultural education along with democratic teaching methods, students can learn to think critically and examine “traditional mainstream and hegemonic narratives” (Camicia, 2007, p. 225). In learning to look critically at both dominant narratives as well as the narratives of minority groups such as Muslims, students can learn to live in the post 9/11 world.

The most recent Pew Study (2007) found that 65% of all Muslims are immigrants, 20% are African-American native born, and 15% are other native born. Of the foreign born, 28% arrived since 2000, 33% in the 1990s, 23% in the 1980s, and just 16% earlier (PewResearchCenter, 2007). Immigrant Muslim children face even more challenges than native-born Muslims do. In a study of schoolchildren in Britain, immigrant students are found to internalize problem behaviors such as depression and anxiety, withdrawal, and somatic complaints at home in response to feeling marginalized at school (Atzaba-Poria, Pike, & Barrett, 2004, p. 451). Kirova’s (2001) work with immigrant children, found that loneliness and isolation decreased self-esteem and learning. The children of immigrants are a fast growing group in the U.S., and as these children go through school their ethnic identity is tied to their social development (Marks, Szalacha, Lamarre, Boyd, & Garcia Coll, 2007, p. 503). This study adds to the discussion of immigrant children in general, focusing on young Muslims who represent the “enemy” in the United States. This research will record the similarities and differences of narratives of immigrants and native-born Muslims, both African-American and other.
As the narratives of the participants of this study are told, these stories can provide a tool for public policy in multicultural education. Theodore Roosevelt expressed the importance of our public schools in educating our diverse population.

“We stand unalterably in favor of the public school system in its entirety,” because when “Americans of every origin and faith [are] brought up in them,” they “invariably in after-life have kindlier feelings toward their old schoolmates of different creeds and look at them in a wiser and manlier charity, than could possibly be had they never had the chance to mingle together in their youth.” (As cited in Levinsen & Levinsen, 2007, p. 283)

How much more important is this role of our public schools in the 21st century?

Haberman predicted that by 2010, 95% of the teachers will be Caucasian, middle-class females with little cross-cultural experience while the student body becomes more diverse (as cited in Brown, 2004, p. 325). In learning about the cultures of their students, teachers will be better able to succeed in multicultural classrooms (McAllister & Irvine, 2000). As Ellsworth suggests and in view of critical educators, “instead of asking what knowledge should be taught and how, we must ask: Whose knowledge should be taught and why?” (as cited in Martin & Van Gunten, 2002, p. 46).

According to Burns and Aspelagh (1983, p. 319) the role of schools has changed from simply an agent of deculturalization mentioned earlier, to that of social change in a multicultural democracy. This change occurs as a result of public schools allowing daily contact with “others” producing students “who are more knowledgeable about others and more skilled in social interaction” (Aboud & Levy, 1999, p. 622). This contact with others can provide multiple classification skills training to reduce stereotypes (Cameron, Rutland, & Brown, 2007, p. 464). Moreover, schools can be an agent to make this change, to prepare students “to become active citizens in a larger multicultural
democracy” (Marri, 2003, p. 273). Much of the research on prejudice reduction is derived from Allport’s (1954) model, which will be discussed in detail later.

Another focus of this study is the potential policy recommendations young Muslims would make to effect change in their public schools. How do schools address religious diversity, particularly when historically U.S., schools Christian scripture and prayers were expected? Anecdotally, as an adolescent attending high school in North Texas in the 1970s, I listened to the Protestant scripture being read every morning on announcements, yet my father going to high school in the same area in the 1940s did not. Justice Sandra Day O’Conner, in Lynch v. Donnelly, argued that government should not endorse religion, “[e]ndorsement sends a message to nonadherents that they are outsiders, not full members of the political community, and an accompanying message to adherents that they are insiders, favored members of the political community. Disapproval sends the opposite message” (as cited in Loewy, 1985, p. 1050). Some public policy changes in which schools can address religious diversity is given by Levinsen and Levinsen (2007) and include:

1. adjusted school schedules to accommodate religious holidays during the school year and extending into summer to make up these days,
2. school cafeterias that offer vegetarian menus in accordance with some Muslim, Jewish, Buddhist, or Hindu dietary practices,
3. allowing “moments of reflection” so that Muslim students could practice their five daily prayers during the school day, with spaces provided,
4. curricular changes to include Hebrew, Arabic, Japanese, and Hindu.

In addition to these presented by the Levinsens (2007), schools may also allow for difference in dress codes such as headscarves.
To summarize, this research will add to the body of knowledge in generational collective memories, perceived *Islamophobia* resulting from the Patriot Act and in public schools, ingroup identity, and policy implications for public schools.
CHAPTER 2
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 Historical Context and Overview

This study focuses on the experiences of young Muslims in the United States since 9/11, but first a brief look at the decade before 9/11. This decade encompassed war, words, and sanctions. In August 1990, Iraq invaded Kuwait and the Persian Gulf War began and the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 661 which banned all imports and exports, crippling the Iraqi economy and a society which had provided health care, education, and welfare for its citizens (Jochnick, Normand, & Zaidi, 1996). In January of 1991, the United States joined a coalition force and a ceasefire was declared a month later. In 1992 Samuel Huntington described a “Clash of Civilizations” in which the world is divided into “Western Christianity” and “Muslim people,” resulting from Muslim population growth, rise of Islamic fundamentalism and Western universalism. “Islam has bloody borders (Huntington, 1992, p. 35). In 1996, the Center for Economic and Social Rights described the results of the United Nations sanction of Iraq, put into place to “punish” Saddam Hussein as resulting in the death of 500,000 children under five died (Jochnick, et al., 1996).

Since 9/11, the United States has been engaged in a “War on Terror” labeled thus by President George W Bush. A shocked and angry nation supported the President’s efforts to protect the U.S. through numerous policy changes, including the adoption of the Patriot Act. The repercussions of these policy changes continue to affect numerous institutions, such as schools, but the implications for Muslims in the U.S. are far-reaching and not fully explored.
According to the Pew Study (2007) of 1050 of U.S. residents, since 9/11 53% of Muslims study participants say that life as a Muslim in the United States has become more difficult. In 2006, one-third of Muslims have experienced some form of *Islamophobia* including verbal harassment, being threatened physically, or being treated with suspicion (PewResearchCenter, 2007). Bayoumi (2008) describes how young Muslims became the “enemy” in the United States after 9/11. What is the effect of increased prejudice or *Islamophobia* on young Muslims in the U.S., who are identified as the “enemy” since 9/11? In addition, what happens to a society in which a group is treated as the “enemy”? 

In our post-September 11 world Muslims are being treated, in the words of Jonathan Stubbs (2003), as “America’s new n-----s”? The story of Akram, a Palestinian Muslim American describes the shift in Arabs and Muslims becoming “less ‘white’ and more ‘colored’-that is to say, have they in some sense become more ‘black’ than blacks” (Bayoumi, 2008, p. 134). In the months after 9/11 hate crimes increased over 1600% (FBI, 2001). The Patriot Act has led to Muslims being “targeted for particularly onerous treatment including arrest, searches, seizures, and physical detention without access to legal assistance” (Stubbs, 2003, p. 122). DeWitt’s (2008) research on “How Muslims Construct American Christians” found that although Christians were constructed in a positive way, they were seen by Muslims to be ignorant of Islam. In addition the Bush administration was seen to contribute to the “stereotype of Muslim as terrorist in order to advance and support a political agenda related to the War on Terrorism” (DeWitt, 2008, p. 118). The heightened surveillance after September 11 has “increased racialization of ‘Other’” (Yuval-Davis, Anthias, & Kofman, 2005, p. 517), in this intersection of race and religion. This racialization or religification has lead young Muslims to identify more
clearly with Islam (Ewing, 2008). Moreover, *Islamophobia* does not exist in a vacuum, but has been influenced by the policies of public administration in this country.

Public administration reaches from the role of George W. Bush’s presidential administration in the Patriot Act to the local level of public schools. One effect of the Patriot Act on public schools was an amendment to the Family Education Rights and Privacy (FERPA) allowing collection of education records without consent or notification of parents (Emery & Ohanian, 2004). A second was that libraries in public schools be required to provide library borrowing records if requested (O'Donnell, 2004). However, none of the young Muslims in this study said they were aware of these portions of the Patriot Act.

Fifty-four percent of Muslims believe that the Patriot Act and other government anti-terrorism programs single out Muslims (PewResearchCenter, 2007). The major problems that Muslims see are discrimination, being viewed as terrorists, ignorance about Islam, and stereotyping (PewResearchCenter, 2007). The role of the public schools is needed in order to reduce *Islamophobia*, as with much work in prejudice reduction. The nature of public schools provides contact between diverse populations, and opportunity to reduce prejudice.

This literature review will focus on five areas: 1) Critical Race Theory, 2) theories of assimilation 3) a description of the Patriot Act and its effect on Muslims, 3) experiences of prejudice by young Muslims in the United States, and 5) the reduction of prejudice through intergroup contact and common goals. Much of the research in the reduction of prejudice originates in the classic studies of social psychology, particularly those of Allport (G. Allport, 1954). In this review of literature, some of the current studies of prejudice reduction in small groups will also be examined.


2.2 Critical Race Theory

Critical race theory (CRT) argues that in the twenty-first century, racism still exists in America, and often is overlooked or accepted as normal (Gunel, 2007; King, 1991; Gloria Ladson-Billings, 2003; G Ladson-Billings & Tate IV, 1995; Lynn & Parker, 2006; Solorzano & Yosso, 2002). King (1991) describes society’s acceptance of the dominant white norms and privileges without contemplation as dysconscious racism. He explains that society rarely reflects on its views of other racial or ethnic groups and simply accepts the norms sets by earlier generations. The voices of the racial “Other” are discounted which, in following with the structural functional foundation of this approach, allows for society to operate with minimal conflict. Critical Race Theory seeks to jar dysconscious racism by incorporating the stories of those studied, specifically the racial and ethnic “Others” (G Ladson-Billings & Tate IV, 1995, p. 58). These stories can provide a narrative for multicultural teacher educators in the future, whose work Freire sees as the “re-imagining of a democratic community in process of life-long transformation” (as summarized in Haynes Writer & Chavez, 2001, p. 1). Haynes Writer and Chavez describe a consensual transformation, taking place through a dialog of differences. This dialog produces “Critical Multicultural Education and social justice” through the lens of CRT (Haynes Writer & Chavez, 2001, p. 12).

CRT is useful for examining the research narrative of collective memories of young Muslims as it acknowledges the voice of those marginalized after 9/11. In their review of critical race studies in education, Lynn and Parker (2006) advocated CRT as a framework to understand racial injustice in education by examining “schooling experiences of marginalized students of color.” Critical Race Theory recognizes that “deficit story telling” exists, and research must be grounded in the knowledge of people of color and their voices in describing the social world through experiential knowledge.
This experiential knowledge is provided by narratives “critical to understanding, analyzing, and teaching about racial subordination” (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002, p. 26). Through content analysis of narratives collected, topics and themes are identified as generated from the participants’ own words (Johnson-Bailey, Valentine, Cervero, & Bowles, 2009). Bayoumi (2008) describes how young Muslims became the “enemy” in the United States. Their lives in public schools were affected as the teachers, administrators and fellow students reflected a new national view that stereotyped Muslims as the “enemy.” These students’ lives were dramatically affected in the larger world, particularly when traveling, by the changes implemented by the Patriot Act enacted to “protect” the United States from this “enemy.” By asking the participants what experiences they had with the Patriot Act, the effect of this federal policy is explored. By asking what their lives were like in high school and what they would have done differently if they were teachers or administrators, education policy is explored through the lens of CRT (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004). These stories can provide a narrative for multicultural teacher educators in the future, in order to create a “democratic community” and promote social justice (Haynes Writer & Chavez, 2001, p. 1).

2.3 Theories of Assimilation

Sociologists have traditionally explained assimilation as a “straight-line” generational process (Bloemraad, Korteweg, & Yurdakul, 2008), in which the first generation was unacculturated, the second acculturated to the majority society, and the third and fourth socially assimilated although the debate continues as to whether full assimilation is merely a theoretical concept (Gans, 1999). In viewing societal structure, there are three major approaches for understanding minority groups’ adaptation to a new societal order: assimilation, amalgamation, and pluralism (Sleeter & Grant, 1999b). Cultural assimilation suggests that when minority groups are exposed to the majority...
group the minority groups eventually adapt the viewpoint of the dominant group. William Newman presents this as “the formula A + B + C = A, where A, B, and C represent different social groups and A represents the dominant” (cited in Sleeter & Grant, 1999a, p. 159). Whereas sociologists such as Park and Burgess (1926) examining immigration and assimilation at the turn of the 20th century have argued that assimilation is a benign process, new research challenges this view as the role of institutions, such as schools, is more closely examined (Sleeter & Grant, 1999b). This dissertation builds on Valenzuela’s work (1999) on “subtractive schooling” and the bicultural experience of U.S. Mexicans. She argues that immigrant students learn to work in both their home environment and school environment. Her work is useful in examining the students’ bicultural experience as both Muslims and Americans, also living in these two environments. Valenzuela (1999) contends that “subtractive assimilation” occurs in schools in a process in which the immigrant child’s native culture is erased and replaced with the values of the dominant culture. Thus assimilation is not value neutral, but impacts “the economic and political integration of minorities,” negatively particularly through the focus on rapid language learning (p. 25). Newman presents amalgamation as “A + B + C = D,” illustrating the “melting pot” viewpoint (cited in Sleeter & Grant, 1999a, p. 159). Here the dominate culture A, plus the other cultures blend together to form a new culture.

The third theory is classical cultural pluralism or “A + B + C = A + B + C” where the individual cultures are kept (cited in Sleeter & Grant, 1999a, p. 159). This “tossed salad” view allows for the integrity of each culture’s values to remain and distinct ethnic communities and enclaves, with criticism that a shared American culture is not developed (McIntyre, 1997). Ellis and Wright (1998) respond to the criticism by William Frey that

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10 Valenzuela uses the term U.S. Mexicans.
this leads to “demographic balkanization,” stating that this represents a “misplaced fear of immigrants” (p. 695).

The fourth theory is modified cultural pluralism or “A + B + C = A1 + B1 + C1, in which our individual cultures in the United States are changed by interaction. “If some degree of cultural diversity is natural, then it makes sense that schools embrace this diversity rather than pretending that it is not there or that it is harmful to this country” (Sleeter & Grant, 1999a, p. 161).

In addition to these three major viewpoints, recent work in transnationalism suggests a new identity of immigration. With globalization, cell phones, and lower international air travel costs, migrants are able to maintain ties to their home countries. Perhaps this could be illustrated by A + B + C = A1 + B1 + C1 + A1 + B1 + C1, where these immigrants not only affect the individual cultures of the United States but also the cultures of their home countries. “Transnationalism allows people to forge a sense of belonging and home that is not tied to any single place” (Staeheli & Nagel, 2006, p. 1605). Schmidt (2004) describes Muslims as transnational, having a religious diaspora, a ummah offering “membership across national borders.” Maira (2008) describes a flexible citizenship, with a “transnational identification through cybertulture” (p. 25). Charles Hirschman (2004) described the Handlin and Herberg model of the 20th century, in which immigrants were not required to have complete assimilation to “become American,” but would learn the language and political structure of the dominant society. These immigrants could keep their religion “acquiring identities of ethnic Americans defined more by religion than by country of origin” (Hirschman, 2004, p. 1209). In addition, Portes and Rumbaut (2006) present a view of “selective acculturation” where second generation children learn the language and culture, while preserving the religious
heritage of their parents (p. 317). These last two models could be illustrated by \( A + B + C = A_1 + B_1 + C \).

John Berry presents four acculturation strategies: integration, separation, assimilation, and marginalization (JW Berry & D Sam, 1997; J Berry & D Sam, 1997; D. Sam & Berry, 2006, p. 492). Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, and Senecal (1997) built on this model in the Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM), which includes five elements. These elements were assimilation, integration, separation, anomie, and individualism, with the latter two replacing marginalization. Tirmazi (2008) found that Muslim youth were more likely to use “separation strategies toward acculturating rather than an assimilative, integrated, or individualistic acculturation” strategies (p. 20). These separation strategies include holding on to the cultural heritage of their families and Islamic values and rejecting mainstream culture. He found religiosity to be negatively associated with assimilation and that those who report high levels of discrimination are also less likely to be assimilated (Tirmazi, 2008).

2.4 The Patriot Act

President Bush signed the Patriot Act (Provide Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act) 46 days after 9/11 on October 26, 2001. According to survey data from the 2007 Pew Research project on religion, 54% of Muslims surveyed view the Patriot Act as an effort to single them out for surveillance and suspicion (PewResearchCenter, 2007). Critics of this act argue that it endangers civil liberties and increases ethnic profiling, allows for detention without due process and increases government secrecy (Welch, 2004). The Patriot Act was passed quickly by Congress, cementing a call to protect the United States from Muslim “enemies” without extensive analysis of its effect on civil liberties.

\footnote{Individualistic acculturation describes one who moves back and forth between cultures, based on their individual desires and needs.}
The Patriot Act is “AN ACT to deter and punish terrorist acts in the United States and around the world, to enhance law enforcement investigatory tools, and for other purposes. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled” (Congress, 2001). A few highlights of this bill that are relevant to this study are presented, along with constitutional notations for reference.

- SEC. 412 - Permit DETENTION OF TERRORIST ALIENS ("USA Patriot Act," 2001)
  - Eighth Amendment – “Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted” (U. S. Const. amend. VIII).

- TITLE II--ENHANCED SURVEILLANCE PROCEDURES OF THE PATRIOT ACT ("USA Patriot Act," 2001)
  - Fourth Amendment - “The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized” (U. S. Const. amend. IV).

- SEC. 213. AUTHORITY FOR DELAYING NOTICE OF THE EXECUTION OF A WARRANT ("USA Patriot Act," 2001)
  - “Sneak and peak”
    - Allows searches of property without a search warrant and notifying the owner.
    - "Before the Patriot Act, the government was required to obtain a warrant and give notice to the person whose property was being searched. The Patriot Act took away the right of every American to
be protected under the Fourth Amendment against unreasonable searches and seizures" (Hamm, 2004, p. 297)

- SEC. 218. FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE INFORMATION
  - Warrantless wiretapping ("USA Patriot Act," 2001)

- SEC. 802. DEFINITION OF DOMESTIC TERRORISM.
  - "...the term `domestic terrorism' means activities that involve acts dangerous to human life that are a violation of the criminal laws of the United States or of any State; appear to be intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian population" ("USA Patriot Act," 2001).
  - This section allows detention of a person for "appearing to intend to intimidate" ("USA Patriot Act," 2001).
  - First Amendment – “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances” (U. S. Const. amend. I).

2.4.1 Patriot Act and the “Politics of Fear”

Hamm (2004) argues that the point of terrorism is fear. Fear was clearly a result from the violence of the 9/11 attack, and fear defined the responses. Hamm (2004) speculates that this fear was associated with the politics of Christian apocalyptic views, in which the end of time is seen as a battle between good and evil. President Bush fueled this fear through a speech on September 14, 2001 “Either you are with us or against us. You’re either evil or you’re good” (Cited in 2004, p. 287). The president
added “To answer these attacks and rid the world of evil, we will export death and violence to the four corners of the earth in defense of this great nation” (cited by Hamm, 2004, pp. 287-288). Nayak (2006) uses a feminist theoretical framework in explaining these speeches as linking hypermasculinity and Christianity in order to “resurrect the USA” post 9/11 (p. 56). Abdo (2006) relates some of the verbiage used during this time:

- Jerry Falwell declared the Prophet Muhammad “a terrorist.”
- Lieutenant General William Boykin, undersecretary of defense under George W. Bush, defined the “war against Islam.”
  - “I knew that my God was bigger than his. I knew that my God was a real God, and his was an idol.”
  - “We in the army of God, in the house of God, kingdom of God, have been raised for such a time as this.”
- Franklin Graham, son of Billy Graham, described Islam as “wicked, violent, and not of the same God.” (p. 85)

This is not to say that every decision maker was using this lens. On April 23, 2010 the Army, rescinded an invitation for Franklin Graham to speak at the Pentagon on the National Day of Prayer because of protests concerning his condemnation of Islam (Starr, 2010).

2.4.2 Patriot Act and Legitimacy

When the Patriot Act was presented immediately after September 11th, the lone dissenting senator, Russ Feingold addressed the dangers of this bill, as quoted by Demmer (2002):

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12 Nandy coined this term. Hypermasculinity refers to “reactionary masculinity that ‘arises when agents of hegemonic masculinity feel threatened or undermined, thereby needing to inflate, exaggerate, or otherwise distort their traditional masculinity. (As cited in Nayak, 2006, p. 43)
Of course, there is no doubt that, if we lived in a police state, it would be easier to catch terrorists. If we lived in a country that allowed the police to search your home at any time for any reason; if we lived in a country that allowed the government to open your mail, eavesdrop on your phone conversations, or intercept your email communications; if we lived in a country that allowed the government to hold people in jail indefinitely based on what they write or think, or based on mere suspicion that they are up to no good, then the government would no doubt discover and arrest more terrorists. But that probably would not be a country in which we would want to live. And that would not be a country for which we could, in good conscience, ask our young people to fight and die. In short, that would not be America. Preserving our freedom is one of the main reasons that we are now engaged in this new war on terrorism. We will lose that war without firing a shot if we sacrifice the liberty of the American people.

Throughout our twentieth century, we have fought for a balance between liberty and perceived safety. This tension is evident in the internment of Japanese Americans; in the Cold War and McCarthy era; and in the treatment of protesters during Vietnam. The 1986 report of the Vice President’s Task Force on Combating Terrorism, proposed that public access to information be decreased so that terrorists would not abuse the Freedom of Information Act (Griffith, 2004). Special Agent John C. Ryan was the first FBI agent fired for refusing to conduct an investigation on a group of Christian pacifists as terrorists for their anti-Contra protest (MacKenzie & Weir, 1999).

The Patriot Act II, the Domestic Security Enhancement Act was revealed to the public on February 7 of 2003 through a leak to the media (PBS, 1/9/2003). A month later, the United States invaded Iraq. Ramasastry (2003), argues that a relationship may exist between these two events: “if the introduction of Patriot II in Congress coincides with the
Iraq war, it may well be because the Administration has planned it that way, to take advantage of circumstances to ram the bill through both Houses quickly.” Many of the regulations of the original Patriot Act were due to expire December 31, 2005. In July 2005, the Senate passed 1389 and the House passed 3199. The compromise bill was signed by President Bush March 9, 2006. Patriot Act II has expanded Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978 (FISA) practices in criminal investigations. As De Rosa (2003, p. 28) writes, “These changes have blurred the lines between law enforcement and intelligence gathering in seeking warrants for electronic surveillance.”

In addition to the Patriot Act, on December 2009 the 2nd U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals upheld *Turkmen v. Ashcroft*, 06-cv-3745, which allows foreign nationals to be detained, based on their race or religion (Fass, 2009). Next, we will focus on the historical precedents of the Patriot Act in light of the Alien and Sedition Act and the World War II Japanese American internment.

### 2.4.3 Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798

We see many of the same issues concerning liberty and perceived safety during the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, when the United States was threatened with a looming war with France. The following descriptions of these acts provide a reference point for later comparison to the Patriot Act as recorded in Folwell’s "Laws of the U.S.". The Naturalization Act required that immigrants be residents for 14 years rather than 5 years before they became eligible for U.S. citizenship. The President could deport aliens “aliens ‘dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States’ during peacetime” with the Alien Act. The Alien Enemies Act “allowed the wartime arrest, imprisonment and deportation of any alien subject to an enemy power.” The Sedition Act declared that the publication of "any false, scandalous and malicious writing," was treason, punishable by fine and imprisonment. Twenty-five newspaper editors were arrested, one of whom was
Benjamin Franklin's grandson, Benjamin Franklin Bache, whose arrest created a public outcry. This opposition helped to lead to the election of Thomas Jefferson, who pardoned all those convicted (Folwell).

2.4.4 World War II Japanese American Policies

In the decades leading up to World War II, the social construction of Japanese Americans shifted from a “problem minority” to “enemy aliens” (DiAlto, 2005), similar to the shift in social construction of Muslims post 9/11. Japanese Americans were defined as “yellow” and not Caucasian in the 1922 Supreme Court case *Takao Ogawa v. United States* (Ibid, p. 92). Two years later, in *Hidemitsu Toyota v. United States* the Court ruled that only Blacks and Whites were eligible for naturalization. In 1930, the Nisei (first-generation Japanese Americans) formed the Japanese American Citizen League (JACL). The JACL focused on being “American first and Japanese second” and proving their worth as citizens (Ibid, p. 93).

Congress passed the Smith Act, or the Alien Registration Act on June 28, 1940 which required every alien over 14 to be registered and fingerprinted (Daniels, Taylor, Kitano, & Arrington, 1991, p. 57). In addition to requirements for alien registration, this act made it a federal crime to “teach, advocate, or encourage the overthrow or destruction of any such government.” By December of 1940, nearly five million aliens had been fingerprinted and registered by the Justice Department with the results stored on punch cards (Lord, 2003).

Then within hours of the bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, bank accounts of Japanese Americans were frozen and they were forbidden to leave the country. There were demands that all Japanese Americans be evacuated from the West

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13 Japanese Americans will be used for both Japanese aliens and citizens of Japanese descent.
Coast. General John DeWitt commander of the Western Defense Command initially disagreed with this demand saying, “an American citizen after all, is an American citizen… I think we can weed the disloyal our of the loyal and lock them up if necessary” (Okihiro, 2001, p. 115). The Justice Department along with the FBI oversaw the confiscation of radios transmitters and cameras from Japanese Americans. By the end of the year and after initially disagreeing with General DeWitt, on this matter Attorney General Biddle allowed warrantless search and seizures.

The Roberts Commission headed by US Supreme Court Associate Justice Owen Josephus Roberts was formed to investigate the attack on Pearl Harbor (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). The Roberts Commission published January 25, 1943 found espionage among resident Japanese Americans in Hawaii. The report inflamed the public and prompted government policies, although after the war ended the report was found to be false (Ibid, p. 116). Later General DeWitt would change his public views of Japanese Americans, “A Jap's a Jap.... There is no way to determine their loyalty... It makes no difference whether he is an American; theoretically he is still a Japanese and you can't change him” (Coser, 1964).

The Executive Order 9066 was signed by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt on February 19, 1942, authorizing the removal of Japanese Americans from the West Coast whether loyal or disloyal, citizen or noncitizen (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, p. 95). In *Hirabayashi v. United States* the Supreme Court ruled that a curfew of Japanese Americans was constitutional because of the “threat” of espionage (Coser, 1964). Chief Justice Harlan Fiske Stone wrote “in time of war residents having ethnic affiliations with an invading enemy may be a greater source of danger than those of a different ancestry” (As cited in Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, p. 95). In 1944 the Supreme Court ruled in *Korematsu v. US* that exclusion from the West Coast on the basis of race is acceptable
when there is “military necessity” (Ibid, p. 96). Fred Korematsu refused to comply with orders to move to an internment camp. In the dissent Justice Murphy accused the court of being racist, arguing that the Act violated the Fifth Amendment (Coser, 1964). The commonalities of the Patriot Act, the Alien and Sedition Acts, and the policies concerning Japanese Americans point to the continued struggle of liberty and perceived safety, as well as the constitutional struggle. On November 10, 1983, Judge Marilyn Hall Patel vacated Fred Korematsu’s conviction.

As historical precedent it stands as a constant caution that in times of war or declared military necessity our institutions must be vigilant in protecting constitutional guarantees. It stands as a caution that in times of distress the shield of military necessity and national security must not be used to protect governmental actions from close scrutiny and accountability. (As cited in "USA Patriot Act," 2001, pp. 150-151)

Table 2. provides a comparison of these three policies along with the constitution. In the words of Richbourg (1998a) “the government cannot act unless it does so within the Constitutional restraints applicable.”
Table 2.1 Comparisons of Policies and Constitution

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<td>Permit DETENTION OF TERRORIST ALIENS</td>
<td>Alien Enemies Act, was enacted by Congress on July 6, 1798. “This act allowed the wartime arrest, imprisonment and deportation of any alien subject to an enemy power.”</td>
<td>Smith Act, or the Alien Registration Act on June 28, 1940</td>
<td>Eighth Amendment – “Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.”</td>
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<td>In December 2009 the 2nd U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals upheld Turkmen v. Ashcroft, 06-cv-3745 that allows foreign nationals to be detained based on their race or religion.</td>
<td>Sedition Act, passed on July 14 declared that any treasonable activity, including the publication of “any false, scandalous and malicious writing,” was a high misdemeanor, punishable by fine and imprisonment.</td>
<td>The Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942, authorized the removal of Japanese Americans from the West Coast and placing them in internment camps.</td>
<td>First Amendment – Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.</td>
</tr>
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31
In Hirabayashi v. United States the Supreme Court ruled that a curfew of Japanese Americans was constitutional because of the “threat” of espionage (Coser, 1964).

Korematsu v. US - exclusion from the West Coast based on race is acceptable when there is “military necessity.”

Fifth Amendment – nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation

Fourteenth Amendment Section 1 – Equal protection clause
No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

2.4.5 Summary

In Patriotic and Its Double, Steve Martinot (2003) describes the Cold War presidential administrations as looking for consensus and absolutes rather than “debate or Congressional oversight” (p. 406). The United States was portrayed in the battle against an “evil empire,” there were no shades of gray, we were the “good guys” and they
were the “bad guys.” In addition, it was unpatriotic to question the “good guys.” Looking through the lens of critical theory, Martinot (2003) explains this is an extension of white patriotism, seen today in the Patriot Act.

Similarly, the critical patriots who seek to defend government repression, its Patriot Acts and Homeland Security policing, do not link their criticism of the government to the prison-industrial complex, which has made the U. S. the world leader in size of prison population, 75 percent of which is of color. Nor do critical patriots link government repression with the horror of Guantanamo Bay prison by demanding habeas corpus for the prisoners there, who are Islamic and mostly Arab. Instead, they seek to preserve the social well-being of white consensus against a threat of forced obedience. (p. 410)

Legal scholar, Jerry Kang (1998b) compares the history of the Japanese internment with the current “War on Terror” seeing both as based on racial prejudice. *Hirabayashi v. United States* is cited in the current enemy combatant cases and Kang (1998b) describes the Catch-22 of this ruling as racial minorities are seen as enemies because they must be our enemy because we have mistreated them. He provides the wording from the Supreme Court.

There is support for the view that social, economic and political conditions which have prevailed since the close of the last century, when the Japanese began to come to this country in substantial numbers, have intensified their solidarity and have in large measure prevented their assimilation as an integral part of the white population. (p. 277)

Kang (1998b) does not agree with this Catch-22 thinking. He sees these policies as based on a “racist lie—that persons of Japanese descent in America were traitors
because of their race” (Ellis & Wright, 1998, p. 279). However, we need to look at the effects the current administrative acts have had on young Muslims, both in prejudice and discrimination and increased group identity.

2.5 Literature on Islamophobia

2.5.1 Introduction

The focus of this research is on Muslims who attended public school in the United States and who are currently between the ages of 20 and 26, targeting those who were in the seventh through twelfth grade on September 11, 2001. Johnson (2006) used the realistic conflict model to explain the increase in Islamophobia post 9/11 as the economic and political power and lives were threatened in America by extremist Muslims. The literature describes numerous experiences of Muslim students living in a “Christian nation” marked by the privileges of Protestantism and the marginalization of others (Beaman, 2003). Ghaffar-Kucher (2008) argues:

“religification’ of youth, that is the ascription of a religious identity, trumps other forms of racialization and significantly influences youth’s identities and feelings of belonging, which in turn affects their academic engagement and socialization. (p. ii)

Particularly for Muslims of South Asian descent, “Othering” is seen, it is the “normative power of whiteness and Christianity,…that makes the racialization of religion an essential problem” (Joshi, 2006, p. 212). Describing his years growing up in the United States during the 1980-1990s, Patel (2007, p. 9) describes the anger he felt as a Muslim Indian immigrant.

I remember feigning illness so I could stay home from school as a teenager, afraid to tell my mother the truth: that a group of white kids in gym class had
taken to cornering me in the locker room, tearing off my shorts, and hitting me with wet towels, all the while shouting “sand nigger” and “curry maker.”

Patel (2007) describes the young person “who kills in the name of God” whether Christian or Muslim as one who has been recruited and trained by religious extremists (p. 148). He offers an answer of investing in interfaith youth programs, representing his journey to serving on President Obama's Advisory Council of the White House Office of Faith Based and Neighborhood Partnerships. These interfaith youth programs reflect the work of Allport (1954) in prejudice reduction on equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals.

2.5.2 Religification

Individuals hold a variety of identities or statuses. I am a student, a teacher, a wife, and a mother. I am a White, middle-aged, female, protestant. I am a Texan and an American. But for a Muslim within the United States religion “trumps both ethnicity and race” (Ghaffar-Kucher, 2008, p. 230). In sociology, a master status is one that overpowers all other statuses. In 1945, Everett Hughes (p. 357) described “Membership in the Negro race´, as a master status, which overpowers all other statuses. In today’s world, being Muslim is a master status, overpowering all other statuses including being American. In her work with public school students Ghaffar-Kucher (2008, p. 253) tells of a student who no longer believe she can be seen as American, but simply as Muslim.

By now, she identified herself as a “Muslim,” not so much because she was a practicing Muslim, but because she felt that she could no longer claim an American identity. She said, “I feel weird saying I’m American because American people, they don’t like Muslims so much.”

As the world of Muslims in the United States has changed, so have our words and stories. Sarroub (2002) used neologisms to explore inclusion and discourse, discussing
the term “wanding.” In Minneapolis November, 2001 Sarroub (2002) noticed this new word.

“All passengers. We will proceed to wand you here at the gate. The wander-er will pull individual passengers from the line and ask for your permission to be wanded.”… I immediately realized that the gatekeeper to the plane referred to the handheld metal detector that has become a new September 11 reminder in our lives. (p. 300)

As she was watching, she noticed only young and middle-aged men of “darker coloring” and Muslim women who were covered were wanded by the airport security.

In my own group of Muslim friends, I have heard them describe the desire to wear the hijab (the traditional Muslim headcovering) after 9/11 or mention that their daughters wear the hijab and they do not. There are numerous accounts of women choosing to wear hijab14 post 9/11 and Gerhke-White (2007) describes how she came to write about this trend in The Face Behind the Veil.

Like so many other reporters who covered religion, I was asked to write about Muslims after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. Mohammed Shakir, executive director of the Miami-Dade Asian-American Advisory board, recommended that I examine a trend he had seen: More Muslim women were taking up wearing the traditional Islamic head covering known as a hijab – even though in America such apparel is still relatively rare. His own daughter, a law student at Michigan, was one of those “New Traditionalists” – even though her sister and mother didn’t wear a covering in public. (Gehrke-White, 2007, p. xi)

These New Traditionalists are an example of the religification and stronger ingroup identification of young Muslims, and describe the freedom they feel from wearing hijab.

14 In common usage, Muslim women speak of wearing hijab rather than wearing the hijab and this will be used in this paper.
“My hijab sends the message that I reject conforming to being sexualized, to valuing my outer appearance exclusively” (Gehrke-White, 2007, p. 26). These women tell stories of Islamophobia ranging from journalist Edina Lekovic being told that she could not get a job in front of the camera wearing a head scarf to Aysha Nudrat Unus and her daughter being handcuffed and having their house searched by federal agents in March of 2002 (Gehrke-White, 2007). Bayoumi (2008) describes the case of Yasmin, a public school student wearing the hijab in Brooklyn, who was elected to be a class officer but was unable to fulfill the duties due to religious beliefs concerning coed dances. Ultimately, with the help of Jimmy Yan, an attorney on the staff of Advocates for Children based on first amendment rights, the school redrafted its guidelines for class officers, making reasonable accommodations. Yan states “Contrary to what a lot of people think, most of the racism in our society happens to the most vulnerable members in our public schools” (Bayoumi, 2008, p. 109). Yasmin is one example of a young Muslim in public school, whose story helps to introduce the next section on reduction of prejudice.

2.6 Reduction of Prejudice:

Gordon Allport (1954) explains in The Nature of Prejudice “prejudice…may be reduced by equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals” (p. 274). This research will focus on the two key abstract concepts in this theory, first prejudice and secondly intergroup contact. To better define prejudice, Allport (1954) describes, "ethnic prejudice is an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization" (p. 54). In breaking down this definition, Allport incorporates the attitude (antipathy) and the belief (faulty and inflexible generalization). Both the attitudes and beliefs of prejudice are seen in the experiences of Muslim students in public schools.

In another of Allport’s (1950) classics, The Individual and His Religion, religious systems are described as “intimately integrated” with society and through this integration
the “supplanting of one religion by another is not possible unless the culture itself is basically altered.” Interestingly, Allport (1954) addresses not just ethnic or racial prejudice, but three religions specifically:

Islam is more than a religion; it is a well-knit cluster of related cultures carried by ethnic cousins who are sharply demarcated from the non-Moslem world. Christianity is so locked with western civilization that it is hard to keep in mind its original core…. Most clear of all is the case of the Jews. While they are primarily a religious group, they are likewise viewed as a race, a nation, a people a culture. (p. 446)

In 1954, Gordon Allport described the effect of intergroup contact on reducing prejudice.

Prejudice…may be reduced by equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals. The effect is greatly enhanced if this contact is sanctioned by institutional supports (i.e., by law, custom or local atmosphere), and provided it is of a sort that leads to the perception of common interests and common humanity between members of the two groups. (p. 281)

Therefore, there are four basic conditions, given by Allport, that precipitate the reduction of prejudice by group contact: 1) equal status, 2) superordinate goals 3) social and institutional support, and 4) perceptions of similarities. Table 2.2 summarizes these four conditions in the public schools, comparing these with the National Education Association's (NEA) Vision, Mission, and Values (2006).
### Table 2.2 Allport's Conditions, Public Schools, and NEA Vision

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<th>Allport's Conditions</th>
<th>Public Schools</th>
<th>NEA Vision</th>
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<tr>
<td>Equal status is seen between groups.</td>
<td>Within the framework of public education and democracy in the United States is the belief that “all are created equal.”</td>
<td>“A Just Society. We believe public education is vital to building respect for the worth, dignity, and equality of every individual in our diverse society.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>The groups are working towards superordinate goals, or common goals based on cooperation.</td>
<td>The common goal of public schools is to educate the children. Within public schools, particularly high schools there are many superordinate goals whether demonstrated in the fine arts, athletics, academics, or other areas.</td>
<td>“Our mission is … to fulfill the promise of public education to prepare every student to succeed in a diverse and interdependent world.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social and institutional support is given.</td>
<td>The local, state and federal level of public administration provides support. In addition, local NGOs and businesses support the public schools.</td>
<td>“Partnership. We believe partnerships with parents, families, communities, and other stakeholders are essential to quality public education and student success.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceptions of similarities exist between groups.</td>
<td>Focusing on the public high schools there is a unifying factor in which all subgroups are representative of the larger student body.</td>
<td>“Democracy. We believe public education is the cornerstone of our republic. Public education provides individuals with the skills to be involved, informed, and engaged in our representative democracy.”</td>
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Pettigrew’s (1998) work with intergroup conflict added a condition to Allport’s work, which is friendship potential. Friendship potential is described as interactions sustained over time and with resulting self-disclosure. Close relationships enable a person to incorporate the perspectives of others in extending one’s self-concept (Wright, Aron, & Tropp, 2002). In Nagda, Chan-Woo, and Truelove’s (2004, p. 198) study of an intergroup educational initiative, they evaluated friendship potential with a learning process “that involves sharing and learning about racial/ethnic identities, introspective learning about one’s own group and bridge building across differences.”

As students in public schools become more involved in superordinate goals and spend time in interaction, there is friendship potential. Dixon’s (2006) work supports this view explaining that the stronger ties of friendship will reduce prejudice more so than that of acquaintances, for they help “dominant group members learn about other groups, reassess their own groups, form affective ties, and ultimately change behavior.”

Figure 2.1 (below) integrates the friendship potential in prejudice reduction.

Figure 2.1 Effects of Intergroup Contact on Prejudice

Amir (1969) developed the following factors of contact: equal status contact, interpersonal contact (versus personal), rewarding contact, contact promoted by
institutions and social networks, and cooperative goal contact. In Berryman-Fink’s (2006) study of intergroup contact, she analyzed these five contact factors and found that these could be used on college campuses to lessen prejudice by creating opportunities such as service learning activities. Marty (2005), addresses similar issues in When Faiths Collide. Speaking of the collisions of faith in our times focusing on that of the majority Christian and the minority Islamic faiths, his answer is not simply tolerance, “but is rather a call that at least one party begin to effect change by risking hospitality toward the other\textsuperscript{15} (Marty, 2005, p. 1). Marty’s work is based on that of Georg Simmel’s (1950) view of strangers. “For this reason, strangers are not really conceived as individuals, but as strangers of a particular type: the element of distance is no less general in regard to them than the element of nearness.” In addition, public schools attempt to bridge this distance through group work, extra-curricular activities, and service-learning activities.

Another focus in the reduction of prejudice is the effects of common goals in decreasing prejudice. In the Sherifs’ camp experiment, competing groups of boys working for a superordinate goal had decreased outgroup hostility. These boys formed different teams, and after outgroup hostilities increased, they were given a task to complete which required both teams to work together and hostilities lessened. Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) found that contact does reduce prejudice, even considering self-selection. “Longitudinal studies also have revealed that optimal contact reduces prejudice over time (e.g., Eller & Abrams, 2003, 2004; Levin, van Laar, & Sidanius, 2003), even when researchers have eliminated the possibility of participant selection” (T. F. Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

\textsuperscript{15} The Other is often capitalized and will be in this paper aside from quotations. It is based on the work of Simone de Beauvoir (De Beauvoir, 1952) in viewing women as a minority and different from the “normal male.”
McClelland’s (2006) recent study demonstrates that this holds true for white college students, whose social contact with Blacks increases liking even when accounting for self-selection. Tropp and Pettigrew (2005) bring up another aspect of the question of intergroup contact decreasing prejudice more in the majority group than in minority groups, for “members of minority status groups, an ongoing recognition of their group’s devaluation inhibits the potential for positive contact outcomes, whereas such an effect is unlikely to occur among members of majority groups.” Public schools have the potential to reduce prejudice with 1) equal status, 2) superordinate goals 3) social and institutional support, 4) perceptions of similarities, and 5) friendship potential. This section has discussed the role of public schools at the local level in reducing prejudice.
CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

For the past six years, I have been involved in the Daughters of Abraham. This group formed after 9/11, in an effort to explore the similarities and differences of the Muslim, Christian, and Jewish faiths and to work for peace. As founder Janice Harris Lord states, “The group has continued to grow in number, but more importantly, it has grown beyond mutual education and tolerance to genuine respect and love for each other” (2003, pp. 17-20). Through contacts I have developed in this group, initially I planned to use a snowball strategy to recruit participants to four “online focus groups” of young adult Muslims with a goal of at least 20 interviewees in each, including both U.S. born and first generation. The participants would have attended public school and are currently between the ages of 20 and 26, targeting those who were in their formative years, seventh through 12th grade on 9/11. Within this group, few children fell into this age group and most had attended private preparatory schools.

Interviewees were then recruited from three regional Muslim Student Association Facebook groups. MSA East Zone USA has 1784 members, as of January 20, 2010 and includes the states of Alabama, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Puerto Rico, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Virgin Island, Virginia, and West Virginia. MSA Central Zone has 743 members and includes the states of Arkansas, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, and
Wisconsin. MSA West Zone has 783 members and includes the states of Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming.

According to Mann and Stewart (2000, p. 112) commonality of groups would reduce potential deceit in online research. The commonality of Muslim Student Association Facebook groups would encourage disclosure and reduce the potential for deceit present in online groups. In his study of campus ministries, Schmalzbauer (2007) found that Muslim Student Associations are the most common Muslim group on college campuses. His study included mainline Protestants, Catholic campus ministries, evangelical para-church groups, Judaism, Hillel and Chabad, Muslim Student Associations, Hindu Students Councils, Buddhist Student Associations, and Sikh Student Associations. Research indicates students who are involved in Muslim Student Associations may be more cognizant of their religion and culture than Muslim students who are not involved in MSAs (Shammas, 2009). In the post-9/11 world, MSAs play a central role in “charting a new Muslim American identity” (Abdo, 2006, p. 190).

This research project was originally designed to include four online focus groups: a. African American Muslims, b. Non-African American native-born Muslims, c. Muslims who families have immigrated post 2000, and d. Muslims whose families immigrated prior to that year. These are the same categories utilized by the Pew Study (2007). The questions for these focus groups incorporated a. demographic information, b. religiosity, c. public school experiences, d. societal experiences, and e. dual identity (see Appendix A). The data derived from questions on demographics, religiosity, societal experiences, and dual identity will be compared to data from the Pew Study (2007) which is the “first ever nationwide survey to attempt to measure rigorously the demographics, attitudes and experiences of Muslim Americans.” The Pew Study (2007) interviewed nearly 6,000
Muslims to include representative samples of “recent immigrants, native-born converts, and selected ethnic groups including those of Arab, Pakistani, and African American heritage.”

The hypothesis of this study was that the experiences of perceived Islamophobia that this cohort has had post-9/11 have increased their ingroup identification and religious participation. Demographic data collected includes age; gender; racial/ethnic identification; country of origin; immigrant status; Shi’a, Sunni, or another tradition. The independent variables include demographic data, perceived Islamophobia, and types of discrimination. The dependent variable was ingroup identity as measured by religious observance and identification as “Muslim first.”

In addition, this research project adds to the field of qualitative studies through the utilization of recruitment on Facebook and online surveys, as well as utilization of Nvivo to aid in the qualitative analysis of the data. Denzin and Lincoln (2003, p. 4) describe the qualitative researcher as a bricoleur, a jack-of-all-trades, a quilt-maker who will use “whatever strategies, methods, and empirical methods are at hand.” Bazeley (1999) describes the use of computer software to collect and analyze qualitative data allows a researcher to be a “bricoleur with a computer.

One can fuse qualitative and quantitative data within a single analysis and so be a bricoleur in an even wider sense, thus enhancing one’s ability to understand the issues at hand and solve the puzzles of research and practice. (p. 279)

3.2 Rationale for Online Focus Groups

After conducting informal interviews in the last several years with college students in a southwest city concerning their response to verbal or written questionnaires, it became clear that online data collection presented the most effective method for reaching young adults. The dynamics of a focus group in encouraging discussion
between the participants would bring richness to the responses beyond that of one-to-one interviews. As a professor who has taught online classes for 10 years, I have seen increased interaction, as students often are more open in their online discussions than in a traditional classroom. Research on disclosure through online groups supported my experience (Joinson, 2001). So often in traditional classes, one or two students may dominate the class discussions. In online classes although there might be dominance by one or two students, all of the students even the quiet ones, are given a voice.

In educational research, blogs function as discussion boards where students are able to share, collaborate, and comment on the postings of others (Weiler, 2003). The response to postings is similar to the dynamics of traditional, face-to-face (FTF) focus groups. Gaiser argues that the difference between on-line and traditional focus groups is insignificant in terms of outcomes (as cited in Markham, 2004, p. 120). In a face-to-face focus group, the respondents and facilitator can respond both to the words and to the body language of others. Computer-mediated communication (CMC) does not share these nuances but has other advantages over face-to-face (FTF) methods. Some advantages to CMC in qualitative research given by Mann and Stewart include access to "wide geographic" areas; "hard to reach populations;" "dangerous or politically sensitive sites;" "resistance accounts;" and "interest groups" (2000, pp. 27-20).

This research project was undertaken nationwide in regional MSA groups, allowed by the "wide geographic access" of CMC. However, Muslim students are to some degree both hard to reach and politically sensitive. The anonymity of "CMC offers the possibility of resisting the status quo without excessive risk" (Mann & Stewart, 2000, p. 18). An online format would bring Muslim young adults together as an interest group more easily than through a facilitated FTF focus group and allow for the collection of "rich data" about this group (McCoyd & Kerson, 2006, p. 390). There are also practical advantages with
CMC such as “cost and time savings” eliminating the need for “venue hire” and “tape recording/production/transcription costs,” as well as research advantages of the “elimination of transcription bias” and “easier handling of data” (Mann & Stewart, 2000, pp. 20-23). In the give and take of an online focus group a richness of content comes, as participants reflect on the writings of others in considering their responses as well as interactively “calling others out for faulty reasoning” (Tynes, 2007, para. p. 577). Using online focus groups can also add to the transparency of this research. “Besides the data collected, blogs and other online forums can keep researchers more accountable as respondents have the opportunity to engage publicly with the research process and its outputs” (Murthy, 2008, p. 849).

Young people increasingly connect to each other, old friends, relatives, and the world on the web. Facebook is considered a global social networking site that enables students to "form communities and share expertise" and is acknowledged as a legitimate forum for social science research (“Call for Papers,” 2007). Facebook is used by 90% of college students today, having begun in 2004 in a limited number of universities (Golder, 2007). In 2007 there are more than 1.5 million photos posted every day and two-thirds of the 7.5 million users visit it regularly (Jackson, 2007). Golder states:

Facebook is, for the time being, a dominant focus for college students' electronic social activity. Use of Facebook is weaved into the college student experience, and its use mirrors college students' daily, weekly and seasonal schedules. Its value lies in its use as a way for college students to support both distant and geographically proximate relationships. (2007, p. 13)

Most Facebook users typically spend 20 minutes on the site (Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2007).
Non-college students have recently been allowed to join and form groups. Today both college and high school students use Facebook. As of early 2009, there were an estimated 200 million users and growing by 300,000 users daily (Willinger, Rejaie, Torkjazi, Valafar, & Maggioni, 2009). Within the Facebook framework, there are discussion board postings, which were utilized to post questions for this research project. Students do not tend to live in real time; they do much of their time in Facebook not just at night, but also during the day at home, at work, and in classes.

These focus group interviews were designed to occur through discussion boards/blog on four separate Facebook groups, which I set up through my UTA email address. The participants were to self-select from these four Facebook groups, including a. African American Muslims, b. Non-African American native-born Muslims, c. Muslims who families have immigrated post 2000, and d. Muslims whose families immigrated prior to that year. This format would allow “participants to create ongoing life history accounts on websites that they can design with color and images may yield textured results” (Silverman, 2004, p. 111) As with other groups, the respondents were recruited by "Facebook invitation," limited to young adults.

The Facebook groups had an acknowledgement posted of informed consent on the website. Participants were able to post any questions concerning informed consent or by sending an email to this researcher. Participants must have Facebook accounts to participate, and all postings to discussion boards would have the person’s “display name” posted. This display name is set up within the Facebook account. The invitation informed the participants or potential participants that the group was closed per the University of Texas at Arlington’s Internal Review Board direction and that they would have to request to join. No one outside the group could see the discussions. Participants would be able to request anonymity in the written report, although the distinction between
private and public spaces is blurred in Facebook and some say that "within text-based environments conversation is deemed as public" (M. Williams, 2007, p. 17). This dimension of both the public and private is seen in reports of job applicants being rejected for jobs, such as a 19-year old with a photo posted on Facebook holding a vodka bottle written about in Newsweek (as cited in Riley, 2006).

Similar to the asynchronous time frame of email interviews by McCoy and Kherson (2006), the respondents would be able to break the focus group discussion into smaller chunks of time enabling a collection of rich data by putting more thought into their responses. Using asynchronous focus groups would allow the participants to respond at their own leisure producing a richness of content (Mann & Stewart, 2000, pp. 113-4; Markham, 2004, pp. 102-3). The CMC focus group format encourages not just the revealing of direct answers to the questions, but "group talk" between the participants (Gray, 2003, pp. 103-4). One disadvantage of an asynchronous format is the possibility of attrition, which should be lessened by the wide and frequent use of Facebook by college school students as well as methods within Facebook for reminding participants through both the "push" and "pull" technologies described by Markham (2004, p. 111-2). These technologies include "poking" and both public and private messages. When you "poke" someone, this message pops up: “You are about to poke ______. She will be informed of this the next time she logs in.” To capture this segment of population better, these asynchronous postings and responses will be collected daily and copied and pasted into MSWord documents. As in Gaston and Zweerink’s *Ethnography online* the ability to copy and paste will produce "literal reproductions of field events, rather than more traditional field notes" (2004, p. 183).

The position as a facilitator is slightly different from that in a traditional format and allows one to "move back and forth from participant to observer with an ease that being in
sight for all the interaction does not afford” (Gatson & Zweerink, 2004, 190). The anonymity of CMC allows the facilitator to move from an “I-Thou” relationship to the “We” relationship (2006, pp. 95-6). The transparency of joint membership of the researcher in a Facebook group as facilitator and participant, helps to address ethical issues of online research of privacy and disclosure (Moreno, Fost, & Christakis, 2008). One criticism of this type of research methods is that in a traditional focus group, the facilitator is able to gauge the emotions of the participants. Markham counters that CMC does incorporate the participants' own interpretations of emotions:

Most participants interviewed by me online believe that the ability to edit affords a higher degree of control over the meaning of the message and the presentation of self. Whether or not the producer of the message can actually control the presentation of the self through careful editing is not as relevant as the faith placed in editing (2004, p. 106)

This self-editing allows researchers to “do less interpretation and trust their respondents to inform the researcher of their experience as interpreted through the perspective of the respondent herself” that is called for by feminist researchers such as Haraway and Padget and ethnomethodologists such as Charmaz, Liebow, and Van Maanen (as cited in McCoyd & Kerson, 2006, p. 401). By having, participants record their own experiences in an asynchronous time frame and respond to the postings of others they will be able to become stakeholders in the process.

3.3 Changing Nature of Questions and Anisah David

On December 24, 2009, Anisah David sent me a message on Facebook and our conversation began. Ms. David is a community activist who lives in rural South Dakota and since we were quickly on first name basis, I will refer to her as Anisah. In this first message, Anisah wrote of Ronald Reagan’s administration planning of internment
camps. She describes how the attention was first directed toward Muslim terrorists after the Oklahoma City bombing, before Timothy McVeigh was discovered.\textsuperscript{16} Many think everything changed for us on 9-11, but the reality is it was already changing...and we were already the targets of suspicion long before 9-11. Remember Oklahoma bombing? Who did they blame & harass for it? It wasn’t the white guys who got targeted or profiled. The media & the law enforcement, including airlines targeted “Arab looking” people. Even after it was found to be “white militants” the government didn’t come down on the domestic terrorist groups of white supremacists like they have come down on Muslims. That is because it was part of a long developed program. One that was put in motion way back at the time of Reagan. I remember the stuff back then, when “Think tanks” determined that ISLAM would become the “new red scare”. The government determined then how to round us up & how to persuade the average AMerican to look the other way while the freedoms of fellow Americans (Muslims) would be trampled upon for “AMerica's safety.” (David & Humphreys, 2009-2010)

Our conversations continued including Facebook chatting late at night, which unfortunately were not recorded. Anisah graciously gave permission for me to quote our messages in this research. In response to my concerns about lack of participation on the original Facebook focus group, Anisah (David & Humphreys, 2009-2010) spoke of the reluctance of Muslims to speak to outsiders “…to be honest Muslims have become ‘gun shy’ about providing any information to ‘outsiders’ since 9-11.” She then referred me to a book by Donna Gehrke-White (2007) \textit{The Face behind the Veil: The Extraordinary Lives of Muslim women in America}, in which Anisah helped the author in recruiting Muslim

\textsuperscript{16} Note that in these quotations, the original grammar is kept and has the “flavor” of Facebook messaging. (APPENDIX B)
women to interview. Anisah was helpful in guiding my question development and offered feedback at every turn.

One of the questions I was using, a question from the Pew Study (2007), asked “Do you think of yourself first as an American or first as a Muslim?” Before I began this study, using Facebook I asked a group of college students at a local denominational university where I teach to respond to the same questions I would be asking the Muslim students, substituting the word “Christian” for “Muslim.” The reason that I tested these questions is that while reading the responses to the Pew Study (2007) I was struck by how similar evangelical Christians and Muslims seem to be in their beliefs about the importance of religion. When I asked the Christian college students, “Do you think of yourself first as an American or first as a Christian?” every student responded that they considered themselves as Christian first (Humphreys, 2009). “A Christian because where I was born has no real effect on the life that I am living, whereas my belief system does.” The participants received extra credit for participation and perhaps there was “Christian peer pressure” to give the “right answer” influencing these findings. (Appendix C)

When Anisah responded to the question, asking me as a researcher “Do you think of yourself first as an American or first as a Christian,” I began to rewrite and rethink some of my thoughts (after I picked myself off the ground and dusted off my researcher hat).

Jean, Question 22 is the most insane question I think I have ever seen… Don’t know who came up with the question but it’s insulting & suggests that NO ONE but Christians have the right to claim to be “American” while still practicing their faith. So what ever happened to the Constitution of “Separation of CHURCH & STATE? Why should Muslims have to even question their loyalties to their faith to be AMERICAN? (David & Humphreys, 2009-2010)
In our unrecorded chats, she recommended that I think about whether Muslims thought of themselves as average Americans. Moreover, my question morphed from “Do you think of yourself first as an American or first as a Muslim? Why?” and “How do you live as both?” to: “If someone asked you if you think of yourself first as an American or first as a Muslim, how would you answer?” and “Before 9-11 did you feel you were an average American? After 9-11, did you still see yourself in the same way? Explain.” My focus in this change was to ask about perceptions, and Anisah’s response to these questions was positive. “Yes, much better. The thing I’d say most of all is to draw them out to say how THEY are perceiving it” (David & Humphreys, 2009-2010).

As a researcher, I had tested this process with a group of Christian students with strong participation, with the groups open until everyone joined. However, perhaps because of the “hassle” of joining a closed group, perhaps because of lack of trust of a majority researcher, perhaps because of the Christmas Day bombing attempt and concerns with privacy, only six people joined any of the four groups from December 18, 2009 through January 18, 2010 and no one posted responses to the questions. Therefore, after approval from the Internal Review Board, on January 20, 2010 I revised these questions and moved them to Survey Monkey. Although a survey does not have the give and take of an online focus group, the participants were able to respond privately and anonymously to an encrypted survey with increased participation. At 12:54 PM on January 20, I posted the SurveyMonkey link to Facebook and the first survey was taken January 20, 2010 at 2:27 PM.

3.4 Method for Data Analysis and Synthesis

The unit of analysis for this research project is the individual Muslim youth who were in public schools, post 9/11. The data collected contains experiences of prejudice of the participants in public schools, along with the Patriot Act and the heightened
ingroup-identification that followed. The qualitative software tool NVivo 8 was used to store and manipulate data via downloaded survey results. These results were downloaded into an excel spreadsheet. Using a framework provided by Gibbs in *Qualitative Data Analysis: Explorations with NVivo8* (2002, pp. 16-17), the software "provides tools for creating and examining new ideas about the data – for example, through searching, linking and modeling – and for reporting results." The data is imported into Document Explorer within NVivo8 and text and codes are tracked in Node Explorer. Tree nodes were constructed for each qualitative question: Q1 Contrast with parent Religion, Q2 Life as Muslim Post-9~11, Q3 Patriot Act, Q4 9~11 Average American, Q5 Muslim American First, Q6 School Life, and Q7 School Change. Within these tree nodes, I reread and recoded the data into themes. The Document Explorer kept track of memos about the data and process, which would "check my subjectivity" (Penna, 2007, p. 13). These memos provide transparency through an "audit trail" which supplies both conceptual development and provides for secondary analysis (Bringer, Johnston, & Brackenridge, 2004). As one of the strengths about using NVivo8 is that through using the shell as an electronic filing cabinet, "you can see everything the researcher has done" (Davidson & Jacobs, 2008, p. 74). Johnston (2006, p. 387) refers to these memos as a research journal and in NVivo8 these can be "codes and searched, and linked to other documents”

The internal and external validity was rigorous in the way of Lincoln and Guba's (1986a) classic paper, “But Is It Rigorous? Trustworthiness and Authenticity in Naturalistic Evaluation.” Anisah David’s feedback increased credibility (or internal validity) as member check (Guba, 1981). Credibility was also enhanced by triangulation, peer debriefing, using NVivo8 query tools, and the use of rich data. Triangulation of multiple data analysis methods included coding or constant comparison analysis,
keywords-in-context (KWIC), classical content analysis, domain analysis, and taxonomic analysis (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2007). Constant comparison analysis is used to code and categorize themes that emerge from the data (Boeije, 2002). Classical comparison analysis counted the number of times a code is utilized. Domain analysis looks for relationships between words, searching for “larger units of cultural knowledge” and has been traditionally used in ethnographies (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2007). Taxonomic analysis placed these domains in taxonomies and in visual flow charts. The questions include both closed-ended and open-ended and take the form of online interviews and critical moments (Sarangi & Candlin, 2007, p. 104) adding to triangulation of methods. Transferability (external validity or generalizability) was enhanced by thick descriptive data through narrative development (Guba, 1981) and in comparison with the demographic data collected in this study (Silverman, 2004, pp. 128-129) and the Pew Study (2007). Dependability of this process as well as conformability of the data will be enhanced through the dissertation committee (Olson, 1939).

As a non-Muslim researcher, I was an “outsider” and was open about this in recruiting participants. Merton describes an “insider doctrine” in which insiders believe that group life can only be understood by other insiders (1972). Gans (2001) found that outsiders have conducted much of the research on immigrants in the past, and in looking through the bibliography of this paper and looking into the background of the authors, Muslims conduct much of the research on Muslims. Insider researchers have the advantage of immediacy of access (Chavez, 2008; Zinn, 1979). Banks (1998) uses the term external researcher as an outsider and states that an external researcher needs “to work with people indigenous to the community who can provide them with an accurate knowledge… within the community and who can help them acquire insider status” (p. 17). Anisah has provided much of the role of an indigenous participant in this research, in
both providing knowledge as a member check, and in recruiting her contacts for this research and introducing me to them.

In this chapter, the results of online survey will be explored, first with a description of the dataset and comparison with the Pew Study. This discussion includes these demographics: religious tradition, gender, Hijab, race and ethnicity, country of origin, migration generation, and religiosity.

3.5 Data Set

Seventy-five respondents started the survey between January 20, 2010 and February 25, 2010. Of these, five had left the survey blank and two more responded only to the first two questions. Thus, there were 68 useable surveys. In this first section, the results of the Pew Study will be compared with the results of this survey. This comparison with a national randomized study allows both a look at the representativeness of this sample and transferability (external validity or generalizability) (Silverman, 2005, pp. 128-129).

3.5.1 Religious Tradition

The vast majority, 54 (79%) were Sunni; while only six (nine percent) were Shi’a, and five (nine percent) non-specific Muslim. Four percent did not report their religious tradition. These percentages are typical for Muslim Student Associations (Turner, 2006) and larger than 50% of the larger Muslim population found in the Pew Study (2007). Current research finds Sunni and Shi’a Muslims have experienced similar challenges post 9/11 (Bradford, 2008) and narratives of these groups were comparable in this study. Because of this similarity and the small number of Sunnis, religious traditions were not included in the data analysis.

17 When applicable, the charts will be given in terms of percentages to allow comparisons with the Pew Study and information known about MSAs.
3.5.2 Age

The ages of the respondents were fairly evenly divided, with 20 (29%) not responding and 40% of the sample comprised of 20 and 22 year olds, as seen in Figure 3.1.

The demographic question on age was placed towards the end of the survey, and by agreeing to participate in the study; they had declared that they are between the ages of 20 and 26, which may have contributed to the lack of response. Because of the lack of response and the closeness in years, age will not be considered in the data analysis.

3.5.3 Gender

Twice as many females (44) as males (23) responded to the survey. One did not provide information on his/her gender. The general Muslim adult population is 54% male.
(PewResearchCenter, 2007) and the larger response by females may be attributed to my being female as well as the help of other females such as Anisah David in recruiting participants. In addition, a marketing study of Facebook found that 62 percent of the 18-25 year old users within the U.S. were female (Eldon, 2010).

3.5.4 Hijab

The young women in this study wear hijab at higher rates, than the Pew Study, which may be due to the younger population of this study, compared with the general population of the Pew Study. Approximately 40% of the Pew Study Muslim female participants wear hijab, whereas with 68% of research study female participants (N=30) wearing hijab all the time, as seen in Figure 3.2. Although the Pew Study does not break down age groups preventing comparisons of young women in both groups, this is consistent with other research on young Muslim women wearing hijab at higher rates than older generations (Abdo, 2006; Gehrke-White, 2007; Schmidt, 2004; R. Williams & Vashi, 2007; R. H. Williams, 2003). Ewing and Hoyler (2008) found that many young women chose to wear the hijab after 9/11, even though they were raised by religiously devout mothers who did not cover. Young women who wear hijab are seen as more religious, as “testifying” they are practicing Muslims (Schmidt, 2004), as part of their “spiritual journey” (Gehrke-White, 2007, p. 11), as a “clear identity marker” of a Muslim woman (Joshi, 2006; R. Williams & Vashi, 2007), as a sign of “increasing religiosity” (Abdo, 2006, p. 30) . At the same time, they may be the recipient of more Islamophobia simply as a visible representation of a Muslim, or from those who believe that the hijab is connected to terrorism (Gunel, 2007; Prizito, 2009; Zine, 2006).
3.5.5 “Race” and Ethnicity

In both the Pew Study and the survey in this study, the question concerning race asked if the respondent was White, Black, Asian, or Other. Approximately one-third (N=21) of respondents for this study did not respond to this question, raising the possibility that this generation does not identify itself racially as past generations. Whether this is a reflection of their identification as Muslim first, or would be also true with non-Muslims in this age group is a topic for future study. Another 42% (N=29) self-identified as one of the three categories, with 10% (N=7) as White, six percent (N=4) as Black, and 26% (N=18) as Asian. In the Pew Study, 84 percent self-identified as one of the three main racial categories, with 38% White, 26% Black, and 20% Asian as seen in Figure 3.3. Due to the high non-response rate for this study, it is difficult to make a valid comparison on racial identification with those responding to the Pew Study.
It would be interesting in future studies to see if the specificity of the responses is due to the computer based medium, to the age of the responses, some other factor, or a combination of factors.

The interplay of race and ethnicity of Arabs within the United States is not new. In the 1889 immigration categories, Syrians (Arab speaking immigrants) and Palestinians were classified as white (Samhan, 1999). At the various times in the twentieth century, Arabs have been either classified as non-white by the Klux Klux Klan or not quite “free whites” by a judge in South Carolina in 1914. In 1915, this case was appealed on the basis “that physically …[t]hey belong to the Semitic branch of the Caucasian race” (Samhan, 1999, p. 221). In 1978, the Office of Management of Budget provided the following categories of racial identity for the census:

1. American Indian or Alaskan Native. A person having origins in any of the original peoples of North America, and who maintains cultural identification.
2. Asian or Pacific Islander. A person having origins in any of the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, the Indian subcontinent, or the Pacific Islands.

3. Black. A person having origins in any of the black racial groups of Africa.

4. Hispanic. A person of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American or other Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race.

5. White. A person having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, North Africa, or the Middle East. (OMB, May 12, 1977)

Racial classifications consist of American Indian or Alaskan Native, Asian or Pacific Islander, Black, and White with ethnicity referring to Hispanic.

The variety of answers these young adults gave may be reflective of their generation and it will be interesting to see if this affects the 2010 census results. Table 3.1 includes the specific responses, as well as a breakdown of how these may be classified based on the information given.  

Table 3.1 Other Racial Responses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Specific Responses</th>
<th>Census Racial Classifications</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Middle Eastern</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Arab= White?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Palestinian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Middle east</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• from Egypt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Arab/Middle Eastern</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Arab</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Pakhtun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Arab-American</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Ethiopian</td>
<td>Black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Sub Saharan African</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• South Asian</td>
<td>Asian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Pakistani</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• White Asian</td>
<td>Other/mixed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18 These responses were copied and pasted, then corrected for spelling.
When these groups are combined, the differences between the Muslim Study and the Pew Study are lessened as seen in Figure 3.4, with 30% White in the Muslim Study and 38% in the Pew Study. In an interesting study Read (2008) interviewed an Arab church and an Arab mosque in central Texas and found that 30% of Christian respondents identified as White, while only 5.2% of Muslims did. In his research, this question asked, “What group do you think other people think you belong to?

![Figure 3.4 Racial Responses with Combined Categories](image)

However, for the purposes of this research and in light of research done on the intersection of Arab Americans and Islam, four “racial” categories were used in this study including Arab. Ten percent were White, 10% were Black, 28% were Asian, and 19% were Arab, with the rest not responding. When asked about ethnicity only one respondent (two percent) self-identified as Hispanic, close to the Pew Study’s findings of four percent.
3.5.6 Country of Origin

The majority of respondents were born in the United States (N=38 or 57 percent). In the general Pew Study, only 35 percent were born in the United States. The percentage native-born found in this study may be explained by youth of this age group. The Pew Study finds “Nearly half (46%) of native-born Muslim adults who are not African American are between 18 and 29 years of age.” The Pew Study uses the UNDP, United Nation Development Program, (2008) classification of the Arab region, which includes the 22 Arabic speaking countries in North and Central Africa and the Middle East. The South Asian region includes Pakistan, India, Bangladesh and Afghanistan. These responses were combined into these regions as seen below in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2 Muslim Study Country of Origin Combined

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original Countries</th>
<th>Condensed Regions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>United States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1%</td>
<td>Arab region*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1%</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraqi Kurdistan</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuwait</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somali</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Arab Emirates</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10%</td>
<td>South Asia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1%</td>
<td>Iran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

63
Table 3.2 – Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>% of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bosnia &amp; Herzegovina</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uzbekistan</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa – no country was specified</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viet Nam</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Countries</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Response</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Then comparing these merged regions, 57 percent (N=39) of this study’s respondents were born in the United States, and only 35 percent of the general population of the Pew Study as seen in Figure 3.5. Again, this may be influenced by the age of the respondents.

Figure 3.5 Muslim and Pew Countries of Origin
3.5.7 Generation

Of these native-born Muslims, seven percent of the Pew Study was second-generation, defined as having one or both parents born outside of the United States. Fifty-seven percent of this study was second generation, with no comparable data for this age group in the Pew Study. Including second and third generations, 59% of the Muslim Study and 35% of the Pew Study are so categorized. The Pew Study includes a table with generation, country of origin, and year of arrival, which is recreated in Table 3.3, with data from this study included for comparison.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birthplace</th>
<th>Muslim Study</th>
<th>Pew Study</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab region*</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asia</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Africa</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Countries</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Response</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.3 Nativity and Immigration – Muslim and Pew Study
Table 3.3 – Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>1%</th>
<th>3%</th>
<th>4%</th>
<th>6%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yemen</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bosnia &amp; Herzegovina</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of Arrival</th>
<th>2000 and later</th>
<th>2000 and later</th>
<th>2000 and later</th>
<th>2000 and later</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990-1999</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-1989</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979 and earlier</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native born</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Pew Study finds that 26% migrate for educational opportunity, 24% for economic opportunity, 24% for family reasons, and 20% for conflict/persecution. The liberalizing of immigration laws in the 1980s, along with the conflicts in Muslim countries of Gulf War (1991–1992), the turmoil in Somalia, (1992–1994) and the Bosnian conflict (1992–1995) (Haniff, 2003) may have contributed to the increase in the 1990s. Moreover, with this increase in migration and resulting visibility, their “otherness” may have been highlighted. In light of the large number born in the United States, migration generation will be utilized rather than country of origin in the data analysis.

3.6 Religiosity or Ingroup Identification

3.6.1 Importance of Religion

Fifty-eight respondents (85%) and 72% of the Pew Study said that religion was very important in their lives; with nine percent of the Pew respondents saying it is somewhat important and only one respondent stating that it is not at all important. Figure 3.6 incorporates both this study as well as the responses of the general Muslim population from the Pew Study.
3.6.2 Mosque Attendance

The young adults’ self-disclosure of religiosity was slightly higher than the general population of the Pew Study. In order to compare similar age groups an analysis of the Pew Study question regarding mosque attendance was examined. In the Pew Study, 51 percent of those from 20-29 years old said that they attended mosque at least once a week, with 36% of those from 30-54, and 26% of those over 54. Figure 3.7 shows that the young people in this Muslim study were more likely (69 percent, N=47) to say that they attended mosque at least once a week.

Figure 3.7 Mosque Attendance
This slightly higher rate of mosque attendance may be reflective of the stronger group-identity present in campus religious groups. Unfortunately, there is little demographic data available on MSAs or much on other student religious groups.

### 3.6.3 Data Summary

This section has included an introduction to this project’s data set and a comparison to the nationwide Pew Study demonstrating transferability (external validity or generalizability). The participants were between the ages of 20 and 26, and were predominantly Sunni and female. Eighty-five percent said that religion was very important in their lives and 69% attended mosque at least once a week. Fifty-eight percent of the females wear *hijab* all the time in public. Only 41% self-identified through existing U.S. Census racial categories, with 31% not responding to this question. More than half of the respondents, 57%, were born in the United States, with 43% first-generation and 52% third-generation. This comparison with a national randomized study allows both a look at the representativeness of this sample and transferability (external validity or generalizability) of the data (Silverman, 2005, pp. 128-129).

### 3.7 Limitations

The findings of this study were based on the memories of these young adults, and often our memories are biased, whether through dark lenses or through rose-colored lenses. We may remember only the good or see everything as bad, or somewhere in the middle. The nature of collective memories acknowledged the group influence of memories. Much of the work of collective memories asks people of different generations to remember, and notes that they tend to remember national events of their late adolescents. This is a cohort study, and it focused on only a few years of their lives. Recruiting students through MSAs allowed for a self-selection of young adults who may
have stronger ingroup identification. MSAs are predominately Sunni (Turner, 2006), just as the larger population of Muslims in the United States.

The MSAs understand themselves as conservative, mainstream Sunni organizations... One could argue that the Sunni-oriented focus of the Muslim Student Organizations follows directly from the influx of Muslim immigrants from the Middle East and North Africa since the middle of the 1960s. (Ingram, 2010)

The cross-analysis with the national Pew Study (2007) helped to compensate for these limitations.

3.8 Conclusion

To summarize, originally this dissertation was to use four “online focus groups” in Facebook with participants being young adult Muslims with a goal of at least 20 interviewees in each group. The participants attended U.S public school and are currently between the ages of 20 and 26, targeting those who were in seventh through 12th grade on September 11, 2001. After experiencing a lack of participation through Facebook, I revised the questions and moved them to an encrypted survey that was administered online. Qualitative data analysis utilizing NVivo8 was conducted, allowing organization of responses and coding of major themes. In this section, the charts have used percentages in order to make comparisons between these two studies. The next section will focus on the depth of these narratives through a qualitative lens, and number of cases will be used, focusing on the first of the research questions, concerning *Islamophobia* and the Patriot Act.
CHAPTER 4
ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this study was to explore young adult Muslims’ narratives of their collective memories of 9/11 during their years in public schools, as well as the consequences of the Patriot Act on their adolescence. The focus is on the first two research questions and their intersection with demographic data (1) What experiences of perceived Islamophobia did Muslim students have as a result of the Patriot Act? (2) What experiences of perceived Islamophobia did these Muslim students have in public schools? Then the question of how the experiences of perceived Islamophobia intersect with the variables of gender, Hijab, race, and migration generation will be explored in light of the scholarly literature. The third research question, “What are Muslim students’ views concerning the effects of this Islamophobia on their ingroup identification?” will be investigated next. The fourth research question, “What policy implications are evident from experiences of perceived Islamophobia that can influence schools’ practices?” will be explored in the next chapter.

4.2 Perceived Islamophobia as a result of the Patriot Act

The young adult Muslims in this study have lived much of their lives in a post-9/11, Patriot Act world. The Patriot Act has constructed Muslims as “racialized Others” (Chon & Arzt, 2004, p. 214; El-Haj, 2009, p. 10). In order to see the effects of this social construction, the respondents were asked about the Patriot Act. “What do you think

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19 Again, Islamophobia is the perceived prejudice and discrimination that results from being Muslim.
about the Patriot Act? About other anti-terrorism policies of the U.S. government? Have these affected your life? How?” There were 57 responses to this question, and each response was coded at one node, through constant comparison analysis after reading and rereading. The themes that emerged through constant comparison analysis were the following:

- **Airport Security and Wanding:** Young Muslims in this study had a variety of experiences with airport security and wanding,\(^\text{20}\) which is the scanning of an individual with an electronic “wand” that scans for metal. Racial profiling was often mentioned by respondents.

- **Legitimacy of Patriot Act:** The legitimacy and effectiveness of the Patriot Act and other government anti-terrorism policies were questioned by respondents.

- **Increasing Islamophobia:** Participants perception of a rise in *Islamophobia* that respondents attributed to the Patriot Act.

### 4.2.1 Airport Security and Wanding

Many respondents mentioned problems either they or others they knew had with airport security post-9/11. Chon and Artz (2004) coined the term “terror profiling” (p. 238) to describe the “selective” “negative treatment of individuals or groups thought to be associated with terrorism based on race, ethnicity, national origin and/or religion by government or private entities.” Profiling in the past was typically limited to treatment by the government of individuals and was not based on religion. A respondent who had not experienced airport security problems herself spoke of the effects that security policies have for other Muslims. Her narrative expresses the balance between need for protection and frustrations with profiling, particularly of those wearing *hijab*. This

\(^{20}\) As previously mentioned in the review of literature, wanding refers to the checking of airline passengers by the hand wand (Sarroub, 2002).
respondent is a 20-year-old native citizen whose parents moved from Pakistan in the 1980s.

There are a lot of things included in the Patriot Act that I strongly disagree with but there are also things in it that I think are vital for our, America's, security. I do not begrudge the government for trying to protect all of us however I do not agree with them profiling every Muslim in the world as a suspect. I also strongly disagree with the TSA's screening of every Muslim woman wearing a hijab, unless they do the same thing to nuns with their habits. It's still a hijab it just has a "non-threatening" name. Most of these policies have not directly affected my life but they have affected the lives of people I know. This past winter break right after the Nigerian underwear bomber had been on the flight from Amsterdam to Detroit, my sister and I were flying to Ohio for a winter camp and we were terrified that we would be detained at the airport because I had never flown while hijabi before so we had no idea what to expect. All I could think of was all the horror stories I had heard about other hijabi women who were pulled aside for additional screening and were then interrogated for protesting the additional screening. Just a thought on how I feel about that, I agree that if they "didn't have something to hide" they shouldn't protest about the additional screenings, but as Americans they have that right that's how our country is we have the right to call the people in charge out on how unfairly they are treating us that's how our country was founded.

The depth of this response shows the strength of qualitative research and computer-mediated communication (CMC) allowing a participant to think and reflect as they answer. Her mention, that she “didn't have a problem with it” because they “patted down
other people” leads into the next theme of “random.” What do these young Muslims think when they perceive that the screenings are not random? One respondent said “Every time I fly, I get a note left in my luggage stating that my bag has been ‘randomly’ checked for safety. Realize I emphasized ‘randomly.’” This young man was second generation, with both parents born in Palestine. In Baker’s (2002) research on “flying while Arab” she writes of the Computer Assisted Passenger Screening (CAPS), in which passengers checked luggage may be searched based on a computer profile. Since 9/11, this profile has included Arab ethnicity. A female respondent explains, “What really disappoints us is the "random" screenings at the airport in front of everyone and being stopped at security checkpoints because we are Muslim.” The second respondent tells of feeling disappointed by these “random” screenings. She mentions some of the strongest acts of discrimination throughout her narrative.

I have also been a victim of discrimination on behalf of my religion. I have been stopped at the airport several times. My mother has been told to take her hijab off. My family has been cussed out, flicked off, and told to go back to where we came from several times...

El-Haj (2009) found this same view of “random” searches of Arab Americans, in his study of citizen education. Major, Quinton, & Schmader’s (2003) work with stigmatized groups explains that individuals attribute negative outcomes to discrimination, based on situational clues and individual characteristics. In Baker’s (2002) legal commentary, she presents a similar argument. “The naturally heightened sensitivity of Arab travelers, combined with these new subjective and random security procedures, create an environment that fosters misperceptions” (Baker, 2002, p. 1376). Moreover, through the experience of discrimination, ingroup identification increases and that ingroup

21 Note that again these are copied and pasted from the surveys and that both respondents placed the quotation marks around random and randomly.
identification increases perceptions of discrimination thus creating a cycle of prejudice and discrimination (Major, et al., 2003).

4.2.2 Legitimacy and Effectiveness of Government Policy

In the larger view of the Patriot Act and other government anti-terrorism policies, some respondents focused not on the effect of these policies on themselves, but on the legitimacy of these policies and their effects on the larger population. This theme, which developed through constant comparison analysis, focused on comments questioning the effectiveness and legitimacy of government policies. There were 33 references from interview data that included respondents' comments on government policy, including imposing on “privacy, rights, or freedom,” seeing “both sides,” and “anti-Muslim/Increased Islamophobia.”

In The weight of the hyphen: Freedom, fusion and responsibility embodied by young Muslim-American women during a time of surveillance Zaal, Salah, and Fine (2007) describe the pride that young Muslim women have in the liberties and freedoms provided by United States, but also the violations of civil rights and intrusive surveillance that they have seen and experienced. Many participants in this study speak of similar thoughts and experiences through survey responses:

“I am against the Patriot Act because it is invasion of privacy and limited freedom.”

“The Patriot Act is simply a tool that provides bigots within our borders to encroach upon freedoms cherished for so long by Americans.”

“As an American citizen I felt that my rights were violated, and wasn't living in a free country.”

“I think it's unconstitutional and I strongly believe the government has instilled fear into society in order to get away with these outrageous 'policies.'”
“I think the Patriot Act was a Bush driven, pro neoconservative and in favor of the Republican agenda. It violated and bent a lot of the constitutional rights guaranteed by the bill of rights.”

One respondent although not affected personally, worried about the larger group.

Indirectly yes, anything that takes Americans freedom away is upsetting. I haven’t been affected by it seeing as I don’t really do much, but the general community has been. As general American citizens, one day it was Native Americans, one day African Americans tomorrow will be another group. All of this is disturbing.

Moreover, another young respondent added that although she sees the privacy issue, she is able to see both sides. “The Patriot Act, while I understand the desire for it among some, breaches into the private lives of Americans.”

The desire for the government to protect its citizens and to protect their freedoms is clear in 10 of the responses. An article in the Texas Journal on Civil Liberties and Civil Rights calls for the same balance in advocating a federal law to protect national security while not allowing profiling based on race or religion (Hussain, 2007). One respondent expressed much the same thought. She is a highly religious, second generation Muslim-American who wears hijab nearly all the time.

There are a lot of things included in the Patriot Act that I strongly disagree with but there are also things in it that I think are vital for our, America's, security. I do not begrudge the government for trying to protect all of us however I do not agree with them profiling every Muslim in the world as a suspect.

Others expressed similar views.
“I think it is very crucial for a nation to protect its citizens from any danger. Although, I believe such things as the Patriot Act violate the rights of privacy for all.”

“I think it makes sense, and does not make sense at the same time. Un-needed measures are used against a few innocent. The Patriot Act was pretty much based on, ‘War always has its tragedies’.”

“The Patriot Act, while I understand the desire for it among some, breaches into the private lives of Americans.”

All ten respondents who mentioned seeing “both sides” were highly religious.

This view may reflect the theology of Islam as a “religion of justice” quoting the Qur’an 4:58 ‘Truly God commands you to give back trusts to those to whom they are due, and when you judge between people, to judge with justice’” (Ibrahim, 1997, p. 62).

Nearly 40% of the responses for the question about the effects of the Patriot Act and other anti-terrorism policies were coded for increased Islamophobia. Twelve of these responses coded as increased Islamophobia were written by males and presented harsher narratives about this policy:

“It is unjust and extremely anti-Muslim because the only people who were tried under this law were Muslims. I think President Bush was also extremely anti-Muslim and the Justice System is very biased.”

This twenty-five year old man was born in the United States, and self-identified as white. Before 9/11, his friends were white, after 9/11, he “was forced to have friends who were like myself, i.e. other Muslims.” Sirin and Fine (Selcuk Sirin & Fine, 2008) describe this as being “ejected from the national ‘we,’ and quote a Muslim comedian ‘We went to bed white on 9/10 and got up ‘Muslim’ on 9/11” (p. 7).

22 Twenty-two of the 57 responses
Others mentioned the affects of this policy to society, two relating this to the internment of Japanese Americans.

“I am suspicious of everything. I don't see how we couldn't potentially be in concentration camps in a few years like the Japanese. .. If this act gains more momentum in a few years I could be jailed for simply speaking out against the war for being an ‘enemy combatant’.”

"In the mind of most Americans, we were the enemies within who could not be put into concentration camps because that would look bad to the world."

“This hasn't personally affected my life in a significant way but I have heard of people being drastically affected by it, to the extent that it creates a hatred in their hearts for the country and its people, giving rise to other violent acts. By all means, America should come up with a better solution.”

“Only by solving underlying issues to the problem (discrimination, bigotry, Israel-Palestine, occupation, etc.) will any solution be reached ... Most of all I have had to explain to people how this violence is to be expected with the blame game approach our government has in foreign affairs. Until it ends there will be no peace.”

“The Patriot Act and other immediate anti-terror legislation was disgusting. It was blatantly targeting all Muslims. I hated it and was involved in political activities and many other things as much as possible in order to expose those disgusting laws and try to get them repealed. They were acts that were passed because of the fear that was being put in people against Muslims, Arabs, etc.”

This last respondent is a 23-year-old young man, born in the United States, with parents from Afghanistan. In this narrative, the targeting of all Muslims is mentioned, as well as his own involvement in political activities and increased *Islamophobia* (‘fear that
was being put in people against Muslims, Arabs, etc."). The action verb of “fear...being put into people” is reflective of a view that this increase in Islamophobia is not a passive action, but is being produced by the government policies. These respondents are living in a post-9/11 world in which young male Muslims are portrayed as terrorists. In Sirin and Fine’s (2007) research with young Muslims they had adolescents draw identity maps of their lives as Muslim and American. Seventy percent of the males presented “fractured” maps with conflict and tension, while 90% of the females drew maps with fluid boundaries between the two worlds (SR Sirin & Fine, 2007, p. 156).

Ten of the 22 respondents whose answers were coded as increased Islamophobia were female and each described less severe effects of this policy, than the males reported. While young Muslim men are portrayed as terrorists, Muslim women are portrayed as oppressed (SR Sirin & Fine, 2007), and this may affect the difference in the experiences these females reported. One said, “It makes me feel like a second class citizen.” Others mentioned that although they had not personally experienced discrimination resulting from the Patriot Act, they knew others who had. This is consistent with the “personal/group discrimination discrepancy” in which people report greater discrimination to the group as a whole than toward themselves (Karlsen & Nazroo, 2006).

“It has affected me in a way where people are so quick to judge Muslims”

“I think it’s horrible that as a nation we are marginalizing and scapegoating a segment of the population that could potentially offer so much good to our society.”

“Only serve to further alienate the Muslim population”

“Very discriminatory and targets mainly those of the Muslim faith, regardless of what it claims.”
“I know that this policies are supposed to protect the American people, but they have been putting Muslims on the spot wrongfully and have created even more friction between Muslims and non-Muslims because of stereotyping and racial profiling.”

As these young Muslims, both male and female, use the words “marginalizing and scapegoating,” “judge,” “discriminatory,” “stereotyping and racial profiling” we see a group of young adults within the United States who see their lives as “second class citizens” because of a federal government policy. These young Muslims are living in a time where the Patriot Act and other policies have in the words of Chon and Artz (2004, pp. 228-229) racialized Islam, creating inferior stereotypes. The participants have experienced airport security and wanding, particularly mentioning racial profiling. Their narratives tell of their questioning the legitimacy and effectiveness of the Patriot Act and other government anti-terrorism policies. The next section looks at the Islamophobia these young people have experienced in the public schools.

4.3 Perceived Islamophobia in Public Schools

Discrimination in public schools post-9/11 has increased against Muslim students, creating a world in which they are outsiders looking in who can no longer fit into the majority world (SR Sirin & Fine, 2007). In this study, there were two questions regarding public schools, the first was “Please describe your life as a Muslim in your school.” Out of this sample, 45 participants responded and each was coded at specific nodes. The major nodes (themes) that emerged were the following:

- The experiences that these young Muslims had of discrimination in public schools and
- The difference in their lives as Muslims, as compared to non-Muslim students.
4.3.1 Discrimination

Approximately 20% of the respondents\textsuperscript{23} described discrimination they had experienced in schools. Although this is a small sample, the data suggests that these students’ experiences may be like that of many Muslim students. Of these 11, seven were female and four were male, with five of the seven females wearing hijab all the time. Seven were second generation, three were 1.5 generation, and one was first generation. Religion was very important to eight and somewhat important to three.

Discrimination by peers in school is seen in “intentional or overt social exclusion, teasing, hitting, and unfair treatment” (Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2009) and the responses in this study include all these categories. Unfair treatment will be examined in the next chapter, along with school policies. One young second generation woman described the “intentional or overt social exclusion” she faced in school.

I had a very, very small group of friends. People always judged me and stayed away from me. I barely had any self-confidence to speak up in my classes and I became very self-conscious. I was afraid that along with being labeled as a terrorist, I would also have stupid or dumb tagged along with it.

A second generation, highly religious female who wears hijab said that life in school was:

Uncomfortable and intimidating at times. One of my school mates had told me a few months after 9/11 that she would join the U.S. army in order to “kill my people.

A young second generation ma le described the “teasing” he experienced. “I did have a little problem after 9/11 happened. I was in 8th grade and I was made fun of every day after that and it went on for over a year…” A young 1.5-generation woman described her teasing. “People were mean they said many evil words and most of all I had hard time

\textsuperscript{23} Twelve respondents
fitting because I wear the hijab.” Another described how his cousin was “hit.” “My cousin got beat up at school. She's a girl and a boy beat her up for being a ‘terrorist’.” One respondent, a first generation young woman who wears hijab all the time, spoke not of teasing but of having to answer questions. “I don't like it because I have always to explain why, what, where and a lot of things to make my actions logical.”

4.3.2 Life Post 9/11 - Just Different

For 10%24 of these participants, life was not better or worse, it was just were different in public school after 9/11. These were second generation and highly religious. They struggled with the tension between practicing and living their faith and being a part of the student body, “I tried to conform as a young student, but felt more comfortable with my Muslim identity in high school.” Others mentioned specific practices that set them apart.

“I remember that because I was Muslim, some things that would come up in school would be big things like not eating lunch in Ramadan, not going to parties/school dances, not drinking/doing drugs, and not dating. These things sometimes set me apart from others but I felt that my classmates were pretty understanding of my faith and views.”

“I was the only girl wearing hijab and people always asked questions. But for the most part you get use to it. I always stand out in a crowd and I’m fine with that.”

Several mentioned the problems they had being devout in high school along with the support they received from friends.

“Average student. Average grades. Had friends, did normal things like go to football games, movies with friends, etc. I wouldn't be able to go to the Friday prayer because I had school, but on our holy days I would get a note from the

24 Seven respondents
mosque and turn it in to my school's attendance counselor to excused absences. Sometimes my friends would ask me where I was, sometimes they did...either way, if they asked, I’d tell them and they would be cool with it.”

“I wasn't that devout a Muslim in High school because it was difficult.... But for me it was somewhat tough sometimes, but I think because I had a very good and understanding group of friends it wasn't that bad. I could tell them I'm Muslim and don't eat pork, drink alcohol...etc and they’d understand.

Although this is a small sample, in order to see what sets these students apart a matrix query was run for the respondents who reported discrimination and those who reported that their lives were just different. They were similar in wearing hijab and gender. In those that reported discrimination there were those from first, 1.5, and second generation, as well as both highly religious and somewhat religious. However, only second generation and highly religious described the difference they felt after 9/11 and these two groups included the same seven respondents and responses as seen in Table 4.1. In this table and in coding the responses for discrimination and different, no text was coded for both, the categories were mutually exclusive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Discrimination</th>
<th>Different</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hijab All the time</strong></td>
<td>71% N=5</td>
<td>60% N=3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hijab Most of the time</strong></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hijab Only some of the time</strong></td>
<td>14% N=1</td>
<td>20% N=1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hijab Never</strong></td>
<td>14% N=1</td>
<td>20% N=1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Female</strong></td>
<td>65% N=7</td>
<td>71% N=5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Male</strong></td>
<td>36% N=4</td>
<td>29% N=2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>First Generation</strong></td>
<td>9% N=1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1.5 Generation</strong></td>
<td>27% N=3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Second Generation</strong></td>
<td>64% N=7</td>
<td>100% N=7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
With then checking to look at the relationship between migration generation and the importance of religion, 15% of first generation, 14% of 1.5 generation, and 71% of second generation find religion to be very important. Despite the small sample size, this is similar to the work of Hirschman (2007) who found that second generation Italian-American and Hispanic Catholics become more religious than their first generation counterparts (p. 404).

4.4 Islamophobia: Hijab and Migration Generation

This section will look at the intersection of Islamophobia resulting from the Patriot Act and public schools with the wearing of hijab and migration generation, in light of assimilation theories. As described previously, wearing hijab is seen as an identity marker of young women who resist assimilation (R. Williams & Vashi, 2007). Migration generation includes first generation, 1.5 generation, second generation, or third generations. First generations are those migrants who families migrated to the United States when they were 10 years of age or older. 1.5 generations are those migrants who arrived in the United States under 10 years of age (Ellis & Goodwin-White, (2006). Second generations are those who were born in the United States, but whose father or mother was born in another country. Third generations are those whose parents were both born in the United States. In order to make sure that the effects of the migration

\[\text{Table 4.1 – Continued}\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion very important</th>
<th>73% N=8</th>
<th>100% N=7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religion Somewhat important</td>
<td>27% N=3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion Not at all important</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[\text{25 There were no participants born in the United States whose father was born in the United States and mother was born in another country.}\]
generation was not due to age, a matrix query was run on age and all the discrimination factors, and no patterns of difference were ascertained.

In a study of Arab-American activists Nagel and Staeheli (2005) find the visibility of the hijab to make assimilation more difficult, not because of the Arab-Americans but by the response to them by the majority. Wray-Lake, Syvertsen, and Flanagan, (2008) argue that discrimination is the strongest barrier to assimilation, particularly to young immigrants. Table 4.2 shows the migration generations of those who wear hijab in the Muslim study. All of the first generation female respondents wear hijab either all or most of the time, portraying a double aspect of non-assimilation. Although the majority of 1.5 and second generation respondents wear hijab all the time, 30% and 39% wear it only some of the time or never, reflecting more assimilation.

Table 4.2 Migration Generation and Hijab of Muslim Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Hijab - All the time</th>
<th>Hijab - Most of the time</th>
<th>Hijab - Only some of the time</th>
<th>Hijab - Never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Generation</td>
<td>76.4%</td>
<td>23.6%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5 Generations</td>
<td>69.7%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>30.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Generations</td>
<td>60.3%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>26.0%</td>
<td>13.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Young women who wear hijab are wearing a visible marker of their religion (Schmidt, 2004; R. Williams & Vashi, 2007). Traditional Muslims see the veil as portraying obedience to Islam, but also as providing a sense of community, unifying Muslim women (Bartkowski & Read, 2003). The hijab is seen as protecting the modesty of women, as well as liberating women from the sexualized culture of the United States, and as an equalizer so that they can work with men (Bourhis, et al., 1997). Muslimah speaks of the freedom that wearing hijab brings, in not having to be judged by their outer
appearance as well as being grounded in their faith in constant reminder of who they are (Gehrke-White, 2007). I had not asked if these young women wore hijab before 9/11 because for the most part Muslim young women do not wear hijab before 13 or 14.

Wearing hijab was also perceived by respondents to the Muslim Study as a marker for increased scrutiny by airport security. Many respondents mentioned problems either they or others they knew had with airport security post-9/11 and profiling, particularly for those wearing hijab. Focusing on those who experienced increased Islamophobia from the Patriot Act, a matrix-coding query was run to see the intersection of the experiences of Islamophobia and wearing hijab as seen in Table 4.3. There were 42 female respondents who answered the question, “When you are out in public, how often do you wear the headcover or hijab?”

Table 4.3 Hijab and Increased Islamophobia from Patriot Act

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Increased Islamophobia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All the time</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>26% N=8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most of the time</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0% N=0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only some of the time</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>25% N=1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14% N=1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For those who wear hijab all the time, several of the narratives spoke of personal encounters with discrimination.

“More people start looking at me more often than not.”

“It has affected me in a way where people are so quick to judge…”

“Negative experiences with profiling at the airport and more of a need to defend my identity.”

The response from one, who wears hijab only some of the time, reflects a group rather than individual, “us” rather than an “I” perspective.
Sometimes we are afraid of mentioning the word terrorism anywhere in public. We just do not wish to talk about these issues anymore because of the fear that it may get us into trouble even though we are against terrorism. We are more careful about our beliefs and opinions.

School is also a potential place for discrimination. As Table 4.4 shows, 26% of women who were hijab all the time and 25% of women who only wear it some of the time report discrimination in school as compared to 14% of the women who never wear hijab. Women who wear hijab all the time have the same patterns of increased Islamophobia with the Patriot Act, as they report in public schools.

Table 4.4 Hijab and Increased Islamophobia in Public Schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;When you are out in public, how often do you wear the headcover or hijab?&quot;</th>
<th>Increased Islamophobia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All the time N=30</td>
<td>26% N=8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most of the time N=1</td>
<td>0% N=0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only some of the time N=4</td>
<td>25% N=1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never N=7</td>
<td>14% N=1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The young women who had the most callous experiences of Islamophobia, which included the response of the young women whose classmate said he wanted to “join the army to kill my people,” were the five responses who wear hijab all the time. While the participant who only wears the hijab some of the time said:

Everyone knew I was Muslim. I told everyone who asked and still do until this day. In high school (I was in 10th grade when 9/11 happened) I was harassed verbally only twice. I think that most people were just curious and asked me an array of questions just to satisfy their need to put people in a category (like race, ethnicity, religion).
In addition, a participant who does not wear the *hijab* at all said, “[I] was teased during elementary/middle school about being Muslim but not at all during high school or college.” With the exception of the one participant who mentioned that she wore the *hijab* in high school, I do not know if these women wore the *hijab* as high school students.

The question persists and is fuel for further studies, do these women now wear the *hijab* because of their experiences of *Islamophobia* or did they have these experiences partially because of wearing the *hijab* in high school? Mir (2006) describes the hyper-visibility of young women wearing *hijab*, who perform the “role of spokesperson for Islam and Muslims” (p.164). Abdo (2006) provides the narrative of a teenager who began wearing *hijab* after 9/11, “as an expression of Muslim solidarity in the face of the widespread criticism of Islam in the United States” (p. 30). In *HIJAB and American Women*, Williams and Vashi (2007) write of the freedom to spend time with males that wearing *hijab* brings young women, so that they are still seen as “good Muslims.” Wearing *hijab* can provide mobility as a women who covers feels protected from looks from males, and is seen from some as a resistance to Eurocentric sexualized femininity (Gunel, 2007; Zine, 2006). Young women who wear *hijab* may be freer in their actions, particularly with males, or more constrained in their actions because of a constant reminder of their faith, or some combination of both and these actions call for further study.

Were the participants in this study, both male and female, first generation, 1.5 generation, second generation, or third generations? There was one third generation, whose parents were both born in the United States, but she did not answer any of the qualitative questions. There were 14 cases of first generations, 14 cases of 1.5 generations, and 37 cases of second generations. In their work, Williams and Vashi
(2007) find that many second generation describe a conscious decision to wear hijab as a blend of the “voluntaristic religiosity” of America with a distinct Muslim identity (p. 284).

Eighteen of the 57 respondents wrote about the effects of the Patriot Act and other anti-terrorism policies on increased Islamophobia. These children of immigrants live in a world that sees them as suspicious, violent and as terrorists (Zaal, et al., 2007). They live under “scrutiny to which they are subjected while simultaneously feeling responsible for educating others about their identities, their beliefs, and their religion” (Ibid, p. 179). Thirty-two percent of the second generation (N=12) mentioned increased Islamophobia, with three members of first generation and two participants from the 1.5 generation also mentioning it, as seen in Table 4.5.

| Table 4.5 Patriot Act and Increased Islamophobia and Generation |
|---|---|
| First Generation (N=14) | 21% (N=3) |
| 1.5 Generation (N=14) | 14% (N=2) |
| Second Generation (N=37) | 32% (N=12) |

Many of the responses have been quoted previously, and there was not a pattern of differences between these generations. The first generation responses included:

“The Patriot Act has effectively told me who I am in the minds of conservative and liberal America. A demagogue.”

“In the mind of most Americans, we were the enemies within who could not be put into concentration camps because that would look bad to the world.”

One member of the 1.5 generation said:

“I have been forced to defend the mere protest on part of Muslims at being targeted. I have to constantly explain that the beliefs of groups, who in some cases aren’t considered Muslims by mainstream Islam, are not exactly my own or that of most Muslims.”
Some of the narratives of the second generation include:

“Basically this policy tells me if you look like a duck, quack like a duck then it’s a duck. Well if I have a beard or my mother is wearing a hijab and niquab26 then automatically we’re suspicious looking and automatically we’re terrorists.”

“I consider myself very much American and very patriotic—it is unfair to be a suspect when I haven't done anything.”

In the narratives about public schools and school policies, what are the effects of migration generation? In order to see if there was a pattern in the generation and the experiences in public schools, I ran a matrix query then transferring this into percentages to compare these three generations. As seen in Figure 4.1, seven percent of the first generation (one person) reported incidences of discrimination, in comparison with 21% (three people) of 1.5-generation and 19% (seven people) of second generation. Nineteen percent (seven people) of the second generation reported that life was different for Muslims in their public schools. Clearly, the sample size is too small to arrive at any conclusions, but the narratives provided by the Muslim Study participants do suggest connection between migration generation and the impact of post-9/11 policy initiatives.

26 Niquab is the veil that covers the face.
Figure 4.1 Migration Generation and School Experiences

A young woman spoke of the differences of her life as a young Muslim in public school post 9/11.

As a young Muslim in school the major things that stick out are food... Eating *halal*\(^{27}\), having a disgust for pork was easy... but not being able to eat marshmallows was a tragedy. As you get older it becomes gender interactions... Everyone is dating or someone asks you out to homecoming... and you can't do that or go there... looking back I'm so thankful... but while you go through it is a struggle.

In addition, 14% reported that they took actions as Muslims. This same young woman continues to say, "I did everything a kid in school does, got involved with extra curriculars... service mostly, since the way of life of a Muslim is to live a life of service."

Another respondent said that he "became more active in politics, classes, etc. due to the backlash against Muslims."

The responses of the first generation may be attributed to lower expectations of fitting in and matrix-coding query was run focusing on the perceptions of these generations with feeling average. The second generation noticeably reports feeling

\(^{27}\) *Halal* is an Arabic word for lawful or permissible, and usually refers to diet (IFANCA, 2010).
different, in both “Average before and different after” and “Different before and after.” Thirteen percent (1) of the first generation, 20.0% (3) of the 1.5 generation, and 52.2% (12) of the second generation felt “Average before and different after.” Thirteen percent (1) of the first generation, 13.3% (2) of the 1.5 generation, and 56.5% (13) felt “Different before and after” seen in Figure 4.2.

![Figure 4.2 Migration Generation and Average American](image)

Most of the responses were quoted earlier and will not be repeated here. What has happened to these young people post 9/11, so that the 1.5 and second generations report more experiences of discrimination in public schools? Moreover, why does the second-generation report feeling that they are not average Americans.

Is the second-generation simply older, with more experiences pre-9/11 to compare? In order to make sure these differences were not age related, a coded matrix was run comparing age and generation and found little difference, with the second-generation slightly younger. Twenty-four percent of the second-generation, 36% of 1.5-generation, and 43% of first-generation were 24-26.
Anisah David reviewed this section, serving as a member check and noted that the first and 1.5 generations may have similar experiences and thoughts, but may not be as vocal particularly with an outside researcher.

Did the 1.5-generation & 2nd generation simply VOCALIZE more than the first generation? I say this since I have noticed in our Muslim populations I deal with that the immigrant generations tend to conform to social norms of their home countries, including the "don't make waves" mentality since many come from oppressive areas... Therefore, are we seeing more vocalization by the 1.5 & 2nd generation because of the political/social framework of this country that permits public dissent? I suspect we are. In private, they speak about such things in the first generation population, but not in "public" amongst "outsiders."

Anisah’s analysis bring a point as to changes in vocalization in immigrant generations, the first-generation may simply have no reference to compare; they are new to the United States.

In looking at vocalization of immigrant generations and the way in which they speak up or are quiet in school rooms, the focus perhaps is on the difference of a collectivistic Muslim culture rather than that of the individualistic culture of mainstream America (Pedersen, 2002, p. 149). Islamic teaching stresses the importance of the family and the community and the importance of a collectivistic perspective (Dwairy, 2002; Merton, 1972, p. 136). Arab/Muslim countries are seen as a whole to be collectivistic (Smith, Trompenaars, & Dugan, 1995). In working with educators Villegas and Lucas (2007) stress the importance of teachers being socioculturally conscious, aware that first generation young people from collectivistic cultures do not vocalize in class. One respondent combined an individualistic and a collectivistic culture. An internal locus of control is seen in his first comment about life after 9/11, “I hated it and
was involved in political activities and many other things” and the collectivistic orientation seen in his last comment “So Muslims have a lot that we will contribute to make the US a great country.” In the future this blending of individualism and collectivistic orientation may strengthen American culture, and will is an opportunity for future research. The next section focuses on the effects of this Islamophobia on their ingroup identification.
4.5 Islamophobia and Ingroup Identification

4.5.1 Religiosity - Contrast with Parents

Previous studies have found Muslim young adults be more religious than older generations (PewResearchCenter, 2007). Respondents were asked, “Please contrast the importance of religion to you with the importance of religion to your parents.” These 58 respondents all had responded that religion was very important to their lives. Utilizing a matrix-coding query and classical comparison analysis, 16 respondents’ answers were that they were more religious than their parents, and 19 equally as religious, with only two being less religious than their parents, as seen in Figure 4.3.

Figure 4.3 Highly Religious and Parents’ Religiosity

Leech and Onwuegbuzie (2007) use keywords-in-context analysis to explore themes that emerged in subjects’ narratives. Using this approach, a dichotomy surfaces among Muslim study participants, as some attribute their parents’ expressions of Islam as
more cultural and their own as more religious. One speaks of the Pakistani culture of his parents:

I think I consider religion to be more important in my life that it is for my parents. I think for them they have a very strong Pakistani culture to balance with religion. In some ways, Pakistani culture and Islam go hand in hand, but of course there are some things that do not.

Another mentions Palestinian culture:

Although I wish I could say otherwise, religion is not very important to my parents. With my father, he values culture (we are Palestinian) more than he does religion. It's different with me however, I had to strengthen my faith on my own, since I did not grow up in a religious household.

In addition, a third mentions the difference between “practicing” and “living”:

Religion defines how I live my life, and encompasses every aspect of my life. It is the comprehensiveness of it that depicts how each and every day is lived. Whereas I feel that religion is something my parents "practice."

This last comment on “practicing” highlights another key analytical point in these narratives, the frequency of use of “practice” or “practicing.” A text search query or a word count for "practice" and “practicing” found these words were used 22 times by 19 different respondents in answering, “Please contrast the importance of religion to you with the importance of religion to your parents.” Furthermore, when placed in the context of religiosity, a matrix-coding query found that only respondents who said that religion was either very or somewhat important to their life used these words. One respondent said:

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Note that these narratives are “copied and pasted” and incorporate the respondents’ grammar with spelling corrected.
To me religion is very important. I am often hard on myself for not expanding my very limited knowledge of my religion and for not practicing enough. I am a big truth seeker so seeking and gaining knowledge along with the basic practices as well as the application of morals in my daily life are the most important aspect of religion to me. My mother centers her life around religion and is getting better and better at it. My father is not really that way. He is not as practicing. You don't see so much faith in him in some ways. It seems not to be such a priority for him to practice as much as it is for my mother.

A third respondent said:

My parents are more religious than I am. They adhere more strictly to the principles of the religion and participate in ritual practices such as prayer more than I do. However, I do feel a strong connection to my religion and I want to become more religious.

In looking back to the responses to the earlier trial run conducted with “Christian” students, the term “practice” was not used. These Christian students were primarily non-liturgical, non-ritualistic Protestants. This difference may simply be a feature of the ritualism of Islam in comparison with the mainstream Protestant denominations of the United States Chon and Art (2004) discuss, rather than the difference being simply between Christianity and Islam. It would be interesting in a future study to see if there would be a comparable difference in the use of the word “practice” in a more ritualistic Christian religion such as Catholicism or in Judaism.

In qualitative research, the difference between the “values of the ethnographer or the values of the observed” are called the etic or the emic” (Vidich & Lyman, 2003, p. 61). In order to gain feedback from an emic viewpoint, I “Facebook messaged” Anisah David and asked her about the use of “practice,” along with another “Facebook friend” from this
study, Cara Karema. Both agreed to be quoted and the whole conversations are in Appendix H. Anisah responded:

But the real different between the Muslim idea of "practicing" is more to do with the idea that one simply "ISN'T" a Muslim... simply by not "practicing" what he believes. We recognize that once you have embraced the Philosophy or "understanding" of the religion's philosophy... the rest of your life you are generally in a struggle to "PRACTICE" it more thoroughly. Thus we critique ourselves as to whether we are adequately practicing the teachings. We are taught as Muslims that it will take us our entire life to practice the faith. That we will never fully succeed in this task, but it's the walk down this path of "practice" that is the goal. To embrace more & more of the practice of the teachings that were bestowed. We are taught that each person will have a personal JIHAD or struggle in this task. It is the struggle or jihad of the soul... manifested in the daily life of the individual's effort to control his or her flesh, ego & mind. To keep on the "path" of Islam... the path of daily struggle to follow the teachings.

Cara Karema is a young Muslim who describes herself on Facebook as, “Videographer / editor, Photo Journalist, writer, Member of the National Association of Black Journalist (NABJ).” Her response to my question of the meaning of practicing was similar to Anisah’s response.

When Muslim say "practice" they are trying to make a distinction between Muslims who are born into the religion and are only Muslims by name, and with the ones that are very liberal and don't cover, don't eat properly or follow the religion. Such as pray 5 times, fast, don't date and women chase, no drink, don't mix with opposite sex. It means that they are really following Islam more than by name.
In the Christian faith, the word "practice" is ambiguous. I might mean different things to different people. Practice might only mean going to church on Sundays.

In Islam, practicing is more like living the main tenets of the faith, which are more than just praying. It is also eating *halal* food, washing yourself after going to the bathroom or having sexual relationships with your spouse, it means, going to the mosque during Ramadan and fasting.

Feedback from Anisah and Cara, provides “member checks” in terms of Guba (1981) enhancing the credibility of this study. In light of these remarks it “makes sense” that the respondents who mentioned the difference in the way they practiced their faith in comparison with the way their parents’ practice were those who stated that religion was either very or somewhat important to their life.

### 4.5.2 Ingroup Identification - Life Before and After September 11

Fifty-one participants responded to the question “What was life like as a Muslim after September 11, 2001 in the United States, for you and for others?” Responses were coded, and nodes made with six the “same,” 30 “worse,” and 13 “worse for others.” A second theme in the responses using keywords-in-context analysis was of “stronger identity,” with 13 responses. All of those who developed stronger identity also said life was worse for themselves or others after 9/11. One respondent said rather straightforwardly, “I’ve felt more of a need to assert my Muslim identity and have become more conscious of my actions and how it reflects on Islam and Muslims.” This respondent was a 22-year-old female, who was highly religious, attending mosque more than once a week. She was born in the United States, and her family emigrated from India in the 1980s. Her negative experiences in being profiled at the airport, quoted earlier,

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29 After coding responses, this coded material is places into nodes within Nvivo8.
developed in her a need to defend her identity as a Muslim. Another 22-year-old female stated:

I think life wasn’t completely different but it just seemed that suddenly the non-Muslim population became more aware and critical of the actions of US Muslims. My life was not drastically altered, but I did feel more conscious of my faith. She was born in the United States and her parents emigrated from Pakistan. She was also highly religious. A third said that life before 9/11 was “easier.”

As a Muslim you weren’t questioned about your faith. You were just like everyone else. But after the events of 9/11, everything changed. You are always asked about your religion. The majority of the time the questions relate to terrorism and not to the basic tenets of the faith. This respondent was also a female, but whose family had emigrated from Saudi Arabia when she was five. Although she mentions being asked about her religion, she seldom attends mosque. In addition, a fourth describes the hypothesis of this study well; the experiences of perceived Islamophobia that this cohort has had post-9/11 have increased their ingroup identification as Muslims. “But I think I can safely say that it was because of 9/11 and the aftermath of how Islam and Muslims were being portrayed in the media that brought me closer to my religion.” This respondent was a 23-year-old male who was born in the United States after his parents emigrated from Afghanistan. He was highly religious, attending mosque more than once a week. In this section, the focus has been on increased religiosity and ingroup identification post 9/11. The majority of these young Muslims were found to be more religious than their parents were and to see their parents’ expressions of Islam as more cultural and theirs as more religious. In their world after 9/11, they described how they became stronger in their Muslim identity after responses of
Islamophobia from others and the media. Did these young Muslims feel that they were “average citizens” before 9/11?

Respondents were asked specifically, “Before 9/11 did you feel you were an average American? After 9/11, did you still see yourself in the same way? Please explain.” These responses were categorized into nodes for “Average before and after,” “Average before and different after,” “Different before and after,” and “Different before and average after.” Each response was coded at only one node.

There were 48 responses to this question with the majority (34, 70%) answering either “Average before and different after” (19, 40%) or “Different before and after” (15, 31%). Those who answered “average before and different after” had similar themes of the changes they experienced no longer “fitting in” in America.

I did feel average because America was diverse and Arabs added to that diversity. After, I felt a little different, as if people hated me because of what people in my race did to America.

Race is one aspect that might be relevant to determining for whom life changed. Forty-six respondents identified themselves racially and responded to this question. As Figure 4.4 Race and “Average American” shows, used the condensed racial groups, were seven who identified themselves as White, seven as Black, 19 as Asian, and 13 as Middle Eastern. Focusing first, on whose lives did not change no self-identified Whites were in the category of those who felt average before and after.
Ajrouch and Jamal (2007) find that Arab-Americans who self-identify with white are more highly assimilated. These young Muslims by identifying themselves as White demonstrated that they were able to “blend in” to the larger White society. This self-identification as White would be consistent with the comment of Anisah David: “I know in my own experiences these who saw themselves as "Blending in" to the White society were insulted at being "tossed out" so quickly by the whites.” One respondent said:

Before 9-11 all my friends were non-Muslims. After 9-11 and the problems I’ve faced I was forced to have friends who were like myself, i.e. other Muslims. Therefore, after 9-11, even though I was born and lived most of my life in the states I felt like I was an outsider and felt very alienated.

This respondent is a 25 year old young man whose family came to America in the 1980s and whose parents were from Egypt, and self-identified as White. His narrative is representative of the experiences of Islamophobia in America post 9/11 which “have challenged the ongoing process of assimilation” (Halim, 2006).
Still, even for those who said they were still average, the definition of “average” changed. For one thing, the experiences post 9/11 encouraged some to be more active in their faith and community.

“Yes, I felt like an average American, but after 9/11 I felt that it sparked something inside me to be above and beyond the average American. I am more active and involved in many aspects of my local community including being a certified city volunteer, a tutor, and an advocate for social change. The average American is apathetic, and I REFUSE to be average. I want to be a TRUE American, and fight for equality for ALL.”

“Yea of course. Before and after 9-11 I still knew I was an average American. In my entire life, I've felt that I would have to choose between being American and being Muslim. The US is my country. I was born here, raised here, went to school here, have all my friends, experiences, and memories here in the United States. I guess the only thing 9-11 made me do was to become more active in showing people the real face of Islam and to show people that the U.S. and Islam weren't going on a collision course with each other. Looking back, 9-11 was a big wakeup call for Muslim-Americans to come and take back their religion from those who had hijacked it on that day.”

These two participants became more active in their religion. However, one participant described his life as still average and aware of this dual identity, but now is hesitant to display his “religious pride.”

I feel like I am still an average American but post 9-11 has made me more self-conscious. I always acknowledged the fact that I belong to two identities I am a Muslim and an American. I did not feel that the two would coincide each other in a negative manner. However, post 9-11 I felt that being a Muslim undermined my
American identity and affected it. Before 9-11 I felt proud of my religion in public however, after I would hesitate before showing my religious pride in public because of the hostile reactions I sometimes received.

Ewing and Hoyler (2008) found similar themes in their research, that after 9/11 many Muslims questioned the possibility of living in both identities, and “link the emergence of their own intentional identity as a Muslim to the aftermath of 9/11 and the war on terror” (p. 82).

Focusing on those who did not feel average after 9/11, what were the effects of wearing hijab, generation, and age? Although age has not been used in this data analysis, this question refers to establishing a before and after of 9/11. How would a young person’s life be changed differently if they were an early adolescent or if they were older? In addition, how would your life change if you were a first generation, or if you had been born and raised in the United States? These groups expressed different experiences; with no first generation and only one in the youngest age group (20-21) saying, they were “average before and after” as seen in Table 4.6. All of the first generation saw themselves as average before and different after, which will be discussed later.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Average before and after</th>
<th>Average before and different after</th>
<th>Different before and after</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Generation N = 4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5 Generation N = 7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Generation N = 29</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ages 20-21 N=15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ages 22-24 N=14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ages 25-26 N=10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nineteen responses were coded as “average before and different after.” As mentioned earlier, these described a negative change from a life before where they felt like an “average American teenager,” to life in post 9/11 America.

“I did feel as if I was an average American before the tragedy. Afterwards I just felt discomfort.”

“YES! Before 9/11 I just felt as though being Muslim was not a big deal. However, after the attacks I felt that several people thought of me as not an American and as one of the terrorist.”

This next response is from a 25 year old man, first generation, who considered himself average before 9/11.

Before 9/11 I was an average American teenager. After 9/11 until today, I am part of a sub-culture seen by most as dangerous. That cannot be defined as average anymore. It’s alien and associating with the majority while upholding even a few of our values is impossible now.

One participant mentioned age as being part of this process.

Yes, I mean I was only 11 years old. I didn't recognize/realize what it truly meant being a Muslim…

In addition, looking at the effect of being older on 9/11, and having grown up in the United States as a second-generation a respondent said:

I did feel like an average American because I mostly grew up around non-Muslims. After 9-11, I felt much less welcome and a hatred for these policies developed in me, but it made me more conscious of American History and that Muslims haven't been the first group to be singled out.

What does it do to the psyche of an “average American teenager” to be seen as a “dangerous,” “alien,” “sub-culture,” to be seen as a “terrorist”? In Bayoumi’s (2008) book,
he asks a young man about life after 9/11. “We’re the new blacks. You know that right?” (Bayoumi, 2008, p. 2).

Similar to other responses, most who said they were “different before and after” spoke of the negative changes that had taken place in their lives post 9/11. Several mentioned feeling marginalized.

“No, felt the same way. Always felt my place in society was on the margins, 9-11 simply magnified that feeling.”

“I think Muslims were always discriminated against it’s just that after 9/11 it get worst.”

“Before, I was just different. After, I am something to watch.”

“No, but after 9/11 I was made to feel more alien.”

Others mentioned a need to be more active; similar to those mentioned previously who were coded as average before and after.

“Not before, and most definitely not after. I’ve always felt different because of the value system we uphold and beliefs, but after 9/11 felt more a need to defend it.”

“...Post 9/11 I felt like I had to prove that I was an American, which is pretty stupid for someone who just has a different ethnic background than their peers.”

“...Before 9/11 I had pride about being different. After 9/11 I felt the need to clarify, justify, and explain...”

For the young Muslims who navigate different worlds, how do they identify themselves? Are they Muslim? Are they American?

4.5.3 Ingroup Identification - Muslim American

Several studies have explored the notion of a dual or hyphenated identity of young Muslims in America, including the Special Issue of Applied Development Science in July of 2007 (Balsano & Sirin, 2007; SR Sirin et al., 2008; SR Sirin & Fine, 2007; Wray-
In the commentary to this edition, Balsano and Sirin (2007) describe adolescence as a time of identity formation based on the work of Erikson. In Sirin et al, the authors describe the social construction of a “historically bound” Muslim-American collective identity based on their shared standpoint post 9/11 America. For these young Muslims, 9/11 constructed or formed a collective identity and this Muslim-American identification is not necessarily problematic, indeed the stronger the identification as members of the Muslim community, the stronger the identification with mainstream America (SR Sirin, et al., 2008). One difference that Sirin, et al (2008) found pertinent to this study was that within Muslim-American identification, Muslim identification correlates with religiosity, while American identification was negatively correlated with discrimination.

Coding these responses focuses on some of the effects living in a post 9/11 America on this group of young Muslims. Beginning with nodes of “American first,” “Muslim first” and “Both” the majority of the Muslim Study respondents, (36) identified as “Muslim first.” Only three were coded “American first” and twelve were coded “Both.” Fifteen did not respond.

Analysis of responses by the Muslim respondents to the effects of living in a post 9/11 America found similar patterns of Muslim-American identity. Each participant’s narrative was coded into distinct nodes, such as “American first,” “Muslim first” and “Both.” The majority of the Muslim Study respondents (36) identified as “Muslim first.” Only three were coded “American first” and twelve were coded “Both.” Fifteen did not respond. Looking first at those who were coded “American first” only one of the three was explicit in the response. She is a second generation who does not wear hijab. “American. I feel like where you are from and raised is a primary part of your identity.”
This same respondent when talking about her experiences in public schools said that she was treated with respect, and could look back on her school years “fondly.”

Me and some Muslim friends would sometimes go talk to other kids about our faith and they would always be receptive to it, and respectful. As a Muslim, I was lucky in that my public school experience was completely normal and a time that I can look back on fondly.

A second female in this group is a first generation who wears hijab now, but did not wear hijab in high school. “It was not too bad because I wasn't a hijabi in high school.” The third also is second generation, did not, and does not wear hijab. She described her school life saying, “I feel perfectly fine expressing my religion and living my life.”

As I began looking through the other responses, several participants mentioned comparisons with Muslim and other religions. This first response was coded “both”: “I would say I'm an American and a Muslim because when I ask the same question to a Christian American he/she would say the same: American then Christian Muslim or Jew.”

Using keywords-in-context analysis another node “Comparisons with Other Religions” was added and I was again reminded that some view this as a stupid question.

“I don't think you can mix nationalism with religion. I think that a stupid question created to put your foot in your mouth. But for the sake of discussion I would answer a person this- Would you call yourself a Christian or an American first? An Indian or Hindu first. Why is it only Muslims are faced with these kinds of questions?”

“They're not mutually exclusive. I can be America and a Muslim at the same time. Also, I don't believe anyone has the right to ask me that question. Would it be fair to ask if a Christian or a Jew or a Hindu saw themselves as a member of their faith, or a member of their country?”
Both of these responses mentioned the interplay of national or country and religion. This view of nation/religion was also evident in others coded “Both.” These young Muslims were insightful in their responses, perhaps more insightful than our government at times.

“Ummm... first off, you do realize being Muslim is a belief (religion) and American is where a person is from. So I'm both... duh...”

“I would answer that my religion is Islam. My nationality is American. It's apples and oranges :)

This again demonstrates the mixture of “race” and “religion.” Our government also mixes “race” and “religion” most notably in December 2009 when the 2nd U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals upheld Turkmen v. Ashcroft, 06-cv-3745 that allows foreign nationals to be detained based on their race or religion (Fass, 2009).

Forty-six percent (N=16) of the 36 who said they were Muslim first 46% (N=16) also had narratives of Islamophobia in relation to the Patriot Act and 20% (N=7) in public schools, seen in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7 Muslim/American First and Discrimination

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Discrimination in Patriot Act</th>
<th>Discrimination in Public Schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muslim First</td>
<td>46% N=16</td>
<td>20% N=7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American First</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both</td>
<td>44% N=4</td>
<td>33% N=3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One respondent described his life, saying “Muslim. It's very hard to like a place where people hate you.” In his description of the Patriot Act, previously quoted, he described himself as a demagogue, whose life in public school was “extremely hard.” The young people who experience discrimination have developed a stronger ingroup identity and less assimilation with America. This researcher is not arguing the merits of stronger
identity or of assimilation, but is recording collective memories of these young people. The next chapter presents a review of multicultural education in a world where race and religion mix, as well as the role of education policies in the lives of these Muslims and the future of our society.

4.6 Summary

In summary, the purpose of this study was to explore young adult Muslims’ narratives of their collective memories of 9/11 during their years in public schools, as well as the consequences of the Patriot Act on their adolescence. The first research question asked about the experiences of perceived Islamophobia did Muslim students have as a result of the Patriot Act. These young Muslims spoke of experiences with airport security and wand ing, and racial profiling. They questioned the legitimacy and effectiveness of the Patriot Act and other government anti-terrorism policies and described the increased Islamophobia they experienced as a result of this policy.

The second question concerned the experiences of perceived Islamophobia these Muslim students have in public schools as well as the difference they saw in their lives as Muslims compared to other students. Then the question of how the experiences of perceived Islamophobia intersect with the variables of gender, Hijab, race, and migration generation was explored in light of assimilation theories. Experiences of Islamophobia were stronger for those wearing hijab and in the second generation.

In analysis of the third research question, the experiences of Islamophobia were found to have strengthened their ingroup identification and dual identity. Zaal, Salah, and Fine (2007) writing of the experiences of Muslims describe the “psychological cost to adolescents and young adults living under siege.” The fourth research question, “What policy implications are evident from experiences of perceived Islamophobia that can influence schools’ practices?” is explored in the next chapter.
CHAPTER 5
MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION AND PUBLIC SCHOOL POLICIES

5.1 Introduction

In today’s segregated world, our public schools are one of the few places where individuals are exposed to people of different ethnicities, social classes, and faiths. The nature of public schools provides personal contact between these diverse populations, and opportunity to reduce prejudice and Islamophobia. Within the United States, historically multicultural education has focused on the social constructs of race and ethnicity. This section will present a brief description and history of multicultural education within the public schools system, reflecting on the development of social constructs of target populations from multiethnic groups study. Focusing on the data collected from the Muslim participants, public school policies will be offered based on in the dimensions of multicultural education developed by James A. Banks, director of the Center for Multicultural Education, University of Washington.

5.2 Definition

The *Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education* defines multicultural education as “a field of study designed to increase educational equity for all student that incorporates for this purpose content concepts, principles, theories, and paradigms from history, the social and behavioral sciences, and ethnic studies and women’s studies” (J. A. Banks & Banks, 2004, p. xii). In 1948, the United Nations in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights included both racial and religious groups in the role of education:

> Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall
promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace. (United Nations, 1948)

The policy implications of this definition are to create equal opportunities for students from diverse groups. In addition, to provide the skills and knowledge to “function effectively in a pluralistic democratic society and to interact, negotiate, and communicate with people from different groups to create a civic and moral community that works for the common good” (J. A. Banks & Banks, 2004, p. xi). Banks and Banks (2004) link this focus on “equity, justice, and cultural democracy” with the “democratic ideals of the … Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights” (p. xi).

5.3 History

During the first half of the twentieth century, a group of intercultural educators were concerned with the European immigrants and their struggles in the United States (C. A. M. Banks, 2005). After the race riots of the 1940s and through World War II, intergroup education developed. The focus of intergroup education was prejudice reduction and corresponded to the migration of Blacks from the rural South to the industrial cities of the North. Contemporary multicultural education has its roots in the civil rights movement. James A. Banks (2004) describes the evolution of multicultural education in the following four phases:

1. Educators incorporated their interests and specializations from ethnic studies into curricula.

2. They realized this was “necessary but not sufficient” and attempted to bring about structural changes in schools to increase educational equality in multicultural education, as seen in Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka.
3. Women and people with disabilities focused on their inclusion into curricula and structure as demonstrated in Title IX and Public Law 94-142.

4. Theory, research, and practice relating race, class, and gender were incorporated into both practices and curricula.

5.4 Social constructs of minority groups and culture

Race was seen as a natural phenomena, whether biological or deterministic, through the first half of the twentieth century (Omi & Winant, 2004). W. E. DuBois and Robert Ezra Parks began to question the concept of race and today the “socially constructed status of the concepts of race... labeled the racial formation process, is widely recognized” (Omi & Winant, 2004, p. 7). Shifting the focus of multicultural education from the study of ethnicities to that of minority religious groups is warranted as increasingly individuals refer to their Islamic religion, and not national origin as identifiers (Halim, 2006; Modood & Ahmad, 2007). Muslims often identify themselves as: “one Ummah or community irrespective of the differences of gender, race, tribe, colour, dress, language …and accept the Quran as the guiding philosophy” (Shah, 2006, p. 218). In “Religious right and ‘the right religion,” Rossatto and Hampton (2006) describe the power of the conservative religious base has had on education and call for a review of this role or religion. “In a globalizing world, as societies merge and mingle, the increasingly multicultural and multireligious communities elevate the demand for a critical examination of the role of religions in education” (Rossatto & Hampton, 2006, p. 122).

As the political climate of the United States changed, minority groups moved back and forth from the deserving and dependent, to the undeserving deviants, to contenders as defined by Schneider (2005). During World War II and the Japanese internment, John E. Wade, superintendent of the New York City Schools, spoke out arguing that children should not be taught to hate “the enemy.”
No longer can we afford to ignore or minimize the danger that will inevitably follow if prejudice is allowed to spread unchecked. Enemies of democracy at home and abroad neither minimize nor ignore it, but utilize every opportunity to widen the gap that exists between the racial, religious, and nationality groups in American life. Let us learn to bridge the gaps between groups and in so doing defeat the enemy and strengthen democracy (Quoted by Covello, as cited in C. A. M. Banks, 2005, p. 99).

5.5 Public Schools Policy Implications

Respondents were asked specifically for recommendations to make public schools more user-friendly for Muslim students. The question asked, “If you could have one thing changed about the way your school worked, what would it be? What would you like to tell your principals or teachers?” The themes found were: awareness of cultural diversity,” “curriculum,” “halal/food/wash,” “prayer,” “listens,” and “other.” These themes were then incorporated into a framework for organizing the dimensions of multicultural education provided by J. A. Banks (2004) in Figure 5.1

Figure 5.1 Dimensions of Multicultural Education
1. The knowledge construction process relates to the extent to which teachers help students understand and investigate the implicit cultural assumptions, frames of reference, perspectives, and biases.

2. Prejudice reduction focuses on the characteristics of students’ racial attitudes and how they can be modified by teaching methods and materials.

3. Content integration deals with the extent to which teachers use examples and content from a variety of cultures and groups.

4. An equity pedagogy exists when teachers modify their teaching in ways that facilitate the academic achievement of students from diverse racial, cultural, and social class group, particularly in teaching styles.

5. An empowering school and social structure includes grouping and labeling practices, sports participation, disproportionality in achievement, and the interaction of the staff and the students across ethnic and racial lines. Banks’ dimensions were used as a framework in the analysis of the data and theme, along with other scholarly works. The respondents describe the discrimination they experienced and provided suggestions as to how public schools could change.

Much of the work of multicultural education focuses on the knowledge construction process. Hidalgo (1993) describes knowledge construction shared in professional development programs, as teachers in supportive environments can review their own cultural and social values as well as the culture of others. She calls for teachers to be “introspective ethnographers” to “decipher the cultural meanings” of this knowledge (Hidalgo, 1993, p. 105). Some of the challenges in the experiences of Muslim girls center on the wearing of the hijab or headscarf. Muslim girls also speak of being marginalized in conversations concerning dating and social
activities, which remain outside of their culture. Subedi’s work with social studies teachers in reflexive interviews concerning religion provides narratives of how they have learned through the knowledge construction process. One teacher describes how she gave her students ice cream sandwiches and then realized they contained pork by-products. Learning from this experience, she now asks about what is religious and culturally correct.

The narratives of the participants provide examples of the importance of the awareness of cultural diversity in knowledge construction. There were 13 respondents who asked that teachers and/or principals be more aware of cultural diversity. Some respondents were general in their narratives.

“I think that the teachers and principals should go through a sensitivity training for different cultures and religions just to have a more thorough understanding of their students.”

“I think educators in all positions should be aware of all cultures and religions and teach culture awareness and diversity classes.”

“I wish my principals and teachers were more educated about different cultures and religions. It’s one thing for a student to be ignorant about one of the world’s largest religions and ask things like ‘Are you an Islamer?’ But for a teacher or principal to not understand other cultures and faiths, not just Islam, that makes things harder.”

Moreover, others mentioned specific incidences.

I recall having one of my teachers telling me in front of the entire English class on 11/1/2001, “I went to a great Halloween party last night. One of the guests was dressed as Osama Bin Laden.” She then tapped my desk (I sat in the front) and said: “Oh, sorry if that offends you.” I was so uncomfortable and to this day
wish I had said something to her in front of my class. Why apologize to me? Do you think I respect that man or am related to him? I hate him as much as you do for what he has done to innocent people all over the world. I'm as disgusted by him as you are.

5.5.1 Prejudice Reduction

The role of prejudice reduction in multicultural education, previously discussed in this paper focuses on teaching to reduce prejudice, personal contact, and categorization. In a study based on intergroup emotion theory, Ray, Mackie, Rydell, and Smith (2008) found that American students expressed more anger and less respect towards Muslims when self-classified as Americans than as students. In a meta-analysis of Pettigrew and Tropp (2008) of intergroup contact and reduced prejudice, they focus on three mediators, (1) enhancing knowledge about the outgroup, (2) reducing anxiety about intergroup contact, and (3) increasing empathy and perspective taking. The narratives of the participants of this study reflect a desire for prejudice reduction through the schools. This first respondent focused on knowledge and intergroup contact. “Maybe more informative classes where there are open discussions among students.” Another forced on a desire for increasing empathy. “I guess being more open-minded could never hurt. Listening is always the best advice I can give to another human being. If you listen you will learn, and even better, you will understand.”

One thread that ran through the narratives was the desire to have done things differently being more active in reducing prejudice.
“I would just tell teachers to be more sensitive and listen to the conversations that go on in class. It would be a perfect teachable moment to correct a conversation that could be racist or ignorant.”

“I would have loved it if my principal would have let me address the entire school to let everyone know what my religion really teaches, and to compare those teachings to what they see. I would have had everyone reflect on their experiences and encounters with me, and to think whether or not I really could be seen as a ‘terrorist.’ Instead, my principal set aside the Muslim students and told us if we needed anything, to let him know, that he would protect us. It was a nice gesture, but it was an injustice to the rest of the students, not to me...”

5.5.2 Content Integration

The use and need of content integration is reflected in this study as teachers recognize the value students place on their religious identities. One teacher addresses this need by supplementing the curricula with “issues pertinent to people of both Jewish and Islamic faith” in history (Subedi, Merryfield, Bashir-Ali, & Gunel, 2006, p. 220). Curricula must validate the heritage and current events in religious identities of students. “By emphasizing the need to respect differences, schools can play a critical role in helping students understand the cultural and religious diversity that exists in their communities as well as in the world” (Subedi, et al., 2006, p. 234). Almosa (2006) found is a study of high school curriculum in Minnesota that only 2.5% of the World History textbooks covered Arabs/Muslims.

In the data, curriculum development contained elements of revisions needed in textbooks, library books, and teachers. Here are short examples of these three elements. “Information taught about various religions is incorrect. Textbooks need to be changed.”
"I want them to stop vilifying my religion and to remove books in the library that has anti-Muslim messages."

"I would've liked my history teachers in particular to just take me at my word when I tell them that they are teaching incorrect information about Islam."

Several respondents mentioned the need to have a more culturally rich curriculum in their narratives.

"I would like to tell them to have more information on the Muslim religion and beliefs."

"There weren't a lot of times where we learned about different religions and its effect on the world. I feel that by explaining the beliefs and showing its positive effects, people could have a different perspective of Muslims. They would realize that numerous philosophies of Muslims were quite progressive in the past."

5.5.3 Equity Pedagogy

*Equity pedagogy* provides for modification of teaching styles in view of different cultural groups. It allows for educators to draw open the rich culture of the students in teaching (J. Banks, 2008, p. 237). In their work on "a proactive model of school-community cooperation" Sabry and Bruna (2007) call for an Islam Open House in moving to equity pedagogy. Wilson (2006) calls for a focus in multicultural education on the teaching of the Other/neighbor in world religions, including Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. He provides examples of this Other/neighbor orientation:

Judaism: *You shall love your neighbor as yourself.*

Christianity: *Do to others just what you want them to do for you.*

Islam: *Noblest Religion is this – that you should like for others what you like for yourself; and what you feel painful for yourself, hold that as painful for all others too.* (Wilson, 2006, p. 16)
Several respondents mentioned similar aspects of commonalities of religions and of people. One described his frustration in not doing enough in this realm.

I probably should have tried to realize what was happening and not deny it and maybe try talking to my teachers about it so that those kids could understand that I'm a human being like everyone of you and I have a religion just like you have a religion, it does not mean I'm any more different from you than you are from me. Another stated, “I would want them to understand more the struggles of being a Muslim in a majority white, Christian public school.” One expressed frustration with teachers who do not present his culture.

Why don’t we teach history, politics, art and literature without taking a personal interest in discussing how Muslims do things another way? What made any westerner a credible source of information on Islamic law, history, or literature? If you do teach, please make sure you’re not being overly biased to make us Muslims look like maniac freaks from the very start.

Another participant responded that he wanted the teachers and administrators to “learn and have a little understanding about my religion and what I go through everyday life, and how my life is completely different by one word Muslim.”

5.5.4 Empowering School and Social Structure

An empowering school and social structure allows students to participate in both curricular and extra-curricular activities with reasonable accommodations as needed. Many of the concerns these participants had were with how to practice their Islamic faith in public schools, including halal, prayer, and holidays. Halal is an Arabic word for lawful or permissible, and usually refers to diet (IFANCA, 2010). As one respondent said “more halal food and place to pray and wash.” Another respondent said that he wished he had pressed even more.
“My principal wouldn't let me grow a beard, even though I had a note from the imam (like a Muslim priest) saying that it was a religious obligation. Also, I wish I pressed my school administration to provide me and other Muslim students a place to pray our Friday prayers.”

“Finding a place to pray every day or fasting...etc. But I always would still fast the month of Ramadan and try to pray as much as possible. I'd use a teacher's classroom during lunch or something”.

Within these comments concerning changes relating to halal, most were addressed around prayer, particularly having a place where they felt free to pray.

“The one thing I would like is for Muslim kids to be able to have some kind of small-designated area just for prayer, it doesn't have to be much. I know they are supposed to keep religion out of school, but it's obligatory to pray during certain points in the day, and so schools need to take that into consideration for the Muslim population.”

“I think have a designated prayer room [musalla] would have been nice. My school did not have a large Muslim population so maybe there wasn’t an immediate need, but maybe it would have been nice to have it anyways.”

“I just wish they would have provided us with an area to pray Duhr (around noon) prayer so that we wouldn't miss it in the winter.”

“I would like to have an established "prayer room" or some dedicated space for the various religions that have prayer as a constituent in the beliefs (of course with the respective areas within that dedicated space).”

Other religious observances mentioned were observing holidays and the following is interesting because of the blend of “national holidays” and “other religions.”
PRAYER TIME AND OUR NATIONAL HOLIDAYS R THINGS WE TAKE VERY DEARLY AND WOULD LIKE TO BE GIVEN THE SAME RIGHTS AS ALL OTHER RELIGIONS :o)

This overlap of nation and religion reflects the hyphenated identity discussed earlier.

The policy formation process must include this open discussion of religions within the public schools multicultural programs. Clark (2006, p. 174) advocates an open discussion of our religions including the centrality of Christian holidays, of inclusion - making the ‘Other’ us and not them. The diversity emerging from classroom conversations is a democratic practice requiring a “culture of listening and speaking to similar and different others” (Parker, 2006, p. 12).

This research calls for knowledge construction in which teachers and principals are educated on the Islamic religion and culture. The participants ask for open discussion and understanding in their classes in prejudice reduction. Content integration is called for in curriculum development of textbooks, library books, and teacher preparation. Equity pedagogy is reflected in the desire for a presentation of the rich culture of Muslims throughout history along with the commonalities of religions. An empowering school and social structure allows accommodations of halal, prayer, and holidays.

5.6 Summary

As our country becomes more diverse both along ethnic and religious lines, the competencies developed in multicultural education will be invaluable in creating a democratic culture. Public schools allow the daily contact with others as well as producing students “who are more knowledgeable about others and more skilled in social interaction” (Aboud & Levy, 1999). Current research has strengthened the work of
prejudice reduction, calling for extended contact derived from Allport’s model along with multiple classification skills training to reduce stereotypes (Cameron, et al., 2007, p. 464). (p. 13). Multicultural education will allow our young people to prepare for “competence in multiple cultures” (Plank & Boyd, 1994, p. 113).
CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

This paper has recorded the collective memories of Muslim students who were in public schools post 9/11. It is important to capture these memories to analyze for our current world and to save these narratives for future generations. Participates were recruited through Facebook Muslim Student Associations, and responded to quantitative and qualitative questions on Survey Monkey.

Young adult Muslims are different from their older generation and from other young religious adults in becoming more religious in their twenties (Pew Study 2007). This research suggests that the impact of growing up as a Muslim in the period after 9/11 has exposed these young people to Islamophobia in public schools, as well as in the larger community. The student respondents were clear that policies resulting from the Patriot Act affected them directly, particularly when traveling. As a result, the data suggests that these interactions in airports, schools and other public places led some Muslim students to identify as “Muslim first.” This study supports the literature of Rejection-Identification theories, suggesting that Islamophobia has increased their ingroup identification, at a time in their lives when they are forming their identities.

6.1 Statement of Purpose and Research Questions

The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore young adult Muslims’ narratives of their collective memories of 9/11 during their years in public schools, as well as the consequences of the Patriot Act on their adolescence. This research adds to the body of knowledge on collective memories and that of Islamophobia through the lens of CRT, as well as ingroup identification in the Rejection-Identification Model. The Pew
Study (2007) found that young adults Muslims were “both much more religiously observant and more accepting of Islamic extremism than are older Muslim Americans” (p. 6). This qualitative study digs through the “messiness” of why young Muslims are more religious and have a stronger ingroup identification, utilizing qualitative data from online surveys. This study supports the premise that the experiences of perceived Islamophobia that this cohort has had post-9/11 have increased their ingroup identification and religious participation by showing these young Muslims have higher religious observance and identification as “Muslim first.” Demographic data collected includes gender; racial/ethnic identification; country of origin; immigrant generation; Shi’a, Sunni, or another tradition. Neither age nor religious tradition was used in the data analysis. There were no patterns in different ages and the group was overwhelmingly Sunni. The independent variables include demographic data, perceived Islamophobia, and types of discrimination. The dependent variable was ingroup identity as measured by religious observance and identification as “Muslim first.”

In addition, this research project adds to the field of qualitative studies through the utilization of recruitment on Facebook and online surveys, as well as utilization of Nvivo8 in the qualitative analysis of the data. Denzin and Lincoln (2003, p. 4) describe the qualitative researcher as a bricoleur, a jack-of-all-trades, a quilt-maker who will use “whatever strategies, methods, and empirical methods are at hand.” In terms of Bazeley (1999, p. 279), using a combination of computer software to collect and analyze qualitative data allows a researcher to be a “Bricoleur with a computer.”

This project was based on the following research questions: (1) What experiences of perceived Islamophobia did Muslim students have as a result of the Patriot Act? (2) What experiences of perceived Islamophobia did these Muslim students have in public schools? (3) What are Muslim students’ views concerning the effects of
this Islamophobia on their ingroup identification? (4) What policy implications are evident from experiences of perceived Islamophobia that can influence schools’ practices? In other words, “why did the students say they were Muslim first”? In addition, what are some school practices that would assist student integration into the campus community? The student questionnaire was based on these four research questions (Appendix A) which was slightly revised from earlier online focus group questions.

6.2 Key Findings

The young adult Muslims in this study have lived much of their lives in a post-9/11, Patriot Act world. The Patriot Act has constructed Muslims as “racialized Others” (Chon & Arzt, 2004, p. 214; El-Haj, 2009, p. 10). In order to see the effects of this social construction, the respondents were asked about the Patriot Act. Young Muslims, both male and female, that participated in this study used words such as “marginalizing and scapegoating,” “judge,” “discriminatory,” “stereotyping and racial profiling” to describe the policy outcomes of the 9-11 attack. We see a group of young adults, many born in the United States, who see their lives as “second class citizens” because of a federal government policy. The participants have experienced airport security and “wanding,” which participants felt was subjective, mentioning racial profiling. Their narratives tell of their questioning the legitimacy and effectiveness of the Patriot Act and other government anti-terrorism policies. Though their views might be similar to their non-Muslim peers, what they explain that is likely different from others their age is a feeling of being singled out as different and potentially slanderous.

Discrimination in public schools post-9/11 has increased against Muslim students, creating a world in which they are outsiders looking in who can no longer fit into the majority world (SR Sirin & Fine, 2007). In this study, there were two questions
regarding public schools, the first was “Please describe your life as a Muslim in your school.” Approximately 20% of the respondents\textsuperscript{30} described discrimination they had experienced in schools. Although this is a small sample, the data suggests that these students’ experiences may be like that of many Muslim students. For 10%\textsuperscript{31} of these participants, life was not better or worse, it was just were different in public school after 9/11. These were second generation and highly religious. They struggled with the tension between practicing and living their faith and being a part of the student body, “I tried to conform as a young student, but felt more comfortable with my Muslim identity in high school.” Others mentioned specific practices that set them apart.

Previous studies have found modern Muslim young adults be more religious than older generations (PewResearchCenter, 2007). Respondents were asked, “Please contrast the importance of religion to you with the importance of religion to your parents.” A dichotomy surfaced among Muslim study participants, as some attribute their parents’ expressions of Islam as more cultural and their own as more religious. Fifty-one participants responded to the question “What was life like as a Muslim after September 11, 2001 in the United States, for you and for others?” All of those who developed stronger identity also said life was worse for themselves or others after 9/11. One participant described the hypothesis of this study well; the experiences of perceived Islamophobia that this cohort has had post-9/11 have increased their ingroup identification as Muslims. “But I think I can safely say that it was because of 9/11 and the aftermath of how Islam and Muslims were being portrayed in the media that brought me closer to my religion.” The majority of these young Muslims were found to be more religious than their parents were and to see their parents’ expressions of Islam as more cultural and theirs as more religious. In their world after 9/11, they described how they

\textsuperscript{30} Twelve respondents
\textsuperscript{31} Seven respondents
became stronger in their Muslim identity after responses of Islamophobia from others and the media. Respondents were asked specifically, “Before 9/11 did you feel you were an average American? After 9/11, did you still see yourself in the same way? Please explain.” Participants described a negative change from a life before where they felt like an “average American teenager,” to life in post 9/11 America. One respondent said considered himself average before 9/11.

Before 9/11 I was an average American teenager. After 9/11 until today, I am part of a sub-culture seen by most as dangerous. That cannot be defined as average anymore. It’s alien and associating with the majority while upholding even a few of our values is impossible now.

Respondents argued that the experiences of Islamophobia strengthened both their ingroup identification and dual identification as Muslim first.

These experiences differed along major demographic attributes: gender, Hijab, race, and migration generation. Female reported less harsh experiences of Islamophobia from the Patriot Act than males, reflecting the media portrayal of young Muslim men as terrorists (SR Sirin & Fine, 2007). Females also experienced fewer problems in public schools. Wearing hijab increases profiling at airports and the harshest narratives of harassment in schools by females. Looking at race, some non-Whites portray the Patriot Act as protecting citizens, while self-identified Whites describe the anti-Muslim bias. Asians and those from the Middle East describe feeling harassed in public schools. The respondents who are second generation experienced increased Islamophobia from the Patriot Act, and first generation experienced less discrimination in public schools. Age made little difference, with the exception that no first generation and only one in the youngest age group (20-21) said they were “average before and after.”
Although this is a small sample, the findings support Rejection-Identification Theories. No self-identified Whites felt average before and after 9/11, reflecting a “challenge to the ongoing process of assimilation” (Halim, 2006).” The majority of the respondents identified as “Muslim first,” and the young people who report experiences of discrimination have developed a stronger ingroup identity and less assimilation with America. The experiences of Islamophobia appear to have strengthened the ingroup identification and dual identity of these young Muslims.

6.3 Public School Policy Implications

Through this research project, respondents described the discrimination they experienced in school and provided suggestions for policy change that would address these issues. Their suggestions were organized into themes that were incorporated into a framework for multicultural education that includes the knowledge construction process, prejudice reduction, content integration, equity pedagogy and an empowering school and social structure (J. A. Banks 2004).

Knowledge construction addresses concerns raised by respondents regarding the lack of education among teachers and principals on Islamic religion and culture. The narratives of the participants provide examples of the importance of the awareness of cultural diversity. Respondents asked that teachers and/or principals be more aware of both cultures and faith in both the classroom and outside settings, including dating practices and wearing hijab.

A secondary narrative theme of the participants in this study reflects a desire for prejudice reduction through the schools. Respondents focused on knowledge and intergroup contact, asking for open discussions and increased empathy. Another theme that ran through the narratives was the desire for schools to be more proactive in reducing prejudice. The use and need of content integration is reflected in respondents’
suggestions that teachers recognize the value students place on their religious identities. In the data, curriculum development contained elements of revisions needed in textbooks, library books, and teacher preparation. Equity pedagogy encompasses respondents’ views on the need for modification of teaching styles in view of different cultural groups. It allows educators to draw open the rich culture of Muslims throughout history along with the commonalities of religions. An empowering school and social structure allows students to participate in both curricular and extra-curricular activities with reasonable accommodations as needed. Many of the concerns these participants presented focused on the challenges they face as they strove to practice their Islamic faith in public schools, including halal, prayer, and holidays.

These young Muslims asked for some policy changes in public schools, specifically in regards to halal. They want to be able to pray in a reasonable space, to have halal food and be able to avoid pork, to celebrate their holidays and fasts, and for the girls to be able to wear hijab. They want their teachers and administrators to be aware of their religion and culture, both in our current world and the historical advances of the Muslim world. They ask that they be able to talk and that their teachers will listen to them. In other words, they ask for the same things that all of our children ask for.

6.4 Limitations

The findings of this study were the memories of these young adults, and often our memories are biased, whether through dark lenses or through rose-colored lenses. We may remember only the good or see everything as bad, or somewhere in the middle. This survey was anonymous and the parents of these young people were not questioned to provide insight as to their experiences and perceptions of these experiences. The nature of collective memories acknowledges the group influence of memories. Much of the work of collective memories asks people of different generations to remember, and
notes that they tend to remember national events of their adolescents. This study was of a cohort, and focused on only a few years of their lives. Recruiting students through MSAs allowed for a self-selection of young adults who may have stronger ingroup identification. MSAs are predominately Sunni (Turner, 2006), just as the larger population of Muslims in the United States. The cross-analysis with the national Pew Study (2007) helped to compensate for these limitations.

6.5 Implications for Future Research

Future research is needed in both basic and applied realms. In the past five years interest in and research on Muslims and Islamophobia has multiplied, but there remains much work to be done in this area. It would be interesting in a future study to see if there would be a comparable difference in the use of the word “practice” in a more ritualistic Christian religion such as Catholicism or in Judaism. Do Muslim women now wear the hijab as a result of their experiences of Islamophobia or did they have these experiences partially as a result of wearing the hijab in high school? Aside from this work on Islamophobia, the lack of a racial self-identification among many of the respondents points to many questions that merit future research: is the lack of the specificity of the responses due to the computer based medium, the age of the respondents, some other factor, or a combination of factors. In terms of applied policy work, there is room for improvement as there are few school districts with multicultural programs that incorporate work in decreasing Islamophobia.

6.6 Conclusion and Reflection

Since 9/11, our world has been filled with a “War on Terror,” and these young Muslims have lived as the enemy, much as had earlier groups, such as Japanese Americans in the 1940s. This research has recorded their narratives of experiences of Islamophobia and analyzed their stronger ingroup-identification. The young adults will
remember September 11, 2001 as a day that changed their world and these memories are important for history. Nearly a decade later, their lives have been affected as well as the lives of not just Americans, but the world.

After World War II ended, the social construction of Japanese Americans moved from being “enemy aliens” to a “model minority” in the 1960s (DiAlto, 2005, p. 98). DiAlto (2005) attributes this move to several factors. With the internment of Japanese Americans, they were no longer an economic threat. Japan became an open market for American goods and an ally in the “fight against communism.” White academics and mainstream media portrayed Japanese Americans as the “model minority” in order to “keep other minorities, such as Blacks and Chicanos, in their place” (DiAlto, 2005, p. 99). In the 1950s and 1960s, the third generation, sansei, was encouraged by their parents to assimilate by becoming successful academically and financially (Ng, 2002).

The “War on Terror” is a different war than World War II and these are different times. We may not have a clear end to this war, and we do not have a clear enemy. Nor is there an obvious nation-state with which to build economic relations. In addition, these young Muslims have become part of that enemy. What happens to a young person, when he or she becomes the enemy? Sarroub(2002) describes the negative assimilation of Muslims taking place in public schools, evident in the following quote from a college newspaper column. “Fortunately, we have a secular public school system in America that can deprogram the children of Muslim immigrants and help them adopt more productive values” (as cited in Sarroub, 2002, p. 305).

In the narratives of the young Muslims in this study, I believe there is a move from Portes and Rumbaut's (2006) "selective acculturation" where second generation children learn the language and culture, while preserving the religious heritage of their parents. This process has been interrupted in “terrorized assimilation,” in which these
young people who were developing their identity became the enemy. The following words of one young man, express this interruption well.

Before 9-11 all my friends were non-Muslims. After 9-11 and the problems I've faced I was forced to have friends who were like myself, i.e. other Muslims. Therefore, after 9-11, even though I was born and lived most of my life in the states I felt like I was an outsider and felt very alienated.

As he feels an “outsider” and “alienated” he has withdraw, his world has changed. His narratives provides an example of Tirmazi (2008) separation strategies, holding on to the cultural heritage of his families and Islamic values and rejecting mainstream culture.

Although this dissertation used a small sample, it presents a model for “terrorized assimilation” interrupting many of these young Muslims from a process of “selective acculturation” to that of “separation strategies.” What are the implications of this separation for this Muslim generation? What are the implications for post 9-11 American society? Where will these young people be in forty years and how will the third generation be raised? Will this generation become model citizens as the Japanese Americans did or is there another model of citizenship for us to discover?

In reflection, this past week I received two packages in the mail, and contemplated this generation of young Muslims. The first package was information about the faculty workshop I will attend in August with one speaker I did not recognize, Tim Elmore. Curious I began perusing his website (2010) and found his use of homelander generation to categorize the generation of American children born after 2002. Elmore attributes this term to Thomas Howe, author of The Fourth Turning: An American prophecy (1997). Ironically, in light of this online research project, Howe (2010) chose this label through a contest on his website, LifeCourse Associates. The current generation of young Muslims feel singled out for discrimination by the policies
and actions of Homeland Security, feeling that they are seen as the enemy. It seems implausible that their little brothers, sisters, and children, the next generation will feel that they belong to the *homelander generation*.

The second package included a book for my Daughters of Abraham summer book reviews, which reminded me of the reason for recording these experiences. *Zeitoun*, is the story of Abdulrahman Zeitoun, a Syrian-American Muslim who stayed behind when Hurricane Katrina hit to protect his home and business (Eggers, 2009). While trying to rescue people from the floods in a canoe, he was arrested as a terrorist and placed in a Homeland Security jail. His children understand that Homeland Security imprisoned their father because he was a Syrian-American Muslim in post-Katrina New Orleans. Today Zeitoun is living in New Orleans, and proceeds from this book are helping rebuild the city through the Zeitoun Foundation as well as provide a forum for inter-faith dialogue.

Telling the narratives of these young Muslims helps us to see into their world, just as this book portrays the world of a Muslim in post-Katrina New Orleans. Just as this book reflects the discrimination that Zeitoun experienced, the writings of the young Muslims participants in this study provide a record of their discrimination, as they have been construed as the “enemy.” In following this generation in the future, it is hard to imagine these young people, including the children of Zeitoun, adopting the *homelander generation* label. Recording narratives of the discrimination that these young Muslims have experienced, helps us to construct a better world for them and for ourselves in which there is not a dichotomy between homelanders and enemy aliens.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hypotheses:</th>
<th>Appendix A – Study questions</th>
<th>Pew questions</th>
<th>Facebook focus group and Facebook labeling in italics</th>
<th>Survey Monkey Questions in same order. Note the order is different and logic driven in Survey Monkey</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Demographics</td>
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<tr>
<td>Are you male or female?</td>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Are you male or female?</td>
<td>Are you male or female?</td>
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<td>What college are you attending, or did you attend?</td>
<td>Not asked</td>
<td>What college are you attending (did you attend)?</td>
<td>What college are you attending (did you attend)?</td>
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<td>Where? City/Town: State:</td>
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<td>Question</td>
<td>Answer</td>
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<td>How old are you?</td>
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<td>How old are you?</td>
<td>23</td>
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<td>How old are you?</td>
<td>26</td>
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<td>What is your race?</td>
<td>Are you, yourself, of Hispanic origin or descent, such as Mexican,</td>
<td>What is your race?</td>
<td>Are you white, black, Asian, or some other ethnicity?</td>
<td>Are you Hispanic?</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Puerto Rican, Cuban, or some other Spanish background?</td>
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<td>IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED 1 ‘HISPANIC’ IN HISP, ASK: Are you white Hispanic, black Hispanic, or some other race? IF NON-HISPANIC ASK: ] RACE What is your race? Are you white, black, Asian, or some other?</td>
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<td>In what country were you born?</td>
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<td>If you were born in the U.S., in what country was your father born?</td>
<td>IF BORN IN U.S. (BIRTH=1), ASK: In what country was your father born?</td>
<td>If you were born in the U.S., in what country was your mother born?</td>
<td>Where was your father born?</td>
<td>Where was your father born?</td>
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</table>
| Where was your mother born? | Lebanon  
| Other (please specify which country) | United States  
| Pakistan  
| Iran  
| India  
| Lebanon  
| Other (please specify which country) |

| In what year did you or your family come to live in the U.S.? | IF R NOT BORN IN U.S. (BIRTH=2), ASK: In what year did you come to live in the U.S.? (If you know!) | In what year did you or your family come to live in the U.S.? | If you were born in the United States, when did your family come to live in the U.S.?  
| 1990-1999  
| 1980-1989  
| Before 1980  
| If before 1980, what year?  
| If you were not born in the U.S., when did your family come to live in the U.S.?  
<p>| 2000- |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Question</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>How old were you when your family migrated to the U.S.? (text)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990-1999</td>
<td>What are Muslim students’ views concerning the effects of this Islamophobia on their ingroup identification?</td>
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<td>1980-1989</td>
<td>If you are a female, how often do you wear the headcover or hijab?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If before 1980, what year?</td>
<td>If you are a female, When you are out in public, how often do you wear the headcover or hijab? Do you wear it all the time, most of the time, only some of the time, or never?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 2009
- 1990-1999
- 1980-1989
- If before 1980, what year?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Answer</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How often do you attend mosque? Describe your mosque.</td>
<td>On average, how often do you attend the mosque or Islamic center for salah and Jum’ah prayer?</td>
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<td>Concerning daily salah or prayer, do you, in general, pray all five salah daily, make some of the five salah daily, occasionally make salah, only make Eid prayers, or do you never pray?</td>
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<td></td>
<td>On average, how often do you attend mosque?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• More than once a week</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Once a week for Jum’ah prayer</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Once or twice a month</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• A few times a year</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Seldom</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Never</td>
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<td>Are you religious? Very religious? Somewhat religious? What do you mean by this?</td>
<td>How important is religion in your life – very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not at all important?</td>
</tr>
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<td>How important is your faith to you?</td>
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<td></td>
<td>How important is religion to your life?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Very important</td>
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<td>• Somewhat important</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Not too important</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Not at all important</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is this about the same for your parents?</td>
<td>Please contrast the importance of religion to you with the importance of religion to your parents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are you Shi’a, Sunni, or another tradition?</td>
<td>Are you Shi’a, Sunni, or another tradition?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are you Shi’a, Sunni, or another tradition?</td>
<td>Are you Shi’a, Sunni, or another tradition? Shi’a Sunni Muslim, non-specific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experiences of perceived Islamophobia</td>
<td>Societal Experiences</td>
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<td>--------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>These may relate to:</td>
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<tr>
<td>(1) What experiences of perceived Islamophobia did Muslim students have as a result of the Patriot Act?</td>
<td>What was life as a Muslim after September 11, 2001 in the United States as a whole, for you and for others?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) What experiences of perceived Islamophobia did these Muslim students have in public schools?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) What are Muslim students’ views concerning the effects of this Islamophobia on their ingroup identification?</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

What was life as a Muslim after September 11, 2001 in the United States, for you and for others?

Since the 9/11 terrorist attacks, has it become more difficult to be a Muslim in the U.S., or hasn’t it changed very much?

Next, I am going to read a list of things that some Muslims in the U.S. have experienced. As I read each one, please tell me whether or not it has happened to you in the past twelve months.

- Have people acted as if they are suspicious of you
- Has someone expressed support for you
- Have you been called offensive names
- Have you been singled out by airport security
- Have you been singled out by (other) law enforcement officer
- Have you been physically threatened or attacked because you are a Muslim, or
<p>| | | |</p>
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<tr>
<td><strong>IF R HAS NOT BEEN SINGLED OUT BY AIRPORT SECURITY ASK IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING</strong></td>
<td>And is that because it hasn’t happened or because you haven’t taken a trip by airplane in the past twelve months?</td>
<td>And thinking more generally – NOT just about the past 12 months – have you ever been the victim of discrimination as a Muslim living in the United States?</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>In your own words, what do you think are the most important problems facing Muslims living in the United States today? (answers include: Discrimination/racism/prejudice Viewed as terrorists Ignorance/misconceptions of Islam Stereotyping/generalizing about all Muslims Negative media portrayals Not treated fairly/harassment Religious/cultural problems War/U.S. foreign policy Radical Islam/fundamentalists/extremists Hatred/fear/distrust of Muslims Jobs/financial problems Lack of representation/</td>
<td>What do you think are the most important problems facing Muslims living in the United States today?</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>What do you think are the most important problems facing Muslims living in the United States today?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Patriot Act Hypotheses</td>
<td>Patriot Act Study Questions</td>
<td>Patriot Act Pew Study</td>
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<tr>
<td>1) What experiences of perceived Islamophobia did Muslim students have as a result of the Patriot Act?</td>
<td>Do you think that the government’s anti-terrorism policies single out Muslims in the U.S. for increased surveillance and monitoring, or don’t you think so? If you think Muslims are singled out, do you think the future holds?</td>
<td>What do you think about the Patriot Act? About other anti-terrorism policies of the U.S. government? Have these affected your life? How?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public school experiences Hypotheses</td>
<td>Public school experiences Study Questions</td>
<td>Public school experiences Pew Study</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(2) What experiences of perceived Islamophobia did these Muslim students have in public schools?  

<p>| Describe your life as a Muslim in your school. Did people in your high school know that you were Muslim? If so, how? If not, why not? Were you involved in your high school extracurricular activities? Did your role as a Muslim affect these activities? What did your high school teachers believe about Muslims? Please describe these. What did the other students in your high school believe about Muslims? Please describe these. Would your high school experience This was not included in the Pew Study, but would be similar to Since the 9/11 terrorist attacks, has it become more difficult to be a Muslim in the U.S., or hasn't it changed very much? Next, I am going to read a list of things that some Muslims in the U.S. have experienced. As I read each one, please tell me whether or not it has happened to you in the past twelve months. First, in the past twelve months, a. Have people acted as if they are suspicious of you b. Has someone expressed support for you c. Have you been called offensive names d. Have you been singled out by airport security (your teachers) e. Have you been singled out by (other) law enforcement officer (your principal) f. Have you been physically threatened or attacked because you are a Muslim, or not? | Describe your life as a Muslim in your school. Please describe your life as a Muslim in your school. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dual Identity Hypotheses</th>
<th>Dual Identity Study Questions</th>
<th>Dual Identity Pew Study</th>
<th>Dual Identity Facebook Questions</th>
<th>Dual Identity Survey Monkey</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>(3) What are Muslim students' views concerning the effects of this Islamophobia on their ingroup identification?</td>
<td>Do you think of yourself first as an American or first as a Muslim? Why?</td>
<td>Do you think of yourself first as an American or first as a Muslim?</td>
<td>Do you think of yourself first as an American or first as a Muslim? Why?</td>
<td>If someone asked you if you think of yourself first as an American or first as a Muslim, how would you answer?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Do you think there is a natural conflict between being a devout Muslim and living in a modern society, or don't you?</td>
<td>How do you live as both?</td>
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(4) What policy implications are evident from experiences of perceived Islamophobia that can influence schools’ practices? If you could tell your high school teachers or administrators anything about your experiences, what would it be? If you could tell the students in your high school anything about your experiences, what would it be? If you could have one thing changed about the way your school worked, what would it be? What would you like to tell your principals or teachers?

Do you think of yourself first as an American or first as a Muslim? Why?

How do you live as both?
being a devout Muslim and living in a modern society, or don't you think so?

Do you believe that Muslims coming to the U.S. today should mostly adopt American customs and ways of life, or should they mostly try to remain distinct from the larger American society?

Which comes closer to your view? Muslims coming to the U.S. today should mostly adopt American customs and ways of life [OR] Muslims coming to the U.S. today should mostly try to remain distinct from the larger American Society?

Before 9-11 did you feel you were an average American? After 9-11 did you still see yourself in the same way? Please explain.
APPENDIX B

CONVERSATIONS WITH ANISAH DAVID
Heh Jean, I'm afraid I am too old for your paper as I was a mother of two kids at that time & a community leader for the Muslims in South Dakota, when 9-11 happened. Don't even remember if my kids were in public school at that point, or if by then they were being homeschooled.

Many think everything changed for us on 9-11, but the reality is it was already changing...and we were already the targets of suspicion long before 9-11. Remember Oklahoma bombing? Who did they blame & harass for it? It wasn't the white guys who got targeted or profiled. The media & the law enforcement, including airlines targeted "Arab looking" people. Even after it was found to be "white militants" the government didn't come down on the domestic terrorist groups of white supremacists like they have come down on Muslims. That is because it was part of a long developed program. One that was put in motion way back at the time of Reagan. I remember the stuff back then, when "Think tanks" determined that ISLAM would become the "new red scare". The government determined then how to round us up & how to persuade the average AMerican to look the other way while the freedoms of fellow Americans (Muslims) would be trampled upon for "AMerica's safety".

It was then that camps where built on the Louisiana coast to house those the government intended to round up. So when 9-11 happened it wasn't new information to many Muslims. The ones who were often most shocked where those who saw themselves as "fitting in" White society. But others like myself who are Caucasian & Muslim knew that we are considered "traitors" by our fellow Americans for embracing the faith of Islam. We are not seen as Americans but as "Muslims" We are neither "White" or "Black", but
Muslim. Yet even those who follow Muslim AMerican trends, like yourself miss the issue that draws many of us. The religion isn't "Black" or "White" or Arab" or "Immigrant". It is EVERY race. I know Muslims who are Native American. I know Muslims who are Hispanic. I know Muslims who are mixed racially. Yet you do not give many of these indigenous Muslims status as AMERICAN...they should be NO different than those you classify as "African AMerican Muslim" as they too are Indigenous Muslims... some far more indigenous than any other people since they are Native AMerican! It is one thing to say "2nd generation AMerican Muslim, to distinguish those of immigrant parents, but I suspect you are failing to recognize the many races you do not have a category for. So I bring this issue up here, so as to not to make the same mistake often taking place amongst researchers.

Sincerely Ms David
Bushnell, SD

JH December 26, 2009 at 4:26pm

Thanks Anisah, thanks for the beautiful story. Being in Texas I was amazed after the Oklahoma City bombings of the presumption that it was Muslims rather than White supremacists.

AD December 26, 2009 at 10:04pm

Heh Jean, to be honest Muslims have become "gun shy" about providing any information to "outsiders" since 9-11. It was hard enough before 9-11 to get Muslims to participate with university studies due to the bias most researchers came into their research having toward Muslims, especially women.

Have you read the book by Donna White-(can't remember second half of last name)... out of Florida? It was a collection of essays & interviews of Muslim women in America, from all walks of life. Donna, like you was having trouble getting women to participate. So I
offered to "lend a hand". I made connections with my network of friends & they all sent in their recommendations of people to interview or participated themselves. Donna said she went from not having enough to having so many wonderful stories she had to choose between them all.

Perhaps we can do the same here, God willing. If you will permit me to "sique" my friends on your facebook profile (smile). I will direct who I can to you & perhaps that way you can get a good sampling.

JH December 26, 2009 at 10:18pm

Thanks Anisah, and I can't say that I blame anyone! (As a white, middle-class, middle-age person I've been hesitant about writing too much about the Patriot Act and can't even begin to understand the pressures Muslims face.) I just looked up the Face behind the veil book - I haven't read it. Several books with "behind the veil" in the title that I've looked at focus only on Muslim women as oppressed - I'll put this one on my good list to read!

I would love your help with recruiting friends. I've considered revising my research protocol further and putting the questions on Survey Monkey - thinking that might afford people more privacy. Do you think this would work better?

AD December 26, 2009 at 10:29pm

Posting of Anisah David

Salaam alaikum, I'm writing to ask if you would consider helping by participating or at least directing Muslim friends you may know, who could participate in Miss Jean's research project?

Jean is a PhD student at University of Texas at Arlington working on a paper concerning the experiences of Muslims in Public Schools post 9/11. She needs the input of 20-26 year old Muslims who were in junior high or high school post 9/11. So would you
join the group that fits you and post your answers to the discussion? Just let her know if you have any questions. When you complete answering the questions, your name will be placed in a drawing for a $20 Amazon gift card which will be delivered via email.

Jean Humphreys' profile can be found at http://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100000123676426 if you wish to learn more about who she is. I know in these times many Muslims are scared to participate in any sort of "study" or allow any information to be collected by anyone. But if we do not speak up for ourselves & share the TRUTH about our own community.... then the only ones speaking about us will be those who have negative information & wish to twist the truth. We need to step up if we want the truth to be heard. So please help Jean by participating or referring others you know who could participate. Insha Allah.

AD December 26, 2009 at 10:31pm

Let's see what happens here, now. I sent out several "mass" mailing to my facebook Muslim network. Many are activists in their own areas within the US. So it should give you a broad spectrum if even a small percentage respond.

AD December 27, 2009 at 12:55pm

Jean, I thought I'd check in & let you know I got two replies back & so I am going to attempt to post them here. Just to let you know people are reacting. Hopefully you are getting some good participation as well.

Suaad Muwajii Mohammed December 27 at 7:46am Reply

Yh I wud no probz sis but I'm not based in the states but if theirs anyway I can help then yh I'll b more than willing inshallah, you're right if people don't speak up I guess it's a shame on us Muslims, Plus the truth always outweighs everything else!

Anisa Abd El Fattah December 27 at 11:29am Reply
Anisah I will post your request to the NAMAW wall. I don't fit the criteria, but some of the other sisters might.

JH December 27, 2009 at 5:13pm

Thanks, I've tried to post a couple of different ways to answer the survey: join the group and post or download these questions and respond by email.

The Facebook group is Muslims in Public Schools 9/11 (http://www.facebook.com/home.php?ref=home#/group.php?v=wall&gid=21193628674) - which I closed to preserve privacy, so that only people that agree and join it can see the postings. Or people can send me the answers by email, since I couldn't figure out how to put anything in word on Facebook you can download them.

Here are the questions!

1. Are you male or female?
2. What college are you attending (did you attend)?
3. How old are you?
4. What is your race? Are you White, Black, Asian, or some other? Are you of Hispanic origin?
5. In what country were you born?
6. If you weren’t born in the U.S., how old were you when your family migrated to the U.S.?
7. If you were born in the U.S., in what country was your father born?
8. If you were born in the U.S., in what country was your mother born?
9. In what year did you or your family come to live in the U.S.?
10. If you are female, how often do you wear the hijab?
12. How important is religion to your life?
13. Contrast this with the importance of religion to your parents.

14. Are you Shi’a, Sunni, or another tradition?

15. What was life as a Muslim after September 11, 2001 in the United States, for you and for others?

16. What do you think are the most important problems facing Muslims living in the United States today?

17. What do you think the future holds for Muslims in the U.S?

18. What do you think about the Patriot Act? About other anti-terrorism policies of the U.S. government?

19. Describe your life as a Muslim in your school.

20. If you could have one thing changed about the way your school worked, what would it be? What would you like to tell your principals or teachers?

21. Do you think of yourself first as an American or first as a Muslim? Why?

22. How do you live as both?

Thanks and I'm open to any questions and suggestions!

Jean

AD December 27, 2009 at 8:38pm

Jean, Question 22 is the most insane question I think I have ever seen. As a sociologist I have NEVER seen anyone ask a Jew or a Christian or any other faith group such a question so why would anyone think that is a legitimate question to ask? I'm sorry but as a "daughter of the American revolution" who can trace my lineage back to the first colonies & to Native American ancestors who were on this land before any whites... it's a sick bigoted inappropriate Oh-So-white Christian sort of thing. Don't know who came up with the question but it's insulting & suggests that NO ONE but Christians have the right
to claim to be "American" while still practicing their faith. So what ever happened to the Constitution of "Separation of CHURCH & STATE? Why should Muslims have to even question their loyalties to their faith to be AMERICAN? If that is the case I, as a descendant of Native American demands that ALL Christians forfeit their religion & this land unless they practice the ORIGINAL religions of this land as practiced by Native AMericans. The same logic would apply... or perhaps it wouldn't since there is evidence that Columbus & the Christians who came after him followed the travel logs of Muslim traders who had been trading with east coast Native AMericans during the reign of the Moors in Spain. So in reality, even Muslims existed here on this land peacefully with its inhabitants before the Christians began their ethnic cleansing of Native people & forcing their religion upon them.

   My point is the question is not suitable.

   Salaam, Anisah

   JH December 27, 2009 at 8:50pm

   Hey, this is what I'm trying to get - and actually I asked these same questions to a group of "white Christians" who say they are Christian first - then Americans and that it is hard to be both!

   Maybe it would be better to just combine it with 21, or drop it altogether! I can't remember where it came from - I may have been spinning off from 21 which was a Pew question.

   AD December 28, 2009 at 4:15pm

   Will check it out when I get off work. Heading to town & to work. Will get off late tonight.

   JH December 28, 2009 at 9:57pm
Thanks so much!

AD December 29, 2009 at 6:26pm

Well that was short lived. When I went to your survey link which you listed above in a previous message to me, it only allowed me to read the disclaimer & one question that related to my age... then it said I didn't qualify & thus wouldn't allow me to go further unless of course I had gone & lied which would have skewed your results. LOL Didn't think you wanted me to do that. So I am unable to go read the new format. Sorry

JH December 29, 2009 at 8:25pm

I haven't started collecting data yet - just doing some trial runs. Here is how I changed the questions:

What was life as a Muslim after September 11, 2001 in the United States, for you and for others?

If someone asked you if you think of yourself first as an American or first as a Muslim, how would you answer?

Before 9-11 did you feel you were an average American? After 9-11 did you still see yourself in the same way? Explain. (This one was yours!)

Do these sound better? I'll probably going to send out a message tomorrow asking for people to respond to the survey. It is encrypted and will provide much more privacy!

AD January 1 at 2:57pm

Yes, much better. The thing I'd say most of all is to draw them out to say how THEY are perceiving it. Far too many researchers have come into the Muslim community with their own assumptions & them simply played with the questions & got the results they assumed would be the results. As they say ASSUME is making an ASS out of U & Me. I think you will find that many Muslims who were in the African American community
didn't experience the same shocking change, as those who were immigrants from South Asian, Arab or even European origins. I know in my own experiences these who saw themselves as "Blending in" to the White society were insulted at being "tossed out" so quickly by the whites. They assumed that they were "IN" and had previously also been willing to practice the classism & racism against the African American community. But all of a sudden they were being stomped on just as hard as the African American community has been historically. Mistreated by police and the public. "Justice" took on a new dimension since the "authorities" were the abusers and all of a sudden the immigrant (especially university elites & professionals) found they NEEDED the "token AMerican" Muslims to be up front and be the spokes people, etc. Mind you, there is a far more interesting issue going on that few researchers have even touched the tip of.... that being the schism between "Immigrant professionals" who think they SHOULD be the leaders of EVERYTHING within the Muslim community & thus impose their classism, nationalism, and Racism on the Indigenous American Muslims. Since there are more immigrants than American born Muslims, they often control the vote at Muslim institutions & unfortunately since many refugee immigrants come from societies where Classism is strongly in control -- the Immigrant professionals know how to manipulate the fears & socializations of the Old world politics to control the votes. The schisms have torn apart many Muslim organizations inside the US. Many of these "immigrant professionals" feel they are the "Real" Muslims and AMerican Muslims are not "real Muslims". It doesn't matter the age either -- I have seen where young 20 something immigrants think they "know more" about Islam because they were "Born" Muslim compared to an older "convert" American who has been Muslim for over 40 adult years! This causes a rift and is a cancer in the community. The media & govt would suggest the Muslims are "united" in some evil plan to "rule the world". We can't even organize & agree on what time the Eid prayers are to
take place across a city, let alone the nation or the world! These schisms are at the base of many aspects of what is happening in politics.

Many interesting things are happening & at times it is quite interesting seeing what is happening behind the scenes within the community, but they aren't wanting to show it to "outsiders" because they already feel bombarded. But if within the community you say there is a "Division" they will attack you for acknowledging it. It's a weird world. LOL

JH January 16 at 4:29pm

Anisah,

Just got a copy of this book and it's great! It also makes me appreciate your reaching out to me even more. I'm still waiting for people to either respond in Facebook (about 8 people have joined the group and I keep thinking that when one posts, others will follow) and/or to get approval from the UTA IRB for survey monkey. They've been incredibly slow and my chair is still in India. And I know she's busy and there are much worse things happening in the world.

Have you been tempted to go to Haiti? I just can't imagine the devastation.

And the good news - one of our sons (Jordan) proposed Christmas Eve to his longtime girlfriend (Katie) and they are getting married in June.

And the weird news - our daughter (Lauren) is married to Katie's big brother. And we get along, but have one more son and they just have the two!

AD January 17 at 12:09pm

LOL... I think that will make for some "kissing cousins". Heh, every family should have "kissing cousins". Ours did a few generations back! Used to be common in this country. On a more serious note, Congratulations on your son's engagement.
Now, as for the book. You're welcome. Glad I could help someone with their work.

As for Haiti. Yeh its tough sitting back & not going. Realize that with the current situation with transportation clogging at the port & airport, I wouldn't be much help. Also the fact that Haiti's language is FRENCH...many Katrina relief workers won't be as useful in dealing with the needs of the people & assessment. However, my son may be going this time with the same NGO I went with: Islamic Relief. He's got the Red Cross training & other training they are seeking in their volunteers.

Luckily for me, I don't have television so I don't see the daily news. Nor do I have newspaper subscriptions, so the headlines aren't there reminding me. But I still have the sense I should help, since I have been in disaster relief before & I know how to "rough it" at levels I never thought were special until I was down in Katrina. Irony is, it was due to my hobby of historical re-enactments that gave me skills most don't have. If one of the agencies asked me to come on board & help them, I would go. I know I would. But this time, I don't think I will go seeking them to find a spot.

JH February 4 at 6:30pm

Anisah,

One of my professors was complimenting the way my questions have changed and I told them I made a wonderful friend in the process, who helped me make them better. Would you mind if I quote from our messages? And if that is ok, would you mind if I use your name? Just let me know what you would prefer.

I'm getting closer, just continuing to recruit more participants. How did the job interview go?

Thanks again for all your help!
Jean

AD February 4 at 6:42pm

Both are ok...quoting & mentioning my name.

Don't know regarding the job interview. First level of interviews & I was told the pool of candidates is large. SO not keeping my hopes up.

JH February 4 at 6:46pm

Thanks, I just put a reference letter in the mail for a friend’s husband who’s been without a job for 18 months. BTW Do you watch Bill Moyers? I just finished watching last weeks and enjoyed this perspective on jobs and the administration.

RICHARD TRUMKA ON LABOR

AFL-CIO president Richard Trumka joins Bill Moyers on the JOURNAL to talk about why he thinks labor remains relevant, how labor has fared thus far under the Obama presidency, and the role he envisions for unions in the future.

http://www.pbs.org/moyers/journal/01292010/profile.html

AD February 4 at 6:53pm

Interesting. Will have to check it out.
APPENDIX C

SOCIOLOGY FACEBOOK RESEARCH
Do you think of yourself first as an American or first as a Christian? Why?

Christian

Definitely a Christian because no matter where I live or was born, I am a Christian in this world and in the next.

A Christian because where I was born has no real effect on the life that I am living, whereas my belief system does.

I definitely see myself more as a Christian than an American. The fact that I am a Christian is not just something about me it is ingrained in me and describes my very being.

I think of myself as a Christian first but I also strongly identify with being an American. I still believe in the foundations of America as a "Christian-nation" in which case being an "American" would also, in a sense, be saying "I am a Christian."

Obviously times have changed and our history books are quickly being rewritten.

I think of myself as a Christian first because we are called to be in the world and not of it.

I think of myself as an American Christian because that is what I am.

I think of myself as a Christian first and as an American second. I think.

Wow, I have never consider that question before. However I would have to say I consider myself a Christian first. This is because I think regardless of what my country stands for I have to stand for Christ above all.

I first think of myself as a Christian. No matter what my citizenship is, my eternity is with God. Our time here is nothing compared to the large scheme of things. Our relationship with God is our main purpose of our existence.
I think of myself as a Christian first and foremost. No matter where I am, whether it be in America or living in China, I will always think of myself as a Christian first. Being a Christian is my life. I am very proud to be an American but, it’s not my life.

I think of myself as a Christian, than an American. A Christian has more power to touch many lives to help others change their lives to God. An American can only support, respect, and agree of the circumstances of this nation. But as a Christian I believe I have the power to touch many lives, and bring them to God. An American is just a proud supporter. A Christian can make a difference in others.

I think of myself as a Christian first. I will always be a Christian, whether I’m leaving in America, Europe, Africa, Germany, or even the countries where you can't openly practice it. However, I'm only an American because I was born here. If I was born elsewhere, I would take on that name and title, unless I decided to move or change it. However, I will always be Christian, wherever I go.

I was born an American before I was born again as a Christian, but I think of myself as a Christian first because God created me to serve him.
APPENDIX D

JEAN HUMPHREYS' FACEBOOK WALL
Muslims in Public Schools 9/11

Student Groups - Academic Groups

I'm working on a paper about the experiences of Muslims in public schools since 9/11. Would you post your answers to the questions and spread the word to others! This group will be close January 31, 2010. After you answer the questions, your name will be placed in a drawing for four $20 Amazon gift cards which will be delivered via email.

January 4 at 11:51pm

Hi, I'm moving my study questions to survey monkey so you won't have to post on Facebook. BUT I'm waiting to get approval from UTA's IRB for this change. I caught my chair in London and she submitted her approval, but it didn't clear. The board won't accept her email, since she didn't check the box. She's in India for the month - with sporadic email. When approved, I'll send out the link to my survey. Thanks!

January 13 at 3:45pm

Thanks for those that have asked! I'm still waiting for IRB approval. My chair was able to click the box, but then I was asked for something else by email from the IRB. Replied with the info, and didn't get a response. Called today and was told I need to resubmit it to my chair. I reminded them that my chair had already approved it, but alas I'm waiting again! When approved, I'll send out the link to my survey.

January 20 at 12:54pm

Hi,

I'm writing my dissertation about the experiences of Muslims in public schools post 9/11 and need your input. If you are a Muslim between 20-26 and attended public school post 9/11, please complete this survey https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/Q3VRYXH. I will compare the results with broader
surveys from Gallup and Pew as well as stories of individuals. This survey should take about 20 minutes and is encrypted with 128 bit encryption. Neither IP nor email addresses will be collected. Your thoughts are extremely valuable and will hopefully help to provide policy implications for public schools. If you have any questions please contact me, jean.humphreys@mavs.uta.edu.

Thanks so much for your time!

Jean Humphreys

PhD Candidate Public and Urban Administration, University of Texas at Arlington.
APPENDIX E

CONVERSATIONS ABOUT PRACTICE
"Practices"

Between Anisah David and You

Jean Humphreys March 24 at 7:14pm

Anisah,

Glad you are enjoying genealogy - my mom was a genealogy freak! I'm analyzing my responses now and noticed that many used the term "practice" - "Religion defines how I live my life, and encompasses every aspect of my life. It is the comprehensiveness of it that depicts how each and every day is lived. Whereas I feel that religion is something my parents "practice"." And "To me religion is very important. I am often hard on myself for not expanding my very limited knowledge of my religion and for not practicing enough."

In my Protestant Christian background (Baptist), I don't think I would see the word practice used like this and my thought is that it may be a function of a more ritualistic religion. I'm betting that I would see this used more within Christianity among Catholics than Baptists, thinking it is just a reflection of rituals. I can't find anything scholarly written on this and wanted your gut feeling. Any thoughts?

Thanks again, Jean

Anisah David March 29 at 5:56am

Yeh, "practice" relates to the daily embracing of the religion. Not just the 'ritual' prayers that you may be thinking of. But also the dress of a Muslim (i.e. complying with the religious laws as it relates to "Loose fitted clothing that does not reveal the areas of the body we are to conceal -- regardless of whether male or female"). Also it relates to "practice" as in dietary practices. Praying before one eats, drinks, walks out the door, walks in the door... little "mundane" prayers of recognition that we can do NOTHING as flesh without the blessings we are bestowed. Prayers (i.e. dua) asking for protection, but
not only protection but recognizing that what happens to us during each endeavor is "God's will" and accepting that.

When they say "practice" they aren't speaking of simple rituals. A Baptist can claim to be Baptist, but that doesn't really mean he IS a practicing Baptist, if he is not following the teachings & beliefs that being Baptist encompasses. What makes a Baptist different ideologically from a Lutheran? Apparently there is a difference since they do not claim to be the same. Simply putting one's name on a church roll isn't what makes a Baptist. Nor simply being dunked (i.e. Baptized). So what makes one a "practicing" Baptist? Is it that they pray? Well so do Lutherans, Presbyterians, etc. Is it that they believe in Baptism after a certain age? So do many of the Protestant groups. So there is something else that makes a Baptist. But the real different between the Muslim idea of "practicing" is more to do with the idea that one simply "ISN'T" a Muslim..... simply by not "practicing" what he believes. We recognize that once you have embraced the Philosophy or "understanding" of the religion's philosophy... the rest of your life you are generally in a struggle to "PRACTICE" it more thoroughly. Thus we critic ourselves as to whether we are adequately practicing the teachings. We are taught as Muslims that it will take us our entire life to practice the faith. That we will never fully succeed in this task, but it's the walk down this path of "practice" that is the goal. To embrace more & more of the practice of the teachings that were bestowed. We are taught that each person will have a personal JIHAD or struggle in this task. It is the struggle or jihad of the soul... manifested in the daily life of the individual's effort to control his or her flesh, ego & mind. To keep on the "path" of Islam... the path of daily struggle to follow the teachings.

It's how do you as a Muslim handle ....

(1) your relationship with your Creator

(2) poor in your neighborhood
(3) comply with the lands of the land
(4) act toward your neighbors
(5) act at work toward coworkers & employer
(6) act toward your parents, children, grandparents, spouse
(7) the dietary regulations in Islam
(8) the dress regulations in Islam
(9) Racism
(10) Nationalism
(11) Classism

and on & on. These are all aspects of Islam. They are the "practices" of the religion. It's what makes a Muslim question their "practice" of their religion. How well one controls his or her anger also is important in the practice. (One of my hardest jihads).

So when they say it’s "every aspect of my life"... they really mean it. Few Baptists or Lutherans would see being an environmentalist as part of their religious duty. It's just now being debated by some segments of the Christian community. Yet even here in South Dakota, at our local mosque the sermon last fall was about our Islamic duty to the environment. How it is our religious duty to be concerned for the environment & global warming & how we as Muslims are obligated to work to save the eco system even in small steps such as recycling & reducing our carbon footprint.

So when a Muslim speaks of "practice" they may be speaking of the fact they are not doing ENOUGH for others... they may not be serving the larger Ummah or community they live in. Thus their jihad may be that they are complying solely with their five prayers & hijab obligation, but failing to incorporate some of the other aspects that they recognize are also upon them. Each level is only that... a level of practice. We generally see ahead
of us that we still have a long way to go, to climb those stairs toward fully practicing the religion in its fullest context. So you hear it in the responses of the people.

In fact, it was something that Donna noticed when she was interviewing the women for her book. She once told me that prior to interviewing all the women, she had thought she was "quite active" in her community. But said that after her experiences with the various Muslim women, she came to believe she was falling short of what she should be doing. It was due to this difference in philosophy toward "practice", I believe. As Muslims we encourage each other in the faith to push the envelope of "practice". And since the religion teaches that it is a "Way of life" we all recognize its not merely a simple act of "I believe". It's only the first step. From there it is the act of "Good works" that also must be embraced.

Hope this helps.

Jean Humphreys March 29 at 11:47am

Thanks again. Your reflections of a level of practice is a great visual. Words are so interesting - in my mind my Catholic friends would talk about how they "practice" their faith, and my Baptist friends would talk about how they "walk the walk" or something like that. Both could mean everything from religious rituals, to ethical dimensions, environmental concerns, concerns for the poor, prisoners, justice issues.... And we all struggle - with anger - or greed - or do you buy a products from China or reuse something else. There are so many parts of my life that I fall short in. Thanks for your friendship!

Question for you!

Jean Humphreys March 27 at 2:02pm

Cara,

Your paper is quite impressive and well done!
I'm analyzing my responses now and noticed that many used the term "practice"
- "Religion defines how I live my life, and encompasses every aspect of my life. It is the
comprehensiveness of it that depicts how each and every day is lived. Whereas I feel that
religion is something my parents "practice."" And "To me religion is very important. I am
often hard on myself for not expanding my very limited knowledge of my religion and for
not practicing enough."

In my Protestant Christian background (Baptist), I don't think I would see the
word practice used like this and my thought is that it may be a function of a more
ritualistic religion. I'm betting that I would see this used more within Christianity among
Catholics than Baptists, thinking it is just a reflection of rituals. I can't find anything
scholarly written on this and wanted your gut feeling. Any thoughts?

Thanks, Jean Cara Karema March 27 at 11:50pm

Thanks for asking,

When Muslim say "practice" they are trying to make a distinction between
Muslims who are born into the religion and are only Muslims by name, and with the ones
that are very liberal and don't cover, don't eat properly or follow the religion. Such as pray
5 times, fast, don't date and women chase, no drink, don't mix with opposite sex. It
means that they are really following Islam more than by name.

In the Christian faith the word "practice" is ambiguous. I might mean different
things to different people. Practice might only mean going to church on Sundays.

In Islam, practicing is more like living the main tenants of the faith, which are
more than just praying. It is also eating halal food, washing yourself after going to the
bathroom or having sexual relationships with your spouse, it means, going to the mosque
during Ramadan and fasting.
Just my opinion

Cara

Jean Humphreys March 28 at 4:07pm

Thanks Cara, that makes sense to me! Would you mind if I quote you? And if so, would you mind if include your name? Things like this are so interesting to me. I don't think you would get the word in Christianity much outside of Catholics - are they practicing... Protestants might say - do you walk the walk? live the life? Something like that. (Or at least that's what I would bet!)

Jean

Cara Karema March 29 at 12:03am

Sure you can quote me I don't mind

Cara Karema March 29 at 12:04am

P.S. You should call if you need an answer I could go into more details next time.

I am lazy about writing long messages __________ [phone number omitted]

Let's meet up sometime in the near future

Jean Humphreys March 29 at 10:32am

Thanks, let me know when you are coming up to DFW!
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BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

After earning her Masters in sociology in 1981, Jean Surratt Humphreys has taught at Dallas Baptist University for nineteen-years, where she is director of the sociology department. Her teaching fields are introduction to sociology, juvenile delinquency, sociology of religion, and social psychology among others. She has conducted research and presented papers on euthanasia, religiosity, public school policy, restorative justice, and pedagogy. She remains involved with the Daughters of Abraham group, which began this thought process.