DISSERTATION

IN THE SHADOW OF THE WAR ON TERRORISM: THE INFLUENCE OF TERRORIST-LABELING ON ARAB MUSLIMS’ IDENTITY

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The purpose of this study was to explore the identity changes experienced by Arab Muslims residing in Columbus, Ohio, during the Spring of 2011 based on the Arab Muslims' experiences with terrorism-labeling and Arab Muslims’ perceptions of terrorism-labeling factors. This study also intended to discover the predictive relationship between the characteristics of participants and changes in their identity.

The study was guided by Labeling and Social Identity theories. These theories were also utilized in developing a tenable theoretical Terrorism-Labeling Influence model (TLI) that explained the complex of impact terrorism-labeling on well-being.

Two hundred twenty three Arab Muslims were recruited through the largest three Islamic organizations in Columbus, Ohio. Non-probability data collection method (convenience sampling) was utilized. The participants responded to a questionnaire developed by the researcher. The instruments of this study included the Arab Muslims’ Experiences with Terrorism-Labeling, Arab Muslims’ Perceptions of Terrorism-Labeling, Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure, Brief Arab Religious Coping Scale, and a demographic questionnaire.

Descriptive and correlation statistics were used to explore the associations between demographic variables and changes in Arab Muslims' ethnic and religious identities. Multiple regression analysis was conducted to answer the research questions.
The findings of this study did not support the research hypotheses indicating that there was no correlation between the independent variables, Arab Muslims’ experiences with terrorism-labeling (AMETL) and Arab Muslims’ perceptions of terrorism-labeling (AMPTL) and Arab Muslims ethnic and religious identities. Limitations, implications, and directions for future research are discussed.
DEDICATION

Dedicated to my wife Meshail, my children, and my brother Abdurrahman
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All thanks and gratitude to Allah, the most Compassionate, and the most Merciful. All praises are due to him. Without his mercy, help, forgiveness, and guidance I would have never finished this dissertation.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1: Statement of the Problem

Terrorism is a political violence that will be the most important to most governments. Many governments around the world are spending billions of dollars to find a solution to this particular form of violent while innocent people die from acts of terrorism. Terrorism is a form of interpersonal violence with a long history (White, 2001). For example, over 3,000 years ago, Greek soldiers hidden in a huge wooden horse entered Troy and carried out their violent attacks overnight (White, 2001). Using similar hidden tactics, modern terrorists hijacked four airplanes to attack the economic and political capitals of the United States, killing nearly 3,000 civilians on September 11, 2001. Shortly afterwards, a series of terrorist attacks took place around the globe, affecting Europe, Australia, and Asia. These attacks signified the globalization of terrorism and triggered extensive media coverage of the socioeconomic–political damage (Fischer et al., 2007).

The problematical of linking terrorism to Islam and Muslims, in general, and to Arab Muslims in specific, has a great impact on Arab Muslims' identity in the United States. The aftermath of the terrorist attacks on September 11th can be regarded as the
exemplar for the challenges Arab Muslim groups face in negotiating their identities. Moreover, the increase in international tensions and the subsequent wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, fanned by the media in the context of the war against terrorism, have created turmoil and fears in Arab Muslim communities. Arabs and Muslims are often depicted through stereotypes that associate Islam and Muslims with violence (Clarke & Hoggett 2004; Rousseau & Jamil, 2008; Bankoff 2003) and identify them as terrorists.

From the dreadful moment when the first plane hit the Twin Towers, Islam became a four-letter word, as it became inextricably linked to the word terrorism. Not only were Muslims, like all Americans, grieving and fearing for their lives; but they were also forced to deal with being perceived as a threat by other Americans. “Since 9/11 ‘they’ – Muslims in America – have been watched, detained, deported, and invaded in order to protect and save ‘us’” (Sirin & Fine, 2007, p. 153). This discrimination and anger was not only directed toward Muslims, but also toward Arabs and anyone who could mistakenly be associated with Middle Easterners, such as Pakistanis, Indians, and South Asians. Maira (2008) stated that “In the wake of the September 11 attacks, questions of citizenship, racialization, and religious and national identities have taken on new, urgent meanings for Muslims living in the United States” (Maira, 2008, p. 15). Consequently, it is true that the events of 9/11 have separated the history of American relations with Arab Muslims, negatively affecting the patterns of assimilation of Arab Muslims into the American society.

Furthermore, the dearth of literature on this minority has caused mental health practitioners to depend on the media for resources, which are often inaccurate and biased,
causing practitioners to implement therapeutic interventions that may be insensitive or even detrimental to treatment (Khawaja, 2007; Abudabbeh, 1997; Al-Krenawi & Graham, 2000). Thus, this study's concern is with how this dramatic stereotype has impacted the identity of Arab Muslim individuals who, perhaps more than any other minority, are likely to feel pulled in diametrically opposed directions as a result of this indictment.

While there is already considerable research documenting the negative representations of Muslims in the West, little is known about the meaning and significance of September 11 and subsequent international events within the immigrant communities implicated, by identity, within this context (Rousseau & Jamil, 2008). The great majority of studies on Arab Muslims minority perceptions have focused on emotional reactions and the perceived consequences of the events for these groups, generally avoiding issues of meaning (Rousseau & Jamil, 2008). Given the heightened political sensitivity around security and terrorism concerns, it is not surprising that any discussion of 9/11 and the meaning systems around it is immediately a cause for wariness for the communities who feel directly or indirectly targeted by international events (Rousseau & Jamil, 2008). If we are to deal with the identity consequences of this event within the affected communities, we need to give attention to the multiple, and sometimes contradictory, ways in which the present international situation is perceived and understood.

In North America, Muslim immigrant communities, particularly those of Arab origin, have come under increased scrutiny, stereotyping, and discrimination by the
mainstream society. Arabs and Muslims are often depicted through stereotypes that associate Islam with barbary and violence, identifying them as enemies (Rousseau & Jamil, 2008; Bankoff, 2003; Clarke & Hoggett 2004). In the US, the Arab-American Anti Discrimination Committee reported more than 700 violent events in the nine months following September 11 (Ibish, 2003). In Canada, during the same period, a survey reported that 56% of Muslim respondents had experienced some form of anti-Muslim incidents (CAIR-CAN, 2002). This increase in negative attitudes and representations of both Arabs and Muslims has been documented in different Western countries (Rousseau & Jamil, 2008; Saroglou & Galand 2004).

In the United Kingdom, young Muslim Asians in Britain navigate their identities in the midst of various pulls and pushes (Mythen et al., 2009). Second generation South-Asian British Muslims find themselves in between the robust cultural ties with heritage cemented by their parents and the diffuse needs and demands of White British culture (Mythen et al., 2009). The identities of young British Muslims, as Mythen et al state, are thus contested in many ways, most obviously between sections of British society that refuse to accept their "Britishness" and the pressure exerted by elders to retain and nurture Islamic cultures and traditions (Mythen et al., 2009). As Abbas (2007) reasons, “faced with the demand for conformity from majority society, Muslim minority communities are precariously balancing many potentially conflicting modes of being Muslim” (p. 726).

The 2010 U.S. Census special report on ancestry indicates that there are 3.5 million persons of Arab ancestry in the United States. Experiences of targeted prejudice
and discrimination against Arab Muslims subsequent to terrorism, especially after September 11, 2001, have not been uncommon. Although discrimination against Arab Muslims and hate crimes have increased over the past two decades parallel to U.S. involvement in Middle East conflicts, a dramatic increase in the frequency and severity of such events after the World Trade Center attacks is undeniable (Amer, 2005). For example, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI, 2003) reported that anti-Muslim crimes increased by 1600% between 2001 and 2003. The cities of Los Angeles and Chicago both reported a 15% increase in Anti-Muslim and Anti-Arab crimes such as verbal threats, vandalism, vehicular assaults, and even murders (Amer, 2005). In addition to harassment and forced isolation by their fellow citizens, governmental statements and policies have added further stressors for persons of Arab ethnic background. Examples include the FBI interrogation of over 5,000 Middle Eastern men, most of whom were Arabs, the detention of hundreds of Arab-Muslims without notification of a specific crime committed, and the Immigration and Naturalization Service’s fingerprinting and registration of Arab immigrants and students (Khawaja, 2007).

Knowledge of commonly held stereotypes about a group could also serve to increase cognitive load (Amer, 2005; Al-Hazza & Lucking, 2005). Therefore, it is likely that individuals who are presented with material containing information about their groups’ stereotypes, specifically, how they are viewed by authorities (racial profiling), will react in different ways. Being primed with the practice of racial profiling is likely to make individuals feel threatened in some manner. Al-Hazza & Lucking (2005) stated that whether it be Arab and Muslim Americans fearing being the target of a terror probe,
African-Americans apprehensive about being seen as a drug courier, or Caucasians overly cautious of the sometimes-inflammatory topic, being presented with topic of racial profiling will trigger some sort of basic threat response.

Arab and Muslim Americans live in a society in which their friends, neighbors, co-workers and fellow citizens have, for decades, been fed a constant stream of negativity about their ethnic heritage, culture, and identity from the mass media. Lacking any other source of information on the subject, what most Americans believe about Arab Muslims, Arab Americans, the Middle East, and Islam is shaped by images which come from the entertainment and news industries (Al-Hazza & Lucking, 2005). Unfortunately, most of these representations are based on stereotypes and deep-seated misunderstandings, the effects of which are to make images of Arabs in American popular culture highly negative and often outright defamatory. Against this backdrop, the key industries of American mass culture, Hollywood and television, for decades have been bastions of anti-Arab stereotyping, and have consistently resisted positive or realistic representations of Arabs and Arab Muslims (Al-Hazza& Lucking, 2005).

Representations of Arabs Muslims as terrorists in literally hundreds of movies featuring thousands of such characters have, in recent decades, as exhaustively cataloged in Jack Shaheen’s book *Reel Bad Arabs* (2001), cemented a firm connection in the minds of many Americans between Arabs and terrorism. Such images are not countered by positive or even neutral images of Arabs, Muslims, and Arab Americans in the American popular culture, in which the Arab who is not a villain or a buffoon (usually a terrorist) is virtually non-existent. This link allowed many people to misinterpret the September 11
attacks as an authentic representation of Arab culture and political opinion, or of Muslim devotion (Shaheen, 2001). The American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC, 2003) strongly believes that most of the discrimination Arabs in America face, as outlined in the legal section of its report, is underwritten by the widespread anti-Arab defamation that permeates American culture, including, at times, the discourse and behavior of policy makers and law enforcement officials.

The World Trade Center bombings provided a catalyst in intensifying the identity concerns that Arab Muslims face. This can first be explained by the numerous forms of law enforcement that have been put in place to aid American government officials and police to single out Arab Muslim people in hopes of detecting a terrorist before he or she can commit a terrorist attack (Amer, 2005). Moreover, because of the U.S. PATRIOT Act (Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act), a new chapter of racial oppression in the history of the U.S has started. The U.S. PATRIOT Act, passed in the wake of the terrorist attacks in 2001, has given tremendous responsibility and expansive powers to law enforcement not only to discriminate against citizens, but also to engage in whatever is necessary, including formulating profiles of exclusion of outsiders in the war against terrorism (Amer, 2005).

The racial profiling against people of Arabic descent has unleashed and assisted in the spreading of a purely race-based fear of and hatred towards Arabs and Muslims in the United States (Haddad, 2002). Natsu Saito, a professor in ethnic studies, describes the process of racing Arab Muslims as terrorists. Saito argues that Arab Muslims "have been 'raced' as terrorists, foreign, disloyal, and imminently threatening." (p.14). The American-
Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC, 2003) reported some of the most prevalent stereotypes toward Arabs and Muslims in the United States. They are characterized as fundamentalists, extremists, militants, fanatics, and terrorists; people who cut off hands, oppress women, and engage in a "holy war" as jihadists.

Being the president of the Saudi Students Club in central Ohio for more than four years has afforded me the opportunity to witness and listen to first-hand accounts of acts of discrimination and racial profiling against Saudi students and other members of the Arab Muslim community. Having experienced personal acts of discrimination and racial profiling, I can identify with the power that labeling Arabs and Muslims as “terrorists” has in affecting an Arab Muslim person's everyday life. I have listened to many students recount their personal interactions with some Americans and law enforcement officers. Their experiences have left most of them with unpleasant and bitter feelings. During the weekly Saudi Students Club meeting, four Saudi students reported to me that four White American students approached them and yelled out “terrorists” and “sand niggers”. Another student reported that he was spat on his face in the elevator by a White American student and yelled in his face “terrorists are not allowed in this school”.

Many Muslim community leaders in the city of Columbus reported to me that they are always accused by some Americans as “terrorists” and have difficulties dealing with them, especially elderly people. Nasser Ali, a Syrian male and father of three who has spent 23 years in the U.S, was invited to discuss the meaning of Islam at Columbus State Community College. When he ventured out in his traditional clothes, a passerby called him a “terrorist”. Nasser also reported to me that his daughter, Remas, late for
school the day after the 9/11 attacks, was taunted by her teacher that “her family had celebrated too long the previous night”. Some Arab Muslims complained that press coverage of the attacks and their aftermath was fueling the antipathy. One of them admitted to me that “the media are always referring to 'Muslim terrorists', which means putting all Arabs and Muslims in the same basket”.

The question of identity is a contested and problematic issue for many Arab Muslims immigrants in the United States. Today, the Arab Muslim community in exile suffers from a major identity crisis and lacks a unified sense of national identity that binds Arab and Muslim together. Some members of the community identify themselves as Arabs, whereas others call themselves Muslims. Still many others alternate between American, Arab Muslim, Arab American, and Muslim American, depending on the situation and the audience (Sayed, 2003; Haddad, 2002). At the same time, Arab Muslims are proud to be affiliated with the Arabic and Islamic culture and heritage but are ashamed and embarrassed to be identified with the terrorism (Jamal, 2005). Many Arab-born Muslims, especially youths, have lost any sense of pride or commitment to their religious tradition and identity. For most of them, religious values and rituals have lost their moral and symbolic significance and no longer function as a guide to their family and social life (Amer, 2005). In the eyes of many community members, to be a devout practicing Muslim or to attend an Islamic teaching center or a mosque is synonymous with being pro-Osama Bin Laden or a sympathizer of the Al-Qaida government in Afghanistan (Jamal, 2005). Consequently, Arab Muslims who attempt to maintain their
ethnic and religious identities, particularly women who wear the hejab, worry about being labeled as terrorists.

Previous research on terrorism, mental health, and coping conducted in the United States after the 9/11 terrorist attacks revealed that terrorist attacks and the associated terrorist threat negatively affect both identity and mental health (Schuster et al., 2001; Silver et al., 2002). Most of these studies focused on measures of acute stress and/or symptoms of PTSD as indicators of mental health. The negative impact of terrorism on mental health has not only been shown for direct victims or people living in the vicinity of terrorist attack locations. People who did not live close to these locations also reported moderate to high levels of stress (Fischer & AI, 2008; Silver et al, 2002).

Moradi and Hasan (2004) explored the relationship between experiencing a perceived prejudice event and lower levels of mental health among Arab Americans. The authors highlighted the dramatic increase in racial and hate crimes against Arab American. There were over 700 violent acts toward Arab Americans during the first nine weeks after the 9/11 incidents. When polled, Arab Americans reported being worried that the long-term effects of discrimination against them could persist because of the 9/11 tragedy. Using 116 Arab Americans (53% women and 47% men ranging from 18-60 years of age) as participants, the authors attained 108 answered survey packets that were given to the participants. This packet included questionnaires about the participants’ identities, life experiences, and well-being (Moradi & Hasan, 2004). Although the results are correlational and cannot be generalized to every situation, it was shown that
experiencing a discrimination act was related to a feeling of a lack of personal control and lower self-esteem, which are linked to psychological distress.

1. 2: Significance of the Study to Social Work

The multicultural movement has positively impacted the field of social work as well as other disciplines in the areas of assessment, practice, and research. Proponents of social work multiculturalism have criticized the use of psychiatric-psychological oriented approaches with clients of different cultures and diverse groups because such approaches lack both efficacy and feasibility with these neglected populations (Lee, 2003; Al-krenawi & Graham, 2000; Al-krenawi, 2002). Thus, a primary goal for social work practitioners is to foster policies and procedures that fulfill the necessary promotion of cultural competence and sensitivity in every aspect of their social service delivery system (Haynes, Eweiss, Mageed, & Chung, 1997; Weaver & Hackman, 2009). Furthermore, the social work scholarly community has proposed that there is a need for a more conscious adaptation of the methods utilized in the practice of social work to better fit the specific culture in which the methods are being applied (Al-Krenawi & Graham, 2003; Healey, 1999; Graham et al., 2009). As a result, an anti-oppressive model has developed within social work practice. The anti-oppressive model is an approach that permits social workers to conceive of all the various constructs that define identity, including age, age cohort status, ethnicity, gender, discrimination, nationality, race, religion, sexual identity, socioeconomic class, etc., as a source for understanding the self, structural and institutional inequalities, and differences among all peoples (Graham et al., 2009; Macey
& Moxon, 1996). The intention of this model is to make the most of a social worker’s cognitive and affective commitment to ethno-racial plurality (Este, 1999). This model promotes the need for social workers to be aware of the diversity found among individuals and within and between particular groups. Furthermore, the field of social work requires insight into how changes in the current knowledge base can promote ethno-racially sensitive social work knowledge and intervention that can be sustained and provide meaning to a particular client, group, or community (Este, 1999).

Like many non-dominant groups that struggle with issues of identity, Arab Muslims are at risk of developing problems associated with emotional well-being and psychological health. Their identity is exacerbated by the discrimination and prejudice they commonly face in U.S. society. Focusing on the cultural distinctiveness of Islam is important within the multicultural reality of the United States. Furthermore, the events of September 11 have resulted in Arabs and Muslims becoming subjects of global interest, with a multitude of negative implications attached. For example, occurrences of racially motivated attacks on Arab and Muslim peoples, social exclusion, and social alienation are well documented and have increased in number and severity since 9/11 (Grahama et al, 2009; Al-Krenawi & Graham, 2003). Given the steady increase in the Arab Muslim population in the United States, the abundance of Arabic and Islamic culture, and the issues of social exclusion and alienation present in American society, now is the time for social work practitioners to consider Arabs and Muslims when providing social services. Social services are needed that acknowledge Muslim people as part of the infrastructure in the United States, promoting the betterment of and progress within Arab Muslims’
lives and responding to the multitude of structural and personal social problems that result from racism and social exclusion (Grahama et al, 2009).

Studying Arab Muslim communities in relation to the effects of terrorism on identity will be a heavy challenge for social workers to undertake because this particular research topic is sensitive and so new within the context of the United States (Sayed, 2003). Recently, there have been a few studies in the field of social work that focused on Arab Muslim communities from the standpoint of various social science disciplines. For instance, through narratives of Arab Muslim individuals, some scholars examined the cultural and socio-economical experiences of Arab and Muslim communities in relation to mental health (e.g. Sayed, 2003; Aloud 2004; Amer, 2005; Haddad, 2002). Although these studies provided insight into the lives and perspectives of Arab Muslim communities in the United States by focusing on the issues of identity, cultural discrimination, and mental health, almost no research has been conducted investigating the relationship between stigmatizing Arab Muslims as “terrorists” and its effects on their identity. In other words, there is no scholarly knowledge about how Arab Muslim communities feel about being labeled as “terrorists” or how they feel about being blamed as the cause of terrorism committed by some radical Muslims. More specifically, given the relationship between terrorism and identity, no inquiry has yet been made into the effect of labeling Arab Muslims as “terrorist” on their ethnic and religious identities. Further, no research has delved into the categories of mental health disorders they experience due to this stigmatization, which would suggest the best practices to solve their mental health problems.
It is so important to conduct research on the impact of terrorism on identity for several reasons. First, the current wave of terrorism around the world has placed its harmful effects on many forms of identity to the forefront of the international stage, not to mention the public fear generated by it. Second, increasing research evidence suggests that terrorism is likely to have a negative impact on the identity of a directly or indirectly victimized population, especially Arabs and Muslim communities whom are considered to be affiliated with terrorism. Third, different forms of violence tend to induce different impacts on identity. Fourth, there is a lack of scholarship that presents the impact of terrorism on the identity of Arab and Muslim Americans in the U.S. Fifth, understanding the perspectives and experiences of Arab Muslim communities regarding the effects of labeling them as “terrorists” on their identity will support social workers and other service providers’ efforts in culturally responsive work with them. Sixth, and finally, learning about the experiences and perspectives of Arab Muslim communities will inform researchers about how immigrant communities negotiate different cultural and terrorism contexts and identities.

A purposeful component of this study is to build on, and expand further, a particular body of literature devoted to researching the parameters and characteristics of multicultural social work by being grounded in the implications and assumptions of anti-discriminatory social service theory and practice. The research findings will provide a necessary understanding for social workers and the public on how professions and institutions such as social work can perpetuate racism, how social service organizations can promote understanding in a cross cultural manner, and how barriers like
discrimination and social exclusion inhibit social service processes and social development progress. While this study is concerned specifically with Arab Muslim population, its conclusions may prove to be beneficial to understanding multicultural practice in general, as well as working with other immigrant and minority groups.

This study will rely on the current situation of Arab Muslims socialization in a post-September 11 context to explore effects of labeling them as “terrorists” on their identity. In order to create an historical context from which to better understand the impact of labeling Arab Muslims as “terrorists” on their identity, the first quarter of the following chapter (Chapter 2) provides an overview of the definitions of terrorism and terrorists. In the second quarter, a clear picture will be presented to show how minority groups, in general, and Arab Muslims, in specific, have historically been treated in the U.S society, as well as reviewing the media coverage of Muslims and Arabs. The third quarter will review social identity and labeling theories to structure the analysis of the relationship between terrorist-labeling and identity and how majority group members perceive and treat minority group members. This review will extend the analysis of these theories to predict how minority group members (specifically Arab Muslims) will react to the “terrorists-labeling”. The researcher will then tie social identity theories to intergroup and labeling theories, in order to understand and predict the impact labeling will have on identity negotiation among Arab Muslims. The final quarter will conclude with the Terrorism-Labeling Influence TLI, research questions, and hypothesis. In Chapter Three, the researcher will provide a detailed report of the sample and measurements, the data collection process, and data analysis procedures used in this study. Chapter Four presents
the results, data analysis, and an interpretation of the data obtained. Chapter Five presents the discussion of results, limitations of the study, implication to practitioners, and further research.
2. 1: Definition of Terrorism

In the West, questions about the meaning of events following 9/11 have been closely linked to the discourse on terrorism and security. Even if its definition remains a subject of controversy, most studies adopt the Pentagon definition of terrorism (Rousseau & Jamil, 2008). The Pentagon defined "terrorism" as the “calculated use of violence or threat of violence to inculcate fear intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious or ideological” (US Department of Defense 2001).

Terrorism is defined as the threat or the use of violence to advance a political cause by individuals or groups, whether acting for or in opposition to established governmental authority (Fischer & Ai, 2008). The most common feature of terrorism is pushing of violence against innocent civilians (Philips, 2011). Most research on definitions of terrorism have tended to include some additional component to the definition such as, for example, it directly targets civilians; it seeks to achieve some goal by creating terror in a population; it directly targets one victim in order to coerce another;
it aims to achieve some political goals; and it aims to call public attention to the perpetrator’s cause (Reitan, 2010; Rodin, 2004).

Brief reflection should reveal that these components are not singly sufficient to distinguish terrorism from acts of war (Reitan, 2010). While some combination might be sufficient, the deeper problem is that none would extend to all the things that we would like to include within a public definition. For example, as the Pentagon is arguably not a civilian target, we have the problematic result of treating the attack on the World Trade Center as an act of terrorism, but not similarly treating the tandem attack on the Pentagon. In general, two violent acts, one targeting civilians and the other targeting the military (act of war), may be sufficiently similar that they should be treated under the same policy guidelines (Reitan, 2010). To make the targeting of civilians the chief defining characteristic of terrorism would therefore compromise the pragmatic usefulness of a public definition.

With these considerations, the researcher conducting this study has searched for a comprehensive definition of terrorism that can be applied in the study. After comparing components of more than thirty definitions, the researcher found the most useful definition provided by Eric Reitan (2010). He defines “terrorism” as follows:

Terrorism is any act or pattern of violence such that (a) the primary or ultimate target is a group conceived of as a whole; (b) the immediate targets are members of the targeted group; (c) membership in the targeted group is regarded as sufficient to render one a legitimate target; (d) the violence against targeted group members is instrumental to
producing some effect on the group conceived of as a whole (which may mean influencing the group’s perceived leadership)” (Reitan, 2010, p. 265).

The researcher of this study agrees with Reitan’s definition in that the group-target definition of terrorism is particularly suitable as a public definition. Reitan’s claim is that this definition respects ordinary usage by encompassing the dominant contemporary paradigms of terrorism, including the Unabomber attacks, the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing, the 9/11 attacks, ongoing suicide bombings in Israel, and the public transit bombings in Madrid in March 2004 and in London in July 2005. This definition identifies a common feature of these paradigms that distinguishes them in important ways from acts of war, thereby facilitating the development of public policy responses uniquely suited to a class of violence not adequately addressed by existing policies aimed at criminal violence and acts of war (Reitan, 2010).

2. 2: Who are Terrorists?

De la Corte (2010) states that terrorists tend to perceive themselves as interchangeable members of an organization. This personal identity motivates terrorists to give preference to the interests and goals of the organization. The collective identity shared by members of terrorist organization promotes positive relationships among them, which increases intra-group cohesion and cooperation. The greater identification with the terrorist organization leads to greater identification with the norms that rule the members’ behavior. Identifying with their organization and reference community motivates terrorist to develop negative prejudices about people from other groups. The responsibility for
problems and injustices suffered by the terrorist’s reference community may be attributed to another group who could play a scapegoat role (De la Corte, 2010).

Some psychologists are predisposed to explain the psychological characteristics of individuals a result of several processes of socialization and social interaction (De la Corte, 2010). This ideal also applies to the mental attributes of terrorists. Some researchers suggest that the process of joining a terrorist group is heavily influenced by the prevailing political and social environment shared by friends and relatives (Mythen et al., 2009; De la Corte, 2010). Obviously, growing up in an environment marked by radical ideas and values could lead one to join a terrorist group that embraces the same ideas and values (De la Corte, 2010). For example, many members of Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA), the Red Brigades, or the Irish Republican Army (IRA) were born and raised in families attached, respectively, to the subculture of Basque nationalists (Reinares, 2001; Romero, 2007), Irish Catholics (Lee, 1983) or the Italian radical left-wing (De la Corte, 2010).

Joining a terrorist organization is the result of making contact and relationships with people who embrace extremist political or religious ideas (Mythen et al., 2009). De la Corte (2010) states that personal paths, interactions, and choices may lead young Muslims to become radical jihadists. According to that research, the act of joining a jihadist organization such as al-Qaeda stems from the individual making an unintentional friendship with a person who has radical jihadists’ views. In the sample of 168 subjects who were investigated by Sageman (2004), 68% said friendship was the main influencing
factor contributing to joining jihadist groups. In about 14% of the cases, one joined a jihadist organization because of familial bonds (De la Corte, 2010).

The psychosocial perspective also emphasizes the importance of the "secondary socialization" processes in which terrorists become involved after joining a radical organization (De la Corte et al, 2008; De la Corte, 2010). It should be noted that some experts have found significant similarities between the method of sectarian groups and those that are used inside terrorist organizations (De la Corte et al, 2008; Sageman, 2004; De la Corte, 2010). In any case, there is no doubt that the activities and lifestyles developed inside terrorist organization shape the mentality of its members, intensifying their commitment to such organizations, and preparing them to engage in criminal activities (De la Corte, 2010).

The chances of terrorists acting in a rational way are not only limited by their individual psychological attributes, but also by the group dynamics (De la Corte, 2010). Many experimental studies have shown that human groups tend to polarize attitudes and decisions to a greater extent than individuals. Sometimes this group polarization effect promotes highly risky actions (Sageman, 2004; De la Corte, 2010). Terrorist cells exhibit the same conditions that facilitate group polarization. For instance, during certain periods, terrorists tend to reduce drastically their contact with people who do not embrace their similar extremist ideology. Furthermore, terrorists are frequently subject to strong discipline (De la Corte, 2010).

Research show the reasons that terrorists use to justify some of their actions are actually only developed after such actions haven take place (De la Corte et al, 2008; De
la Corte, 2010). Furthermore, the same trend has been identified as a thought pattern frequently applied to justify collective and organizational actions (Pfeffer, 1998).

Abrahams (2008) explain that people participate in a terrorist organization because they are deeply committed to achieving its political platform. Terrorists turn to terrorism only after weighing their political options and determining they are blocked. Terrorists are motivated by relatively stable and consistent goals reflected in their organization’s political platform. Terrorist organizations disband or renounce terrorism when it continuously fails to advance their political platforms. For example, the 9/11 commission explains that upon discovering in April 1988 that the Soviets were planning to withdraw from Afghanistan, the mujahedeen made the collective decision to remain intact while they hunted for a new political cause (Abrahams, 2008)

There is comparatively strong theoretical and empirical evidence (De la Corte, 2010; Sageman, 2004; Abrahams, 2008; De la Corte et al, 2008) that people become terrorists not to achieve their organization’s declared political agenda, but to develop strong affective ties with other terrorist members to avoid a strong feeling of loneliness, rejection, or exclusion from valued relationships, groups, or societies. In other words, people participate in terrorist organizations for the social solidarity. For instance, in a Turkish sample, Abrahams (2008) reported that the 1,100 terrorists interviewed were ten times more likely to say that they joined the terrorist organization “because their friends were members” (p. 98) than because of the “ideology” of the group. A study conducted by Sprinzak and Denny (2003) on al-Qaida, Fatah, Hamas, Hezbollah, Palestinian, Islamic Jihad, and Turkish terrorists found that the key scope condition for their joining
the terrorist organization was having a friend or relative in it. This study's conclusion is consistent with prior research on ETA and the IRA terrorist groups conducted by Sageman (2004).

Many studies show that the vast majority of terrorist organizations are composed of unmarried single young men or widowed women who were not gainfully employed prior to joining them (Abrahams, 2008). Other studies show that terrorist organizations are frequent repositories for people undergoing dislocation from their native homeland and who are, therefore, detached from family, friends, and the host society they are attempting to join. Marc Sprinzak and Denny’s (2003) study of 172 global jihadists demonstrates that these risk factors are particularly prevalent among the crucial case of al-Qaida members, 80 percent of whom are “cultural outcasts living at the margins of society” as unassimilated first or second-generation immigrants in non-Muslim countries. Some scholars who study al-Qaida are increasingly finding that European Muslims are unassimilated in their host countries and represent a core constituency of al-Qaida, whereas Muslims in the United States are comparatively assimilated and detached from the al-Qaida network (Abrahams, 2008; Sprinzak & Denny, 2003).

2.3: Arab Muslims in the United States

The term “Arab” refer to persons from the 22 North African and Middle Eastern member states of the Arab League. However, Amer (2005) defined the word “Arab” as “lands that are populated by individuals who speak Arabic and who relate to the nomadic tribes of Arabia through familial descent or Arab values of human excellence and beauty”
(p. 34). The Islamic faith is also considered to be a part of the Arabs’ daily life. It is the majority religion in all the Arab countries except Lebanon, in which about half of the population is Christian (Amer, 2005; AAIF, 2009). While Arabs have been immigrating to North America since the late 1800s (Britto & Amer, 2007), the majority have immigrated since the 1960s (AAIF, 2002; Naff, 1994).

However, it is important to know that there is much confusion surrounding the examination and meaning of Arabs as a race in the United States. This confusion is only compounded by the conflation of the terms Arab and Muslim (Saloom, 2005). There is a popular misconception that all Arabs are Muslim and vice versa, but this is not true. In fact, only 12% of Muslims are Arabs, while 90% of Arabs are Muslims worldwide (Saloom, 2005). In the United States, however, a Zoghy survey showed that only 23% of Arabs were Muslim (Saloom, 2005).

The Arab Muslim communities in the United States are primarily comprised of those individuals who escaped from their origin countries due to a political oppression and/or economic deficit and immigrated to the United States for a better life. It is difficult to estimate the number of Arab Muslims residing in the United States because the federal government (U.S. Census) does not recognize Arab and/or Muslim-Americans as a minority group. Moreover, the U.S census labels all Arabs, including Arab Christians, as “others” (Ibish, 2003). However, Samhan, (2001) estimated the U.S. Arab population to be three million, while the Arab American Institute Foundation (2008) counted them as more than 3.5 million. Although the populations of all Arab countries are mostly Muslims, the majority of Arabs who immigrated to the United States are Christians. The
Arab American Institute and Foundation (2002) estimated 185,000 Arab Americans residing in Ohio, 16% of them in Franklin County. However, the estimated number of Arab Muslims in the same county is unknown (Aloud, 2004). The majority (75%) of Arab Muslim adults over 25 years of age are fluent in English; 40% have a bachelor’s degree or higher and are employed in professional industries; and, on average, they have a higher family median income than other minority families residing in the US (Brittingham & de la Cruz, 2005). In other words, on socio-demographic characteristics Arab immigrants are more advantaged than other immigrant populations (Brittingham & de la Cruz, 2005).

2. 4: Arab Muslims and Terrorism

A wide range of sociological research has long demonstrated that black and Asian minorities have been treated as “other” within the criminal justice system (Mythen et al. 2009). Persons from minority groups are disproportionately subjected to police surveillance, criminal justice interventions, penal sanctions and suffer differential forms of sentencing (Mythen et al. 2009; Heaven and Hudson 2007; Hudson & Bramhall 2005; Spalek 2008).

The introduction of many types of counter-terrorism regulation has been underpinned in media and political circles by dominant discourses of insecurity around the terrorist threat (Mythen et al. 2009). These discourses have invariably defined Arab Muslims as a risky, suspect population, raising the intensity of scrutiny on Muslims in
general and potentially exacerbating the degree of public suspicion directed towards young male Muslims (Mythen et al, 2009; Abbas, 2007; Poole, 2006).

Arab Muslims recognize the international terrorist threat. However, by stereotyping all Arabs and Muslims as terrorists, the lives of Arab Muslims are adversely affected. Recognizing that Arab Muslims are treated largely as terrorists in America should demonstrate the need for research to analyze the problem of attaching this label to Arab Muslims in the United States. Because the 9/11 hijackers were Arabs, racial profiling is seen as an effective way to stop another terrorist attack. Proponents of racial profiling argue that if racial profiling had been employed, 9/11 may not have occurred (Saloom, 2005). Natsu Saito (2001), a professor in ethnic studies, describes the process of racing Arabs in America as terrorists. Saito argues that Arabs in the United States "have been raced as 'terrorists': foreign, disloyal, and imminently threatening." (p. 14). After 9/11, people who looked Middle Eastern suffered a wide variety of discrimination and harassment. Saloom (2005) also reported that before 9/11, 80% of the American population opposed racial profiling. After 9/11, 60% of the public said that racial profiling was acceptable, especially if the profiling targeted Arabs. Saloom (2005) has described the reasons for public acceptance of profiling Arab Muslims in a post 9/11 world as because all of the September 11 terrorists were Arab and Muslim; because most Arabs are Muslims; because the terrorists claim religious motivation for their actions; and because all Arabs and Muslims are likely to be terrorists.

Since September 11, 2001, there have been increasing reports of schools becoming a milieu of discrimination, bullying, and exclusion of Arab Muslim students.
Several studies have examined this. Ahmad and Szapara (2003) showed how Muslim adolescents in New York City are reporting pervasive misperceptions and negative stereotypes about Islam in their schools. Arab American youths tend to feel isolated and separated from their peers and the surrounding academic environment and feel that this is largely due to cultural misunderstandings and discrimination. In particular, girls who wear the hijab, or headdress, report feeling the most vulnerable (Britito, 2008).

Arab Muslim women not only face discrimination based upon their race, but also because of their gender. The majority of Arab Muslim women who choose to wear the hijab are often targets of racism (Saloom, 2005). Arab Muslim women are viewed as the "other" and as inherently different from White women. Arab-American women are also thought to be more foreign and exotic than many other minorities. This element of foreignness distinguishes the Arab-American woman experience from some other minority groups (Saloom, 2005).

Geoffrey’s (2003) article describes the ways America become racialized and gendered in terms of Arab Americans post 9/11. The author contends that multiculturalism in the U.S has lead to a transnational movement, which acknowledges the differing ethnicities that combine to form one’s sense of nationalism. After 9/11, the American way of life was defined by political figures such as Bush and Rumsfeld, and was used to identify members of society considered deviant. This sense of deviance was used to identify those members or the population who were to blame for the attacks, which were generally portrayed as Arab Muslim men. The author argues that these portrayals have led many Arab Americans to develop their own sense of American
nationalism to combat the racism that they have since experienced. Displayed in the article are vivid media images illuminating the portrayal of this population. The article concludes with the author’s plea to re-conceptualize differing ethnicities rather than forcing the population to adhere to this new notion of American identity that negates cultural differences.

Josh Meyer (2002), after interviewing members of the Muslim Asian immigrant community, reports that as fear and anxiety prevailed among Muslim community members, many tried to hide the markers of their ethnic identity and membership. The author explains how Hamid Khan, speaking of the South Asian immigrant communities, described the reality of Muslim immigrants after the 9/11 attacks, “just the sheer fear of going into public spaces, just the anxiety of even enjoying one’s cultural traditions, and being sort of careful about the traditions out in the open” (p. 14). Speaking of Sihk men who were for the first time shaving, cutting their hair and removing their turbans in an effort to protect themselves from becoming the victim of hate crimes, Khan said, “They’re kind of giving up, you know. They’re having this identity crisis on one hand, and on the other hand, their communities now are downcast” (p. 14). More recently, in 2009, a young California student named Nick Gorge was arrested in the Philadelphia airport for carrying Arabic language flash cards. Gorge was not Arab, but he was interrogated as to whether he had converted to Islam. This incident conveyed to the public that not only were Arabs and Muslims susceptible to harassment, but also any person connected with these groups or sympathizing with them was marked by association.
Recent research on terrorism, especially those studies with large samples and/or randomized samples, has significantly advanced our understanding of the negative impacts of terrorism on mental health. The new evidence has revealed that the terrorists partially succeeded in reaching their objectives: the induction of severe fear, substantive stress, permanent threat, and long-lasting trauma (Poulin et al, 2009). In both European and U.S. samples, individuals who were directly as well as more indirectly involved in terrorist attacks reported significantly increased levels of substantive stress and symptoms of trauma (PTSD), such as problems falling asleep, difficulties concentrating, or disturbing memories (Apolone et al, 2002; Speckhard, 2003). These symptoms not only occurred immediately after the attacks but were also present in subsequent months.

As Americans to some degree sought to become better educated about and interested in Muslims, the stereotype of "the terrorist" mutated from Arab to Muslim (Haddad, 2004). Other major Islamic terrorist events against Western countries continued to reintroduce the backlash over and over again (e.g. 2005 London subway bombings; 2009 Fort Hood Shootings; 2010 Time Square bombing attempt in New York).

2.5: The Nature of Race and Discrimination in U.S Society

Race is highly salient in American society, within both personal and professional relationships, and is complicated by both the effect of discrimination against those considered “non-White” as well as the positive values that may be associated with or derived from ethnic racial membership. Ethnic racial group membership can influence the extent to which parents communicate both cultural socialization and preparation for bias
messages (Woods and Kurtz-Costes, 2007). Research on African American child racial socialization indicates that African American parents tend to communicate and validate ethnic identity and negate dominant cultural messages that may undermine their children’s self-esteem and efficacy. Such communications of ethnic pride can foster children’s resilience and adaptive coping mechanisms for dealing with discriminatory experiences (Woods and Kurtz-Costes, 2007). In contrast with African American parents, Japanese American parents have been found to be less likely to engage in both cultural socialization and preparation for bias communications. Phinney and Chavira (1995) noted that close to 94% of African American parents in their study reported discussing racial bias and discrimination with their adolescent children compared with only 44.5% of the Japanese American parents. The lower frequency of communication among Japanese American parents was likely affected by the Japanese practices of *gaman* (perseverance–suppression of emotions), *enryo* (self-restraint, reserve), and maintaining harmony. They socialized their children to blend into the dominant society, did not actively pass on the Japanese language and culture, and rarely talked about their discriminatory experiences (Phinney & Chavira, 1995).

Research sources are full of research on the racial disparity in the availability and delivery of health care services. Woods and Kurtz-Costes (2007) pointed out a study from Johns Hopkins University School of Public Health and Hygiene that suggests that primary care physicians provide minorities with inferior medical care compared with the care administered to White patients. This study found that racial and ethnic minorities
were required to wait longer to see a physician and, as a result, were more likely to utilize a hospital or institution as their usual source of care rather than a primary care physician. Epstein et al. (2000) report on racial disparities in access to renal transplantation. The authors performed a literature review and used an expert panel to develop criteria for determining the appropriateness of renal transplantation for patients with end-stage renal disease. A random sample of 1518 patients stratified according to race and sex were classified as candidates for transplantation with analysis on rates of referral to a center for evaluation, placement on a waiting list, and receipt of a transplant. Black people were less likely than White patients to be rated as appropriate candidates for transplantation according to criteria based on expert opinion. Among the target population considered to be appropriate candidates for transplantation, Blacks were less likely than Whites to be referred for evaluation or to undergo transplantation. The authors conclude that there is under-use of transplantation among Blacks and overuse among Whites (Epstein et al., 2000).

A study conducted in Chicago, Illinois by Charlotte Brooks (2000) illustrates the reactions of the many Chicago residents who reconstructed their mental hierarchies of race to accommodate the Nisei (second-generation Japanese Americans), which revealed that not being White did not mean being Black. The Nisei experience in Chicago demonstrates the perseverance and depth of traditional prejudices in the city, despite an ongoing race war overseas. Whites on the Pacific Coast hated Japanese American industriousness and economic success; jealousy, prejudice, and media distortions played a much larger role in the internment than the possibility of Japanese American sabotage.
Similarly, White Chicagoans responded almost feverishly to the hazards they believed closest. Outside the West, most Americans' knowledge of the Japanese came solely from United States government propaganda (Brooks, 2000).

Brooks (2000) also explores how most White employers who appreciated Nisei industriousness refused to compromise their White privilege by treating Whites and Japanese Americans equally; like the wealthy with their Nisei servants, some factory owners expected gratitude and loyalty from underpaid Japanese Americans. Some Chicagoan landlords, employers, or officials attempted to shoehorn Japanese Americans into the existing racial scheme. Others expressed the inadequacy of a biracial approach (Brooks, 2000). However, Japanese Americans themselves adopted the stereotyping language and attitudes of other workers as they struggled for acceptance on the job. Some of them found that a shared identity as "ethnics" enabled them to bond with fellow workers, especially in White factories. Moreover, the Nisei who entered Chicago's largely Black-White environment quickly gravitated toward the White world. Since African Americans occupied the bottom of the city's racial ladder, Japanese Americans worked to separate themselves from Black people, their neighborhoods, and the sectors of the economy in which they had traditionally predominated. While refusing to consider themselves "colored," Japanese Americans remained uncertain about their status in racially polarized Chicago (Brooks, 2000).

The contours of racial interaction in wartime Chicago also, as Brooks (2000) notes, show how Japanese Americans, like members of many other ethnic groups, accepted the prevailing myth of Black inferiority and chose to work for White approval.
Adopting disdain toward Black people probably helped many Japanese Americans justify their identity. Japanese Americans frequently adopted their White peers' anti-Black attitudes as they tried to maintain their identity on the shop floor. Workers in firms with only White and Nisei employees usually blamed a poor work ethic on the individual. But in multiracial companies, Japanese Americans and Whites frequently condemned Blacks as a group. To many White employees, all Black workers were lazy inferiors. Nisei in other industries believed that “Blacks are resentful because we are classified as whites and given more consideration” (Brooks, 2000, p. 1669). The following sections represent some examples of racism against African and Japanese Americans.

2. 5-1: African Americans and Race

The history of correlation between slavery and Black people in the United States and the ultimate fate of more than 12 million Africans wrenched from their homelands, families, villages and culture to serve under most cruel conditions in a country dedicated ironically to the pursuit of freedom and justice for all is a starting point in understanding how identity functions for modern day African American (Utsey; Bolden; & Brown, 2000). Slavery and racism have played a significant role in the identity development of African Americans (Woods & Kurtz-Costes, 2007). Nearly four hundred years, racism has affected the personal development of African Americans (Tovar-Murray & Munley, 2007), when a group of Europeans arrived on America's shores carrying a cargo of African slaves, racism has been responsible for the racial and ethnic disparities in many sectors of African Americans' lives (Utsey, Bolden, & Brown, 2000). African Americans
were defined legally as property by the United States government for almost a century. After the end of slavery, laws were enacted with the expressed purpose of making social contact between Whites and African Americans illegal. Such laws effectively relegated African Americans to the status of second-class citizens. They were enslaved without rights for many generations, then after emancipation, had to face Jim Crow laws and other forms of discrimination (Utsey, Bolden, & Brown, 2000). Because they were brought to the United States against their will and systematically deprived of access to their indigenous culture, African Americans were not afforded the choice of whether to assimilate into the new culture or retain their indigenous culture (Sellers et al., 1998). As a result, traditional African culture has had to be grafted onto the cultural practices of the White American society to form an original cultural expression (Sellers et al., 1998). Most of the psychological stress experienced by many Black men goes unnoticed until it manifests itself in the form of drug and alcohol abuse, spousal abuse, psychosis, and suicides (Sellers et al., 1998).

Klonoff, Landrine and Ullman (1999) found that 83% of African Americans reported discrimination by waiters and store clerks, 55% reported racism by helping professionals, 50% reported that they were called racist names, and almost 50% reported being hit, shoved, harmed or threatened with physical harm. Furthermore, Broman, Mavaddat and Hsu (2000) found that 60% of African American participants believed that they had been victims of racism in the last three years. Some studies show the continued existence of institutional racism as well as negative interpersonal encounters and its
deleterious economic, political, social, and psychological effects on African Americans (Appiah, 2000; Collins et al., 2002).

Ethnic identity is an important cultural resource for African Americans that can serve as psychological armor to the assaults on self-worth that racist experiences bring (Neblett et al., 2004). Consequently, the manner in which African Americans construct a racial identity has implications for understanding their psychological functioning and by extension their experience of internalizing problems (Sellers et al., 2006).

2.5-2: Japanese Americans and Race

Over two months after the Japanese military attacked Pearl Harbor, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, which immediately authorized the removal of nearly 120,000 Japanese Americans descent from the west coast (Nagata & Cheng, 2003). According to Nagata and Cheng (2003), men, women, and children of Japanese ancestry were falsely portrayed as a threat to national security and put into concentration camps without trial or individual review even though two thirds of them were U.S. citizens. Most had only a week’s official notice in which to sell their belongings and evacuate to desolate areas (Nagata & Cheng, 2003). Once removed from their homes, they remained incarcerated behind barbed-wire fences beneath armed guard towers for an average of 2 to 4 years (Nagata & Cheng, 2003).

The sudden uprooting and the adverse conditions of the camps violated many internees’ sense of self and dignity (Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC, 1997). Although letters of apology and $20,000 payments were
issued to each surviving internee as symbolic redress decades later, the effects of this unjust event linger. The Nisei experience in the U.S. demonstrates the perseverance and depth of traditional prejudices in the country, despite an ongoing race war overseas. Martin (2006) states that, as a result of their experiences with oppression in this society, the concept of race has historically played a major role in the lives of Japanese Americans. Although race has suspicious value as a scientific classification system, it has had real consequences for the life experiences and life opportunities of Japanese Americans in the United States (Martin, 2006; Nagata & Cheng, 2003). Race is a socially constructed concept that is the defining characteristic for Japanese American group membership (Loo, 1993).

The psychological conditioning experienced by early Japanese Americans has been perpetuated in many forms on Japanese Americans after the Pearl Harbor attacks (Loo, 1993). The iron chains of internments have been replaced with economic bondage, suppression, and oppression. Many Japanese Americans have passed down feelings of inferiority to their children from generation to generation, long after the abolishment of internments (Nagata & Cheng, 2003, Loo, 1993). After internments camps were freed, the mental conditioning experienced in captivity was reinforced by the social practices of American public attitudes (Loo, 1993). Many acts of violence against Japanese Americans who sought to elevate their socioeconomic status maintained the sense of anxiety and paranoia experienced by them during internment (Nagata & Cheng, 2003, Loo, 1993).
2. 6: The Nature of Labeling

Labeling is concerned with how the self-identity and behavior of an individual is influenced by how that individual is categorized and described by others in their society (Link & Phelan, 2001). Proposed conceptualizations of the various components of stigma might prove helpful for defining and explaining the nature and process of labeling. Link and Phelan (2001) have developed such a concept, which is applicable to all kinds of stigma, not only to that of mental illness. As the authors stated, “stigma exists when the following interrelated components converge: People distinguish and label human differences; dominant cultural beliefs link labeled persons to undesirable characteristics that form the stereotype; labeled persons are seen as an out-group, as “them” and not “us”; and labeled persons experience status loss and discrimination that lead to unequal outcomes” (Link and Phelan 2001, p. 367). Jussim et al. (1995) point out that labeling refers to phenomena whereby perceivers’ interpretations, evaluation, or judgment of difference are used to target an individual or group. The way of linking a label to a person often influences how perceivers judge and evaluate the target (Link & Phelan, 2001). Jussim et al. (1995) state that this influence is seen as more aggressive when believed to have been committed by an African American than by a White.

Jeffrey Welgan (2009) explains that a label is a term given to a group of people or objects in an effort for the user of the label to make a generalization concerning the group or object they are labeling. He states that a particular label, such as “terrorist”, has "significant meaning, and many individuals have a preconceived idea, or cognitive bias, for what actions each of these particular groups conduct” (Welgan, 2009.
Welgan also shows a number of common threads uniting behind the “terrorist” labeling because “it refers to a group of individuals who come together against a higher power or government. They use violence and/or coercion to further their cause, and all of them have a cause for which they have banded together” (Welgan, 2009. p. 5).

Simmons and Mitch (1985) report that there are strong public views about the seriousness of an act of terrorism; severe penalties for terrorists are widely favorable. They indicate that people “react strongly to a terrorist label and favor strong measures to prevent or punish terrorism” (246). Wittenbrink and Henly (1996) primed racial stereotypes by asking subjects questions designed to elicit high or low estimates of Black stereotypic behaviors. Individuals who were high in prejudice were more likely to see a Black defendant as guilty in a mock trial when their stereotypes had been so primed. The principal effects may also occur as a result of judging the behavior of a category member (Wittenbrink & Henly, 1996). So when non-Black see a negative behavior by one Black male, or even hear about a crime committed by a Black person, this may lead to increased stereotyping of Blacks as well as increased in-group favoritism for Whites (Wittenbrink & Henly, 1996).

Link (1987) conducted a study in Canadian society that sought to incorporate a measure of the extent to which people believed that Muslims in general were dangerous. By applying an experiment test, he tested the idea that labeling could make these beliefs relevant to a person’s acceptance. The experiment varied labeling (a Muslim worker versus a Canadian worker) and deviant behavior. A social distance scale was used as an outcome measure. The data analysis indicated that when the vignette described a subject
with a Canadian label, beliefs about the dangerousness of terrorist persons played no part in determining social-distancing responses to the person described in the vignette. However, when the vignette described a Muslim subject, these beliefs became a potent determinant of responses. The results of Link’s study confirmed that beliefs about dangerousness that were activated by labeling were just as strong predictors of social distance responses as were variations in behavior. Apparently, a terrorism label activates beliefs about the dangerousness of Arabs and Muslims.

2. 7: The Practice of Labeling in Building Terrorism-Identity

Howard Becker's discussion on the "deviant" in his book *Outsiders: Studies in the sociology of deviance* (1963) is useful in conceptualizing how "deviant" or "criminal" identities are created in relation to the building of enemy identities. Becker (1963) writes, "the deviant is one to whom that label has successfully been applied; deviant behavior is behavior that people so label" (p. 9). Similarly, the enemy label is assigned to those that threaten to disrupt the social order and equilibrium. In this way, the enemy serves as a symbol not only of what one ought not to be but also of what should be hated and feared.

A review of the literature identifies labeling and discriminatory practices as a necessary function in the building of enemy identities. First, labeling creates clear divisions between "us" and "them" (Said; 1978). Practices of racism and Islamophobia facilitate the construction of the enemy. According to Said (1978), these discourses and practices rely heavily upon the creation of opposites and "others" used to ostracize and deliberately separate the dominate group from the subordinate; this is done for the
purpose of maintaining cultural hegemony over others. Memmi (1982) writes that racism is useful in "generating a totally negative vision of the other who is then seen grossly distorted behind mists of prejudice" (p. 32).

The second function of labeling, as a part of the process of enemy building, is that designating enemies can create solidarity within the dominant group. The social construction of enemies becomes a valorizing tactic and a strategy of domination (Memmi, 1982) while serving to isolate labeled groups socially and thus denying them "regular human and citizenship rights" (Kinsman et al., 2000, p. 281). Furthermore "the deviant or group of deviants are then segregated or isolated and this operates to alienate them from conventional society" (Kinsman et al., 2000, p. 284).

Third, labeling is a useful mechanism with which to legitimize the State's actions against the so-called enemy. Classifying individuals or groups based upon perceived differences that are real or imagined often results in the party being labeled as "backward," “different”, “abnormal”, or “inferior” both biologically and culturally (Kappler, 1996). This serves, most significantly, as a way of maintaining social control. Labels clarify "the moral boundaries of society and demonstrate that there are limits to how much diversity will be tolerated" (Kappler, 1996, p. 21).

2. 8: Labeling Theory as a Theoretical Framework

Labeling theory, also known as social reaction theory, is one of the most prominent perspectives used in researching many forms of deviant behavior. This theory is viewed as one of the four strands of symbolic interactionist deviance theorizing, but the
researcher of this study will focus on the labeling aspect because this approach promises to afford the best guidance in understanding and explaining the terrorist labeling phenomenon. One of the main advantages of the labeling perspective is its special attention to the social process by which someone is labeled deviant through social interaction, action, and reaction (Schur 1971). Howard Becker (1963) stated that social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infractions constitute deviance, and by applying those rules to particular people and labeling them as outsiders. Thus, “deviance is not a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an offender” (Becker, p. 139)

Lemert (1967) further elaborated on these ideas with his concepts of primary and secondary deviance. According to the author, the majority of youth engage in primary deviance, which occurs for a variety of reasons and is not seen as problematic but rather as normal for juveniles. Adolescents engaging in primary deviance do not view themselves as “delinquents” but rather as normal juveniles engaging in normal behavior. Primary deviance becomes a problem when it is recognized and the child is stigmatized for engaging in this behavior. This labeling can eventually lead a child to see himself as a delinquent.

Secondary deviance is a behavior that occurs after a youth has taken on the identity of a deviant. He/she thinks himself as a deviant and continues to engage in delinquent behavior. Lemert (1967) describes a process by which secondary deviance occurs. It begins with primary deviance, which at some point is recognized and labeled. The child may continue to engage in these behaviors and may be further stigmatized.
Eventually, as the stigmatization continues, the child begins to see himself as others do, as a deviant. When the behavior continues after this point (the child has identified himself as a delinquent or deviant), it is considered secondary.

Through the labeling theory, a deviant identity is created from the reaction of a particular group. Unlike other perspectives, labeling theory scholars are not concerned with the cause of the initial nonconforming act. It is important to note that via the labeling theory an individual’s personal and social identity become deviant. The social identity becomes deviant by society’s labeling, and the personal identity becomes deviant by the individual internalizing the label, which leads to secondary deviance (Becker, 1967). The scholars of this theory argue that the labeling can lead to greater deviation and a deviant career, in which an individual can be accepted within a deviant group. In other words, the labeling process is influential in the individual’s propensity to committing further deviant acts.

Labeling theory scholars also propose that official assignment of deviancy or criminality to an individual can eventually lead that individual to take on an identity consistent with that meaning and continue to engage in such behaviors through a self-fulfilling prophecy. Becker (1967) recognizes that the most important consequence of being labeled a deviant is the drastic change in one’s social identity, and Becker adds that when an individual is known to have committed a crime, it can become his “master status,” one that overrides all others. For example, an Arabic man that has read the Quran on the airplane may be considered to be essentially a “terrorist” even though he is many
other things, such as a worker or a father. These other identities become secondary and “the deviant identification becomes the controlling one” (Becker, 1967, p. 244).

In addition to identity changes, labeling theorists recognize that negative labeling has other consequences, including blocked access to conventional others and opportunities, which may assist in perpetuating a criminal career. One consequence of being labeled is exclusion from mainstream social groups, which may lead to what Becker (1967) proposed as the final step in the development of a criminal career, joining an organized deviant group. When treated as deviants, individuals cannot carry out normal everyday routines, but rather they may be forced to socialize with others who have been similarly labeled. This only further solidifies the individual’s deviant self-identity.

Finally, it has been suggested that environmental contexts may play a role in labeling effects. Paternoster and Iovanni (1989) note that “the effect of status characteristics on labeling outcomes is not invariant, but varies substantially across different social contexts” (p. 373). Similarly, Sampson and Laub (1997) argue that those researching labeling outcomes “cannot ignore the effects of larger social contexts because deficits and disadvantages pile up faster in some social environments” (p. 153).

2. 9: Arabs and Muslims in the Minds of Americans

The terrorist attacks around the world caused terrible destruction of lives and property, and they resulted in a deep sense of fear in many citizens of the United States. The United States had never been attacked before 9/11, and when the towers came down,
so did the sense of safety that Americans had known in the past. The fear that was engendered on 9/11 is comprised of many parts: sadness, loss of security, and strong feelings of being victimized. These feelings came together and boiled into anger and the need to find someone concrete to blame (CAIR, 2003). Unfortunately, Muslims in the United States were one of the primary groups that became targets for blame following the attacks, and hate crimes against Muslims have been on the rise since ()

Even though the number of Muslim and Arab American immigrants has burgeoned across the United States, many Americans are still ignorant, or fearful, regarding Arab and Muslim culture and beliefs. According to Ali, Lui, and Humedian (2004), approximately 50% of Americans surveyed believe that the Muslim faith and Arab people, specifically, are inherently anti-American despite the fact that only 5% of those surveyed had ever experienced personal contact with Arabs and Muslims. Arabs and Muslims are one of the most misunderstood ethnic groups in the United States, frequently misrepresented, and even vilified, in the press, e.g., often depicted as terrorists, “fanatics,” or fascist (Ali, Lui, & Humedian, 2004). Arabs and Muslims are routinely portrayed in negative terms in media news and entertainment. Because of this, they are often the victims of the resulting stereotypes (Abudabbeh, 1996). The tragic attacks on the World Trade Center towers on September 11, 2001, have deeply affected Arabs and Muslims in countless ways. In the year following this event, hundreds of discriminatory acts were reported by Arabs and Muslims, and many of these reports complained of threats and actual physical attacks (Sayed, 2003). Some Arabs and Muslims are so afraid
of how prejudice could affect them that they conceal their Muslim faith as the only way to protect themselves.

2. 10: Role of the Media in Building “Terrorist”-Labeling

The media plays an important role in the presentation of social problems in several ways. First, "the information in the mass media becomes the only contact many have with politics" (Chermak, 1997, p. 162). Second, because the public relies heavily on the news media, it seems a viable vehicle with which to gain support for implementing changes to policy and legislation. Third, "the news media are an important agent of social control” (Chermack, 1997, p. 162) and because public perceptions are malleable, social control agents (the government) are motivated to participate as news sources to transmit their beliefs and values, and also to legitimize themselves with the public. The media can then be used as a tool for transmitting the political ideologies and corporate interests of those in power. Henry and Tator (2002) point out that the media can also play a role in socially reconstructing realities according to their own personal ideologies, corporate interests, norms, values and so on.

It has been said that mass media influences have contributed to the fear of crime phenomenon and the creation, and perpetuation, of moral panics. Furthermore, the media helps to craft the perception that the public is at great risk and, therefore, the public in turn perceives itself to be at great risk (Kappeler, 1996). The media and government are said to play dual roles in creating moral panics by supplying the public with generalized
and ambiguous information about a particular social problem, risk, or threat to an individual's overall well-being.

2.11: Arab Muslims in the Media

Social science scholars have successfully made connections between the media and attitudes of discrimination by majority populations (Entman & Rojecki, 2000; Mastro, 2003, Mastro et al, 2008). However, much less research has uncovered the subsequent effects of the media on the identity and patterns of socialization of the stigmatized minority groups. In order to better understand current Islamophobia and media treatment of Arab Muslims, it is important to investigate the past experiences of Arabs and Muslims in the United States. This section traces the history of Muslims in America and their experiences surrounding September 11. To supplement the somewhat limited availability of research on media coverage of Arab Muslims in America, this section will also address media coverage of Arabs and Muslims in the United Kingdom. Although historically Arabs and Muslims in Europe have experienced very different lives from American Muslims, similar trends can be seen in the media coverage of the two groups.

There are many invisible and undocumented incidents of harassment and intimidation that evade media headlines and public attention. Scholars of sociology and criminology research have long demonstrated that Black and Asian minorities have been treated as “other” within the criminal justice system. As previously discussed, individuals from minority groups are disproportionately subjected to police surveillance, criminal
justice interventions, and penal sanctions and suffer differential forms of sentencing (Heaven & Hudson 2007; Hudson & Bramhall 2005; Spalek 2008). Mastro, Morawitz, and Kopacz (2008) contended that most of the research on minorities in the media over the last few decades has focused on African Americans, due in large part to the lack of any significant amount of media portrayals of other minorities. Recently, however, due to a slight growth in media coverage, studies have been published regarding portrayals of Latinos and Arabs. Although there have been differences in the coverage of these separate minority groups, the media coverage of all of them has shared a common thread: the coverage tended to cast members of these groups in a negative light (Mastro, Morawitz, & Kopacz, 2008).

Because of the few Muslim groups out there who are rebels, Islam is regarded as a violent faith. Armstrong (2001) points out that many people believe that the most authentic form of Islam is practiced in Saudi Arabia and “because the West has long disregarded the regime of Saudi Arabia, it tends to write off Islam too” (Armstrong, 2001, p. 339). This belief demonstrates how Islam is characterized based on the actions of a small group and obtains a bad image in the public eye through media coverage. However, Abu Sadat (2010) states that this practice of associating violent actions with religious beliefs is not the case with other religions and crimes. Abu Sadat’s argument is that when the Oklahoma City Bombing occurred, the media immediately targeted Middle Eastern countries as the possible home country of the terrorist, and news stations started talking about Islamic extremism. However, when they discovered that the terrorist was an American White with no Islamic ties, the media began to focus on his childhood and
blamed his personal history and feelings towards the government for his act of terrorism. The media did not bring his religion into the picture, did not try to link him to any religious extremist group, and never called him an “American terrorist” or “Christian terrorist”. However, this is never the case for terrorists from the Middle East or for terrorists of the Islamic faith whose reason for their crime, according to the media, is always religious extremism. This type of public image of Islam causes fear amongst those who are unfamiliar with the religion and its followers (Abu Sadat, 2010).

The American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC, 2003) reported that Arab Muslims are often viewed in the media as backward, treacherous, warlike, oversexed, fundamentalists, extremists, militants, fanatics, terrorists, sexist, barbaric, and non-White “sand niggers”. American movies also perpetuate the negative stereotyping of Arabs. The ADC performs much research on the portrayal of Arabs in the media and on film. The ADC criticizes some popular movies for anti-Arab stereotyping. The ADC argues that Rules of Engagement may be the most virulent anti-Arab film ever made in the United States. Another movie that portrays Arabs negatively is The Siege. The ADC’s report confirms that the movies portray the presence of Arabs and Muslims in American cities as inherently threatening. The Siege also explicitly links Islam and terrorism. It is interesting to note that both of these films were released before 9/11. Muslims and Islam are often conflated with terrorism and violence (Saloom, 2005).

In his article “Media, Racism and Islamophobia: The representation of Islam and Muslims in the media”, Saeed (2007) discusses how the media’s coverage of current violent events that involve Muslims, causes discrimination against other Muslims who
are not in any way linked with the perpetrator. According to Saeed, the media coverage ensures that such terrorist attacks affect the lives of Muslims thousands of miles away. Therefore, the acts of one man or group of people can affect the lives of other people who may share their religious beliefs or may be of the same religion. This association between Islam and terrorism leads to discrimination and hatred against Muslims that are not in any way associated with a suspected terrorist and do not share his extremist beliefs. Saeed claims that because of discrimination and hatred by some non-Muslims, Muslims are experiencing difficulty in the workplace and finding it difficult to obtain work or to get promotions. In Britain, Abu Sadat (2010) stated that the group with the highest unemployment rate is Muslims. Many employers fear that Muslim employees would drive business down and, in some cases, they too associate Muslim employees with terrorism and fear what they might do if angered. The current rate of unemployment is leading to social problems in Britain where there has been a forty percent increase in the number of Muslims in prison (Abu Sadat, 2010).

The mass media have routinely depicted second- and third-generation Arab Muslim youths as an unruly and risky (Armelí et al. 2007; Saeed 2007). This stereotyping has accelerated further in recent years, with media portrayals of the radical and extreme terrorist “other” being both ethnically and culturally explicit (Mirza 2009; Walklate & Mythen 2008). Scaling down a further level, it is Arab Muslim communities in particular that have been portrayed in the media as unruly, separatist, and insular (Mythen et al. 2009). While mundane risks have been attached to Arab Muslims as a collective, the profane risk of terrorism has been glued more firmly to young Arab males, thus
cementing them as the “risky other”. Consequently, in contemporary times, Arab Muslims find themselves cast as posing a threat to national security and presenting problems of regulation for the criminal justice system (Mythen et al, 2009; Moore et al., 2008). What is more, young Arab Muslims inhabit a contradictory and ambiguous place and space in relation to their values and identities, being depicted as a high-risk group whilst simultaneously being exhorted to assimilate more fully into U.S. society (Khan & Mythen, 2008).

The constant connection of Muslims with terrorism has become a common fixation in Western societies. Mythen et al (2009) states that after 9/11, media representations of Muslims became more extreme, with Muslims commonly designated as “terrorists”. In the United Kingdom, Mason and Moore (2008) conducted an experimental study into media images of Islam in the United Kingdom between 2000 and 2008 has shown that dominant representations of British Muslims include associations with terrorism, religious and cultural difference, and extremism. The authors indicate that four of the five most common discourses used about Muslims in the British newspaper press couple Islam/Muslims to threats or problems. Further, Moore et al (2008) the most common nouns used in relation to British Muslims are “terrorist”, “extremist”, “Islamist”, “suicide bomber”, and “militant” (Mason & Moore, 2008, p. 3).

Interviews conducted by Emily Liu (2005) with Muslim American youth reveal that a majority of these youth believe that Islam’s image has been misrepresented by the media. Furthermore, Liu also states that the students feel that the media strongly affects the way Americans view Islam, although not all students suggested that the media is
specifically against Islam. Based on the students’ point of view, the media, focused on dramatic images, airs more stories on war, and thus may show Islam in a negative manner (Liu, 2005).

2. 12: Challenges to Arab Muslims' Ethnic Identity

Ethnic identity is a term that commonly conceptualized as an aspect of a person’s collective identity, being defined by Tajfel (1981) as ‘‘that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his [or her] knowledge of his [or her] membership in a social group, together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership’’ (p. 255). Like a self-identity, an ethnic identity refers to a sense of self, but it differs in that it involves a shared sense of identity with others who belong to the same ethnic group. Many scholars emphasize that ethnic identity is an important contributor to an individual’s well-being; individuals derive positive self-attitudes from belonging to groups that are meaningful to them (Abu-Rayyaa & Abu-Rayya, 2009; Tajfel & Turner, 2001).

For people from different minorities in the United States, developing a healthy identity remains a constant challenge in the face of persistent discrimination (Iwamoto & Liu, 2010; Alvarez & Helms, 2001). Ethnic identity is recognized as multi construct, which includes ethnic group behaviors, knowledge and awareness of cultural beliefs, and traditions of one’s ethnic group (Lee, 2005; Phinney & Ong, 2007). Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 2001) pointed out that individuals derive a sense of identity from their social associations and are therefore motivated to maintain a positive view of their social
groups. When fellow in-group members engage in very negative behaviors that are relevant to aspects of the group identity, both the self and others might perceive those behaviors as an indication of a flaw in the character of the entire group (Iwamoto & Liu, 2010). Thus, Social Identity theory describes the process of how “members of racially oppressed groups respond to and internalize race and discrimination into their overall identity or self-consciousness” (Alvarez & Helms, 2001, p. 218). This racialization and categorization process experienced by Arab Muslims and other minority ethnic groups (e.g., African/Mexican Americans) minimizes ethnic within-group variations, whereas similarities are exaggerated.

Many social identity scholars have suggested that higher ethnic identity development is usually correlated with higher levels of quality of life and satisfaction with life (Yip et al., 2008; Lickel et al., 2007). Given the link between ethnic identity and quality of life, research has begun to examine the role of ethnic identity as a moderator of perceived discrimination. Researches in which the effects of ethnic identity on well-being have been studied have revealed disparate results. For instance, a study by Yip et al. (2008) indicates that ethnic identity moderated the negative effects of discrimination on depressive symptoms; however, another investigation by Lee (2005) suggests that stronger ethnic identity exacerbated the effects of discrimination on negative effect. Lickel et al. (2007) found that people’s feelings of shame for another’s wrongdoing are uniquely predicted by the degree to which the event is seen as relevant to the reputation of their group and that others would judge their group negatively because of it.
Molix and Bettencourt (2010) state that members of the ethnic majority group often hold ethnic minority groups in low regard. Members of ethnic groups experience stigmatization and discrimination because ethnic minorities are often devalued in the larger society. Much research has confirmed the phenomenon of societal prejudice and discrimination (e.g., Banaji & Greenwald, 1994; Molix & Bettencourt, 2010). For example, studies have shown that people of high-status groups are biased in favor of their own in-group (e.g., Sachdev & Bourhis, 1991) and motivate this bias when their status is threatened (e.g., Bettencourt, Charlton, Dorr, & Hume, 2001).

Branscombe et al. (1999) propose that group identification is a coping strategy that successfully buffers the negative effects associated with being an ethnic minority group member (i.e., target of discrimination). The results of the authors’ study suggest that African American participants’ group identity buffers the negative relationship between perceiving oneself as a target of discrimination and well-being. These findings are consistent with Crocker et al.’s (1998) results showing that for African Americans, higher levels of group identity are associated with more positive well-being (e.g., life satisfaction, lower levels of hopelessness). Crocker et al.’s results showed that these connections were unreliable for White participants. Similar results have been reported by Phinney and Alipuria (1990). Thus, there is evidence support for the notion that group identity is associated with well-being among members of ethnic minority groups in particular.

Although strong identification may be protective, particularly with one’s ethnic or racial group, it is possible that the high identification may also increase the negative
effects of discrimination and impact an individual’s psychological well-being (Yip et al., 2008). Some research also shows that persons who highly identify with an in-group may also experience more negative effects from racism. Potentially, individuals who choose an in-group may become highly sensitive to environmental cues related to that aspect of their in-group (Hornsey, 2008; Derek & Liu, 2010). For example, individual’s experiences with racism may call attention to an individual’s racial or ethnic group. Because the individual identifies with a particular in-group, and because he or she is sensitive to cues (i.e., racism) against the in-group, the individual is likely to be more sensitive to challenges against the in-group (Derek & Liu, 2010).

The heightened degree of hostility towards Arab Muslims since the 9/11 attacks not only led to the reinforcement of Arab and Muslim identities, but also impacted the way in which people expressed their Islamic identity, including their outward displays of faith, political opinions, body presentation, and dress. For many, fear of attack in the street, in schools, and on public transport restricted freedom of movement in the public sphere, use of community facilities, and visits to hostile areas, not unlike those experienced by women (Mythen et al, 2009; Campbell, 2005). Similar to women’s experiences, the tangible fear of being assaulted and abused limited pivotal aspects of identity building, such as visiting friends, going to college, or attending the Mosque (Mythen et al, 2009).

Nowadays, identity is recognized to be a contested and problematic issue for many Arab Muslim immigrants in the United States (Mythen et al, 2009). Today, the Arab Muslims community suffers from a major identity crisis and lacks a unified sense of
national identity that binds Arab Muslims together. Prior to the September 11th attacks, informed Americans viewed Arab immigrants as a professional group that had made great educational and medical contributions to the United States (Mobasher, 2006; Mythen et al, 2009). The 9/11 attacks created a vehemently xenophobic anti-Arab and anti-Islamic reaction with new images of Islam and Arabs and other Muslim immigrants as barbaric, uncivilized terrorists; a reaction that continues today (Mobasher, 2006).

Identity construction amongst Arab Muslims has undergone major changes, and minority assertiveness has arisen in second and third generations. For previous generations, ethnic identity was implicit in cultural practice; it is now an explicit creation and the assertion of a politicized ethnicity (Mythen et al., 2009). Modood (1997) argues that young Muslims’ deployment of Islam as a primary referent of identity can be expressed as a newly found assertiveness that is “sometimes a religious revival, sometimes a political identity, sometimes both” (Modood, 1998, p. 386).

In examining of the situation of Muslim American youth in the United States and their attitudes towards Islam following the attacks on September 11th, 2001, Fait Muedini (2009) argues that Arab Muslim youth activities in the United States emerged from concern with identity (i.e., how the young identify themselves within a Western environment). One factor has helped shape identity for Muslim American youths in America: a large number of Muslim youth are the sons and daughters of recent immigrants. This has left Arab Muslim youth to locate themselves within a Western society that has (in the last thirty years) portrayed Islam and Muslims as the “enemy” or “threat” to America (Muedini, 2009). In Lori Peek’s (2003) interviews with Muslim
American students immediately following the attacks of September 11th, 2001, Peek found that Arab Muslim students incline to more closely interact with other Arab Muslim students following the attacks of September 11th, 2001. In her research, Peek reported that this was due to a feeling of isolation from the rest of the society.

As mentioned previously, the American attitude toward Arab Muslims, particularly after the terrorist attacks on September 11th, can be regarded as the exemplar for the challenges Arab Muslims face in negotiating their group identity in the United States. Consequently, many Arab Muslims feel caught between their loyalty to their ethnic and religious identities and defending those identities from American cultural invasion and occupation, a conflict exacerbated by the trust compromised by their fellow Americans. These challenges led Arab Muslims to perceive themselves as suffering from systematic deprivation in the United States, which encourages them to construct and experience a sense of their own ethnic and religious identity as being in conflict with Americans, who perceive them as a threat to their security as latent “Terrorists”.

2.13: Challenges to Arab Muslims’ Religious Identity

U.S society is multi-religious and multicultural. Therefore, living together in a pluralistic society requires an ability in individuals to cope with different religions and cultural traditions, with different ethnicities, nationalities, and value patterns. However, past research demonstrates that immigrants to the United States are faced with external pressures to relinquish their ethnic culture and identity to assimilation. At the same time, people of colors and their children attempt to hold on to some pillars of their ethnic culture to preserve their traditions and identity (Byng 2008). Religious institutions have
been the sites where immigrants can create, maintain, and revive their ethnic identity. Ethno-religious identity has facilitated adaptation to American society by allowing immigrants to hold on to cultural distinctiveness inside their religious institutions in spite of the conformity that is required in other social institutions and settings (Byng, 2008).

Identity is a term used to describe or define an individuals' sense of self, group affiliations, structural positions, and ascribed and achieved statuses (Peek, 2005). As Peek states, Identity derives from internal subjective perceptions, self-reflection, and external characterizations. Religious identity has been directly examined within several intergroup contexts, including the Protestant–Catholic divide in Northern Ireland (Cairns et al, 2006; Muldoon et al., 2007), the array of conflicts in the Middle East (Bekerman & Horenczyk, 2004), and the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the United States (Byng, 2008; Moskalenko, McCauley, & Rozin, 2006).

Religion has been a dilemma that shapes immigrant experiences, particularly the ability to announce a White identity (Ajrouch & Jamal, 2007). The immigration of Catholics to the U.S. early 1900s lighted nativist movements intent on barring entry to the U.S. from the Catholic countries including eastern and southern Europe, challenging successful incorporation (Ajrouch & Jamal, 2007; Ignatiev, 1995). In the early 1900s, arriving Arab Americans were able to actively claim “Whiteness” in part through references to their Christian faith (Gaultieri, 2001). Perhaps most critical to Arab Muslims, racial identity nowadays is negatively associated with Islam. Post to 9/11, the world has directed attention to the religion of Islam in a stigmatizing way, making the religion both more prominent in the everyday language of Americans, but simultaneously
more negative (Ajrouch & Jamal, 2007). Political policies following 9/11 including the War on Terror, the emergence of Homeland Security, the PATRIOT Act, as well as more micro-transformations such as heightened security at airports, have altered the lives of Arab Muslims in many ways (Ajrouch & Jamal, 2007; Cainkar, 2003; Marvasti, 2006). Similar to the experiences of Italians, Germans, and Japanese during World War II, for instance, when the U.S. was at war with Italy, Marvasti (2006) pointed out that second-generation Italians were at risk of rejecting American identity and values if they encountered pervasive anti-Italian sentiment from the American government and public. Because Arab Muslims feel less welcomed by the dominant culture, it may be that they exhibit a stronger affinity with a minority group (such as non-White) status (Ajrouch & Jamal, 2007).

A wide range of research by sociologists of religion has explored the role of religion in maintaining group identity and solidarity, particularly for immigrants (Peek, 2005; Ebaugh & Chafetz 2000). A reasonable number of these studies, rather than focusing on religion exclusively, have investigated the connection between religion and ethnic identity. These studies have documented the continuing importance of religion in preserving cultural and ethnic traditions, supporting the adjustment of first generation immigrants to a new host society, and providing a source of identity for the second generation (Chong, 1998; Kurien, 1998; Ng, 2002; Yang, 1999). According to Peek (2005), although religion is often a significant aspect of ethnic culture, it is difficult to establish the exact relation between the two, whether religious affiliation is essential to the ethnic community or if religious orientation is ancillary to ethnic identity. Indeed,
people of minority groups differ in the ways they focus on and integrate their religious and ethnic identities. Some religious groups emphasize their members' religious identity more than their ethnic foundation, whereas others stress ethnic identity and rely on religious institutions primarily to preserve cultural traditions and ethnic boundaries (Yang and Ebaugh, 2001).

Many theories have been generated to explain why certain individuals and communities highlight and develop religious identities, as opposed to other forms of personal and social identity such as race, ethnicity, or nationality. According to Peek (2005), immigration itself is often a theologizing experience; immigrants frequently react to the alienation and confusion that result from their arrival in a new country by turning to religion. In an attempt to cope with their issues, immigrants build religious institutions and re-establish familiar social and cultural activities in the new host society (Kurien, 1998; Peek, 2005). Consequently, religion can play greater importance for immigrants' definition of self and group affiliations than was the case in their homelands, where religion may have been taken for granted or at least been of lesser importance (Peek, 2005).

Islam has transported to the United States in a variety of ways, including immigration from Arab nations as well as from immigrants from Africa and Asia and from conversion to the faith. It is estimated that Islam is one the fastest growing religions in the United States and in the Western world, and if immigration and conversion rates remain unchanged, Muslims will be the largest religious minority in the Western world in the 21st century (Britito, 2008). Even though the term “Muslim” is a religious label and
not a racial one, since 9/11 Muslim American identity has been restructured to reflect the systemic inequality (Byng, 2008). This demonstrates malleability in how social inequality is organized. As argued by Fredrickson (2002) and Feagin (2000), there is a persistent structure to systemic inequality and racism.

Religious denominations can be expected to influence out-group attitudes, as demonstrated by a study in Norway and Germany, where the majority group (ethnic Norwegians and Germains) expressed negative attitudes toward the Muslim group (Flunger & Ziebertz, 2010). In Norway, Muslim adolescents of different ethnic backgrounds developed a shared in-group identity as Muslims, which even spanned the ethnic differences (Flunger & Ziebertz, 2010). If minority groups share similarities, they will perceive each other as part of a common in-group and will evaluate this group positively (Bratt, 2002). Islam in Germany involves several generations, the immigrants and also their descendants, who for the most part have been born in Germany (Flunger & Ziebertz, 2010). Islam serves as an ethnic identity factor; it is a resource for sustaining an immigrant identity. Accordingly, more than one group identity, being a German or being a Muslim, comes into play. These findings indicate social identity complexity for Muslim adolescents living in Germany. Social identity complexity is related to greater openness and tolerance towards out-groups (Flunger & Ziebertz, 2010; Brewer & Pierce, 2005; Muldoon et al., 2009).

Social identity perspective posits that identification with one’s group motivates individuals to distinguish their group from others to preserve positive self-esteem or to attain self-enhancement (Ysseldyk, Matheson & Anisman, 2010; Tajfel & Turner, 1986).
Building on this notion, it is suggested that positive identification is best achieved through finding the optimal balance between the motivations for individual uniqueness and for group belonging (Hogg et al, 2007). Some group memberships are especially central to the self-concept and might be particularly salient under distressing circumstances. In this regard, religion may be especially important when an individual’s sense of safety and security has been undermined (Ysseldyk, Matheson & Anisman, 2010; Muldoon et al., 2007).

In a study by Ysseldyk et al, (2010), where religious identification was assessed based on the importance of faith to the individual’s sense of identity, Protestants reported higher levels of religious identification than did Catholics or Jews, and Catholics higher levels still than Jewish individuals. More social understandings of religious identification (i.e., derived from Tajfel & Turner, 1979) have demonstrated that Muslims identified with their religious group more so than did Christians in both Germany (Fischer et al, 2007) and Canada (Ysseldyk et al., 2010). High levels of religious identification among Muslim individuals in these countries should not be particularly surprising, given that they represent a minority religion (Branscombe et al., 1999), along with the relatively persistent insinuations that even mainstream Muslims may be connected to Islamic terrorism (Byng, 2008). Further, the importance of religion in Arab culture cannot be overestimated. Religion permeates all aspects of Arab culture, influencing family life, child rearing, and views regarding education and psychology (Haboush, 2007; Ajrouch, 2004). Finally, identification with one’s religious group often precedes identification with one’s nationality or country (Haddad, 2002; Haboush, 2007).
Being Muslim is important in the hierarchy of multiple identities that comprise a sense of self. According to Peek (2005), discrete identities may be thought of as ordered in a salience hierarchy. As individuals become more attached to a given role, that role will assume higher identity salience (Peek, 2005). However, the lower the identity in the salience hierarchy, the less likely that identity will be enacted in a given situation, or in many situations. As Peek mentioned, this probability of invoking a particular identity, whether intentionally or not, defines identity salience and thus commitment to that identity (Peek, 2005).

Adherents to the Islamic faith represent a broad range of ethnicities, cultures, nationalities, and Islamic ideologies. For example, based on more than five years of my living in Columbus, Ohio and interacting with Muslim population, it obvious that the Muslim community is strikingly diverse, and includes large percentages of African Americans as well as many first, second, and third generation immigrants of South Asian and Arab descent. Additionally, a small but gradually increasing number of Caucasians and Latinos Americans have converted to Islam over the past several decades.

Numerous studies have examined the intersections of religious, racial, and ethnic identities for Arab Muslims in the United States (Peek, 2005; Haddad, 2000; Naber, 2000), African American Muslims (Kahera, 2002; Nuruddin, 2000), and Iranian Muslims (Bozorgmehr, 2000; Sabagh and Bozorgmehr, 1994). A study conducted by Haddad (2000) investigated the broader social dynamics that shape Islamic identity in North America, exploring the factors that affected various identities prior to emigration, the
immigrant experience in America, and the options immigrants find as they struggle to make their home in a new, sometimes hostile, environment.

Ajrouch (2004) has closely examined the identity development of young Muslim Arabs in Dearborn, Michigan. Although the author does not specifically focus on religious identification, Ajrouch does explore the intersection of ethnic and religious identity, the significance of gender relations, and how religious teachings and parental influence shape the identities of second-generation Arab American adolescents. Hermansen (2003) has also conducted a study about the second generation and what she calls "identity Islam" among that group, a form of identity assertion that concerns her greatly because she sees Muslim youth in America becoming rigidly conservative and condemnatory. Hermansen considers this particular ideological version of Islam antithetical to progressive interpretations within the religion.

The influence of religion on Arab Muslim women's gender role attitudes has been investigated in the work of Read (2003). In a sample that include Christian and Muslim Arab American women, Read (2003) discovered religiosity and ethnicity had more to do with traditional gender attitudes than did religious affiliation. In other words, regardless of being Muslim, attachment to ethnic community and high attendance at religious services were associated with more traditional gender beliefs. Furthermore, not all Arab Muslim women agree that veiling is mandatory (Bartowski and Read, 2003; Read and Bartowski, 2000). Veiling among women living in the United States can be seen to emerge through negotiations at the interpersonal level. While Muslim women living in Austin, Texas, disagree about whether veiling is mandatory, they do not consider it a
basis to assert moral superiority over one another (Ajrouch, 2004; Read and Bartowski, 2000). Interpretations of religious doctrine, and how those interpretations frame individual and group behaviors, particularly in the realm of gender and gender relations, encompass a critical area of inquiry regarding identity among children of immigrants (Ajrouch, 2004).

2. 14: Social Identity Theory and Arab Muslims' Identity

In discussing the impact of labeling Arab Muslims as terrorists on their identity, this study draws on the insights of Social Identity Theory developed by Tajfel and Turner in 1982. Social Identity theory was coined and then developed to understand the psychological basis of intergroup discrimination. Considered in the context of terrorism, one aspect that terrorist organizations share with ordinary political or religious movements is the central role played by psychological processes of collective identification (De la Corte, 2010). Typically, terrorist organizations present themselves as the defenders of the values and interests of an ethnic or religious community (De la Corte, 2006; Javaloy, Rodriguez & Espelt, 2003). As the theory predicts, the self-identity or identification of possible terrorists as members of a much larger community will help them to fulfill their goals (Tajfel, 1984; Javaloy, Rodriguez and Espelt, 2003; Taylor & Louis, 2003).

E. Eriksson defined identity as a “psycho-social phenomenon where the sense of 'me' and 'myself' is formed in relation to others and their responses”, a definition that particularly highlights the role of the “Other” and that of broader society in the definition of the “Self” (Duderija, 2008, p. 376). Identity is seen as an individual’s awareness of
being a unique personal entity (Baron, Branscombe & Byrne, 2009). Identity involves two aspects: a personal and a social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). The social identity is experienced as membership in a social group (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Belonging to a cultural group can stimulate the development of a social identity (Flunger & Ziebertz, 2010). Social identities have been shown to lead to different attitudes towards the in-group and out-groups (Turner & Tajfel, 1986), as intergroup discrimination arises from the notion of sharing certain attributes with fellow group members (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

In Social Identity Theory, a person has several selves that correspond to widening circles of group membership. These multi social contexts may trigger an individual to think, feel, and act on the basis of his personal, family or national “level of self” (Turner et al., 1987). Social Identity Theory affirms that membership in a group creates in-group self-categorization and enhancement in ways that favor the in-group at the expense of the out-group (Turner et al., 1987). The examples (minimal group studies) of Tajfel and Turner (1986) show that the mere act of individuals categorizing themselves as group members was sufficient to lead them to display in-group favoritism. After being categorized with a group membership, individuals seek to achieve positive self-esteem by positively differentiating their in-group from a comparison out-group on some valued dimension. This search for positive distinctiveness means that people’s sense of who they are is defined in terms of “we” rather than “I” (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

Tajfel and Turner (1986) identify three variables whose contribution to the emergence of in-group favoritism is particularly important: the extent to which
individuals identify with an in-group to internalize that group membership as an aspect of their self-concept; the extent to which the prevailing context provides ground for comparison between groups; and the perceived relevance of the comparison group, which itself will be shaped by the relative and absolute status of the in-group. People of any society are more likely to display favoritism when an in-group is central to their self-definition and a given comparison is meaningful or the outcome is contestable (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

Social identity theory assumes that being a member of a group is defined as the subjective perception of the self as a member of a specific category (Abrams et al., 1990; Mackie et al, 2000; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner et al., 1987; Wilder 1990). The impact of social identification is powerful. The findings in many research indicate that people with group social identity usually see themselves to be more similar to each other (Mackie, 1986); are more likely to act cooperatively (Abrams et al., 1990); have a stronger need to agree with group opinion (Wilder, 1990); perceive in-group messages to be of higher quality (Mackie et al., 2000); and conform more in both behavior and attitude (Wilder & Shapiro, 1984).

The process of social identification as understood in Social Identity Theory involves a three part sequence of social categorization, social identity, and social comparison (Abrams et al., 1990). Social categories exist in virtually all human social situations and certainly in all societies. These categories may be racial, ethnic, local, or any number of others; in a certain sense they are given in the sense of social facts existing prior to the interaction but are not necessarily a priori; rather, they are the constructs of
earlier interactional patterns and outcomes. At any rate, in interaction, individuals are exposed to the categories and their relevance for behavior; individuals learn which category they are and how that fact constrains their choices and the expectations that others have of them (Abrams et al 1990).

Under normal circumstances, experience with social categorization leads individuals to identify with the category and with the others who share categorical membership. In particular, social categorization and perceived membership in a category lead to the formation of an individual's "social identity," defined by Abrams et al. (1990) as "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (p. 114). The individual now thinks and behaves like a member of the category or group (Abrams et al., 1990).

The final step in the sequence is social comparison. This has two different aspects, objective and subjective. On the objective, Abram et al. (1990) state that society comes complete not only with social categories but with social evaluations of those categories, a system of relative prestige and power. The system of groups and of social evaluations of those groups constitutes the environment for social comparison and for the construction of positive or negative social identities that incorporate these evaluations. The subjective aspect, as Abram et al. (1990) note, is the individual's need for a positive social identity (self-esteem), which entails both a sharp distinction from other groups and categories and a positive evaluation of one's own group on some valued criteria. Thus, it is in the interest of a group of this kind to emphasize or maximize the differences
between itself and other groups in the social field and to find value in one or more of its own group characteristics; this also helps to account for the common need to denigrate or discriminate against other groups (Abrams et al., 1990).

In summary, Americans express more positive assessments of other societies (e.g., Europe society) with whom they share common religious, racial, or ethnic characteristics and view them, according to social identity perspectives, as members of an “in-group”. In past decades, Americans and Western societies have faced complex situations with Muslims, including the 9/11 terrorist attacks by self-described Muslims as well as other unexpected and shocking violent acts conducted in different parts of the world by radical Muslims, forcing some of them, in short order, to view Arab and Muslim groups as out-group members. Hence, it would not be surprising to learn that a majority of American and Western societies view Muslims as members of an “out-group” and for that reason, racialize, discriminate, and oppress them. Some scholars argue that members of a high status and power group display tendencies for in-group favoritism (Abrams et al., 1990; Duderija, 2008; Taylor & Louis, 2003). Thus, it is supposed that since U.S and Western societies have more power and status over Muslim societies, it gives them a legitimate tendency to racialize Arabs and Muslims.

2. 15: Research Questions

Although there have been some evidence of positive views of Arabs and Muslims and their culture documented among Americans, including an admiration for their focus on the family and the respect paid to elders in the community (Sayed, 2003), these views
is decidedly negative. Unfortunately, the average educated Americans have no idea that they hold any prejudice toward Arab Muslims. It is a common understood to be politically incorrect to hold derogatory generalizations about Asian Americans or African Americans, but many people have no awareness of or embarrassment about their negative stereotypes about Arab Muslims (Sayed, 2003). In an analysis of Western views of Arabs, Mansfield (1990) states that, "a degree of bias against the Arabs and Muslims is considered normal among Western liberals, who would find it quite unacceptable if it was directed against other races" (p. 459). These negative images and misperceptions of Muslims have resulted in the cultural marginalization of Arab and Muslims and have had profoundly negative effects on their self-image (Sayed, 2003). Particularly after the tragic events of September 11th, 2001, the racial, ethnic and religious targeting of and discrimination against Muslims in the United States have created greater stress among community members, and hence, a potentially greater need for services. Many Arab Muslims have been made to feel ashamed of their ancestors and homeland and find it difficult to even enjoy movies or news reports for fear of encountering derogatory portrayals of Arab Muslims (Sayed, 2003). To cope with these experiences, Arab Muslims have tended to deny their ethnic identity, withdraw into an ethnic enclave, or engage mainstream society through informational campaigns regarding the unfairness and pitfalls of stereotyping Arabs and Muslims (Sayed, 2003).

Mental health practitioners are supposed to be aware of and validate the fact that Arab Muslims have frequently experienced prejudice, negative stereotypes, and even harassment for their ethnicity (Sayed, 2003; Jackson, 1997). One way to address these
limitations in population studies and to improve our understanding of the mechanisms underlying the impact of labeling Arab Muslims as “terrorists” is to conduct social and psychological studies. These studies are relatively effective in detecting social and psychological processes and testing theoretical assumptions. Thus, this study will attempt to open up some of the issues that the social work community must face in providing services to Arab Muslims by exploring answers to the following questions:

1. Do Arab Muslims’ experiences with terrorism-labeling have a significant impact on their ethnic identity?
2. Do Arab Muslims’ perceptions of terrorism-labeling affect Arab Muslims ethnic identity?
3. Do Arab Muslims’ experiences with terrorism-labeling have a significant impact on their religious identity?
4. Is there a significant relationship between Arab Muslims’ perceptions of terrorism-labeling and their religious identity?

2. 16: A Model of the Influence of Terrorism-Labeling

In conducting exploratory studies, it is important to draw on a theoretical framework to organize and guide the researcher in his/her study. Some research among the Arab Muslim population shows that discrimination affected their identity and well-being, particularly after the 9/11 events (Khawaja, 2007; Amer, 2005; Ajroush & Jamal, 2007; Sayed, 2003). A Terrorism-Labeling Influence model, TLI (Figure 1) is a graphical representation between the proposed relationships and demonstrates the hypotheses in
this study, indicating the proposed relationships between the variables. This theoretical model is proposed to determine the role of terrorism-labeling in deforming social identity, including ethnic and religious identities, and in adversely impacting well-being, including psychological well-being and mental health disorders. It also explains reactions to terrorism-labeling, especially if the labeling is accepted and the person became a deviant. The top part of the model describes the relationships between feeders of terrorism-labeling and perceptions of the terrorism-labeling on a theoretical level. These relationships are derived based on the assumptions of labeling theory. The bottom part describes the relationships between the actual measures used in the study based on assumptions of Social Identity theory.
Figure 2.1: TLI Model: Terrorism-Labeling Influence.
The TLI model consists of four dimensions: labeling inputs; demographic motivations; labeling outputs; and physical reactions to labeling. The first dimension represents the three major factors (labeling-feeders) that the researcher believes contribute to and motivates people to link terrorism-labeling to individuals and/or group(s), as a symbolic belief in their minds. These motivators are the media, government policies, and the terrorist attacks committed by some radical individuals and/or organizations (Figure 2). As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the media, the United States government’s terrorism policies (e.g., PATRIOT ACT), and the terrorist attacks committed by some radical Islamic individuals and organizations have played a significant role in creating terrorism-labeling in Americans’ minds.

Figure 2.2: Labeling-Feeders: Media, government policies, and terrorist individuals/organizations
The second dimension of the TLI is the characteristics of the person being labeled as a terrorist (gender, age, skin color, length of residency in the U.S., religion, ethnicity, and educational attainment). In addition to the labeling-feeders (media, government policies, and terrorist individuals and/or organizations), the researcher also believes that these individual characteristics are additional stimulations that help explore the variability of the person being labeled. Labelers may rely on these characteristics to distinguish individuals who are more likely to be terrorists. For example, Arab Muslims males are more likely to be labeled as “terrorists” than Arab Muslims females. Similar to the gender factor, young Arab Muslim males (e.g., 18 to 40 years old) are more likely to be labeled as “terrorists” than older Arab Muslim males. However, Simons, Miller, & Aigner (1980) argue that being labeled should have the same effect on both males and females because criminological theories, including labeling, are able to explain deviance regardless of gender (Figure 2.3).
The third dimension deals with the impact of labeling on individuals (Figure 2. 4). These negative outputs lead the labeled person to struggle with his/her daily life. This struggle may take place in one or more of the following areas: the person’s identity, including religious and ethnic identity; well-being, including psychological well-being, happiness, or mental disorders; and the reaction mode, including solidarity and deviation. According to labeling theory, the labeling can lead to greater deviation and a deviant career, in which an individual can be accepted within a deviant group. In other words, the
labeling process is influential in the individual’s propensity to committing further deviant acts. Becker (1967) assumed that when treated as deviants, individuals cannot carry out normal everyday routines, but rather they may be forced to socialize with others who have been similarly labeled. However, according to Lemert (1967) labeling may lead to positive consequences. He argues that labeling can create solidarity within the labeled group to defend against or resist the dominant group and to retain the in-group’s strength.

Figure 2.4: Outputs of terrorism-labeling.

The fourth dimension addresses the acceptance of terrorism-labeling and the process by which an individual becomes a deviant, (Figure 5). Drawing upon labeling theory’s assumptions, the researcher of this study proposes that labeling a person as a
terrorist, if the labeling is not mentally addressed or treated, may lead the person to adopt the label and attack the labeling group(s) individually or/and collectively by socializing with a deviant individuals or/and group(s). This act of socializing will then be used as a justification for the labeling-feeders (media, government’s policies, and terrorist organizations) to come back and further stimulate society against the deviant person or group.

![Diagram: Reaction Mode](image)

**Figure 2.5: Deviance as a reaction to terrorism-labeling**
As discussed previously in this chapter, linking terrorism to Islam and Muslims in general, and to Arab Muslims in specific, has a great impact on Arab Muslims' identity and well-being in the United States. However, the impact of terrorism-labeling on Arabs and Muslims’ reaction mode has not been investigated to date. The TLI model has been developed based on valid theoretical frameworks (Social Identity Theory and Labeling Theory) and then adopted to guide the researcher in exploring whether there is a positive association between labeling Arab Muslims as “terrorists” and low ethnic and religious identity affiliation. However, because of the comprehensiveness of the TLI model, which would require several studies to affirm its validity, this study has focused only on the second and dimension, omitting the skin color factor, and the third dimension of the model, particularly the part that deals with the impact of labeling on individuals (Figure 2.4). These negative outputs lead the labeled person to struggle with his/her daily life. This struggle may take place in one or more of the person’s identity, including religious and ethnic identity. It is the researcher's hope that further investigation of the first and fourth proposed dimensions would be conducted to show the impact of these factors in linking “terrorism” to Arabs and Muslims and to validate the overall significance of the TLI model. The entire TLI model may help further explain this study and may be useful when conceptualizing this study's hypotheses.

The specific hypotheses of this study, based on the TLI model above, are listed below.
2. 17: Research Hypotheses

Literature review suggests that one’s group identity may have low function against discrimination (Turmer, 1986). In this study, experiences with terrorism-labeling may be related to lower Arab identity. In addition, Islamic identity is somewhat different than being a member of another ethnic group because Muslims are also a religious group. Religiosity is a central for many Arab Muslims in the United States. Islamic identity includes membership in traditionally Islamic organizations and participation in Islamic religious practices and rituals and thus, experiences with terrorism-labeling may be related to lower Islamic identity. The core prediction of this study is that there is a relationship between labeling Arab Muslims as terrorists and ethnic and religious identities such that:

a) H1. Measures of Arab Muslims’ experiences with terrorism-labeling will significantly be correlated with the measures of ethnic identity.

b) H2. Measures of Arab Muslims’ experiences with terrorism-labeling will be correlated with measures of religious identity.

c) H3. Measures of Arab Muslims’ perceptions of terrorism-labeling will be correlated with measures of ethnic identity.

d) H4. Measures of Arab Muslims’ perceptions of terrorism-labeling will be correlated with measures of religious identity.
CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This chapter will present the research methodology including the study design, setting, sample, and sampling method. Internal validity and reliability of the measuring instruments as well as data collection procedures are also discussed.

The study will assess the effect of the impact of labeling Arab Muslims as “terrorists” on their ethnic and religious identities, as two categories of social or collective identity components, and will also employ the factors of age, gender, level of education, and length of time in the U.S. as socio-demographic indexes to measure Arab Muslims’ attitudes toward being labeled as “terrorists” and the possible identity struggle based on this label. To the best of the researcher’s knowledge, this study is the first to assess Arab Muslims’ attitudes toward the effect of labeling them as “terrorists”. It is the researcher’s belief that an exploratory study design is best-suited to examine the above variables. According to some researchers (e.g., Singleton & Straits, 2005; Aloud, 2004), the exploratory method has been used widely to assess people’s perceptions, particularly among ethnic and racial minority populations.
3.1: Sampling

A non-probability sampling design was used to recruit participants for this study, since it was not feasible to include the entire population of interest (i.e., probability sampling that provides each individual with exactly the same chance as every other individual of being selected). The advantages of the non-probability sampling include the involvement of a smaller number of individuals, which allows the researcher to maintain a higher level of control in a more time efficient and less costly manner (Wallen & Fraenkel, 2001). The disadvantages of this type of sampling include the potential bias in selection of the participants, which may lead to sampling error and a decreased ability to generalize the results beyond the subjects who took part in the study (Wallen & Fraenkel, 2001). Some degree of error in the data was expected to be present when inference to a population is based on a sample of that population. In other words, the degree of sampling error depends on sample size and methods used to draw the sample. This study calculated for the standard error to determine the degree to which the study sample represents the total population.

A convenience sample was used for this study. Convenience sampling is one of the non-probability methods of selecting participants; it involves recruiting the individuals who are easily accessible for the study (Wallen & Fraenkel, 2001). Convenience sampling is used in exploratory research where the researcher is interested in getting an inexpensive approximation of the truth (Wallen & Fraenkel, 2001). As Wallen and Fraenkel noted, the sample recruited by this method is useful in many situations. However, researchers who use this sampling method will be limited to
drawing conclusion only about the individuals who participated in a study at a particular point in time. Thus, the sample of this study may not be representative of the population of Arab Muslims at other cities in the state of Ohio or any other cities in the United States.

Even though the researcher does not have frequent social interaction with Arab Muslim individuals, being the president of the Saudi Students Club in central Ohio for more than four years has allowed me to establish a strong and reliable relationship with Arab Muslim community leaders and other Arab Muslim physical and mental health providers in the city. Thus, applying this type of sampling is appropriate. Moreover, the uniqueness and sensitivity of this research to Arabs and Muslims strengthens the choice to adopt convenience sampling as a methodological strategy. A non-random sampling strategy will be adopted due to the shortage of demographic information about Arab Muslims in central Ohio (Aloud, 2004; Al-Ma’seb, 2006).

3.2: Sample and Study Setting

This study was conducted in the city of Columbus, OH. Participants were self-identified Arab Muslims residing in the city of Columbus, Ohio. They were recruited from various Islamic organizations: Omar Ibn Al-Khattab’s Mosque (OAM), The Islamic Society of Greater Columbus (ISGC), and the AL-Noor Islamic Cultural Center (NICC). These non-profit organizations are located in Columbus, OH and are the primary sources that provide religious, social, cultural, financial, and educational services to Arabs and Muslims in central Ohio. These three organizations were chosen because they are well-
known for their highly visible involvement with the Arab community in the greater Columbus area. The city of Columbus was selected because, according to the leaders of the three Islamic organizations (personal conversations convened on May 2010), it is among the cities in Ohio with the highest Arab Muslim population.

3.3: Sampling Criteria

Participants were enrolled in the study population if they met all the following criteria:

1. He/she is a Muslim;
2. He/she is an Arab Muslim who was either American born, or born in one of the 22 Arab countries and immigrated to the United States, and one or both of his/her parents were Arab citizens;
3. He/she is 18 years old and above; and
4. He/she is able to read and understand either the English or Arabic language.

3.4: Developing the Instrument

Several procedures have been followed in developing the instrument. The construction of the questionnaire was informed by existing literature on labeling Arab and Muslim populations as “terrorists” and the impact of this factor on their ethnic and religious identities. The instrument was divided in five sections. More details about each section are presented in the discussion on measuring the variables (see page 86). The instrument sections are as follows:

1. **Demographic section:** In this section, nine questions were generated to explore the characteristics of the participants. In addition, questions to
gauge the participants’ strength of religious and ethnic identification were developed (questions 10, 11, and 12) to explore whether there is any difference between the degree of religious and ethnic identification and the degree of religious and ethnic affiliation.

2. *Arab Muslims’ experiences with terrorism-labeling:* Three questions were developed (13, 14, and 15) to answer the research’s first and third questions. These questions are intended to confirm whether Arab Muslim individuals in Columbus, Ohio have experienced being labeled as terrorists.

3. *Arab Muslims’ perceptions of terrorism-labeling:* Sixteen statements were coined to assess Arab Muslims’ perceptions of labeling (questions from 16 to 31). This assessment was intended to answer the research’s second and fourth questions. The statements were generated based on the literature on labeling Arabs and Muslims as terrorists and assumptions of the labeling theory. Specific features of religious and culture related to ethnicity of the Arab Muslims were considered when forming the statement of this scale.

4. *Arab Muslims’ ethnic identity:* The 20 items (questions from 31 to 51) of the Multi-group Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM, Phinney, 1992) were utilized, with permission of the author, to assess Arab Muslims’ ethnic identity.

5. *Arab Muslims’ religious identity:* The 15 items (questions from 51 to 66) of the Brief Arab Religious Coping Scale (BARCS, Amer et al., 2008)
were adopted, with permission of the author, to assess Arab Muslims’ religious identity.

A panel of experts was used to establish face and content validity. The panel consisted of an expert in survey design and research evaluation from Department of Statistic at the Ohio State University, three Arab Muslim board members from each of the following Islamic organizations: Omar Ibn Al-Khattab’s Mosque (OAM), The Islamic Society of Greater Columbus (ISGC), and the AL-Noor Islamic Cultural Center (NICC). These non-profit organizations are located in Columbus, OH, and four Muslim education professors from Department of Statistic, Fisher School of Business, and Department of Arabic Language at the Ohio State University.

The researcher sent each expert a cover letter attached to the survey explaining the purpose of the study and why the expert had been selected to participate in the review of the instrument. This information was sent via email, and hard copies were sent in the mail. The experts were asked to critique the survey to determine if the questions were clear and understandable and whether the items tended to measure what they were intended to measure. Experts also were asked to provide any questions, corrections, or other feedback as to how the instrument should be revised. The researcher requested that the suggestions be returned within two weeks via email or hard copies sent in the mail. Additionally, feedback was obtained from a pilot group containing eight individuals (3 females and 5 males). Changes were made based on responses and feedback from members of the panel and the pilot group. For example, one of the items in the first draft of the questionnaire was “I don’t care if I’m labeled as a terrorist in the U.S” The
feedback that one of the Islamic organization board members who is familiar with Arab Muslim community suggested was that it would be better if the researcher reframe the statement to be “Even though Arab Muslims are often labeled as terrorists, this label does not personally affect me.”. A professor from the panel suggested that it would be better to change the word “God” to “Allah” and change the word “my group” to “my Arab group”, to clarify which group the researcher meant in his survey. Both the panel and the pilot group confirmed that the instrument measured what it was supposed to measure.

The finalized survey packet is provided in Appendix (B). Even though most Arab Muslims in the U.S are fluent in English (Aloud, 2004; Brittingham & de la Cruz, 2005), an Arabic version of the questionnaire was created for the use of participants who may not be proficient in reading English or who preferred to answer the survey in Arabic. A member of the panel who is working at the Department of Arabic Language at The Ohio State University translated the questionnaire and the cover letter from English to Arabic to make sure that the translation was accurate. Participants were given the choice between a questionnaire in English or in Arabic when they were initially contacted.

3. 5: Measuring of the variables

Measuring variables in social science research can be performed by assigning numbers to phenomena in such a way that some property of the numbers also reflects some property of the phenomena (Fishman & Galguera, 2003). Therefore, Arab Muslims’ experiences and perceptions of terrorism-labeling, which represents the phenomenon, can be accurately measured through designing the proper instrument. Consequently, the
instrument for the current research consists of five parts based on a Likert-type summated rating scale as follows:

1. Three questions Likert-type summed rating scale measuring Arab Muslims’ experiences with verbal terrorism-labeling and physical threats associated with terrorism-labeling;

2. Sixteen statements Likert-type summed rating scale measuring Arab Muslims’ perceptions of terrorism-labeling;

3. Twenty statements Likert-type summed rating scale measuring Arab Muslims’ ethnic identity; and

4. Fifteen statements Likert-type summed rating scale measuring Arab Muslims’ religious identity.

In addition to gathering some demographic characteristics, the researcher is interested in identifying the nature of the relationship between variables (e.g., age, gender, level of education, number of years the participant spent in the U.S., strength of religious and ethnic identification) and participants’ experiences and perceptions of terrorism-labeling.

3. 5-1: Arab Muslims’ Experiences with Terrorism-Labeling Scale (AMETL)

The purpose of the Arab Muslims’ Experiences with Terrorism-Labeling Scale (AMETL) scale was threefold: to answer the first and third research questions of the study, that is, the degree to which Arab Muslims were being labeled as terrorists; to assess the frequency with which Arab Muslims were verbally labeled as terrorists as well as physically threatened in association with the labeling; and to measure the correlation
between the frequency of Arab Muslims being verbally labeled and/or physically threatened and the strength of their religious and ethnic identities. The scale asked participants to answer the following questions: “How often have you been verbally labeled as a ‘terrorist’ since being in the United States?”; “How often have you been physically threatened by someone who called you a ‘terrorist’?”; and “To best of your knowledge, how often have people (relatives or friends) in your community been verbally labeled as ‘terrorists’ since being in the United States?” The questions were rated on a 4-point Likert scale where 1 = “Not at all” and 4 = “Very often”. Scores could range from 3 to 12, such that higher scores are indicative of a strong experience with verbal and/or physically threatening terrorism-labeling.

3. 5-2: Arab Muslims’ Perceptions of Terrorism-Labeling (AMPTL) Scale

So far, there is no existed scale that examined Arab Muslims’ perceptions of being labeled as “terrorists” or the impact of such labeling of Arab Muslims in the United States on identity. Consequently, the researcher coined 16 statements that measure Arab Muslims’ perceptions of terrorism-labeling. The scale was further divided into five content-based subscales: self-belief of terrorism-labeling (“I believe that Arab Muslims are labeled as terrorists in American society”, “I believe that labeling Arab Muslims in the United States as terrorists is justified”); self-belief causation of Arab Muslims being labeled as “terrorists” (“I believe that Americans label Arab Muslims as terrorists because of their ethnic affiliation”, “I do not believe that Americans label Arab Muslims as terrorists because of their religious affiliation”); self-psychological feeling of
terrorismo-labeling (“I feel that I have been personally labeled as a terrorist”, “Even though Arab Muslims are often labeled as terrorists, this label does not personally affect me”, “I feel ashamed because Arab Muslims are labeled by Americans as terrorists”, “I do not feel angry because Arab Muslims are labeled by Americans as terrorists”, “I feel sad because Arab Muslims are labeled by Americans as terrorists”, “I feel that I’m hurt because Arab Muslims are labeled by Americans as terrorists”, “I feel that I’m a victim of prejudice because Americans are labeling Muslims as terrorists”, “I feel that I’m a victim of prejudice because Americans are labeling Arabs as terrorists”); self-belief of religious and ethnicity threatening (“I believe that labeling Arab Muslims in the U.S as terrorists threatens my ethnic identity“, “I do not believe that labeling Arab Muslims in the U.S as terrorists threatens my religious identity”; and, self-belief of religious and ethnicity defending (“I believe that there is a need to defend the Arab ethnic identity in the United States”, “I do not believe that there is a need to defend the Islamic identity in the United States”). The statements are rated on a 4 point Likert scale where 1 = “strongly Disagree” and 4 = “Strongly Agree”. Scores could range from 16–64, such that higher scores are indicative of higher perceptions of labeling. It was the researcher’s hypothesis that this scale will evaluate whether Arab Muslims struggle with being labeled as “terrorists” in U.S society, whether they struggle with their ethnic and religious identities due to being labeled as “terrorists”, and whether they are mentally affected by terrorism-labeling.

3. 5-3: Ethnic Identity Measurement

To measure the Arab Muslims’ ethnic affiliation, the researcher borrowed the twenty-item Multi-group Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM, Phinney, 1992). The MEIM is
one of the most widely used ethnic identity measuring instrument for culturally diverse samples. Robert et al.’s (1999) validation study with 5,423 adolescents from diverse backgrounds found that the MEIM could be best conceptualized as four subscales that includes: (a) ethnic identity commitment (i.e., affirmation and belonging, 5 items), “I feel a strong attachment towards my ethnic group” and “I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.”; (b) ethnic identity achievement (i.e., exploration, 7 items), “I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs”; (c) ethnic practices (i.e., behavior, 2 items), “I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs”; and (d) other group orientation (attitudes toward out-group, 6 items), “I like meeting and getting to know people from ethnic groups other than my own” and “I enjoy being around people from ethnic groups other than my own” Items have been scored on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree), with higher scores 20 to 80 indicating greater identification with ethnic culture. Permission to use the scale has been achieved from the Author (see Appendix, F). Coefficient alpha for this instrument has been reported as .82 with a multi-ethnic adolescent sample (Phinney, 1992).

3. 5-4: Religious Identity Measurement

The Brief Arab Religious Coping Scale (BARCS, Amer et al, 2008) has been utilized in this study. The researcher chose this scale because other measures of religious coping included items which related primarily to Christianity (e.g. statements regarding the confession of sins) as well as items that, for Arab Americans, may not have been
applicable because they were culturally too taboo or they conceptually placed God on equal footing with humans, a concept unfamiliar to most Arab Muslims (Khawaja, 2007; Amer, 2005). Thus, sample items were piloted and the final version of the BARCS consisted of 15 items with strong face validity that includes different types of religious coping strategies such as praying, putting the problem in God's hands, seeking assistance from the house of worship, etc. The researcher proposes that the BARCS will be able to measure the degree to which respondents identify as Muslims. Each item is rated on a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 = "not at all", 2 = “rarely”, 3 = "sometimes", 4 = "often", and 5 = "always”. However, the statements in this study have been modified to fit only Arab Muslims (e.g., “I pray to get strength” has been modified to “I pray to Allah to get strength”). The statements have also been rated on a four-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 = "not at all”, 2 = “rarely”, 3 = "few times", and 4 = "often". Scores could range from 15–60, such that higher scores are indicative of stronger sense of religious identity. The scale has been translated to the Arabic language for easier reading and understanding of its components. Permission to use the scale has been achieved from the Author (see Appendix, F). Coefficient alpha for this instrument has been reported as .82 with a multi-religious Arab-American sample (Amer et al., 2008).

3. 5-5: Demographic Variables

The demographic questionnaire will be used to gather information about the participant’s age, gender, marital status, level of education, income, and length of time in
the U.S. In order to keep participants’ data anonymous, identifying information has not been collected.

Using age as a demographic variable is consistent with studies indicating that with age, people are more readily able to adjust, and thus are likely to score higher on quality of life (Gilbreath and Benson, 2004; Pomaki et al., 2004). Gilbreath and Benson (2004) state that gender can also be accounted for as a variance in psychological well-being. However, for the purposes of this study, the variable of gender was accounted for as a variance in experience with terrorism and the perception of being labeled as a terrorist. Marital status, level of education, income, and length of time of being in the United States were controlled to predict the experience of terrorism-labeling, the perception of being labeled as a terrorist, and religious and ethnic affiliation. Strength of religious (Muslim) and ethnic (Arab/American) identification were accounted for as variances in self-religious and ethnic affiliations.

### 3. 6: Data Collection

A quantitative research design with primary data collection was utilized in order to field test an original survey instrument. The purpose of the survey instrument was to explore how Arab Muslims experience life and face daily challenges by examining the influence of labeling them as terrorists on their religious and ethnic identities. The potential participants of this study were members of the Arab Muslim community in Columbus, Ohio and affiliated with one of three Muslim groups: the Islamic Society of
Greater Columbus (ISGC), the Noor Islamic Cultural Center (NICC), and the Omar Ibn Al-Khattab Mosque (OAM).

The researcher, as president of the Saudi Students Club in Central Ohio, has worked with the leaders in these organizations. Prior to data collection, the researcher contacted the leaders of these three Arab Muslim organizations and obtained their support for the research (see Appendix, E). All three organizations agreed to support his research by introducing him at the Friday prayers and encouraging members of their organizations to participate.

The study proposal, instrument, the survey (in both Arabic and English language versions), the participants’ recruiting script, letters of support from the three Islamic organizations, and informal consent (cover letter) forms were approved by the researcher’s committee and submitted to the Ohio State University Institutional Review Board (IRB). The Institutional Review Board granted human subjects exemption on March 7, 2011 (see Appendix, A). The data was exempted under the expedited category, which allows the collection of existing data if the data are available publicly or if the information is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that subjects cannot be identified directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects. There was no intervention in this study and risks were minimal.

After obtaining Institutional Review Board’s approval from The Ohio State University, as well as permission to recruit participants from the three Islamic Organizations, 400 surveys had been distributed via the three Islamic organizations during the best time to recruit participants, at the Friday prayers (Jumah). Muslims are
required by the Islamic rules to come to the center/mosque and perform the Friday’s prayer. The leaders of the three Islamic organizations introduced the researcher, as part of the announcements, and provided time for him to make a recruitment presentation to possible participants at the end of the prayers. The presentation explained the nature of the study, its aims, the criteria for participant eligibility, and its benefits to both the participants and their community, urging them to complete the questionnaires. This presentation was repeated for three consecutive Friday’s prayers to assure that all in the target population were informed and to increase the numbers of participants. See presentation script in appendix (D).

The packets of the questionnaires were placed near both the male and female entrances of each Islamic center/mosque for those who were interested in completing the survey and participating in the study. Packets contained an informational letter and the survey (both in English and Arabic). Consent of participation is assumed if the participant completes the survey and returns it (using a pre-stamped and addressed envelope included in the packet) to the researcher’s address. Prior to distributing the questionnaire, a letter of invitation (cover letter) signed by the researcher and the dissertation chairperson had been distributed to the participants during the Friday’s prayer presentation (see appendix, C). This letter provided information about the study and encouraged people to participate.

The questionnaire itself did not contain any question that could directly or indirectly identify a respondent. The potential participants were also informed, through the cover letter, about their right to refuse participation and to withdraw at any time.
during the study if they so desired, and they were assured that their decision to refuse or withdraw would not affect them in any way. The letter also emphasized that their participation was voluntary and that there would be no personal, political, economic, or other consequences for refusing to participate. This consent cover letter was translated into the Arabic language and signed by both the researcher and the dissertation chairperson. Participants were given the choice of language on the consent form.

Due to the sensitive nature of the survey questions, and the environment in which these questions were circulated, an indirect monetary incentive was offered to encourage participation. As the cover letter indicated, the investigator would donate $5 to the Islamic center/mosque for each questionnaire that was completed and returned. This incentive was designed to encourage participants to complete the survey without requiring additional contact or identifying information, thus preserving the anonymity of the respondents. Even with this indirect incentive, the researcher expected some degree of resistance by the respondents. Within the Arab Muslim communities, stories about the FBI and other governmental security agencies visiting and questioning individuals solely on the basis of their ethnic or religious affiliation circulate widely and create an atmosphere of caution, if not fear. A donation to the Islamic center/mosque in lieu of a direct incentive was thought to demonstrate goodwill as well as recognition of the role of these religious centers in offering comfort to Arab Muslim community. Nonetheless, the degree of government inquiry into this community was a remarkable factor that the researcher expected to exert a blocking of participant responses. Despite the sensitive and difficult nature of eliciting responses, it was hoped that the overall goal of the
research, which was to illuminate the impact of terrorist-labeling on Arab Muslims, would encourage participation and justify, to the community, the intrusion into what they might consider their already beleaguered situation.

3. 7: Human Subject and Ethics

The Ohio State University Human Subjects Protocol, which sets forth research ethics concerning individuals’ personal data, was strictly followed to ensure confidentiality. The Institutional Review Board’s approval of the survey had been obtained prior to the data collection process. The following points provided explanation for ethical considerations in the current study:

1. *Participation:* The participation in this study is voluntary. Participants may withdraw from this study at any time. The withdrawal decision from the study will also carry no consequence.

2. *Purpose and Procedures:* The purpose of the study and procedures are clearly stated in participant Consent Form (Cover Letter).

3. *Confidentiality:* The confidentiality of the participants is fully protected. Every effort is made to protect the privacy of participants and maintain their confidentiality through protection of sensitive data. Participants were not required to provide any personally identifiable information (e.g., name, mail and e-mail address, etc.).

4. *Risks and Benefits:* The risks and benefits of the participation are clearly stated in the consent form, and participants were informed of all the risks and benefits prior to their involvement in this study. In addition, it is also stated that the overall
findings of this research will add to the body of knowledge in the field of Arab Muslims study.

5. *Participant’s rights:* Any participant who has questions about his/her rights, as a research participant, or to discuss other study-related concerns or complaints with someone who is not part of the research team is encouraged to call Ms. Sandra Meadows in the Office of Responsible Research Practices at 1-800-678-6251.

6. *Contact Information:* Any participant who has further questions or feels he/she has been harmed or distressed by participation, is encouraged to contact the researcher or the chairman person through their emails, phones, or mail.

3.8: *Data Limitations*

This study was limited by the self-reporting accuracy of the participants, the participants’ ability to read and understand the questionnaire, and the honesty of individuals’ responses.

3.9: *Data Assumptions*

For the purpose of this study, it was assumed that all participants understood the survey and answered all questions as accurately and honestly as possible.

3.10: *Survey Findings*

A total of 236 surveys were collected. However, thirteen surveys were eliminated because they did not meet one or more of the following criterions: Seven surveys were missing between 1 to 4 values in each scale of the survey, particularly the Arab Muslims’
Perceptions of Labeling Scale; four surveys were completed by Muslims but not Arabs (the latter four surveys also failed to respond to most statements on the Arab Muslims Ethnic Identity Scale, which contains 20 statements); and two surveys were completed by participants who are under 18 years age old (14 and 13 years old), and also failed to respond to some statements. Little and Rubin (2002) and Raghunathan (2004) suggest that when there are missing values within less than 5% of the total number of cases, those values can be considered to be missing at random (MAR). In such MAR cases, whether a value is missing does not depend upon other values, and, thus, the typical method of deletion is relatively safe. The most advantageous aspect of this approach is that it leads to unbiased parameter estimates (Little & Rubin, 2002). Thus, it is the researcher’s belief that eliminating these 13 surveys would be better than including them, since including them increased the probabilities of risk of bias and/or undermined the validity of findings, especially since we know that these surveys represent almost 5% of the total number of cases. With this modification complete, 223 surveys collected were viable for further analysis. Surveys were stored in a locked personal file cabinet at the researcher’s home until data entry was conducted. All surveys were shredded following the data analysis.
CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS AND DATA ANALYSIS

The present chapter contains the results, data analysis, and interpretation of the data obtained in this study. This chapter is organized as follows: a) the first section illustrates the initial treatment of the data; b) the second section provides descriptive statistics of participants’ demographic characteristics; c) the third section summarizes participants’ responses to the AMETL and AMPTL scales; d) the fourth section presents the study’s factor analysis and multiple regression analysis; and e) the fifth section discusses the answers to the research questions.

4.1 Treatment of the Data

All data analyses were executed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS v 19.0). Prior to hypotheses testing, all variables were examined for accuracy of data entry, missing data, and whether the variables satisfied the assumptions of regression analysis. Thirteen cases were removed from the study because they did not meet one or more of the following criterions: Seven surveys were missing between 1 to 4 values in each scale of the survey, particularly the Arab Muslims’ Perceptions of Labeling Scale; four surveys were completed by Muslims but not Arabs (Participants also
failed to respond to most statements on the Arab Muslims Ethnic Identity Scale, which contains 20 statements); and two surveys were completed by participants who are under 18 years age old (14 and 13 years old), and also failed to respond to some statements. Hence, 2223 participants were included in the study.

4.1: Participants’ Characteristics

A total of 223 individual (64 females, 159 males) participated in this study. The results shown in table (4.1) indicates that the mean age of the participants was 38 (SD = 12.47, ranging from 19 to 73) and the year of coming to the U.S. ranging from 1969 to 2010. The majority of participants were married (n = 161) with 58 single respondents. The remaining participants (n = 4) reported that they were divorced (n = 3) and widowed (n = 1). Approximately 89.7% of the participants were born in Arab countries while 10.3% were born in the United States. As for the respondents’ ancestors’ Arab countries of origin, the majority reporting their Arab origin were from Egypt (n = 33, 14.8%), Saudi Arabia (n = 19, 8.5%), Somalia (n = 17, 7.6%), Palestine (n = 17, 7.6%), Syrian (n = 16, 7.2%), Libya (n = 16, 7.2%) and Algeria (n = 14, 5.8%). The remaining participants were distributed among the other Arab countries. The majority of participants’ parents were born in the Arab countries (n = 214, 96%) and the rest were born in the U.S (n = 5 females, 2 males) and France (n = 1 female, 1 male). Of participants, 30.5% (n = 68) have been in the U.S for more than 21 years while 31.8% (n = 71) have been in the U.S for 5 years or less, 10.8% (n = 24) between 6 and 10 years, 19.7% (n = 44) between 11 and 15 years, and 7.2% (n = 16) between 16 and 20 years.
The majority of participants (78.4%) had completed higher education (bachelor's degree and above) with the category bachelor’s degree being the median point. Of 223 participants, 11.7% had a high school degree or equivalent, 9.9% had completed vocational/technical college, 38.9% had achieved a bachelor’s degree, 21.5% had achieved a master’s degree, 16.1% reported that they had achieved a doctoral degree, and 2.2% indicated that they had achieved a medical degree (physicians). Socioeconomic status occurred disproportionately, with the category $40,001-$50,000 being the median point. Of 223 participants, 32.7% reported their income above $60,000, 12.1% reported their income as between $50,001-$60,000, 10.8% reported their income as between $40,001-$50,000, 13.5% reported their income as between $30,001-$40,000, 15.7% reported their income as between $20,001-$30,000, and 15.2% reported their income as less than $20,000.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age:</strong></td>
<td>N. 223, Mean= 38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(range = 19 – 73); SD = 12.47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Median= 37; Mode= 50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
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Table 4.1: Demographic characteristics of the study participants (n = 223).
Table 4.1 continued

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Years of being in the U.S</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 to 5 year</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>31.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 to 10 years</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 to 15 years</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>19.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 to 20 years</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 21 years</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>30.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marital status</strong></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>72.2</td>
</tr>
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<td>Divorced</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
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<td>.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Level of Educational</strong></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school or equivalent</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational/technical college (2 years)</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>38.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>21.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctoral</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other: Medical (physician)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Continued
Table 4.1 continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Family annual income</strong></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than $20,000</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$20,001-$30,000</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$30,001-$40,000</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$40,001-$50,000</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$50,001-$60,000</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than $60,001</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>32.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Respondent Mother’s Place of Birth</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab Countries</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>90.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Respondent Father’s Place of Birth</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab Countries</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>98.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Participant’s Place of birth</strong></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born in U.S.</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Original Nationality:</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahrain</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuwait</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
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Continued
Table 4.1 continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libya</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palestine</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qatar</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somalia</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunisia</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.A.E.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yemen</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2: Participants’ Responses to the Survey

Table 4.2 summarizes participants’ responses to the research surveys and lists the scales of established reliability coefficients. Arab Muslims, on average, expressed a generally high experience with terrorism-labeling ($M = 6.4$, $SD = 2.1$). Participants reported a high level of perceptions of labeling them as terrorists ($M = 46.9$, $SD = 6.2$). Participants also reported a significant level of attachment to both their ethnic ($M = 60.7$, $SD = 7.4$) and religious ($M = 52.7$, $SD = 5.9$) identities.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Minimum</th>
<th>Maximum</th>
<th>Average</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Reliability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>AMETL</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMPTL</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>46.9</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMEI</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>60.7</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMRI</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>52.7</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>.82</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.2: Scales reliabilities and participants’ responses to them (n = 223).

4. 2-1: Self-Identity Identification

Before being surveyed on the longer scales that were created for this study, all respondents were asked to rank order the strength of their identification as Muslims, Arabs, and Americans. Because the entire sample for this study was both Muslim and Arabic, and lived in America, all three questions were reasonable for the audience. The below table (4. 3) shows that levels of self-reported identification as a Muslim are highest, followed by identification as Arabic, and self-reported identification as an American; respondents overwhelmingly identified themselves as Muslims (89.7%) with higher sense of belonging to their cultural community (79.4%) in comparison with sense of belonging to mainstream American society (36.7%).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Strength</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Self-Identification</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identification as a Muslim.</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>89.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identification as an Arab.</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>79.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identification as an American</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>39.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>23.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>36.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.3: Strength of Self-Identification among Arab Muslims (n = 223).

### 4.2-2: Experience with Terrorism-Labeling

To measure participants’ experiences with terrorism-labeling, a scale was created to show the process of change in Arab Muslims’ experiences with terrorism-labeling. The key variables used in this study to represent the participant’s experience with terrorism-labeling are as follows: The frequency of terrorism-labeling, where participants were asked to report how often have they verbally labeled as terrorists since being in the United States; the frequency of participants’ physical threats connected with terrorism-labeling, where participants were asked to report how often have they been physically
threatened by someone who called them a terrorist; and, the frequency of experiences with terrorism-labeling among participants’ relatives and/or friends, where participants were asked to report, to the best of their knowledge, how often their relatives and/or friends had been verbally labeled as terrorists. Each item in the scale consisted of four possible responses on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Not at all*) to 4 (*Very often*); higher values are associated with a more extensive experience with terrorism-labeling. Potential scores ranged from a low score of 3 to a high score of 12. The answers to the first question from the Arab Muslims’ Experiences with Terrorism-Labeling Scale (AMETL) indicated that a high frequency of experiences with terrorism-labeling was not widespread among the respondents (18.4%, not at all; 34.5%, rarely; 32.7%, a few times; and 14.3%, very often). The results of the second question, which asked about the frequencies of participants’ experiences with physical threats combined with terrorism-labeling, were skewed (75.3%, not at all; 18.4%, rarely; 5.4%, few times; and .9%, very often). The results of the third question, which asked the participants about the frequencies of people (relatives or friends) in their communities experiencing terrorism-labeling, also revealed that knowledge of such labeling was also not widespread among the respondents (11.2%, not at all; 24.2%, rarely; 45.7%, few times; and 18.9%, very often). Table (4.4) shows the results in more detail. The overall scale scores for the AMETL for the 223 respondents ranged from 3 to 12, with a mean score of 6.47 (SD = 2.107) and a median score of 6. The scale was determined to approximate a normal distribution, even though the distribution exhibited a mild positive skew (see Figure. 4.1).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verbal experience with terrorism-labeling</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>18.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rarely</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>34.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Few times</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>32.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very often</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical experience with terrorism-labeling</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>75.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rarely</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>18.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Few times</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very often</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relatives/friends verbal experience with</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>terrorism-labeling</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rarely</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>24.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Few times</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>45.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very often</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.4: Descriptive results of AMETL scale
4. 2-3: Participants’ Perceptions of Terrorism-Labeling (AMPTL)

To measure participants’ perceptions of terrorism-labeling, a scale was created to show the process of change in Arab Muslims’ perceptions of terrorism-labeling. The key variables that assumed to represent perceptions of terrorism-labeling in this study are as follows: (a) belief in terrorism-labeling (2 variables), where participants were asked to indicate whether they believed that Arab Muslims are labeled as terrorists in U.S society and whether they believe that they personally were labeled as terrorists; (b) causes of
terrorism-labeling (2 variables), where participants were asked to indicate whether they believe that they were labeled as terrorists due to their religious and/or ethnic affiliation; (c) threats of terrorism-labeling (2 variables), where participants were asked to indicate whether they believe that terrorism-labeling produces threats to their religious and ethnic identities; (d) feelings toward terrorism-labeling (7 variables) where participants were asked to indicate whether they feel angry, sad, ashamed, victimized, and hurt, and whether they felt personally affected due to being labeled as terrorists.; terrorism-labeling justification (1 item); and (e) identity defending (2 variables), where participants were asked to indicate whether they believe that there is a need to defend their religious and ethnic identities as a resistance to terrorism-labeling.

Each item in the scale consisted of four possible responses on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree); higher values were associated with a greater belief in labeling. Potential scores ranged from a low score of 16 to a high score of 64. Because there were items in the AMPTL that were stated in both the affirmative and the negative form, the items that were in the negative form (i.e., where higher agreement would indicate a lesser perception of being labeled as a terrorist) were reverse-scored. The range of the AMPTL scale started with a value of 26, which indicated the lowest value of the participant’s perception of terrorism-labeling and ended in a value of 60, which indicated the highest value of the participant’s perception of terrorism-labeling. The mean score for the scale was 47 and the median was 48 (SD = 6.20). The result generated from the scale indicated that the sample of this study believed that Arab Muslims were labeled as terrorists (86.5%) and they personally felt labeled as
terrorists (62.8%); this sample believed that identity affiliation was one factor that led Americans to label them as terrorists (ethnic identity 62% and religious identity 35.4%); that terrorism-labeling has produced a threat to their identity (ethnic identity 53.8% and religious identity 64.1%); that terrorism-labeling has impacted their feelings (62.8% were personally affected, 68.2% felt ashamed, 21% felt angry, 92.9% felt sad, 87.4% felt hurt, 81.2% felt they were victims of prejudice because Muslims are labeled as terrorists, and 71.3% felt they were victims of prejudice because Arabs are labeled as terrorists); that terrorism-labeling is not justified (84%); and that their identity needs to be defended (Islamic identity 89.2% and Arab identity 90.1%).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Minimum</th>
<th>Maximum</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Median</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AMPTL</td>
<td>26.00</td>
<td>60.00</td>
<td>47.00</td>
<td>48.00</td>
<td>6.20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.5: Descriptive analysis of AMPTL (n = 223).
4.3: Reliability and Validity of the Measurement

Establishing internal validity of the study’s instrument is accomplished by using factor analysis in order to assure the homogeneity of the items. The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS v 19.0) was used to analyze the data. The following analyses were used in order to statistically test the instrument’s validity and reliability, particularly the Arab Muslims’ experiences with terrorism-labeling scale (AMPTL) and the Arab Muslims’ perceptions of terrorism-labeling scale (AMPTL). The two other scales, the Brief Arab Religious Coping Scale (BARCS, Amer et al., 2007) and the Multi-
Group Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM, Phinney, 1992), which were used to measure the dependent variables, Arab Muslims' religious and ethnic identities, had been previously successfully tested by their authors for validity and reliability (see chapter 3).

4. 3-1: AMETL Reliability

A Cronbach’s alpha reliability analysis was executed for the three items of Arab Muslims’ Experiences with Terrorism-Labeling scale (AMETL). One of the key outputs of this analysis was the overall means and standard deviations for each of the three AMETL items, as shown in table 4.6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How often have you been verbally labeled as a “terrorist” since being in the United States?</td>
<td>2.43</td>
<td>.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How often have you been physically threatened by someone who called you a “terrorist”?</td>
<td>1.32</td>
<td>.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the best of your knowledge, how often have people (relatives or friends) in your community been verbally labeled as “terrorists” since being in the United States?</td>
<td>2.72</td>
<td>.90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.6: Means and standard deviations of AMPTL (n = 223).

The second meaningful output of the analysis was the Cronbach’s alpha statistic for the overall scale. Part of the Cronbach’s alpha analysis was conducted to determine
the correlation of each of the three items with the overall scale. The standardized Cronbach’s alpha was 0.79 for the overall scale.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Correlated item-total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How often have you been verbally labeled as a “terrorist” since being in the United States?</td>
<td>.765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How often have you been physically threatened by someone who called you a “terrorist”?</td>
<td>.524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the best of your knowledge, how often have people (relatives or friends) in your community been verbally labeled as “terrorists” since being in the United States?</td>
<td>.690</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.7: Cronbach’s Alpha for items of AMETL.

As can be seen above, all items have standardized correlations in excess of 0.5 with the overall scale and the alpha value for the scale, so it is reasonable to conclude that these items are indeed representing one scale. However, the alpha for the overall scale could be improved by removing the second question, (*How often have you been physically threatened by someone who called you a terrorist?*), to a standardized Alpha of .842. Even though this is the case, the researcher decided to retain the item in the scale because the scale only included 3 items, and this is the only item that specifically addresses whether respondents have experienced physical threats due to being labeled as “terrorists”.

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### 4. 3-2: AMPTL Reliability

A Cronbach’s alpha reliability analysis was executed for the sixteen items of Arab Muslims’ Perceptions of Terrorism-Labeling scale (AMPTL). One of the key outputs of this analysis was the overall means and standard deviations for each of the sixteen AMPTL items.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Correlated item-Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I believe that Arab Muslims are labeled as terrorists in American society.</td>
<td>.753</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel that I have been personally labeled as a terrorist.</td>
<td>.538</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not believe that Americans label Arab Muslims as terrorists because of their religious affiliation (Because they are Muslims).</td>
<td>.502</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I believe that Americans label Arab Muslims as terrorists because of their ethnic affiliation (Because they are Arabs).</td>
<td>.771</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Even though Arab Muslims are often labeled as terrorists, this label does not personally affect me.</td>
<td>.749</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel ashamed because Arab Muslims are labeled by Americans as terrorists.</td>
<td>.750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not feel angry because Arab Muslims are labeled by Americans as terrorists.</td>
<td>.762</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel sad because Arab Muslims are labeled by Americans as terrorists.</td>
<td>.589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel that I’m hurt because Arab Muslims are labeled by Americans as “terrorists”.</td>
<td>.637</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.8: Cronbach’s Alpha for items of AMPTL.
Table 4.8 continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Correlated item-Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I feel that I’m a victim of prejudice because Americans are</td>
<td>.736</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labeling Muslims as terrorists.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel that I’m a victim of prejudice because Americans are</td>
<td>.743</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labeling Arabs as terrorists.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not believe that labeling Arab Muslims in the U.S as terrorists threatens my religious identity.</td>
<td>.759</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I believe that labeling Arab Muslims in the U.S as terrorists</td>
<td>.761</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>threatens my ethnic identity.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I believe that labeling Arab Muslims in the United States as</td>
<td>.771</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>terrorists is justified.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not believe that there is a need to defend the Islamic</td>
<td>.757</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>identity in the United States</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I believe that there is a need to defend the Arab ethnic identity</td>
<td>.756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in the United States</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second meaningful output of the analysis was the Cronbach’s alpha statistic for the overall scale. Part of the Cronbach’s alpha analysis was also to determine the correlation of each of the sixteen items overall with the scale. All items have standardized correlations in excess of 0.5 with the overall scale and the alpha value for the scale, so it is reasonable to conclude that these items are indeed representing one scale. However, the alpha for the overall scale could be improved by removing the third statement, *(I do not believe that Americans label Arab Muslims as terrorists because of*
their religious affiliation), to a standardized Alpha of .81. Even though this is the case, the researcher decided to retain the item in the scale because the scale only included item that specifically addresses whether respondents perceived that labeling them as terrorists is due to their religious affiliation. The Cronbach's alpha for the scale was found to be good at .76, indicating that the scale is reliable.

4.4: Factor Analysis

Factor analysis helped in establishing the internal structure of the Arab Muslims’ experience with terrorism-labeling scale (AMETL) and Arab-Muslims’ perceptions of terrorism-labeling scale (AMPTL). The scales were newly generated scales that were first fielded in this study. Because of this, the researcher decided to conduct the factor analysis method to better understand if there were clear subcomponents to the set of three AMETL and sixteen AMPL survey items. Berman (2007) states that, “a factor analysis is a well established technique that uses correlations among variables to identify subgroups” (2007, p. 280). The goal of the principal component analysis with a verimax rotation is to identify existing factors and extract maximum variance by pronouncing higher and lower loadings for each factor (Tabachnik & Fidell, 1989). As an initial test for the internal validity of this scale, a principle component analysis leads to a “cleaner and more interpretable factor solution” (Kujala & Lukka, 2006, p. 376). For the purpose of interpretation, acceptable factor analysis correlation standards are considered only if their values are at least .50 (Berman, 2007). Since the AMETL and AMPTL were newly generated scales and had never been tested, this study utilized the general rule of thumb
of for factor loading. That is, that factor loading greater than ± .40 is considered to meet the minimal level to be used to specify variables that load on each component.

Attempting to assess internal validity, analysis was conducted of the responses from all 3 statements of the AMETL and all 16 statements of the AMPTL, which presented the Arab Muslims’ experiences and perceptions of terrorism-labeling. Both scales were first analyzed with a principle component factor analysis using an alpha factor extraction with varimax rotation method. Squared multiple correlations were used as prior estimates of communalities for each of the items.

4. 4-1: AMETL Validity

Factor analysis with varimax rotation was run using squared multiple correlations as the prior communality estimates. The analysis was executed in two iterations. In the first iteration, all items were entered into the factor analysis. After the first analysis was complete, the final factor solution was extracted, yielding only one factor, upon which all questions had a loading of .50 or greater and all had factor loadings greater than .50, had a weighted eigenvalue of 3.01 associated with it and accounted for 71.4% of the weighted total variance. Because of this, it was concluded that the scale was only measuring one construct, and we proceeded with the reliability analysis for the overall scale. The Scree plot for the factor selection is shown below.
4. 4-2: AMPTL Validity

Factor analysis with varimax rotation was run using squared multiple correlations as the prior communality estimates. Because there were items in the AMPTL that were stated in both the affirmative and the negative form, the items that were in the negative form (i.e., where higher agreement would indicate a lesser perception of being labeled as a terrorist) were reverse-scored prior to conducting the factor analysis. The analysis was executed in two iterations. In the first iteration, all items were entered into the factor analysis. After the first analysis was complete, the final factor solution was extracted, yielding a total of five factors, upon which all questions had a loading of ± 0.40 or greater. The Scree plot for the factor selection is shown below.
Results from the overall loadings of the statements are as follows: Six statements loaded in the first factor, four statements loaded in the second factor, three statements loaded in the third factor, two statements loaded in the fourth factor, and one statement loaded in the fifth factor. All statements had a loading greater than ± .50 except for the statement (I believe that labeling Arab Muslims in the U.S as terrorists threatens my ethnic identity) that had a loading of .47.

The analysis in table: 4. 9 indicated that statement (I do not believe that Americans label Arab Muslims as terrorists because of their religious affiliation) had a negative correlation with the rest of the items in the scale (r = -.752). Because this item is
one that was stated in the negative, it seems possible that survey respondents may have overlooked or misinterpreted the negative valence of the statement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Factors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I feel ashamed because Arab Muslims are labeled by Americans as terrorists.</td>
<td>.580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel sad because Arab Muslims are labeled by Americans as terrorists.</td>
<td>.833</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel that I’m hurt because Arab Muslims are labeled by Americans as terrorists.</td>
<td>.861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel that I’m a victim of prejudice because Americans are labeling Muslims as terrorists.</td>
<td>.735</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel that I’m a victim of prejudice because Americans are labeling Arabs as terrorists.</td>
<td>.771</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I believe that there is a need to defend the Arab ethnic identity in the United States.</td>
<td>.574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I believe that Arab Muslims are labeled as terrorists in American society.</td>
<td>.747</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel that I have been personally labeled as a terrorist.</td>
<td>.646</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not believe that Americans label Arab Muslims as terrorists because of their religious affiliation.</td>
<td>-.752</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I believe that Americans label Arab Muslims as terrorists because of their ethnic affiliation.</td>
<td>.532</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.9: Values of items loaded in AMPTL Scale.
Table 4.9 continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statements</th>
<th>Factors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Even though Arab Muslims are often labeled as terrorists, this label does</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not personally affect me.</td>
<td>.700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not believe that labeling Arab Muslims in the U.S as terrorists</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>threatens my religious identity.</td>
<td>.736</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I believe that labeling Arab Muslims in the U.S as terrorists threatens</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my ethnic identity.</td>
<td>.473</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not feel angry because Arab Muslims are labeled by Americans</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as terrorists.</td>
<td>.725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not believe that there is a need to defend the Islamic identity in</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the United States.</td>
<td>.758</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I believe that labeling Arab Muslims in the United States as terrorists</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>is justified.</td>
<td>.755</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first factor, upon which statements (I feel ashamed because Arab Muslims are labeled by Americans as terrorists), (I feel sad because Arab Muslims are labeled by Americans as terrorists), (I feel that I’m hurt because Arab Muslims are labeled by Americans as terrorists), (I feel that I’m a victim of prejudice because Americans are labeling Muslims as terrorists), (I feel that I’m a victim of prejudice because Americans are labeling Arabs as terrorists), and (I believe that there is a need to defend the Arab ethnic identity in the United States) all had factor loadings greater than 0.50, had a
weighted eigenvalue of 4.74 associated with it and accounted for 22.6% of the weighted total variance.

The second factor, for which AMPTL statements (I believe that Arab Muslims are labeled as terrorists in American society), (I feel that I have been personally labeled as a terrorist), (I do not believe that Americans label Arab Muslims as terrorists because of their religious affiliation), and (I believe that Americans label Arab Muslims as terrorists because of their ethnic affiliation) had factor loadings greater than 0.50, had a weighted eigenvalue of 2.03 associated with it and accounted for 13.3% of the total variance.

The third factor, AMPTL statements (Even though Arab Muslims are often labeled as terrorists, this label does not personally affect me) and (I do not believe that labeling Arab Muslims in the U.S as terrorists threatens my religious identity), had a factor loading greater than .50, while the third statement (I believe that labeling Arab Muslims in the U.S as terrorists threatens my ethnic identity) had a factor loading of .47. These three statements had a weighted eigenvalue of 1.42 associated with it and accounted for 11.1% of the weighted total variance.

The fourth factor, AMPTL statements (I do not feel angry because Arab Muslims are labeled by Americans as terrorists) and (I believe that there is a need to defend the Arab ethnic identity in the United States) had a weighted eigenvalue of 1.20 associated with it and accounted for 11.02% of the weighted total variance.

The fifth factor only AMPTL statement (I believe that labeling Arab Muslims in the United States as terrorists is justified) had a weighted eigenvalue of 1.02 associated
with it and accounted for 7.3% of the weighted total variance. The results presented above indicated that correlation coefficients for all of the loadings were greater than ± .47, which satisfied the researcher that there was no need to eliminate any items.

4.5: Multiple Regression Analysis

Hierarchical regression analysis was applied to address the study’s research questions: Do Arab Muslims’ experiences with terrorism-labeling have a significant impact on their ethnic identity?; Do Arab Muslims’ perceptions of terrorism-labeling affect Arab Muslims’ ethnic identity?; Do Arab Muslims’ experiences with terrorism-labeling have a significant impact on their religious identity? And; Is there a significant relationship between Arab Muslims’ perceptions of terrorism-labeling and their religious identity?

The questions were controlled for demographic characteristics. The selection of the independent variables and their analysis was based on the TLI model. Two variables were selected and tested for their effect on Arab Muslims’ ethnic and religious identities (see the study’s theoretical framework, Figure 2.1, p. 69). These independent variables were the Arab Muslims’ experiences with terrorism-labeling and Arab Muslims’ perceptions of terrorism-labeling. These key variables show the differences between the Arab Muslims’ culture and Western culture. For example, the majority of the populations in Arab countries are Muslims, whereas Muslims in the United States are considered a minority. In the current study, changes in Arab Muslims’ values and beliefs regarding
these key variables indicated the degree of ethnic and religious identification changes that Arab Muslims in the U.S underwent.

Assumptions of regression analysis (the assumption of linearity, the assumption of homoscedasticity, and the assumption of normality) had been examined before the data were analyzed to determine if any of them had been violated. The linearity of the relationship between dependent variable and independent variables represents the degree to which the change in the outcome variable is associated with the predictors (Hair et al, 2006). To test the assumption of linearity, residual plots of the terrorism-labeling experiences data and partial regression plots for each primary independent variable were generated (see Figure 4.5). Examination of the residual plots indicated no systematic variation of the error terms for any level of any independent variable. Similarly, violation of linear scatter was not observed in any of the partial regression plots. Linearity in this study was examined through residual plots of the two scales data and partial regression plots for each primary predictor (see Figure 4.6).
Figure 4.5: Test of the assumption of linearity between the primary independent variable AMELT and ethnic identity of Arab Muslims.
Figure 4.6: Test of the assumption of linearity between the primary independent variable AMPLT and ethnic identity of Arab Muslims.

The presence of unequal variances (heteroscedasticity) is one of the most frequently encountered assumption violations (Hair et al., 2006). To test whether the observed variance was constant, standardized residual values were plotted against the standardized predicted values (see Figure 4.7). Again, no systematic deviations from the response plane and no systematic variation of the error terms for predicted values were observed. The results indicated that the assumption of homoscedasticity was not violated.
Non-normality of the independent or dependent variables or both is one of the most common assumption violations. The simplest diagnostic of this assumption violation is a histogram of residuals, with a visual check for a distribution approximating the normal distribution (Hair et al., 2006). Thus, the assumption of normality of error term distribution was assessed using a histogram of the residuals and a normal probability plot test (see Figure 4.8). Visual inspection of two plots showed that error term distribution closely resembled a normal pattern (see Figure 4.9). The results indicated that the assumption of normality was not seriously violated.
Figure 4.8: Regression Standardized Residual graph

Figure 4.9: Test of the assumption of normality with the dependent variable being ethnic identity of Arab Muslims.
It should be noted that assumptions of regression analysis (the assumption of linearity, the assumption of homoscedasticity, and the assumption of normality) had been examined with the second dependent variable, Arab Muslims Religious Identity (AMRTL), to see whether the change in the predictors were associated with the outcome variable.

4. 5-1: Correlations Matrix Inspection

Prior to running the analysis, the correlation matrix was inspected to get a rough idea of the relationship between the predictors and the outcome and for a preliminary look at multicollinearity in the data. Pearson’s correlations were conducted to explore the relationship among participants’ demographic variables. The results in table (4.10) show that there was an association between the age of a participant and the year of coming to the U.S. ($r = -0.49$, $p<.001$), indicating that there were more young participants, rather than older participants, in new arrivals to the U.S.; older participants were more likely than youths to identify themselves as Americans ($r = 0.39$, $p<.001$); and older participants were higher than young participants in their family annual income ($r = 0.29$, $p<.001$).

Participants who came to the U.S earlier were higher than those who came later in the level of their family annual income ($r = -0.46$, $p<.001$). Participants with a high level of Islamic identification also identified themselves as strong in their Arab affiliation ($r = -0.29$, $p<.001$). Participants with high American and low Arab and Islamic identifications were higher in their family annual income than those who identified themselves as high in their Arab and Islamic identifications ($r = 0.32$, $p<.001$). Participants who reported a
high level of education (bachelor's degree and above) were higher than those with lower levels of education (associate's degree and below) in their family annual income \((r = .33, p < .001)\). Nonetheless, there was no correlation between demographic variables and Arab Muslims’ experiences with terrorism-labeling (AMETL) and Arab Muslims’ perceptions of terrorism-labeling (AMPTL).

Pearson’s correlations also were conducted to explore the relationship between self-identification and Arab Muslims' ethnic and religious identities. The results show that there was a low association between individuals who had a high level of identification as Muslims and ethnic identity \((r = .27, p < .001)\) and religious identity \((r = .28, p < .001)\). Arab Muslims who had a strong attachment to their religious identity also had strong attachment to their ethnic identity \((r = .37, p < .001)\).

Pearson’s correlations again were conducted to explore the relationship among variables in the AMETL and AMPTL scales. The results show that the variable \((How\ often\ have\ you\ been\ verbally\ labeled\ as\ a\ terrorist)\) had a significant relationship with individuals reporting they had been physically threatened by someone who called them terrorists \((r = .542, p < .001)\) and with individuals who reporting having relatives/friends labeled as terrorists \((r = .727, p < .001)\). However, results showed that individuals who reported being physically threatened by someone who called them terrorist had only a moderate relationship with individuals who reported relatives/friends labeled as terrorists \((r = .429, p < .001)\).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
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<th>8</th>
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<th>11</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>-.107</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Year of coming to the U.S</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level of Education</td>
<td>.221**</td>
<td>-.084</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>-.163</td>
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<tr>
<td>Family annual Income</td>
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<td>-.077</td>
<td>-.445**</td>
<td>-.275**</td>
<td>.327**</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strength of Muslim Identification</td>
<td>-.025</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>-.033</td>
<td>.041</td>
<td>.151</td>
<td>.152</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strength of Arab Identification</td>
<td>.138</td>
<td>.089</td>
<td>.006</td>
<td>-.065</td>
<td>.114</td>
<td>.163</td>
<td>.290**</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strength of American Identification</td>
<td>.308**</td>
<td>-.002</td>
<td>-.470**</td>
<td>-.153</td>
<td>.088</td>
<td>.319**</td>
<td>.139</td>
<td>.048</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMEI</td>
<td>-.038</td>
<td>.103</td>
<td>-.225**</td>
<td>.065</td>
<td>-.018</td>
<td>.144</td>
<td>.270**</td>
<td>.012</td>
<td>.203**</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMRI</td>
<td>.030</td>
<td>-.084</td>
<td>-.111</td>
<td>.052</td>
<td>.016</td>
<td>-.044</td>
<td>.276**</td>
<td>.026</td>
<td>.040</td>
<td>.363**</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.10: Correlation between demographic variables and the dependent variables
The results in table (4.1) show the correlations among variables in the AMPTL scale. The variable *(I believe that Arab Muslims are labeled as terrorists in the U.S.)* had a high relationship with Arab Muslims’ personally feeling that that they are labeled as terrorists in the U.S. (*r* = .590, *p*<.001). The variable *I feel sad because Arab Muslims are labeled by Americans as terrorists* had a high relationship with feelings of hurt because Arab Muslims are labeled as terrorists (*r* = .808, *p*<.001), the feeling of being a victim of prejudice because Americans are labeling Muslims as terrorists (*r* = .517, *p*<.001), and feeling of being a victim of prejudice because Americans are labeling Arabs as terrorists (*r* = .515, *p*<.001). The variable *(I feel that I'm hurt because Arab Muslims are labeled as terrorists)* had a high relationship with feelings of being a victim of prejudice because Muslims are labeled as terrorists (*r* = .620, *p*<.001) and feelings of being a victim of prejudice because Arabs are labeled as terrorists (*r* = .580, *p*<.001). The variable *I feel that I’m a victim of prejudice because Muslims are labeled as terrorists* had a high relationship with feelings of being a victim of prejudice because Arabs are labeled as terrorists (*r* = .773, *p*<.001). The correlations among the other variables had low scores ranging from (*r* = >.3) and (*r* = <.5).
Table 4.11: Correlations among variables in the AMPTL scale.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measures</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
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<th>7</th>
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<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
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<th>13</th>
<th>14</th>
<th>15</th>
<th>16</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I believe that Arab Muslims are labeled as terrorists in American society.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>I feel that I have been personally labeled as a terrorist.</td>
<td></td>
<td>.590**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel ashamed because Arab Muslims are labeled by Americans as terrorists.</td>
<td>.262**</td>
<td>.202</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel sad because Arab Muslims are labeled as terrorists.</td>
<td>.246**</td>
<td>.393**</td>
<td>.045</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel I’ve hurt because Arab Muslims labeled as terrorists.</td>
<td>.328**</td>
<td>.372**</td>
<td>.160</td>
<td>.464**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel I’m a victim of prejudice because Arab Muslims labeled as terrorists</td>
<td>.340**</td>
<td>.416**</td>
<td>.184</td>
<td>.458**</td>
<td>.308**</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel I’m a victim of prejudice because Arabs labeled as terrorists.</td>
<td>.381**</td>
<td>.448**</td>
<td>.125</td>
<td>.570**</td>
<td>.517**</td>
<td>.620**</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel I’m a victim of prejudice because Arab Muslims threaten my ethnic identity</td>
<td>.286**</td>
<td>.399**</td>
<td>.182</td>
<td>.420**</td>
<td>.515**</td>
<td>.582**</td>
<td>.773**</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I believe labeling Arab Muslims threatens my ethnic identity.</td>
<td>.154</td>
<td>.253</td>
<td>.099</td>
<td>.282**</td>
<td>.219</td>
<td>.259**</td>
<td>.311</td>
<td>.378**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I believe labeling Arab Muslims as terrorists because of their religious affiliation (Because they are Muslims). (R)</td>
<td>.082</td>
<td>.222</td>
<td>.153</td>
<td>.209**</td>
<td>.366**</td>
<td>.362**</td>
<td>.306**</td>
<td>.358**</td>
<td>.189</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not believe that Americans label Arab Muslims as terrorists because of their religious affiliation (Because they are Muslims). (R)</td>
<td>.373**</td>
<td>.387**</td>
<td>.283**</td>
<td>.121</td>
<td>.158</td>
<td>.138</td>
<td>.211</td>
<td>.241</td>
<td>.094</td>
<td>.121</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labeling AM doesn’t personally affect me. (R)</td>
<td>.324**</td>
<td>.403**</td>
<td>.034</td>
<td>.261</td>
<td>.173</td>
<td>.226**</td>
<td>.328**</td>
<td>.221**</td>
<td>.187</td>
<td>.104</td>
<td>.177</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don’t feel angry because AM labeled as terrorists. (R)</td>
<td>.174</td>
<td>.162</td>
<td>.076</td>
<td>.058</td>
<td>.128</td>
<td>.109</td>
<td>.109</td>
<td>.004</td>
<td>.064</td>
<td>.179</td>
<td>.056</td>
<td>.243**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don’t believe labeling AM as terrorists threaten my religious identity. (R)</td>
<td>.191</td>
<td>.220</td>
<td>.066</td>
<td>.134</td>
<td>.116</td>
<td>.168</td>
<td>.199</td>
<td>.002</td>
<td>.231</td>
<td>.137</td>
<td>.033</td>
<td>.416**</td>
<td>.294**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I believe labeling AM as terrorists is justified. (R)</td>
<td>.008</td>
<td>.013</td>
<td>.130</td>
<td>.041</td>
<td>.028</td>
<td>.053</td>
<td>.065</td>
<td>.051</td>
<td>.009</td>
<td>.035</td>
<td>.154</td>
<td>.262**</td>
<td>.175</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not believe there is a need to defend the Islamic identity. (R)</td>
<td>.247**</td>
<td>.205</td>
<td>.147</td>
<td>.026</td>
<td>.161</td>
<td>.133</td>
<td>.144</td>
<td>.002</td>
<td>.084</td>
<td>.266**</td>
<td>.312**</td>
<td>.450**</td>
<td>.386**</td>
<td>.360**</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Correlations among variables of the ARPTL scale. N = 233, **p < .01
4. 5-2: Multiple regressions with Ethnic Identity

Zero-order correlations obtained in the matrix suggested the need to further examine each variable’s effect on Arab Muslims ethnic identity. Such investigation requires the use of Multiple Regression Analysis. In light of TLI model that assumes an association between terrorism-labeling and identity, Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis was applied to determine the unique contribution of each variable in equation.

As depicted in the TLI model (Figure 2.1, p 69), demographic variables were controlled and separately entered into the regression analysis one at time (Model I). The independent variable, Arab Muslims’ experiences with terrorism-labeling AMETL, was added to regression equation including selected demographics characteristics (Model II). Finally, the independent variable, Arab Muslims’ perceptions of terrorism-labeling AMPTL, was added to regression equation including AMETL and selected demographics characteristics (Model III).

As can be seen in table (4.12), the regression analysis produced three models. In the first model, the independent variables (the strength identification of being a Muslim, year of coming to the U.S., age of the participant) had an association with overall $F = 12.31$ and $R^2 = .07$, which means that 7% of the variance in Arab Muslims ethnic Identity was explained by the three variables. However, the dependent variable, Arab Muslims Ethnic Identity (AMEI), was regressed on the independent variables gender, marital status, education level, income, length of stay in the U.S, and strength of Arab and American identifications, suggesting that the linear combination of these selected demographic variables does not explain much variance in the dependent variable.
Moreover, the dependent variable, Arab Muslims Ethnic Identity (AMEI) was regressed on the independents variables Arab Muslims’ experiences with terrorism-labeling (AMETL) with *P* value of .07 and Arab Muslims’ Perceptions of Terrorism-Labeling (AMPTL) with *P* value of .73. This regressed result indicates that the linear combination of these selected independent variables does not explain much variance in the dependent variable.

In the second model, the independent variables (identification of being a Muslim and year of coming to the U.S) had an association with overall *F* is 14.89 and *R*² = .12, which means that 12% of the variance in Arab Muslims ethnic Identity was explained by both variables. In the third model, the independent variables (identification of being a Muslim) had an association with overall *F* is 17.33 and *R*² = .14, which means that 14% of the variance in Arab Muslims ethnic Identity was explained by the strength of participations’ identification as Muslims.
Table 4.12: Hierarchical Regression of the Dependent Variable Arab Muslims Ethnic Identity on the Independent Variables (n = 223)

4.5-3: Answers to the research questions

This section presents results of the first and the second research questions of the study, which they are relevant to Arab Muslims ethnic identity. The study explored changes in the Arab Muslims ethnic identity influenced by labeling them as terrorists. The total scores of Arab Muslims’ Experiences with Terrorism-Labeling AMETL and Arab Muslims’ Perceptions of Terrorism-Labeling AMPTL were analyzed to determine whether there is a change. Additionally, the relationship between some demographic
characteristics (age, year of coming to U.S., strength of participant’s identification as being a Muslim) was also investigated.

**Research question # 1: Do Arab Muslims’ experiences with terrorism-labeling have a significant impact on their ethnic identity?**

The results of the final hierarchical regression model were surprising and unexpected. It was hypothesized that Arab Muslims’ experiences with terrorism-labeling will have significant impact on Arab Muslims identity. However, the dependent variable, Arab Muslims Ethnic Identity (AMEI), was regressed on the independent variable Arab Muslims’ experiences with terrorism-labeling (AMETL) and had no significant impact on Arab Muslims ethnic identity ($p = .07$), confirming that even though Arab Muslims have verbally been labeled as terrorists in the U.S society, the label and perceptions do not affect their ethnic identity.

**Research question # 2: Do Arab Muslims’ perceptions of terrorism-labeling affect Arab Muslims ethnic identity?**

The results of the final hierarchical regression model indicated that the dependent variable, Arab Muslims Ethnic Identity (AMEI), was regressed on the independent variable Arab Muslims’ perceptions of terrorism-labeling (AMPTL) and had no significant impact on Arab Muslims ethnic identity ($p = .73$), confirming that even though Arab Muslims perceived that they labeled as terrorists in the U.S society, their perceptions do not affect their ethnic identity.
In contrast, three of the demographic variables (age of the participant year of coming to the U.S, and strength of identification as a Muslim) had significant impact on Arab Muslims ethnic identity (p= < .001). The negative betas (β) weights on the age of the participant demonstrate a negative relationship between ethnic identity and the predictor. Consequently, as Arab Muslims who live in the United States get older, their affiliation to their ethnic identity gets weaker. The negative betas (β) weights on the year participant came to the United States indicate a negative relationship between ethnic identity and the predictor. In other words, the longer Arab Muslims reside in the United States the lower affiliation to their ethnic (Arab) identity. Inversely, the positive betas (β) weights on participants’ Islamic identification demonstrate a positive relationship between ethnic identity and Arab Muslims who identified themselves as strong Muslims. That is, the higher Islamic identification among Arab Muslims the higher attachment to their ethnic identity.

4. 5-4: *Multiple regressions with Religious Identity*

Zero-order correlations obtained in the matrix suggested the need to further examine each variable’s effect on Arab Muslims religious identity. Such investigation requires the use of Multiple Regression Analysis. In light of TLI model that assumes an association between terrorism-labeling and religious identity, Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis was applied to determine the unique contribution of each variable in equation.
As depicted in the TLI model (Figure 2.1, p. 72), demographic variables were controlled and separately entered into the regression analysis one at time (Model I). The independent variable Arab Muslims’ experiences with terrorism-labeling AMETL were added to regression equation including selected demographics characteristics (Model II). Finally, the independent variable Arab Muslims’ perceptions of terrorism-labeling AMPTL were added to regression equation including AMETL and selected demographics characteristics (Model III).

As can be seen in the table (4.13), the regression analysis produced one model with independent variable (strength of identification as a Muslim).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Model</th>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>β</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strength of Muslim Identification</td>
<td>2.37</td>
<td>.28***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>41.83</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>.28</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted R²</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R²</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>18.24***</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.13: Hierarchical Regression of the Dependent Variable Arab Muslims religious Identity on the Independent Variables (n = 223).
4. 5-5: *Answers to the research questions*

This section presents results of the third and the fourth research questions of the study, which are relevant to Arab Muslims religious identity. The study explored changes in the Arab Muslims religious identity influenced by labeling them as terrorists. The total scores of Arab Muslims’ Experiences with Terrorism-Labeling AMETL and Arab Muslims’ Perceptions of Terrorism-Labeling AMPTL were analyzed to determine whether there was a change. Additionally, the relationship of the demographic characteristics (strength of participant’s identification as being a Muslim) was also investigated.

**Research question # 3: Do Arab Muslims’ experiences with terrorism-labeling have a significant impact on their religious identity?**

The results of the final hierarchical regression model demonstrated that the dependent variable, Arab Muslims Religious Identity (AMRI), was regressed on the independent variable Arab Muslims’ experiences with terrorism-labeling (AMETL) and had no significant impact on Arab Muslims religious identity (p= .98), conforming that even though Arab Muslims have verbally been labeled as terrorists in the U.S society, the label and perceptions do not affect their religious identity.

**Research question # 4: Do Arab Muslims’ perceptions of terrorism-labeling affect Arab Muslims religious identity?**

The results of the final hierarchical regression model indicated that the dependent variable, Arab Muslims Religious Identity (AMRI), was regressed on the
independent variables Arab Muslims’ perceptions of terrorism-labeling (AMPTL) and had no significant impact on Arab Muslims ethnic identity (p= .95), confirming that even though Arab Muslims perceived that they labeled as terrorists in the U.S society, their perceptions do not affect their religious identity.

In contrast, one of the demographic variables (strength of identification as a Muslim) had significant impact on Arab Muslims religious identity (p= < .001). The positive betas (β) weights on participants’ Islamic identification demonstrate a positive relationship between religious identity and Arab Muslims who identified themselves as strong Muslims. That is, the higher Islamic identification among Arab Muslims the higher attachment to their religious identity.
SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

The purpose of this study was to explore the impact of labeling Arab Muslims as terrorists on their identity. Psychologists have long been interested in the ways in which the human mind is tuned to differences between groups and how attitudes toward other people may be based solely on whether or not they are part of one’s group (Corrigan & Watson, 2002). More importantly, researchers are interested in understanding how inter-group differences translate into prejudice and discrimination towards out-group members. This study focused on understanding how the perceived inferiority of a group based on prevalent negative stereotypes in a society can lead to diagnostic disparity for the underrepresented group, in this case, Arab Muslims in U.S society. Research evidence suggests that discrimination combines with demographic stereotypes and prejudice to affect the quality of life of individuals with multiple identities (Corrigan & Watson, 2002). This chapter reviews the sample and instrument, discusses the research findings, explores the implications of the study, discusses the study’s limitations, and concludes with suggested recommendations for future research.
5.1: The Sample and Instrument

The primary objective of sample design is to select a subset of the population being targeted that will reflect the views of the larger population (Berman, 2007). Results generated from a representative sample can be translated with distinction if the views of the subset accurately reflect the views of the entire population. The intent of this study was to explore the views of Arab Muslims toward terrorism-labeling, and because obtaining a response from every individual in the targeted population would not have been realistic, a convenience sample of participants was utilized. Since this study was “exploratory in nature, a convenience sample was appropriate” (Walonick, 1994, p. 33).

Two hundred twenty-three Arab Muslim subjects were recruited through their affiliation and memberships in three Arab and Islamic community and religious organizations in Columbus, Ohio. Participants responded to four instruments that assessed their experiences and perceptions with terrorism-labeling and the consequent impact on their ethnic and religious identities, in addition to completing a demographic information sheet that measured the strength of their Islamic, Arab, and American identifications. The reliability and validity of these instruments were measured and the Cronbach’s alpha coefficients were between .76 - .81. A descriptive -correctional research design was employed and included four questions and four research hypotheses. Descriptive statistics that included measures of central tendency, variation, and frequency were used to explore the characteristics of participants. Multiple
Regression analysis was performed to answer the research questions and to test for the significant contribution of the Terrorism-Labeling Influence (TLI) model.

5.2: Summary of the Demographic Results

A descriptive analysis of the major characteristics of the Arab-Muslim population in relation to gender, age, marital status, place of birth, country of region, level of education, socioeconomic status, as well as strength of ethnic and religious identifications was performed. Several interesting findings were made. One is related to the representation of the sample to the current Arab Muslim population in the city of Columbus. For example, approximately 89.7% of the participants were born in Arab countries while 10.3% were born in the United States. The result also revealed that 30.5% of participants have been in the U.S for more than 21 years while 31.8% have been in the U.S for 5 years or less. The majority of the participants (78.4%) had higher education (bachelor and above) degrees with the category of bachelor’s degree being the median point. Of 223 participants, 32.7% reported their income above $60,000 while 15.2% reported their income as less than $20,000.

5.3: Discussion of Demographic Results

The age of the participant demonstrates a negative relationship between ethnic identity and the predictor. Consequently, as Arab Muslims who live in the United States become older, their affiliation to their original ethnic identity becomes weaker. On the other hand, participants’ religious identification demonstrates a positive relationship to
ethnic identity. That is, the higher the Islamic identification among Arab Muslims, the higher their attachment to their Arab ethnic identity. Lastly, participants’ Islamic identification demonstrates a positive relationship between religious identity and Arab Muslims who identified themselves as strong Muslims. That is, the higher the identification as Muslim among Arab Muslims the higher the attachment to their religious identity (Islamic identity).

The results of this study demonstrate that the year the participant came to the United States indicates a negative relationship between ethnic identity and the predictor. In other words, the longer Arab Muslims reside in the United States, the lower their affiliation to their ethnic (Arab) identity. The results of this study were found to be congruent with ethnicity theories and studies on time and contact as predictors of length of residency (Amer, 2005; Castro, 2003). The findings of Castro (2003), for example, show that the length of residence in the new culture is positively associated with converting to its values, including ethnicity affiliation. The longer period of time that individuals live in the host culture, the higher the level of ethnic affiliation with the host culture they will experience.

The descriptive results show that levels of self-identification as a Muslim was the highest, followed by identification as Arabic and self-identification as an American, where respondents overwhelmingly identified themselves as Muslims (89.7%) with a higher sense of belonging to their cultural community (79.4%) in comparison with sense of belonging to mainstream American society (36.7%).
While greater American identification was expected to relate to lower Arab ethnic identity, particularly among participants who had been in the U.S for a long time or those who were born in the U.S, the correlations were weak. This may have been impacted by U.S. immigration policies after the World Trade Center attacks. For example, after September 11th, a significant number of Arabs (e.g., students and businessmen) returned to their origin countries. Moreover, many immigrants with green cards were afraid to travel to the Arab world due to concerns that they would not be able to return to the U.S. (Amer, 2005; Arab American Institute, n.d., 2002; Smith, 2003). Another factor could be the negative reaction of participants toward terrorism-labeling linked to them. According to social identity theory, the more an ethnic minority group perceives negative out-group attitudes, the stronger the in-group identification will be (Tajfel, 1982). In other words, the social position a minority or ethnic group acquires in the host culture is not simply dependent on their own choices, but also on the perceived openness of the host society.

In contrast, the results in this study show no impact from many of the demographic variables on Arab Muslims' identity. Level of education, family annual income, strength of Arab identification, and strength of American identification did not correlate with levels of Arab Muslims' ethnic and religious identities. However, previous research has found a positive correlation between identity and socioeconomic status (Castro, 2003; Alkazraji et al, 1997). Persons with a high Arab identification would likely be more engaged in the Arab community. Persons with a higher education and income would likely be more engaged in American society; for example, by gaining
knowledge of American culture, adopting American values and beliefs, and establishing relationships with non-Arab peers in the academic and occupational settings (Amer, 2005). The findings of this study correspond with Amer’s study (2005), which hypothesized many of the socio-demographic variables expected to relate to Arab identity. However, Amer’s results indicated no correlation with the strength of Arab ethnic identity. The absence of correlation between some participants’ characteristics and strength of Arab ethnic identity in this study may be explained by the high levels of Arab and religious identifications shared by participants in this sample or because there was not enough variability in the Arab ethnic identity scores. Therefore, the findings of the current study support the findings of Amer (2005) and did not support the findings of Castro (2003) and Alkazraji et al (1997).

The diversity of responses to self-identification indicates that Arab Muslims in Columbus, Ohio are generally aware of their identity status and are accurate in their assessment of the extent to which they have adopted either or both of the identities. Participants identified themselves across the spectrum of given possibilities: High Muslim/low American; high Muslim/low Arab; high Muslim/high Arab; high Arab/low American; high American/high Arab; high American/low Arab.

5.4: Discussion of the Research Hypotheses

This section presents results of the first and the second research hypotheses of the study, which are relevant to Arab Muslims ethnic identity. The study explored changes in the Arab Muslims ethnic identity influenced by labeling them as terrorists.
The total scores of Arab Muslims’ Experiences with Terrorism-Labeling AMETL and Arab Muslims’ Perceptions of Terrorism-Labeling AMPTL were analyzed to determine the unique contribution of change on the dependent variable.

**Research hypothesis # 1: Measures of Arab Muslims’ experiences with terrorism-labeling will significantly be correlated with the measures of their ethnic identity.**

The participants’ responses to the three questions in the Arab Muslims’ Experiences with Terrorism-Labeling Scale (AMETL) indicated that the results of the first question (*How often have you been verbally labeled as a “terrorist” since being in the United States?*) was not widespread among the respondents (18.4.4% not at all, 34.5% rarely, 32.7% few times, and 14.3% very often). This result indicates that approximately 82% of Arab Muslims who participated in this study have verbally been labeled as terrorists more than two times, if we “mathematically” define the term “rarely” as a person who had experience with terrorism-labeling more than once. The results of the second question (*How often have you been physically threatened by someone who called you a “terrorist”?) were skewed, where the majority of respondents (75.3%) have never physically been threaten by someone who call one of them a terrorist. The results of the third question (*To the best of your knowledge, how often have people (relatives or friends) in your community been verbally labeled as “terrorists” since being in the United States?) demonstrated that second-hand knowledge of labeling was also skewed among the respondents (11.2% not at all, 24.2% rarely, 45.7% few times, and 18.9% very often), where approximately (64%) of the
participants reported that some of their relatives/friends have verbally been labeled as terrorists.

It was hypothesized that Arab Muslims’ experiences with terrorism-labeling will have significant impact on Arab Muslims identity. However, the results of the final hierarchical regression model did not support the hypothesis, which was generated based on the TLI model. The dependent variable, Arab Muslims Ethnic Identity (AMEI), was regressed on the independent variable Arab Muslims’ experiences with terrorism-labeling (AMETL) and had no significant impact on Arab Muslims ethnic identity, confirming that even though Arab Muslims have verbally been labeled as terrorists in the U.S society, the label does not affect their ethnic identity.

It should be noted that the association between terrorism-labeling and identity has never been investigated in previous studies. However, similar studies conducted on African American, Japanese Americans, and other minorities in the United States (see Chapter 2 for more details) demonstrate that slavery and racism have played a significant role in the identity development of African Americans (Woods & Kurtz-Costes, 2007). Some studies demonstrate the continued existence of institutional racism as well as negative interpersonal encounters and its deleterious economic, political, social, and psychological effects on African Americans (Appiah 2000; Collins et al 2000; Dovidio & Gaertner 1998). As discussed earlier, although race has dubious value as a scientific classification system, it has had real consequences for the life experiences and life opportunities of minorities in the United States. Similarly, literature is filled with studies that investigate impact of racism and discrimination on Arabs and Muslims.
in the United States (e.g., Ajrouch & Jamal, 2007; Abu Sadat, 2010; Amer, 2005; ADC, 2005; Mythen et al, 2009; Mobasher, 2006; Muedini, 2009; Saloom, 2005).

**Research hypothesis # 2: Measures of Arab Muslims’ perceptions of terrorism-labeling will significantly be correlated with the measures of their ethnic identity.**

The sample of this study believed that Arab Muslims are labeled as terrorists (86.5%) and they feel personally labeled as terrorists (62.8%); that their ethnic affiliation was one factor that led Americans to label them as terrorists (62%); that terrorism-labeling has produced a threat to their ethnic identity (53.8%); that terrorism-labeling has impacted their feelings (62.8% were personally affected, 68.2% felt ashamed, 21% felt angry, 92.9% felt sad, 87.4% felt hurt, 81.2% felt they were victims of prejudice because Muslims are labeled as terrorists, and 71.3% felt they were victims of prejudice because Arabs are labeled as terrorists); that terrorism-labeling is not justified (84%); and that their ethnic identity needs to be defended (90.1%).

A study conducted by Lickel et al. (2007) found that people’s feelings of shame for another’s wrongdoing are uniquely predicted by the degree to which the event is seen as relevant to the reputation of their group and that others would judge their group negatively because of it. Other research suggests that individuals who highly affiliate or identify with an in-group may also experience more negative effects from racism. Potentially, individuals who choose an in-group may become highly sensitive to environmental cues related to that aspect of their in-group (Hornsey, 2008; Derek & Liu, 2010). In similar, it was hypothesized in this study that Arab Muslims’ perceptions
of terrorism-labeling will have significant impact on Arab Muslims ethnic identity. However, the results of the final hierarchical regression model did not support the hypothesis, which was generated based on the TLI model. The dependent variable, Arab Muslims Ethnic Identity (AMEI), was regressed on the independent variable Arab Muslims’ perceptions of terrorism-labeling (AMPTL) and had no significant impact on Arab Muslims ethnic identity, confirming that even though Arab Muslims perceived that they are labeled as terrorists in the U.S society, their perceptions do not affect their ethnic identity.

**Research hypothesis # 3:** Measures of Arab Muslims’ experiences with terrorism-labeling will significantly be correlated with the measures of their religious identity.

As previously mentioned, the participants’ responses to the three questions in the Arab Muslims’ Experiences with Terrorism-Labeling Scale (AMETL) indicated that the results of the first question (*How often have you been verbally labeled as a “terrorist” since being in the United States?*) was not widespread among the respondents (18.4% not at all, 34.5% rarely, 32.7% few times, and 14.3% very often). This result indicates that approximately 82% of Arab Muslims who participated in this study have verbally been labeled as terrorists more than two times, if we “mathematically” define the term “rarely” as a person who had experience with terrorism-labeling more than once. The results of the second question (*How often have
you been physically threatened by someone who called you a “terrorist”? were skewed, where the majority of respondents (75.3%) have never physically been threaten by someone who call one of then a terrorist. The results of the third question (To the best of your knowledge, how often have people (relatives or friends) in your community been verbally labeled as “terrorists” since being in the United States?) demonstrated that second-hand knowledge of labeling was skewed among the respondents (11.2% not at all, 24.2% rarely, 45.7% few times, and 18.9% very often).

It was hypothesized that Arab Muslims’ experiences with terrorism-labeling will have significant impact on Arab Muslims religious identity. However, the results of the final hierarchical regression model did not support the hypothesis, which was generated based on the TLI model. The dependent variable, Arab Muslims religious Identity (AMRI), was regressed on the independent variable Arab Muslims’ experiences with terrorism-labeling (AMETL) and had no significant impact on Arab Muslims religious identity, conforming that even though Arab Muslims have verbally been labeled as terrorists in the U.S society, the label does not affect their religious identity.

Research hypothesis # 4: Measures of Arab Muslims’ perceptions of terrorism-labeling will significantly be correlated with the measures of their religious identity.

As discussed in the second hypothesis, the sample of this study believed that Arab Muslims are labeled as terrorists (86.5%) and they feel personally labeled as terrorists (62.8%); that their religious affiliation was one factor that led Americans to
label them as terrorists (35.4%); that terrorism-labeling has produced a threat to their religious identity (64.1%); that terrorism-labeling has impacted their feelings (62.8% were personally affected, 68.2% felt ashamed, 21% felt angry, 92.9% felt sad, 87.4% felt hurt, 81.2% felt they were victims of prejudice because Muslims are labeled as terrorists, and 71.3% felt they were victims of prejudice because Arabs are labeled as terrorists); that terrorism-labeling is not justified (84%); and that their religious identity needs to be defended (89.2%).

The descriptive findings of the study found to be supported by other studies in the field of religions. In a study by Ysseldyk et al., (2010), where religious identification was assessed based on the importance of faith to the individual’s sense of identity, protestants reported higher levels of religious identification than did Catholics or Jews, and Catholics had higher levels still than Jewish individuals. Thus, being Muslim is important in the hierarchy of multiple identities that comprise a sense of self. Haddad (2000) investigated the broader social dynamics that shape Islamic identity in North America, exploring the factors that affected various identities prior to emigration, the immigrant experience in America, and the options immigrants find as they struggle to make their home in a new, sometimes hostile, environment. In contrast, it was hypothesized that Arab Muslims’ experiences with terrorism-labeling will have significant impact on Arab Muslims Religious identity. However, the results of the final hierarchical regression model did not support the hypothesis, which was generated based on the TLI model. The dependent variable, Arab Muslims religious Identity (AMRI), was regressed on the independent variable Arab Muslims’ perceptions of
terrorism-labeling (AMPTL) and had no significant impact on Arab Muslims religious identity, confirming that even though Arab Muslims perceived that they are labeled as terrorists in the U.S society, their perceptions do not affect their religious identity.

5. 5: Limitations of the Study

To the researcher's knowledge, this study is the first of its kind to assess labeling Arab Muslims as terrorists in U.S society from both an ethnic and a religious perspective. However, there are some certain limitations that readers should be cautioned about.

Although the sample size of the study is acceptable, with respect to social and behavioral research samples, which typically range from 100 to 400 participants (Hoyle & Panter, 1995), it is not clear to what extent the current sample is representative of the Arab Muslim community, and readers should be cautioned from blindly generalizing the results to the overall population. Replication of this study with random sampling may generate different valid results and would confirm the significance and feasibility of these results.

The sample was not randomly selected from a population frame, and the convenience sampling was largely dependent on the personal contacts of the researcher with only three Islamic organizations, the Islamic Society of Greater Columbus (ISGC), the Noor Islamic Cultural Center (NICC), and the Omar Ibn Al-Khattab Mosque (OAM). It should be noted that the city of Columbus, Ohio has more than thirteen Islamic organizations, many Arabic and Islamic schools, and many profit and non-profit
Arabic and Islamic social services organizations. However, the researcher chose only the above three organizations because they are the largest organizations in the city of Columbus that provide services to Arabs and Muslims. The instrument utilized in the study, particularly the Arab Muslims’ experiences with terrorism-labeling and the Arab Muslims’ perceptions of terrorism-labeling scales, have never been used and were not empirically validated prior to this study, though it showed good reliability and validity during the present study.

Because the research was marketed as a study of Arab Muslims, participants were self-selected based on a pre-existing Arab ethnic identity. This might lead to low variability in the strength of self-identification as Arab and strength of Arab identity, which may have influenced some of the significant results. For example, most Somali participants, whose native language is not the Arabic language, were less likely than participants from other various segments of the Arab countries to identify themselves with high Arab identity; this was evident in that only 2 of the 19 Somali participants considered themselves to have strong Arab identification.

One of the common criticisms of ethnic minority research is the use of measures that are culturally sensitive (Bhui, Mohamud, Warfa, Craig, & Stansfeld, 2003). Measures used in the present study underwent rigorous assessment of validity and cultural sensitivity for the Arab Muslim population. Moreover, internal consistency reliability was high: .79 and .76 for the AMETL and AMPTL scales and .81 to .82 for the AMEI and AMRI. However, further examination of the AMPTL and AMPTL scales may be useful. Many participants expressed criticism over questions such as “labeling
Arab Muslims as terrorist in the U.S society is justified” as sensitive and difficult to respond to.

The survey used in this study lacks the control of extraneous factors that affect the overall findings and, thus, generalizing conclusions from the study may not be warranted. The lack of available data about Arabs or Muslims in the area of the impact of terrorism-labeling has contributed to the selection of the survey design, rather than utilizing a stronger approach to the research (an experimental or quasi-experimental design). Such powerful research designs that include random selection and random assignment of the subject would insure the external validity of the result and, thus, would allow generalizing the results to a wider range of population.

Aloud (2004) states that ethnic minority groups in general, and Arab Muslims in particular, tend to be highly sensitive toward research and data collection. Thus, it is the researcher's expectation that the stories circulating within the Arab Muslim communities about FBI and other governmental security agencies visiting and questioning some Arab Muslims would lead to some caution, if not fear, in responding to the instrument. These circumstances present an exceptional factor in this study and might have blocked participants from answering and returning the questionnaires or even translating what they think about terrorism into appropriate answers.

5. 6: Implications of the Study

Terrorism-labeling may be distressing for Arab Muslims, who were blamed for the September 11 tragedy and as a result experienced the brunt of the backlash
(Masroor, 2003; Ulrich, 2003). Arab Muslims face unique identity struggles associated with labeling them as terrorists. This labeling was a consequence of the United States war on terrorism’s campaign, supported by the media and some radical Islamic terrorist individuals and organizations (e.g., Al-Qaida). As demonstrated in this study, terrorism-labeling is predictive of identity struggling. The significant portion of the current sample that reported experiences with terrorism-labeling supports the need for the professional intervention.

Arab Muslims need to be included in the cross-cultural discussions and research. It is important for practitioners working with this population to know that they are not just working with clients who hold certain religious beliefs, but that these clients come from a different ethnic and cultural group and they are struggling with unique threats to their identity. The membership in this Arab group and strong Islamic identity may lead to higher well-being. However, in U.S society, this membership may also cause individuals significant conflict and be a source of constant stress. Arab Muslims are a small minority in the United States. They are also an invisible minority in that they are usually unrecognizable on sight. This may have allowed this group more freedom to succeed, but also this may bring some problems, especially if we know that they are targeted by other groups by being labeled as terrorists.

One of the critical effects of terrorism-labeling that Arab Muslims have faced since the U.S war on terrorism has been discrimination and hate crimes. Social work organizations (e.g., NASW) can aim to alleviate this labeling and its effects on a national level through providing political and cultural sensitivity trainings to police and
FBI departments, participating in inter-cultural and inter-faith councils, petitioning against inaccurate media biases, and lobbying against legislative bills that unfairly target Arab Muslims (e.g., PATRIOT ACT). On a local level, social work organizations (e.g. NASW, Columbus, Ohio chapter) can offer legal counsel for persons who have faced discrimination. Additional efforts should be made to help children cope with ethnic-based harassment and bullying (Ayish, 2003) and prejudicial and inaccurate portrayals of Islam and Arabs in American school curriculums (Douglass & Dunn, 2003).

Terrorist-labeling is a unique subject in the field of social work and needs special attention from social workers to search for appropriate programs that fit the needs of its victims. Social Work professionals are strongly encouraged to address such labeling Arab Muslims as terrorists as the stigma attached to mental health problems. Social Work professionals can play a very significant role in partnering with Muslim American community members to help design and implement educational training programs for practitioners who provide services to Arab Muslims. Social workers also can advocate for their clients by ensuring implementation of such policies and working toward developing policies when needed.

At the micro level, given reported increases in anti-Arab sentiment (Ibish, 2003) and concerns reported by Arab Muslims about terrorism-labeling (Ajrouch, 2004), it seems especially important for social workers to communicate empathy for and openness to exploring Arab Muslim clients’ experiences of terrorism-labeling. For instance, Khan (2006) stated that practitioners should know that the majority of Arabs
and Muslims in the United States hold favorable attitudes toward counseling and that they value sources of support within their own communities that differ from the general public. Arab Muslims would likely favor and utilize mainstream counseling therapies tailored to address their specific needs in ways that make them comfortable. Khan (2006) also emphasized that professionals need to understand the culture, customs, and religious beliefs of Arabs and Muslims in order to serve them on an equal footing with other Americans. This could be achieved by providing cultural sensitivity training to practitioners in areas including the ethnicity and religious faith of Muslims, their sociopolitical contexts and an awareness of the cultural differences among the Arab and Muslim people (Khan, 2006).

Arab Muslim families often need a highly supportive, personalized, spiritually based, and culturally sensitive climate in treatment (Daneshpour, 1998). In some Arab Muslim subgroups, immediate and extended family members play significant roles in individuals' development and well-being. In these cases, professionals should approach treatment from a family systems perspective in which the family's and individual's goals are equally considered (Daneshpour, 1998). Clinicians are encouraged to respect the role of the family and frame the treatment so that the family facilitates individual and family change.

Another approach of intervention would be the positive emotions that have consistently been shown to foster coping with negative events. By facilitating the processing of self-related information (Reed & Aspinwall, 1998), positive emotions help to cope with bereavement and to find meaning in adversity (Keltner & Bonanno,
Moreover, positive emotions also can change the way people consider adversity: Positive emotions widen individuals’ behavioral repertoire and attention focus; negative emotions narrow individuals’ attention focus (Fredrickson et al, 2003). Furthermore, positive emotions have been shown to foster the generation of several possible courses of action and thus broaden the perspective that individuals take on problems (Fredrickson & Joiner, 2002). Finally, Fredrickson et al. (2003) have shown how positive emotions also help to cope with the terrorist threat in the aftermath of 9/11. The authors found that positive emotions (e.g., “gratefulness for being alive or for knowing that loved ones are safe”) buffered predispositionally resilient people against depression and supported the development of psychological coping resources against crisis.

5.7: Future Research

Given all of these valid concerns, the generalizability of this present study is brought into question, especially because Arab Muslims represent a vast span of unique and distinct cultures, values, faith systems, and family value systems (Amer, 2005). These issues can be addressed first by an acknowledgement of their validity as well as the emphasis on the exploratory nature of the present study. At the time this study began in 2011, there was no research involving the specific area of the impact of terrorism-labeling. The present study is meant to be a starting point for further, in depth research in this particular area. Thus, the following recommendations for further research are offered as this area of interest continues to grow and to develop.
So far, there is no existing scale that examines Arab Muslims’ experiences with terrorism-labeling, Arab Muslims’ perceptions of being labeled as “terrorists” or the impact of such labeling on the identity of Arab Muslims in the United States. Arab Muslims’ Experiences with Terrorism-Labeling (AMETL) and the Arab Muslims’ Perceptions of Terrorism-Labeling (AMPTL) scales are new and have never been used. Therefore, further work is needed to assess the validity of the Arab Muslims’ Experiences with Terrorism-Labeling (AMETL) and the Arab Muslims’ Perceptions of Terrorism-Labeling (AMPTL) scales and to determine why the scales were not as relevant as the researcher believed them to be. It is the researcher's hope that further investigation of the scales will be conducted to show the impact of linking “terrorism” to Arabs and Muslims and to validate the overall significance of the TLI model. Moreover, future investigation of AMETL and AMPTL regarding their validity may facilitate using them in similar studies of terrorism with other people who share some physical characteristics of Arab Muslims (e.g. Indians, Israelis, Mexicans, Turkish minorities). It is important to note that respondents’ experiences being verbally labeled as terrorists were much more often than physical threats, which may indicate that it would be worthwhile to construct two scales specifically assessing verbal labeling vs. physical threats as different dimensions. Exploratory measures including items that allow a respondent to discuss complex terrorism-labeling as opposed to single statements may prove helpful in understanding the various cultural, political, social, ethnic, and religious values that are interacting with one another.
Further research is needed to clarify why Arab Muslims who reported a high identification as Americans did not differ as much as they were expected to across measures. The geographical location of the participants was confined to Columbus, Ohio, suggesting that persons who reside in other areas more largely populated by Arab Muslims (e.g., Dearborn, MI; New York) may have different experiences and perceptions than those who live in Columbus, Ohio.

The limitations of the research methodology utilized in this study can be addressed in future research. As a means of developing a larger sample and soliciting a higher response rate, this can also include community-based research that includes a more qualitative analysis that would serve to provide a more comprehensive understanding impact of terrorism-labeling on not only Arab Muslims but also Arab Christians and Muslims in general. Community-based participatory research can provide additional benefits such as increasing awareness of terrorism-labeling problems and initiating community-based advocacy and intervention programs. Studies can be advertised as focusing on Middle Eastern Muslims and Muslims in general rather than employing the term “Arab Muslims”, which many groups oppose.

The Terrorism-Labeling Influence (TLI) model developed in this study may present another limitation to this study as it is new and has never been applied in previous studies. The top part of the model describes the relationships between feeders of terrorism-labeling and perceptions of the terrorism-labeling on a theoretical level. These relationships are based on the assumptions of labeling theory. The bottom part describes the relationships between the actual measures used in the study based on
assumptions of Social Identity theory. The Terrorism-Labeling Influence (TLI) model may demonstrate contradictory evidence for a model fit with other studies, and therefore much work is needed to improve this model with other Arab Muslim samples. Because of the comprehensiveness of the TLI model, which would require several studies to affirm its validity, the researcher has tested only one part of the model. This study has focused only on the second dimension, omitting the skin color factor, and the third dimension of the model, particularly the part that deals with the impact of labeling on individuals (Figure 2.4). These negative outputs lead the labeled person to struggle with his/her daily life. This struggle may take place in one or more of the person’s identity, including religious and ethnic identity. Thus, further assessment may include adding the other sub-parts to the model and testing them further, or adding potentially important variables that were not included in the present study. Moreover, group comparisons (e.g., male-female, Arab Christians-Arab Muslims, Arabs-Muslims) can be made to determine if model parameters differ between the subgroups.

While larger sample sizes and more sophisticated techniques may be beneficial, one cannot deny the benefits of the intensity, depth, and detail associated with utilizing qualitative research designs such as interviews and focus groups (Barker et al., 1994). A blended research modality that incorporates both quantitative and qualitative techniques can bring life and depth to research findings, and qualitative information can help generate explanations for any unexpected or seemingly counterintuitive quantitative research findings.
People vary in their perceptions of the events that they experience. Different ethnic groups perceive different things about the same situation. The data collection instrument used in this study did not define “physical” or “verbal” events for the respondents so it is likely that subjects defined these terms differently. Therefore, future research is suggested to explore possible differences among Arab Muslims regarding perceptions of terrorism-labeling and compare it with other perceptions of people from other cultures to distinguish if there are differences in their definitions of what constitutes a physical or verbal “terrorism-labeling” event.

For example, people may vary in defining what is a “physical threat”. This study adopted the Surrey County Council’s definition (2008). SCC defines physical threat as, “Non-accidental use of force that results in bodily injury, pain, or impairment. This includes, but is not limited to, being slapped, burned, cut, bruised or improperly physically restrained” (SCC, 2008). Thus, some researchers from different ethnic minority may define “physical threat” in a way that is not similar to the definition presented in this study. Therefore, future research is suggested to explore possible differences among Arab Muslims regarding perceptions of terrorism-labeling.

Findings from this study indicated that one of five participants have physically been threatened by someone who called him/her a terrorist. In isolation it is difficult to determine if this is an unusually high number of respondents who have had this experience. However, upon further investigation, this result is consistent with other research showing that discrimination is often associated with some type of physical abuse. In their study, Hassouneh and Kulwicki (2007) found out that 10% of Arab
Muslim women reported having been discriminated against in terms of being hit or handled roughly, and 10% had been threatened one or more times. Other forms of discrimination were more common: 53% had been insulted or called names, 67% had been treated rudely, 57% had been treated unfairly, and 27% had been refused service in a store or restaurant or subject to delays in service. Thirty-three percent had been discriminated against in terms of having been excluded or ignored one or more times.

The results of this study are also consistent with other research which shows that verbal assaults are also common. In another study with different minority, D’Augelli and Hershberger (1993) found that 41% of African American college students reported occasionally hearing disparaging racial remarks, 41% reported frequently hearing such remarks, and 59% reported that they had been the target of racial insults at least once or twice.

Another possible limitation of this study is that it fails to account for the possibility of multiple identities with which people may define themselves. There is limited social literature on the ways in which multiple social identities intersect to shape and determine terrorism-labeling outcomes for diverse social groups (Ruwanpura, 2008). For example, in addition to identifying as an Arab or Muslim, participants in the study were also likely to hold multiple other identities such as American, businessman, father, husband, or neighbor that complicates the study of ethnic and religious identity. Consequently, the complex nature of the subject matter and the methodological limitations of Arabs and Islamic research present partial reasons for the lack of research in this area. Thus, it would better to investigate the association between racial and
ethnic minorities’ personal experiences with discrimination through a lens of multiple identities.

Labeling and/or prejudice are generally more central and accessible for members of traditionally oppressed groups than it is for other individuals (Major et al., 2002). Social Identity Theory offers some explanation for the process of labeling Arab Muslims as terrorists. According to the theory, members of chronically low-status groups are highly aware of the negative stereotypes others hold of their group and of their potential for being a target of prejudice in encounters with members of higher status groups (Major, 2002). Members of low-status groups are more likely than members of high-status groups to report on surveys that they personally have been victims of discrimination (e.g., Crosby, Pufall, Snyder, O’Connell, & Whalen, 1989). As previously mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, the majority of participants reported they have verbally been labeled as terrorists and they had higher perceptions of terrorism-labeling.

Finally, participants in the current sample were adults, and it is not clear to what extent the present results can be generalized to children. Further research is needed in regards to Arab Muslim children, such as in depth examination of child identity development and coping within the context of terrorism-labeling. Such research would serve the vitally important goal of helping to generate recommendations for scientifically-informed prevention and support programs aimed at improving the well-being of Arab Muslim children.
Conclusion

Although there have been some positive views of Arabs Muslims and their culture documented among Americans, including an admiration for their focus on the family and the respect paid to elders in the community (Suleiman, 1988), the predominant view of Arab Muslims within the United States is decidedly negative. To complicate matters, the average educated American has no idea that he or she holds any prejudice toward Arab Muslims. It is almost universally understood to be politically incorrect to hold derogatory generalizations about Asian Americans or African Americans, but many people have no awareness of or embarrassment about their negative stereotypes about Arabs Muslims (Suleiman, 1988). Mansfield (1990), in an analysis of Western views of Arabs, stated that "a degree of bias against the Arabs Muslims is considered normal among Western liberals who would find it quite unacceptable if it was directed against other races" (p. 459). These negative images and misperceptions of Arab Muslims have resulted in the cultural marginalization of Arab Muslims and have had profoundly negative effects on their identity (Suleiman, 1988).

Many Arab and Muslims have been made to feel ashamed of their ancestors and homeland and find it difficult to even enjoy movies or news reports for fear of encountering derogatory portrayals of Arabs and Muslims (Suleiman, 1988). Thus, social work professionals need to be aware of and validate the fact that Arab Muslims have frequently experienced prejudice, negative stereotypes, and even harassment for their ethnicity (Jackson, 1997).
While it has only scratched the surface, this study has attempted to open up some of the issues that the social work community must face in providing culturally sensitive services to Arab Muslims. Their political history, strong religious background, and significant differences with the dominant culture of the United States, as well as the current social climate that portrays all Arab Muslims as possible terrorists presents unique challenges about which social workers must be aware when serving members of this diverse and extensive community.
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APPENDICES
APPENDIX A

IRB APPROVAL FORM

201
March 8, 2011

Protocol Number: 2011B0052
Protocol Title: IN THE SHADOW OF THE WAR ON TERRORISM: THE INFLUENCE OF "TERRORISTS" LABELING ON ARAB MUSLIMS' IDENTITY, Denise Breason, Saltan Alsawm, Social Work
Type of Review: Initial Review—Expedited
IRB Staff Contact: Jacob R. Stoddard
Phone: 614-392-0526
Email: stoddard.13@osu.edu

Dear Dr. Breason,

The Behavioral and Social Sciences IRB APPROVED BY EXPEDITED REVIEW the above referenced research. The Board was able to provide expedited approval under 45 CFR 46.110(b)(1) because the research meets the applicability criteria and one or more categories of research eligible for expedited review, as indicated below:

Date of IRB Approval: March 7, 2011
Date of IRB Approval Expiration: March 2, 2012
Expedited Review Category: 7

In addition, the protocol has been approved for the inclusion of non-English speaking participants and a waiver of documentation of the consent process.

If applicable, informed consent (and HIPAA research authorization) must be obtained from subjects or their legally authorized representatives and documented prior to research involvement. The IRB-approved consent form and process must be used. Changes in the research (e.g., recruitment procedures, advertisements, enrollment numbers, etc.) or informed consent process must be approved by the IRB before they are implemented (except where necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to subjects).

This approval is valid for one year from the date of IRB review when approval is granted or modifications are required. The approval will no longer be in effect on the date listed above as the IRB expiration date. A Continuing Review application must be approved within this interval to avoid expiration of IRB approval and cessation of all research activities. A final report must be provided to the IRB and all records relating to the research (including signed consent forms) must be retained and available for audit for at least 3 years after the research has ended.

It is the responsibility of all investigators and research staff to promptly report to the IRB any serious, unexpected and related adverse events and potential unanticipated problems involving risks to subjects or others.

This approval is issued under The Ohio State University's OHRP Federally Assured #60006778.

All forms and procedures can be found on the ORR website — www.orr.osu.edu. Please feel free to contact the IRB staff contact listed above with any questions or concerns.

Sincerely,

Sara R. Speer, PhD, Chair
Behavioral and Social Sciences Institutional Review Board
APPENDIX B

The Instrument
Part I
Demographic Data

1. Your age: _______

2. Gender: [ ] Male [ ] Female

3. What year did you come to the United States? _______

4. Your marital Status:
   [ ] Married [ ] Single [ ] Divorced [ ] Widowed

5. Your level of Education:
   [ ] High School or equivalent
   [ ] Vocational/ technical College (2 year)
   [ ] Bachelor's degree
   [ ] Master's degree
   [ ] Doctoral degree
   [ ] Other: (Please indicate) ______________________________________

6. Your family’s annual income:
   [ ] Less than $20,000
   [ ] Between $20,001 and $30,000
   [ ] Between $30,001 and $40,000
   [ ] Between $40,001 and $50,000
   [ ] Between $50,001 and $60,000
   [ ] More than $60,000

7. In which country were you born? ________________________________

8. In which country was your father born? __________________________

9. In which country was your mother born? _________________________

10. Using the scale below please indicate the strength of your identification as a Muslim (e.g. I’m a Muslim man/woman). Please put a circle around your chosen number.

   1  2  3  4  5
   -------------------------------
   Low Identification as a Muslim  Moderate Identification as a Muslim  High identification as a Muslim

11. Using the scale below please indicate the strength of your identification as Arabic (e.g. I’m an Arabic man/woman). Please put a circle around your chosen number.

   1  2  3  4  5
   -------------------------------
   Low Identification as Arabic  Moderate Identification as Arabic  High identification as Arabic
12. Using the scale below please indicate the strength of your identification as American (e.g. I’m an American man/woman).

Please put a circle around your chosen number.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low Identification as an American</td>
<td>Moderate Identification as an American</td>
<td>High identification as an American</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Part II

Arab Muslims’ experiences with labeling

Below are some questions that ask about your experience of being labeled as a “terrorist”. Please read each question and select only one response that is most appropriate for you. Please mark (✓) or (x) in the area that represents your best answer.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Not at all</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>A few times</th>
<th>Very often</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13 How often have you been verbally labeled as a “terrorist” since being in the United States?</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 How often have you been physically threatened by someone who called you a “terrorist”?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 To the best of your knowledge, how often have people (relatives or friends) in your community been verbally labeled as “terrorists” since being in the United States?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Part III

Arab Muslims’ perceptions of labeling

Below are some statements that will measure Arab Muslims’ perceptions of being labeled as “terrorists”. Please read each statement and select only one response that is most appropriate for you. Please mark (✓) or (x) in the area that represents your best answer.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statements</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16 I believe that Arab Muslims are labeled as terrorists in American society.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>17 I feel that I have been personally labeled as a terrorist.</td>
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<tr>
<td>18 I do not believe that Americans label Arab Muslims as terrorists because of their religious affiliation (Because they are Muslims).</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 I believe that Americans label Arab Muslims as terrorists because of their ethnic affiliation (Because they are Arabs).</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Even though Arab Muslims are often labeled as terrorists, this label does not personally affect me.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 I feel ashamed because Arab Muslims are labeled by Americans as terrorists.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 I do not feel angry because Arab Muslims are labeled by Americans as terrorists.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 I feel sad because Arab Muslims are labeled by Americans as terrorists.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I feel that I’m hurt because Arab Muslims are labeled by Americans as “terrorists.”

I feel that I’m a victim of prejudice because Americans are labeling Muslims as terrorists.

I feel that I’m a victim of prejudice because Americans are labeling Arabs as terrorists.

I do not believe that labeling Arab Muslims in the U.S as terrorists threatens my religious identity.

I believe that labeling Arab Muslims in the U.S as terrorists threatens my ethnic identity.

I believe that labeling Arab Muslims in the United States as terrorists is justified.

I do not believe that there is a need to defend the Islamic identity in the United States.

I believe that there is a need to defend the Arab ethnic identity in the United States.

**Part IV**

**Arab Muslims Ethnic Identity**

Every person is born into an ethnic group, but people differ on how important their ethnicity is to them, how they feel about it, and how much their behavior is affected by it. These questions are about your ethnicity (Arabic origin or Arabic background) and how you react to it. Please read each statement and select only one response that is most appropriate for you. Please mark (√) or (x) in the area that represents your best answer.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>32 I have spent time trying to find out more about my own ethnic group, such as its history, traditions and customs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>33 I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.</td>
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<tr>
<td>34 I am not very clear about the role of my ethnicity in my life.</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 I really have not spent much time trying to learn more about the culture and history of my ethnic group.</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 In order to learn about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group.</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37 I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>38 I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me.</td>
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<tr>
<td>39 I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 I have a strong sense of belonging to my ethnic group.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me, in terms of how to relate to my own group and other groups.

I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group and its accomplishments.

I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.

I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group.

I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs.

I like meeting and getting to know people from ethnic groups other than my own.

I sometimes feel it would be better if different ethnic groups did not try to mix together.

I often spend time with people from ethnic groups other than my own.

I do not try to become friends with people from other ethnic groups.

I am involved in activities with people from other ethnic groups.

I enjoy being around people from ethnic groups other than my own.

---

**Part V**

**Arab Muslims Religious Identity**

People differ on how important their religious is to them, how they feel about it, and how much their behavior is affected by it. These questions are about your religious affiliation (Islam) and how you react to it. Please read each statement and select only one response that is most appropriate for you. Please mark (√) or (x) in the area that represents your best answer.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Not at all</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Few times</th>
<th>Often</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>52  I pray (Salat &amp; Dua) to get more strength.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53  I look for a lesson from Allah in situations I encounter.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54  I get help from Muslim leader(s), such as Imam of the Masjed or leader of a Muslim organization.</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>55  I recall chapters (Suras) from the Holy Qur’an.</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>56  I attend Islamic events (e.g. Eid gathering party) at the Masjed.</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>57  I put my problems in Allah’s hand.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>58  I increase my prayers to Allah.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59  I attend Islamic classes (e.g. Halqah or Licture).</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

207
<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>I try to make up for my mistakes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>I ask Allah for blessing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>I use Islamic stories to help solve the problem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>I share Islamic beliefs with others people other than my own.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>I donate time to any Islamic cause or activity (e.g. contribution in organizing an Islamic party; Halaqah; Eid gathering.. etc).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>I look for love and concern from the members of my Masjed and other Muslim brothers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>I pray to Allah to get my mind off my problem(s).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I would strongly appreciate it if you write any comments that you think it would be useful to discuss in this study. (You may use the back of the survey for more space):

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Thank you so much for taking some of your time to complete this survey. On behalf of participants, the researcher will donate a $5 to the Islamic Centers for each completed and returned questionnaire.

Jazak Allah Khair
الجزء الأول
معلومات إحصائية

1. العمر: 

2. الجنس:  □ ذكر □ أنثى

3. في أي سنة قدمت إلى الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية؟: □ أربعة □ أربعة

4. الحالة الاجتماعية: □ متزوج □ أعزب □ مطلق(ة)

5. مستوى التعليم:
   □ الشهادة الثانوية أو ما يعادلها.
   □ بكالوريوس.
   □ ماجستير.
   □ دكتوراه.
   □ آخر(ة) (فضاً خانة)

6. دخلك المادي السنوي:
   □ أقل من 20,000 دولار أمريكي.
   □ ما بين 20,001 إلى 30,000 دولار أمريكي.
   □ ما بين 30,001 إلى 40,000 دولار أمريكي.
   □ ما بين 40,001 إلى 50,000 دولار أمريكي.
   □ ما بين 50,001 إلى 60,000 دولار أمريكي.
   □ أكثر من 60,000 دولار أمريكي.

7. في أي دولة ولدت؟: 

8. في أي دولة ولدت والدك؟: 

9. في أي دولة ولدت والذك؟: 

10. عن طريق استخدام المقاييس الموضح أدناه، أرجو تحديد مدى قوة هويتك الدينية كمسلم (مثل: أنا رجل/أمراة مسلم(ة)) رجاءاً ضع دائرة حول الرقم الذي تستختاره.

   □ 5 □ 4 □ 3 □ 2 □ 1
   -- وحدة إسلامية ضعيفة
   -- وحدة إسلامية متوسطة
   -- وحدة إسلامية قوية

11. عن طريق استخدام المقاييس الموضحة أدناه، أرجو تحديد مدى قوة هويتك العرقية (مثل: أنا رجل/أمراة أعربي(ة)) رجاءاً ضع دائرة حول الرقم الذي تستختاره.

   □ 5 □ 4 □ 3 □ 2 □ 1
   -- وحدة عربية ضعيفة
   -- وحدة عربية متوسطة
   -- وحدة عربية قوية

209
في الأسفل تجد بعض الأسئلة التي تسأل عن ما إذا كان أحد الأشخاص قد تلقف عليك أو وصمك "بالإرهاب". راجعًا إجابة كل سؤال ثم اختر إجابة واحدة فقط. راجعًا ضع علامة (X) في خانة الإجابة.

### الجزء الثاني

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>السؤال</th>
<th>تم حدث ابداً</th>
<th>ندرًا</th>
<th>قليلاً</th>
<th>دائماً</th>
<th>عدد المرات التي تم التلقف فيها علك بالإرهابي/الإرهاب من قبل بعض الأفراد الذين وصمك أو تجاهلك بالإرهابي/الإرهاب؟</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>عدد المرات التي تم التلقف فيها علك بالإرهابي/الإرهاب من قبل بعض الأفراد الذين وصمك أو تجاهلك بالإرهابي/الإرهاب؟</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
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<td>عدد المرات التي تم التلقف فيها علك بالإرهابي/الإرهاب من قبل بعض الأفراد الذين وصمك أو تجاهلك بالإرهابي/الإرهاب؟</td>
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<td>15</td>
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<td>عدد المرات التي تم التلقف فيها علك بالإرهابي/الإرهاب من قبل بعض الأفراد الذين وصمك أو تجاهلك بالإرهابي/الإرهاب؟</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### الجزء الثالث

بالأسفل تجد بعض العبارات التي تفسر مدى إدراك المسلم في المجتمع الأمريكي. راجعًا إجابة كل عبارة بدقة ثم اختر إجابة واحدة فقط. راجعًا ضع علامة (X) في خانة الإجابة.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>العبارة</th>
<th>لا أوافق بشدة</th>
<th>لا أوافق</th>
<th>أُوافق بشدة</th>
<th>أُوافق</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
الطابع: بياني مطحّب أجهز不允许 الأشخاص. 
26

لا أعتقد أن وصي المسلمين العرب بالأشخاص يهدد هويتي الدينية (هويتي الإسلامية).

27

لا أعتقد أن وصي المسلمين العرب بالأشخاص يهدد هويتي العرقية (هويتي العرقية).

28

"بالإضافة ل" لا يبرر.

29

لا أعتقد أن هناك حاجة لحماية الهوية الإسلامية للمسلمين في المجتمع الأمريكي.

30

لا أعتقد أن هناك حاجة لحماية الهوية العربية للمسلمين العرب في المجتمع الأمريكي.

31

الجزء الرابع

الهوية العربية للمسلمين العرب

كل فرد يولد وقد ينتمي إلى عرق معين غير أن هؤلاء الأفراد يختلفون في مدى أهمية الاعتراف في حياتهم الشخصية، كيف يشعرون بإنتمائهم، ويأتي أي مدى يرتبط إنتمائهم الأعرق على سلوكياتهم. بالأسف توجد بعض العبارات التي تقبل هوية العربي (بوكاري العربي) ويكلف تفاعل معها. يتجاوز آلاف كل عبارة بدقة ثم اختيار إجابة واحدة فقط. يتجاوز ضع علامات (V) في حالة الإجابة.

| العبارة | أافق | لا أافق | لا أافق
|---------|------|--------|--------|
| في الحقيقة لم أكن وقتًا من الزمن في محاولة التعرف على أصولي العربية مثل تاريخ العرب والعادات والتقاليد العربية. |  |  | 32
| أنا أفكك كثيرًا في تأثير انتمائي لجماعتي العرقية (العربية) على حياتي الشخصية. |  |  | 33
| ليس لدي علامة كامل عن دور هويتي العرقية (العربية) على حياتي الشخصية. |  |  | 34
| في الحقيقة لم أكن وقتًا من الزمن في محاولة التعرف على أصولي العربية مثل تاريخ العرب والعادات والتقاليد العربية. |  |  | 35
| كثيرًا ما ساعدتني معرفتي في المجتمع العربي التي تأثرت. |  |  | 36
| أشعر بالإرتياح فيما يتعلق بتقني أو أصولي العربية (العربية). |  |  | 37
| لدي إحساس واضح فيما يتعلق بأصولي العربية (العربية). |  |  | 38
| وأنا أشعر غالبًا بالسعادة لكوني عضو في الجماعة العربية التي أتيهم. |  |  | 39
| لدي إحساس قوي ولاتمني لجماعتي العربية. |  |  | 40
| أشعر بالسعادة لكوني عضو في الجماعة العربية، وأنا أشعر بالسعادة لكوني عضو في الجماعة العربية. |  |  | 41
| لدي فخر واعتزاز بجماعتي العربية وركاباتها. |  |  | 42

211
لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
| 63 | شارك بمعتقداتي وقيمتي الإسلامية حينما أتعامل مع الأفراد الذين هم من جماعات دينية أخرى. |
| 64 | أبرر بجزء من وقتي لأي جهد أو نشاط إسلامي(مثل المشاركة في تربية مصلى العيد أو إعادة حفظ العيد أو تنظيم درس ديني .. الخ) |
| 65 | أطلع إلى المحو وال التواصل والترابط من جماعة المسجد ومن الإخوة المسلمين. |
| 66 | أدعو/أتصلي الله سبحانه وتعالى من أجل إبعاد فكرى عن مشاكلى. |

أكون لك شاكراً وممتنعا إذا لديك أي ملاحظات أو اقتراحات تشعر أنه سيكون من المفيد مناقشتها في هذه الدراسة (للحصول على مساحة أكبر للكتابة يمكن استخدام ظهر الإستبانة).

أشكركم جزيل الشكر على استغطاع جزء من وقتكم للمشاركة في الإجابة على هذه الاستبانة. نية على كل من ساهم في تعنيمة هذه الاستبانة سيتبرع بمبلغ 5 دولارات أمريكية للمراكز الإسلامية عن كل استبانة تم الإجابة عليها بالكامل واعادة الى الباحث.

جزاكم الله خيراً.
APPENDIX C

COVER LETTERS/CONSENTS
Dear respected brother/sister,

Assalamu Aleykum

I am a PhD social work student at The Ohio State University. I invite you to participate in my dissertation study that will assess the extent to which Arab Muslims believe they have been labeled as "terrorists" and the impact of that labeling on their religious and ethnic identities. The results of this study may help to increase awareness about this issue and could have important implications for social services provided to Arabs and Muslims in the city of Columbus. Without your participation this study will not be possible.

This packet contains two questionnaires. One is in English and the other in Arabic. The questions are the same in both versions so please complete the questionnaire in the language with which you are most comfortable. The questionnaire can be completed in approximately 15-20 minutes. The questionnaire contains some questions that are sensitive in nature, such as questions that ask about your experience with terrorism. However, your participation is voluntary and you can skip or refuse to answer questions that you do not wish to answer. You also can refuse to participate or stop at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. Your responses will be completely anonymous and confidential. You will not be asked for your name, address, or any other identifying information, and your responses will be used only for research purposes.

After completing the questionnaire, please mail it back in the enclosed envelope (already addressed and stamped) as soon as possible. For each completed and returned questionnaire $5.00 will be donated to the Islamic Centers.

If you have questions about your rights as a research participant or to discuss other study-related concerns or complaints with someone who is not part of the research team, please call Ms. Sandra Mead to in the Office of Responsible Research Practices at 1-800-678-6251.

Thank you for your time, consideration, and honest responses regarding this issue. I am asking Allah to reward you for helping both your brothers as well as your community by participating in this project. Should you have further questions or feel you have been harmed or distressed by participation, please contact us through email (alawam.1@osu.edu), phone (614-392-5555), or mail (at the address above).

Best Regards,

Sultan A. Alawam, MSW
PhD. Candidate
College of Social Work

Derese E. Bronson, PhD.
Dissertation Chairperson
College of Social Work
سلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته

أهلاً بال:dENN

السلام عليك ورحمة الله وبركاته

أهلاً بال:dENN

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APPENDIX D

RECRUITMENT PARTICIPATION SCRIPT
Recruitment Presentation Script (content will be delivered in both English and Arabic)

Respected brothers & sisters
Asslamu Alykum

- I am a PhD social work student at The Ohio State University.
- I invite you to participate in my dissertation study that will assess the extent to which Arab Muslims believe they have been labeled as “terrorists” and the impact of that labeling on their religious and ethnic identities.
- The results of this study may help to increase awareness about this issue and could have important implications for social services provided to Arabs and Muslims in the city of Columbus. Without your participation this study will not be possible.
- To participate in the study you are asked to complete a short questionnaire that will take 15-20 minutes of your time. Your responses on the questionnaire will be completely anonymous and confidential; you will not be asked for your name, address, or any other identifying information.
- I have prepared a packet containing a copy of this information letter (pass out English and Arabic letters for review), both English and Arabic versions of the questionnaire, and a pre-addressed, stamped envelope in which you can return your completed questionnaire. The questions are the same in both versions so please complete the questionnaire in the language with which you are most comfortable.
- You will find the packets near the entrance and you can pick one up on the way out if you are interested in participating in this study.
- The questionnaire contains some questions that are sensitive in nature, such as questions that ask about your experience with terrorism. However, your participation is voluntary and you can skip or refuse to answer questions that you do not wish to answer. You also can refuse to participate or stop at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.
- After completing the questionnaire, please mail it back in the enclosed envelope (already addressed and stamped) as soon as possible.
- For each completed and returned questionnaire $5.00 will be donated to the Islamic Centers. Please support the Islamic Centers by your participation.
- Thank you for your time, consideration, and honest responses regarding this issue. I am asking Allah to reward you for helping both your brother as well as your community by participating in this project.
- Do you have any questions?
APPENDIX E

1. ISGC SUPPORT LETTER

2. MASJED OMAR SUPPORT LETTER

3. AL-NOOR ISLAMIC CULTURAL CENTER SUPPORT LETTER
January 19, 2011

To:
Office of Research Safety Protection
310 Research Foundation Building
1960 Kenny Road
Columbus OH 43210-1693

This is a letter of support for PhD candidate, Sultan Alawari, to conduct his research activity, titled "In the Shadow of the War on Terrorism: The Influence of "Terrorists"-Labeling on Arab Muslims' Identity" within the Noor Islamic Cultural Center (NICC) facilities. We understand that the researcher will use the collected data for research purposes only and that no access to these documents will be given away to any other party without permission of the NICC. The NICC will provide adequate support for the researcher such as permitting him to distribute the questionnaire to the Arab Muslims in the NICC facilities and events.

The NICC appreciates this opportunity to support and help the OSU students and faculty. We are looking forward for further cooperation. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact the center at (614) 527-7777, Fax (614) 527-7997, and E-mail: contact@noorohio.org

Sincerely,

Jamal Sadoun
Secretary, American Islamic Waqf
January 19, 2010

Office of Research Risk Protection  
310 Research Foundation Building  
1960 Kenny Road  
Columbus OH 43210

Re: Letter of Support: Sultan Alawam

Dear Sir/Madam

This is a letter of support for Ph.D candidate Sultan Alawam, to conduct his activity, titled “In the shadow of the War on Terrorism: The influence of “Terrorists”-Labeling on Arab Muslim Identity.

Within the Masjid Omar facilities we understand that the researcher will use the collected data for research purposes only and that no access to these documents will be given away to any other party without permission of the MO. The MO will provide adequate support for the researcher such as permitting him to distribute the questionnaire to the Arab Muslims in the MO facilities and events.

The MO appreciates this opportunity to support and help the OSU students and faculty. We are looking forward for further cooperation. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact us.

Sincerely,

Mauris Ayed
President
Masjid Omar Ibn El-Khatta

Omar Ibn El-Khattab Mosque       Muslim Community Services       Furqan School of Quran
580 Riverview Dr, Columbus OH 43202 Tel (614) 262-1310 Fax (614) 265-0263 www.masjedomar.org Email: info@masjedomar.org
In The Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful

January 19, 2011

To:  
Office of Research Risks Protection  
310 Research Foundation Building  
1960 Kenny Road  
Columbus OH 43210-1063  

This is a letter of support for PhD candidate, Sultan Alawam, to conduct his research activity, titled  
"In the Shadow of the War on Terrorism: The influence of “Terrorists”-Labeling on Arab Muslims’ Identity"  
within the Islamic Society of Greater Columbus (ISGC) facilities. We understand that the researcher will use the collected data for research purpose only and that no access to these documents will be given away to any other party without permission of the ISGC. The ISGC will provide adequate support for the researcher such as permitting him to distribute the questionnaire to the Arab Muslims in ISGC facilities and events.  

The ISGC appreciates this opportunity to support and help the OSU students and faculty. We are looking forward for further cooperation. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me at (614) 332-2245.

Yours truly,

Dr. Mouhamed Nabih Tarazi  
President of the Islamic Society of Greater Columbus
APPENDIX F

PERMISIONS OF USING MEIM AND BARCS SCALES
Dear Sultan,

You are very welcome to use the BARCS scale in your dissertation study, and I look forward to hearing the results. I think you may have the incorrect reference, however, so attached is the article. Apologies for the delay as things are very hectic here in Egypt and it is expected to stay this way for at least the next few months...

Thanks

___________________________
Mona M. Amer, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor of Psychology
Department of Sociology-Anthropology-Psychology-Egyptology
The American University in Cairo
P.O. Box 74, New Cairo 11835, Egypt
+ (20-2) 2615-1832

On Wed, Feb 9, 2011 at 6:36 PM, Sultan Alawam <suerrat@yahoo.com> wrote:

Hello Dr. Amer,

My name is Sultan Alawam, a PhD candidate at the Ohio State University. I'm in the process of doing my dissertation on the impact of labeling Arab Muslims as "terrorists" on their Identities (religious and ethnic). I'm planning to utilize your the Brief Arab Religious Scale (BARCS, Amer 2002) to measure Arab Muslims' religious affiliation. I would appreciate it if you give me your permission to use the scale in my study. This study will be conducted for educational purpose only.

If you have any questions, please don't hesitate to call me at (614) 397-5555 or email me.

Thank you in advance for your cooperation.

Best Regards,

Sultan Alawam
Dear Sultan,

There are several versions of the MEIM available. I recommend either the widely used 1992 version or the revised shorter 2007 version; both are attached. You are welcome to use either in your research.

Please let me know if you have further questions.

Sincerely,

Jean Phinney

From: Sultan Alawam [mailto:suerrat@yahoo.com]
Sent: Tuesday, February 08, 2011 11:29 AM
To: Phinney, Jean s.
Subject: A permission Inquiry for MEIM

Hello Dr. Phinney,

My name is Sultan Alawam, a PhD candidate at the Ohio State University. I'm in the process of doing my dissertation on the impact of labeling Arab Muslims as "terrorists" on their Identities (religious and ethnic). I'm planning to utilize your MEIM Scale to measure Arab Muslims’ ethnic affiliation. I would appreciate it if you give me your permission to use the scale in my study. This study will be conducted for educational purpose only. Moreover, I'm willing to provide you the results of study when using the scale.

If you have any questions, please don't hesitate to call me at (614) 397-5555 or email me.

Thank you in advance for your cooperation.

Best Regards,

Sultan Alawam