Arab-Americans and Muslim-Americans Then and Now: From Immigration and Assimilation to Political Activism and Education

by

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of the Worlds" (Qur'an 6:162). "My Lord! grant me that I should be grateful for Thy favor which Thou hast bestowed on me and on my parents, and that I should do good such as Thou art pleased with, and make me enter, by Thy mercy, into Thy servants, the good ones" (Qur'an 27:19). Amen.

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ABSTRACT

Arabs and Muslims live within the United States surrounded by misconceptions about their culture and religion, both of which seemed foreign to most Americans. Arabs, like many immigrant groups who came to the United States, were not exempt from racist accusations. They were viewed as a backward, violent, desert-dwelling people. The media and Hollywood did their part to ensure that Arabs and Muslims on the big screen perpetuated these misconceptions through their movies, cartoons, and TV characters. After the attacks on 9/11, many Americans realized, for the first time, how little they understood Arabs and Muslims. This led many to raise questions about curricular needs concerning Arabs, Muslims, and the Middle East, as well as Arab and Muslim Americans living within U.S. borders. dissertation attempts to highlight Arab and Muslim history in the U.S. through the course of immigration, assimilation, and political activism. It addressed the stereotypes that have haunted Arab and Muslim-Americans pre and post 9/11 and their impact on Arab and Muslim-American studies within the current secondary social studies curriculum. This mixed methods study consisted of 101 surveys of secondary social studies teachers from across the U.S. and contextual analysis of five U.S. history textbooks. A final section is dedicated to resources that help provide a more balanced perspective of these groups.

Keywords: Arab-Americas, Muslim-Americans, stereotypes, education, social studies curriculum, multicultural education

CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

"Tell me, what are the first things that come to mind when you think of Arabs?" It is a question that I have asked on many previous occasions, whether it was to begin a unit on Arab immigration in my U.S. history classes, or as an introduction to a presentation to teachers at the Arab-American National Museum. On this particularly day, the students in my Modern Middle East class were beginning a unit on Arab and Arab-American stereotypes and biases. I wrote the word *Arab* on the board and the class began shouting out responses that I had become accustomed to in this type of a class discussion. Their responses usually included a combination of things like sand, desert, hookah, oil, holy lands, religion, Saudi Arabia, Mecca, Iraq, and the Persian Gulf. Today's class was no different.

I tried to keep up with the feverish pace of the responses, writing each on the board.

"This is an interesting list you've developed," I said, as I wrote the last few responses, "but it's not complete. You're missing some very important items." The class sat quietly as several of the students looked at each other puzzled. I realized that my comment had left them confused, and they needed more direction. "Can you think of any Arab contributions or perhaps famous Arabs whom we can add to this list?" After waiting a few moments one student responded, "I think it was built by Arabs, but I'm not sure. Wasn't the tallest tower in the world built in an Arab country?" "Yes, it was," I responded, "in the United Arab Emirates, actually. That is a good addition to our list. Give me some more items. Tell me about some famous people." Without hesitation, one student shouts, "Muslims!" I heard three students simultaneously call out "Osama"

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bin Laden" from across the room, which was quickly followed by "Saddam," from several other students. Moments later, I heard another student say "Mohammed."

I wrote the students' responses on the board and then turned to address the class. "Anyone else have anything to add?" I asked. As I turned to face the class, I was met with confused faces. I could see them thinking, almost aloud, "Who else is there? Whom have we missed?" I look at the faces staring blankly at me. "I'm a little insulted that I didn't make your list of famous Arabs or Muslims, for that matter," I said with a joking smile. "Although, judging from this," as I pointed to the names of bin Laden and Saddam, "I don't think I want to be on it." One of my more outspoken students raised her hand and said, "Come on, Ms. Eraqi. You're American! Why would we add you to *that* list?" The tone of her voice was gentle, but serious, as if to say, "Ms. Eraqi, how could we associate you with *these* people? With *these* Arabs?" Without hesitation another student declared, "She is Arab, though," stressing the fact that I, at the very least, had an ethnic connection to the people on the board.

The comments quickly led to a series of whispers amongst the students. Although I had done this activity many times before, the comments still left me speechless. How had this happened? How was it that my only options were to be an Arab or an American? How could students, some of whom I'd taught for years, suddenly have classified me in such a manner? I knew their comments were not meant to be hurtful, but I still found myself disappointed. My facial expressions must have shown my disappointment because silence quickly filled the room. I looked up at the class and said, "Can't I be Arab and American? An Arab-American?" "If you want, I guess you can be both," said one of my students, "but I don't know any famous Arab-Americans," and after a short pause added, "other than you, of course," with a smile. "Of course," I said in teasing agreement with a grin on my face. "Ms. Eraqi," another student called,

"I don't know any famous Arab or Muslim-Americans." "NONE?!" I asked, with a shocked voice, "You only know three Arabs? Not even a single Arab-American? That's not possible," I said looking at my students.

A student from the back of the class raised a hand and said, "Well, we know those Arabs because they did big things, like historic, life-altering things." Several students around the room nodded in agreement. "Right," another student chimed in, "we don't know famous Arab or Muslim-Americans, whatever, because, I guess we don't know what they did. I mean, I'm sure they've done some good things, but I don't know what." "Yeah," I heard a student from the middle of the group exclaim, "Who are famous Arab-Americans?" he asked, looking to other students for guidance. "What have Arab and Muslim-Americans done?" he asked, as he looked back at me.

I could hardly contain my excitement about the comments and questions raised by the students. I paused and smiled before I continued. "That's an awesome question," I responded, my smile now stretched from ear to ear. Their individual questions and the way they aided and supported each other in their own hunt for information is every teacher's dream. Trying to hide my excitement, I put down the marker, and turned towards the class. Still smiling I said, "Let's find out."

The need for Arab and Muslim-American studies was never more real than after the attacks on September 11, 2001 when millions of Americans realized for the first time how little they knew of the Middle East, Arabs, and Muslims. As students tried to understand the events, they repeatedly asked questions that many adults struggled to answer. Misunderstandings about Arabs and Muslims created unwarranted attacks, both verbal and physical, against Arab and Muslim Americans living in the United States (Ibish, 2003). Muslim-American loyalty was

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openly challenged in the media, and a number of mosques, homes, and businesses were destroyed. The catastrophic events of September 11 had a profound impact on millions of Americans' everyday lives, and they also impacted the educational system, as educators sought to include more historical and multicultural lessons on the Middle East and Islam.

It is important to note that multicultural education is not a new study. A Google search reveals more than 28.8 million results on everything from multicultural curricula, teacher education programs, immersion programs, and professional development, not to mention a vast number of scholarly articles, journals, blogs, books, teaching materials, activities, lesson, and unit plans. Much of the research in the field of multicultural education over the last fifty years has focused on including Hispanics, African-Americans, Native Americans, and Asian Americans in curriculum, due in large part to the civil rights movements of the 1960s (Banks, 1999; Ladson-Billings, 2004).

Multicultural education in its purest form is a "movement designed to empower all students to become knowledgeable, caring and active citizens in a deeply troubled and ethnically polarized nation and world" (Banks, 1993, p.23). From its inception, multicultural education has challenged teaching practices to emphasize a study of multiple perspectives; in other words, understanding that there are numerous aspects from which to study an event, concept or even a curriculum. From a social studies prospective, this requires a movement away from a one-sided version of history and towards the studying of historical events from numerous viewpoints.

Social history is multicultural history. Its exploration of the United States is based on the notion that all people contribute to making a nation, not just presidents, generals, inventors, and business leaders. For social historians, the history of the United States is the history of people: Africans, Latinos, Native Americans, the Irish, Poles, Slavs,

Italians, Germans, Asians, Jews, the English and others, their relationships to one another, and to our society as a whole (Singer, 2009, p.153)

For Arab-Americans and Muslim-Americans, multicultural education requires the inclusion of their contributions throughout history. The social history of Arab and Muslim-Americans is important in helping students dispel the many myths, stereotypes, and biases that exist. The inclusion of Arab and Muslim-American history gives voice to the millions of Arab and Muslim-Americans who have positively contributed to the development and growth of the United States. Unfortunately, this history is often excluded from textbooks and the classroom despite the number of resources on Arab and Muslim-American contributions. However, Arab and Muslim-Americans, like their Arab and Muslim ancestors, have made and continue to make great achievements in a variety of fields, such as, medicine, science, math, sports, politics, business, education, and entertainment.

Like many immigrants, Arab immigrants have been entrepreneurs and inventors. Early Arab immigrants invented the first ice cream cone, and they later established the Joy Cone Factory, one of the America's largest ice cream cone producers. Arab-American, John Zogby, founded Zogby International, a major polling company. Arab-American, Paul Orfalea, established Kinko's, the largest international copy services chain (Kasem, 2005). Contributions within science and medicine include that of actor and Arab-American Danny Thomas, who established St. Jude Children's Research Hospital, one of the leading children's cancer research hospitals in the country. One of St. Jude's major fundraising contributors is also Arab-American, the American Lebanese Syrian Associated Charities (Kasem, 2005; Arab American National Museum, n.d). Arab-Americans have contributed to science and medical research, in particular, Dr. Michael DeBakey, inventor of the heart pump, and geologist, Dr. Farouk el-Baz, who

"helped plan all the Apollo moon landings and later pioneered the use of space photography to study the Earth" (Kasem, 2005, p. 8). Arab-Americans have served as presidents, CEOs, and CFOs of major companies, including Pan-American Airlines, Ford Motor Company, and Morgan-Stanley.

For centuries, Muslim-Americans have also made great contributions. Some of the earliest documented Muslims in America were African-Muslim slaves. Many of these African-Muslim slaves continued to practice Islam in the United States, teaching it to their descendants, and establishing some of the earliest Muslim-American communities (Austin, 1997; Diouf, 1998; Muhammad, 2013). The story of Bilali Mohammed, a slave, who helped organize other slaves to defend Sapelo Island, off the coast of Georgia, from British attacks during the War of 1812 is notable. (Austin, 1997; Muhammad, 2013). Muslim-Americans continued to actively contribute to American society well into the 20th and 21st centuries. Activists, such as Malcolm X, greatly influenced the civil rights movement in the United States. Muslim-American comedians such as Preacher Moss, Mohammed Amer, and Azhar Usman have used their talents and diversity to challenge stereotypes about Muslims and Muslim-Americans (Kalin, 2008). So too has former Miss Michigan and Miss USA, Muslim-American, Rima Fakih. Internationally renowned Muslim-American, Dr. Mehmet Oz, has made many contributions to the medical world and is the host of his own medical TV show (Scheifer & Ahmed, 2013). Another internationally recognized Muslim-American is Fareed Zakaria who is the host of CNN's Fareed Zakaria GPS, an editor-at-large for Time Magazine, and a columnist for The Washington Post (Scheifer & Ahmed, 2013).

Arab and Muslim-Americans have served within the military and as political servants, activists, poets, artists, Emmy award winning actors and actresses, and sports icons (Kasem,

2005). They have won Nobel Peace prizes. Their contributions to the United States are too numerous to include on a single list, and yet most of their achievements go unrecognized. Their contributions are important not only to the history of Arabs and Muslims, but also to all Americans. The dynamic role these two groups have had in science, education, geography, history, and exploration should not be underestimated. Teaching and learning about their contributions will lead to true multicultural education, one that allows students to study and analyze historical events from multiple perspectives. Long held stereotypes that Muslims and Arabs are of a foreign religion and culture, which do not have a place within the American tapestry will be disproved. Arab-Americans and Muslim-Americans have contributed to the history and success of the United States. Arab and Muslim-Americans will be better understood as a people, through a truly a multicultural curriculum.

Statement of the Problem and Significance of Study

The present work is designed with the goal of expanding multicultural and social studies education, specifically about Arab and Muslim-Americans. Multiculturalism was initially intended to reform curriculum and teacher training programs. My research focuses not on the need for multicultural education or teacher training, but on the actual inclusion of multicultural Arab and Muslim-American studies in the secondary social studies curriculum. My research also centers on critical multicultural education as a form of social justice education. Little has been written about the teaching of Arab and Muslim-American cultures, despite the growth of the Arab and Muslim-American populations within the United States. A plethora of resources for teaching Middle Eastern and Muslim traditions exists, but many of these resources are designed for world or global history courses. In U.S. history courses, Arabs and Muslims are frequently referenced in very specific contexts, such as during wars and conflicts, which emphasize

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stereotypes of Arabs and Muslims as violent and aggressive. This further demonizes Arab and Muslim-Americans and is counterproductive. Instead, what is needed most is an adjustment to how and when Arab and Muslim-American culture, history, and traditions are included in the curriculum, as well as resources to help educators achieve those goals. As such, I plan to contribute to current resources by including materials on Arab and Muslim-American studies that can be used within existing social studies classes at the secondary level.

Research Questions

The major objective of this study is to understand Arab and Muslim-American multicultural education in secondary public school social studies courses. Several questions guide my research:

- 1. To what extent are Arab and Muslim-American history, culture, and positive contributions included in American textbooks and school curricula?
- 2. How are schools addressing biases against Arabs and Muslims?
- 3. What difficulties do teachers experience when incorporating Arab and Muslim-Americans history, culture, and positive contributions in social studies lesson plans?
- 4. Do teachers demonstrate a need for additional resources when teaching about Arab and Muslim-Americans in public schools across the United States?

Methodology

The focus of this research required an in-depth analysis of the inclusion of Arab and Muslim-Americans' history, culture, and positive contributions within the social studies curriculum, which is unique in every state. To do so, mixed methods research techniques were used to collect and analyze data from the results of one hundred and one public school social studies teachers from the United States, who were surveyed from November 2012 to January

2013. The purpose was to understand if and how they included Arab and Muslim-American studies in their classes.

The surveys collected both quantitative and qualitative data to gather information specific to the coverage of Arab and Muslim-American history, culture, and authors in textbooks and school curricula, as well as positive contributions made by Arabs and Muslims. In addition to the surveys, a textbook analysis was conducted of five commonly used secondary social studies textbooks that are published by the top publishing companies. The textbooks were analyzed to understand the inclusion of Arab and Muslim-Americans.

Mixed survey data were also collected to analyze school discussion of biases against

Arabs and Muslims, difficulties incorporating Arab and Muslim-Americans in social studies
lesson plans, and the need for additional resources on teaching about Arab and Muslim
Americans within public school curricula across the United States. Finally, the questions
guiding this research explored the extent to which students at the secondary level studied Arab
and Muslim-Americans and Arabs and Muslims in the world.

Mixed Methods Research Strategy

The current study was based on mixed methods strategies. Mixed methods research, according to Creswell (2009) "is an approach to inquiry that combines or associates both qualitative and quantitative forms (Creswell, 2009, chapter one, fifth paragraph). Through mixed methods research, "the researcher converges or merges quantitative and qualitative data in order to provide a comprehensive analysis of the research problem" (Creswell, 2009, chapter one, thirtieth paragraph). While there are multiple facets to mixed methods research, the current study utilizes a concurrent transformative approach.

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There are several justifications for this. First, concurrent transformative strategies utilize two concurrent data collections: qualitative and quantitative. This provides the researcher with the ability to utilize multiple sets of data, emphasizing either qualitative/quantitative data sets or both sets equally, to address the research questions. Concurrent transformative strategies also allow data sets to be "integrated during analysis or possibly during interpretation phase" (Terrell, 2012, p. 272). According to Terrell (2012), concurrent transformative strategies strengthen research by providing data from multiple perspectives, which "offsets weaknesses inherent to one design by using both" and "allows researchers to expand an understanding from one method to another or converge or confirm findings" (p. 272).

The current study uses mixed methods to explore and understand the relationship between numerous variables that affect Arab-American and Muslim-American multicultural studies with the secondary social studies curriculum. These variables included stereotypes and biases towards Arab and Muslim-Americans, the inclusion of Arab and Muslim-American history, culture, authors, and positive contributions in textbooks and school curricula, as well as resources on Arab and Muslim-American studies. The examination of these variables was meant to further determine whether or not there was a lack of Arab and Muslim-American studies within the secondary social studies curriculum and the implications of students' views of Arab and Muslim-Americans.

Surveys. The current study collected data through surveys. Gideon (2012) describes a survey/questionnaire as "an effective tool for obtaining information on a variety of topics such as feelings, attitudes, behaviors, beliefs, values, potential actions, decision-making processes, needs, lifestyles, sense of social belonging, consumption and shopping patterns, or even simple demographic questions" that can utilize both open and closed-response questions (p. 92).

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Survey research on multicultural social studies education has focused predominately on the need for multicultural education, creating multicultural curricula, and teacher training programs and participants. However, several studies specific to multicultural social studies have used surveys as a way of collecting data from teachers. Some have utilized both open and closed-response questions based on the Likert Scale, within the same survey.

Tim Fry (2000) conducted a study of pre-service social studies teachers and their perceptions of multicultural education. Fry's (2000) research collected survey data from 101 preservice social studies teachers from six Kansas universities. The survey comprised of 25 Likert-scale questions and collected data on pre-service teachers' perceptions of multicultural education, perceptions on the "connection between the goals of multicultural education and the social studies," as well as multicultural concepts perceived to be "essential for inclusion in social studies classrooms" (p. 8). The results from Fry's (2000) study determined that the majority of those surveyed had positive views of multicultural concepts within social studies and agreed that the goals of multicultural education and social studies were aligned. At the same time, the survey results concluded that the participants did not fully understand "many multicultural concepts and goals of multicultural education" (p. 13). The study only utilized Liket-scale questions, which made it difficult to understand why participants answered in a particular manner, thus demonstrating one of the limitations of the research.

Cathy Brant (2013) conducted a survey of 69 pre-service social studies teachers in a Midwestern university, using closed-response, open-response, and Liket-scale questions. The purpose of the qualitative study was to collect data on pre-service social studies teachers' understanding of multicultural education. Brant's (2013) research determined that pre-service teachers' views of multicultural education varied greatly, from "definitions about teachers'

beliefs about student diversity, to responses about teaching practices," and "responses that indicated little or no understanding of the term" (p. 63). As a result, Brant (2013) argued that diverse understandings of multicultural education affect how teachers incorporate multicultural education within their practice.

Both Fry (2000) and Brant (2013) show the challenges to multicultural education within the social studies. Although pre-service teachers in both surveys had positive attitudes towards multicultural education in the social studies, there were still misunderstandings about the true purpose of multicultural education, how it influenced the social studies, and teacher pedagogy. However, because both of the surveys collected data from pre-service teachers, neither asked questions regarding how participants implemented multicultural education within social studies, nor were their surveys specific to Arab and/or Muslim-American studies.

A study of practicing social studies teachers was conducted by Charles Titus (1992), and utilized quantitative strategies to determine how teachers infused multicultural education into the social studies curriculum. In his study, Titus (1992) surveyed 26 social studies teachers in three high schools and two junior high schools in a mostly Caucasian community in a Midwestern state. Titus' results showed that 65% of the teachers tried to implement multicultural education, but that only 12% did on a regular basis. The remainder of the sample admitted to integrating multicultural education on few occasions, with 11% reportedly making the effort weekly and 42% monthly. Titus (1992) found that 46% of the teachers used commercially printed materials other than the textbook to implement multicultural education, however, only 4% did so weekly, the remaining 42% only monthly. Sixty-two percent of those surveyed never used guest speakers and an outstanding 89% reported never taking their students on field trips. Titus (1992) also found that only four percent of the teachers used personally collected materials, class

discussion or audio-visual materials, for multicultural purposes on a weekly basis. Instead, the most frequently used method for teaching multicultural education was class discussion, which none claimed to do on a daily basis, 19% on a weekly basis, and 42% on a monthly basis.

Through his work, Titus (1992) determined that the lack of multicultural immersion in the curriculum was due to multiple constraints both in and outside the classroom. Eighty-eight percent of those surveyed felt significant time constraints when trying to infuse multicultural education into the curriculum. Seventy-three percent of teachers believed that lack of funding hindered their efforts in teaching multiculturalism, and 96% claimed to having no funding within the last five years. Titus' (1992) research was helpful in identifying the needs and constraints of teaching multicultural education their research was not without limitations. First, the study was broad, focusing on multicultural education across the secondary social studies curriculum.

Second, Titus' (1992) study concentrated on social studies teachers' perceptions and attitudes towards multicultural education, and not on a specific group, as in the case in the current study.

Finally, Titus' (1992) research was conducted through closed-response, Likert-based surveys and did not allow participants to explain or clarify their responses in detail.

Similar to Titus' (1992) study, Sunita Sharma (2005) focused on teacher perceptions of multicultural education. Sharma (2005) conducted a unique mixed methods study through pre and post surveys of 150 teachers in a Florida school district. Fifty teachers were surveyed from each educational level (elementary, middle and high school teachers). Fifteen teachers, five teachers from each level, from the 150 initially surveyed were then randomly selected to participate in interviews. The results of the interviews and surveys were then compiled into five main categories to represent the most common concerns of the participants. Participants showed the highest concern for the lack of multicultural courses at the college level. Participants

believed that the universities should require pre-service teachers to take courses specifically focused on multicultural education, as well as require the integration of multiculturalism in other courses. The second highest concern was for the addition of workshops and in-services specifically geared towards multicultural integration. Through her research, Sharma (2005) determined that school districts and universities nationwide would have to reach consensus on defining multicultural education, but also provide training on how multicultural education could be integrated properly into the K-12 curriculum. Like Titus' (1992) study, Sharma focused on teacher perceptions of multicultural education. Sharma's (2005) study differs from Titus' (1992), focusing on both elementary and secondary teachers of all subjects and through mixed methods of data collection.

All of the studies are in sharp contrast to the current study that specifically examines the inclusion of Arab, Muslim, and Arab and/or Muslim-American studies with the secondary social studies curriculum. The current study is also more specifically concerned with multicultural Arab and/or Muslim-American studies. Data for the current study was collected from surveys that utilized qualitative open-response questions and quantitative Likert scale closed-response questions. The use of both open and closed- response questions allowed for a more in-depth analysis of the research. Electronic surveys were also the most efficient way of collecting responses nationally.

Six questions within the survey allowed participants to answer closed-response questions, three of which were based on the Likert scale. According to Gideon (2012), the Likert scale is "a structure that allows researchers to measure the degree to which respondents hold a number of particular attitudes" (p. 101). In the current study, closed-response questions, based on a Likert scale, allowed participants to select the response that most closely represented their opinions and

beliefs (Gideon, 2012). Closed-response questions are easy to follow and answer, thus making them more suitable for email or web-based surveys (Gideon, 2012). Closed-response questions also provided quantitative data that allowed for quick analysis.

The survey utilized eight open-response questions to determine the extent to which educators discussed biases against Arabs and Muslims, included Arab and Muslim contributions in lesson plans, experienced difficulties incorporating Arab and Muslim-Americans in social studies lesson plans, and had a need for additional resources on teaching about Arab and Muslim-Americans. According to Gideon (2012), exploratory studies, such as the current study, "should be designed with more flexibility" to allow the inclusion of "information that is not part of the initial questionnaire" (p. 95). Open-response questions were utilized to disaggregate qualitative data and to gain insight and detail.

The survey also utilized both closed and open-response questions as a way of triangulating the data. Triangulation indicates that multiple approaches were used to gather data on the same topic or concept (Creswell, 2010; Gideon, 2012). The triangulation of data in this study, through open and close-response questions, was important to "establishing reliability and consistency of the questionnaire as a tool" (p. 103). According to Creswell (2010), the triangulation of data is also a way of adding validity to a study.

Textbooks. In addition to the survey, a contextual analysis of five commonly used secondary social studies textbooks, published by the top textbook companies, was conducted. The purpose was to determine whether or not Arabs, Muslims, and Arab and Muslim-American contributions and achievements were included within textbooks. The textbooks were also analyzed to gain additional data that could be used as evidence of teachers' claims within the survey.

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The five textbooks analyzed were *The Americans: Reconstruction to the 21st Century* (Danzer et al., 2007) published by McDougal Littell; *History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals* (Goff et al., 2013) published by Teachers' Curriculum Institute (TCI); *The American Vision* (Appleby et al., 2010) published by Glencoe McGraw Hill; *United States History: Reconstruction to the Present* (Lapsansky-Werner et al., 2013) published by Pearson Prentice Hall; and one advanced placement textbook, *American History: Connecting with the Past* (Brinkley, 2012) published by McGraw Hill.

In light of the scope and focus of this study, only secondary U.S. history textbooks were used. The second criteria used in selecting textbooks for this study was publication date. The selected textbooks are close in publication year, the oldest printed in 2007, and the most current edition printed in 2013. It is equally important to note that all the textbook editions were post 9/11. Finally, each of the textbooks was selected from major U.S. publishing companies. The three largest textbook publishing companies are Pearson, McGraw-Hill, and Houghton-Mifflin Harcourt (Davis, 2013). These companies published four of the textbooks analyzed: The American Vision, United States History: Reconstruction to the Present, American History: Connecting with the Past, and The Americans: Reconstruction to the 21st Century. The fifth textbook, *History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals* (Goff et al., 2013) is published by Teachers' Curriculum Institute (TCI), a company that focuses on K-8 science textbooks and K-12 social studies textbooks. It was selected because it is a leading publisher in social studies textbooks. Additionally, more than 36 states currently use TCI textbooks, allowing it to maintain 12% of U.S. market shares (Teachers' Curriculum Institute, 2013; M. Moorman, personal communication, January 27, 2014).

According to ATC (2013), an independent national research organization that reviews history textbooks, publishing companies withhold information about sales and distribution of their textbooks to protect performance levels. Therefore, information regarding textbook publishing company ranks was limited, since many publish more than textbooks. Since 1986, ATC has maintained a database complied from survey publishers' websites and key state and large school districts to ascertain which history and social studies textbooks are the most commonly used across the United States (American Textbook Council, 2013). On its website is a list of the most widely adopted history textbooks, along with the publishing companies, for the 2011-2012 academic year. Included in the list were *American* and *The Americans*, which were used in this study. In other words, two of the five textbooks used in this study are not only published by the largest publishing companies, but are among the most widely used in the United States.

Content analysis "is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use" (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 18). Krippendorff (2004), a leading researcher in content analysis argues that it is "one of the most important research techniques in the social sciences," allowing researchers to view data in "texts, images, and expression that are created to be seen, read, interpreted, and acted on for their meaning" (p. xvii). Through content analysis, researchers can categorize or code information into themes that emerge from the texts to answer the research question.

According to Krippendorff (2004) there are six features of texts that frame content analysis. First, texts are not "reader-independent" and require all readers to engage with the text and understand the key elements, such as understanding the who, what, where, when, and why (p. 22). Second, texts have multiple meanings that can be read from multiple perspectives. As a

result, the meaning of a text does not need to be agreed upon by all readers, making it the third feature of texts. Fourth, texts often convey more than just information. Krippendorff (2004), expands upon this fourth feature to include that texts can "invoke feelings, or cause behavioral changes" and sometimes have hidden meanings or agendas (p. 23). Fifth, "texts have meaning relative to particular contexts, discourses, or purposes." (p. 24). As such, texts are read, placed within context, and analyzed by the reader to determine its purpose. Finally, researchers must "draw specific inferences from a body of texts to their chosen context," in a ways that "narrows the range of interpretations," to answer the research question (p. 24-25).

All of Krippendorff's (2004) features of texts were utilized when conducting the content analysis of the five textbooks. First, students often engage with the textbook, usually in the form of informational reading, to find answers to questions posed in a worksheet or by the teacher. Therefore, which information textbooks put forth or leave out is important to understand because it will influence how students engage with the text. Additionally, texts have multiple meanings, which mean that the same historical events can be portrayed differently within each textbook. It also means that students will analyze texts to develop their own understanding of historical events and characters. The fourth feature of Krippendorff's (2004) text framework, suggests that texts do more than provide information, but can also appeal to reader emotions or influence behavior. This is a key component of the current research because it suggests that the positive or negative portrayal of Arabs, Muslims, and Arab and/or Muslim-Americans can influence students' emotions or behavior towards these groups. This fourth aspect affects the fifth feature, which allows the reader to determine the purpose of the text. Again, whether a textbook positively or negatively include Arabs, Muslims, and Arab and/or Muslim-Americans affects how students view the purpose of the reading. Was the purpose of the text to understand the

Arab-American immigrant's narrative or to understand that the majority of the 9/11 hijackers were Arabs? Finally, I as the researcher am responsible for analyzing the texts to draw information that answers the research questions, as will be discussed.

Many researchers have used contextual analysis as a way of evaluating textbooks. Through their research, Mohammed Saleem and Michael Thomas (2011) analyzed the portrayal of 9/11 in twelve social studies textbooks to understand how the portrayal of 9/11 affected Muslim-American students. The researchers used coding strategies to create themes that emerged from the data. Their research suggested that textbook publishers used propaganda "in order to identify Arabs, Islam, and Muslims as the 'other,'" as well as in "associating terrorism with Islam" (p.30-31). The study was unique because it also analyzed how the Muslim-American students interacted with the text. However, there is also a limitation to the research: only eight students participated in the study, all of whom self-identified as Sunni-Muslims.

Gilbert Sewall (2008) of the American Textbook Council used contextual analysis when publishing its review of ten of the most commonly used junior and senior world and American history textbooks. His review examined how history textbooks characterize Islam's foundations and creeds, terrorism, 9/11, weapons of mass destruction, as well as additions made since 2001. Sewall's (2008) results revealed that many textbook publishers made few corrections to their editions since 2001. As a result, many of the textbooks analyzed still had errors regarding the portrayal of Islam, misrepresentations of Islamic figures, Muslims, the Middle East, and its population. These errors were more prominent in junior high textbooks than in U.S. history textbooks, which do not cover Islam, the Middle East, Arabs, and Muslims as frequently as junior high texts (Sewall, 2008). Other researchers, such as Douglass (2009), which is expanded upon later in this study, have also contextually analyzed the portrayal of Islam and Muslims

within textbooks. There are limitations to both these studies, in comparison to the current study, in that neither concentrate on Arab or Arab and/or Muslim-Americans.

In addition to textbooks, contextual analysis has been used to examine the media, particularly, TV shows and movies. Jack Shaheen's (2001) unique analysis of more than 900 films revealed Hollywood's long history of stereotyping Arabs and the Middle East. Shaheen's (2001) analysis uncovered the development of stereotypes and myths within the western world, and particularly within the United States. His research is also a major reference within the current study.

Although multiple studies have been conducted on social studies textbooks, even the inclusion or portrayal of Arabs, Muslims, Islam, and the Middle East, few have concentrated on the inclusion or portrayal of Arab-Americans and Muslim-Americans. The current study expands upon the research of others, to include Arab-Americans and Muslim-Americans.

Content analysis was an important research strategy within the current study because it provided data in regards to Arab, Muslim, and Arab and/or Muslim-American inclusion within U.S. history textbooks. Equally important, contextual analysis provided data on when these groups were included, for example during U.S. immigration, international conflict, or terrorism. Finally, contexualt analysis allows for the interpretation of the texts not available in quantitative research techniques. The data collected from the contextual analysis of the texts within this study were used to support data collected within surveys as a part of the triangulation of the data.

Delimitations

The present study is limited to teachers who teach social studies courses at the secondary school level and secondary U.S. history textbooks. Like all subjects, social studies courses, particularly non-elective courses, have very strict curricular requirements and are tied to

standardized tests (Sleeter, 2001; Michigan Department of Education, 2007b). However, unlike all other subjects, the social studies spend the largest amount of curricular time on the study of people, history, and culture.

The current study is also limited to analyzing research in the field of Arab and Muslim-American studies and the development relevant resources. Arab and Muslim-American stereotyping has been amplified in part by the lack of historical information in social studies texts. The curriculum has greatly overlooked the positive attributes and contributions of Arab and Muslim-Americans. As a result, educators, students, and communities are restricted to the negative images in the media, which continue to vilify Arabs and Muslims (Suleiman, 2000; Shaheen, 2001; Morlino, 2004; Akram & Johnson, 2004; Alsultany, 2008).

The stereotyping of Arab and Muslim-Americans has ostracized them politically, making it difficult for Arab and Muslim-Americans to support political candidates or to be elected to office (Joseph, 1999; Sinno, 2009). The increased negative stereotyping has tarnished the Arab and Muslim-American community's identity, augmented misconceptions about Arab and Muslim-American students, and led to hate crimes against both Arabs and people perceived as Arab or Muslim (Suleiman, 2000; Wingfield, 2006; Sikh Coalition, 2012; Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights, 2012).

Understanding the limitations of Arab and Muslim-American inclusion in the curriculum is critical in order to develop resources, which will allow for their full inclusion in ways similar to other groups, such as Hispanics, African-Americans, and Asian-Americans. The use of such resources would allow educators to provide a balanced perspective of Arab and Muslim-Americans within the curriculum.

Role of the Researcher

My passion for multiculturalism began at a very young age and can be attributed to my parents, both of whom immigrated to the United States in the late 1960s and early 1970s. My mother escaped from Soviet-occupied Czechoslovakia, while my father, a recently discharged military veteran, left Egypt in the midst of a third Arab-Israeli war. Their journeys brought both of them to the Detroit area where an initially strong automotive industry allowed them to build a future together. Unlike others born to immigrant parents, my experiences were unique. English was the only common language between my parents, and the lack of nearby relatives quickly made it my native language, although the version of English to which I was exposed was not standard by any means. My parents provided me with many opportunities to experience different languages through records, eight tracks, and cassettes from the former Soviet Republics, such as Hungary, Russia, the Ukraine, and even Poland, as well as from a range of Middle Eastern cultures.

My parents practiced different religions. Although my siblings and I were raised Muslim, many of our cousins were Muslim, Russian Orthodox Catholic, or Jehovah's Witnesses.

Growing up in the U.S. was difficult for me since my extended family lived abroad. Political and financial difficulties made it nearly impossible for relatives to visit us. Therefore, I spent a great deal of my youth traveling abroad to visit them. Now, at thirty years old, I have travelled, lived, worked, and studied in more than thirty different countries.

My family's diverse background afforded me many opportunities to be exposed and influenced by multiculturalism; however, my life overseas was very different from my experiences at home in the U.S. At home, I lived in a middle class suburban community among Caucasian Protestants and Catholics, many of whom had Western European roots, but had been in the U.S. for several generations. I was one of the few students in a high school of 700 who

could understand and communicate in several languages. I was also one of the few who could recognize much of Eastern Europe and could locate a Middle Eastern country, other than Saudi Arabia or Egypt, on a map. Of all the social studies courses that I took in high school, all focused on U.S. or Western European literature, histories, economies, and governments.

Since that time, the Michigan social studies curriculum has changed significantly, not only in terms of standards and benchmarks, but also in the types of courses required for graduation. While the world history course has an updated curriculum, little reform has taken place within U.S. history, in terms of the treatment of Arab and Muslim-Americans. They continue to be overlooked or included within units that emphasize stereotypes (Michigan Department of Education, 2007b).

It was not until my college freshmen orientation when I realized it was possible to study other cultures. I was amazed at the possibilities of studying Russian and Japanese languages, and even more surprised to find that my small university offered Czech and Slovak independent study classes. I was extremely impressed to find classes on Middle Eastern history, poetry, Muslim art, and the Arabic language. At the same time, I could not help but feel cheated by a system that had failed to include such multiculturalism earlier. I reflected on the numerous times I had studied Shakespeare and Mark Twain, but had no concept of the great works of Rumi or more contemporary Middle Eastern writers such as Gibran or Rihani. I knew little of the Middle Eastern civilizations, the differences that existed between numerous Middle Eastern ethnic groups, and the fact that people, other than Arabs, lived in the region. Why was I so ignorant of my own Middle Eastern history and background? The same held true of my eastern European roots. For the first time, I was fearful of the world around me. What else did I not know?

As a history major, I was impressed by the number of diverse courses that my undergraduate university offered. At the same time, I was astonished by the number of American history classes that were "required," but courses on Asian, South American, Latin American, Middle Eastern, and Russian studies were taken as "electives." Why were courses such as these not required of students (many future teachers) to increase their knowledge of the rest of the world? Upon completing my required American history courses, I enrolled in as many multicultural electives as possible and took courses in everything from world religions, to comparative politics, and regional studies. Within each of these multicultural studies classes, my professors instilled passion and pride. For the first time, I took classes and felt pride in both of my cultures and in being diverse.

This passion permeated my teaching where I quickly introduced multiculturalism into all aspects of the curriculum, going so far as to create a modern Middle East class. I collaborated with other staff members to develop a world religions program, rewriting the social studies curriculum, and developing new assessments at the district and intermediate school district level. I quickly realized my colleagues' struggles to blend multiculturalism into a curriculum that blocked diversity at every angle, with limited multicultural courses, and standardized tests. This led me to work with colleagues in developing and including multiculturalism in their classrooms. At the same time, I saw teachers as professionals and witnessed their determination to improve their own practices, regardless of their university training, curriculum restraints, and deficient resources. Of all the uncontrollable factors that teachers dealt with on a daily basis, the one thing they could control was critical pedagogy.

I mention my historical background and this story because storytelling is an immensely important aspect of Critical Race Theory (CRT) and multicultural education, but also because it

demonstrates how race and ethnicity in society and schools are still very important factors. My role within this study is unique in that the topic focuses on Arab and Muslim-American studies, two categories with which I identify. It is not by coincidence that my study concentrates on Arab and Muslim-American studies. First, Arab and Muslim-American studies are relatively new topics to the curriculum and education in general. As already mentioned, Arab-Americans have, for many years, been labeled as white, rather than being recognized as a distinct ethnic group. While other groups, such as African-Americans, Latinos, and Native-Americans have made gains in the curriculum, Arab-Americans remain overlooked. The lack of Arab-American and Muslim-American studies in high school curriculum, combined with negative media attention, has increased stereotypes against Arabs and Muslims in the U.S. and around the world. As an Arab-American, I have unfortunately been the target of numerous acts of bias from peers in school, and even colleagues at work, both intentionally and unintentionally because of ignorance. This has included hateful acts ranging from anti-Arab and Muslim comments, negative jokes about Arabs and Muslims, to questions about whether or not I would be required to have an arranged marriage.

The current study also focuses on multicultural education at the secondary level and within social studies. It is at the secondary level where the study of Arabs, Muslims, and Islam are included. This has personal meaning in that I am both a product and producer of American education; first and foremost, a secondary social studies teacher. At the same time, I have the ability to view my research through unique lenses, as a member of the last high school class to graduate with a pre-9/11 education and then teach in a post 9/11 world. I have spent the last eight years of my life as an educator, curriculum coordinator, mentor, and coach. It is also as a social studies teacher that I collected and analyzed data from my peers across the country.

Site and Sample Collection

The data in this study consists of one hundred and one surveys from social studies public school teachers at the secondary level from across the United States. The surveys were distributed electronically to teachers from across the United States whom I had met at various workshops, study abroad trips, and international fellowship programs. These included a Korean Fellowship, Fulbright-Hays Study Abroad to Turkey, and Multicultural Classroom Research Study Abroad to Spain. Some of the workshops were related to the study of Arab and Muslim-Americans, and others concentrated on other topics in the social studies. Surveys were also distributed to teachers who participated in the Arab-American National Museum's annual Midwestern Regional Workshop. The surveys were distributed to teachers via email invitations that included the survey's URL (uniform resource locator). The use of e-mail invitations and the web-based survey were the most time and cost efficient way of collecting more than one hundred responses from across the nation. According to Manzo and Burke (2012), the use of URLs also helps "to establish and bolster the credibility or legitimacy of the survey" (p. 335). The teachers who chose to participate by completing the surveys were required to meet the criteria of teaching a social studies course at the secondary level within a public school. Participants were also encouraged to forward the survey links to other teachers across the U.S., provided they met all the qualifications. Participation in the survey was voluntary and anonymous.

There are several reasons for focusing on the public school curricula and public school educators. First, more children attend public schools than receive any other form of schooling in the United States (Snyder & Dillow, 2012). Second, approximately ninety-seven percent of the Muslim population attends public institutions (Cristillo, 2009, chapter 3, paragraph 3). Public schools are, therefore, more encompassing.

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As mentioned previously, social studies courses spend the largest amount of instructional time on the study of people, their history, culture, and contributions. Courses include national and global perspectives (Michigan Department of Education, 2007a; Michigan Department of Education, 2007b). The surveys were distributed across the country with the understanding that, individual states have standards that must be followed. The standards differ from state to state. Finally, each state's population differs and has a variety of needs. Some states may have large Arab and Muslim-American populations while others may not. To that end, the national distribution of the survey provided valuable feedback on Arab and Muslim-American multicultural education across the country.

Data collection. The purpose of the surveys is to gather information on the following:

- coverage of Arab and Muslim-American history, culture, and authors in textbooks and school curricula,
- school discussion of biases against Arabs and Muslims,
- positive contributions made by Arabs and Muslims,
- difficulties incorporating Arab and Muslim-Americans in social studies lesson plans,
- and the need for additional resources on teaching about Arab and Muslim-Americans within the curriculum of public schools across the United States.

The surveys were distributed to secondary public school social studies teachers through *Surveymonkey.com* from November 2012 until January 2013. Each survey consisted of 11 closed and open-ended questions. The first three questions were designed to collect information specific to the teacher, such as the number of years in the profession, the number of years teaching the current subject matter, and the state of employment. There were three questions

related to teacher pedagogy and multicultural education, while the final five survey questions remained open-ended for comments.

The survey's closed-response questions asked how Arab and Muslim-American multicultural education was incorporated into curricula, if teachers believed Arab and Muslim-American studies were currently included in curricula and textbooks, whether or not teachers witnessed biases towards Arab and Muslim-Americans in their students, and if schools took time to address such biases. Similarly, the open-response questions asked about difficulties incorporating Arab and Muslim-Americans in social studies lesson plans and the need for additional resources on teaching about Arab and Muslim-Americans. The information gathered from the surveys was used to create a section in this study on resources regarding Arab and Muslim-American history, culture, political action, education, religious practices, guest speakers, community centers, museums, lessons, activities, videos, cultural days, and other supplemental activities.

As part of the textbook analysis, five textbooks were selected from the largest textbook publishing companies. Information from each textbook was gathered by first examining their indices to determine if any of the books included Arabs, Muslims, Islam, and Arab or Muslim-Americans. After reviewing the indices, a page-by-page analysis of each textbook was conducted to determine if Arabs, Muslims, Islam, and Arab and/or Muslim-Americans were included within the body of the text, in captions, pictures, graphs, charts, or sidebars. Finally, any inclusion of Arabs, Muslims, Islam, and Arab and/or Muslim-Americans was additionally analyzed to determine within what context each group was included. The purpose was to determine if textbooks included positive contributions of Arabs, Muslims, and Arab and/or

Muslim-Americans. The information gathered from the textbooks was used to supplement the data collected from the teacher surveys.

Data Analysis and Interpretation

Validation strategies are an integral part of the research process to ensure the accuracy of any findings from this study. Using Creswell (2009) as a guide, there were several validation strategies utilized, namely, triangulation, bias, and discrepant information. In the research section, I refer to any bias that I have in regards to this research as an Arab and Muslim-American and a high school social studies teacher. The triangulation of data consisted of 101 public school social studies teachers surveyed from more than 20 states, including the District of Columbia, and across the 11 open and closed-response questions from the survey. Discrepant information was also included within this research to account for the multiple teaching perspectives that exist within a vast and contentious topic such as multicultural education and Arab and Muslim-American studies.

Surveys. The surveys were analyzed and organized using a computer word processor to formulate tables. The data was organized into tables, based on the questions. The software of *Surveymonkey.com* automatically generated percentages for items two and three: "How many years have you been a teacher?" and "How many years have you spent teaching the current subject/course?" State participation percentages were generated by hand as were the coding methods for open-response questions. Coding categories for the open-response questions were determined once responses were collected and were based on categories that emerged from the data.

After analyzing the data, several themes were identified, which allowed questions to be categories into sections. Questions five and eight were included in a section entitled,

"Islamophobia, Biases and Stereotypes." Questions four, nine, and ten were sectioned under "Arab and Muslim-American Studies." Question six led to the development of a separate category as it focused on Arabs and Muslims, rather than on Arab and Muslim-Americans. Finally, questions ten and seven were included the category, "Resources: Textbooks and the Curriculum."

A point of concern was that teachers who participated in the surveys had biases in favor of Arab and Muslim-American studies. This was of particular concern for those teachers who participated in workshops provided by the Arab American National Museum, as it demonstrated their interest and open-minded approach to multicultural education and Arab and Muslim-American studies. However, teacher participation in workshops provided by the Arab American National Museum was often initiated by school districts as part of professional development; teachers were required to participate. Finally, within the data analysis section of each of the open-response questions are examples from participants who were not in favor of Arab and Muslim-American studies, or who demonstrated biases against, instead preferences for, Arab and Muslim-American studies. Teachers were honest about their views, beliefs, and biases, their ability to provide education about Arab and Muslim-Americans, and their resources and curricular needs.

Textbooks. As previously mentioned, five textbooks were selected from the largest textbook publishing companies. The contextual analysis of the textbooks was conducted by first examining the textbooks' indices to determine if any of the books included Arabs, Muslims, Islam, and Arab and/or Muslim-Americans. After the initial review of the indices, a page-by-page analysis of each textbook was conducted to determine if the terms Arabs, Muslims, Islam, and Arab and/or Muslim-Americans were included, or if individuals or groups were identified by

these terms within the body of the text, in captions, pictures, graphs, charts, or sidebars. After analyzing the data, several themes were identified, which allowed the data to be categories into sections. The first section included Arab and Muslim references before exploration of the New World. The second theme was the inclusion of Arabs, Muslims, and Islam during the early 1900s. The final section was the inclusion of Arabs, Muslims, Islam, and Arab and/or Muslim-Americans Post-WWII to 9/11.

Finally, any inclusion of Arabs, Muslims, Islam, and Arab and/or Muslim-Americans was additionally analyzed to determine within what context each group was included. For example, when were Arabs mentioned? During which period? Were Arabs included when mentioning positive contributions? Were Arab-Americans included? Three main categories emerged from the data. The first category included "Arab and/or Muslim Political Figures," a second category, "Arab and/or Muslim-American Political Figures," and the final category, "Arabs, Muslims, Islam, and Arab and/or Muslim-Americans: 9/11 and Terrorism."

Anticipated Ethical Issues

While there are no recognizable risks associated with participation in the present study, all precautionary measures were taken to ensure the protection of all participants. My goal as the researcher was to minimize any unwanted exposure of the teachers, their classrooms, and their school districts in several key ways. First, the surveys were voluntary. Second, the surveys were strictly anonymous. Participants were not asked to provide names or contact information for themselves, their students, their schools, or school districts. Participants were only asked to identify the state in which they were employed to establish a national study. The open-response questions allowed teachers to expand upon survey questions, only if they chose to do so. This

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provided teachers with the opportunity to justify or clarify their responses and to provide the most accurate expression of their pedagogy.

Descriptive Statistics

The data for this study was compiled from one hundred and one surveys that were collected over the course of three months from November 2012 to January 2013. Questions one, two, and three of the survey collected data on participants' background. The following descriptive statistics provide information on each participant's home state, years of teaching experience, and years of teaching in the current subject.

State participation. The purpose of question one was to determine the location of each participant. The 101 surveys collected spanned the United States, 23 states in total, and the District of Columbia. Of the 101 surveys, ten participants abstained from including their location. Table 1 shows the distribution of state participants.

Table 1			
State Participation			
US State:	Abbreviation:	Total Participants:	Percentage from Total Participant Responses*:
Alabama	AL	22	24%
Alaska	AK	1	1%
California	CA	8	9%
Colorado	CO	1	1%
Connecticut	CT	1	1%
Delaware	DE	1	1%
Florida	FL	6	7%
Georgia	GA	1	1%
Hawaii	НІ	2	2%
Maine	ME	1	1%
Maryland	MD	2	2%
Massachusetts	MA	2	2%

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Michigan	MI	6	7%
Minnesota	MN	1	1%
Missouri	MO	2	2%
New Jersey	NJ	1	1%
New Mexico	NM	1	1%
New York	NY	10	11%
North Carolina	NC	4	4%
Ohio	ОН	2	2%
Pennsylvania	PA	13	14%
Texas	TX	1	1%
Virginia	VA	1	1%
District of Columbia	DC	1	1%
Total Participant Responses:		91	98%
Skipped Question		10	
Total		101	
* Percentages rounded to nearest whole number			

The states with the largest number of participants included Alabama with 22 responses, nearly a quarter of the overall sample, followed by Pennsylvania with thirteen responses, New York, with ten responses, and California, Michigan, and Florida with eight, six, and six responses respectively. The surveys were originally emailed to secondary social studies teachers who had participated in regional and nationwide study workshops, which included the Korean Fellowship, Fulbright-Hays Study Abroad Program in Turkey, Multicultural Classroom Research in Spain, and the Arab American National Museum professional development workshop. The surveys were further distributed by the participants in these workshops to teachers within their schools, districts, and/or to other colleagues who met the requirements for participation. It may be assumed that some participants chose to distribute the surveys further while others did not. Notably, three states with numerous participants have larg Arab and Muslim-American populations: California, Michigan, and New York.

Years of service. Questions two and three of the survey asked the participants to indicate their number of years of service and the number of years teaching the current subject/course. Survey questions two and three allowed teachers to select years of service from 1 to 29 years with an additional option of 30+ years. The responses were then manually categorized into sections to include 1-5, 6-10, 11-15, 16-20, 21-25, and 26-30+ years of service. The results from question two showed that 15% of the surveyed participants had been teaching for five years or fewer. The largest number of teachers (26%) had been teaching in the range of 6-10 years with nine participants teaching 10 years. The second largest category was the group of teachers with 11-15 years of experience and comprised 22% of the overall surveyed population. In the third largest category (18%) were teachers with 16-20 years of service, followed by teachers with 21-25 years (13%) and 26-30+ years (6%) overall. One teacher abstained from answering the question. Table 2A shows the distribution of data from question two.

The results from question three demonstrated that the teachers with 1-5 years of service in their current subject/course comprised 31% of the overall survey population, making them the largest group. The second largest category, those teaching 6-11 years within their subject/course made up 29% of the population surveyed. Thus, the majority of teachers surveyed had been teaching their current subject/course for 10 years or fewer, and after the events of 9/11. Percentages decreased as the number of years teaching in current subject/course continued to increase. Those with 11-15 years teaching in current subject/course were 21% of the population surveyed, followed by those with 16-20 years (9%), 21-25 years (7%), and 26-30+ years (4%). Table 2B shows the distribution of data from question three.

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Table 2A			
Teacher Y	ears of Serv	ice	
Years of	Response	Response	Category
Service	Percent	Count	Percentages
1	2.0%	2	
2	1.0%	1	
3	2.0%	2	1-5 Years
4	2.0%	2	15%
5	8.0%	8	
6	3.0%	3	
7	3.0%	3	
8	3.0%	3	6-10 Years
9	8.0%	8	26%
10	9.0%	9	
11	6.0%	6	
12	4.0%	4	
13	2.0%	2	11-15 Years
14	1.0%	1	22%
15	9.0%	9	
16	4.0%	4	
17	4.0%	4	
18	3.0%	3	16-20 Years
19	4.0%	4	18%
20	3.0%	3	
21	3.0%	3	
22	5.0%	5	
23	1.0%	1	21-25 Years
24	3.0%	3	13%
25	1.0%	1	
26	0.0%	0	
27	1.0%	1	
28	1.0%	1	26-30+
29	0.0%	0	Years
30+	4.0%	4	6%
Answere	d Question	100	
Skippe	d Question	1	
	Total	101	
* Percentages rounded to nearest whole number			

Table 2B			
		nt Subject/C	ourse
Years of	Response	Response	Category
Service	Percent	Count	Percentages
1	4.0%	4	
2	5.9%	6	1 5 7 7
3	6.9%	7	1-5 Years
4	4.0%	4	31%
5	9.9%	10	
6	8.9%	9	
7	3.0%	3	
8	7.9%	8	6-10 Years
9	2.0%	2	29%
10	6.9%	7	
11	4.0%	4	
12	3.0%	3	
13	6.9%	7	11-15 Years
14	3.0%	3	21%
15	4.0%	4	
16	4.0%	4	
17	2.0%	2	
18	1.0%	1	16-20 Years
19	0.0%	0	9%
20	2.0%	2	
21	2.0%	2	
22	2.0%	2	
23	1.0%	1	21-25 Years
24	2.0%	2	7%
25	0.0%	0	
26	1.0%	1	
27	1.0%	1	
28	0.0%	0	26-30+
29	0.0%	0	Years
30+	2.0%	2	4%
Answere	d Question	101	
Skippe	d Question	0	
	Total	101	
* Percentages rounded to nearest whole number			

The data in questions two and three were then compared with the data in question nine, an open-ended response question that specifically asked participants if they currently taught lessons on Arab or Muslim-Americans. There were 75 responses to question nine, of which only 24 participants (32%) included lessons specifically on Arab and/or Muslim-Americans. Of the

24 responses, the majority, 14 teachers, had been teaching for 15 years or fewer. Nine teachers had 16 or more years of experience. Furthermore, 17 of the 24 participants who acknowledged teaching about Arab and/or Muslim-American studies had been teaching within their current discipline for 15 years or fewer. Only seven teachers had been teaching in their area of concentration for 16 years or more.

The data analysis of questions two and nine (Table 3A) demonstrate that from the 23 responses, the majority, 14 teachers, included Arab and/or Muslim-American studies in their practice and had been teaching 15 years or fewer. The remaining nine teachers had been teaching 16 years or more. The data analysis of the 24 responses to questions three and nine (Table 3B) show that 17 teachers had been teaching their current subject/course for 15 years or fewer, while only seven teachers had been teaching their current subject/course for 16 years or more.

It could be argued that the events of 9/11 led to greater inclusion of Arab and Muslim-American studies. However, the analysis of the data in questions two, three, and nine demonstrate that from the 24 responses, the majority of teachers who included Arab and/or Muslim-American studies in their practice and had been teaching prior to 9/11: 13 teachers comprising 56%. The remaining 10 teachers had been teaching since 9/11, with 12 years or fewer of service. The data analysis also shows that of those teachers who teach Arab and/or Muslim-American studies, 12 had taught their current subject/courses since 9/11, while the remaining 12 teachers had begun teaching their course/subject before 9/11.

Table 3A			
Teacher Year	s of Service		
Years of	Response	Category	
Service	Count	Percentages	
1	0		
2	0		
3	0	1-5 Years	
4	1	2 Responses	
5	1		
6	2		
7	0		
8	0	6-10 Years	
9	1	6 Responses	
10	3		
11	1		
12	1		
13	0	11-15 Years	
14	1	6 Responses	
15	3		
16	0		
17	1		
18	1	16-20 Years	
19	0	3 Responses	
20	1		
21	0		
22	0		
23	0	21-25 Years	
24	2	2 Responses	
25	0		
26			
27	1		
28	1	26-30+	
29		Years	
30+	2	4 Responses	
Answered Qu			
Skipped Ques			
Total	24		

Table 3B		
Years Teachi	ng Current Si	ubject/Course
Years of	Response	Category
Service	Count	Percentages
1	0	
2	2	
3	0	1-5 Years
4	1	5 Responses
5	2	
6	3	
7	0	
8	1	6-10 Years
9	0	5 Responses
10	1	
11	1	
12	1	
13	2	11-15 Years
14	1	7 Responses
15	2	
16	2	
17	0	
18	0	16-20 Years
19	0	2 Responses
20	0	
21	0	
22	0	
23	0	21-25 Years
24	2	2 Responses
25	0	
26	1	
27	1	
28	0	26-30+
29	0	Years
30+	1	3 Responses
Answered Qu	estion 24	
Skipped Que	stion 0	
Total	24	

Summary

The responses to the first three questions provided valuable information about the teachers who participated in the survey. In total, 101 teachers participated, representing 23 states, as well as the District of Columbia. The results from questions two and three

demonstrated that the largest percentage of participants (26%) have worked six to ten years in education, however, 31% have been teaching their current subject/course for five years of fewer. An important finding came from question nine, in which only 24 of the 75 participants claimed to include Arab and/or Muslim-American studies. The majority of participants in question nine (68%), did not include lessons on Arab or Muslim-Americans studies. Results from questions two, three, and nine, cannot be generalize to determined if the number of years of service or the number of years teaching a course or subject leads to the inclusion of Arab or Muslim-American topics in social studies, but it is a topic to be considered for future study.

The results of the remaining eight questions of the survey are discussed within context in later chapters, to identify factors that contribute to the inclusion, or lack thereof, of Arab and Muslim-American studies. The chapters include an analysis of Arab and Muslim-Americans, an examination of issues of identity, stereotypes, biases, the education in public and private schools, and resources for teaching about Arab and Muslim-American studies.

In chapter two, I chronicle the educational theories that shaped this study, predominantly multicultural education, critical race theory, and social justice education. Chapter three contains a literature review of Arab-American and Muslim-American immigration to the United States, the formation of an Arab-American identity and the challenges of Arab-American political activism.

Chapter four includes a literature review of Arab-American and Muslim-American stereotypes and biases within the media, the development of positive media construction, and educational efforts about Arab-Americans and Muslim-Americans. The literature review correlates to survey questions five and eight, which asked teachers about observed Islamophobia, biases, and stereotypes among students. The results from question eight reveal that 80% of the

teachers who participated in the survey acknowledged observing stereotypes or biases towards. Arabs and Muslims among their students. Thirty-two percent of participants indentified a combination of the media, parents, the community, the events of 9/11, or the lack of exposure to Arabs and/or Muslims as primary contributing factors to the development of stereotypes and biases among their students. In question five, 49% of the teachers agreed and strongly agreed that their schools took time to address biases against Arabs and Muslims, however, their answers in the open-response demonstrated that the vast majority actually addressed issues of biases in their individual classes, per teacher directive and not as a school. A detailed discussion of these findings is included in chapter four.

The inclusion of Arabs, Muslims, and Arab and Muslim-Americans in the curriculum was also a major research question. Chapter five provides a literature review of Arabs, Muslims, and Arab and Muslim-Americans within the curriculum and textbooks, as well as the survey results from questions six, four, and nine. Analysis of the data in question six revealed that 81% of those surveyed claimed to include positive contributions of Arabs and Muslims within their schools and classrooms, but primarily in ancient and world history. There was little incorporation of contemporary Arab and/or Muslim contributions at the secondary level. The results from question four of the study indicate that more than half of the teachers (58.9%) disagreed or strongly disagreed that textbooks include Arab-American history, culture and authors. Similarly, the results from question nine show that most teachers (51%) do not specifically include Arab and Muslim-American studies in their classes and those who do, focus primarily on Middle Eastern conflicts or terrorism.

A final research question focused on teacher difficulties incorporating Arab and/or Muslim-American studies, as well as curricular needs. In chapter six, the results from the open-

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ended responses in question seven demonstrated that teachers had a greater need for informational, historical and current events materials, contributions by Arab-Americans, multimedia resources, guest speakers, field trips, and workshops. In question ten, 29% of participants cited resources as the most difficult factor when it came to including Arab and/or Muslim-American studies. All of the these findings are elaborated within chapter six.

The remaining chapters, five, six, and seven are the key components of this study as they include resources on Arab-American and Muslim-Americans for teachers to implement within their practice. Chapter five concentrates on the positive contributions of Arab-Americans and Muslim-Americans, while chapter six and seven focuse on resources and strategies to positively include Arab-Americans and Muslim-Americans within the curriculum.

CHAPTER 2 - EDUCATIONAL THEORIES

Introduction

A major objective of this study is to understand Arab and Muslim-American multicultural education within secondary public school social studies courses. Therefore, it is important to understand the theoretical perspectives that have shaped multicultural education, specifically, Critical Race Theory and Social Justice Education. This chapter reviews these major theories and how they impact the education of Arab and Muslim-American students, as well as Arab and Muslim-American studies within the social studies curriculum.

Multicultural Education and the Curriculum

It is impossible to include diversity studies, particularly Arab and Muslim-American studies, in the curriculum without first understanding the theoretical framework that serves as the foundation for multicultural education. One of the most influential is the Critical Race Theory (CRT). CRT was born from a previous concentration known as critical legal studies (CLS) that focused on studying, understanding, and developing "laws that speak to specific individuals and groups in social and cultural contexts" (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p. 10). Supporters of CLS argue that the U.S. legal system allows and even encourages the upward mobility of particular races and cultures over others. CLS challenged these views by allowing for open criticism and critique of the legal system, as opposed to providing solutions. A major criticism of CLS was its inability to examine race and the issues of racism critically (Yosso, 2005). Critical Race supporters separated from CLS in an effort to establish a new agenda that challenges racial

inequalities, specifically after the Civil Rights movement. It also expanded its efforts to recognize the struggles of other groups, including, Latinos, Asians, women, and Native Americans (Yosso, 2005).

A major objective of Critical Race Theory literature, and one that makes it separate from other research, is its push for social justice within society. These goals directly correlate to those of Arab and Muslim-American studies and their inclusion within the curriculum. As Ladson-Billings argues (1998), "CRT becomes an important intellectual and social tool for deconstruction, reconstruction and construction: deconstruction of oppressive structures and discourses, reconstruction of human agency, and construction of equitable and socially just relations of power" (p. 9). For the Arab and Muslim-American community this equates to deconstructing stereotypes within the media, politics, and the curriculum, and then reconstructing the role of Arab and Muslim-Americans within U.S. history to include positive contributions and achievements. This provides Arab and Muslim-Americans with a voice in the curriculum and politics, which will provide them with the opportunity to construct social equality on their own terms.

Accomplishing these goals requires that society acknowledge the multiple races and ethnicities that make up the American tapestry, and the inequality that exists among racial and ethnic groups, specifically within society and the curriculum. Matsuda et al. (1993) argued that racism is hidden in the rhetoric of "shared 'normative' values and 'neutral' social scientific principles and practices" (as cited in Yosso, 2005, p. 74). Leading the research in social structures is the anthropologist, Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu (1977) spent years studying symbolic, social, and cultural capital hierarchies within various cultures. According to Bourdieu (1977), each society has multiple forms of capital, such as physical strength, economic capital,

and symbolic capital. These different forms of capital change based on culture, but all create a hierarchy that allows one group to have dominance over the other. Each form of capital leads to a hierarchy of class, wealth, and status.

CRT significantly influences multicultural education, specifically when it comes to minority students and their families, who are often viewed as lacking the cultural and social capital, or norms, of the society in which they live. Arab and Muslim-Americans continue to confront stereotypes about their ability to conform to democratic and western values, gender roles, and cultural practices. Arab-Americans, Muslim-Americans, and many other minorities, are still viewed as "deficient" because they do not possess all the characteristics and qualities of the dominate culture (Yosso, 2005). Arab and Muslim-American cultures and traditions continue to be overlooked or stereotyped in American history, rather than recognized and honored for their contributions and achievements.

In order for CRT to be applied effectively to Arab and Muslim-American studies, textbook publishers, curriculum writers, districts, and their staff must critically analyze the way in which they teach about Arab and Muslim-Americans, as well as the resources that they utilize within their classes. This will also require focusing on the capital wealth that minorities do possess, instead of focusing on the capital that minorities do not possess. Research by Delgado Bernal (1997, 2001), Auerbach (2001), Stanton-Salazar (2001), Solórzano & Delgado Bernal (2001), Faulstich Orellana (2003), and Yosso (2005) have reconceptualized cultural capital to include the multiple forms of capital that minority communities have to offer, but that are often overlooked by schools and society. Cultural capital may be aspirational, navigational, social, linguistic, familial, and resistant.

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Yosso (2005) describes aspirational capital as "the ability to maintain hopes and dreams for the future, even in the face of real and perceived barriers. Linguistic capital includes the idea that students of color arrive at school with multiple language and communication skills" thus allowing students to participate in numerous ways, for example, storytelling, oral histories, and proverbs (Yosso, 2005, pp. 77-78). Wingfield (2006) expands upon this notion of cultural capital that allows members of Arab and Muslim-American communities to become actively involved in educational outreach programs, visiting schools as guest speakers and oral historians.

Yosso emphasizes familial capital as a key form of cultural capital that is vital to minority students' success and one that cannot be overlooked by schools.

Familial capital refers to those cultural knowledges nurtured among *familia* (kin) that carry a sense of community history, memory and cultural intuition... Acknowledging the racialized, classed and heterosexualized inferences that comprise traditional understandings of 'family', familial capital is nurtured by our 'extended family', which may include immediate family (living or long passed on) as well as aunts, uncles, grandparents and friends who we might consider part of our *familia*... This consciousness can be fostered within and between families, as well as through sports, school, religious gatherings and other social community settings. (Yosso, 2005, p. 79)

Yosso also recognizes social capital "as networks of people and community resources that can provide support throughout life's challenges," navigational capital that allows minorities to "maneuver through social institutions not created with communities of color in mind," and resistant capital as skills that are "fostered through oppositional behavior that challenges inequality" (Yosso, 2005, pp. 79-80).

The success of Arab and Muslim-Americans in the U.S. is due to various forms of capital. A U.S. Census Bureau Special Report by de la Cruz and Brittingham (2005) found the Arab-American community to be more prosperous than the nation as a whole. According to the report, approximately 84% of the Arab-American population held a high school diploma, compared to the national average of 80%. Forty percent of Arab-Americans held bachelor's degrees, while the national average was 24%. The median family income was also higher for Arab-Americans, at \$52,300, versus the national average of \$50,000. Approximately 69% of the Arab-American population speaks a language other than English in the home (de la Cruz & Brittingham, 2005). Despite the achievements of Arab-Americans, they are often misrepresented or ignored in education.

Yosso's (2005) research, in conjunction with CRT, has obvious implications for the present study, serving as a framework. CRT has impacted education in several unique ways. First, it has identified the need for open discussions on race to understand not only the unique blend of races that exist within the United States, but also the inequality that is apparent amongst them. CRT takes racial discussions to a new level, integrating research with policies to impact, as Ladson-Billings (1998) argues, the ways of recognizing race and racism as a normal and obvious part of American culture. Yosso (2005) argues that if race has hindered people of color from social advancement, then it can also be used as a basis for change. This has major consequences for classroom teachers who, as previously cited, are currently working or will be working with students of multiple backgrounds and races. It is not only an issue of understanding students and the diversity that they bring to the classroom, but also recognizing the daily struggles of students of various races and ethnicities. At the same time, CRT helps

address issues within education that are also significant to this study, particularly, the development of culturally relevant and sensitive lessons and activities.

While the ethnic makeup of the United States continues to become diverse, the curriculum has changed very little in regards to Arab and Muslim-American studies (Aoude, 2006). One aspect that is essential is the reconstruction of Arab and Muslim-American studies in U.S. history to reduce master scripting. Master scripting has been identified as a way of maintaining a curriculum that emphasizes the dominant culture in historical contexts, literature, heroes, and holidays. Master scripting simultaneously ignores the histories and achievements of other cultural groups that are not only well established in the United States, but are also relevant for social justice in a global society. As many CRT theorists have argued, one key way to ensure a non-scripted, balanced curriculum is to develop curriculum that includes all races (Ladson-Billings, 1998). For Arab and Muslim-Americans, the struggle is to have unbiased textbooks, teachers, and curriculum (Wingfield, 2006; Douglass, 2009; Haddad & Smith, 2009).

Multicultural education addresses the issues of master scripting by ensuring that all racial, ethnic, and religious differences are taught, understood, and appreciated as a part of America, rather than simply ignoring it. As a leading multicultural theorist, James Banks has written extensively on strategies to bridge the gap between multiculturalism and the curriculum, particularly through the development of the Banks model (Banks, 1997). The Banks model introduces educators to four distinct levels of multicultural integration that can be adapted for multiple levels (elementary, middle/junior, high school, and higher education) and for multiple subjects. The Banks model closely connects concepts within CRT, as well as social justice education, in what Banks refers to as the five dimensions of multicultural education (Banks, 1993, 2004). Banks (1993, 2004) argues that in order for multicultural education to be

successful, it must be based on content integration, the knowledge construction process, prejudice reduction, equity pedagogy, and empowering school culture and social structure (Banks, 1993, 2004).

Through the first of these five dimensions, Banks (1993, 2004) argues that schools can take content, and integrate multicultural studies, in an aspect similar to the first stage of the Banks model, studying diverse ethnic, religious, and cultural characteristics. The second, third, and fourth dimensions require students to take content and analyze it in order to evaluate historical events through multiple cultural perspectives. This allows students to recognize similarities and differences and to understand the histories and contributions of diverse populations. According to Banks (1993, 2004), this projects and enforces positive images of different groups, leading to a reduction of prejudice and the foundation for equitable pedagogy, a concept that closely relates to social justice education. The negative portrayal of Arab and Muslim-Americans in the media, popular culture and politics, combined with little to no positive reinforcement in the curriculum have made it nearly impossible for students to view Arab and Muslim-Americans as anything but terrorists and anti-American. One of the only viable ways to change this is in the classroom where it must be addressed. Through a more culturally inclusive curriculum, students are more apt to make connections between content and application, an aspect that promotes increased academic achievement. The last of Banks' dimensions empowers school culture and social structure. This enables staff and students to work towards a more cultured school vision where diversity is not only accepted and celebrated, but also built so that all diverse groups have the power to contribute and influence the community.

Marvin Wingfield (2006) expands upon earlier versions of Bank's (1997) phases of multicultural infusion of the curriculum through contributions, ethnic additions, transformation,

and social action, but specifically on the Arab and Muslim-American community. Through the contributions approach, students would learn about famous Arabs and Muslims. In addition to studying the achievements by these groups, they might take fields trips to Arab churches or mosques (Wingfield, 2006). Wingfield advocates for using primary sources in history classes, reading literature written by Arab and Muslim-Americans in English and languages arts classes, and examining civil liberties issues in civics classes. These could "easily be added to courses on American history, and literature, music, food, civics, and social studies" without making any additional changes to the existing curriculum (Wingfield, 2006, p. 260).

In the transformation phase, students learn the history and stories of the Arab and Muslim-American communities from their perspectives. This includes inviting guest speakers to discuss issues that Arab and Muslim-Americans face, for example, Arab and Muslim-American women might discuss issues of racism, discrimination, and sexism (Wingfield, 2006). In this third phase, more attention is paid to the multiple identities of Arab and Muslim-Americans, issues of diversity, and the relationship between the "Arab world and Islam to modernity and the "West" (Wingfield, 2006, p. 261). In the final approach, social action and social justice, there is a strong emphasis on speaking out and against injustices committed towards others through school organizations and school public service announcements (Wingfield, 2006). The result is the establishment of socially conscious and active bodies that strive for the success of all diverse groups.

Critical Race Theory and the Banks dimensions of multicultural education are heavily influenced by earlier theories, most notably the socio-cultural theory. Socio-cultural theory has its roots with Vygotsky, who argued that learning takes place in conjunction with societal and cultural elements (Alfred, 2002). This challenged previous learning theories that suggested

learning took place separately from the real world. Such early cognitive theories argued that regardless of a student's cultural or religious make-up, home life and experiences, students could be taught and could learn. Early cognitive theories failed to make a connection between what the students were learning and how to apply it to real-world situations. Such early cognitive theories were valued in the American educational system where students shared the same cultural norms and values. However, the American classroom today does not have the relatively homogeneous population of the 1950s. The nation is multi-ethnic and a leader in a global society. Students will not share the same cultural, social and economic capital, and therefore, they will depend upon a curriculum that emphasizes content, a student's background, and application.

From this perspective, socio-cultural theory has great importance in education, starting with teacher education programs. Socio-cultural theory demonstrates the need for teachers to recognize and understand the multiple cultures in their classrooms, how they influence student learning, how teachers can work and support learning, and how teachers can accommodate lessons and activities to match students' cultures without the fear of unintentionally harming or offending any single group. Socio-cultural theory also allows teachers to realize how they can help students interact with other cultures to provide them with a foundation that can then be used outside school, in the workforce, and in a democratic society.

Socio-cultural theory has also had a profound impact on social justice education theory (SJE). Over the years, social justice education has been misinterpreted as a movement to ensure that all students are treated equally within education. While equal treatment and opportunity are a large goal of SJE, Sharon Gewirtz (1998) argues that it is only one aspect of a higher purpose. Gewirtz has divided social justice into two distinguished concepts: distributional and relational. Distributional justice focuses on ensuring that all resources are dispersed equally throughout

society, a concept that coincides with the more traditional views of SJE. Relational justice, Gewirtz argues, concentrates on how different groups of people, such as classes, races, or employee levels (part-time, full-time) interact. As Gewirtz states, "the formal and informal rules which govern how members of society treat each other both on a macro level and at a micro interpersonal level" (Gewirtz, 1998, p. 470). SJE's goals, therefore, are more refined to include not only equal educational opportunities, but also teaching students the values of equality. In its most absolute form, social justice education aspires to teach students self-advocacy skills, specifically within education (Hackman, 2005).

SJE's success in the classroom greatly depends on how teachers discuss multiculturalism. SJE emphasizes that multiculturalism must be taught more in depth as opposed to just celebrating diversity and holidays, which are often reflected in cultural and international days, or government mandated holidays, like Martin Luther King Jr. Day, Black History, and Women's History month. SJE searches for ways to challenge the racial, class, and societal status quo, to open up the door for all voices to be heard and understood in the truest democratic sense. When used in this manner, SJE has the capability to provide an education where all are valued, not just those with privilege. In addition, SJE is constructed to ensure that all rise to equal status based on achievement, as opposed to what so many refer to as "gifted achievements," through programs like affirmative action (Hackman, 2005, p.104). According to Hackman (2005), SJE includes the "equal distribution of resources and social responsibility" (p.104). With that said, social justice education is not merely an overview of the Brown vs. Board of Education court case, but rather about critically analyzing social inequality within institutions, cultures and communities, and providing students with the knowledge, authority and means to change these inequalities.

Hackman (2005) highlights five main components of SJE that include content mastery, tools for critical analysis, tools for social change, tools for personal reflection and an awareness of multicultural group dynamics. Hackman emphasizes content mastery as a key factor in SJE, principally in helping students develop a macro-to-micro approach, something that is vital to any subject matter in education. Throughout my teaching experiences, the traditional route as been to teach in the reverse manner, starting micro while widening the lens to develop the "big picture." Social studies classes are prime examples; students study minute historical concepts first, before connecting them to major themes or concepts or other concurrent global events. Therefore, it is imperative that students not only master the content on a micro level, but also be able to understand global issues in a macro setting.

Through SJE, students analyze historical information from multiple perspectives. However, in many cases the curriculum is taught from only one angle. SJE theorists and supporters argue that mono-cultural studies purposefully ignore knowledge that is crucial to understanding historical events and their effects on society today. Through SJE, students have the power to view history and events with a more democratic mindset, understanding that there is always more than one version to any story, and that there is more than one correct answer. SJE allows for a curriculum where no one cultural group is left out or ignored.

Major challenges to the inclusion of multicultural and social justice education are classroom texts and the curriculum. Textbooks have long ignored Arab and Muslim-Americans in U.S. history, English and languages arts, and American civics classes. Singer (1994) argues that some so-called multicultural texts and curricula include minorities in "one even, work of art, or cultural manifestation to represent the sum total of a people's experiences" (p. 286). Textbook publishers who claim to have multicultural texts often include minorities in sidebar passages

separate from the main text. Such a text takes "people's experiences out of context and marginalizes their roles in world history" (Singer, 1994, 286).

Another aspect that is closely related to Hackman's (2005) components of SJE is the concept of activity theory. Activity theory is an aspect of socio-cultural theory that concentrates on activities in relation to context. According to Jonassen and Ronrer-Murphy (1999), an activity, such as one that takes place in the classroom, "cannot be understood or analyzed outside the context in which it occurs" (p. 62). In other words, classroom activities must allow students to take information and practice it in a manner that simulates the real world. This is crucial to social justice education because it implies that in order for students to change social inequalities, work with other cultures and diverse populations, or develop democratic skills, they will need continuous practice. Within multicultural education, this could include taking students to diverse settings such as cultural museums, creating opportunities for students to exchange cultural knowledge, debating social issues, and providing time for critical reflection. Museums and cultural centers also provide students with opportunities to interact and socially engage with students of other cultures, thus helping to eliminate stereotypes and misunderstandings. Activity theory emphasizes learning, not as a transfer of knowledge from teacher to student, or book to the student's brain, but rather, as a social action that happens in conjunction with the activity. Activities help students make meaning of their surroundings and establish a learning continuum that affects how they make decisions when interacting with other cultural groups in the future (Jonassen & Ronrer-Murphy, 1999).

While Hackman's (2005) components of SJE are effective for teaching diverse perspectives, it is crucial that teachers have the skills to allow high-tension discussions to take place in a respectful and responsible manner. Many of these topics will require students to

challenge popular opinions or beliefs. Teachers must emphasize that challenging mainstream ideas, and traditions should not be considered unpatriotic or undemocratic; exercising such privileges are a fundamental right guaranteed through this country's most sacred documents. It can be argued that there are few things more American than the notion of challenging mainstream schools of thought. With this in mind, students can begin to challenge the social injustices of their community and become contributing members of a global society.

Another aspect of Hackman's (2005) components of SJE that is vital to multicultural education is the concept of personal reflection. Personal reflection provides teachers with a unique opportunity to consider their teaching practices in the classroom, their instructional materials, and activities, but also any biases that exist when covering content. It allows both teachers and students to reflect on their role in SJE, what they can do to instill change, and improve the social division present within their community, school, or the country. This is extremely necessary for many minority students who feel as though the system continuously works against their best interests. Schools many hold low expectations of minority students. It is crucial that Arab-Americans and other communities reflect on why they feel less valued, abused or misunderstood, which will allow them to understand what challenges they face in order to improve their circumstances. Teachers must be critical of their own teaching pedagogy to recognize Arab-American fears, concerns, and desires, in order to provide instruction that is more balanced, as well as a supportive learning environment.

A final aspect of SJE, and one that closely connects to Banks' five dimensions of multicultural education, is the classroom and school framework. Quite often in education, teachers, administrators, and parents seek simple, generic, and one-size-fits all solutions for problems that are far too complex. It is important to note that multicultural education is not a

simple solution to the centuries of racial and religious tension, as well as de facto and de jure segregation that is so much a part of this nation's history. Therefore, simply assuming that the inclusion of social justice through multicultural education will improve or change America's history of mono-cultural education is not only insufficient, but also irresponsible. In order for multiculturalism and SJE to be effective, each will need to be adapted to meet the unique needs of communities, schools, and classrooms. SJE is an issue that needs to be addressed with the current student population and not delayed for future generations. Marx (2002) argues that the current generation, what he refers to as, Millenials, will be more likely than previous generations to fight against social injustice. In other words, schools will carry a greater responsibility to provide students with the skills necessary to be social activists in a democratic society, but also to be "civil, responsible citizens, with a good sense of self and the ability to make peaceful change" (Marx, 2002, twenty-fourth paragraph).

Summary

Multicultural education is critical to understanding Arab and Muslim-Americans because it emphasizes teaching and studying from multiple perspectives. Rather than overlooking the many contributions and achievements by minority groups, multicultural education advocates for inclusion. An important element of multicultural education is critical race theory, which advocates the destruction of stereotypes, biases, and master scripting of the curriculum to allow for reconstruction and construction of minority studies. Closely related to critical race theory is social justice education, which emphasizes implementing multicultural education at a deeper level that allows students to advocate for social justice and change. Finally, socio-cultural theory and activity theory are extremely influential to multicultural education in that they advocate teaching that emphasizes real-world application. All of the aforementioned theories require that

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school districts, administrators, teachers, and staff work together to adapt to meet the unique needs of communities, schools, and classrooms.

Multicultural education confirms Arab-American and Muslim-American legitimacy within the curriculum. It also challenges stereotypes and misconceptions about Arab and Muslim-Americans, which students will likely encounter outside the curriculum. This allows teachers and students to rebuild Arab and Muslim-American identity and limit master scripting. Multicultural education is also vital for students to see in a manner that is real and can be applied to their everyday lives, which is the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter four concentrates on the lived stories of Arab and Muslim-Americans, particularly in their immigration, identity, and political activism. The literature review of this chapter is crucial in understanding current multicultural Arab and Muslim-American studies and is the foundation of this work.

CHAPTER 3 - LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

In the previous chapter, the emphasis was on multicultural and social justice education that included Arab and Muslim-American studies. Multicultural education, as previously noted, teaches students self-advocacy skills and allows for social justice education, which is integral to removing master scripting from the curriculum. Social justice education also challenges inequalities to promote positive inclusion within the curriculum and society. Both are particularly important to understanding the history and impact of the Arab and Muslim-American community.

Today, the Arab and Muslim-American community is firmly established in multiple ethnic and religious communities in cities across the United States such as Dearborn, Michigan and Toledo, Ohio. States like California, New York, New Jersey, and Texas have large Arab-American populations. Census records and data collected by the Arab American Institute suggest that there are approximately 1.7 to 3.6 million Americans of Arab decent in the U.S. (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011; Arab American Institute Foundation, 2012). Data from the most recent Pew Reports, as well as surveys and mosque attendance records, suggests that there are about seven million Muslims living in America, of whom about twenty-five percent are of Arab descent, and twenty percent are African-American. The majority of the Muslim-American population is of Asian descent (Pew Research Center, 2007, p. 13; Haddad, 2011, p.3).

No study of the Arab and Muslim-American populations would be complete without critically analyzing and understanding the historical connection that these two group share in the United States. As educators, understanding the historical background of our students is a key component in building connections not only with our students and their communities, but also between our students and the curriculum (Nieto, 1994; Wingfield, 2006).

Immigration and Arab and Muslim-Americans within American Society

Arab-American history is not as easily traceable as that of other immigrant groups. The earliest waves of documented Arab immigration to the United States began in the 1800s. During this time, the Middle East was under Ottoman rule, which meant that most Arab immigrants, whether Muslim or Christian, were classified as Turks or Ottomans (Naber, 2000). The vast majority of Arab immigrants to the United States during this period were Christians from a region in the Middle East known as Greater Syria, which today includes Syria, Lebanon, and parts of Iraq, Jordan, Palestine, and Saudi Arabia. During the late 1800s, Greater Syria experienced economic decline largely because of the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. The canal allowed Asian products to flood the markets and compete with Syrian products, particularly silk. Passage through the Suez Canal not only made trade more efficient, but also completely bypassed trade through Syria, which had previously been used to transport Asian goods to the western markets. An increase in the population within Greater Syria further complicated an already strained economy that could not accommodate a new population surge within its workforce, both agriculturally and industrially (Suleiman, 1999).

The economic situation in Greater Syria served as a catalyst for Arab immigration to the United States. Easier and safer sea transportation, coupled with increased communication with the western world, helped make the United States an appealing destination (Suleiman, 1999).

America's political stability over Europe would lead to an increase in Arab immigration. Arabs who immigrated to the U.S. found not only economic, but also political stability, separated from the war-torn regions of Europe and the Middle East. This eventually led to future waves of Arab immigration to the U.S. (Suleiman, 1999).

Similar to early Italian and eastern European immigrants, the majority of the first wave of Arab immigrants in the 1800s was uneducated, and they worked in a variety of areas. Many were Christian. One job that was very popular among Arab immigrants was peddling. Peddling was prevalent within the Middle East, and thus it provided a familiar job that was easy to open once in the U.S. It was also safer than other occupations that drew high numbers of immigrants, such as mining or factory work. Farming was unappealing because of the sometimes harsh weather conditions and because of the risk and insecurity involved in farming crops (Suleiman, 1999).

Peddling provided a stable income that allowed Arab immigrants to move into the middle class. Peddling was easy to open, cheap, and required only a suitcase of handmade wares.

Overtime a peddler could upgrade to a horse and buggy cart and even to a dry goods store (Suleiman, 1999). A peddling business was easy to open and easy to close or sell, which allowed Arab peddlers to save money to return to the Middle East and to provide for their families.

Peddling was appealing to many of the first Arab immigrants, particularly men, who intended to stay in the U.S. temporarily (Haddad, 2011). What is also noteworthy about peddling is that it required a great deal of assimilation into the American culture. It required that peddlers speak English, understand how to interact with non-Arabs, and recognize the cultural goods that needed to be sold within America. The practice demonstrated an ability to assimilate once in the U.S. (Suleiman, 1999). Peddling also demonstrated how Arab-Americans used their cultural

capital to contribute to their success in the U.S. Eventually, peddling provided Arab immigrants with financial stability and laid the foundation for some of the first permanent Arab communities. It also led to additional waves of Arab immigration.

A second wave of immigration took place after WWII, which unlike the first wave, included mostly Muslims, educated professionals, and women. The second wave also included political refugees who sought asylum in a stable political climate, unlike the newly forming Arab governments (Cainkar, 2006; Naber, 2000). Many within this wave had hopes of returning to the Middle East and assisting U.S. efforts and interests in the region, by toppling regimes and leading anti-government movements (Haddad, 2011). Unlike the first wave of Arab immigrants who focused on being socially active in the community, the second wave was politically active, particularly during campaigns for an Israeli state (Haddad, 2011). This is because many of the post-WWII Arab immigrants were deeply concerned about the political context of the Middle East, since most still had family members living in the region.

The third wave, post-1960s, was a larger wave of immigrants who were determined to escape the political and military climate of the Middle East. Many of these new immigrants were high school and college educated, and unlike the first group that was predominately Christian, the third wave was comprised mostly of Muslims (Suleiman, 1999; Naber, 2000; Cainkar, 2006; Haddad 2011). The immigrants in the third wave had stronger Arab identities than previous groups, as noted by Nadine Naber (2000). Naber (2000) attributes this new cultural identity to an increased awareness of U.S. foreign policy within the region. It was also during the 1960s when the term "Arab-American" began to increase in popularity (Naber, 2000). The use of this descriptor demonstrated a desire for political representation and self-

identification, which would allow Arabs to establish their ethnic uniqueness from other groups within the U.S.

Arab-American Identity

While many early immigrant groups arrived in the United States with a unified identity, most Arab immigrants did not. The difficulty in establishing an identity for Arab-Americans has a lot to do with their history. Arabs identified with villages, regions, and in familial and sectarian ways. They did not identify by ethnicity. Therefore, within the U.S., it was not uncommon to find Arabs who identified as Arabians, Arabs, Turks, Syrians, or Armenians (Suleiman, 1999). There was a lack of a common term or identity for Arabs, and this fact makes it impossible to determine how many Arabs came to the U.S. prior to the 1920s and the collapse of Ottoman rule in the Middle East. Prior to this time, Arabs had been grouped with Greeks, Armenians, Turks, and Asians. They had been described as black, "colored," and in some cases white or Caucasian (Suleiman, 1999). Although Arabs shared common language, culture, and heritage, they did not begin organizing until the twentieth century, when the need for a common identification arose. Occupied by the Ottomans, and later by the French and British, Arabs did not associate along national lines, which did not exist until western powers imposed such distinctions for political, economic, and military purposes.

Even without a cohesive identity, Arab-Americans still displayed some form of solidarity during their earliest years of immigration, particularly through Arab communities. Arab immigrants, like other immigrant groups, set up communities to serve the needs of their religious and cultural organizations (Davidson, 1999). These communities provided the foundation for sectarian unity between groups such as the Orthodox Arab Christians, Maronites, and Druze who established Arabic language newspapers and social halls (Suleiman, 1999). Many of the

newspapers printed during the first and second waves of immigration were also very political; the papers demonstrate some political organization by Arab immigrants. Some newspapers advocated for freedom within the Ottoman territories. They encouraged rebellions and called on the Arabs in America to demand rights for relatives back home. Other newspapers, as Suleiman (1999) notes, such as *Kawkab America*, maintained support for the sultan in Istanbul. These examples reveal Arab social and political organization within the U.S., and they demonstrate the adoption of democratic values by Arab-Americans and their exercising of their freedoms (Suleiman, 1999).

As Arab immigration continued to increase throughout the 1800s, so too did the number of Arabs permanently settling within the U.S. This led to an increase in the number of Arab applications for U.S. citizenship, which in turn led to new questions about Arab identity and racial classification. Within the United States, there is evidence of debates over Arab racial classification that can be traced as far back as the early 1900s. In one specific 1914 case, a Syrian man was denied U.S. citizenship because, according to the South Carolina judge, "a modern Syrian was an Asiatic, and was thus not included in the term "white persons" (In re Dow, 1914, 356). In most cases, the issue of citizenship was not left exclusively to a judge to determine. The 1917 Restrictive Immigration Act restricted "immigration and naturalization for natives of most countries east of the Persian Gulf" (Samhan, 1999, p. 217). Geographically, this excluded Asians and not Arabs, however, many Arabs were living under the control of the Ottoman Turks, from Asia Minor, thus qualifying them as Asians and making them ineligible under the U.S. law for citizenship (Samhan, 1999). Issues of citizenship continued well into the World War II period. In 1942, a Yemeni was denied citizenship in a Michigan District Court because, according to the judge, "apart from the dark skin of the Arabs, it is well known that they are a part of the Mohammedan world and that a wide gulf separated their culture from that of the predominately Christian peoples of Europe. It cannot be expected that as a class they would readily intermarry with our population and assimilate into our civilization" (In re Ahmed Hassan, 1942, p. 845).

Questions concerning Arab identity increased into the 20th century as the political situation in the Middle East deteriorated with the onset of WWI. U.S. and Canadian immigration quota restrictions on the Middle East reduced the number of Arab immigrants and left Arab-Americans feeling isolated from family and friends abroad. The inability to return to the Middle East led to greater Arab assimilation in the United States and a strengthening of Arab-American identity and unity (Davidson, 1999). The war period led to an increase in Arab-American social halls, stronger communal ties, and increased political action in voting and party membership. The number of Arabs who joined the U.S. military increased in their attempts to "liberate" the homelands of the Middle East. Arab-Americans also bought liberty bonds and established English language newspapers (Suleiman, 1999, p.5)

Nevertheless, Arab-American patriotism continued to be challenged. As a tight knit community - one that was very trade specific - Arabs were often seen as "clannish, alien, and unassimilable," encouraging marriage within the community and conducting business usually with other Arabs (Suleiman, 1999, p. 6). Most early Arab immigrants had the intention of making enough money to return to the Middle East. They made an attempt to understand the customs and traditions of the U.S. so as not to break the rules and offend the host country, but most Arabs did not adopt these customs as their own (Suleiman, 1999). It was not until WWI, when for the first time, Arab-Americans began to believe that returning was not possible; that they would need to permanently settle within the United States. This realization led to large-scale

assimilation throughout the interbellum period involving education in English, academic pursuits, and attempts to earn citizenship. Unfortunately, for many Arabs assimilation was an intense process that involved adopting one culture over another. By WWII Arabs were "an indistinguishable group from the host society" (Suleiman, 1999, p. 8).

Post-WWII Arab immigrants had a different mindset than those who had immigrated prior to WWI. Unlike their predecessors who had been mostly Christians from Greater Syria, the second wave of Arab immigrants was comprised mostly of Muslims from all across the Middle East. While the first wave of Arabs immigrated mainly for economic reasons, the second wave did so on political grounds, either because of international conflict, civil war, or to escape dictatorial regimes. As a highly educated group, many had attended American universities, were wealthy, and were politically active (Suleiman, 1999). Instead of trying to assimilate as previous Arabs had - abandoning their heritage in exchange for their host country's culture - this second wave of Arab immigrants organized, for the first time, to fight against Arab stereotypes (Suleiman, 1999).

It is also during this same time when the term *Arab-American* became popularized; in large part, due to the formation of the Arab League and the 1960s Pan-Arab movement that was prevalent throughout the Middle East, and which led to increased Arab political activism (Saliba, 1999; Naber, 2000). Prior to the 1960s Pan-Arab movement, "many Americans of Arab descent, who previously identified themselves according to their country of origin, their religious affiliation, or as generically 'American' united according to the label 'Arab American'" (Naber (2000). Arabs, in their attempt to maintain their ethnic and cultural identity, tried to "restore pride in Arab ethnic heritage," and challenge derogatory connotations associated with the word *Arab* (Saliba, 1999). According to Naber (2000), this allowed Arab-Americans to "redefine the

term 'Arab' on their own terms and deployed their racial/ethnic identity as a political strategy for claiming their rights" (p. 41). Naber (2000) argues that the 1960s surge in the term *Arab-American* was a way of resisting political and social racism. This represents Arab-American attempts to emphasize their cultural capital and advocate for social justice within society. In many ways, it was an attempt for Arab-Americans to dismantle negative views and rebuild the Arab-American history and representation based on equity; aspects that resonate with both critical race theory and social justice education. At the same time, this new identification created confusion and tension amongst the Arab community in the U.S.

Earlier waves of Arab immigrants wished to be categorized as white, along with other European immigrants, giving them easier access to citizenship (In re Dow, 1914, 356; In re Ahmed Hassan, 1942, p. 845). However, Arab-Americans had some cultural differences that separated them from European counterparts, making it difficult for all Arab immigrants to identify with the white category (Naber, 2000). By advocating for an Arab-American identity, post-1960s Arab immigrants chose to separate themselves from the culture and histories of white or European-Americans (Naber, 2000). This demonstrated Arab-American attempts at utilizing critical race theory to achieve recognition within American society. Arabs viewed themselves as culturally and politically similar to other minorities, specifically, people of color (African-Americans, Latinos, Native-Americans, and Asians). Over time, Arab-Americans began to identify themselves as one cultural conglomerate (Naber, 2000).

The inconsistencies in Arab identity and classification have greatly impacted the Arab-American community, specifically in regards to cultural capital. Since 9/11, Islamophobia has forced Arab-American communities to attempt to assimilate out of fear of being attacked or stereotyped. Those Arabs who can pass as "white," will and do, assuming they do not mention

that they are Arab, Middle Eastern, or Muslim, extending the notions of "white privilege" to themselves. At the same time, those who cannot, either because of cultural dress, names, and traditions, do not, and are tied to the negative stereotypes associated with being Arab (Naber, 2000). This has placed Arab-Americans in an awkward position where on the one hand, some members of the Arab community identity as white, while others do not. The inconsistencies in Arab-American identity lead to what Naber (2000) refers to as "Arab-American invisibility" (p. 41).

The dilemma facing the Arab American community is clear. By occupying a confusing status within the US racial/ethnic system, Arab Americans have been rendered 'invisible'. But if 'visibility' requires that Arab Americans should occupy a more distinct place within the US racial/ethnic system, what place should they occupy? Should Arab Americans seek status as a separate racial/ethnic group, or remain classified as white? (Naber, 2000, p.54)

Naber's questions are at the root of the controversies surrounding Arab identity and continue to be of great concern, particularly in regards to the U.S. Census. In 1975, the U.S. government established four categories of racial identification: American Indian/Alaska Native, Asian/Pacific Islander, Black, and White. The 1980 census introduced new categories: white non-Hispanic and white-Hispanic (Samhan, 1999). An attempt by the American Civil Liberties Union to adopt a system similar to Canada's, replacing racial categories with national origin categories, was unsuccessful. Census records do not distinguish between Arabs and European Americans, and laws prohibit census questions about religious views or beliefs, which make it

difficult to determine how many Arabs and Muslims live within the U.S. today (Pew Research Center, 2007; U.S. Census Bureau, 2011; Arab American Institute Foundation, 2012).

Without a separate racial or ethnic category, Arab-Americans are forced to identify with groups that do not properly represent them. Some Arab-Americans, confused by the categories, select the "other" category and simply write in "Arab, Arab-American, Lebanese, Moroccan, Egyptian-American," etc. There are several issues. First, the white racial category has typically been used in reference to peoples of European decent; however, Arabs are not European. Second, Arabs have not be afforded the same privileges as whites and, therefore, identify with other minority groups who have suffered ethnic and racial mistreatment.

Many parallels can be made between the Arab-American struggle for a unified identity and research on intersectionality. Intersectionality is a study that has its roots in the women studies movement, particularly, in research of African-American women's lived experiences and those of other women. Intersectionality examines relationships that exist "among multiple dimensions and modalities of social relations and subject formations" (McCall, 2005, p. 1771). The theory argues that society has many overlapping identities that make it difficult to separate people, their culture, and their lived experiences into groups or categories. An example is the lived experiences of Arab-American women. The personal narratives of Arab-American women differ greatly from those of other women, such as African-American, Asian and Latina women. Intersectionality identifies the differences in how people within society identify themselves within such overlap, for example, a woman's struggle to identify as an Arab woman who practices aspects of the Arab culture, or as a woman who is of Arab ethnicity, but does not practice aspects of the Arab culture. Over time, intersectionality has expanded beyond the

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concentration of women studies programs to multiple identity categories like race and class (McCall, 2005).

Within intersectionality are three methodologies: anticategorical complexity, intercategorial complexity, and intracategorical complexity. Anticategorical complexity is the belief that society is too complex to be divided into a few distinct categories. Intercategorical complexity, refers to using existing or master identity categories established throughout history to recognize inequalities that exist and "changing configurations of inequality along multiple and conflicting dimensions" (McCall, 2005, p. 1773). Finally, intracategorical complexity is the understanding that different groups cross over multiple identities and have different lived experiences that require new identity categories (McCall, 2005).

Intersectionality recognizes the challenges in categorizing large groups of people under one identity, which results in overgeneralization. Arab and Muslim-American communities have found themselves within all three of the complexities of intersectionality. Arab and Muslim-American communities, like other communities, are not culturally monolithic, which makes it difficult to group or label them under a single category. There are linguistic and cultural differences between Lebanese and Iraqi Arabs, Sunni, Shiite, and Druze Muslims, as well as cultural differences between South Asian Muslims of India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Indonesia. Combining individual groups into conglomerate categories creates inequality within each group. This leads to overgeneralizations about Arabs.

Intersectionality, within the Arab and Muslim-American communities, recognizes that while most ethnic Arabs speak Arabic, not all do, and some speak various forms of more ancient Semitic languages. Intersectionality also recognizes the multiple religious identities that exist.

Not all Arabs are Muslim, and not all Muslims are Arab. Not all Muslims are united under a

common identity and neither are all Christian Arab groups. There are many Arabs who live in Africa and identify as being Arab-African Muslims or Christians. These are the identity challenges that Arab and Muslim-Americans face every day in addition to issues of assimilation. The intersectionality of Arab-Americans is not limited to race, but can also include gender, class, and sexual orientation. Each individual represents a unique combination of identities grounded in his or her personal history and experience. Understanding these complexities opens the path for personal narratives that add to the Arab and Muslim-American story.

Unfortunately, overgeneralizations about Arabs have perpetuated stereotypes against those who are Arab and those perceived as being Arab. In her research, Nadine Naber (2008a) found that Christian Arabs who had Arabic names, such as Osama, were often targeted because they were viewed as Muslim and/or as having terrorist affiliations (Naber, 2008a). Christian and Muslim Arab men, with darker completions and facial hair, have been the victims of racism and frequently targeted. Naber also concluded that Muslim women who wear the *hijab* have experienced more backlash than Arab men because they are more visible. As a result, derogatory comments such as "Osama's daughter" have been directed at them (Naber, 2008a, p. 293).

Non-Arab and non-Muslim groups have been harassed based primarily on appearance. Southwestern Asians including Pakistanis, Indians, Iranians, and Turks have been the target of attacks when mistaken as Arabs (Bassouni, 2004). Sikh-Americans, who are not Muslim or Arab, have been openly targeted since 9/11 and continue to be mistaken for Arabs and Muslims. Sikh men who wear beards and turbans as part of their religious observances, have experienced an increase in hate crimes since 9/11 that have resulted in work place discrimination, school

bullying, and numerous deaths (Sikh Coalition, 2012; Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights, 2012).

The importance of ethnic identity is not only an issue within the Arab community, but outside, in politics and daily life. Sahman (1999) argues that racial categories permeate nearly every bureaucracy, public, and private alike, for Arabs, "in school and medical forms, job and loan applications, political caucuses, polls and even market surveys" (Samhan, 1999, p. 129). "Arabs have become accustomed to perennial 'other' status or to straddling their technical white identity with their practical affinity to 'people of color,' - meaning every other non-white European national origin group" (Samhan, 1999, p. 219).

Officially labeled as whites, Arab concerns and experiences of racism and discrimination go unnoticed under the premise that "white people cannot suffer racism" (Majaj, 1999, p. 321). Without a separate racial category, Arab-Americans are denied access to federal funding in minority achievement programs and curriculum development when funding is required to be more strictly allocated by official minority designations (Samhan, 1999). As such, Arab-Americans have become an invisible group without support.

Cainkar, (2008) contends that the marginalization or exclusion of Arab identity in the United States is done to prevent Arab social and political unity. "Arab exclusion is tactical: persistent, negative media representations; denial of political voice; governmental and nongovernmental policies targeting activism; and distortions of Arab and Muslim values, ways of life, and homelands " all help to further intensify differences between Arab and Muslim-Americans and westerners (Cainkar, 2008, p. 49). This reinforces animosity towards Arabs and Muslims and generates public support against Arab racial categories, and in favor for anti-immigration laws, and even the justification for aggression in the Middle East.

The classification of Arab-Americans continues to be a divided issue within the Arab community. The American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) suggested creating an Arab-American category to serve as a "linguistic identifier," in 1994, however, the Office of Management and Budget denied the request, offering to leave it open for future review (Samhan, 1999, p. 222-223). While the ADC was lobbying for an Arab-American category, the Arab-American Institute (AAI) lobbied for a Middle Eastern category that would include Arabs, Iranians, Turks, and Afghanis, among others (Saliba, 1999). What is lacking is agreement on definitions. Are Iranians Middle Eastern or Asian? Afghanis? Are categories to be determined strictly on geographic location, language, or cultural practices? Push for a separate category on the 2000 Census was denied mainly because there was concern that it "would encourage other ethnic groups to demand similar representation" (Saliba, 1999, p. 309).

A 2003 Census brief determined that Arab-Americans continued to struggle to reach consensus on how to identify themselves, despite an increased number who identified as being Arab, or Middle Eastern, and who support an ethnic category (de la Cruz & Brittingham, 2003). In 2012, Ann Arbor Public Schools, a school district in Michigan, changed their already existing Middle Eastern racial category, to Arab-American. The school district's Arab-American Parent Support Group advocated for the change amidst concerns that the Middle Eastern category alienated Arab-Americans who were not from the Middle East, such as Egypt, Morocco, Libya, and Somalia (Arndt, 2012). This push for social justice within education is an achievement for critical race theorists and the Arab-American communities in Ann Arbor Public Schools because it requires the staff to critically analyze how they include and teach Arab-American studies. It also represents the inclusion of diversity as a part of school culture and social structures, a higher level of Banks' (1993, 2004) multicultural education. Tahani Othman, the group's founder,

argued that the racial category has other educational benefits in that schools now have data specific information on the academic performance of Arab-Americans. Although still in the early stages, data collected thus far has helped to identify educational needs in the Arab-American student population.

The issue of Arab identity in the United States faces American schools, where students of Arab descent and their teachers are often faced with these questions. If Arabs are to be considered white, but do not share the same cultural histories and traditions of white European Americans, then how should they be included in the curriculum? How should teachers address Arab-American culture and history in a way that is culturally sensitive?

Arab and Muslim Political Activism in the United States

Issues of Arab-American identity also influence Arab-American political activism. It is important to note that Arabs were very open to political discussion and debates within the Middle East. As immigrants to the U.S., they were more concerned with surviving in a new country than being politically active. There were also concerns that engaging in political activism would be too "dangerous, harmful or economically detrimental" (Terry, 1999, p. 244). Despite these concerns, Arab-Americans were somewhat engaged in politics within the United States. One of the first examples of this takes place directly after the end of WWI. At the end of WWI, the Arab population of the Middle East, much of which remained under European control, for the first time had prospects of independence. As the Arab communities of the Middle East worked diligently to develop borders and leaders, Arabs in America lobbied for U.S. political support in the Middle East, particularly for Palestine. One of the first groups was the Palestine Anti-Zionism Society, later called Palestine National League, which lobbied for political support between 1919 and 1921 (Davidson, 1999).

Modest Arab-American political action continued in the United States throughout interbellum and WWII. This changed significantly by the 1960s and during the third wave of immigrants. This group, unlike previous groups, was more politically involved, hoping to improve its economic and political circumstance in the Middle East by toppling oppressive regimes and dictatorships through Islamic opposition groups in the U.S. (Haddad, 2011). This wave of immigrants considered themselves to be working within American interests in their attempt to form democracies within the Middle East. Unlike other ethnic groups, however, Arabs struggled to unite under one particular political cause since many associated with diverse identities, either as Egyptians, Syrians, Lebanese, Moroccans, Christians, and Muslims. The notion of identifying as "Arabs," under a single ethnic label, had not yet been embraced, making it difficult to put forward a unified front. It was not until the Pan-Arab movement that swept the Middle East, following the Arab defeat by Israel in the 1967 war that Arab unification began to form. As Saliba argues, the Pan-Arab movement served as a way of uniting and organizing the diverse groups of Arabs "against U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East and racist media images of Arabs, while restoring pride in Arab ethnic heritage that has been treated with contempt and suspicion within U.S. cultural politics" (Saliba, 1999, p. 306).

The Arab-Israeli conflict led many Arabs and Muslims in the United States to become active in cultural or Islamic groups, at home and overseas, in an effort to increase awareness between the Arab and Muslim community, and to improve their political situation within the U.S. The Palestinian situation served as a catalyst for the formation of the Arab-American identity and political movements that soon followed (Naff, 1998; Terry, 1999). The Association of Arab American University Graduates (AAUG) became one of the first national organizations to unify under Arab identity. It was founded as a left- wing group that found many supporters,

both Arab and American, of third world movements, the kind necessary to overthrow the monarchal and dictatorial regimes throughout the Arab world (Orfalea, 2006). However, as the Arab and Muslim-American communities attempted to organize groups and committees, their efforts were thwarted by the exacerbating political situation overseas. Increased political and military tensions between the Arabs and Israelis quickly pulled international groups, such as the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), to restrict the sales of oil to the U.S. This, in combination with the rise of the Ayatollah in Iran, further strained already difficult Arab and Muslim-American relations.

Attempts on the part of the Arab and Muslim-American community to become politically active during the 1960s caused the U.S. government to take action. One of the earliest government actions against Arabs was Operation Boulder, an operation initiated by the Nixon administration. Operation Boulder monitored and restricted Arab and Iranian movement within the U.S., wire tapped phones, restricted immigration from the Arab world, deported hundreds based on "technical irregularities," and led to the repeated harassment of Arabs by the FBI (Haddad, 2011, p. 19; Orfalea, 2006). Although eventually ended in 1975, Operation Boulder would not be the last attempt to monitor Arabs and Muslims within the U.S. In 1978 Operation ABSCAM, lead by FBI director William Webster, selected "agents to pose as rich Arabs and try to bribe politicians and elected officials...to create the impression that Arabs are a threat to American politics" (Naber, 2008b, p. 35; Orfalea, 2006). In 1986, through the Freedom of Information Act, it was discovered that the U.S., under President Nixon, had plans to use two southern military compounds to intern Arabs and Iranians in a fashion similar to that of the Japanese internment during WWII (Haddad, 2011).

One of the most publicized cases of Arab-American political action was the Los Angeles Eight (L.A. 8). In 1987, seven Palestinians and one Kenyan were charged with terrorist activities for distributing Al-Hadaf, a Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFPL) magazine, on the streets of Los Angeles, and then threatened with deportation. The magazine was easily accessible with multiple copies in public libraries, college campuses, and the U.S. Library of Congress (Naber, 2008b). Initially charged with violating the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952, which made it legal to deport non-citizens for their political beliefs, the charges were later changed to "terrorist activities" under the 1990 Immigration Act (Moore, 1999). Throughout the more than twenty-year court case, the U.S. "government admitted that none of the L.A. 8 had committed a criminal or terrorist act" (Naber, 2008b, p. 35). Orfelea (2006) argues that the arrests were based on "guilt by association" (p. 267) and that there were attempts by the government prior to the arrests of the L.A. 8 to "round up people whose political activities were undesirable, whether they were a physical threat or not" (p. 267). For example, through the "Alien Terrorists and Undesirables: A Contingency Plan," a plan was set up, which allowed for the creation of a detention camp in Louisiana to hold suspects until they could be deported Akram & Johnson, 2004; Orfelea, 2006). In 2007, charges against the L.A. 8 were dropped when a U.S. immigration judge ruled that the U.S. government had violated the group's first amendment rights and had repeatedly failed to provide evidence of terrorist activities (Hamide v. Department of Homeland Security, 2007; Shahedah v. Department of Homeland Security, 2007; Weinstein, 2007).

While many Arab and Muslim-Americans feared deportation or incarceration, other groups continued to form, this time focusing on Arab and Muslim-American civil liberties, including the American Muslim Alliance (AMA), the Council on Arab and Islamic Relations

(CAIR), American Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), the Muslim Political Action Committee (MPAC) and the Arab American Institute (AAI). One of the first lobby groups to be formed was the National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA) whose political agenda included "an independent Palestinian state...pluralistic, nonsectarian Lebanon, and coexistence with Israel in its pre-1967 borders" (Orfalea, 2006, p. 226).

Some Arab-American groups tried to endorse candidates as a way of securing a voice within the government. In many cases, this worked against the Arab and Muslim-American political cause. Candidates have become increasingly skeptical of supporting Arab and Muslim-American organizations, accepting money for campaigns, or even meeting with key Arab and Muslim-American leaders for fear of being accused of supporting terrorist or anti-democratic groups. Even democratic candidates who have received the majority of Arab and Muslim-American support, both financially and at the polls, have been weary of appearing sympathetic to the Arab and Muslim-American community (Joseph, 1999). The lack of unity in the Arab-American political community has resulted in a lack of consistent support for American politicians. The divided Arab political situation in the U.S. has made it difficult for candidates who wish to support them. In 1972, George McGovern rejected Arab-American political support, as did Jimmy Carter in 1976 (Joseph, 1999). Other politicians such as Walter Mondale, Wilson Goode, David Dinkins, and Rudy Giuliani returned or refused financial support from Arab-American supporters (Orfalea, 2006). Ronald Regan, however, accepted Syrian and Lebanese support in 1980 (Joseph, 1999). Some politicians have refused money and support from Arab-American groups for fear of political backlash, preferring instead, nation-specific political organizations, like Syrian and Lebanese organizations that are less likely to be considers Arab organizations.

President Clinton sent mixed messages to the Arab and Muslim community, holding the first Iftar (breaking the fast) dinner at the White House, appointing the first Muslim ambassador, federal judge, and chaplains in the armed services (Haddad, 2011). Under President Clinton, government initiatives against Arabs and Muslims continued though. Congress passed, and President Clinton signed, H.R. 1710 Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (ATEDPA) of 1996. This act denied first amendment rights to non-citizens (aliens and permanent residents), allowed for the detainment of Arab-Americans without evidence, permitted deportation even if a crime had not been committed, and restricted contributions to Palestinians charities (Moore, 1999; Haddad, 2011).

One aspect of the ATEDPA is the added feature of a "removal court," that addresses immigrant deportation cases with evidence given by the government against so-called "terrorists" in secrecy. Through the removal courts, the defendant cannot be present, cannot view the classified evidence or respond/challenge the evidence (Moore, 1999, p. 84). Additionally, any evidence collected against a defendant cannot be made public because of nation security concerns. This is problematic for several reasons in that the ATEDPA applies to groups of people who have been associated with violence, essentially making guilt by association legal. It also puts into question the constitutionality of the ATEDPA of 1996, first amendment rights, and the question of rights for U.S. citizens versus aliens (Moore, 1999). Permanent residents in the U.S. were previously protected under the Constitution's equal-protection clause; however, these rights were subsequently removed with the ATEDPA (Bassiousni, 2004). According to Moore (1999), ATEDPA does not stop terrorism, as evidenced by the attacks that continued to take place after her piece was originally published, nor does it provide protection for those witch-hunted and accused of terrorism.

How does this law distinguish between "insiders" and "outsiders" in a normatively defensible way? Does it attempt to secure or undermine a sense of full membership in the social and political life of society for all individuals within that society? Can it keep allegiance to the political community durable in the face of mounting pressure, both external and from within? (Moore,1999, p. 85)

Moore (1999) argues that the ATEDPA was designed to make "expedited removals" in secret procedures, especially for non-citizens (pg. 85). Previous Supreme Court rulings in Mathews v Draz (1976), Los Angeles Eight (1987), and Reno v. ADC (1999) make it clear that there is a difference between being a U.S. citizen and an alien, in that the Constitution does not apply completely to aliens (Moore, 1999, p. 86-87). These rules demonstrate an attempt to identify or distinguish between insiders (citizens) and outsides (non-citizens), which Moore (1999) equates to a new form for nativism. Historically, the United States has attempted to restrict immigration from many parts of the world. There were attempts to restrict immigration from southern Europe and Asia, which resulted in literacy tests, the Chinese Exclusion Act, the Gentlemen's Agreement with Japan, the restriction of anarchists and communists during the Palmer Raids and McCarthy era, and more recent immigration laws that have targeted Mexican-Americans and Arab-Americans. Previous immigration restrictions led to the creation of secret surveillance operations such as the Internal Security Act (1950), counterintelligence programs (COINTELPRO), like the FBI and CIA, and the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) (Moore, 1999).

Government actions against Arab and Muslim-Americans continued into G.W. Bush's presidency. September 11th brought more policies that continued discrimination against Arab

and Muslim-Americans, most notably, the U.S. Patriot Act, which allowed the monitoring of Arab and Muslim bank transactions, phone conversations, emails, credit card purchases, and even books purchased and borrowed from libraries. The Patriot Act, like the Antiterrorism Act of 1996, allowed for the incarceration of suspected Arabs and Muslims without evidence, and went a step further by requesting that male Muslims living in the U.S. register with the Justice Department (Haddad, 2011). It paved the way for increased "racial profiling, detentions, deportations and torture of Arabs and Arab-Americans (as well as other individuals perceived to be associated with 'potential terrorists') without evidence of criminal activity" (Naber, 2008b, p. 38). This allowed the Bush administration to hold thousands without legal rights for up to two years as "enemy combatants" (Sinno, 2009, The Importance of Western Muslim Minorities, paragraph 4).

Several civil liberties watch groups quickly realized the dangerous implications of the Patriot Act. The American Bar Association, the American Librarians Association, and the American Civil Liberties Union declared that the Patriot Act violated the Constitution. The Patriot Act also paved the way for mass detentions of prisoners at the U.S. base in Guantanamo Bay, an extremely high security process that restricted anyone from "the U.S. media or human rights organizations...to go inside, view the conditions of detention, and talk to the detainees" (Bassiouni, 2004, p. 3). For years, U.S. courts have refused to investigate the treatment of prisoners, classifying Guantanamo Bay as leased territory from Cuba and not U.S. property (Bassiouni, 2004).

In addition to the Patriot Act, President Bush worked hard to monitor Islamic education, asking religious leaders and scholars to revise their curriculum, according to what the Bush administration considered "more moderate Islam," without ever making clear what the term

moderate referred to, or according to whose definition (Haddad & Ricks, 2009). While some Islamic schools and their leaders complied, others did so only on the condition that Jewish and Christian schools revise their curriculum as well, removing all anti-Islamic and anti-Muslim material present in their curriculum. Muslim religious scholars who refused to comply were arrested and some were even deported (Haddad, 2011).

Non-presidential candidates have also found it difficult to associate with Arab and Muslim-Americans. Hillary Clinton returned funds from the Arab and Muslim-American communities after a Republican candidate accused her of accepting "blood money," during her run for the U.S. Senate (Haddad, 2011, p. 20). In 2008, when then senator Barak Obama was campaigning for president, his campaign staff refused to allow a female Muslim supporter, who wore the *hijab* (head scarf), to sit directly behind the candidate's camera shot for fear that it would portray the senator as supporting Muslims, and highlight his Islamic roots (Christoff & Warikoo, 2008).

After 9/11, there was also a decrease in the number of Arab and Muslim-American political candidates, who found it increasingly difficult to run for office because of anti-Muslim attacks by the media, as well as by other members of Congress (Sinno, 2009). "In 2000, 700 Muslims were candidates for office at federal, state and local levels," but by 2004 the number decreased to a staggering 100 (Haddad and Ricks, 2009, The Scramble for Muslim Space in American Pluralism, paragraph 2). Research by Sinno (2009) identified only one Muslim congressman, and as of 2009, there were no Muslim governors or lieutenants, and only a few federally appointed officials and two ambassadors (Sinno, 2009, Chapter 5, paragraph 1). According to Sinno (2009), Muslims are "the most underrepresented of all groups that number between 0.5 and 5% of the population" in congressional history (Sinno, 2009, Are Muslims

Poorly Represented in American Politics, paragraph 13) and are "underrepresented when compared to other western countries" (Sinno, 2009, Chapter 5, paragraph 1). Ironically, Muslim-Americans are typically more educated than their counterparts in Western Europe (Sinno, 2009). Given the data, some would argue that Muslim-Americans are not interested in politics, however, the vast majority of Muslim-Americans, 82% are registered voters (Zogby, 2004, p.2), which as Sinno (2009) points out, means that many citizens have shown interest in the political process. It is clear that in the aftermath of 9/11, Arab and Muslim-Americans have continued to be ostracized not only in public, but also in politics, which has further hindered their ability to improve their condition within the U.S.

Arab-Americans, as a political community, have been and remain further behind other political groups in the U.S. who have emphasized their "differences within a particular identity group," in order to gain political advantages in the same way that African-Americans, Native-Americans, and Latinos have (Saliba, 1999, p. 306). Historically, Arab-Americans have tried to accentuate their whiteness in order to be accepted members of American society, but also as a way to earn citizenship. Politically, however, Arab-Americans have been forced in between the categories of white or minority (Saliba, 1999). Majaj (1999) argues that in order for minority groups, like Arab-Americans, with little recognition or political power, to become more visible, will require uniting with other marginalized groups. Such political unity would be similar to when Japanese-American, Jewish-American, and Arab-American groups joined forces during the 1991 Gulf War to counter racial and discriminatory backlash against Arab-Americans. Majaj (1999) argues that unity amongst minority groups "make clear that it is possible to bridge the insularity of identity politics without diminishing the specificity of ethnic concerns," (p. 323).

Summary

America has experienced three major waves of Arab immigration since the 1800s. Initially, most Arab immigrants were Christians from Greater Syria who were seeking economic opportunities not available to them in their homelands. Political turmoil overseas prevented many American Arabs from returning, thus resulting in the establishment of permanent Arab communities. By the 1960s, Arabs were immigrating to the United States from all parts of the Arab world. Unlike earlier waves of Arab immigration, the most recent wave was comprised of educated men and women, mostly Muslim, who were immigrating for political purposes.

The diversity of Arab immigrants has also made it difficult to establish a unified identity. Whereas earlier waves of Arab immigrants sought to be categorized as white in order to earn citizenship, post 1960s Arab immigrants wished to establish a separate category that emphasized their cultural and political differences. The intersectionality of Arab identity has also made it difficult for some Arab-Americans to identify with current U.S. Census racial categories. Without a single racial or ethnic category, Arab-Americans self-identify with a variety of different categories, including white, black, Asian, or other. Perception has made it challenging for non-Arab or non-Muslim-American groups, such as Sikh-Americans or Arab-Christian-Americans, who receive backlash because of being mistakenly identified as Arab.

The confusion over Arab-American identity has made it difficult for Arab-Americans to unite politically. Arab-American attempts at political action have often resulted in increased American political backlash, including government action against Arab-Americans and Arab immigrants. In other cases, Arab-Americans have struggled to support non-Arab political candidates, which have, at times, resulted in returned campaign funds. As such, Arab-Americans have found it increasingly difficult to remain politically active.

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The challenges of a unified Arab-American identity are also greatly connected to the stereotypes and biases that have been emphasized within the media. These stereotypes have over exaggerated Arab culture and history and tarnished Arab-American identity. Chapter four highlights the development of Arab and Muslim-American stereotypes, as well as its implication on the social studies curriculum.

CHAPTER 4 - ARAB AND MUSLIM-AMERICAN STEREOTYPES

Introduction

One of the biggest challenges to the Arab-American identity has been the development of stereotypes and biases, and its impact on the curriculum. In the weeks and months after 9/11, there were reports of anti-Arab and anti-Islamic statements being made by coaches and teachers towards students of Arab and Muslim descent. There were also reports of Arab teachers being removed from classes and schools, and even books written by Arabs and Muslims removed from school libraries (Ibish, 2003; Orfalea, 2006). Attacks directed against Arab and Muslim-Americans have continued in spite of the Arab and Muslim population increase within the United States (de la Cruz & Brittingham, 2003; Sikh Coalition, 2012; Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights, 2012). Today, schools continue to face challenges in combating anti-Arab and Islamophobic beliefs, particularly because of the many influential factors that students are exposed to outside schools. One major obstacle to challenging Arab and Muslim stereotypes and attacks has been the media.

This chapter focuses on the stereotyping of Arabs and Muslims and its impact on the Arab and Muslim-American community. Special emphasis is given to the media, particularly Hollywood, TV news media, and newspaper portrayal of Arab and Muslim-Americans. Also included is a section that focuses on support for Arab and Muslim-Americans. The final section of chapter four concentrates on results from survey questions five and eight that address

Islamaphobia, biases, and stereotypes against Arab and Muslim-Americans among students and within schools.

Construction of Media Bias

One of the first and most obvious inconsistencies is that of the Arab image, particularly in the media. The media's role in developing Arab and Muslim stereotypes cannot be underestimated. The media is a powerful source for knowledge and is a major source of information for most Americans (Youmans, 2004). According to Hartley (1999) all people are "citizens of media" (p. 157), participating in public decision making primarily through the media. As "citizens of media," people will make public decisions about Arabs, Muslims, and Arab and Muslim-Americans, whether good or bad, based largely by what they see portrayed in the media.

Ironically, Arab-Americans have been and remain one of the least visually recognized minorities, while simultaneously the most vilified in the media (Suleiman, 2000). Naber (2000) refers to the media's portrayal of Arabs as "neocolonialism," a term used to describe the ways by which the media attempts to "1) erase differences among Arabs, Middle Easterners and Muslims; 2) portray a fixed boundary of difference between the 'Arab-Middle Eastern-Muslim' and the 'white American'; 3) create an imaginary hierarchical relationship between the superior 'white American' and the inferior 'Arab-Middle Eastern-Muslim'; and 4) serve to justify U.S. intervention in Middle East affairs" (p. 44). Naber (2000) identifies several examples of "neocolonialism," particularly through films such as *True Lies* (1994), *Aladdin* (1992), and *Harem* (1985) (p. 44-45). I extend this list to include TV shows and films such as *24* (2001-2010), *The Kingdom* (2007), and *The Dictator* (2012). Such media portrayals have underscored what Abraham (1994) refers to as jingoistic racism, "racism toward non-European, non-Christian

dark skinned peoples" (p. 193). Suleiman (1999) expands upon Abraham's definition to describe jingoistic racism as "racism directed towards a foreign enemy that is perceived to exist" (p. 13).

Hollywood's negative depiction of Arabs and Muslims predates 9/11. Numerous movies across a span of multiple decades, has conditioned Americans to view Arabs and Muslims according to such Hollywood stereotypes and biases. The U.S. Department of Defense has worked with Hollywood to produce more than a dozen films of U.S. soldiers attacking and "killing Arabs and Muslims" (Bassouni, 2004, p. 15). "Hundreds of movies reveal Western protagonists spewing out unrelenting barrages of uncontested slurs, calling Arabs: 'assholes, bastards, camel-dicks, pigs, devil-worshippers, jackals, rats, rag-heads, towel-heads, scumbuckets, sons-of-dogs, buzzards of the jungle, sons-of-whores, sons-of-unnamed goats, and sons-of-she-camels'" (Shaheen, 2001, p. 11). According to Akram and Johnson (2004), "the stereotypes and demonization of Arabs and Muslims by American films may well have gone largely unnoticed because these characteristics are entirely consistent with widespread attitudes in U.S. society" (p. 15).

According to Jamal (2008), attacks on Arabs and Muslims are not only a violation of their civil liberties, but such attacks have been justified as the characterization of Arabs and Muslims as the "other" (p.116). The "otherness" of Arabs and Muslims involves portraying them as an inferior group when compared to the dominant culture. This has meant misrepresenting Arabs and Muslims with "violent stereotypes" in American popular media (p. 121). Too often, these images show violent, hateful Arabs and Muslims who seem ever vengeful towards Americans and the United States. As a result, the positive cultural capital described by Yosso (2005) is ignored and only negative portrayals of Arabs and Muslims are emphasized. Rather than deconstruct negative views of Arabs and Muslims to construct accurate portrayals

that promote equity, as suggested by critical race theory, Hollywood has done the opposite. This causes many Americans to ask questions similar to "why do they hate us?" Jamal argues that with all the negative publicity Arab and Muslims have received in the media, the real question is "why do we hate them" (Jamal, 2008, p. 122).

The abuse of Arabs and Muslims in the media has also had political implications. As a result, civil servants, such as mayors, governors, members of Congress, and the Senate, have been able to reinforce the anti-Arab and anti-Muslim stereotypes in Hollywood, giving them an open pass to publicly use hateful speech that would be unthinkable if used in contexts against other minorities (Abraham, 1994). For example, in 1985, a Dearborn, Michigan mayoral candidate, Michael Guido, distributed campaign brochures titled, "Let's Talk About City Parks and the Arab Problem" (Abraham, 1994, p. 191). In an interview, U.S. Attorney General John Ashcroft was quoted as saying, "Islam is a religion in which God requires you to send your son to die for him. Christianity is a faith in which God sends his son to die for you" (Ibish, 2003, p. 128). On Louisiana radio stations, Representative John Cooksey stated, "If I see someone come in that's got a diaper on his head, and a fan belt wrapped around that diaper on his head, that guy needs to be pulled over" (Ibish, 2003, p. 128).

In a 2008 town hall meeting, presidential candidate, Senator John McCain, confronted concerns about then presidential candidate Barack Obama. When accusations arose that Obama maybe of Arab descent, Senator McCain responded, "No... he's a decent family man [and] citizen" (Speigel, 2008, para. 18). While Senator McCain's comments were meant to subdue the audience, they implied that Arabs are not good, decent, or true citizens. McCain's vice-presidential running mate, Sarah Palin, also made public statements against then Senator Obama, accusing him of "palling around with terrorists" (Speigel, 2008, para. 8). In 2012, Minnesota

Representative Michele Bachmann and four other congressmen sent letters to five federal agencies demanding investigations of possible Muslim Brotherhood infiltrations in the U.S. government (Terkel, 2012). In their letters were accusations that a top State Department official and aide to Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, Huma Abedin, and her family had affiliations with the Muslim Brotherhood (Terkel, 2012).

Hateful speech directed towards Arabs and Muslims exists not only in politics, but also in society, through a continuous barrage of offensive images portrayed by the media, within TV shows, and movies. This portrayal has created a false impression that open violence against these groups has become socially acceptable and justified. These negative media images have led to increased Islamophobia and attacks against Arab and Muslim-Americans across the United States, particularly during and after high U.S. military involvement in the Middle East. Examples of such military involvement include the Gulf War in 1991, the U.S. bombings of Iraq in the mid-1990s, and most recently, the military actions in Afghanistan and Iraq after 9/11. In January of 1981, for example, when the Egyptian Coptic St. Mark Church in Denver was vandalized, the local media reported, "it was a 'hit' against Iran," (Orfalea, 2006, p. 241) thereby confusing the Christian Egyptian Copts with the Islamic Revolution in Iran.

The stereotypes and discrimination that existed in the media prior to 9/11 have had legal ramifications for Arab and Muslim-Americans, particularly in the courtroom. Interviewing lawyers in Dearborn, Michigan and Toledo, Ohio, Al-Hayani (1999) found that high profile situations in the Middle East, such as militarily action, led to an increase in media coverage, and increased convictions of Arab and Muslim-Americans in court cases. Mattar (1999) argues that comments about Arab ethnicity, racial, and ethnic backgrounds are often mentioned throughout court cases during times of war or conflict with the Middle East. Lawyers representing Arab and

Muslim-Americans attributed the convictions to negative media attention, which they believe resulted in unfair trials against their clients (Al-Hayani, 1999). In Michigan, the large Arab-American population has struggled to receive fair trials since the juries remain almost completely white. Even in densely Arab populated states like Michigan and Ohio, Arabs are not available in large numbers to serve jury duty, citing low English skills and an inability to leave work. This has pushed many lawyers to avoid jury trials, thereby preventing a situation where non-Arabs would judge Arabs (Al-Hayani, 1999). Many lawyers interviewed by Al-Hayani (1999) claimed that the law has worked against Arabs, due to stereotypes and cultural misunderstanding.

The media's portrayal of Arab men as aggressive, violent and abusive has made it difficult for male Arab-American clients to receive an unbiased trial. Al-Hayani found multiple cases in which male Arab-Americans, accused by their spouses of domestic violence, struggled to have an unbiased trial even with confirmed alibis or wavering stories from their spouses (Al-Hayani, 1999). Suad Joseph (1999) argues that stereotypes have "dysfunctionalized" the Arab culture as one where women lack rights, are secluded, and are abused by men who are forceful, barbaric, and polygamists (p. 264). The "dysfunctionalized" Arab stereotype has tarnished the Arab image and made it increasing difficult for Arab-American males to received fair trials within the United States.

Arab and Muslim stereotypes have also resulted in religious discrimination, particularly in regards to Islamic law (Sharia), and the U.S. legal system. While the American justice system is secular and calls for the separation of religion and state, Islamic law does not. Islam is non-secular; it is a religion and a social guide (Mattar, 1999). This has caused much confusion in U.S. courts that have tried to maintain American legal codes, while upholding Islamic laws about marriage, divorce, child custody, and inheritance within Muslim-American communities.

Many cultural misunderstandings are the result of the continued negative stereotyping of Arabs, Muslims, and Arab and Muslim-Americans within the media. Negative stereotypes of Arabs and Muslims are not exclusive to Hollywood and exist within newspapers and news media. After the Oklahoma City Bombing, news media printed accusations associating Arab and Muslim-Americans with terrorism. *USA Today* ran a headline 'Bomb consistent with Mid-East Terror Tactics,'" and "a *New York Times* column was titled 'Beirut, Okla.'" (Orfelea, 2006, p.283). The *New York Post* printed the headlines "Simply Kill These Bastards" one day after 9/11 (Dunleavy, 2001). Dunleavey's (2001) comments were not only in reference to those responsible for carrying out the attacks, but to Muslims in general.

There has also been a large attempt on the part of the media to represent Arabs and Muslims as being split between two different loyalties, between the U.S. and Islam. Often times, Muslims are portrayed as being more devoted to religion than country (Joseph, D'Harlingue & Ka Hin Wong, 2008). The assumption then is that all Arabs and Muslims in America, and around the world, are an assembled group that think and react as one body. Such assumptions lead to questions of suspicion and doubt about Arab and Muslim-Americans.

The news media has also drawn clear distinctions between how Arabs and non-Arabs are referenced and utilized in their report broadcasting and interviews. These interviews and roundtable discussions have become common on multiple news programs including MSNBC's *Scarborough Country*, Fox News' *The O'Reilly Factor*, and others that bring forth experts in multiple fields to comment on a variety of topics. In many cases, Arabs and Muslims are brought onto new shows with other interviewees to answer questions regarding Middle Eastern politics, Arab and Muslim affairs within the United States and abroad, and U.S. military campaigns throughout the Arab and Muslim world. Their presence on such shows is important

in that it helps to fight stereotypes by showing Arabs and Muslims as educated, politically aware, and active individuals, who care deeply about the Arab and Muslim world. However, once in these interviews, Arabs and Muslims are frequently asked questions that require them to clarify or speak on behalf of terrorist groups or Middle Eastern dictators (Morlino, 2004). Arab and Muslim-Americans are introduced on such shows juxtaposed with images of violence in the Middle East or after statements made by terrorist groups. Once on the air, Arab and Muslim-Americans are then asked to explain actions carried out by terrorist organizations, such as Hamas or Hezbollah, to name a few. The implication then is that all Arabs and Muslims know what terrorist groups and dictators are thinking and can speak on their behalf. As so-called "experts," Arab and Muslim-Americans who appear on new shows are often reduced to roles that require them to speak for other Arabs and Muslims, particularly extremists, instead of topics on their area of expertise.

An example of this is a July 2013 *Fox News* interview of Reza Aslan, a university professor and scholar who was promoting his new book, *Zealot: The Life and Times of Jesus of Nazareth*. At the start of the interview, Aslan, faced questions about his faith, was asked to confirm if he is Muslim, and was asked why a Muslim would write a book about the founder of Christianity. In his response, Aslan said, "Well, to be clear, I am a scholar of religions, with four degrees, including one in the New Testament, and fluency in biblical Greek, who has been studying the origins of Christianity for two decades... who also just happens to be a Muslim. So it's not that I'm just some Muslim writing about Jesus. I am an expert with a PhD on the history of religions" (Wemple, 2013; "'Zealot' author Reza," 2013). This did not stop the Fox News anchor from continuing with questions about Aslan's faith, as opposed to his new book.

The media's portrayal of Arabs and Muslims has cast doubt on whether Arabs are capable of being democratic, participating in democratic governments, or establishing and maintaining democratic governments in the Arab world. The media has depicted the Arab world as a conglomerate of third world nations that are unstable and undemocratic, further stressing that Arab cultures are incompatible with American ideals. While it is true that many Middle Eastern countries are developing and not democratic, most developing countries around the world are also non-democratic nations (Joseph, 1999). Again, Arab and/or Muslim-Americans are viewed as "outsiders." These negative views of Arab and/or Muslim-Americans work against the ideals of social justice, where groups are shown working as a part of the American democratic system.

There are other examples of Arab and Muslim stereotypes that exist outside Hollywood and the news media, for example, in older reference materials. Roget's 1980 Thesaurus used insulting descriptions and terms for Arabs, such as "street Arab, churl, villain, yokel, bumpkin, and lout" (Orfalea, 2006, p. 239). Merriam-Webster's 1976 Collegiate Thesaurus included synonyms as "vagabond, clochard, drifter, hobo, tramp and vagrant" (Orfalea, 2006, p. 239). Discriminatory terms were used not only against Arabs. Roget's 1980 Thesaurus offered synonyms such as "cunning, lender, rich, extortioner, and heretic" for Jews (Orfalea, 2006, p. 239). As of 2013, Merriam-Webster's online dictionary still included "street Arab" as a part of search results (Arab, 2013). Unfortunately, dated reference materials might still be found and utilized in schools and libraries.

Negative beliefs about Arabs and Muslims were present not only in the U.S., but also in Europe, where European statesmen and military leaders emphasize stereotypes about Arabs and Muslims to justify the colonization of predominately Arab and Muslim regions, such as the Arab

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world and Asia (Said, 1978). According to Louise Cainkar (2006) negative views of Arabs, Muslims, and Middle Easterners were held within mainstream American culture well before the devastating attacks of 9/11.

These views would not have emerged so quickly after 9/11 had they not been cultivated prior to the attacks. Otherwise, the hijackers would have been seen in ways similar to Timothy McVeigh, the Oklahoma City bomber, or members of the Irish Republican Army—as extremists whose actions do not reflect on an entire race, religion, or civilization. (Cainkar, 2006, p. 260)

The events of 9/11 helped to reignite the already popular prejudice that existed and had been displayed against Arab and Muslim-Americans, which led to an increase in the number of hate crimes across the country (Farsoun, 2004).

Very quickly after the attacks [9/11] a virtual anti-Islamic and anti-Arab hysteria materialized in the American media, among some sectors of the American public, and among many politicians. This rhetorical and attitudinal hysteria was encouraged significantly between Islamic inspired terror against Israel and Islamic-inspired terror against the United States. Some even declared the civilizational clash or war had started (Farsoun, 2004, p. 139)

Cainkar (2006) and Farsoun's (2004) views of cultivated bias and prejudices are evident in the media's reporting of the aftermath of 9/11. The media continued to report on the death toll in the days that followed the attacks, but of the names and personal stories that were read to the nation, few included the 300 Muslims that had worked in the towers and had also been killed; "over ten-percent of the total" killed (Orfalea, 2006, p. 301). There were also a number of Arab-

American and Muslim-American emergency medical respondents, firefighters, police officers, and volunteers who were killed trying to help rescue others (Orfalea, 2006). In the face of such discrimination, many continued to volunteer in the armed forces, signed up to be translators, raised money and even set up blood banks for the victims of 9/11 in the hopes that they would be viewed as not only Arabs and Muslims, but also as Arab and Muslim-Americans. Yet, Arab and Muslim-Americans are "regularly treated in a manner that would not be tolerated by citizens of western democracies" (Sinno, 2009, The Importance of Western Muslim Minorities, paragraph 4).

More than ten years after 9/11, Arab and Muslim-Americans continue to be the target of hate crimes because of stereotypes and discrimination. According to the FBI's 2011 Annual Hate Crime Statistics Report, nearly two-thirds of recorded religious hate crimes were targeted against Jews. Anti-Islamic hate crimes were the second largest number of recorded religious hate crimes at 13.3%. Overall, the FBI reported that 46.9% of all hate crimes committed in 2011 were due to racial biases, with African Americans and whites having been the most frequent targets, and another 11.6% were ethnic/national origin related (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2011). The FBI categorizes attacks on Arabs under the category of ethnic and national origin bias. Latinos were the majority of victims in this category.

For example, in 2012 a New York woman killed a Hindu man by pushing him onto subway tracks in front of an oncoming subway car (Santora, 2012). The woman later stated, "I pushed a Muslim off the train tracks because I hate Hindus and Muslims ever since 2001 when they put down the twin towers I've been beating them up" (Santora, 2012, para. 4). The woman was later charged with second-degree murder as a hate crime (Dado, 2013). Earlier that year, a white supremacist entered a Wisconsin Sikh Temple and killed six worshipers, presumably

because he thought they were Muslims (Freedman, 2012; Dado, 2013). Shortly thereafter, armed man entered a California mosque, threatening to kill worshipers inside (Dado, 2013). The man eventually left, and no one was harmed. Ongoing hate crimes against Arab and Muslim-Americans represent the negative views and prejudice that still exist against these groups more than a decade after 9/11.

Positive Media Construction

In the months and years after 9/11, the media's role in developing the image of Arab and Muslim-Americans has included some positive representations. TV shows like *The Guardian*, *The Education of Max Bickford*, and *7th Heaven* have used their primetime audience as a way to "counter representations of Arabs and Muslims as terrorist and fundamentalist" (Alsultany, 2008, p. 205). Despite this, a number of shows continue to show Arabs and Muslims as a threat to national security such as *Threat Matrix*, *JAG*, and *The Agency* (Alsultany, 2008, p. 208). Even with the addition of several shows and dramas that portray Arabs and Muslims in a positive light, the real question is will it be enough to counter the years of openly negative attacks and vilification of an entire group of people - especially when the stereotypes continue to be elevated in the media and popular culture.

Support for Arab and Muslim-Americans

Groups across the country have tried to fight the animosity towards Arab and Muslim-Americans. In Chicago, for example, "Mayor Richard Daley declared November Arab-American Heritage Month" (Orfalea, 2006, p. 309). A city in Pennsylvania put up "posters and fliers in several languages," across the city establishing itself as a "hate-free zone" and in Louisville, Kentucky a Green Armband Project was developed to pair "escorts to Arab-Americans and Muslim-Americans afraid to move about freely" (Orfalea, 2006, p. 309).

The White House reached out to Arab and Muslim-Americans as well. Shortly after September 11, President Bush visited the Islamic Center in Washington D.C. and hosted a Ramadan *iftar* (breaking the fast) dinner at the White House in 2002 (Haddad, 2011). Although President Clinton first hosted *iftars* in 1992, they continued to be a White House tradition of succeeding presidents, and, they have been held every year of President Obama's terms (Haddad, 2011; Sabochik, 2012).

People in the U.S. have also sought to educate themselves about Arabs and Muslims. American interest in Islam and the Arab world dramatically increased after 9/11, which resulted in more Arab and Muslim-American studies programs. Universities and colleges that had already offered Middle Eastern, Arab, and Islamic studies found their courses packed, and other universities and colleges began, or expanded, their programs to include Arabic language courses. Arab and Muslim-Americans became involved in the education process as well, working with neighbors, schools, and communities as guest lecturers and leaders of conferences and professional development (Haddad & Smith, 2009). These examples demonstrate the many ways that critical race theory, multicultural education, and social justice education have been used to promote the inclusion of Arab, Muslim, and Arab and/or Muslim-Americans. It also highlights how Arab and/or Muslim-Americans have challenged their "other" status, using social justice and multicultural education ideals to oppose inequalities, in an effort to be viewed as part of America. Even with these efforts, many Americans still struggled to understand Islam and Muslims (Haddad & Smith, 2009).

Nearly five years after 9/11, a 2006 survey conducted by the Center for Arab and Islamic Relations (CAIR) found that only two percent of participants considered themselves "very knowledgeable about Islam." Sixty percent of those who participated in the survey considered

themselves "not at all knowledgeable," and a staggering eighty percent "lacked any personal contact with a Muslim" (Sahli et. al, 2009, chapter 10, paragraph 4). The average of four polls given in 2006 by CBS and ABC News found that only 32% of Americans viewed Islam favorably (Nisbet, Ostman and Shanahan, 2009, Favorability Towards Islam, paragraph 9). It comes as no surprise that between "25-50% of Americans have strong negative stereotypes or perceptions of Islam and Muslims." Forty percent believe "Islam encourages violence more than other religions," and "nearly 60% perceive Islamic fundamentalism as a major threat to the United States" (Nisbet, Ostman and Shanahan, 2009, The Overall Opinion Climate Towards Islam and Muslim Americans, paragraph 1 & 2).

Spurred by American interests, a large number of books have been published about the Middle East, Islam, Arabs, Muslims, and Arab and Muslim-Americans; many have appeared on bestseller lists across the country. The Gale Group, a leader in educational publishing for libraries, schools, and businesses, has maintained a list of U.S. bestselling books, including best selling hardcover non-fiction books from 1990 to the present. Their bestselling lists have included works like *No Easy Day: The First Hand Account of the Mission That Killed Osama Bin Laden* (2012) and *Palestine: Peace Not* Apartheid (2006) ("U.S. Bestsellers Hardcover Nonfiction - October 1, 2006 - December 31, 2006", 2006; "U.S. Bestsellers Hardcover Nonfiction - November, 2012," 2012). Amazon.com and Barnes and Noble have indicated Middle Eastern history bestsellers on their sites that are updated hourly, such as *Guest of the Ayatollah* (2007), *Princess: A True Story of Life Behind the Veil in Saudi Arabia* (2011), *From Muhammad to Burj Khalifa: A Crash Course in 2,000 Years of Middle East History* (2012), *House of Stone: A Memoir of Home, Family and A Lost Middle East* (2013), *The Lemon Tree:*

2013; "Best Sellers Middle East," 2013). Amazon also has a list of bestselling books about Islam, which include the Qur'an and more contemporary works such as *The First Muslim: The Story of Muhammad* (2013) ("Best Sellers in Islam," 2013).

In addition to these sites, publishers such as Cambridge University Press, have included lists of bestselling Middle Eastern history books available on their websites, with similar literature, including *Iraq in War Time: Soldiery, Martyrdom, and Remembrance* (2013) and *The Logic of Law Making in Islam* (2013) ("Twentieth Century Regional History - Bestsellers," 2013). Even with the addition of these publications, many of the books on bestseller lists continue to reflect stereotypes about the Middle East and Islam with topics about terrorism, war, conflict, or U.S. military actions in the region for example, *500 Days: Secrets and Lies in the Terror Wars* (2012) and *The End of America - The Role of Islam in the End Times and Biblical Warnings to Flee America* (2011) ("Best Sellers in Middle East History," 2013; "Best Sellers in Islam," 2013).

Islamophobia, Biases, and Stereotypes (Questions 5 and 8)

Issues of biases and stereotypes have continued to be prevalent in the media and politics and have influenced how many Americans view Arab and Muslim-Americans (Saliba, 1999; Suleiman, 1999; Naber, 2000; Wingfield, 2006). Stereotypes and biases have also become a major concern in public schools and the curriculum as teachers struggle to address these issues within their classes. Within this study, questions five and eight of the survey were specific to these issues. Question five asked participants if their individual schools took time to discuss biases towards Arabs and/or Muslims with an option for open commenting. Question eight was an open-ended question that asked participants if they had observed biases against Arabs and/or Muslims among students and how they believed their students' views developed. Of the 88

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responses to question five, nearly 49% agreed or strongly agreed that, their schools took time to discuss biases towards Arab and/or Muslims, 28.5% disagreed or strongly disagreed, and 22% remained neutral. Table 4A shows the distribution of responses to question five.

Table 4A Question 5			
5. Your school takes the time to discuss biases against Arabs and/or Muslims.			
Answer Options	Response	Response Co	ount
	Percent		
Strongly Agree	11.4%	10	
Agree	37.5%	33	
Neutral	22.7%	20	
Disagree	20.5%	18	
Strongly Disagree	8.0%	7	
Comments:		33	
	answered question		88
	skipped question		13

The participants' responses on the Likert scale indicated that the majority of schools were addressing biases towards Arabs and/or Muslims, however, their comments suggest otherwise. The open responses to question five were hand coded according to the four themes that emerged from the data. The thirty-three open responses were sorted into the following categories: yes, the whole school took time to discuss biases against Arabs and/ or Muslims and as a part of school policy; yes, teachers individually took time to discuss biases against Arabs and/ or Muslims, and as a part of school policy; yes, teachers individually took time to discuss biases against Arabs and/ or Muslims, but not as a whole school or as a part of school policy; no, the school does not take time to discuss biases against Arabs and/ or Muslims and it is not a part of school policy.

In the open response section of question five, only three participants acknowledged that their schools took time to discuss biases against Arabs/or Muslims. "We do not use a standard curriculum for addressing these issues, but we are sensitive to the biases and engage students in conversations about prejudice as it is relevant." However, an overwhelming 29 responses (88%)

indicated that they individually took time to discuss biases against Arabs and/or Muslims, but not as a part of school policy. "Unfortunately, racism, bigotry, and misogyny are endemic in my student body. I have made it a personal quest of mine to rectify this." Another teacher recognized that "as a school it is not a priority, but individual teachers do make a point, especially in social studies to integrate this into the curriculum." Only one teacher admitted that neither they nor their school took time to discuss biases against Arab and/or Muslims. "I have never heard a discuss[ion] related to this issue as a school or even department."

While the majority of the participants in question five initially agreed that their schools discussed biases towards Arabs and/or Muslims, their responses show that the vast majority address issues of biases in their individual classes and not as a school. This is problematic because it suggests that schools are not including diversity as a part of the school culture, a major factor of Banks' (1993, 2004) multicultural education theory. Any discussion regarding biases or stereotypes was more closely tied to each teacher's pedagogy and varied "teacher-by-teacher" according to one participant. "This discussion is not school drive[en]. It is initiated if it happens at all, by the teacher," wrote another educator. These comments represent teachers' efforts to include social justice education by emphasizing diversity and challenging stereotypes and biases within their curriculum, even if only on a limited basis. At the same time, multicultural education requires incorporating diversity and challenging stereotypes and biases as a part of the school culture. This provides teachers with support in the classroom and aligns teacher goals with that of the school. Based on the results of the survey, including diversity and challenging stereotypes and biases does not appear to be a part of school policy or culture.

Question eight, similarly, asked if teachers had observed biases against Arabs and/or Muslims, and how they believed those views developed. As was the case for previous questions,

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the 74 responses in question eight were hand coded according to the eight main categories, which emerged. The major categories included 9/11 and terrorism, media (TV shows, movies, newspapers, news programs, internet, and social media), parents, community/religious institutions, anti-Americanism, lack of exposure to/interactions with Arabs and/or Muslims, and a combination of the categories. In the combination of categories, five subcategories were created to further disaggregate the data. These subcategories included media and parents, media and community/religious institutions, 9/11 and the media, 9/11 and the lack of exposure to/interactions with Arabs and/or Muslims, and parents and the lack of exposure to/interactions with Arabs and/or Muslims. Table 4B shows the distribution of responses to question eight.

Table 4B Question 8				
8. If you have observed biases against Arab and/or Muslims among your students, how do you think your students' views developed?				
Coded Categories	Response Percent*	Response Count		
9/11 and Terrorism	12%	9		
Media (TV shows, movies, newspapers, news programs, internet, and social media)	12%	9		
Parents	14%	10		
Community/Religious institutions	4%	3		
Anti-Americanism	1%	1		
Lack of Exposure/Interactions with Arabs and/or Muslims	4%	3		
Multiple Factors:				
A. Media and Parents	22%	16		
B. Media and Community/Religious Institutions/Lack of Exposure to	1%	1		
C. 9/11 and Media	7%	5		
D. 9/11 and Lack of Exposure	1%	1		
E. Parents and Lack of Exposure	1%	1		
None	20%	15		
Comments Submitted:		74		

^{*}Percentages rounded to the nearest whole number

From the 74 responses, the largest category was that comprising a combination of all categories. Approximately 32% of all participants believed that student biases towards Arabs and/or Muslims developed through some combination of the media, parents, the community, the aftermath of 9/11, or the lack of exposure and interactions with Arabs and/or Muslims. Within

this category, 22% believed the media and parents had the largest impact on shaping student views of Arabs and Muslims. "Yes, first of all my students pronounce the word Arab as A-rab, I correct them but they continue to use the term. Bias such as they own all the corner stores, they are crazy, terrorist. They develop these biases through misconceptions of what they see on T.V., video games (Arabs are usually the bad guys) [and] family biases."

The media's role in projecting biases against Arabs and/or Muslims was a significant factor, according to eleven percent of those surveyed. "The news is the news. Arab and/or Muslim followers are seen in various ways on the world stage. Their words and actions (whether positive or negative) speak volumes. Arab/Muslim silence toward radicals in their own groups gives the (perhaps not accurate view) of support for these radicals." Several participants cited students "listening to right wing Republican religious bigots on Fox News" and repeating the "misinformation they've heard from talking heads on Fox News and the like."

Only 12% of the participants referenced 9/11 and terrorism as a factor in the development of biases amongst their students. Overall, however, 26% of the participants made reference to 9/11 or terrorism in their comments. "First and foremost due to 9/11," stated one teacher, "students only have heard of the negatives associate with Arabs and/or Muslims." Another teacher commented, "Views have become more progressive since Sept. 11, though some still express uninformed views and biases." These comments demonstrate that stereotypes and biases towards Arabs, Muslims, and Arab and Muslim-Americans continued more than twelve years after the events of 9/11.

The most widely referenced source of bias were parents. Approximately 14% of the comments attributed biases to the influence of parents on students. One participant responded that, "most students' biases derive from parents' misconceptions of Islam," while a second

teacher reported that "students tend to emulate what they see and hear from adults." Another teacher wrote, "September 11 was a setback. In Missouri, that event (or their parents' memory of it) shaped their [student] view." Although not significant as a percentage, three participants mentioned the lack of exposure or interaction with Arabs and/or Muslims as a factor.

In total, approximately 79% of those who responded to question eight observed some form of bias towards Arabs and/or Muslims, while 20% argued against the presence of bias. Fifteen teachers maintained that they had not observed student biases towards Arabs and/or Muslims, with one teacher stating that they had "not observed any, although I would say that many of my students are able to recite negative stereotypes, but don't seem to put much stock in them." Other comments by teachers included not having witnessed biases among their students or in their school, not having Arab-American students, or having Arab students, but not witnessing biases towards them. One participant did mention "a tendency of my Muslim-Arab students to downplay their religious and cultural background."

The responses of the teachers to question eight correlate with the research on stereotypes and discrimination against Arabs and/or Muslims and Arab and/or Muslim-Americans. The findings of this study suggest that the media, parents, the community, the events of 9/11, and lack of exposure to or interaction with Arabs and/or Muslims influence students in the United States heavily. Student biases towards Arabs and Muslims have developed through multiple means and are being reinforced by a curriculum that has excluded this minority. The majority of participants in this survey recognized that most of their students, at a young age, have already developed biases towards Arabs and/or Muslims with very few opportunities for a more balanced perspective. To that end, students continue, more than twelve years after 9/11, to view Arabs and Muslims in a negative light.

Summary

The media's negative portrayal of Arabs and Muslims pre-dates 9/11 and continues to be a factor that influences the image of Arab and Muslim-Americans. As a result, Arab and Muslim-Americans and those mistaken for being Arab and/or Muslim are falsely accused of being terrorists, having terrorist affiliations, or are met with open violence (Orfalea, 2006). The stereotyping of Arabs and Muslims has also made it increasingly difficult for Arabs to receive unbiased trials (Al-Hayani, 1999). Arab and Muslim-Americans who participate in news interviews are often reduced to roles that require them to clarify or defend the actions carried out by Arab dictators or terrorist groups (Morlino, 2004).

Although limited, there are examples from the media that portray Arab and Muslim-Americans in a positive manner, including Arab and Muslim-American roles within TV shows, although this was smaller than the number of shows that continued the negative stereotypes (Alsultany, 2008). Aside from the media, there were also community programs that were developed to inform its citizens about positive Arab and Muslim culture and heritage and to protects is Arab and Muslim-American citizens after 9/11. Several American presidents have also reached out to the Muslim-American community, hosting Ramadan *iftars* and visiting Islamic centers (Haddad, 2011). However, it is evident from the research that stereotyping and biases towards Arabs and Muslims continues to outweigh positive images of these groups.

The results from questions eight and five, however, demonstrate the media's role influencing the image of Arab and Muslim-Americans. More than ten years after 9/11, nearly 80% of teachers had observed biases towards Arab and/or Muslims amongst their students.

Twelve percent of the teachers who participated in the survey believed biases developed because of the media. The majority of teachers believed these stereotypes developed through a

combination of the media, parents, the community, the aftermath of 9/11, or the lack of exposure and interactions with Arabs and Muslims. Finally, the results from question five reveal that 88% of teachers took time to discuss biases and stereotypes about Arabs and Muslims within their classes, but that it was not part of school policy.

It is evident from the research that the media has played a strong role in developing the image of Arabs, Muslims, and Arab and Muslim-Americans and that teachers have made efforts to address these stereotypes within their classes. However, based on the research and the data in questions five and eight, it is clear that Arab and Muslim stereotyping and biases continue to exist. More importantly, such stereotyping has already affected how students view Arabs and Muslims. The data from question five also suggests that teachers are addressing stereotypes and biases within their own classrooms, but not as a part of school curriculum or policy.

At the same time, it can be argued that without education about Arab and Muslim-Americans, such stereotypes will continue. What is the role of the curriculum in addressing stereotypes and biases towards Arabs, Muslims, and Arab and Muslim-Americans? Does the social studies curriculum allow for the inclusion of Arab and Muslim-American history, culture, authors, and positive contributions? The focus of chapter five is to identify if and how Arab and Muslim-Americans are included within the secondary social studies curriculum, and to analyze the results of survey questions six, four, and nine.

CHAPTER 5 - CURRICULUM

Introduction

As previously mentioned, it is estimated that there are currently 1.7 to 3.6 million Arab-Americans and approximately seven million Muslim-Americans living in the United States (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011; Arab American Institute Foundation, 2012). While there are Arab and Muslim-Americans who live in all fifty states, the vast majority of the population has conjugated in California, New York, Michigan, Florida, and Texas (Arab American Institute Foundation, 2012). Although a growing ethnic group, the Arab and Muslim-American community is a relatively small niche in the larger American population. This means that most Americans have had little or no contact with Arabs or Muslims and/or have not been educated about them (Suleiman, 1999). As a result, American students depend heavily on what they see portrayed in the media and learn in schools.

The major objective of this study was to understand Arab and Muslim-American multicultural education within secondary social studies courses. Multicultural education, social justice education, and critical race theory are essential to dismantling negative views of Arab and Muslim-Americans to allow for the construction of positive inclusion that emphasizes cultural capital and social action. The purpose of this chapter is to answer the research objectives and determine to what extent are Arab and Muslim-Americans included within the secondary social studies curriculum. Specifically, is there an inclusion of Arab and Muslim-American history, culture, authors, and positive contributions in textbooks and school curricula? Also included

within this chapter are the results from the remaining survey questions, six, four, and nine, which focus on the inclusion of Arab, Muslim, and Arab and Muslim-American contributions.

Arabs, Muslims, and Arab and/or Muslim-Americans within Curriculum

An obvious solution to counter stereotypes and biases of Arabs, Muslims, and Arab and Muslim-Americans would be the large-scale inclusion of these groups within the curriculum. This has been a challenge for some schools and teachers, particularly when it comes to teaching about Islam. Educators, who have received little instruction on how to teach about religion, are rarely provided with resources to increase their knowledge and awareness of the faith, or how to infuse it properly in the curriculum (Brustman, 2006). While the study of religions, including Islam, are included within secondary social studies state and national standards, such study is often limited to holidays, religious figures, and customs "with little about beliefs and everyday life," (Sahli et al., 2009, chapter 10, paragraph 6 & 7). This only incorporates multicultural education at the most basic stages of the Banks (1993, 2004) model. It does not delve deeper into the higher levels of multicultural education, mainly equity pedagogy and empowering school culture and social structures. It also does not promote social justice education or social action, which emphasizes teaching students to speak out against inequalities similar to those that they may experience in a real world setting. Furthermore, such inclusion of Islam does not highlight Muslim-American cultural capital and contributions, as suggested by Yosso (2005).

There are also curricular concerns in regards to how Islam is portrayed by teachers and within the existing curriculum. Islam is traditionally taught as part of a course's world religions unit in a world geography or global history class at the middle or high school level. Elementary students are exposed to some elements of Islam through "ethnic, religious and cultural diversity in the U.S," as a part of community studies. (Douglass, 2009, chapter 4, Teaching about World

Religions, paragraph 2). Within this context, Islam is covered sparingly. Many textbooks still have incorrect information on Islam that includes stereotypes of the faith and the Muslim world. For example, negative terms such as "strict," "extreme," "terrorist," and "Mohammedanism," have frequently been found in textbooks when discussing Islamic beliefs and practices (Douglass, 2009, Teaching About World Religions, paragraph 4). Other texts introduce the Muslim world only as a part of the Arab World, and have chapters and sections that emphasize stereotypes of the region. In one textbook, a particular section was titled, "Sand, Sand, Sand" (Douglass, 2009, Teaching About World Religions, paragraph 4). This, again, demonstrates master scripting within textbooks and is counterproductive to the ideals put forth in critical race theory and multicultural education.

In response, some parents are finding increased value in sending their children to Islamic schools as opposed to public schools. Islamic schools provide parents and their children with an educational system based on religious values and ideals, without the concern of un-Islamic content or stereotypes. In other words, Islamic schools have become a familial community, united in their religious beliefs, and serve as a safe haven from non-Islamic elements (Zine, 2009). Instead of being exposed to what many Muslim parents consider a "tourist curriculum," only providing students with small "entry points," into a culture without moving beyond holidays and foods, students in Islamic schools get the full experience (Zine, 2009, Background of Religious Schooling in Ontario, paragraph 5). This includes *halal* (Islamic dietary approved) cafeteria food, breaks for prayers, and vacation breaks that coincide with Islamic religious holidays. Students in Islamic schools still follow all the legal codes of public schools including number of days in attendance, state mandated curriculum, and even state standardized tests (Zine, 2009). Many students also complete community service as part of community

involvement and civic consciousness. Community outreach programs provide students with the opportunity to interact within the larger Judeo-Christian society. This emphasizes aspects of socio-cultural theory and activity theory by providing students with lessons and activities that have real world application.

The increase of Islamic schools in the U.S. is not without controversy. Most notably is the American public's concern that Islamic schools are being operated by mosques and imams who preach extremist views. In actuality, however, 45% of Islamic schools operate independently, 29% are affiliated with a mosque, but make decisions autonomously, while only approximately 21% percent are governed by a mosque (Keyworth, chapter 1, paragraph 14). In most cases, the Islamic schools are established by middle class professionals who have the financial resources and cultural prestige to open the schools and then become influential members of the governing board (Zine, 2009).

Although the number of Islamic schools is very small when compared to other religious schools in the U.S., research suggests that is likely to change. Approximately 32,000 students, or three percent of the Muslim youth, attend the 235 Islamic schools in the U.S. and Virgin Islands (Keyworth, 2009, The Private/Parochial School Milieu, paragraph 2, and Keeping the Data Base Current, paragraph 9). Sixty-six percent of these Islamic schools are involved in building improvements or have written plans to do so – showing evidence of an increase or planned increase in school enrollment. (Keyworth, 2009, The Private/Parochial School Milieu, paragraph 5).

Even with the presence of Islamic schools, approximately ninety-seven percent of Muslim-American students still attend public schools (Cristillo, 2009, chapter 3, paragraph 3). This fact emphasizes the increasing responsibility that teachers and schools have in teaching

about Islam and the Muslim world, but also in fostering an environment that challenges the stereotypes students are exposed to in the media. To help educate American teachers, students, and the general community, many mosques and Islamic schools have begun to hold "open house" days that allow non-Muslims to experience Islamic practices and beliefs firsthand. Some have even held interfaith dialogue days with other religious establishments in their local area. Through such activities, non-Muslims visit mosques and interact with Muslims who, in turn, visit the churches and synagogues of their guests. Several Islamic schools have even begun to hold field trips so that local public and private schools can bring students to visit and meet with the Islamic school students. The purpose and hope is that increased interactions between Muslims and non-Muslims will foster greater understanding and positive influences amongst both groups. Such interaction allows learning to take place at the highest level of critical race theory, emphasizing the construction of equity between the races.

One such example is that of the Islamic Academy of New England (IANE). This Massachusetts Islamic school has spent almost a decade allowing students and teachers from private schools to visit and "provide firsthand experience interacting with their peers in an Islamic setting" (Sahli et al., 2009, chapter 10, background, paragraph 1). Students who visit the school get to experience the prayer halls, the ritual washing before prayers, the call for prayer, and the prayers themselves. The interactions between Muslims and non-Muslims helps to provide both groups with personal experiences with peers of their own age group, as opposed to simply relying on classroom instruction or materials. Through this experience, non-Muslim students begin to view Muslims with "humanistic qualities," instead of being marginalized as the "other," allowing students to share and develop closer bonds between communities (Sahli et al., 2009, chapter 10, Benefits to Both Groups, paragraph 1). It also provides students with real life

experiences, an aspect of socio-cultural theory and Wingfield's (2006) social action phase, which allow students to critically analyze information about Islam and Muslims presented within mainstream media (Sahli et al., 2009).

In addition to Islamic schools, many Muslim parents are also utilizing Muslim media. Muslim media provides Muslim youth with an alternative form of entertainment that cannot be had through the mainstream media, which often portrays Arabs and Muslims in a negative manner. Through Muslim programs, parents can protect their children from not only the negative images of Arabs and Muslims, but also from other un-Islamic content such as violence, sex, and inappropriate language. In addition, Muslim educational and entertaining shows emphasize Islamic values. Shows such as Adam's World, Muslim Scouts, and films like Sultan Muhammad II: Faith, and Salam's Journey, reflect the diversity that is present within the Muslim community. These programs help provide an educational approach to deeply sensitive issues that are usually approached in a one sided manner within public education. They also help to emphasize values like environmental issues and community involvement (Moll, 2009). Islamic programs and movies emphasize Islam and the *ummah* (community of Islam) over all other differences, whether they are economic, social, political, or ethnic. In addition, Muslim programs help to retain values and ideals within the Muslim community, and they emphasize how Muslim-Americans view themselves (Moll, 2009, location 2128, paragraph 5).

Unlike Islamic schools, the inclusion of Arabs, Muslims, and Arab and Muslim-Americans within the secondary public school social studies curriculum continues to reinforce the negative stereotypes that many students will have seen in the media. Topics such as the Crusades, 1970s oil embargo, Iran-Hostage Crisis, Arab-Israeli Conflict, Persian Gulf War, 9/11, and terrorism focus on Arab and Muslim-Americans during violent and aggressive events

(Michigan Department of Education, 2007a; Michigan Department of Education, 2007b). Many students arrive at school having been exposed to negative stereotypes of Arabs and Muslims and will then study a curriculum that continues to emphasize these stereotypes (Wingfield, 2006; Haddad & Smith, 2009; Douglass, 2009).

Textbook Analysis of Arab and Muslim-Americans within U.S. History

Concerns over the portrayal of Arabs, Muslims, Islam, and Arab and Muslim-Americans within public schools go beyond the curriculum. There are also concerns over how these groups are included in history textbooks. Secondary social studies curricula and textbooks often present historical events from a European perspective that highlights major European accomplishments, such as the great cities of Rome and Constantinople (now Istanbul), but ignore Muslim accomplishments such as Baghdad, Damascus, Cordoba, or Seville (Douglass, 2009). Little attention, if any, is paid to Muslim accomplishments in math, science, astronomy, art, music, poetry, and medicine (Douglass, 2009). Instead, textbook coverage that makes reference to the Middle East focuses on topics such as petroleum, Israeli/Palestinian foreign policy issues, and portrays Islam "as a struggle between religious traditionalism and secular modernism" (Douglass, 2009, chapter 4, Teaching about World Religions, paragraph 9). Teachers, unfamiliar with Islam or the Middle East, rely on textbooks to help guide their instruction, which has proven to be problematic. In their research, Haddad and Smith (2009) found that many teachers also showed elements within their teaching that were Islamophobic. As a result, textbook portrayals do little to promote positive images of Arabs, Muslims, Islam, or the Middle East.

The portrayal of Islam, Arabs, and Arab and Muslim-Americans within textbooks is vital as it is one of the ways educators can help students challenge misconceptions about these groups. From a critical race perspective, this requires that textbook publishers critically analyze how they

include Arabs, Muslims, and Arab and/or Muslim-Americans. Over the past two decades, textbook publishers have made large improvements by including multicultural education within their texts. U.S. history textbooks have specifically included diverse perspectives. The increased inclusion of diverse perspectives creates a more historically accurate depiction of how various cultures have contributed to the growth and success of America and promotes cultural pride and understanding. These examples also demonstrate how social justice education and multicultural education have already been incorporated into textbooks. Unfortunately, the same is not true of Arabs, Muslims, and Arab and Muslim-Americans. An examination of five U.S. history textbooks was conducted to determine if Arabs, Muslims, and Arab and Muslim-American contributions and achievements were included. The results determined that Arabs and Muslims are included within U.S. history textbooks, but primarily during times of conflict. Arab and Muslim-Americans are typically not included nor are their contributions and achievements.

The five textbooks analyzed were *The Americans: Reconstruction to the 21st Century* (Danzer et al., 2007) published by McDougal Littell, *History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals* (Goff et al., 2013) published by Teachers' Curriculum Institute (TCI), *The American Vision* (Appleby et al., 2010) published by Glencoe McGraw Hill, *United States History: Reconstruction to the Present* (Lapsansky-Werner et al., 2013) published by Pearson Prentice Hall, and one advanced placement textbook, *American History: Connecting with the Past* (Brinkley, 2012) published by McGraw Hill. These textbooks are close in publication year ranging from 2007 to 2013, and all post 9/11. Each of the textbooks were selected from major U.S. publishing companies.

As part of the analysis, information from each textbook was gathered by first examining their indices to determine if any of the books included Arabs, Muslims, Islam, and Arab or

Muslim-Americans. The initial review of the textbooks showed that ethnic and religious groups such as Asian-Americans, Mexican-Americans, Latino-Americans, and Catholics were included in the indices and several of the books included smaller groups such as Dominican-American, Korean-American, Jewish-Americans, and Cuban-Americans, all of which demonstrate textbooks publishers' attempts at multicultural education. However, none of the textbooks listed Arab-Americans or Muslim-Americans. United States History (2013) did not include Arabs or Muslims. In fact, *United States History* (2013) did not include a reference to Islam, only Islamic fundamentalists. The American Vision (2010) and did not include Arabs or Muslims within their index, but did include Islam. The Americans: Reconstruction to the 21st Century (2007) did not include Arabs, but did include Muslims and Islam. History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals (2013) did not include Arabs, but did include references for Shi'a and Sunni Muslims and Islam. American History: Connecting with the Past (2012), did not include Muslims or Islam within its index. The text's only indexed reference to Arabs was the use of the term "street Arab," which was used to describe "poor children in the cities, some of them orphans or runaways, living alone or in small groups scrounging for food" (Brinkley, 2012, p. 513).

Pre- exploration of the new world. After reviewing the index, a page-by-page analysis of each textbook was conducted to determine if Arabs, Muslims, Islam, and Arab and Muslim-Americans were included in other areas and within what context. All of the texts, with the exception of *History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals* (2013) included brief references to Islam, Arabs and/or Muslims within their first few chapters, particularly on pre-Exploration of the New World. In addition, although none of the books included Arabs within the index, they all mentioned Arabs throughout various sections and chapters of the entire text. *The American Vision* (2010) included short references about Arabs and Muslims when describing trade and

information exchange with Europeans (p. 12-18). Specifically, the text mentioned al-Idrisi as an Arab geographer whose works were used by European explorers (p. 8). *The Americans:**Reconstruction to the 21st Century (2007) specifically mentioned another Arab geographer, Al-Bakri, including a quote about taxes in Ghana during the 11th century (p.9), but later mentioned European explorers who used the works of Arab and Jewish scholars for cartographic information (p.12). *United States History* (2013) included only one reference to trades routes that were dominated by Muslims (p.6). Finally, *American History* (2012) mentioned Mayan civilizations having written language similar to Arabic (p.3), *Muslim societies taking "control of eastern routes to Asia" and searching for "faster, safer" routes to Asia (p.10), *Guinean converts to Islam* (p.21), and west African regions that "survived the spread of Islam" (p. 22). It is also the only text to refer to the Prophet Mohammed (Peace Be Upon Him) (p. 9). *History Alive!* *Pursuing American Ideals* (2013) began with the foundation of America in 1776 and, therefore, excluded any pre-exploration or exploration of the New World.

Early 1900s. Aside from these sections, Arabs, Muslims, Islam, and Arab/Muslim-Americans are almost non-existent within any of the five texts. Arabs reappear in *The Americans: Reconstruction to the 21st Century* (2007) four hundred pages later, in a long list of immigrant groups that flocked to Chicago (Danzer et al., 2007). Also included in the textbook was a sidebar about the ethnic cleansing of Bosnian Muslims in 1995. This sidebar was included on a section in the book that discussed Bosnia and the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand (Danzer et al., 2007). In *The American Vision* (2010), the term *Arabs* is included again, this time in a passing reference about Arabs who sided with the allies against the Ottomans during World War I. *History Alive!* (2013) mentioned Muslims when describing Armenian Christians and their attempt to escape from the "Muslim Ottoman Empire," during the

Armenian Genocide (p.169). In other words, Arabs, Muslims, Islam, and Arab/Muslim-Americans disappear from U.S. history textbooks for approximately 500 to 800 years, depending on the textbook.

This is misleading for several reasons. First, it implies that Arabs, Muslims, and Arab and Muslim-Americans were not a part of America prior to WWI. There is no mention of African-Muslim slaves brought to the Unites States, including Omar ibn Said, who was captured and brought to the United States in the early 1800s, and whose Arabic manuscripts document his practice of Islam throughout captivity (Diouf, 1998). There is also no mention of Bilali Mohammed, a slave, who helped organize other slaves to defend Sapelo Island, off the coast of Georgia, from British attacks during the War of 1812. Mohammed also continued to educate his descendants on Islamic studies (Austin, 1997). In addition, none of the textbooks specifically mentioned Arab immigration patterns, which began prior to WWI, struggles to assimilate or contributions to America. However, other immigrant groups such as Irish-Americans, German-Americans, Italian-Americans, and their contributions were included (Danzer et al., 2007; Goff et al., 2013; Appleby et al., 2010; Brinkley, 2012). With the exception of *The American Vision* (2010), there was no mention of Arab contributions to aid the Allies during both WWI and WWII. Instead, German, American, British, and French leaders and their contributions to win battles within the Arab world were included.

Post WWII- to 9/11. Arabs, Muslims, Islam, and Arab and Muslim-Americans reappear consistently in the textbooks after World War II. *American Vision* (2010) and *History Alive!*Pursuing American Ideals (2013) reintroduced Arabs, first, when discussing the UN partition of Palestine in 1948. *History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals* (2013) specifically mentioned that

Arabs rejected the partition, which led to the series of Arab-Israeli conflicts (Goff et al., 2013, p. 425).

In all five of the textbooks, Arabs, Muslims, Islam, and Arab and Muslim-Americans were most frequently mentioned during times of tension, violence, and conflict. These included the 1956 Suez Crisis, the 1950s nationalization of oil fields in Iran, 1970s oil embargo, the Arab-Israeli crisis, conflict between Hindus and Muslims in India and the establishment of Pakistan and Bangladesh, the Islamic Revolution in Iran and the Iranian hostage crisis, the 1975 Civil War between Christians and Muslims in Lebanon, ethnic cleansing of Muslim Bosnians and Albanians in the 1990s, Persian Gulf, 9/11, and the Iraq and Afghanistan wars.

In many cases, the textbooks failed to include key background information about the conflicts, which distorted the accuracy of the events. For example, *The American Vision* (2010) discussed the Iran hostage crisis, but failed to mention why the U.S. embassy was stormed and U.S. citizens taken hostage. The textbook did not mention America's prior involvement in the region, America's success in restoring Iran's king, Shah Pahlavi, to power after his initial removal by Iranians, or that the U.S. granted the Shah asylum within America (several texts did mention that the Shah was allowed to enter the U.S. for medical treatment), both of which led to anti-American sentiments within the region. In later chapters, *American Vision* (2010) mentioned Yasser Arafat's rejection of a Palestinian-Israeli agreement at Camp David II and Palestinian violence during the Intifada that followed. Again, there is no reference explaining why Arafat rejected the agreement and how this led to the Intifada. *History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals* (2013) briefly mentioned Arabs rejecting the United Nation partition of Palestine, but did not mention why Arabs rejected the plan. This creates a one-sided version of history where Arabs and Muslims react to situations in rage and anger with little to no justification.

Arab and/or Muslim political figures. Arab and Muslim leaders were also included within the textbooks, post WWII. Figures such as Gamal Abdel Nasser, Anwar Sadat, Hosni Mubarak, Muammar al-Gaddafi, Mohammed Mossadegh, Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, and Saddam Hussein were mentioned. With the exception of *History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals* (2013) that mention Saddam Hussein being a Sunni Muslim, none of the leaders were mentioned as being Arab or Muslim. In some cases, the countries that they represented were identified as being Arab or Muslim, but not the leaders themselves. In *American Vision* (2010), Sirhan Sirhan, who assassinated Robert Kennedy, was referred to as an Arab nationalist, but in *The Americans* (2007), *American History* (2012), and *United States History* (2013) he was described as a Palestinian.

Arab and/or Muslim-American political figures. Another important finding was the lack of Muslim-Americans within the textbooks. Only two Muslim-Americans were mentioned consistently throughout all the textbooks, Elijah Muhammed and Malcolm X, members of the Nation of Islam (Danzer et al., 2007; Goff et al., 2013; Appleby et al., 2010; Brinkley, 2012; Lapsansky-Werner et al., 2013). Although the Nation of Islam is not identical to the Islamic faith, an aspect that was mentioned in several of the books, both men were Muslim, with Malcolm X becoming an orthodox Muslim later in his life. Only one textbook, *American Vision* (2010), included a small reference about Muhammad Ali losing his license to box after refusing to join the army (p. 837). The reference did not mention his faith.

Equally important, were references to Arab-Americans. Several textbooks did refer to Americans who have Arab heritage, but not as Arab-Americans. Presidential candidate Ralph Nader, an Arab-American politician, was included in *American Vision* (2010) and *United States History* (2013), however, any information about his Arab heritage was excluded (p. 1033; p.

697). Interestingly, other Americans and their religious or cultural heritage were recognized. For example, within *American Vision* (2010) was Joe Lieberman, who was included as the "first Jewish-American ever to run for vice president," only a page before Ralph Nader (p. 1032). Another Arab-American contribution that was overlooked was the establishment of Mothers Against Drunk Drivers (MADD). The organization was included in *American Vision* (2010), but there was no mention that the founder, Candace Lightner, was an Arab-American. Today, MADD is the "largest crime victims' assistance organization in the world, with more than three million members and supporters" (Kasem 2005, p. 13). Aside from these examples, no other Arab or Muslim-American contributions were included in any of the other books. Not only does this ignore the cultural capital that Arab-Americans and Muslim-Americans possess, it also denies these groups of their contributions to the United States.

Arabs, Muslim, Islam, and Arab and/or Muslim-Americans, 9/11 and Terrorism.

By far, the most frequent references to Arabs, Muslims, Islam, and Arab/Muslim-Americans were with regard to terrorism, the attacks on 9/11, and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. In American Vision (2010), the Taliban were included as a Muslim fundamentalist group.

References to the conflict between Sunnis and Shiites in Iraq, Palestinian terrorism, and al-Qaeda's recruitment of Muslims were also made. The book also included a timeline titled, "Global War on Terror, 2001-2007," which included images and names of Arabs and Muslims (p.1044-1045) and a section on the 9/11 causes and effects, which included general references to Arabs and Muslims and pictures of al-Qaeda and Osama bin Laden (p. 1056).

History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals (2013) specifically mentioned the Arab controlled Sudanese government, as well as Arab militias that attacked black Africans in Darfur. The same textbook also included portions of Osama bin Laden's speech, in which he "declared"

that all Muslims had a duty to kill Americans" (p. 674) and that "the 9/11 terrorists were Arab Muslims" (p. 684). *The Americans* (2007) included a timeline of terrorism against the United States. Muslims or Arabs carried out seven of the nine events on the timeline out; some were mentioned as Muslims or Arabs and others not (p. 896-897). The textbook noted that Palestinian terrorists killed the Israeli Olympic team in 1972, and that the 9/11 hijackers were Arab. Finally, the textbook, *American History* (2012), referred to Osama bin Laden as a leader who was "little known outside the Arab world," conflating bin Laden's Arab roots with the Muslim world that he operated within (p. 906-907). The book included a map of terrorism titled, "Crisis in the Middle East," which was supposed to emphasize conflict within the Middle East from the 1970s to 2003, and included conflicts within Turkey, Libya, Iran, and Afghanistan (p. 907). The textbook also included rumors that President Obama was Muslim (p. 908).

There was an attempt by the textbooks to remain unbiased when discussing contemporary history, particularly the September 11 attacks and the Iraq and Afghanistan wars that followed. For example, when discussing terrorist attacks such as the American embassy attacks in Kenya and Tanzania, the *U.S.S. Cole*, and 9/11, both *American History* (2012), and *The Americans* (2007) included examples of terrorism by other groups including the Irish Republican Army (IRA) in northern Ireland, Jewish terrorism against the British in Palestine, and the South American group, Shining Path. Some of the textbooks also emphasized terrorist groups as radical Islamic or Muslim organizations, drawing a distinction between these groups and those who practice the Islamic faith. In *American Vision* (2010), the textbook included statements from one of President George Bush's speeches, explaining, "Islam and Afghan people were not the enemy" (p. 1041). The textbook also included unlawful imprisonment court cases brought forth by Muslim prisoners at Guantanamo Bay, which included *Rasul v. Bush* and *Hamdan v.*

Rumsfeld (p. 1049-1051). History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals (2013), included Arab and Muslim racial profiling that took place after 9/11 and the Arab Spring. It was the only text to use the term *Arab-Americans* when it discussed the FBI's investigation of more than 400 hate crimes against Arab-Americans (p. 684-685).

The analysis of the five textbooks demonstrates that publishers have included many ethnic groups, their cultural traditions, contributions and achievements, however, Arabs, Muslims, and Arab and Muslim-Americans are still greatly ignored. Overall, Arabs and Muslims were limited to early contributions that assisted in European exploration of the New World, a topic that is likely to be discussed in a middle school U.S. history or world history course, but not in a high school course, which starts with Reconstruction. Even so, this is the only discussion of Arab and Muslim contributions. None of the texts included Arab or Muslim-American immigrants or contributions by these groups. Arab and Muslim-Americans were excluded from textbooks until post-WWII chapters that dealt with conflict within the Arab or Muslim world, and emphasized the many stereotypes that already exist about these groups. Only one text specifically mentioned *Arab-Americans*, comparing Arab-American stereotyping and discrimination in the aftermath of 9/11, to anti-Japanese sentiments after the attacks on Pearl Harbor (Goff et al., 2013).

The analysis of the five textbooks demonstrate that Arab and Muslim-Americans are still not included appropriately within textbooks. Basic elements of Arab and Muslim-American multicultural education, such as cultural capital, contributions, and achievements, continue to be ignored. Famous Arab-Americans, even when included in texts are not identified as Arab-American. Muslim-Americans, their stories and achievements, are overlooked and ignored, for example, those of African-American Muslim slaves or Muslim-Americans after 9/11. There was

little attempt to acknowledge the way Arab and/or Muslim-Americans are a part of America, using these groups contributions and achievements to break down stereotypes and construct an accurate portrayal that fosters equity, core elements of critical race theory and social justice education. The lack of inclusion of Arabs, Muslims, and Arab/Muslim-Americans within textbooks contributes to the negative stereotyping and bias that exists.

Contributions by Arabs and Muslims (Question 6)

The portrayal of Arabs and Muslims within the curriculum and the analysis of U.S. history textbooks reflect the prevalent stereotypes of these groups. It is evident from the research and the results of questions five and eight that stereotypes and biases about Arabs and Muslims, are well established among students by the secondary level. However, are students being exposed to positive Arab and Muslim contributions and achievements? The argument is that without positive images in the media, as well as positive reinforcement of Arab and Muslim history and experience through multicultural education, stereotypes and biases against these groups will continue. By providing students with information about the positive contributions of Arabs and Muslims, they will gain a more balanced portrayal of Arabs and Muslims in the curriculum, and be able to challenge the negative stereotypes and biases prevalent in the media. The purpose of question six is to determine if positive Arab and/or Muslim contributions are included in the current curriculum.

There were 87 responses to the close-ended portion of question six. Of the responses, the majority, nearly 52% agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that students discussed positive contributions by Arabs and/or Muslims in class. Almost 22% of the participants were neutral and comprised the second largest category. Only 26% disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement. Table 5 shows the distribution of responses to question six.

Table 5 Question 6 6. Students at your school discuss positive contr	ributions Arabs and/or Muslims ha	ve made in class.
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Strongly Agree	10.3%	9
Agree	41.4%	36
Neutral	21.8%	19
Disagree	18.4%	16
Strongly Disagree	8.0%	7
Comments:		87
	answered question	87
	skipped question	14

There were 21 responses to the open-ended question. All of the responses were hand coded according to the four themes that materialized from the data. The overwhelming majority (81%) agreed with the statement that students at their schools discussed positive contributions by Arabs and/or Muslims in class. Only one participant reported discussing positive contributions when the opportunity presented itself in response to current events, such as stereotypes and the media. One teacher did not discuss positive contributions by Arabs and/or Muslims and two responses were unclear and did not specifically answer the question. Of the educators who said yes, most cited including positive contributions in ancient, global, and world history courses as a part of historical achievements and contributions, but not specific to Arab-Americans. "Within the World History classroom, we discuss Al-Kwarizmi, Ibn Sina, Ibn Battuta, Abu al-Qasim, Salah al-Din and al-Kindi," and another participant responded, "In world history this is certainly true – although less emphasis is placed on Arabs/Muslims than on Christians/Europeans." One teacher reported, "Most of these discussions are centered around Arab inventions, contributions to math, etc and less on Arab-American contributions." Not all teachers who participated in the survey agreed that the inclusion of Arab and/or Muslims was necessary. "America as a country and culture should and must be the emphasis in American public schools. Citizens and taxpayers need informed citizens of America and need not be acculturated to Arab and/or Muslim cultures."

The responses from question six suggest that while there is some inclusion of positive contributions by Arabs and/or Muslims, the majority of it is included in ancient, global, and world history. Teachers who include Arab and/or Muslim contributions concentrate on historic achievements. There seems to be little incorporation of contemporary Arab and/or Muslim history in other social studies courses.

Contributions by Arab and/or Muslim-Americans

Throughout history, there are many examples of contributions made by Arabs and Muslims across the world. Many historians have documented Arab and Muslim achievements in math, astronomy, science, medicine, art and architecture, geography, agriculture, music and language. Arabs and Muslims have built expansive civilizations, which helped to spread their culture and knowledge to much of the world. As a result, Arabs and Muslims have been credited with inspiring some of Europe's greatest intellectuals, artists, scientists, inventors, and explorers (Hamod, 2013). As previously noted, some of the rich Arab and Muslim history and achievements are included within secondary social studies textbooks. The inclusion of Arab and Muslim history recognizes the vital role that these groups had and, to some extent, still have today.

Arabs and Muslims also have a long history in the United States. According to some researchers, Arabs and Muslims accompanied Christopher Columbus on his maiden voyage to the New World. Columbus, some have suggested, brought them along to help serve as translators once he arrived in what he hoped would be a shorter route to India (Dirks, 2006). Muslim geographers, cartographers, and navigators, who had documented Muslim trade routes,

may have helped to guide Columbus' fateful voyage (Thacher, 1903, p. 365). While some of this early history is still controversial, there are other examples of the presence of Arabs and Muslims in the Americas, particularly because of slavery.

The first recorded Arabic speaker in North America, Zammouri, was captured in Morocco by the Portuguese in 1511. He served as a slave for sixteen years, before being taken to Florida to lead a Spanish expedition (Arab American National Museum, n.d.). Numerous autobiographies and biographies document the lives of African-Muslims, such as Omar ibn Said, Bilali Mohammed, and Job ben Solomon, who were brought to the U.S. as slaves and whose contributions to the United States have already been mentioned (Muhammad, 2013; Diouf, 1998, Austin, 1997). Their contributions helped establish some of the first Muslim-American communities in the U.S.

Today, the Muslim-American community is comprised of ethnicities from across the globe, and their contributions to the U.S. continue. In 2009, the Royal Islamic Strategic Studies Center, a non-governmental and independent institute in Amman, Jordan, began compiling a list of the world's 500 most influential Muslims of the year. The publication organized most influential Muslims into 13 categories, including, academics, politics, religious affairs, spiritual guides, philanthropy, social issues, business, science and technology, arts and culture, media, celebrities and sports, radicals, and Qur'an reciters. In 2012, 41 of the 500 most influential Muslims came from the United States, the most from any other country (Sacirbey. 2012). In the following year, 2013, 41 Muslim-Americans topped the list, again, the most from any other country for two consecutive years. Although the Muslim-American population is small in comparison to the global Muslim population, its overrepresentation on the list signifies the impact of the Muslim-American community.

Some of the Muslim-Americans included in the Royal Islamic Strategic Studies' 2013 list are well known, for example, Mohammed Ali, Dr. Mehmet Oz, and Fareed Zakaria. Other celebrities included, Yasiin Bey, an Emmy, Golden Globe, and Grammy nominated actor and hip-hop artist, who has produced music about U.S. foreign policy and recently made a short film about U.S. forced feeding methods in Guantanamo Bay (Schleifer & Ahmed, 2013). Also on the list was Aasif Mandvi, an Indian-Muslim-American, who was recognized by the Royal Islamic Strategic Studies Center for his acting and comedy skills on the popular *Daily Show with Jon Stewart*. Mandvi, has continued to represent his faith and culture throughout his acting, "without compromising his talent or credibility" (Schleifer & Ahmed, 2013, p. 164). Another major contribution was that made by Salman Khan, the founder of the free, online Khan Academy. The Khan Academy has delivered more than 240 million lessons in various subjects and learning levels through online lessons and videos (Schleifer & Ahmed, 2013).

There were also lesser-known, but still very influential, Muslim-Americans that had contributions within education, establishing Islamic schools and institutions, to help preserve Islamic traditions among the American Muslim community. One example is that of Sheikh Hamza Yusuf Hanson, who founded the first Muslim liberal arts college, Zaytuna College in Berkeley, California. A center for Islamic learning, Zaytuna College provides numerous publications, audio and visual materials, and educational programs for Muslims nationwide (Zaytuna College, 2013). Sheikh Hanson is also the leading Islamic expert in the U.S. Another influence to Muslim-American education is Sheikh Muhammad bin Yahya Al-Husayni Al-Ninowy, a leading Islamic scholar who traces his lineage back to Lady Fatima, daughter of the Prophet Mohammed (Peace and Blessings Upon Him). Sheikh Al-Ninowy is a founder of an Islamic university that combines modern technology with Islamic teachings (Schleifer & Ahmed,

2013). Both men are included, with many other Muslim-Americans, who have positively contributed to the United States.

In addition to education, Muslim-Americans have political contributions. As previously mentioned, Arab and Muslim-Americans have struggled to be politically active, particularly in entering public office. As such, the Royal Islamic Strategic Center included U.S. House of Representative members, Andre Carson and Keith Ellison, the only serving Muslims in Congress, as well as, Rashad Hussain, Deputy Associate Counsel to President Obama. Another influential Muslim-American is Dalia Mogahed, executive director and senior analyst at the Gallup Center for Muslim studies. Mogahed was appointed by President Obama to serve two terms on the Advisory Council on Faith –Based and Neighborhood Partnerships. She is the coauthor of Who Speaks for Islam? What a Billion Muslims Really Think, which was later made into an educational DVD for classroom use. Mogahed's political success in the U.S. is remarkable because she is the first women to wear the hijab and hold a White House position. Another powerful example of women's rights is Dr. Merve Kavkci-Islam. Dr. Kavkci-Islam was excluded from serving in the Turkish parliament because she refused to remove her hijab, a requirement of Turkish secular law. Today, she is professor of international relations at Howard and George Washington universities and is an advocate for Muslim women's rights around the world (Schleifer & Ahmed, 2013).

The Royal Islamic Strategic Center also included Muslim-American social advocates, such as Dr. Azizah Al-Hibri, founder and chair of Karamah Muslim Women Lawyers for Human Hights. Dr. Al-Hibri was also appointed by President Obama for a "two year terms as Commissioner of the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom" (Schleifer & Ahmed, 2013, p. 146). One of the most influential Muslim lobby groups in the U.S. was co-

founded by Muslim-American Nihad Awad. Awad co-founded the Council on American and Islamic Relations (CAIR), which works to promote understanding of Islam within the U.S., protect civil liberties, and promote social justice. CAIR has been important in protecting Muslim-Americans against work place and legal discrimination post 9/11. Another very influential Muslim-America is Tarek El-Messidi. El-Messidi co-founded the Fast-a-thon Movement, a program that encourages non-Muslims to earn pledges for fasting for a day to raise "money to feed the hungry" (Schleifer & Ahmed, 2013, p. 146). The movement has been significant in using the Islamic pillar of fasting during Ramadan to help establish cultural and religious understanding and community outreach initiatives.

Closely related to El-Messidi's social initiatives is Muslim-American Dr. Tariq H.

Cheema. Dr. Cheema is founder of the World Congress of Muslim Philanthropists (WCMP), an organization that helps promote "accountable giving" (Schleifer & Ahmed, 2013, p. 139).

Through WCMP, donors collaborate to develop strategies that most effectively utilize funds to meet global and social needs (World Congress of Muslim Philanthropists, 2011). Dr. Cheema is also co-founder of Doctors Worldwide, which has provided both medical relief and promoted the development of medical programs in eighteen countries (Schleifer & Ahmed, 2013).

Muslim-Americans have also worked diligently to create their own sources of information. One example is, Dr. Umar Faruq Abdullah who founded the Nawawi Foundation, a non-profit organization based in Chicago that focuses on educating American Muslims on Islamic teachings. In addition, are doctors Abidullah and Tasneema Ghazi, founders of the IQRA' International Educational Foundation, a non-profit that creates "Islamic studies textbooks and educational materials" (Schleifer & Ahmed, 2013, p.130). Within the area of media is Abdul Malik Mujahid, president of a multimedia company called Sound Vision, which provides

educational programs for both Muslims and non-Muslims (Schleifer & Ahmed, 2013). Mujahid also developed a Chicago nightly talk show called Radio Islam. Finally, Aisha Gray Henry, founder of Islamic Texts Society that provides English translations of Islamic texts (The Islamic Texts Society, 2013; Schleifer & Ahmed, 2013). She is also director of a "non-profit charitable foundation and publishing company Fons Vitae" (Schleifer & Ahmed, 2013).

Like the Muslim-American community, the Arab-American community also has many achievements and contributions. Some of the earliest examples of these contributions come from Arab-American entrepreneurs, like Thomas Mansour. In 1913, Mansour emigrated from Palestine and after a few years opened his own business, Citizens Market. The market's unique concept allowed shoppers to buy all of their groceries in one location, as opposed to traveling to multiple vendors such as a bakery, butcher shop, and fruit market. Mansour's idea was a success and is considered the first example of today's modern grocery store (Kasem, 2005). Arab-American retail entrepreneurs include, Lebanese immigrant, Joseph M. Haggar, founder of the Haggar Clothing Company. Today, Haggar is a multi-million dollar company that has become "one of the world's best known brands in men's apparel" (Kasem, 2005, para. 48). Haggar is currently the official clothing partner of the Hockey Hall of Fame and the official provider of the Gold Jacket to the pro Football Hall of Fame Enshrinees (Haggar Clothing Company, 2013). Another very successful Arab-American business is the Alamo Flag Company, which was established by Tony Ismail and is currently the largest flag company in the United States (Kasem, 2005). Ismail, is also recognized for his charity work, particularly, for donating a portion of the company's profits to the families of the victims of 9/11 (Kasem, 2005).

In addition to being entrepreneurs, Arab-Americans have also been involved with community service and activism. Dr. Michael Shadid helped to establish American's first

cooperative hospital in Oklahoma, known as Community Hospital. Through his efforts, Dr. Shadid worked to provide Oklahoma residents with affordable, quality health care. The hospital still operates today, as the Great Plains Regional Medical Center (Kasem, 2005). Other examples of activism include labor activist George Addes, who assisted in the creation of the United Auto Workers (UAW) in the 1930s. Through Addes' leadership, UAW membership expanded. He was instrumental in the UAW's ability to fight for better pay and working conditions. Addes was also elected to serve as the UAW's first secretary-treasurer, a position he held for ten terms (Arab American National Museum, 2013).

Arab-Americans have also been influential in political activism. One example is Abdeen Jabara. Jabara is a founding member of the Association of Arab American University Graduates (AAUG) and served as a civil rights attorney during the government's Operation Boulder program, which allowed for the "surveillance and deportation of Arabs and Arab-Americans" (Arab American National Museum, 2013). Closely related to AAUG is the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), which was established by Arab-American and U.S. Senator James Abourezk. Today, the ADC is the largest Arab-American civil rights organization in America (Arab American National Museum, 2013).

Shortly after the establishment of the ADC was the Arab-American Institute (AAI). The AAI is a non-profit organization, established by James Zogby and George Salem, with the goal of promoting political activism among Arab-Americans (Arab American National Museum, 2013). The AAI led to the establishment of the Arab American Institute Foundation (AAIF), an educational organization that provides educational materials specifically on Arab-American contributions. It is also one of the main sources of information for this section of the current study (Arab American National Museum, 2013; Kasem, 2005).

Also within non-profit ogranizations is the Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Service (ACCESS). ACCESS initially grew out of Detroit, Michigan in 1971 and now has a multimillion-dollar budget to serve seventy programs within the Arab-American community (Arab American National Museum, 2013). ACCESS is also the parent organization that initiated the creation of the Arab-American National Museum. In addition to ACCESS is another Detroit based organization, the American-Arab Chamber of Commerce (ACC). Founded in 1992, ACC was created to help Arab-American businesses establish a national and international network to "promote, assist, and strengthen member businesses" (Arab American National Museum, 2013). The American-Arab Chamber of Commerce's initiatives, have made the Arab American business community "one of the most economically and culturally affluent communities in Michigan and the nation" (American-Arab Chamber of Congress, 2009).

Arab-Americans have also been active in community service as a way of promote cultural understanding. The organization, "Saving the South End," was an organization established to save and preserve the Arab-American community in Dearborn, Michigan.

Initially, the city of Dearborn attempted to disperse the Arab-American community by demolishing houses to created industrial space. "Saving the South End," fought the city's decision and won a seventeen-year court battle, protecting the city's Arab-American community. The case represents the first time "political positions were promoted and defended on the basis of a collective cultural identity" (Arab American National Museum, 2013). Equally influential in promoting cultural understanding is the Palestine Aid Society of America (PAS). PAS was established in 1978 to not only provide "material and political support for the Palestinian people in the occupied territories," but also to promote understanding about Palestinian struggles to establish a Palestinian state (Arab American National Museum, 2013).

Many individual contributions by Arab-Americans have already been mentioned throughout this study, including Candace Lightner (founder of Mothers Against Destructive Decisions) and Ralph Nader (Green party presidential candidate). However, Arab-American contributions continue in a variety of professions. Many Arab-Americans have served and fought in the U.S. armed forces, including retired four star General George Joulwan, who was the NATO Supreme Allied Commander of Europe, and John Abizaid, who served as head of the U.S. Central Command in Iraq (Kasem, 2005).

Arab-American political contributors include Donna Shalala, the first Arab-American to ever be appointed to the position of Cabinet secretary. She was also the "nation's longest serving Secretary of Health and Human Services" (Kasem, 2005, p. 5). In addition, is John H. Sununu, who served as Governor of New Hampshire, White House Chief of Staff under former President George H. Bush's administration, and political commentator on CNN (Kasem, 2005). One of the most influential, politically active Arab-Americans was Helen Thomas. Thomas spent fifty-seven years working as correspondent for the United Press International, as well as dean of the White House Press Corp (Kasem, 2005). Through political activism, Arab-Americans have worked to voice their concerns, challenge negative stereotypes, and serve the needs of their community, which demonstrate their positive impact on the United States.

Arab-Americans have not only been political activists, but also media activists working to challenge stereotypes within the media. The media has played a large role in the development of the Arab-American image. This has often produced misconceptions about the Arab-American population; however, Arab-Americans have made many positive contributions within areas of the news, media, and entertainment that challenge negative stereotypes and biases. Paula Abdul, for example, is a well known music artist who has had "two number one albums, six number-one

singles, a Grammy award, and worldwide album sales exceeding 30 million records" (Kasem, 2005, p.24). Other Arab-Americans in entertainment include actress Shannon Elizabeth who has had roles in movies such as *American Pie* and *Scary Movie*, as well as "American Top 40," "American Top 20," and "American Country Countdown," co-founders Casey Kasem and Don Bustany (Kasem, 2005). Arab-Americans have also taken leadership roles as directors of numerous TV shows and movies. Many episodes of TV shows like "The Facts of Life," "Dharma & Greg," and "Everybody Loves Raymond," were directed by Arab-American Asaad Kelada. So too, were movies like "The Message: The Story of Islam (a biography of the Prophet Mohammed), "Lion of the Desert," and "Halloween," which were produced by Moustapha Akkad (Kasem, 2005). Finally, Broadway shows like "Sweet Charity" and "Unsinkable Molly Brown," were directed by John Bowab. Contributions to the media and journalism include Anthony Shadid, the *Washington Post* correspondent and 2004 Pulitzer Prize for International Reporting, as well as Michael Sallah, winner of the 2004 Pulitzer Prize for Investigative Reporting (Kasem, 2005).

These are only a few examples of the many contributions that Arab and Muslim-Americans have made in the U.S. and across the world. Arab and Muslim-Americans have contributed by defending the United States in the armed forces, serving in public office, upholding the justice system as lawyers, serving the needs of its citizens as doctors and nurses, and of course, educating its citizens. Contributions by Arab and/or Muslim-Americans are too great to narrow down to a single list, and yet despite numerous contributions and achievements, stereotypes about Arab and Muslim-Americans continue.

Lessons on Arab and Muslim-Americans (Question 4 and 9)

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The study of Arab and Muslim-American within the social studies curricula, textbooks, and by educators, has led to an increased demand in the number of resources for teaching about Arabs, Muslims, and Arab and Muslim-Americans. Questions four and nine of the survey focus specifically on the inclusion of Arab-American history, culture, and authors in textbooks and teacher lessons. Question four of the survey asked teachers to consider whether or not books and textbooks in their schools included Arab-American history, culture, and authors. Their responses were categorized according to a Likert scale of strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree, and strongly disagree. An open comment section allowed participants to expand on their selections on their Likert scale. Question nine remained open ended for comments only.

Overall, the 88 teachers who responded to question four disagreed (46.6%) or strongly disagreed (12.5%) with the statement that books and textbooks included Arab-American history, culture, and authors. Slightly more than nineteen percent agreed that books and textbooks included Arab-American history, culture, and authors, with almost seven percent strongly agreeing. Nearly 15% of the participants remained neutral. Table 6 shows the distribution of responses to question four.

Table 6				
Question 4				
4. Books and textbooks in your school include Arab-American history, culture and authors.				
Answer Options	Response	Response Count		
	Percent			
Strongly Agree	6.8%	6		
Agree	19.3%	17		
Neutral	14.8%	13		
Disagree	46.6%	41		
Strongly Disagree	12.5%	11		
Comments:		25		
	answered question	88		
	skipped question	13		

^{*} Percentages rounded to nearest whole number

Of the 101 people surveyed, 25 commented on question four. The comments were then hand coded according to themes that emerged from the data. The themes were compiled into five main categories; yes, Arab-American history is present in books and textbooks; yes, Arab-American history is present in books and textbooks, but only in global, world, or ancient texts; yes, Arab history is present in books and textbooks, but not specifically on Arab-Americans; no Arab-American history is not present in books and textbooks; and maybe. Of the 25 responses, eight responded that Arab-Americans were included in books and texts, while four responded that Arab-American history was included in world history texts only. One teacher stated that the inclusion of Arab history was "almost exclusively from the Golden Age of the Abbasid Caliphate. Arab history is discussed in World War I, II and in reference to the 70's oil crisis. The latter chapters are from a distinct Americentric view." An additional four responded that Arabs and Muslims were included in books and texts, but not Arab and Muslim-Americans specifically, whereas three did not agree that Arab-Americans were included in texts and six were unsure. "My World Culture textbook discusses Arab history, but not Arab-American history. I don't currently teach American History, but when I did, I don't recall any information regarding Arab-Americans." Another teacher responded, "some AP World History books, like Bentley, include info[rmation] on Arabs, but not Arab-Americans."

Their responses demonstrate the confusion that exists over the inclusion of Arab-American studies in books and textbooks used in public schools. Some teachers admitted that Arab and Muslim studies were included, but their responses suggest that this inclusion is limited to ancient, world, and global history studies. While one teacher recognized that more contemporary Arab studies were included in American history texts, such as the 1970s oil crisis, it is still not an inclusion of Arab-American history. The responses from question four also

coincide with the results of question six and suggest that there is a lack of contemporary Arab-American inclusion.

To question nine, a total of 75 participants responded. The question was "Do you currently teach lessons on Arab-American or Muslim-American studies? Please explain." The answers demonstrated that 24 respondents, who comprised 32% of the overall population, claimed to teach about Arab and/or Muslim-American studies in their classes. The majority, 51 participants, said that they did not. Responses varied from, "Not currently, not Arab-American or Muslim-American," to more detailed responses for example, "No. I teach lessons on America's relationship with the Muslim world, but very little of that focuses on Arab-Americans or Muslim-Americans." Of those that said yes, answers were mixed. Teachers who did include Arab and/or Muslim-American studies in their classes did so as a part of lessons on discrimination and stereotypes, current events, contributions, culture and traditions, Islam in America, and community and diversity. Several responses included, "I teach a unit on Islam, which included some discussion about Arab-American and Muslim-American. But it mostly focuses on the historical aspect of the region," "In our discussion of Islamic civilization we talk about stereotypes and current events as well as watch a 30 Days video on Muslims in America," and "I teach American History so at times, the topic comes up, for example when teaching about 9-11, the Patriot Act, current events that relate to this topic, etc."

Some of the responses led to concerns about the interpretation of state and national benchmarks and standards. Several comments cited that Arab and/or Muslim-American studies were not included as a part of the curriculum or that teachers lacked the time to include extra topics that were not required by the standards. One teacher commented, "...it's not a part of our curriculum." Another teacher commented, "...even though I teach American history, this group

does not seem to be large enough to warrant extra attention. We don't cover Swedish Americans, either." These comments bring to light some of the deeper challenges when it comes to including Arab and/or Muslim-Americans in the curriculum. Upon closer examination of the curriculum, however, it can be inferred that Arab and/or Muslim-Americans, and Swedish Americans for that matter, are included. The state of Michigan social studies High School Content Expectations, for example, does mention the study of ethnic groups, although not specifically Arab and/or Muslim-Americans. Standards and benchmarks are written openly to allow for their inclusion and they align with the National Geography Standards (Appendix B). It is, therefore, a part of the curriculum to teach diversity and culture. Additionally, culture and teaching about culture comprise one of the ten themes of social studies, as determined by the National Council for the Social Studies (2013). In other words, the inclusion of groups, like Arab-Americans and Muslim-Americans, are a required part of the curriculum.

Arabs and Muslims are already incorporated within the state mandated social studies curriculum such as in ancient, world, global history, and geography courses, but they are only indirectly incorporated in U.S. history and civics. The information from the survey suggests that teachers struggle to realize not only that Arab and/or Muslim-Americans are already a part of the curriculum, but also the various ways in which they can be incorporated. This is not only evident from the responses in question nine, but also in question ten, which will be discussed in the following chapter.

Summary

The inclusion of Arabs, Muslims, Islam, and Arab and Muslim-Americans in the curriculum and textbooks is vital in helping to dispel stereotypes and biases about these groups, however, their inclusion within textbooks and the curriculum remains inconsistent and, at times,

inaccurate. Concerns about how Arabs, Muslims, Islam, and Arab and Muslim-Americans are integrated in the curriculum have caused some Muslim parents to send their children to Islamic schools. In Islamic schools, Muslim students are able to complete state-mandated requirements in a educational system that includes Islamic values and ideals, without the concern of Islamic stereotypes (Zine in Haddad, Serazi & Smith, 2009). Even with the availability of Islamic schools, the vast majority of Muslim -American students continue to attend public schools, which means teachers and schools will need to address issues of bias and stereotypes within the curriculum and textbooks.

Unfortunately, the portrayal of Arabs, Muslims, Islam, and Arab and Muslim-Americans continues to be an issue more than ten years after the events of 9/11. An analysis of five U.S. history textbooks demonstrated that while other ethnic and religious groups were included, Arab and Muslim-Americans remained largely ignored from the texts. Arabs and Muslims, although included in review sections of the textbooks, were limited to pre-Columbian exploration of the New World. Arabs and Muslims were most frequently included within the context of conflicts and violence, particularly terrorism. Most of the textbooks attempted to include balanced perspectives about Arabs, Muslims, Islam, and Arab and Muslim-Americans, however, such perspectives were small in comparison to the number of negative representations of these groups.

The lack of positive contributions and achievements by Arab and Muslim-American within textbooks was also noted by the majority of teachers who responded to question four of the survey. Nearly 60% of the 88 participants disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement that textbooks included Arab-American history, culture, and authors. Similarly, in question nine, 51 of the 75 participants did not include Arab or Muslim-American studies within their courses. Those that did include Arab and Muslim-American studies did so as part of lessons on

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discrimination and stereotypes. One factor that limited the inclusion of Arab and Muslim-American studies was lack of time or curricular constraints. Twenty-eight percent of the 68 responses mentioned either curricular limitations or the lack of time as constraints to the inclusion of Arab and Muslim-American studies. The results from question nine also led to concerns about how curricular benchmarks and standards were being interpreted.

The findings from previous studies, combined with the results from this study, indicate that students are not being exposed to Arab and/or Muslim-American history or contributions within textbooks. Therefore, it will be up to teachers to implement the inclusion of Arab-American and Muslim-American studies within their classes. The next chapter expands upon this topic, discussing Arab and/or Muslim-American resources and materials, as well as examples of how these resources are included within existing secondary social studies curricula. Chapter six also includes an analysis of survey questions ten and seven, which examined teacher difficulties incorporating Arab and/or Muslim-American studies.

CHAPTER 6 - ARAB-AMERICAN AND MUSLIM-AMERICAN STUIDES

In the previous chapter, the focus was on Islam, Arabs, Muslims, and Arab and/or Muslim-Americans within the social studies curriculum and textbooks. The major objective was to understand Arab and Muslim-American multicultural education within secondary social studies courses. The results revealed little incorporation of contemporary Arab, Muslim, or Arab and/or Muslim-American contributions. As a result, students are not being exposed to Arab and/or Muslim-Americans positive contributions within the curriculum and textbooks. This has led many teachers to create and use resources that allow for the positive inclusion of these groups within their classes. The purpose of this chapter is to understand difficulties that teachers experience incorporating resources on Arab and/or Muslim-Americans. Also included within this chapter are the results from the remaining survey questions, ten and seven.

Resources on Arab and/or Muslim-American Studies

Concerns about how Arabs and Muslims are portrayed within the social studies curricula, textbooks, and by educators, has led to an increase in the number of resources for teaching about Arabs, Muslims, and Arab and Muslim-Americans. However, ascertaining which resources to use is still a major obstacle for many schools and educators. Marvin Wingfield's (2006) research found that teachers who attempted to include Arab and Muslim studies in the curriculum were uncomfortable determining what to teach and what to avoid. According to Wingfield, there are very fine and unclear lines that need to be addressed in the curriculum and supplemental resources. Teachers often question which books and activities should be considered and are

appropriate for classroom use. Another issue centers on how to teach about highly political or religious aspects. Wingfield's research identified teacher confusion on how to teach the Palestinian and Israeli conflict and whether Palestine and Israel should be taught in an equal light. Attempting to discuss the atrocities committed between Palestinians and Israelis runs the risk of offending parents of both backgrounds, and puts increased pressure on the teacher. In one instance parents argued about whether a parent's Palestinian display at a school cultural event should be allowed because Palestine was not an official country (Wingfield, 2006). This can make it uncomfortable and difficult for any student teacher or veteran teacher to teach about Arab and Muslim studies, causing many to ignore these issues and leave them out of the curriculum altogether (Wingfield, 2006).

Wingfield (2006) determined that most teachers have the right intentions when it comes to teaching about Middle Eastern perspectives; however, the execution of the lesson or activity is often flawed. For example, educators who use the *Kite Runner* as a cultural novel fail to realize that it reinforces many of the negative stereotypes that are often associated with the culture and region, such as rape, violence, and the abuse of women. Such novels, when taught out of context and without historical or cultural backgrounds, can have devastating consequences on Arabs and Muslims. When educators invite guest speakers, some schools neglect to recognize the cultural make-up of their students by inviting military personnel who served in parts of the Arab world or largely Muslim countries and who may be perceived as having harmed Arab or Muslim students' family members or friends living in those regions.

To further assist educators, some institutions have set up workshops and professional development, providing teachers with K-12 resources (Wingfield, 2006). Some schools have worked with organizations and institutions like the Arab American National Museum who offer

state and regional workshops. In other cases, school districts have partnered with local state colleges and universities that offer professional development opportunities and resources, for example the University of Michigan Center for Middle Eastern and North African Studies or the University of Arizona Center for Middle Eastern Studies. However, Arab and Muslim-American multiculturalism continues to be implemented in parts; sometimes through professional development, other times through educational materials, but ultimately it is still left to teacher discretion.

Resources on Arab and Muslim-American Studies (Questions 10 and 7)

One major research question in this study was to determine whether or not teachers faced any challenges when including Arab and Muslim-American studies into the current curriculum and whether or not there was a need for additional resources on teaching Arab and Muslim-American studies. Question ten asked participants to comment on difficulties experienced in incorporating multicultural education on Arab-Americans or Muslim-Americans in lesson plans (e.g., resources, lessons, activities, and/or basic information). Responses were gathered from 68 participants. The largest responses (28%) cited resources (literature, books, and texts) as the most difficult factor in incorporating Arab and/or Muslim-American studies. According to the experiences of one teacher, "Topics, such as history, beliefs, and culture seem readily available. However, resources related directly to Muslim-Americans experiences and challenges in the US would be valuable. It is also challenging to find good young adult literature about Arab-Americans/Muslim-Americans." The second largest factors cited by participants were time and interpretation of the curriculum and/or standards, each with 15% and 13% respectively. Other factors cited were teachers' lack of knowledge (6%), student/parent resistance, and a combination of a lack of knowledge and resources (4.5% each), time and resources, and time and curriculum (3% each), followed by resistance and time (1%). Six percent of participants had not tried to incorporate Arab and/or Muslim-Americans studies into their lessons and 16% claimed to have no difficulty incorporating them at all.

The second largest factors, time and the interpretation of the curriculum/standards, are again of major concern. Teachers comments included "lack of time to teach it – it is not a part of my curriculum and while I would like to insert it, I have too much to cover," "it's not in our state standards," and "there's no time to teach all the standards, let alone things outside of the standards." According to one teacher, there is "not enough time, or flexibility given to the teacher to do so…we are in lock step with our teaching requirements." These comments represent not only the frustrations that teachers face in trying to uphold state standards and benchmarks, but also their difficulties in understanding individual state and national benchmarks. While resources were also listed as a challenge to including Arab and/or Muslim-American studies, the interpretation of state and national benchmarks proves to be just as challenging.

The results from the data in question ten suggest that even with specific resources on Arab and Muslim-Americans it is unlikely that teachers would incorporate such resources with the existing state and national standards. The result is a paradigm where teachers are incorrectly interpreting the curriculum and standards. Resources alone will not solve this issue. Instead, teachers will need resources that can be blended within their existing lessons that are already aligned with their state and national standards.

The responses in question ten correlated to those in question seven, which allowed teachers to comment specifically about what resources on Arab-American histories and cultures they would prefer to have. The comments were then categorized by hand according to the major commonalities that appeared in the data. Table 7 shows the distribution of responses to question

seven. Seven main categories emerged and included texts, multimedia, primary and secondary resources, curriculum packets and lessons, a combination of the above listed choices, anything, and none. Here, the responses were mixed. Of the 65 responses, the largest response (29%) came from 19 teachers interested in texts (informational, historical, current events, as well as contributions by Arab-Americans). One respondent commented, "I teach Civics, helpful information would include current Arab-Am[erican] politicians and activists, voting patterns, voting power, [and] interest groups." Another teacher included in their response a request for "sidebars in U.S. history books."

Within the data were nine requests (14%) for multi-media resources such as videos, movies, DVDs, interactive activities, and websites. An additional seven teachers commented on the need for primary and secondary resources on Arab-American cultures, differences within Arab cultures, and Arab-American perspectives and biographies. "For U.S. history teachers, primary documents that discuss Arab-American contributions similar to those contributions made by [N]ative Americans, African Americans and Asian Americans." One teacher commented, "1) not all Arabs are alike, I would like to have different narratives from Arabs from all different countries so strong comparisons can be made. 2) info[rmation] on immigration and reasons for the exodus, 3) difficulties with immigration." Another teacher commented specifically on Islam, stating, "We need more understanding of the overwhelming numbers of moderate Muslims. Muslims who embrace the teachings of peace in the Koran and more information concerning what efforts the Muslim religious community is doing to reach out to and reform the Islamist." Finally, one teacher responded, "Primary source materials that are accessible for students. Secondary materials that discuss the achievements of Arab civilization

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in the centuries between the Golden Age and the rise of Arab nationalism. When we discuss the region (which is rare) we are focused on European imperialism, or the Turks."

Table 7		
Question 7		
7. What resources on Arab-American histories and cultures would you like to have?		
Categories Generated from Responses	Response	Response Count
	Percent	
Texts (Informational, historical, current events, contributions)	29%	19
Multimedia (videos, movies, DVDs, activities, websites)	14%	9
Primary and Secondary Resources	11%	7
Curricular Packets/Lessons	6%	4
Combination of Categories	17%	11
Anything	14%	9
Nothing	9%	6
	answered question	65
	skipped question	36

^{*} Percentages rounded to nearest whole number

While a large number of participants commented on the need for texts and multimedia resources sources, only four teachers requested curriculum packets or lessons. The second largest category (17%) of the surveyed population included 11 teachers who requested some combination of the above categories including guest speakers, field trips and graduate courses and workshops. Nine teachers were open to any materials, with one commenting, "Anything! Our textbooks are not very focused on diverse perspectives of history, so teachers have to put together supplemental sources." Only seven teachers requested primary and secondary resources, one of the smaller categories that developed within seven. There was no indication as to why more teachers were not interested in primary and secondary sources, which comprise one of the Common Core requirements. Not all teachers surveyed agreed, however. Six teachers commented that no additional resources were needed. One teacher in this category commented, "The internet is enough," while another made specific reference to the curriculum. "The issue is not resources; it is making sure that attention is paid to the issue in curriculum."

The responses to question seven suggest that teachers are not as interested in lessons or curricular guides as in supplemental resources and materials that cover vast topics from history, cultures, biographies, multimedia materials, guest speakers, and interactive activities. A possible justification is that supplemental resources and materials provide teachers with the flexibility to include certain items that fit the needs of their students, lessons and units. Teachers have the option to include as much or as little as they choose in order to achieve their objectives, whereas lesson plans can be more rigid and difficult to implement without multiple alterations.

Summary

The interpretation of benchmarks and standards was a significant factor that impacted Arab and Muslim-American studies in secondary social studies courses. The results from survey question ten indicated that 28% of participants had difficulty finding literature, books, and texts about Arab and Muslim-Americans. In question seven, teachers commented on materials and resources they would like to have in order to include Arab and Muslim-American studies. Of the 65 responses, 29% requested informational text, current events, and contributions by Arab-Americans, 14% requested multimedia, 11% requested a need for primary sources, 17% requested a combination of various categories, and 14% were interested in any materials. One of the smallest requests came from four teachers who were interested in curricular packets and lessons. Based on the information from this study, teachers showed greater demand for resources and materials, such as informational texts, contributions by Arab and Muslim-Americans, multimedia resources.

There are several commonalities that exist within the literature and this current research.

First, there is substantial research that suggests a lack of Arab and Muslim-American multicultural education in public schools; second, the research indicates that teachers need

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training or resources to teach more effectively about Arab and Muslim-American multiculturalism. With that said, my research emphasizes these findings, taking it a step further developing resources to improve multicultural education in the current curriculum, specifically the teaching of Arab-American and Muslim studies. The resources and materials provided in the following chapter cover a variety of areas, such as history, contributions, and current events and can be implemented within multiple social studies courses.

CHAPTER 7 - RESOURCES

I've been invited several times to present at universities, professional development meetings, state and national conferences, and even at the Arab-American National Museum, on how to incorporate Arab and Muslim-American studies into the public school curriculum. Some teachers openly confess that they lack the knowledge or confidence to teach Arab or Islamic history to their students, while others will cite curriculum and time restraints as factors that have hinder them in teaching about Arab and Muslim-American history.

After closely examining the state curriculum, I recognized that Arab and Islamic history were included frequently, and they will play an increasing role in the curriculum in years to come. Islamic history and religion have already been incorporated in the Michigan state curriculum as early as middle school and well into high school (Michigan Social Studies Grade Level Content Expectations, 2012; Michigan Social Studies High School Content Expectations, 2012). Students study basic Islamic beliefs, holidays and customs. The high school curriculum also includes Middle Eastern and Arab Studies in regards to the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Camp David Accords, the Persian Gulf War, Iraq War, the Iranian hostage crisis, 9/11 and Afghanistan.

This would lead many to believe that Arabs and Islam play an influential role in the curriculum, and indeed, they do. However, it is clear that, in most cases, when students study Arabs, the Middle East, or Muslims, it is usually within a violent context. For example, students will most often study Arabs or Muslims while studying the Crusades, the Arab-Israeli conflict,

the Iranian Hostage Crisis, 1970s oil embargo, Iran-Iraq War, Operation Desert Storm and 9/11. Students are rarely taught about positive contributions made by the Arab and Muslim community around the world and within the U.S.

The media's portrayal of Arabs and Muslims only intensifies this, which makes it easy to understand why so many students and even adults have difficulty separating violence from Arabs and Muslims. The use of certain curriculum materials, such as the *Kite Runner*, in English classes, again, only reiterates the stereotypes that students already have about Muslims. This perpetrates the image that Arabs and Muslims are angry and violent aggressors who oftentimes direct their anger at the United States and Americans at large. At the same time, there are many ways in which teachers can help address these stereotypes, maybe even reverse their effects, thereby altering the curriculum in a way that allows for the positive inclusion of multicultural Arab and Muslim-American studies.

Challenging Stereotypes of the Arab and Muslim Worlds

To start, teachers need to reexamine how they teach about Arabs and Muslims. One of the most significant aspects of teaching about Arab and Muslim-Americans is identifying the differences and similarities between the Arab world and Muslim world. An indispensable resource that a teacher can utilize with their students is a map of the Arab world and a second map of the Muslim population around the world. Maps provide students with a powerful visual aid, particularly when it comes to studying Arab and Muslim-Americans. One of the most important points that maps can emphasize is that the Arab and Muslim world and Middle East are not the same. It is imperative that educators and their students recognize that the Arab world and Muslim world represent two very distinct concepts. These are elements of critical race theory that are crucial to studying Arab and/or Muslim-Americans because it emphasizes the

dismantling of stereotypes and biases to reconstruct a more accurate view of these diverse groups. In order for students to move beyond the misconceptions, they must deconstruct the stereotypes and biases they may already possess to build a new and accurate view of Arab and/or Muslim-Americans.

The Arab world represents the more than 300 million Arabs that live in twenty-two Arab countries, which stretch across the Middle East, the North, and Eastern coast of the African continent (Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee, 2005). While a map of the Arab world may seem like a very basic and accessible resource, most maps and posters designed for classroom use only exhibit the Middle East or North Africa. A better way of locating a map or poster of the Arab world is by searching for maps that show the countries within the Arab League. An excellent resource is *The Economist Online* (www.economist.com), which provides teachers with an interactive map of the Arab League and links each country to a profile page so that students can read about current leaders, population, gross domestic product, and world index ranking.

By using maps, students can begin to understand that not all Arabs are Muslim and not all Muslims are Arab. Although an ethnic group, Arabs are multiracial and practice many faiths (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011; Arab American Institute Foundation, 2012). This is an extremely important aspect in Arab-American studies in that it recognizes the millions of Christian Arabs living within the Arab world. Arab Christians were some of the first Arabs to emigrate and settle in the United States, laying the foundation for future waves of Arab immigration. As such, the Arab Christian population makes up approximately 70% of the total Arab-American population, which is also reflected in the Arab-American student population (Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee, 2005; Pew Research Center, 2007).

Additionally, maps allow for a discussion on the diversity of the Arab world and what is meant by the term "Arab." This is equally important for students to understand in that the term "Arab," can mean many things to many people. In fact, there is no consensus, even among Arabs, as to what is meant by the term "Arab" or "Arab-American" (de la Cruz & Brittingham, 2003). Historically, Arabs, although an ethnic group, were not a minority in their homeland (Suleiman, 1999). For years, Arabs identified with villages, regions, and in familial and sectarian ways and did not identify by ethnicity. Therefore, within the U.S., it is not uncommon to find Arab-Americans who identify as Arabians, Arabs, Middle Easterners, Syrians, Egyptians, Africans, Asians, Caucasians, Copts, or Christians (Suleiman, 1999; Orfalea, 2006). There are also many people in the Arab world who speak Arabic, but who do not identify as being Arab, for example, Chaldeans and Kurds. While the majority of people living in the Arab world are ethnically Arab and may speak Arabic, there are also many other ethnic groups that live in the region and speak a variety of languages. This is an important point for both students and teachers in understanding the diversity of the Arab world and the Arab-American narrative. Through maps, teachers can highlight the geographic regions that comprise the Arab world to explain why Arab-Americans from Sudan may identify as Africans or why some Syrian-Americans would identify as Asians. In addition, teachers could add to the map the many languages spoken in various parts of the Arab world, which represents the linguistic diversity of the region.

Just like the population of the Arab world, the Muslim population is diverse. In some cases, maps only show the regions with the largest concentration of Muslims, particularly, the Middle East, the Arab world, and Asia. It is highly recommended that teachers use maps that represent the global Muslim population of more than 1.5 billion Muslims, thus making Islam the

second largest religion in the world (Pew Research Center, 2009). Although nearly two-thirds of the Muslim population live within ten countries, six of those countries are within Asia, not the Middle East (Pew Research Center, 2009). Additionally, this fact is a more fitting representation of the Muslim population that does not limit the study of Muslims only to the Eastern Hemisphere. Educators can include Muslim-Americans within the curriculum, by including maps that show the population of Muslims in the Americas. Maps that show the entire global Muslim population provide a more comprehensive picture of Islam as a faith that spans multiple continents and both hemispheres. The Muslim population expands far beyond the Middle East, which makes it as diverse as many other religions.

Maps of the global Muslim population can be easily obtained online from the Pew Research Center's report on the global Muslim population. Within the report is a series of maps that show the Muslim population within countries around the world, as well as regional maps that show Muslim populations in Europe and the Americas. In addition, the report includes charts and statistical information on the growth of the Muslim population within multiple regions. The maps serve as a strong visual to students, showing that the vast majority of the world's Muslim population resides in Asia, specifically in Indonesia, Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh. It also serves as a reminder that more than 50% of the estimated seven million Muslim-Americans are of Asian descent (Pew Research Center, 2007; Pew Research, 2009). The maps of the global Muslim population help disprove common student stereotypes that the Middle East has the largest Muslim population. It also acknowledges the millions of Muslims who live within the Eastern Hemisphere and further dispels the myth that all Arabs are Muslims and all Muslims are Arab.

Educators can further use the maps of the Arab and Muslim world to study the diversity of the two regions by having students compare and contrast Arab nations, Muslim nations, or Arab nations to Muslim nations. This can be done on a chart, as part of a project, a presentation, or even in an essay. Teachers can have students create slideshows with images of diversity from across the Arab world that emphasize skin color, dress, and religion. Within the Muslim world, students and teachers can work together to create slideshows and posters that represent the diversity of the Muslim world, emphasizing how different Muslims in different regions practice their faith.

This is particularly important when studying religious customs such as the head scarf (hijab) that many Muslim women wear. For example, students could compile pictures of the many ways that Muslim women across the world dress. The reality is that there is a large and obvious difference between the way Muslim women in India and Pakistan dress when compared to Muslim women in Afghanistan, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Egypt, and Nigeria, or even Muslim women living in Russia and Bosnia. This comparison emphasizes the reality that not all Muslim women wear the hijab, or are veiled. The variety of Muslim women's clothing is important to understanding Islam because students may interact with Muslim-American women wearing many variations of a hijab, as well as women who may choose not to wear a hijab at all.

Additionally, Muslim countries celebrate Muslim holidays, such as Ramadan, very differently, blending religious practices with cultural or family traditions. Students can research the way Muslim holidays are celebrated across the world, focusing specifically on how Muslim-Americans celebrate Muslim holidays. Finally, students can research the diversity within the Arab world and/or Muslim world by studying Arab and/or Muslim countries and their populations, governments, and religious practices. By studying the maps, students will be

surprised to find that some Arab countries have large Christian populations, such as Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Palestine, Egypt, and Jordan. Using maps for comparison and research allows students to learn geography and diversity, but also provides them with an opportunity to delve deeper into the Arab and Muslim world. Through research, students will learn about how advanced and modern some Arab and Muslim countries are.

Finally, maps can be used to integrate Arab and Muslim-American studies through immigration or diversity days. Many teachers and schools already hold diversity days while studying U.S. immigration. Teachers can take it upon themselves to represent Arab and Muslim cultures by having students research Arab and Muslim countries. As part of their research, students learn about Arab culture throughout the numerous Arab countries from Morocco to Iraq, and identify the different cultures that exist throughout the Arab world. Through immigration or diversity days, students can learn about the different foods, music, dress, governmental systems, and economies within Arab and/or Muslim countries. Students may learn for the first time that wearing a turban is not a custom in all Arab or Muslim countries and not all Arab and Muslim countries have camels and deserts, as stereotypes suggest. Understanding Arab and Muslim cultures is important in helping students understand the narrative of Arab and Muslim-Americans. Through various map lessons and activities, students learn that although the Arab and Muslim-American populations may share some similarities, they are also just as diverse as the populations in Europe and Asia. All of the map lessons and activities emphasize aspects of critical race theory, by providing students with positive and accurate views of Arabs, Muslims, and Arab and/or Muslim-Americans, and Yosso's concepts of cultural capital, by demonstrating the cultural richness of the Arab and Muslim worlds. They also implement multiple levels of multicultural education; particularly Banks' (1993, 2004) content integration, knowledge

construction process, and prejudice reduction, as well as Wingfield's (2006) ethnic additions phase.

Media Resources

Stereotypes and biases about Arab and Muslim-Americans in the media is also an issue that must be addressed by educators in the classroom. To that end, educators can use several artifacts that will help students gain insight on the depth of the media's vilification of Arabs. One particular artifact is Jack Sheehan's documentary *Reel Bad Arabs: How Hollywood Vilifies a People* (2006). First published as a book and later turned into a film, the documentary allows students to recognize the power of Hollywood and the victimization of the Arab and Arab-American population in entertainment. The film introduces the many subtle stereotypes that the media uses to negatively portray Arabs and Arab-Americans even in children's movies, such as *Aladdin* (1992) (Shaheen, 2001). At the same time, the film challenges many of the stereotypes present in the media that vilify Arabs and Arab-Americans.

At the very least, both the book and film make educators aware of the media's portrayal of Arabs and Arab-Americans, thus making them more critical of the materials that they are likely to consider for use within the classroom. The film is also beneficial in that it opens up a dialogue in the classroom about the Arab-American narrative and challenges students to think beyond the images that they see in the media, aspects of critical race theory and social justice education. Furthermore, educators can use *Reel Bad Arabs* (2006) to help students question and think critically about the material presented in the media. Students can then research how other aspects of the media, such as the news, goes beyond vilifying Arabs and Arab-Americans, but other groups including Muslims, Muslim-Americans, African and Asian-Americans.

It is not only important to make students aware of the biases within the media, it is also equally important that students know how stereotypes affect the lives of those who are Arab and Muslim-American, as well as those who are not. Teachers can use *Reel Bad Arabs* (2006) to demonstrate how such stereotyping has led to attacks-both verbal and physical-against the millions of Arab and Muslim Americans living within the United States, particularly Sikh-Americans (de la Cruz & Brittingham, 2003; Sikh Coalition, 2012; Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights, 2012). The increased negative stereotyping has tarnished the Arab and Muslim-American community's identity and augmented misconceptions about students from these backgrounds. It has also directly led to hate crimes against others who have been mistaken as Arab or Muslim (Suleiman, 2000; Wingfield, 2006; Sikh Coalition, 2012; Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights, 2012).

As an extension, teachers can work with students, and as a class, develop awareness campaigns designed to challenge the stereotypes of Arab and Muslim-Americans within the media. Awareness campaigns can include slideshows that are shown in classrooms or on posters that are displayed throughout the school. Students can also run awareness campaigns within the community by writing articles or editorials in newspapers or writing letters of support to local Arab and Muslim-American communities. Finally, students can write to their local and state representatives asking them to support more positive images of Arab and Muslim-Americans within the media. This allows students to be involved in the curriculum, as well as making them advocates for social justice. Students can then use what they have learned to critically analyze information presented in the media and news. Instead of accepting information in the media, students will be able to examine it further to develop their own opinions and conclusions. As a

result, students will then be able to recognize incorrect information about Arab and Muslim-Americans and be equipped with the knowledge to challenge such biases.

Another movie that is fundamental to the construction of the Arab and Muslim-American narrative is Fordson: Faith, Fasting, Football and the American Dream (2011). The movie focuses on the predominately Arab-American community in Dearborn, Michigan, in particular, Fordson High School and its football team. The movie is a valuable tool for teachers and students because it covers a large number of topics including, Islam, Ramadan, assimilation, and stereotypes. Since the movie concentrates on Fordson High School, its students, and its football team, it is easily relatable to high school students across the country. Fordson (2011) allows students to view Arab-Americans as average high school students who happen to be Arab and Muslim, but above all, as individuals trying to live the American dream. The movie shows the impact of stereotypes and discrimination on Arab and Muslim-Americans students and how they try to counter such stereotypes. In addition, the movie demonstrates the role of family and faith within the Arab-American community, which is something high school students of various cultures may find similar to their own.

One film that should be included in every teacher's toolbox is *Allah Made Me Funny:*Live in Concert (2008). The mixed comedy tour and documentary follows the lives of three

Muslim comedians: an Arab-American, Asian-American, and African-American. As a group,
the three comedians tour the country using humor as a way of challenging stereotypes and
discrimination towards Muslims and Muslim-Americans. The three comedians also represent the
diversity present within Islam and the Muslim-American community. Together the two movies

Fordson: Faith, Fasting, Football and the American Dream (2011) and Allah Made Me Funny:

Live in Concert (2008) provide students with examples that counter the negative stereotypes so

often projected by the media. They also provide students with a chance to see Arab and Muslim-Americans in a new and more positive way, something that many students may not have been exposed to.

Equally important to identifying stereotypes is providing students with examples that counter them. This is particularly true when teaching about Islam. Teaching about religions is a key aspect and responsibility of social studies teachers across the United States, and with ninetyseven percent of the Muslim-American population attending public schools, it is likely that many teachers will be teaching students of the Muslim faith within their own classes (Cristillo in Haddad, Senzai and Smith, 2009, chapter 3, paragraph 3). Unfortunately, Islam has often been viewed as a foreign religion that requires women to be veiled, secluded, and restricted when compared to men who are allowed to marry up to four wives. What is often ignored are the rules regarding the marriage of more than one wife, how uncommon it is for Muslim men to do so, and the fact that some Muslim nations, including Turkey, have made it altogether illegal. There is little attempt to recognize that in pre-Islamic Arabia, men were able to marry an unlimited number of times, and that women had few rights (Esposito, 1975). The introduction of Islam limited that number and ensured women's rights, particularly in divorce and inheritance. There is also no attempt to connect these older Islamic practices with Christian sects, particularly Mormons, who historically were also not limited in the number of wives they could marry. In addition to gender roles, early achievements of Muslim and Arab scholars in math, science and medicine continue to be greatly down played.

To counter stereotypes about Islam, educators will find films such as the History Channel's *Inside Islam* (2002) extremely important in including the Muslim-American narrative within their lessons and curriculum. The documentary *Inside Islam* (2002), produced shortly

after 9/11, covers the basic pillars of Islam, but also focuses largely on the many similarities between Islam and other monotheistic faiths, specifically, Judaism and Christianity. In addition, there is a portion of the film that highlights Shiite and Sunni sects and holy sites that are significant to both groups. A significant portion of the film documents the golden ages within Islam, Islamic empires, and Muslim contributions and achievements in math, science, medicine, and astronomy. These aspects are often ignored in other films about Islam. One of the film's strongest qualities, however, is its introduction of the differences between Islam as a faith, one that advocates peace and non-violence, and political and militant Islam, which has often been used by terrorist groups, such as Al-Qaeda. The film introduces students to terms and concepts such as *jihad* and suicide bombings. Such terms and concepts are use frequently within political and militant Islam, and students are likely to hear them used regularly in the media and other news formats. The documentary touches upon these topics to explain the differences between political Islam and Islam as a faith. As a result, students learn that Islam is not a religion based on violence, as many tend to believe. Educators can use this film to address misconceptions that students may have about Islam, as well as Muslim-Americans. Teachers can have students build charts that represent the similarities between Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Students can also further research the differences between political and militant Islam in comparison to the actual faith. These activities allow students to better understand Islam and Muslim-Americans, recognizing true religious beliefs and practices from stereotypes and misconceptions.

All of these films can be used to not only introduce educators to a different perspective on Arab and Muslim-Americans, but also their students. These films can also be combined with other lessons and activities that challenge stereotypes. For example, teachers can utilize *Fordson: Faith, Fasting, Football and the American Dream* (2011) and *Allah Made Me Funny:*

Live in Concert (2008) when teaching units on American immigration and assimilation. Not only would the use of these movies include Arab and Muslim-Americans in the curriculum and fulfill Michigan state standards and benchmarks, but it would also provide positive examples of how the Arab and Muslim-American communities are as much a part of the American story as are other immigrant groups. In addition, these movies can also be used as a part of educators' units on Islam, as they show average Muslim-Americans embracing and practicing traditional elements of American culture, rather than just teaching about the basic pillars of Islam. This is the focus of social justice education, to challenge the inequalities of the Arab and/or Muslim-American "other" status and to show these groups as Americans, participating within American society.

There are also several films and documentaries that help address very sensitive issues, such as the Arab-Israeli conflict and American involvement in the Middle East. Documentaries such as *Occupation 101* (2006) and *Peace, Propaganda and the Promise Land* (2004) and *Blood and Oil* (2008), provide the foundation for great class discussions on the role of the media, as well as the history of U.S. involvement in the Arab world. One of the films that is most popular among students when teaching about the Arab-Israeli conflict is the 2001 film *Promises*, by B.Z. Goldberg. The film follows the lives of several Palestinian and Israel children for three years, eventually uniting the two groups throughout the conflict. Most stunning of all is the film's special features section that shows the lives of the now adults, several years after the making of the film. An older, but similar and still deeply moving film is *Arna's Children*, by Juliano Mer Khamis, whose Jewish mother sets up a theater in the West Bank to provide Palestinian students with acting lessons, all the while she is suffering through cancer. Juliano eventually returns to the theater years later to find it in ruins and attempts to find the actors with whom his mother

once worked with. Another very insightful film is from an unlikely point of view, this time from the angle of Palestinian suicide bombers in the film, *Paradise Now* (2005), by Hany Abu-Assad. The film's message is not one of violence and there are no graphic scenes. On the contrary the film shows two childhood friends and the struggles with their recently assigned mission. Many of these films can be found at the Media Education Foundation website, http://www.mediaed.org or through YouTube.

Another great resource that provides insight into the Arab and Muslim world is through the use of the travel TV show series like, *Anthony Bourdain: No Reservations* and PBS' *Rick Steve's*. Both of these travel guides, though narrated by Americans, are candid, recap local history, visit historic landmarks, emphasize local culture and cuisine, and attempt to provide insight from each region's points of view. In addition to their comprehensive coverage, both were created for American television and, thus, are easy for our students to understand and for teachers to fit within a one-hour class period. Students particularly enjoy Anthony Bourdain's open mindedness and blunt comments, as well as his fascination with local cuisine. Bourdain and Steves' videos are easily accessible. Rick Steve has his own website where DVDs, travel guides and commentary can be downloaded and purchased and many can be accessed for free from the PBS website. Anthony Bourdain has a page on the Travel Channel where viewers can read his journals, as well as blog with Bourdain and other viewers. All of Bourdain's episodes can be purchased through the iTunes store.

In addition to these resources, my students have a chance to experience Arab and Muslim culture through music videos, TV shows, and cultural food days. After seeing Bourdain's videos in particular, students were excited to try the same foods that Bourdain eats during his travels. I use classical Arab food and usually find recipes online through recipies.com. These dishes are

easy to make, even if you are not Arab. They are also easy to serve in a classroom, can be made ahead of time or even bought in local stores. Many of the dishes come in vegetarian forms, which students with food restrictions appreciate. Finally, I try to emphasize the more modern aspects of Arab and Muslim culture in a way that the students can appreciate with the use of Arabic music and music video clips. These video clips are easily accessible by searching for Arabic music videos on YouTube. Most of the video clips come with English translations and help my students' dispel common misconceptions. Students are surprised to see that Arabs have their own punk rock, heavy metal, hip-hop, and even rap bands. They are surprised to see expensive cars, elaborate video sets, male and female intermingling, and the numerous similarities between American and Arabic life and music. The music videos help show Arabs for who they really are, energetic, enthusiastic, and in love with life; not words that my students might typically associate with Arab people. When used in context, all of these sources help students experience the Arab world's transition from the Ottoman Empire to new nations and modernizing republics. They illustrate that although many Arab countries are Muslim nations that border the Eastern and Western worlds, it is also contemporary in its own unique way. Certainly, students recognize that the Arab and Muslim world is not America, and that is okay. Part of what I hope that students understand is that a country can be considered "modern," but that does not mean that it has to be just like the United States.

Literature Resources

The area of literature has proven to be very difficult for teachers who wish to incorporate books about Muslims, Arabs, or Arab and Muslim-Americans. I have witnessed several school districts, my own included, which have used novels such as the *Kite Runner*, within their literature classes as a way of utilizing current texts from backgrounds that are more diverse than

that of *Hamlet* and *Huckleberry Finn*. However, literature, as with media, has to be introduced purposefully. When literature is used out of context, without teaching about the history and culture of the region, novels such as the *Kite Runner*, only emphasize the negative stereotypes that students may already possess. It is imperative that Arab and Muslim and literature be chosen carefully, to fit not only curricular needs, but also provide a balanced cultural perspective. To address this, teachers must teach literature in conjunction with the history and culture of Arab and Muslim-Americans so that students understand the people, as well as their history.

Arab-American authors and poets have written on a wide variety of subjects including, but not limited to, growing up in America, life in America compared to the Arab or Muslim world, Arab-American family life, and religion. Naomi Shibah Nye, Amin, Rihani, Mikhail Naimy, and Kahlil Gibran have published poetry that reflects on the homeland and struggles growing up and living in America. Gibran, in particular, is one of the first Arab-Americans to sell more than a million copies of one book (Orfalea, 2006). In addition to these poets, Tony-Award winning Def Poetry Jam on Broadway, Suheir Hammad, a Palestinian-American poet, and Rafeef Ziadah, a Palestinian-Canadian poet, can be found on YouTube reciting their works. Hammad has published several books and Ziadah has a CD compilation of her poetry that many history and civics teachers would find as excellent supplemental resources when teaching about topics such as immigration, discrimination, civil rights, and current events topics. Their works and those of other poets would compliment English/language arts and literature courses in a variety of areas. For a collection of Arab-American poetry, teachers should utilize *Grape Leaves: A Century of Arab-American Poetry* by Orfalea and Elmusa (2000).

Arab-American authors Edward Said, Diana Abu Jaber, and Joseph Gehar, have a large selection of novels, and short stories about Arab-American experiences and identity (Orfalea, 2006). Syrian-American, Mihja Kahf, has a series of dramatic monologues on Biblical and Quranic figures in present day settings (Orfalea, 2006). Orfela (2006) highly recommends texts with writings by multiple Arab-American and Arab-Canadian authors, including *Food for Our Grandmother: Writings by Arab-American and Arab-Canadian Feminists*, by Kadi (1994), and *Post Gibran: Anthology of New Arab-American Writing* by Akash and Mattawa (1999).

Two excellent literature resources are *Arab American Voices* by L. Hall (1999) and *Arab American Biography* by B. Hall and L. Hall (1999). *Arab American Voices* (1999) is a collection of more than twenty primary sources in the form of autobiographies, interviews, diary entries, speeches, and news articles from Arab-Americans with Syrian, Lebanese, Egyptian, Palestinian, and Iraqi backgrounds, among others. Primary sources are another way of including the Arab and Muslim-American narrative within the curriculum. Educators can utilize primary sources within their classroom to help students engage and develop personal connections with the curriculum.

What makes *Arab American Voices* (1999) unique from others is its focus on Arab-American identity and what it means to Arab-American. Writings include a memoir of a Palestinian refugee and her struggles to maintain her Palestinian identity. Through her story, students are reminded of the difficulty that immigrants faced, in not only leaving a homeland and moving to a new and unfamiliar country, but also the struggles of developing and sharing a new Arab-American identity: an identity that is a conglomerate of other Arab identities, such as Syrian, Iraqi, and Lebanese. Another section of the book titled, "Arab Americans, Civil Rights, and Prejudice," uses interviews, speeches, and poems by Arab-Americans in their attempt to

become politically active and protect their civil liberties. Several of the resources included in this section were written in response to government actions that threatened Arab-American civil liberties, (such as the detainment of the Los Angeles Eight in 1986 and the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996). These writing serve as a reminder of the numerous civil rights movements that have taken place throughout U.S. history and shed light on how Arab-Americans have participated in protecting democracy for all.

Primary sources provide students with personal stories that are relatable, and allow students to study firsthand accounts of Arab and Muslim-American roles within history.

Additionally, adding Arab and Muslim-Americans to the curriculum helps "affirm and give legitimacy to Arab American and Muslim identity" allowing students to "see themselves in the curriculum" (Wingfield, 2006, p. 262). Educators can include the primary sources found in *Arab American Voices* (1999) to discuss American immigration, particularly the experiences of those immigrating as refugees or being reunited with other family members, the experiences of first generation Arab-Americans, and what it means to be an Arab-American. There are, of course, primary sources on Arab-American challenges with stereotypes and discrimination, but also other cultural experiences including love, marriage, children, education, employment, and political activism.

Arab American Biography (1999) is another prized resource for any teacher's toolbox on Arab and Muslim-American studies. Arab American Biography (1999) is a two-volume set that includes more than seventy biographies on Arab-Americans. Similar to primary sources, biographies about Arab-Americans can be used to introduce students to famous Americans, some that they will recognize, and others that they will be surprised to discover, have Arab heritage. This allows students to develop a personal connection with the curriculum and learn about how

the achievements of Arab-Americans have had a positive impact on society. Teachers should not feel limited or restricted to the seventy-five biographies included in these two volumes. Instead, educators can use *Arab American Biography* (1999) as a starting point, introducing students to worthy Arab-Americans, and demonstrating how they have contributed to the success of the United States. Students could also independently study and research Muslim-Americans and their contributions to the nation. All of these examples emphasize critical race theory, social justice education, and multicultural education because they help dispel many of the myths about Arab and Muslim-Americans and introduce students to examples of positive Arab and Muslim-Americans who represent the successes of the Arab and Muslim-American community.

In addition to these resources, Dr. Allen Webb, English professor at Western Michigan University, has created an entire website dedicated to literature of the Middle East. The website (www.teachmiddleeast.com) is organized according to specific needs and includes everything from background literature for teachers, literature on the Palestinian and Israeli conflict, Middle Eastern diversity, women in the Middle East, war in the Middle East, the Middle East and Western Canon, and the Middle East and the United States. My students have grown fond of the writings of Randa Abdel-Fattah, such as *Ten Things I Hate About Me* and *Does My Head Look Big in This*. Abdel-Fattah's writing is connects to the students' own lifestyles and is an easy read that they enjoy.

Additional Resources

Educators interested in addition resources and materials, should consult the Arab-American National Museum (AANM), located in Dearborn, Michigan. An affiliate of the Smithsonian Museum in Washington D.C., the AANM is the only Arab-American museum in the United States and serves as a center for preserving Arab and Arab-American history and

culture. AANM has collaborated with local universities and teachers to develop lesson and unit plans to accompany all exhibits and podcasts, several of which I have helped design. There are lessons available for schools within the metro Detroit region, as well as lessons for its podcasts and online virtual tours. The lesson plans emphasize Arab-American immigrant experiences, adjusting to the United States, stereotypes, and contributions to the U.S. and the world, which are suitable for all grades and ages and that fit within the mandated curriculum. In addition to providing tours to individuals, groups, and schools, the museum also offers a large variety of educational programs and community outreach experiences that vary from international film nights, to Arab music festivals, to galas honoring guests from across the Arab world. The museum houses many artifacts; however, there are two resources teachers will find helpful to the construction of the Arab and Muslim-American narrative, primarily, podcasts and Story Corp Oral History Collections.

The museum's collection of podcasts are an excellent resource for teachers to use in their classes. A podcast is a multimedia digital file that can be downloaded onto computers and other electronic devices, including iPods, iPads, and smart phones. The podcasts are created by employees of the AANM, many of who are Arab-American, and are able to provide firsthand knowledge and insight about the various topics being introduced or discussed. The museum also has podcasts that include interviews with influential Arab and Muslim-Americans, professors, researchers, and guest speakers, as well as podcasts of the many events hosted at the museum. The AANM's podcast collection can be downloaded for free on iTunes, which makes them easily assessable to teachers and their students. Available in both audio and video formats, the podcasts cover a large selection of topics, including art, architecture, stereotypes and discrimination, and Arab women and the *hijab*. The majority of the podcasts are designed for

classroom use, which makes them an ideal resource to include in the classroom because they provide students with direct access to a large variety of topics that discuss Arab and Muslim-American narratives.

What is unique about the podcasts is not only the large variety of topics that they cover, but also the many ways that they can be utilized in the classroom. Podcasts can be used as short introductions to a lesson or unit on stereotypes, or to stimulate a class discussion. Podcasts that feature presentations by professors and researchers of Arab and Muslim-American studies can be used to provide background information about the history of Arab and Muslim-Americans. Video podcasts are also versatile in that they allow students to independently analyze topics in more depth. For example, one podcast on the *hijab* makes comparisons between different cultures that wear variations of the headscarf. The hijab video podcast compares images of Catholic nuns and Muslim women wearing a head covering for modesty and religious observance, as well as images of other cultures where women wear headscarves and coverings as a sign of mourning during funerals. This allows students to understand the role of the hijab (or headscarves) within Islam, but also in other cultures, and provides students with examples with which they are more likely to relate to and understand. Through the video podcast, the hijab becomes less mysterious, and instead, a respected part of the Islamic faith. The museum also has video podcasts on Arab and Islamic art and architecture. These podcasts provide students with historical background on Arab and Muslim achievements in mathematics and how this influenced not only Arab and Muslim art and architecture, but also eventually many other cultures and religions. Since podcasts can be downloaded on individual electronic devices, students have the flexibility to listen or watch at their own pace and can pause and review material as necessary. This allows students to carefully study and understand each podcast in

more depth. The podcasts also provide examples of real world application, emphasizing cultural aspects that students will likely experience in and outside of the classroom. They are a key strategy to implementing elements of activity theory and socio-cultural theory.

In addition to podcasts is the AANM's newest resource, the Story Corps Oral Histories collection. The Story Corps Oral Histories is a collection of Arab-American narratives on a variety of topics: 9/11 and terrorism, experiences growing-up within the United States, challenges to facing stereotypes and discrimination, and personal commentary on what it means to be Arab-American. Story Corps Oral Histories are the true collection of the Arab-American narrative and an integral part of an educator's construction of Arab-American studies within the curriculum. Students can watch video and audio clips that describe the experiences of Arab-Americans from all across the Arab world and the United States. These stories provide students with a rare glimpse into understanding how Arab-Americans live their everyday lives, despite numerous challenges.

Similar to podcasts, oral histories can be used as an introduction to a lesson or to start a class discussion or debate. Oral history artifacts allow students to compare Arab and Muslim-American experiences in many ways, for example, experiences in challenging discrimination, and helping friends and coworkers understand and challenge stereotypes and biases. Students can also use the oral histories to compare the various ways that Arab and Muslim-Americans have participated in volunteer work and community programs. Of the many oral histories, one in particular focuses on two Arab-American college students and their work with local universities to develop campus programs that discuss Arab and Muslim-American stereotypes. The oral history of the two college students highlights their motivation for developing campus programs that address discrimination, but also represents how Arab-Americans have actively worked to

positively impact their communities. Other oral histories include Michigan State

Representative Rashida Tlaib's discussion on being an Arab and Muslim-American politician.

Through Tlaib's oral history, students learn about how the events of 9/11 and anti-Arab attacks affected her decision to become a politician. These podcasts allow teachers to implement social justice education in their classroom by showing Arab and/or Muslim Americans, again, as Americans who participate in the democratic process, challenging racial, class, and societal statuses and biases. For some students, this may be their only experience with Arab and/or Muslim-Americans. Students and classrooms that download the oral histories are provided with direct narratives from Arab and Muslim-Americans that are unique and diverse.

Both the podcasts and oral histories provide students with insight on the various experiences of Arab and Muslim-Americans during significant life events. The podcasts are resources that teachers can utilize to include Arab and Muslim-American history and discuss a plethora of topics, including stereotypes and biases. The oral histories are also essential tools for the construction of narratives about Arab and Muslim-Americans, a fundamental aspect of critical race theory. These Arab and Muslim-American oral histories are primary sources for students to utilize when constructing positive images of Arab and Muslim-Americans as well as how they have impacted and contributed to the development of the United States.

The museum continuously adds new podcasts and oral histories to their collection, which means that teachers and students will be able to find new podcasts and oral histories that address current events. Both the podcasts and oral histories have lesson plans that can be used prior to, during, and after touring the museum, but also lesson plans to accompany the virtual tour and podcasts. The lesson plans emphasize Arab-American immigrant experiences, adjusting to the United States, stereotypes, and contributions to the U.S. and the world, which are suitable for all

grades and ages and that fit within the mandated state social studies curriculum. All of these materials are also regularly updated which allows teachers to have the most current information and resources. The podcasts and Story Corp Oral Histories available at the Arab American National Museum website are an integral piece in the construction of a narrative about Arab and Muslim-Americans within the curriculum.

Finally, teachers in need of additional lesson plans and resources should consider several resource books and websites that offer a multitude of options, some with materials that can be downloaded for free. Teachers interested in more information about Arabs and Arab-Americans should consult The Arab American Encyclopedia by Ameri and Ramey (2000) and The Arab American by Schur (2004). Websites at the Center for Middle Eastern & North African Studies (CMENAS) at the University of Michigan (http://www.ii.umich.edu/cmenas), Teaching the Middle East (http://teachmiddleeast.lib.uchicago.edu/), Media Construction of the Middle East (http://www.ithaca.edu/looksharp/?action=middleeast), the Choices Program Resources (www.choices.edu/resources/detail.php?id=24), Arab American Institute (www.aaiusa.org), AMIDEAST (www.amideast.org), Council on Arab and Islamic Relations (www.cair-net.org), and Middle Eastern American Resources Online (www.mearo.org) are just a few of the resources that I've utilized on a regular bases. The American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) is also a useful source for articles and lesson plans on discrimination and stereotypes. Each of the sites has free lesson plans with readymade worksheets, activities and assignments for free download and some for purchase. I have also developed a teacher resource page that is linked from my own classroom website

(http://www.chippewavalleyschools.org/profiles/Monica_Eraqi_Profile/teacher-resources/).

Once there, teachers will find a variety of lessons that can be used to infuse Arab, Islamic, and

Middle Eastern studies within U.S. history, economics, and global history. All of the materials are free to download as word documents that can be adapted to fit the needs of any lesson or class. In either case, teachers should not forget to use the Arab and Muslim-American community as a reference. Local Arabic business and religious centers can be found in almost all parts of the country. The website, Islamicfinder.com, allows users to type in their zip code to find Muslim businesses of all ethnicities, including mechanics, doctors, and lawyers in their community.

All of these resources allow for the implementation of theories that were the foundation of this research, mainly, critical race theory, social justice education, multicultural education, socio-cultural theory, and activity theory. The lessons and resources integrate Arab and Muslim-American narratives within the secondary social studies curriculum and in a way that displays the rich history and culture of Arab and Muslim-Americans. These resources can be used to help dispel the myths and stereotypes that students may possess regarding Arab and Muslim-Americans. In addition, these resources show how Arab and Muslim-American communities have worked as a part of American society and not as separate groups. While it can be difficult to capture the accomplishments of numerous cultures, the resources presented here can help teachers include not only Arab and Muslim-American history and culture, but they can use these ideas as a foundation for including other cultures within the social studies curriculum.

CHAPTER 8 - CONCLUSION

Regardless of when Arabs and Muslims arrived to the U.S., it is clear that they have greatly contributed to the development of this nation. In the aftermath of 9/11, many Arab and Muslim-Americans found it difficult to be politically active, risking their security and even facing deportation, simply to maintain and protect their civil liberties. Their struggles extended to the. Teachers in schools across the United States have faced challenges in teaching about Arab and Muslim-Americans, but many have searched and developed resources to help better address the curricular gaps.

While a plethora of resources for teaching Arab and Muslim history and traditions exists, many of these resources have been designed for ancient world or global history courses. Within such courses, Arabs, Muslims, and Arab and Muslim-Americans are frequently referenced in very specific contexts, such as wars and conflicts, which emphasize stereotypes of Arabs and Muslims as violent and aggressive people. This has demonized Arab-Americans and Muslim-Americans and their culture and is counterproductive. It also greatly ignores both historic and contemporary achievements that Arabs and Muslims have made. As a result, teachers have struggled to find a variety of supplemental materials that are available to help provide a more balanced educational learning environment; one that is more closely aligned to multicultural and social justice education goals.

Critical race theory, multicultural and social justice education served as the foundation of the current study. My research addressed biases and stereotypes, positive Arab and Muslim contributions, lessons on Arab and Muslim-Americans, and secondary social studies resources, each of which was concerned with critical multicultural education as a form of social justice education. For the Arab and Muslim-American communities, multicultural education, critical race theory, and social justice education continue to be one of the most important curricular elements in helping to reduce and eventually eliminate the discrimination and stereotyping that has continued to harm them socially and politically.

The first of the four research questions was to determine if teachers observed stereotypes or biases about Arabs, Muslims, and Arab and Muslim-Americans amongst their students and if schools took time to address these biases and stereotypes. In question eight, 80% of the teachers who participated in the survey acknowledged observing stereotypes or biases towards Arabs and Muslims among their students. Thirty-two percent of participants indentified a combination of the media, parents, the community, the events of 9/11, or the lack of exposure to Arabs and/or Muslims as primary contributing factors to the development of stereotypes and biases among their students. In question five, 49% of the teachers agreed and strongly agreed that their schools took time to address biases against Arabs and Muslims, however, their answers in the openresponse demonstrated that the vast majority actually addressed issues of biases in their individual classes, per teacher directive and not as a school. It was clear from the data in the study that stereotypes and biases towards Arabs and Muslims continue more than ten years after 9/11. It is also clear that teachers believe these stereotypes develop outside the walls of the classroom and school. Unfortunately, none of the teachers surveyed drew a connection between stereotypes, biases, and the lack of positive Arab, Muslim, and Arab and Muslim-American inclusion in the curriculum.

The inclusion of Arabs, Muslims, and Arab and Muslim-Americans in the curriculum was also a major research question. Question six addressed this area of the research and asked teachers to identify if textbooks included positive contributions by Arabs and Muslims.

Analysis of the data in question six revealed that 81% of those surveyed claimed to include positive contributions of Arabs and Muslims within their schools and classrooms, but primarily in ancient and world history. There was little incorporation of contemporary Arab and/or Muslim contributions at the secondary level. While it is important to recognize that teachers are including ancient Arab and Muslim contributions, it is equally important to note that contemporary Arab and Muslim achievements continue to go unnoticed in schools. Students learn about Arab and Muslim civilizations that were great, but are left with no examples of the extraordinary accomplishments of Arabs and Muslims, not only in the Arab and Muslim world, but also specifically in the United States. It was, therefore, important to understand how Arabs, Muslims, and Arab and Muslim-Americans were included in the secondary social studies curriculum.

The third research focus of the study was to determine if Arab and Muslim-American history, culture, and authors were included in textbooks and school curricula. Questions four and nine specifically addressed these items. The justification for these questions is that without positive reinforcement of the Arab and Muslim-American history and experience, stereotypes and biases against these groups will continue. As previously mentioned, 81% of participants included positive contributions by Arabs and Muslims in ancient, global, and world history. However, the results from question four of the study indicate that more than half of the teachers (58.9%) disagreed or strongly disagreed that textbooks include Arab-American history, culture and authors. Some teachers agreed that Arab and Muslim-Americans were included in

textbooks, however, only in reference to Middle Eastern conflicts, terrorism, or conflicts between the United States and the Middle East, for example the 1970s oil embargo. Similarly, the results from question nine show that most teachers (51%) do not specifically include Arab and Muslim-American studies in their classes and those who do, focus primarily on Middle Eastern conflicts or terrorism.

The results from questions four, five, six, eight, and nine prove to be problematic. First, the results demonstrate that students are not learning about contemporary contributions made by Arabs and Muslims or Arab and Muslim-Americans. Second, students only study Arabs, Muslims, and Arab and Muslim-American contemporary history when it involves conflict or wars in the Middle East or with the United States. Without studying positive contributions made by the Arab and Muslim-American community, stereotypes from the media and society will continue. This is counterproductive to the true purpose of multicultural and social justice education. Instead, the curriculum should be a means by which to alter the negative images that the Arab and Muslim-American community have been tied to.

It was, therefore, imperative to understand what difficulties, if any, teachers experienced incorporating Arab and Muslim-Americans in social studies lesson plans. This led to the fourth major research question, questions seven and ten, which focused on resources. Results from the open-ended responses in question seven demonstrated that teachers had a greater need for informational, historical and current events materials, contributions by Arab-Americans, multimedia resources, guest speakers, field trips, and workshops. Only four teachers showed interest in curricular packets or lesson plans. Analysis from the data in question seven suggest that teachers are not interested in lesson plans and packets, but instead in supplemental material that can be adapted to meet the needs of their classes and individual students. However, question

seven did not determine if teachers struggled to collect or incorporate instructional materials about Arab and Muslim-Americans in their lesson plans.

Question ten was designed to determine what difficulties teachers experienced incorporating multicultural education on Arab and Muslim-Americans in their lesson plans. It was in the open-responses of question ten that the data began to correlate with that in question seven. In this section, 29% of participants cited resources as the most difficult factor when it came to including Arab and/or Muslim-American studies. When combined with the information in question seven, it suggested that the lack of available resources correlates to the lack of Arab and Muslim-American studies in secondary social studies education.

The data in question ten also revealed that 28% of participants attributed time and curricular constraints as the second largest factor to the lack of Arab and Muslim-American inclusion in their classes; only a one percent difference. This is troubling because it suggests that even with additional resources on Arab and Muslim-Americans it is unlikely that teachers would incorporate such resources with existing curricula. As an educator, I challenge this notion because I believe that standards and benchmarks are purposely written in a vague manner so as not to restrict educators and their craft. Standards and benchmarks are meant to guide teachers in their practice by establishing goals and objectives that can be achieved through multiple avenues. They are not meant to dictate what may or may not be covered. In other words, social studies standards already include Arabs, Muslims, and Arab and Muslim-Americans, even if indirectly.

Therefore, social studies teachers must find new ways, not new benchmarks, standards or curricula, to incorporate Arab and Muslim-American studies in a manner that challenges the stereotypes and misconceptions that currently exist. It is not simply the addition of the Arab and Muslim-American narrative to the curriculum; rather it is analyzing the same historical contexts

from their position. In other words, teachers will need to look at the curriculum from a critical multicultural and social justice education standpoint.

Multicultural education requires teachers to teach about Islam, not only the basic beliefs, but also the discussion of the multiple views within Islam from ultra conservatives to liberals, from religious beliefs to Sharia law, and the differences in the practice of Islam in Iran to Saudi Arabia and Bosnia and Indonesia. This will require that teachers use critical race theory to dismantle the negative stereotypes and biases that students may already possess to then rebuild and implement Arab and/or Muslim-American studies in a way that emphasizes equity. Through multicultural education and critical race theory, teachers can include the narratives of Arab Christians and Muslims across the Arab world, particularly within the context of the Arab-Israeli conflict, changing it from a strictly Muslim and Jewish struggle to one that includes Christians, Muslims, and Jews. Teachers can and should utilize resources and activities, like the ones included in this study, which allow students to challenge biases towards Arabs, Muslims, and Arab and/or Muslim-Americans through real world application. This empowers students towards social action and justice, aspects of multicultural education, activity theory, and sociocultural theory. While these are only two examples, they provide the foundation for teachers to revamp the current curriculum towards a more pure form of social justice.

In the end, social studies education has the responsibility to provide students with multiple versions of history from different perspectives that challenge traditional versions of historical events. It is meant to provide students with multiple ways of recognizing the contributions and histories of all peoples, which will allow them to interact with peoples of diverse backgrounds and religions. Multicultural education gives a voice to minorities, like Arab and Muslim-Americans, by recognizing their histories and cultural capital. Only then, will the

social studies have lived up to its true purpose as a subject that studies the interaction, behavior, and culture of *all* human beings. As teachers, we can work together to prepare a generation of active citizens who better understand their diverse classmates, neighbors, and other citizens that they share this world with.

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APPENDIX A

Arab and Muslim-American Survey

University of Michigan - Dearborn

This survey is part of a doctoral study on multicultural education in high school social studies class. Please be sure that as a participant in this survey you are a secondary public school social studies teacher.

- social studies teacher.

 1. In what state do you currently teach?
- 2. How many years have you been a teacher?
- 3. How many years have you spent teaching the current subject/course?

Please indicate on the Likert scales the extent to which you agree or disagree with the statements below.

4. Books and textbooks in your school include Arab-American history, culture and authors.

Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree

Comments:

5. Your school takes the time to discuss biases against Arabs and/or Muslims.

Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree

	Comments:				
6.	Students at your school discuss positive contributions Arabs and/or Muslims have made in class.				
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
	Comments:				
7.	What resources or	n Arab-America	n histories and	cultures would	you like to have?
	you think your stu	udents' views de	veloped?		your students, how do merican studies? Please
10		slim-Americans	in your lesson	plans (e.g., reso	tural education on Araburces, lessons, activities
11	. Is there any other	information tha	t you would lik	e to include?	
Thank	you for your partic	cipation!			

APPENDIX B

The Foundations in U.S. History and Geography Strand: F2 Geographic, Economic, Social, and Demographic Trends in America to 1877, which is meant to serve as a review of material covered in the eighth grade, includes:

- regional economic differences and similarities, including goods produced and the nature of the labor force (National Geography Standard 11, p. 206)
- changes in the size, location, and composition of the population (National Geography Standard 9, p. 201)
- patterns of immigration and migration (National Geography Standard 9, p. 201)
- development of cities (National Geography Standard 12, p. 208) (Michigan Social Studies High School Content Expectations, 2012)

Written as such, the strands allow for the inclusion and study of Arab and/or Muslim-American immigration, their contribution as a part of the labor force and the development of ethnic neighborhoods and cities. These same concepts are echoed in other strands:

- 6.1.1 Factors in the American Industrial Revolution
 - increase in labor through immigration and migration (National Geography Standard 9, p. 201)
- 6.1.2 Labor's Response to Industrial Growth Evaluate the different responses of labor to industrial change including

- 6.1.3 Urbanization Analyze the changing urban and rural landscape by examining
 - the location and expansion of major urban centers (National Geography Standard 12, p. 208)
 - the growth of cities linked by industry and trade (National Geography Standard
 11, p. 206)
 - the development of cities divided by race, ethnicity, and class
 (National Geography Standard 10, p. 203)
 - resulting tensions among and within groups (National Geography Standard 13,
 p. 210)
 - different perspectives about immigrant experiences in the urban setting
 (National Geography Standards 9 and 12, pp. 201 and 208)
- 6.1.4 Population Changes Use census data from 1790-1940 to describe changes in the composition, distribution, and density of the American population and analyze their causes, including immigration, the Great Migration, and urbanization.
 (National Geography Standard 9 and 12, pp. 201 and 208)
- 6.1.5 A Case Study of American Industrialism Using the automobile industry as a case study, analyze the causes and consequences of this major industrial transformation by explaining
 - domestic and international migrations (National Geography Standard 9, p.
 201)
 - the development of an industrial work force
 - the impact on Michigan

• the impact on American society (Michigan Social Studies High School Content Expectations, 2012)

The inclusion of Arab and/or Muslim-Americans can also be incorporated in other strands:

- 8.1.2 Foreign Policy during the Cold War Evaluate the origins, setbacks, and successes of the American policy of "containing" the Soviet Union, including
 - the armed struggle with Communism, including the Korean conflict (National Geography Standard 13, p. 210)
 - indirect (or proxy) confrontations within specific world regions (e.g., Chile, Angola, Iran, Guatemala) (National Geography Standards 5 and 13; pp. 192 and 210)
- 8.3.4 Civil Rights Expanded Evaluate the major accomplishments and setbacks in civil rights and liberties for American minorities over the 20th century including American Indians, Latinos/Latinas, new immigrants, people with disabilities, and gays and lesbians. (National Geography Standard 10, p. 203)
- 9.2.1 U.S. in the Post-Cold War World Explain the role of the United States as a superpower in the post-Cold War world, including advantages, disadvantages, and new challenges (e.g., military missions in Lebanon, Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia, Kosovo, and the Gulf War). (National Geography Standard 13, p. 210)
- 9.2.2 9/11 and Responses to Terrorism Analyze how the attacks on 9/11 and the response to terrorism have altered American domestic and international policies (including e.g., the Office of Homeland Security, Patriot Act, wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, role of the United States in the United Nations, NATO). (National

Geography Standard 13, p. 210) (Michigan Social Studies High School Content Expectations, 2012)