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Islamophobia in the United States: Experiences of Senegalese Immigrant Muslims in Indianapolis Post-9/11

Malick Ndiaye
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Walden University

College of Social and Behavioral Sciences

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Walden University
2020

Abstract

Islamophobia in the United States: Experiences of Senegalese Immigrant Muslims in

Indianapolis Post-9/11

by

Malick Ndiaye

MA, Indiana University Purdue University Indianapolis, 2009

BA, Cheikh Anta Diop University, 1998

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Public Policy and Administration

Walden University

May 2020

Abstract

After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, anti-Muslim sentiments appeared in the United States. Because of those attacks, the United States government passed some measures to try and protect the American people from any future attacks. However, the unintended drawbacks of such measures have negatively affected Muslim Americans. Little is known about how adult Senegalese immigrant Muslims have experienced Islamophobia. The purpose of this phenomenological study was to fill the gap in the research literature on how Islamophobia affected adult Senegalese immigrant Muslims. The theoretical frameworks for this study were the integrated threat and representative bureaucracy theories. The central research question focused on the lived experiences of adult Senegalese Muslim immigrants in Indianapolis and how they may have been affected by Islamophobia after the terrorist attacks. Seven participants were interviewed and the data from the interviews were transcribed and coded, using text queries, hand coding, and thematic coding. The overarching finding of this study was that the participants felt that anti-Muslim bias was felt less severely by this subgroup of Muslims in America, but that public policy needed to take more into account Muslims' position in making the country safer. Positive social change implications of the study findings point to better informed citizens, awareness of local, state, and federal authorities as to the need to include Muslims in the policy making process.

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Dedication

I will start by expressing my gratitude to Almighty God Allah who gave me life and allowed me to start, and to complete this dissertation. Alhamdullilah. This work is dedicated to my entire family starting with my grandparents, my parents (Dialima and Seydou), my wife Diekewe, my daughter Jaleema and my new son Mustapha . These people have made everything in this research possible by their prayers and constant support. I would like to dedicate this research to my ex-wife Basmah whose support also was very appreciated throughout the duration of the program. I want to also thank my aunt Fatou Sané and her husband Doudou Guéye who made this whole thing possible by encouraging me and helping me settle in the USA. Special thank you to every teacher, educator, parent, and well-wisher who has taught, educated, guided, or prayed for me to be successful in my studies. Words cannot express my gratitude towards you all. Finally, this work is dedicated to my late baby brother Moustapha who left us in 2002 but also, and especially, to my late mother who just left us on November 4, 2019. I love you two dearly. I hope you are all proud of what I have accomplished because of the inspiration you have always been to me. May Jannah Firdaws be your final abodes along with all my other loved ones. From the bottom of my heart I say thank you all for inspiring me to reach greater heights.

“Education is the only thing one can impart on somebody less knowledgeable than oneself making them as rich as ourselves without making us poorer in the process”.

Fulani wisdom

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I want to use this opportunity to show gratitude to all the people without whose help this dissertation would never have been possible. First and foremost, I want to thank my dissertation chair Michael M. Knight who accepted to chair this research knowing full well that that he was already overworked. Words cannot express how much I am grateful for his help and expertise. Next, I want to thank my committee members with Dr. Ian B. Cole who spared no efforts in helping me along the way by always being just an email away. Next, I want to thank everybody at the IRB office for granting me the authorization to conduct this research and helping me grow in the process. Lastly, I want to acknowledge the help of the members of the Senegalese community for accepting to talk to me about their experiences and thus making this work possible. Were it not for the help and support of everybody mentioned above, had it not been for your kindnesses and encouragement to persevere, none of this would have been possible. I hope you find in this study the satisfaction of having contributed a great deal in our collective success.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

Islamophobia is a phenomenon that has primarily affected the Muslim community in the United States since the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center. Muslim presence in the United States dates as far back as 1178 (Zahedi, 2011), but at no time in the history of their presence in the United States have they encountered as much suspicion as is the case now. The amount of backlash and marginalization they have faced as a result of those attacks is unparalleled (Zahedi, 2011). In 2015, hate crimes against Muslims increased five-fold from the previous 2 years and 67% of the total population harbored some form of anti-Muslim sentiment (Rajan & Gabriel). Meanwhile, Muslims continued to undergo marginalization in terms of status loss and labeling (Rajan & Gabriel, 2015). Islamophobia in America follows a long, historical line of other traditional forms of scapegoating of minorities. For example, the 1917 Immigration Act likened newcomers to this country to vermin (citation). Other models were The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 but also most notably the Japanese removal under Executive Order 9066 (Lal, 2015) whereby Japanese living in America were registered and kept in camps by the United States government (Lal, 2015).

Likewise, after September 11, 2001, a series of measures were taken to protect Americans from terrorist threats (Lal, 2015). Those measures may have unintentionally put Muslims living in America in danger because of the Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorist Acts also called the USA PATRIOT ACT (Smith & Hung, 2010). The Patriot Act, curtailed the civil liberties of Muslims in America, making them vulnerable to

unwarranted searches and arrests but also surveillance on their places of worship (Smith & Hung, 2010). These measures followed the pattern of denying marginalized minorities equal treatment and respect for their liberties because they are viewed as being outside the scope of freedom and, therefore, underserving of fair treatment (Sweeney & Opatow, 2013).

However, such measures targeting Muslims and favoring Islamophobia were highly unconstitutional because the first right of the First Amendment in the U.S. constitution protects the free exercise of religion and, in the same length, bars Congress from establishing a national religion (Cohen, 2016). The impetus of administrative policies that protect Muslims' rights in the United States becomes necessary to curtail the rising tide of Islamophobia. Presently, there are hardly any established specific regulatory policies in place to protect Muslims from the consequences of Islamophobia in the United States. More specifically, the State of Indiana was one of only five states along with Arkansas, Georgia, South Carolina, and Wyoming not to have such a legislation against hate crimes (Cohen, 2016).

Background

Some analysts posited that in terms of policy measures, there was a disconnect between the intent of policies and their real outcomes because there were always unintended consequences (see Morçol, 2012; Wilson, 2012). This means is that the role of officials, elected or appointed, is magnified because they are the bridge between the government and the people. It appears public policies somehow do not benefit all levels of the population equally and, as a result, some segments of the wider population find

themselves underserved by many new policies being passed to satisfy the needs of the majority population (Wilson, 2012). In that sense, representation, or lack thereof in higher policy-making spheres has a big role in whether minority populations experience positive policy outcomes (Coffman, 2016).

Islamophobia spread rapidly in the Western Hemisphere and especially in the United States in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 (Sisson, 2015). It constituted a growing topic of debate since the inception of the term in the early 1990s (Bleich, 2012). Anti-Muslim rhetoric had been rife in many spheres, especially among the political elites and presidential hopefuls (Lal, 2015). The Muslim population in the United States is growing fast and, those who compose it are from varied ethnic and national backgrounds (Lal, 2015). However, they appear as a monolithic entity based on their primary representation (Amer & Bagasra). Islam is represented by diverse groups in North America (Amer & Bagasra, 2013). Unfortunately, Islam in the United States has been stereotyped since September 11th, with an estimated 30% of American people believing that Muslims intended harm to America by seeking to impose Sharia law (Tankle, 2012).

To understand the phenomenon of Islamophobia, one can look at the history of the neologism and the difficulty in finding a suitable definition for it (Lalami, 2012; Bleich, 2012). Among other problems that the use of the term entailed since its inception in the 1990s was that Islamophobia could not be measured (Bleich, 2012). Opinions were divided on whether the word meant bigotry or just criticism of the religion of Islam or its adherents (Lalami, 2012). When discussing Islamophobia, it is challenging to tell if it is

prejudice or just secular critique (Imhoff & Recker, 2012). The difficulty in correctly defining Islamophobia appeared when looking at the differences between fear and phobia (Coelho & Purkis, 2009). Fear is adaptive and people overcome it by seeking and obtaining new information and so it is not necessarily permanent (Coelho & Purkis, 2009). Phobia, on the contrary, is static and constitutes an exaggeration of fear, even with the absence of a real or imminent threat (Coelho & Purkis, 2009).

Whereas some Americans developed a disdain and fear of Islam and Muslims due to ignorance of the religion and the people who practice it, the media conditioned a great majority since 9/11 into a profound dislike of Islam. Khan and Brusckke (2016) found that media had fostered the broader population's aversion to Muslims in general and Islam in particular by suggesting that Muslims constituted a potential threat to Americans. The threat that the larger population was suddenly aware of was rarely physical. Rather, the threat was mostly existential because people were afraid that their way of life was not compatible with Islam (Khan & Brusckke, 2016). Islam was seen as a religion that came to change their society drastically in ways that they disliked (Johnson & Weitzman, 2017). This perceived fear was not that society would be dismantled but, that it would be changed (Schulz, 2016). The role of the media and new social networking technologies were notable in pitting the United States against Muslims. They did so mostly by distilling stereotypes about Muslims, and Islam as a backwards, hate-filled, and savage civilization as opposed to the civilized, and free western civilization which the West had to protect (Schulz, 2016). This situation with social media being a conduit to fractured relationships between dominant communities and their Muslim

minority counterparts was one of the reasons why Islamophobia prospered (Awan, 2016).

Media and social networking sites also served as platforms for hardline politicians and religious hardliners alike to push their populist agendas. Lal (2015) and Kampmark (2015) are among many experts who pointed out the role played by politics in fanning the hate towards Muslims in America. Populist views calling for the exclusion of Muslims had been rampant and advocated profusely by politicians like President Trump (Kampmark, 2015). Alongside those politicians, religious conservatives and prominent church leaders were ramping up fear of Muslims with ideas of an imminent “Green scare” or nonviolent Islamization of America as a parallel to the “red scare” or “yellow peril” (Belt, 2016, p. 212). Connecting feelings about the Communist Party and anti-Japan sentiment during World War II to Islam was a way to generate hatred towards Muslims and Islam. The amalgamation of religion and politics led to the exclusion of any group that did not identify as evangelical (Belt, 2016)). To evangelicals, there were two identities, and only the one that identified as Protestant was genuinely American while all others were foreign and, therefore, to be excluded (Shortle & Gaddie, 2015). The politics of marginalization and exclusion manifested through the issue of mosque constructions throughout America with the “ground zero” one serving as the prime example of how Islam appeared as un-American (Sweeney & Opatow, 2013).

Of course, not all causes of Islamophobia could be equated to the opposition of two distinct civilizations because some of the blame could be shared by Arab countries which allowed the rise of extremist groups like the Islamic State (Salami, 2014).

American foreign policy—which prioritized successive invasions of Muslim countries—played a significant role in the poor relationship between the West and the Muslim world (Amin, 2013). In any case, to combat Islamophobia, there is an urgent need for people to develop media literacy and be able to critically analyze the information we receive and ask the right questions (White, Duck, & Newcombe, 2012). Critical thinking needs to be more of a focus in primary and secondary education to help teach information literacy. The causes and manifestations of Islamophobia in the United States are complex and affect all the segments of the American population

Although the United States' fractured relationship with the Muslim world can be dated as far back as the Cold War (Bazian, 2015), 2001 marked a notable shift in relations with Muslims living in America as far as public policy was concerned (Haddad & Harb, 2014). In the aftermath of the terrorist attacks on the Twin Towers in New York, the federal government adopted a series of measures under the umbrella of the USA PATRIOT ACT in 2002 (Haddad & Harb, 2014). Those laws passed under the guise of making America safer from its enemies from without but especially from within (Smith & Hung, 2010). The powers-that-be introduced sweeping, and coordinated against Muslims, which included coordinated actions by legislators trying to pass anti-Muslim bills (Institute for Social Policy and Understanding, 2015). However, an anti-Islam lobby which emerged after 9/11 aided in delivering these measures by acting out organized movements like the “Burn the Qur’an” protests in Florida in 2010 (ISPU, 2015). ACT! For America, which supports anti-immigrant positions, and the “Birthright Citizenship ACT” of 2013 formed part of those coordinated attacks on Islam (ISPU, 2015). The

strategies of those anti-Islam movements and well-funded organizations were to use fear to marginalize Muslims, create enmity towards them in public discourse to influence public policy that would restrict or silence them (ISPU, 2015). Because of U.S federalism, the state-level legislations against Muslims, if passed, could be used later by legislators and passed by members of Congress at the national level (ISPU, 2015).

The more obvious example of legislation against Muslims occurred in New York City with the program to spy on Muslims and Mosques throughout the state (Haddad & Harb, 2014). Some of the backers of those legislators are The American Freedom Defense Initiative (AFDI) and the Society of Americans for National Existence (SANE) lead by Yerushalmi, a self-confessed anti-Islam lawyer (Haddad & Harb, 2014). Together, anti-Islam propaganda developed with funding for billboards, national ads, and right-wing politicians who will introduce bills of anti-Islam content (Bazian, 2015). These well-funded organizations were working all sides of the question by supporting Zionist organizations equating the problems of Israel with those of America and by placing the supporters of their ideology in key decision-making positions in the administration (Bazian, 2015). After the state of Oklahoma voted to pass the anti-Sharia measure in 2010 --later challenged and defeated by the Council of American-Islamic Relations (CAIR; Tankle, 2012), other states like Texas in 2011, Arizona, South Dakota, and Pennsylvania followed suit but were unsuccessful (Tankle, 2012). Add summary to fully conclude the paragraph.

Legislators and their backers tried to use negative public opinion about Muslims after 9/11 to pass laws at the state-level that would curb the “secret Islamization” (Uenal,

2016, p.98) or “stealth Jihad” (Haddad & Harb, 2014, p.480). After 9/11, because of unfavorable opinions about Muslims, 30% of Americans believed that Muslims were plotting to impose Sharia law on America (Haddad & Harb, 2014). Organizations like the Center for Security Policy (CSP) and the Stop Islamization of America Organization spread conspiracy theories comprising false definitions of Sharia to scare politicians like Romney and Newt Gingrich into acting (Sisson, 2015). The result was that 23 states had joined the anti-Sharia movement and, about two dozen state legislatures had adopted Yerushalmi’s “model law” that made it a crime to follow Islam and considered proposing a ban of Sharia in their courtrooms (Sisson, 2015).

This study explored the experiences of Senegalese Muslims with Islamophobia in Indianapolis since the events of 9/11 considering the recent enactment of Indiana Senate Bill 101 (SB 101), also known as the Religious Freedom Restoration Act (RFRA) of 2015 (Katz, 2015). The State of Indiana is an employment-at-will state meaning there is no signed contract between the employer and the workers (Katz, 2015). What this means is that the agreement can be terminated abruptly by either one of the parties. Under the above employment-at-will measure, the nature of the employment matters little and the employer can terminate the worker at his or her own discretion (Katz, 2015). On March 26, 2015, former Governor Pence signed SB 101 into law (Katz, 2015). This measure compounded the concerns of the employment-at-will measure because the new bill could be used as a reason to discriminate against minorities like the LGBT and religious minorities like the Muslims in Indiana (Katz, 2015).

RFRA, also known as SB 101, permits private employers to use their faith as a reason to terminate or refuse to hire people whose religious affiliations they do not identify with or whose sexual orientations they do not condone (Katz, 2015). Additionally, SB 101 is problematic in litigation because it prevents the government obligating citizens or private employers with rules or burden their exercise of religion (Katz, 2015). As soon as the RFRA passed in 2015, minority group organizations and the MAI (Muslim Alliance of Indiana) denounced it as a bigoted measure that encouraged workplace discrimination against minorities (Katz, 2015).

The research on the lived experiences of Senegalese Muslims offered an insight into not only how they navigated being Muslims with the current state of rising Islamophobia in the United States, but also how SB 101 affected them in Indianapolis. This information is particularly essential nowadays since the Muslim population is continually increasing, but yet, most people lack the knowledge that Muslims in America are very diverse and that Islam is not monolithic. Furthermore, this study may contribute to an important goal of understanding Islam and all the people who represent it, people who are an integral part of the fabric of American society (see Zahedi, 2011).

Chapter 1 of this study will provide a description of the study, why the research was necessary nowadays, the gap in research, the background of the study, the problem statement, and the statement of purpose along with the research questions. Furthermore, this study included the theoretical frameworks, assumptions, delimitations of the study, its limitations, and how significant it was in the present context before ending with a summary of the chapter and an opening into Chapter 2.

Much had been written about Islam and Muslims since 9/11, most research presenting Islam as basically only represented by Arabs and the Middle East (Amer & Bagasra, 2013). However, South Asia and Africa have twice as many Muslims as the entire Middle East yet, African Muslims in general and Senegalese Muslims, were understudied, and their experiences with Islamophobia were virtually unknown. According to Kane (2011), there was a large amount of research on the lived experiences of Arab Muslims in the United States; however, little is known about the Senegalese Muslims immigrants' experiences with Islamophobia.

Arab Muslims in the American context (Amer & Bagasra) had been the focus of research about the impact of Islamophobia since the September 11, 2001 attacks (Abu-Ras, et al., 2013; Amer & Hovey, 2012). Consequently, it was necessary to research other Muslim subgroups like the Senegalese Muslims to understand their experiences with Islamophobia in the United States. I analyzed and documented the experiences of Senegalese Muslims in Indianapolis with the phenomenon of Islamophobia and how it may have been compounded by a policy measure called SB 101 signed into law in 2015.

Problem Statement

In response to the 9/11 attacks, the federal government passed the USA PATRIOT Act with the idea of protecting America as a whole; however, the enactment of the bill led to the mistreatment of Muslims (Smith & Hung, 2010). The Federal Bureau of Investigations reported a rapid increase in crimes against Muslims in the years following 9/11 when abuses of Muslims rose by 52% from previous years (Abu-Raiya, Pargament & Mahoney, 2011; Beydoun, 2018). Additionally, the Council on American

Islamic Relations (CAIR) announced that between the years 2001 and 2003, the organization had fielded about 1,900 complaints of abuse directed at Muslims (Beydoun, 2018). More recently, a surge of hate groups that specifically targeted Muslim populations in the United States had increased from 34 to 101 between the years 2015 to 2016 (Stegmeir, 2017).

. Although a lot of research has been published since 9/11 about how Muslims were affected by Islamophobia, Sub-Saharan Africans in general and Senegalese Muslims as a subgroup, in particular, remained primarily understudied in the United States (Abu-Ras, Senzai, & Laird, 2013; Amer & Hovey, 2012; Hodge, Zidan, & Husain, 2016). The problem this research addressed was the lack of research surrounding the lived experiences of Senegalese Muslim immigrants in the United States after 2001 as it related to Islamophobia and public policies designed to make the United States safer. According to Kane (2011), there was a large amount of research on the lived experiences of Arab Muslims in the United States; however, we know little about the Senegalese Muslim immigrants' experiences with Islamophobia.

Laws had been passed at the federal level to secure America against future terrorist plots like the USA PATRIOT ACT of 2001. Still, at the same time, they had, in some ways, contributed to alienating the entire Muslim population of the United States (Smith & Hung, 2010). At the state level, Indiana tried to pass without success the Sharia Law from 2011 to 2013 (ISPU, 2014). In 2015, Indiana's state senate was able to finally adopt the controversial Religious Freedom Reformation Act (RFRA) which appeared to guarantee religious freedom in theory (Katz, 2015). Still the existence of a legal loophole

left the door open for private employees or citizens to face discrimination (Katz, 2015). There are hardly any administrative policies in place protecting Muslims. Research on Senegalese Muslim immigrants and their experiences with Islamophobia in Indianapolis could help bridge a gap in research by documenting the effects of administrative policies or lack thereof in lessening Islamophobia.

Literature regarding public policy legislation found that without representation in higher policy-making spheres, minorities endured procedures instead of benefiting from new legislations (Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006; Riccucci, Van Ryzin, & Levenia, 2016). Therefore, this research would potentially show the impact of administrative policies on how they could change perceptions about Muslims in general and Senegalese Muslim immigrants in particular.

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this phenomenological qualitative research was to gain more insight into and knowledge about the lived experiences of Senegalese Muslim immigrants in Indianapolis, IN after 2001 as it related to Islamophobia and public policies passed to make the United States safer. It was necessary to study a specific group of Muslim immigrants who were neither Arab nor South Asian to see how favorable administrative policies may help mitigate anti-Muslim bias in Indianapolis. This research focused on Senegalese American Muslims in Indianapolis to learn what their experiences with Islamophobia had been since 2001. Potentially, this research would show the impact of administrative policies on how they could change perceptions about Muslims in general and Senegalese Muslim immigrants.

Muslims constitute the fastest-growing minority in the United States due to immigration, higher birth rates, conversion, and according to estimations, within the next two decades, they will supplant the other minority groups (Amer & Bagasra, 2013). I anticipated that this qualitative phenomenological study would help Senegalese Muslims in Indianapolis better understand how a dearth of public administrative measures geared towards protecting their rights affected their lives. Recognizing what they lacked would, in turn, potentially open the eyes of Senegalese Muslims to the need for greater community involvement but also and, most importantly, raise policymakers' awareness of the consequences of certain laws on minorities. I used a qualitative method of research for this study because the Senegalese Muslims' experiences with this phenomenon of Islamophobia could be just as valuable as other studies in teaching us about the peculiarity of Sub-Saharan Muslims from Senegal. Qualitative research allows the individual to ascribe his own meaning and understanding of a phenomenon (Moustakas, 1994). Therefore, it was used in this study to allow Senegalese Muslim immigrants in Indianapolis to disclose their experiences of Islamophobia and how it may have been worsened by the lack of public policies measures supporting them in their fight against anti-Muslim bias.

Research Questions

Central Research Question

How have Senegalese Muslim immigrants in Indianapolis, IN, experienced Islamophobia, and what are their perceptions of public policies that are passed to make the United States more secure?

Subquestions

1. How do the adult Senegalese Muslims describe their lived experiences with the phenomenon of Islamophobia since 2001?
2. In what context do their experiences with Islamophobia occur?
3. How are individual differences reflected in the participants' account of their experiences with Islamophobia in the United States?
4. In what way has the lack of administrative measures hindered the fight to lessen the effects of Islamophobia in the Senegalese immigrant Muslim community?

The Conceptual Framework

A conceptual framework is a blueprint for a research study because it informs the direction and perspectives of the research. According to Imenda (2014), a conceptual framework has two roles: it is a synthesis crafted to address the needs of a research study and at the same time, a theory-based model that tackles the specific needs of the problem. In a study, the conceptual framework sets the guidelines of what it will be all about; it is at the same time a way to get information about the research and also helps pinpoint validity threats to the conclusions if any (Maxwell, 2013). The Runnymede Trust (1997) developed this conceptual framework I used to inform the direction of the study, and it is the definitional framework for Islamophobia. The Runnymede report published in 1997 to combat rising discriminatory policies and societal attitudes against Muslims established eight salient characteristics through which those who have closed views of Islam harbor (Runnymede Trust, 1997). First and foremost, many still see Islam as a monolith and as such, resistant to any change and reveling in its static nature (Amer &

Hovey, 2012). Secondly, many in the United States see Islam as something separate from the values and beliefs that a progressive West has and as such is out of place (Uenal, 2016). Thirdly, Islam, according to those same people who are refractory to the religion, view it as inferior to western Christian beliefs and the inferiority, is manifested through its backwardness, barbarism, and cruelty (Haddad & Harb, 2014). The other characteristics are that Islam is violent and is nothing but a political ideology whose criticisms of the West are unfounded and not receivable. Hence, hostility toward Muslims and Islam is justified by discriminatory practices, and as such, all anti-Muslim attitudes become accepted (Haddad & Harb, 2014).

A conceptual framework is a theory-supported model that purports to address the needs of a problem (Imenda, 2014). In this case, the problem is Islamophobia in the United States and the need to develop policies that can help curtail the phenomenon by taking into consideration the lived experiences of adult Senegalese Muslim immigrants in the United States. However, the strategy for policymakers will not be a top-down approach if they want to take into consideration the needs and fears of Muslim communities in the United States in the face of Islamophobia after the terrorist attacks and the ensuing backlash since 2001.

Theoretical Framework

This study rested on two frameworks. First, the integrated threat theory composed of the realistic and symbolic threats which were initially part of the realistic group conflict theory developed by Levine, Campbell, and Sherif (1966). Second, the realistic group conflict theory—which served as a starting point for the integrated threat theory

developed by Stephan and Stephan (2000). Additionally, I also used the representative bureaucracy theory developed by Kingsley in 1944, which looked at the phenomenon of Islamophobia from a public policy standpoint. Ciftci (2012) explained that integrated threat theory (ITT) pits what is called the *in-group* characterized in this instance by the broader, Christian American population and the *out-group*, which is the Muslim population living on U.S soil (Ciftci, 2012). Whether true or false, the assumptions of the in-group position the out-group as posing mortal dangers to not only the safety of American people; but even worse, the out-group poses existential problems to the way of life of ordinary people (Ciftci, 2012, p.297). Since those who harbor anti- Muslim sentiments view American Muslims as foreign to the culture and way of life of America, which they base on Judeo-Christian values, Muslims who do not conform to those values are a threat (Ciftci, 2012)

The realistic threat side of ITT, according to Ciftci (2012), is relevant when resources become scarce and the competition for them becomes rife. In that instance, “competition over these may fuel discrimination, prejudice” from the part of the dominant group (Ciftci, p. 297). In the theory of representative bureaucracy, Gade and Wilkins (2013) suggested that all the components of government are involved in more than just a simple application of the law. In addition, the government is heavily involved in how those laws and measures are perceived by the greater population it represents. In other words, since lawmakers and bureaucrats exist as links between government and the populace, the demographics of those same bureaucrats influence the perceived fairness of the measures and public policies they enforce. The population, when they can identify

with those bureaucrats through either ethnicity, gender or race, tends not to question the neutrality of those policies and measures that the government is enforcing (Gade & Wilkins, 2013). Since its inception in 1944 by Kingsley, the theorists of representative bureaucracy had found that representation was key to cooperation. Greater involvement in the policymaking process makes people more inclined to feel included and tend to view their interests in conjunction with the interests of the government that is applying those policies. Minorities, however, have long struggled with the implementation of new systems and legislations (Johnson, 2014; Lim, 2006; Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, Selden, 1997; Wilson, 2012). These were the theories that I used to examine through the experiences of my participants to see how they saw Islamophobia and if they believed being under-represented as Muslims in government bureaucracies had any effect on perceived Islamophobia in America.

Nature of the Study

The nature of this study was a phenomenological inquiry that used semi-structured interviews and direct and indirect observations of the participants and settings. I used this qualitative method to study a small sample of Senegalese Muslim immigrants in Indianapolis and to document their experiences with Islamophobia and how a lack of specific administrative policies helped exacerbate the phenomenon. This qualitative method was constructivist and sought to understand how human subjects ascribe meaning to their experiences.

A phenomenological method is used when a researcher seeks to describe shared patterns or themes in the lived experiences of particular people (O'Sullivan et al., 2008).

Qualitative research designs help researchers to more effectively get information about phenomena in ways other models could not possibly comprehend or even “convert in numbers” (O’Sullivan et al., 2008, p. 39). One of the strongest points of qualitative design is, therefore, its ability to extract maximum information out of a relatively limited number of cases (O’Sullivan et al., 2008, p. 39). Because qualitative methods are largely constructivist and theory-oriented, they focus on an in-depth understanding of the life experiences of their participants. The inquirer is therefore in close contact with the participants in their natural setting, which designs like cross-sectional or time series cannot do because they shun direct contact with participants (O’Sullivan et al., 2008). In that regard, when using any one of the qualitative designs, the inquirer can have a more profound insight into the lives and experiences of his or her participants, which can yield potentially useful information that other designs cannot. More specifically, for this research, this approach to inquiry allowed me as the researcher to use purposeful sampling to get close to the target populations to learn about their experiences with Islamophobia as immigrant Senegalese Muslims in America. Using the integrated threat theory and the theory of representative bureaucracy, I examined how the lack of administrative policies targeting this phenomenon of Islamophobia may have contributed to damaging Muslims’ civil and human rights in Indianapolis after September 11, 2001.

I used phenomenology to help establish a connection between the specificities of participants’ experiences to build a broader overview of the phenomenon. A phenomenological approach solidified the role of the researcher in the interaction with the subjects as he became an integral part of the process. In phenomenology, “the

researcher needs to understand that experiences are linked to social, cultural and political contexts” (Tuohy, Cooney, Dowling, Murphy, & Sixsmith, 2013, p.19). In this case, the Senegalese Muslim immigrants’ plight is closely woven into the policies of the state of Indiana. I used primary data from interviews and observations which I collected from adult Senegalese Muslim immigrants who were at least 30 years of age irrespective of gender or social and economic status. Furthermore, the participants had to have lived in the United States at least 2 years before 9/11. The data collected were subsequently analyzed after coding both manually and by NVIVO. I conducted the interviews using a semi structured standardized questionnaire format and I thoroughly analyzed the data to pick up emerging themes and coded them accordingly.

Definition of Terms

To understand the phenomenon of Islamophobia well in this context, it is imperative that some of the terms used in this research be defined. Following are a few words that appear throughout and what they mean:

Islam: The religious system established through the prophet Muhammad; the Muslim religion; the body of Muslims; the Muslim world (Ashkar, 2017).

Islamophobia: Intense dislike or fear of Islam, especially as a political force; hostility or prejudice (oed.com). Furthermore, Islamophobia has been defined as the fear of Muslims and the Islamic faith (Lee et al., 2013).

Muridiyya Brotherhood: A Muslim Sufi order founded at the turn of the 20th century by a Senegalese mystic and scholar Mbacké (Babou, 2003).

Orientalism: The representation of the Orient (especially the Middle East) in Western academic writing, art, or literature; specifically, this representation perceived as stereotyped or exoticizing and therefore embodying a colonialist attitude (Oxford Reference Dictionary, 2019).

Senegalese: A national of the republic of Senegal in sub-Saharan Africa (Library of Congress, 2010).

Qadriyya Sufi Order: One of the oldest Orders, this Sufi Brotherhood centers around the study of Tassawuf (esoteric dimension of Islam) and self-mortification to discipline the heedless soul in order to gain nearness to Allah the Almighty God (Batran, 1973).

Sharia law: In the Muslim belief system, Sharia law is a dictate from God, coupled with customary laws and mixed with the understanding of clerics used to regulate Muslims' code of conduct (Sisson, 2015).

Sub-Saharan Africa: Designates the African countries located South of the Sahara Desert and numbering 54 such countries (Library of Congress, 2010).

Tariqa or Tarikha (The Way): Designates a Brotherhood or a Sufi Order.

Tijjaniyya Order: Along with Muridiyya are two of the more important Sufi Orders in Senegal (Thurston, n. d.).

Assumptions, Delimitations, and Limits to the Study

Assumptions

The purpose of this research was to explore the experiences of Senegalese Muslim immigrants in Indianapolis with the rising tide of Islamophobia in America since 9/11 due in part to the lack of targeted administrative policies protecting the rights of Muslims.

Assumptions are a set of paradigms which are defined as

A set of beliefs values and techniques which are shared by members of the scientific community. They function as a guide or map, dictating the kinds of problems scientists should address and the types of explanations that are acceptable to them. (Kuhn, 1970, p. 175)

Add summary to fully conclude the section. Avoid ending paragraphs in a direct quote.

Qualitative research relies upon four philosophical assumptions which are ontological, axiological, epistemological, and methodological (citation). In this research, ontological paradigms stem from the nature and realities of qualitative research (see citation). The researcher is part and parcel of qualitative studies and, as such, brings their own biases to the study and hence appears the subjective nature (Creswell, 2009)). The fact that I lived and belonged to this community which I am researching, subjected me to the same prejudices and subjectivity that followed qualitative researchers. In that sense, the axiological assumptions of this study questioned how my biases, value system, and beliefs affected the results of the study. The epistemological assumptions centered around my relationships with my study participants and the phenomenon of Islamophobia. Lastly, the methodological assumptions were about the procedures and different steps the

researcher went through to uncover the outcomes of this study. For this study, I found all four paradigms in the following assumptions.

The study of the experiences of islamophobia in the Senegalese community was vital because it would help understand how the phenomenon affected the members of this subgroup of Muslims. Based on my residence in Indianapolis for over 15 years, my primary assumption was that I would be able to find Senegalese Muslims in sufficient enough numbers to allow me to find at least 10 participants who qualify for this research. I met many of the participants at different mosques, Senegalese Muslim and religious gatherings. Others willingly responded to flyers left at mosques asking them to be part of the study. Secondly, I assumed that many of those Senegalese Muslims would like the idea of sharing their experiences with me in an honest way during the observations and interviews.

I informed my participants that taking part in this research was voluntary and that they could stop me at any time and walk out. I was honest and open while soliciting their participation, informing them that I was bound by confidentiality rules which dictated that their identities remain hidden and their responses confidential. Another assumption was be that many of them may have felt that they had no recourse in the face of anti-Muslim bias in their day to day lives. Last but not least, I assumed that this study would open the eyes of the Senegalese Muslims as to the need to get involved in social change to improve their visibility and good image in their communities.

Delimitations

Research must have parameters or delimiters for the study to apply to a particular population and a defined area (Rudestam & Newton, 2007). According to Rudestam and Newton (2007), setting parameters is essential to define the scope of the study. I limited the selection to the Indianapolis metro area participants. I focused on adults, regardless of gender, who lived in the United States prior to the events of September 11th, 2001. The reasoning behind that was that such participants would have experienced how life was before 9/11 in the United States and how it is now as a result of 9/11. Having those potentially contrasting experiences in their lives would be invaluable for this research. Furthermore, the adults selected for this research had to be practicing Muslims and have had lived in the United States at least two years before 9/11.

Limitations

There are many limitations to this study, and as always, those limitations exist independently of the researchers' control. The first limitation was tied to the fact that since the study was voluntary, those selected may provide information based on what they thought the researcher wanted to hear or based on their sensibilities. In qualitative studies, one of the main limitations but also its strongest suit is the role of the inquirer in gathering data. The researcher is involved in a great deal with the participants in a "sustained and intensive" way (Creswell, 2009, p. 177). Information may be withheld, or experiences embellished in that regard. The limitation in a qualitative study here was the role of bias as far as the inquirer was concerned, the biases that came with having previous experiences and connections to the participants which had to be acknowledged

and lessened if possible. The other limitation involved the study site, which was limited to the Indianapolis metro area Senegalese Muslims therefore excluding those who lived in the surrounding suburban areas. The results of this study only applied to Muslims in the Indianapolis metro area and may not, therefore, apply to Senegalese Muslims living outside the area. Because of that, the problem of the generalization of the study arose. However, in qualitative studies, generalizability is not the biggest concern of the researcher (Maxwell, 2013). To mitigate those limitations and biases, the inquirer can use a variety of techniques from the beginning of research until the end. As an example, during data gathering, the researcher can use the triangulation method to check the accuracy of his notes through the examination of evidence from his participants or sources (Maxwell, 2013). Another technique that can lessen the role of biases in qualitative research is the use of *member checking* (Creswell, 2009). I used this technique to check the accuracy of the findings by once again going back to the participants and comparing emerging themes to see if they accurately described research participants' views. Triangulation is used during the data gathering progress (Creswell, 2009).

Significance of the Study

This study was significant because it focused on understanding the experiences of Senegalese Muslim immigrants in Indianapolis following the terrorist attacks of 9/11 and the lack of specific administrative policies helping to stem the tide of Islamophobia. Hate crimes against Muslims had soared since 2001, according to Stegmeir (2017) while Federal hate crimes statutes had not been updated since 1968 (ISPU, 2015). Moreover, bills that were passed in view of America becoming safer from outside and inside

enemies of freedom like the USA PATRIOT Act or RFRA did not do much to help quell Islamophobia (ISPU, 2015). This research has potential social change implications for Muslims in Indianapolis because it may inform them of the need to stay abreast of policies that may affect them. By being aware and informed, they could participate in the democratic process more fully as concerned citizens of this state and advocates for their faith.

Much had been written about Muslims since those events and most Americans were interested in learning about the religion of Islam and the people who practice it, even if some of that interest may be superficial (ISPU, 2015). However, there was a gap in the literature because sub-Saharan Muslims and especially those from Senegal, were practically ignored by those studies. According to Kane (2011), there was a large amount of research on the lived experiences of Arab Muslims in the United States; however, little is known about the Senegalese Muslims immigrants' experiences with Islamophobia. There was a tendency in Anglo-Saxon and Christian America to think of Muslims only in terms of phenotype, (Brown) and ethnicity (Arab) (Kane, 2011). The result of this was that the stereotype that Islam was homogeneous and that all Muslims were Arabs (Shortle & Gaddie, 2015) took hold, and the majority of Muslims in America were understudied. The biggest misconception was that all Arabs are Muslim, which could not be further from the truth because of the estimated 1 to 3 million Arabs living in the United States, only half are Muslim and the other half being of Eastern Christian descent (Read, 2015).

In any case, figures have shown that Islam in America is very diverse, and Muslim Arabs constitute only 12% of the Islamic population in the United States

(Zainiddinov, 2015). The other 88% of Muslims living in America belong to around 68-80 different ethnicities from various parts of the world (Zainiddinov, 2015). I focused this study on Senegalese Muslims, who are an essential fabric of the diverse makeup of Muslim ethnicities in Indianapolis. One of the main benefits of knowing this population was that more information could advance knowledge about Senegalese Sufi Muslims and how this philosophy influenced the way they experienced Islamophobia in America. The final research upon completion could benefit local and state policymakers in furthering their knowledge of the different Muslim communities and designing administrative policies that could help them grow. This study may also help state lawmakers understand how policies may unintentionally harm minorities when minority voices are ignored during the design of policies.

Social Change Implications

Social change is not something that happens overnight because it implies a conscious effort by change agents who follow a process to change what is amiss. Positive social change is made possible by a transformation that results in positive outcomes (Walden University, 2013). This study was critical not only for this community of Muslims but American Muslims in general since their experiences helped inform about their particularities and vulnerabilities. It helped fill the gap in the disparity of knowledge about understudied groups of Muslims whose experiences with Islamophobia was virtually unknown. The completion of this study offered much-needed information into how Senegalese American immigrants in Indianapolis dealt with the rise of Islamophobia since 9/11 and the adverse impact of the lack of administrative policies against anti-

Muslim bias. This research helped determine how social scientists craft intervention strategies for acceptable community relations between Muslims and their majority counterparts. Another important implication for social change was in psychological research avenues. Although Muslims are a minority in this country, they are becoming more and more visible, and they number upwards of 7 million which makes them very likely to use psychologists in the future (Amer & Bagasra, 2013). In that sense, when there is literature published on understudied groups of the Muslim populations in the United States, this provides primordial information potentially for those sessions (Amer & Bagasra, 2013).

Implications for social change mainly targeted the public policy aspect because, since the events of 9/11, many measures targeting Muslims and Islam in America had been attempted and some passed. Legislations like the USA PATRIOT ACT (Haddad & Harb, 2014; Smith & Hung, 2010) and the RFRA in Indiana in 2015 (Katz, 2015) are among them. To combat some of the measures like the anti-Sharia legislation and the Muslim surveillance programs and registries like NSEERS, Muslim organizations like CAIR and ISNA have emerged (ISPU, 2015). New York City started a generalized surveillance campaign on U.S Mosques according to a 2011 report by the Associated Press, and a unified advocacy between community organizations and their Muslim counterparts fought to end those domestic intelligence operations (ISPU, 2015). With the help of concerned citizens, the policy measures targeting Muslim surveillance and “the stop and frisk” policy were put at the forefront of the battle of an organization called Communities United for Police Reform (CPR) which culminated in the partial passage of

the 2013 Community Safety Act (ISPU, 2015). That act's passage was soon challenged by then mayor Bloomberg arguing that those measures were necessary to prevent crimes and terrorist acts in New York City. CPR, however, continued to lobby policymakers, who passed the four community safety bills and blocked Bloomberg's supermajority in 2013 (ISPU, 2015).

According to experts, by the year 2050 or even earlier in 2043, not only will the United States be more populous, but the country will also be a majority-minority country (ISPU, 2015). The issue of Islamophobia then, although very important, should be viewed more broadly in conjunction with all the measures trying to curb the rights of minorities to those afraid of the new reality of American demographics. From 2011 to 2013, the interests of the state legislatures in all U.S states turned around six issue areas related to restricting the rights of minorities. Those issue areas are the restrictions on abortion rights and access, "Defense of Marriage Act Bills" or DOMA, the right to work legislation, the anti-immigration proposals, voter identification requirements, and the anti-Sharia-Foreign law bills (ISPU, 2015). Those anti-Sharia bills constitute the port of entry of anti-Muslim and anti-Islam sentiments in state legislatures and sometimes disguised as antiforeign laws, although such laws like the Jewish marriage contracts also called *Ketubahs* have always been tolerated in U.S courts (Tankle, 2012).

For the state of Indiana where this research was conducted, the implications were to be viewed in conjunction with those laws and how they affected the Muslim residents who are part and parcel of the makeup of these communities. The Pew Research Center reported that although 70% of Muslims in America were born in foreign countries, 81%

of them have gained American citizenship after moving here, and yearly about 80 to 90 thousand others immigrate to the United States, making them an important demographic in years to come (Sisson, 2015). Republican state legislators have either sponsored or codrafted 630 of the 3813 anti-Sharia laws (ISPU, 2015). Since 2015, the state of Indiana introduced a total of 65 bills to the state legislature revolving around bigotry against minorities and foreigners (ISPU, 2015). Among those bills, the state introduced the anti-Sharia bill four times: three times in 2011 and once in 2015 but the provision was killed each time it was introduced (ISPU, 2015). The anti-immigration bill, however, was passed, and so was the RFRA, signed by the former governor of the state, Pence (ISPU, 2015). When the bill passed, it prompted many Fortune 500 companies to scale back business ties with the state of Indiana. The state of Indiana suffered great business losses when RFRA was signed by Governor Pence because 12 conventions simultaneously pulled out of Indiana, causing the state to lose an estimated 250 million dollars (CAP, 2017). To civil rights defense organizations, this bill, although broad in scope, constituted nothing but a grave restriction of LGBT rights because it essentially gave private businesses open license to discriminate against members of this minority group on the grounds of religious freedom if they so choose.

Because social change is a process, this research helped motivate the Senegalese Muslim population in the state of Indiana to participate in the public policy debate and take up more central roles in the fight against bigotry. The six-issue areas that dominated the public policy debate in state legislatures have close links with Islamophobia. To that effect, this research could help the Muslim community organizations chapters of CAIR,

MAI (Muslim Alliance of Indiana), or ISNA (Islamic Society of North America) in the state to join other grassroots movements and civil defense organizations that share the common goals.

Summary of the Chapter

The rising tide of Islamophobia since 2001 is a matter of grave concern for Muslims living in the United States. Senegalese Muslims are part of the make-up of the Islamic communities in this country but literature about them and their experience is scarce. This research may provide much needed information understanding Senegalese Muslims and their experiences with Islamophobia. Moreover, this may help psychologists of all branches garner information about the particularities and sensibilities of the growing Senegalese Muslim population when they need it.

In Chapter 2, I present the literature review, which includes the theoretical foundation of the research, Islamophobia, its origin, its manifestations, causes, and consequences, but also of emerging trends in the study of Islamophobia in the USA before an introduction to Chapter 3 of this research. In chapters 4 and 5 I will present the results, analyses of the themes but also suggest avenues for future research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

In this study I explored the experiences of Islamophobia among adult Muslim-Americans from Senegal in the city of Indianapolis since 9/11. There is a dearth of literature focused on Sub-Saharan Africans' experiences with Islamophobia in the United States, and, as a result, there is even less literature about Senegalese American immigrants. With the example of Indianapolis, the central argument of this dissertation centered around the fact that studies in the social sciences had largely ignored the existence or positions of Sub-Saharan Africans in Indianapolis. That oversight extends to the phenomenon of Islamophobia and how administrative policies protecting Muslims could help curb anti-Muslim sentiment. The review of this topic identified the gaps in the Islamophobia literature and opened new avenues for future research on this phenomenon. The goal of the literature review is to analyze, synthesize, and interpret. As such, this literature review addresses (a) the definition of Islamophobia, (b) the different causes of Islamophobia, (c) Islamophobia in the media and academia, (d) the implications of Islamophobia on society, and (e) how to combat Islamophobia.

In this chapter, by doing a synthesis and analysis of the subject, I tried to find not only similarity but also opposing views on what Islamophobia is and how lack of Muslim-friendly legislation in Indiana affected an understudied segment of the American Muslim population. However, as stated earlier, one of the issues was the scarcity of literature to that effect. I examined the lived experiences of adult Senegalese American Muslims in Indianapolis to remedy the gap in the literature. The necessity to conduct this

research imposed itself with acuity on this phenomenon regarding the scarcity of literature that exists.

Literature Search Strategy

In view of understanding the topic of Islamophobia and how Senegalese American immigrants experience it, I extended the literature review to all Muslims in the United States and what was written since 9/11. The reasoning behind this was to understand what Islamophobia entailed for Muslims in general and how adult Senegalese American Muslims lived it. There is ample literature about Arab and South-Asian Muslim experience with Islamophobia but very little on Sub-Saharan African Muslims. Notably absent are the voices of adult Senegalese American Muslims and how they have experienced the rise of post 9/11 Muslim hate or negative attitudes towards them.

To remedy this gap, I searched the following databases with help and advice from the Walden University library. I searched Thoreau, the ProQuest databases, notably ProQuest Criminal Justice, Political Science Complete, Counseling and Human Service databases, Sage Premier, Policy Studies databases, EbscoHost, Psych Articles, but also Academic Search Complete and Military and Security databases. I used Boolean search phrases but also posed questions to find and define the term Islamophobia mainly with the limiter “USA” in some databases. The search terms and keywords into the search engines were: *Islamophobia, anti-Muslim sentiment, anti-Islam perceptions, what is Islamophobia? Post 9/11 attitudes towards Muslims, Senegalese Muslims in the USA, race relations, terrorism in the USA, psychology of Muslims, Islam in America, societal*

attitudes, and *perceptions*. Another term that used into the search engines was *fear* which also yielded many results and helps understand the concept surrounding Islamophobia.

Theoretical Foundation

I used two theoretical foundations in my study. I used the integrated threat theory, which is composed of the realistic and symbolic threats (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). The second theory I used was the theory of representative bureaucracy which helped explore the public policy implications of this research on Islamophobia. Symbolic and realistic threat theory is part of what is called integrated threat theory (ITT) developed by Stephan and Stephan (2000), who posited that the contact hypothesis facilitated attitudes about a particular group (Khan & Bruschke, 2016). What that means is that certain feelings about in-groups or out-groups can be either dissipated or at least mitigated through contact between members of those groups. It is a known fact that fear or perceptions of fear occupy a big part in shaping prejudice toward what the larger society calls an out-group (Stephan, Renfro, Esses, Stephan, & Martin, 2005).

ITT is one of two theories that this research used in order to understand Islamophobia through the experiences of Senegalese Muslim immigrants. Fear of an out-group can result from either realistic or symbolic threats to the survival of the in-group (Khan & Bruschke, 2016). While realistic threats can be anything that undermines or lessens the political or economic power and wellbeing of the majority or in-group, symbolic threats are those that touch deeper parts of the fabric of the in-group (Stephan et al., 2005). They can be the perceived differences in values, of beliefs, or the threat to the in-group's perceived superior moral compass and worldview (Stephan et al., 2005). The

rapprochement between in-groups and out-groups is fraught with suspicions that one group always has about the other, which makes the relationship complex (Uenal, 2016). Those suspicions reveal themselves in what is called “conspiracy theories” (Uenal, 2016).

The new revised ITT explains the relationship between groups through what is called exploratory frameworks (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). The basis for those frameworks is on historical, or contemporary, sometimes real, or imagined events about the out-group that the in-group uses to explain their aversions and suspicions about the out-group (Uenal, 2016). The in-group base their suspicions on supposed secretive actions that the out-group or some of its members are undertaking that will either bring about the end of the in-group or at least completely change it (Uenal, 2016). Essentially, the in-group is always under the impression that the out-group is obsessively plotting its demise lifestyle. Minorities generally have been viewed under the mantle of “collective conspirators”, threatening the in-group’s very existence (Moscovici, 1987, p. 153). Much like the revised ITT (Uenal, 2016), the original ITT theorists suggested that there is a deep-seated history of conflicts between in-groups and out-groups as such, in the view of the original ITT, the history of those conflicts cause a heightened sense of intergroup threat perception (Moscovici, 1987).

Furthermore, the in-group is usually the dominant majority and one that may believe in conspiracy theories (Moscovici, 1987). The in-group develops a fear of being overthrown by those who consider themselves enemies of their very existence. When the in-group believes through their history of conflicts, whether real or perceived, that the

out-group is planning its downfall, the likelihood of developing an overt aversion of the out-group is heightened (Uenal, 2016).

Prejudice, therefore, ensues against members of the out-group, which is the case of Muslims in the United States and the rising tide of Islamophobic sentiment of the in-group (Croucher, 2013). Prejudice is an amalgamation of negative attitudes against an out-group brought on by negative emotions borne of many factors (Croucher, 2013). These factors can be membership to a particular social group which the in-group is wary of or towards which they harbors ill-will. The membership, in this case, is Islam, which many consider being the enemy of the in-group in America (Wirtz, Van der Pligt, & Doosje, 2016). Muslims in America are the conspirators according to the in-group because they are a threat to the status quo as they are trying to subvert the ways of life of the in-group (Wirtz et al., 2016). Religiosity is also a significant factor in explaining the symbolic threat that the in-group feels. The definition of religiosity is the degree of somebody's connection to their beliefs and how much they adhere and accept their religious institutions (Croucher, Aalto, Hirvonen, & Sommier, 2013). Because of that membership, when members of a dominant group feel that those beliefs and values are being threatened by those who do not share the same values, prejudice arises as a defense mechanism (Stephan & Stephan, 2000).

ITT applied to Senegalese Muslim Americans' experiences in even more profound ways because of their condition of being Muslims and Black. Invisibility writers like Fanon, Baldwin, and Ellison have pointed out how in White societies, Blackness for many specific reasons becomes a matter of outsider status regardless of

citizenship (Kane, 2011). It is possible that Sub-Saharan Muslims in general and Senegalese immigrant Muslims, in particular, do not receive the same amount of scrutiny as their Arab counterparts because they have historically been considered nonbeings because of their color (Donald, 2010). Invisibility in this context is nothing more than conscious social erasure of the presence of this segment of the population, a lack of affirmation of their social status which the in-group knowingly does (Donald, 2010).

The perceived threat can be more dangerous than real threats because the in-group's very existence, the values that they champion, are believed to be under mortal threat. When the in-group knowingly decides to treat a group as if they are invisible, that means they are unwilling to acknowledge the very existence of that group. Invisibility is another form of stereotyping or stigmatizing that is ever-changing and adaptable to situations across time and space, targeting one group after the other as the need arises because the in-group is afraid to recognize the out-group's presence (Donald, 2010). In the case of Senegalese Muslims and Islamophobia, they appear to suffer doubly from invisibility coupled with hypervisibility with regards to their color first and their religion, which is at the forefront of the debate on Islamophobia (Donald, 2010).

The basis for the second foundational theory in this research first originated with Kingsley in 1944 when he studied the effects of representative bureaucracy during World War II in the British civil service. Kingsley (1944) remarked that the main reason why the civil service was very successful in carrying out the policies of the government was that both the government and the civil service's interests were aligned because they had a shared partnership in the middle-class trade and the industry. In that sense, the population

saw themselves in the policies of the government because of their shared values and norms and therefore carried out the policies (Johnson, 2014). After Kingsley, other thinkers delved into the necessity of representation in public policy spheres by minorities. Historically, minorities were left behind when new policies are passed (Lim, 2006; Meier & Nicholson-Crotty; Riccucci, Van Ryzin, & Li, 2016). Minorities, more often than not when they are not represented or are not taken into consideration and assimilated into the wider population are unlikely to see positive outcomes in new policies.

The theory of representative bureaucracy is interested in how minority representation in public administration influences how communities react to policies. In that sense, the goal of representative bureaucracy theory was to understand the experiences of Senegalese American Muslims with Islamophobia, and the lack of inclusive administrative policies potentially makes the phenomenon of Islamophobia worse for Muslims in Indiana. Previous research on representative bureaucracy had only focused on three areas, which are race, ethnicity, and gender (Pitts & Lewis, 2011). This study bridged the gap by applying this theory to another area, which is religion. The need for this new aspect is critical today because of the situation of rising Islamophobia since 9/11. This theory helped evaluate how much of an impact the lack of representation in policymaking spheres and scarcity of Muslim-friendly administrative had on the experiences of Senegalese Muslim Americans with rising Islamophobia.

The literature surrounding the theory of representative bureaucracy uncovered two different types of representation. There is the symbolic, also called passive, representation hypothesis, and the active representation (Gade & Wilkins, 2013; Meier &

Nicholson-Crotty, 2006; Theobald & Haider-Markel, 2009). Symbolic or passive representation stipulates that citizens are more willing to cooperate with the application of public policies and coproduce when their gender, race, or ethnicity is represented by a government bureaucracy (Gade & Wilkins, 2013). In other terms, when the citizen feels represented in a government or organization, then they are more likely to accept the policies instead of feeling that they are imposed on them. In other words, passive representation of minorities changes the policy outcomes of minorities positively because their voices are perceived as included in that policy (Gade & Wilkins, 2013). The second aspect of representative bureaucracy is a direct representation where the citizen represents himself or herself with his vote (Coffman, 2016). Not only is this less desirable for minorities because their concerns might not mesh with the interests of the majority on specific issues, but this kind of representation is costly and not always possible.

Minority interests are best served under symbolic representation in bureaucracy because government officials do more than just administer the law; they influence how the minorities perceive that law. Government agents or bureaucrats serve as a bridge between the law and the people. A policy's legitimacy in the eyes of a minority hinges mainly on whether they see themselves through those bureaucrats (Gade & Wilkins, 2013). However, the age-old debate about representation resurfaces between direct and indirect representation as to which system best suits the needs of minorities (Keane, 2016; Redfield-Ortiz, 2011; Kioupiolis, 2017). In order to understand this controversy, it is essential to understand the duality of representative bureaucracy. The desire that all people be represented in decision making spheres and the very idea of democracy, and

equal representation are at odds (Kioupkiolis, 2017). The alternative would be to keep making policies that did not take into consideration the freedoms of minorities.

Lasley, Larson, Kelso, and Brown (2011) used representative Bureaucracy theory to examine the long-term effects of police officer attitudes towards the communities they serve with regards to race and ethnicity. The LAPD instituted a policy diversifying officer recruitment starting in 1983 to make sure that there is a racial balance between the population and those officers that serve them in their communities (Seiden, 1997).

Representative bureaucracy theory is of the contention that when there is an adequate racial parity between an organization and those they serve, there is a bigger chance that those communities see themselves in that organization. Seiden (1997) said that the higher the parity, the more likely that the organization's officials will be willing to protect the interests of those communities with whom they have similar ethnic backgrounds. Of course, this assumption is only possible when those two entities who share the same racial and ethnic backgrounds also share the same value systems and beliefs (Meier & Stewart, 1992). The use of representative bureaucracy theory to study racial balance and its effects in the LAPD also uncovered an unexpected positive attitude change among non-minority officers vis-à-vis their minority colleagues because of the balance in officer recruitment. For Krislov, (as cited in Naff, 1995) the theory of representative bureaucracy, therefore, is a microcosm of the legislature which allows different points of view in its midst and fosters overall acceptance of policies and government programs by the population. In that sense, the theory of representative bureaucracy was crucial in

determining how Senegalese American Muslims in Indianapolis see the application of SB 101 and how it affected them as they deal with Islamophobia.

What is Islamophobia?

Defining the term Islamophobia is a very perilous task that has continued to be a stumbling block ever since the word appeared officially for the first time in a report by the Runnymede Trust in 1997. Not only was that term only “coined” in the 1990s, the difficulty extends far beyond just defining it but also measuring Islamophobia in terms of “consistency, intensity, and nature” (Bleich, 2012, p.182). The difficulty in finding an agreed-upon definition of the term makes applying the concept to social sciences complicated since it is only “an emerging comparative concept” (Bleich, 2012, p.180). In order to understand this concept, however, the terms ‘fear’ and ‘phobia’ need to be looked at and compared (Coelho & Purkis, 2009).

By using the fear acquisition theory, it appeared that the most significant difference between the two concepts is that “fear is adaptive” to different situations (Coelho & Purkis, 2009, p. 335). In that sense, once one can understand and familiarize with an environment. The cognitive senses take ownership of the fear, which gradually makes way for more understanding (Coelho & Purkis, 2009). For instance, it came about that when children possess knowledge of a particular situation; they are able to anticipate their fears by designing ways to avoid it whereas, with children with less than adequate knowledge of a situation, their cognitive skills compile information in a way that presents ‘fear’ as unavoidable (Coelho & Purkis, p. 335). Knowledge is, therefore, key to navigating through our fears and overcoming them as those with more information are

inclined to find out that a situation is not as fearful as the lack of information leads us to believe.

Phobias, on the other hand, are more controversial and remain rigid throughout the process of knowledge acquisition (Coelho & Purkis, 2009). The main difference is that contrary to fear, “phobias are extreme manifestations of fear to objects or situations in the absence of a proportional danger” (p. 335). In other words, phobias can be hard to understand as there is no logical explanation of why somebody is fearful of something even though that person has ample knowledge that the thing he dreads is not potentially harmful to him or her. Fear of Muslims in that sense is surmountable with knowledge, but overcoming a phobia is a little more complex in terms of cognitive senses.

Fear, however, is not just about the potential of physical harm, because when it comes to Islamophobia, fear can also be symbolic. The symbolism of fear manifests itself in our need to conserve the status quo in a sense that “the fear then, is not just that we will be killed; it is that we will be changed” (Schulz, 2013, p. 239). Fear of Islam can, therefore, manifest itself in two ways: 1) the fear of adherents of the religion to physically harm, or 2) fear of seeing the change that Islam and Muslims can bring to the American way of life which is called the “rot within” (Schulz, 2013, p. 239). The position of fear in our psyche (Coelho & Purkis, 2009; Schulz, 2013) lays the groundwork for trying to establish what Islamophobia means and how it can be defined if it can be at all.

Since the emergence of the term Islamophobia, tentative definitions have been given (Lee, Reid, Short, Gibbons, Yeh, & Campbell, 2013; Lalami, 2013; Bleich, 2012; Imhoff & Recker, 2012). While some define the phenomenon as “the fear of Muslims and

the Islamic faith” (Lee, Reid, Short, Gibbons, Yeh, & Campbell, 2013, p.157), the majority of researchers pose the complexity of defining the term (Bleich, 2012, Lalami, 2012) while others delve into the history of the term (Khan, 2016). The difficulty in defining Islamophobia stems from the fact that there was not an appropriate measuring scale for the “psychometric properties” (Lee et al., 2013, p.157). To define Islamophobia correctly requires developing an appropriate scale; one that would take into consideration two elements of Islamophobia. There is “cognitive Islamophobia” and “affective Islamophobia” (Lee et al., 2013, p.158). Cognitive Islamophobia helps identify potential dangers of one’s physical or moral integrity, while Affective- Behavioral Islamophobia represents how an individual reacts to Islamophobia by avoidance mechanisms (Lee et al., 2013). The difficulty in defining or even agreeing on what Islamophobia is carries over to public and scholarly spheres which makes it a necessity to find a more applicable definition, according to Bleich (2011).

More recently, researchers’ main problem with the term Islamophobia is the problematic of the neologism. With the current events on the political and social spheres, it is very complex to differentiate between what Imhoff and Recker (2012) call “Islamoprejudice” and “secular critique”(p. 811). The difficulty lies in the fact that it is not always clear which position the critiques of Muslims and Islam are adopting: Are they directly pointing out some of the problems posed by Islam, or are they acting by pure contempt of everything Islamic or Arab? The dismissal of this complexity however, happened on the ground that it appeared as purposefully engendered because

Islamophobia was hardly meant as a secular critique of Islam, but rather, a creation of “neo Orientalism” (Kerboua, 2016, p.8).

The dynamics between the West and the Muslim world have always been characterized by what the idea the West has of Islam. Those prejudices went through some paradigmatic shifts over the centuries leading to what is now neo-Orientalism. This was pushed by neoconservatives and the Christian right along with pro-Israel groups (Kerboua, 2016). According to Kerboua (2016), who utilized many works from early literature to Hollywood-made movies, America has always tried to portray Muslims and Islam a certain way that makes departing from that mindset nearly impossible since it has been ingrained in the psyche of the people. Neo-Orientalism aims to advocate for a clash of civilization by pointing out the inadequacy of Islam and Muslim backwardness as opposed to the American way of life, which is forward-leaning and more desirable.

The concept of Orientalism was also cited by Taras (2013) as being the early precursor of what is now Islamophobia. The opposition between the Islamic world and the Christian civilization dates back some 1400 years and, therefore, anti- Muslim sentiments far predate the phenomenon of Islamophobia (Taras, 2013). Whether it is today’s neo-Orientalism (Kerboua, 2016) or Orientalism since the birth of Islam (Taras, 2013), it is note-worthy that they have always regarded Islam and Muslims as being the incarnation of evil as opposed to the good that Christianity and the West are supposedly stands for. Islam, as it appears to the West, is “inherently dangerous and inferior” (Taras, 2013, p. 431). Islamophobia as a phenomenon was used at the turn of the century by Said as quoted in Taras (2013) explaining that it was a “normative term that advanced

disapproving judgments about persons who exhibited discriminatory values and practices towards Muslims, Islamic discourses, and their cultural practices probably was made in 1918” (Taras, 2013, p.431). The otherness of Islam and those who do not look, worship, or believe in the same things the West believes in has given rise to ill will and anti-Muslim sentiments, exacerbated nowadays by the media.

Islamophobia in media and academia

Media and academia have had a lot to do with how the phenomenon of Islamophobia was vulgarized in America post 9/11. Two trends manifested themselves in this instance: On the one hand, researchers who believed the media was responsible for how people in their majority perceived Islam and Muslims in the West. Blaming the media (Khan & Brusckke, 2016; White, Duck, & Newcombe, 2012; Awan, 2016; Keene, 2011) was rife because of how the followers of Islam were portrayed leading people to fear and even loathe them. On the other hand, others had mentioned the mitigating role the media had in lessening Islamophobia (White, Duck, & Newcombe, 2012). However, many other social scientists advocated the need for critical medial literacy (McQueeney, 2014; Zaal, 2012). Meanwhile, others asked for new media representation of Muslim women instead of the cliché that is continually spoon-fed about the dominated, down-trodden women who are in dire need of being liberated (Watt, 2012).

Khan and Brusckke (2016) understand the role of media as having fanned the ill-will towards Muslims and their religion in the USA and instilling fear in the non-Muslim population. What is important here is that the fear or phobia that people have towards Muslims is seldom due to any personal physical confrontation that they have, which

could have impacted their attitudes. The fear is not that they would be harmed physically by Muslims, but in this instance, the fear is more deep-seated and more symbolic. Most of the media has tried to oppose two ways of life through countless, well-designed documentaries and portrayals of Muslims and Western civilization. Muslims have been demonized, vilified, and made to appear like something less desirable and to be feared. The terrorist tag, coupled with the suggestion that the religion ostracized women, making them wear garments that are unacceptable in the West, helps drive home the fear that Islam is here to change the face of the West. The fear then is symbolic, according to Khan and Brusckke (2016) who utilized the Integrated Threat Theory (ITT) to explain the role of media in how exposure to it produces a perceived threat among the non-Muslim population.

Not only does the portrayal of Muslims help define who they are in the eyes of the population, the framing of public discourses (Ogan, Willnat, Pennington, & Bashar, n.d) by media and public personae also helps a great deal. Nevertheless, questions arose regarding how involved the media is in shaping people's mode of thinking and their attitudes towards all things Islam and Muslims (Ogan et al., n.d). The strategies disseminated in the media include a high dose of highlighting Muslims' outsider status. They show Muslims as being at the antipode of civilization with Muslim women's dress choices fingered as proof that Islam is not compatible with the West's standards. This 'othering' of Muslims and Muslim or Arab women serves as a "reactionary reminder of Muslim's outside status" (Perry, 2014, p. 74). The form of dresses associated with

Muslim women has long been a source of ridicule and apathy from the larger non-Muslim population who see this as a refusal to conform to Western standards.

The refusal to conform represents a good excuse for the media to turn the attention of the non-Muslim population to their “other” status (Perry, 2014, p. 76). To that effect, it appears that “the news and entertainment media both generate stereotypes and rely on our familiarity with them in order to formulate the world in their terms” (Perry, 2014, p. 76). The more the population gets accustomed to seeing the Muslims through the prisms created for them, the more most would succumb to the inability to see those Muslims through anything else other than the lens of backwardness, cruelty, and therefore, undeserving of living in the West. The media sets the agenda with what researchers characterized as “media framing techniques”, ensuring that they help legitimize the United States’ discriminatory foreign and domestic policies (Gerhauser, 2014, p. 15). When the media helps paint Islam and Muslims with the broad brush of backwardness--helping construct “an image of Islam in conjunction with terrorism, violence, extremism, and hatred toward America” -- it helps pass those policies that would have been otherwise very unpopular (Gerhauser, 2014, p. 7).

A growing body of research on the scapegoating of Muslims through the Internet has grown rapidly since the events of 9/11 where almost all parts of the Western world experience this online phenomenon. Ekman (2015) talked about the blatant racism directed towards Muslims and relayed through the internet. Those defenders of Western values are using their “counter-jihadist” online networks to frame their racist views of Muslims (Ekman, 2015, p. 1987). Most online defenders of Western values in Europe, for

example, use the Swedish mass murderer Breivik as inspiration for their hate of Muslims (Turner-Graham, 2014). The many social and economic problems fuel the rise of the extreme right in Europe. Young people are adhering to those fringe groups in numbers and are blaming everything on Muslims and Islam. With the example of Breivik, many online forums and the blogosphere appeared as alternative media outlets aiding in scapegoating the Muslim population (Turner-Graham, 2014). In many regards, the two worlds cannot coexist in the western hemisphere according to these online bloggers as the battle is a struggle between good and evil. Therefore, they have to manufacture the “green scare,” symbolized by Islam, and more generally, Arabs or those of Middle Eastern descent (Ekman, 2015, p. 1987). The manufacturing of the “green scare” was further mentioned by Shaheen (2012), who stipulated that the portrayals of Arabs and Islam through cinema made scapegoating them possible. When repetition of something goes on long enough to an audience, the people more than likely start integrating pieces of those messages into their psyche and accepting them as genuine. According to Shaheen (2012), “constantly repeated, these damaging portraits have manipulated viewers’ thoughts and feelings, conditioning them to ratchet up the forces of rage and unreason” (p. 15).

Nadeau (2016) kept the candle burning in the same vein with regards to Islam’s perception through social media, and more specifically, through Facebook. It transpired that Islam “is the most cited and the most hated religion on the Facebook pages we studied” (p. 7). Five dangers registered as a menace to Quebec, and the main one was the “emergence of a Muslim enemy” (Nadeau, 2016, p.6). Seizing on the lack of

understanding of the Muslim religion following the attacks on America on September 11, 2001, many pro-West and right-wing narratives permeated the media, and more and more alternative media outlets to frame populist rhetoric in defense of Western values. By Western values, they mean that everything different is either physically or symbolically threatening to Christian values. Islam happens to be in their eyes the biggest threat to those values if it is allowed to take root and develop in the West (Nadeau, 2016; Turner-Graham, 2014).

Unflattering portrayals of Islam and Muslims, scapegoating, and other forms of victimizations of Muslims were made commonplace by mass media and the new alternate forms of popular media. To that end, a growing number of scholarly works have emerged as to how media should benefit society. Awan (2016), on the other hand, not only recognized the double role and the considerable power wielded by social media and online communities in the sharing of information but sounds the alarm on the effect of these communities on community living. Social media can be a double-edged sword when people use it a certain way. In the context of Islamophobia, the online communities using this means to vilify Muslims and Islam can create stronger bonds between like-minded people but will damage community relationships and living (Awan, 2016). Research has shown that one of the great dangers posed by social media and the around the clock broadcasting of hate towards Muslims is that it will stymie critical thinking (Cohen, 2016). Many people are inclined to run away with what they learn through the media and take that information as Gospel truth confirming their feelings towards Muslims. Cohen (2016) believes that “24/7 media and social media have had an adverse

effect on reflective, informed, sober discussion” (p. 174) about Islam and Muslims in the West since the events of September 11, 2001.

It is essential to re-purpose the media by looking at it through a critical lens, and as such, Muslim scholars have an obligation to stand up in numbers to portray Islam in a more favorable light (El-Aswad, 2013). Muslim scholars are doing it now, but others need to join the struggle in numbers because of the passage from Orientalism in Western media to what is called the New Orientalism. The New Orientalism is one of the principal reasons for the rise of Islamophobia through the dissemination of misleading portrayals of Muslims in the media as global terrorists and savages. By New Orientalism, El-Aswad (2013) is addressing the 1978 definition by Said which stipulated that Orientalism is “a manner of regularized or (Orientalized) writing, vision, and study, dominated by imperatives, perspectives, and ideological biases ostensibly suited to the Orient” (p. 40). The subject of critical media literacy was further advocated by McQueeney (2014), according to whom, students needed to be taught this particular skill in order for them to be able to navigate through the purposefully blurred lines of Islam and terrorism. Because most of the media since 9/11 has “spoon-fed” one-sided information about Islam to the West, it, therefore, falls on educators to give students the necessary tools to look at the topic of Islamophobia through learned eyes (p. 40).

The topic of media literacy in class was further advocated by Zaal (2012) as paramount in the development of young minds in addressing Islamophobia. Although this skill is essential, according to Zaal (2012), it is also necessary to look at the ethical concerns posed by bringing up Islamophobia in class without a proper framework that

takes into consideration Muslim pupils. Muslim students have experienced discrimination outside the classroom setting, but what occurs inside the walls without a good pedagogy is far worse. Teachers have an obligation to teach and present age-appropriate materials for the issue of Islamophobia in the classrooms.

The curriculum can have a lasting impact on how school-aged children perceive Islamophobia, and to that effect, the roles of Muslims from minority populations is essential (Merchant, 2016). That positive influence is vital because Islam in the West tends to be viewed as monolithic, when minority Muslim populations take center stage, that helps bridge the gap in differences (Merchant, 2014). By recognizing the differences, teaching critical media literacy, and also showing age-appropriate material, the academe will help “deconstruct stereotypes and create anti-oppressive classrooms that allow for difficult dialogue in a responsible way” (Zaal, 2012, p. 557).

Islamophobia: The blame game

Role of populist politics

Research is showing that more and more politics and personalities are involved in fanning the embers of Islamophobia in the West (Lal, 2015). Taking advantage of high visibility during the presidential campaign in the USA, presidential hopefuls like Donald Trump have been to the forefront of the debate on Islamophobia. What this research is showing is that the United States has a storied history with discourse like this through the years with many precedents like the Chinese exclusion Act of 1882, and the Executive order 9066 for the Japanese removal after World War II (Lal, 2015). What this clearly shows is that discourse in the political circles and actions against minority groups has

been prevalent in the USA for centuries. There is no better proof for that than the 1917 Immigration Act which stipulated that aliens were “imbeciles, epileptics, alcoholics, poor, beggars, criminals, polygamists, anarchists, and prostitutes” (Lal, 2015, p. 13). The discourses of exclusion that were prevalent before are being echoed now by politicians like Trump calling for the dangerous game of excluding Muslims from American society (Kampmark, 2015). The use of Islamophobia for political gain through populist rhetoric poses a significant danger when there are no facts that substantiate the claims about Islam and Muslims (Khan, 2016). Moreover, research increasingly shows that such populist propaganda during election times is dangerous. Simply because it distracts from the real issues as it provides “cover for other presidential candidates who are themselves problematic” or that “other candidates can contrast their positions... drawing strength from distinction rather than similarity” (Kampmark, 2015, p. 120).

Populist politicians draw on people’s fears and play on their emotions to exacerbate intergroup conflicts (Grillo, 2014). These researchers (Kampmark, 2015; Lal, 2015; Khan, 2016) pointed to the instrumentation of politics that serve populist agendas, but beyond that, those same politicians use the populace to engender ethnoreligious schemes which elected elites need to thrive (Grillo, 2014). The problem is that emerging research shows that those political elites are using the scapegoating of Muslims and Islam as a way to pass unpopular policies (Hamm, 2014). The idea that Muslims are savages, backward, and fully radicalized is a “myth” that serves the designs of those politicians in the West. It is a “vehicle for policymakers to explore the process by which a terrorist is made and to provide and analytical grounding for preventive strategies” (p. 141).

Public opinion is being used by policymakers (as research is increasingly showing) to hide unpopular and dangerous policies while protecting the majority of the population in the West against the radical, blood-thirsty minority hell-bent on destroying civilization. The simplistic ways that policymakers assign the causes of Islamophobia are not about protecting the values of the Christian majority but about foreign policy (Rauf, 2016). The manufacturing of the “green scare” was made possible by the “Islamization threat discourse” pushed by Republicans (Belt, 2016, p. 210). This enabled the keeping up of the pressure for the Republicans to stay united together in their hatred of Muslims and Islam in America. This hate is typified by ex-Republican party hopeful who, although admitting he knew pretty much nothing of Islam, will however announce that Muslims “have an objective to convert all infidels or kill them”. Not only that, but he goes as far as say that Muslims have “an objective to gradually ease sharia law and the Muslim faith into our government” (p. 214).

However, what other researchers uncovered is the fact that these politics are ignoring the fact that the place of Islam and Muslims in the United States is protected by the very thing these Republicans claim they want to uphold: The American Constitution. Cohen (2016) argues that “it is not by accident that the first right in the First Amendment protected the free exercise of religion and prohibited Congress from establishing a national religion” (p. 180). The denial of freedom of religion to Muslims was advocated by an increasing number of politicians who play on the patriotic fiber of the American people by making unsubstantiated claims about Muslims and the building of a worship center near Ground Zero. Lalami (2012) quoted Mitt Romney who declared that the Park

51 mosque “had the potential for terrorists to use the mosque for global recruiting and propaganda”. Sarah Palin kept up the rhetoric by asking if Ground Zero mosque’s existence stabbed its supporters in the heart as it does to other people in the “heartland” (p. 21).

Another theme that emerges is that of political paranoia prevalent in American political circles which is called “natural localness” (Davidson, 2011, p. 88). This paranoia unfortunately, is not new as, it is a natural inclination to fear what is foreign. However, in American history, this attitude has long been the case since the establishment of the first colonies (p. 88). Paranoia in political spheres is the leading cause of the nascent animosity towards Islam and Muslims in America. Using the media, politicians have helped produce perceived threats in the outgroup (Khan & Bruschke, 2016). Integrated threat theory includes real or perceived threats but also intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes. Of all those threats, the symbolic threat is the one that most poses problems in intergroup relationships because a substantial part of the population believes its essence is being threatened by new beliefs that will forever change the make-up of their society.

The roles of politicians in exacerbating the skewed views on Muslims is a dangerous game because huge amounts of capital are squandered on implementing and documenting false causes of radicalization by Muslim youth (Hamm, 2015). Moreover, those strategies are deflecting from the real causes of anti-American sentiments in the world, which are the causative roles of the West in fanning dislike for itself (Hamm, 2015). The biggest fear is that because policymakers seem heedless to the real needs of

American society, they risk hindering national security by promoting anti-Muslim sentiments (Gude, 2015). The aim of so-called Muslim terror groups who broadcast grisly killings of Westerners is nothing more than a ploy to get Western governments to take the bait and further isolate their Muslim compatriots. Such measures will inevitably bring about the long-awaited clash of civilizations that those terror groups count on to carry out their agenda of precipitating Armageddon. Anti-Muslim policies will play into the plans of terror groups whose aim is to “terrorize, mobilize, polarize” (Gude, 2015, p. 3).

Dangerous politics lead to conflation policies when the war on terror and criminality associated with immigrants equates with limiting civil liberties (Rajan & Gabriel, 2015). These policies showed their limits when they failed to yield any tangible evidence that all Muslims are evil despite the massive arrests of Muslims during the “Ashcroft raids” post 9/11 (Meeropol, 2015, p. 185). Islamophobia is then not about differing values, and there is a need to face the facts and stop assigning simple causes to why the phenomenon is rife and focus instead on American foreign policy if we need to find durable solution (Rauf, 2016). Politicians have been derelict in their duties and have fanned the embers of hate in American society against Muslims. Finding honest solutions, however, does not seem to find favor in a crucial segment of the conservative religious leaders in this country. The next segment will highlight the role of many religious conservatives in maintaining the status quo of Islamophobia in the public debate.

Public Policy Implications of Islamophobia

Sweeping changes were noted in the USA after 9/11, which would consecrate the relationship between America and its Muslim population (ISPU, 2015). Some of those changes are collective actions taken against Muslims communities through the actions of State legislators introducing bills targeting Muslims at a state level (ISPU, 2015). One of the first states to present anti-Islam legislation through the anti-Sharia law was Oklahoma, which voted in 2010 by 70% of the voters to approve a measure called SQ 755 (State Question 755), also known as the “Save Our State Amendment (Tankle, 2012). Nativist theories about what it means to be American--and the values and beliefs of an American--constituted the primary reason for that Anti-Sharia legislation starting from Oklahoma (Ali, 2012; ISPU, 2015). What is at stake is a war of ideologies, and state legislators believed it their duty to take measures to stem the tide of Islam in the country (Ali, 2012). Coordinated efforts of citizen movements and lobbies have led to those measures through the acts of organizations like the American Freedom Defense Initiative as early as 2012 to try and sway laws against Muslims (Bazian, 2015).

There is a widespread movement from legislators and anti-Islam proponents to secularize Islam in what is called “the politics of Islamic reformation” in which politicians work to institutionalize the idea of secularism (Haddad & Harb, 2014, p. 68). However, the idea of that talked-about secularism has never been that of separation of church and state; in this case, legislators are trying to purge Islam and turn the Muslim American into a subject whose religiosity makes them uncomfortable (Haddad & Harb, 2014). The process of identity formation of Muslims or the creation of a new brand of

American Muslims has therefore started a decade ago through policies leading to constraints that were passed since September 11, 2001 (Haddad & Harb, 2014). When one considers the percentage of the Muslim population in the USA--which is a mere 0.6%--introducing anti-Sharia provisions constitute not only an exaggeration but also a serious attempt at perverting the Constitution of the United States (Tankle, 2012). The idea that those anti-Sharia measures were legislated at the state level was ruled unconstitutional by the U.S Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals. Alternate Dispute Resolution courts (ADR) have always been accepted in the USA as long as they do not pose problems by going against established laws (Tankle, 2012; Sisson, 2015).

Freedom of arbitration has always been guaranteed in the United States and protected by the 14th Amendment, The Federal Arbitration Act (FAA) and the RUA (Revised Uniform Arbitration Act) as long as there is no perversion by fraud or incompatibility with public policy (Sisson, 2015). In addition to being protected by the laws of the land, it is imperative that Muslims not look at their situation as unique. Others before them were in the same situation just a few decades ago. Catholics also went through this situation with the “foreign menace” which ended when Kennedy was elected (Tankle, 2012). Muslims should work in conjunction with other organizations and not isolate themselves (ISPU, 2015). There are strategies for combating these anti-Islam measures: 1) to be at the forefront of the fight for civil rights with like-minded people and organizations and 2) to constitute a strong lobby that will engage those proposing these legislations (ISPU, 2015).

More specifically, for this research, the single public policy that could pose a problem for Senegalese Muslims in Indiana was the Religious Freedom Restoration Act passed by the Indiana senate in 2015. The United States Supreme Court passed the precedence for this legislation in 1990 in the case of Oregon's Employment Division v. Smith. Mr. Smith, who was employed by the local government. He was terminated from his job for having smoked the hallucinogenic drug called peyote in a Native American religious ritual. Oregon's prohibition of the use of drugs was applied even in the case of religious practices, and the Supreme Court ruled in favor of the state. Indiana's Senate Bill 101. IC34-13-9 was passed as a means to "combat the perceived indifference of government officials to how their uniform enforcement of rules may burden citizens' exercise of religion" (Katz, 2015, p.47).

Basically, what this measure means for minorities, including the LGBT community and Muslim organizations, is that the government is giving free rein for private employers to discriminate openly against those minorities without being liable for their bigotry in a court of law. SB 101 was decried by Muslims organizations like the Muslim Alliance of Indiana as a murky law that is against the interests of minorities and Muslims, especially in this context of heightened anti-Islam climate. This research examined Islamophobia and the experiences of Senegalese Muslims in Indianapolis through this specific legislation in order to gauge the impact of SB 101 in exacerbating discrimination against Muslims in the city. Since minorities have always struggled with new legislation (Johnson, 2014), the Muslim minority did not feel included in the

religious miscellany of America and the public policy changes that were passed and affected them considerably.

The Role of Conservative Christians

Conservative Christians and their leadership played a considerable role and, they influenced the way Islamophobia spread in America since September 2001. The problem stems mainly from the amalgamation of religion and politics. The conflation between having strong evangelical beliefs and political leanings has in general had an incidence on harboring anti-Muslim views (Shortle & Gaddie, 2015). Since Islam has no place in America in their views, the Christian nationalists then strongly supported the idea of considerably limiting Muslim worship rights. The manufacturing of the “Green scare”, which is believed to be the surreptitious Islamization of America, helps focus the hatred of those conservatives on Muslims whom they believe are plotting the downfall of America as we know it (Ekman, 2015, p. 1987). Evangelical pastors echo the words of Republican Politician Newt Gingrich who viewed Islam as a threat because Muslims were working from the inside to subvert the culture of America (Johnston, 2016).

Paranoid thinking like this is not new because America has cyclical bouts of paranoia about a perceived enemy, and Muslims happen to be the latest manifestation of such paranoid thinking (Davidson, 2011). There is an accepted norm that equates being American to a certain stereotypical way of being. Anything that departs from that stereotype of being white, Anglo-Saxon, and Christian appears foreign, and un-American (Jacobs & Theiss-Morse, 2013). A person’s religion largely determines his or her American identity and that a prototypical American could hardly be of the Islamic

religion the belief of an increasingly prominent part of conservative Christian pastors and their following (Jacobs & Theiss-Morse, 2013). The idea that such ways of thinking are widespread is pretty scary when one considers the kind of reach that such messages about American identity has in the Evangelical epicenters like the “Bible belt” (Shortle & Gaddie, 2015, p. 441). In effect, those Evangelical epicenters cover about 473 counties of the entire 3,141 counties that constitute the USA or 15.1% of the country, which is around 20 million people who harbor those views of Muslims and the religion of Islam (Shortle & Gaddie, 2015).

Religious elites manipulate the emotions of their following by playing ethnoreligious politics (Grillo, 2014). The manipulation is done primarily by ingraining the idea of a certain prototype of Americans. Anything that departs from that norm would be considered foreign and contrary to what America stands for. To that effect, conservative leaders advocate for the deportation of all Muslims because they do not belong in the Western world (Belt, 2016). There is emergent literature showing that associating rising Islamophobia to differences of religion is mostly erroneous and too simplistic of an explanation. Russia’s Orthodox beliefs are far more fundamental than those of the Evangelical Christians in the United States, and yet, religion nor civilization is a problem between Muslims and Christians (Headley & Dobrovolskiy, 2016).

Regarding the phenomenon of Islamophobia, research is showing that conservative Christian leaders may be using their beliefs for commercial purposes and that anti-Muslim beliefs feed into their interests, which find links to the “Islamophobia industry” (Bazian, 2015, p. 1059). The American Freedom Defense Initiative (AFDI)

found that 37 groups profit from the lucrative market of fanning Muslim hate, and the common denomination for those groups is an active pro- Israel lobby funding those anti-Muslim groups. From 2008 to 2011 alone, \$119,662,712 have been funneled into this industry to distribute, fund, and produce Islamophobic content production mainly because Zionist groups are enraged that Muslim Americans are against Israel's apartheid policy (Bazian, 2016). Money, therefore, is the underlying factor regarding the flourishing of Islamophobia in the USA. Figures showed that for 2015 alone, American taxpayers paid \$1.7 trillion to wage wars in the Middle East. As such, it is in the interest of the American arms industry in conjunction with the Christian elites to make Islam the enemy and Islamophobia as a national ideology (Smith, 2017). In that case, there is a need to view religion in conjunction with foreign policy and the hegemonic leanings of U.S policy. Evangelical Christian conservatives push through an agenda of American national assertiveness and moralism abroad, and any refusal of U.S imposition by those countries is characterized as an unwillingness to espouse Western ideas and as proof of their backwardness (Guth, 2013; Rauf, 2016).

In order for Islamophobia to decrease in the United States, religious leaders, regardless of denominations, need to come together and condemn anti-Muslim attitudes (Osborn, 2016). However, the plights of Christian minorities in majority Muslim countries also need to be addressed in the same vein (Johnston, 2016). Just as Christians should not be held accountable for what others do in the name of their religion, Muslims also cannot be collectively held responsible for those who use Islam. However, Muslims should make it clear that they denounce those who commit crimes in the name of Islam

(Alsayegh, 2016). Because Islamophobia is widespread since the attacks of September 11, 2001, its consequences on all segments of American society are far-reaching. Muslims, who also live and are citizens of this country, are integral components of American society. Therefore, they experienced the manifestations of islamophobia on many levels.

Consequences of Islamophobia on Muslims and America

The first manifestation of Islamophobia on Muslims in America was that it contributed through its stereotypes to convey an untrue image of Islam and Muslims. Because of that, policies and measures were passed in the aftermath of 9/11 to restrict the freedom and liberties of the Muslim on security pretenses. Muslims were rounded up in large numbers through the “Ashcroft raids” (Meeropol, 2015, p. 185). Such knee-jerk or calculated decisions, apart from playing into the fear of the broader population about Islam, did not yield any results or note-worthy, information for the intelligence services of the United States (Meeropol, 2015). These counterproductive measures based on anti-Muslim bigotry, far from making America safe, achieve just the contrary because those who mean America harm count on those strategies to thrive and bring about a clash of civilizations (Gude, 2015). Islamophobia is, therefore, a hindrance that should be fixed for America to reach the levels of national security the country needs to thrive (Gude, 2015).

Ill-advised policies post 9/11 contributed to the decisions to equate security on U.S soil to restricting the civil liberties of Muslims. In that regard, the ‘war on terror’ was carried out with blatant disregard of human rights, and immigrants, especially Muslims,

came to be associated with criminality (Rajan & Gabriel, 2015). Another manifestation of those measures taken against Muslims after 9/11 is the hastily passed USA Patriot Act before the dust even settled in New York. Those measures put Muslims at the mercy of intelligence services, which had the green light to do whatever they deemed necessary to avert future attacks on America (Smith & Hung, 2010).

The consequences of those measures of surveillance borne from the terrorist attacks and targeting Muslims are physically, psychologically drastic for them. Ethnic abhorrence of Muslims manifested through “hard and soft” surveillance methods of Muslims (Patel, 2012, p. 215). The rejection of Muslim Americans and denying their ethnical identities as part of American society results in their otherness through the eyes of wider non-Muslim society (Perry, 2014). The psychology of Muslims after 9/11 is a topic that has been raised by researchers, especially with regards to all the attacks, labeling, marginalization and rejection that they have been the victims of in recent years. After 9/11, hate crimes against Muslims rose exponentially, and Muslims were five times more likely to be harassed and victimized than other sections of the American population. Since 2015, anti-Muslim sentiments rose to a high of 67% in American public discourse (Samari, 2016).

Because of the stigma Muslims go through, they are very likely to experience negative cognitive and emotional states which have an effect of pushing most of them to conceal their faith, and their group identities to fit in society (Khan, 2014). The fear of being viewed as outsiders affect their mental balance and psychological state of mind because being outsiders is synonymous of labeling but also loss of status (Samari, 2016).

The loss of status is not limited to any class or section of the Muslim American population because all strata are concerned, even Muslim physicians (Abu-Ras et al., 2013). To that effect, experts have been advocating for psychological research on Muslims because they are a fast-growing minority (Amer & Bagasra, 2013). Researching treatment strategies for Muslims should also entail looking into the subtler manifestations of bias towards Muslims. Micro-aggressions are harder to spot but pose equally damaging threats to the well-being of minorities exposed to it (Nadal, Davidoff, Davis, Wong, Marshall, & McKenzie, 2015). If anything, dealing with micro-aggressions can be even harder to deal with because the victim needs to prove first that it indeed occurred. If that is not enough, then it falls on the victim to also prove that it happens because of perpetrator bias (Nadal et al., 2015). Finding solutions to deal with the possible effects of micro-aggressions on Muslims becomes an imperative (Vogel, McMinn, Peterson, & Gathercoal, 2013).

Summary of Chapter 2

Many topics were researched when it comes to Islamophobia since 9/11, and research is still emerging regarding the effect on Muslim America. Unfortunately, even in academic spheres, Islam in America is still regarded as a homogeneous monolith, and research production yielded literature according to that belief. The idea that Arabs represent the majority of Islamic adherents in America is laughable because they constitute only 12 to 15% of Muslim Americans. The literature review covered various topics from the problem of the definition of Islamophobia to how the phenomenon spreads, the roles of media, politics, and conservative Evangelical Christian leaders in

ensuing that Islam appears in a bad light. This chapter also covers literature on the psychological effects of Islamophobia on Muslim Americans but also the new avenues for research. Chapter three presents the methodology.

Chapter 3: Research Method

Introduction

The purpose of this qualitative phenomenological research was to describe the experiences of Muslim Senegalese immigrants with Islamophobia in the United States since September 11, 2001, and the absence of administrative policies in support of the Muslim minorities in the state of Indiana. The findings may offer a more thorough knowledge of Muslim Senegalese immigrants and what their experiences with Islamophobia in Indiana mean. Such knowledge might enable the fostering of a better understanding of another section of Muslims living in America. This knowledge might also help psychologists and public policy analysts alike get a grasp on intervention strategies and levels of participation in decision making processes better tailored to them in the future.

Indianapolis is home to about 120 nationalities, and one in every 10 households speaks a language other than English (Immigrant Welcome Center, n.d). As of 2015, the total immigration population in the State of Indiana numbered 321,303 (American Immigration Council, n.d). The city of Indianapolis houses about 60,000 of those immigrants, and the numbers should reach 118,479 by 2023 (American Immigration Council, n.d). From 2009 to 2023, the immigrant population in Marion county is expected to soar from 6% to 12.26% (Immigrant Welcome Center, n.d). Indianapolis, according to those numbers, has one of the largest growing immigrant populations in the entire country and the ninth fastest in terms of population change in total foreign-born residents (Migration Policy Institute, 2017).

Indianapolis is home to an increasingly more significant West African immigrant population since the 1990s and among them, Senegalese Muslim immigrants (Migration Policy Institute, 2017). Islamophobia is a phenomenon that is growing and has affected many people living in the United States since the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001 (Beydoun, 2018, p. 95). There was a gap in the knowledge of how Senegalese immigrants were affected by Islamophobia in America.

Knowing the experiences of Senegalese Muslims with Islamophobia may help social scientists and psychologists craft and compile a useful database on them. That knowledge may show their peculiarities and may help design strategies for dialogue or future personalized treatments more adapted to their beliefs (Amer & Bagasra, 2013).

This detailed methodology chapter comprised many elements of the research. This chapter covers the research design and its rationale, the various research questions, tradition of qualitative research, what the role of the researcher was, the potential biases, and ethical questions that may crop up in this kind of research. Furthermore, I explain what considerations I took into account when selecting the research participants, instrumentation, data collection, and the analysis process. This chapter also details the issues of trustworthiness and working through the institutional review board (IRB) process. It also covers the issues of transparency and managing bias as well as the ethical issues that all studies using human subjects are subjected. Chapter 3 ends with a summary of these different elements leading to Chapter 4.

Rationale and Design

More studies on the impact of Islamophobia on Muslims in America are needed. However, to do this, it is essential to depart from the premise that Islam is monolithic and that Muslims in America are a homogeneous group. The gap in knowledge appeared here because most studies focused on Middle Eastern Muslims or Arab phenotypes as the primary representation of the religion of Islam. In order to broaden the knowledge about who Muslims in America are, it would be necessary to study them in their diversity in order to add to the knowledge of social scientists and psychologists for dialogue and possible intervention strategies.

With Islamophobia, groups may be affected differently, and there may be a particularity in their coping strategies or even how they approach other majority groups in their day to day life (Amer & Bagasra, 2013). This need to know and add to the knowledge of Muslims in America is all the more critical because, according to projections, within the next decade, Muslim Americans of different backgrounds are going to create the largest (Amer & Bagasra, 2013). Lack of knowledge about specific groups of Muslims and their religion and how a lack of specific public or administrative policies supporting them poses problems hindering the rapport between the majority population, or in-group, and Muslims, the outgroup (Amer & Bagasra, 2013). Although this need seems pressing right now, many studies are still focused on presenting Islam as a monolith in America. In that regard, this research departed from the norm and facilitated research on Muslims in America and the phenomenon of Islamophobia.

Research Questions

Primary Research Question

RQ1: How have Senegalese Muslim immigrants in Indianapolis, IN experienced Islamophobia, and what are their perceptions of public policies that are passed to make the United States more secure?

Primary Subquestions

1. How do the adult Senegalese Muslims describe their lived experiences with the phenomenon of Islamophobia since 2001?
2. In what context do their experiences with Islamophobia occur?
3. How are individual differences reflected in the participants' account of their experiences with Islamophobia in the United States?
4. In what way has the lack of administrative measures hindered the fight to lessen the effects of Islamophobia in the Senegalese immigrant Muslim community?

Phenomenon

The central phenomenon under study in this research was the Senegalese Muslim experience of Islamophobia in Indianapolis. I focused on their lived experiences with the rising tide of Islamophobia since September 11, 2001, and the lack of Muslim-friendly administrative measures to help combat Islamophobia. Understanding the lived experiences of Senegalese Muslim immigrants may help gain perspective on the diversity of experiences that exist in the Muslim fabric of the United States. Such knowledge could prove very valuable in fostering social understanding between members of the society of all faiths and backgrounds. Also, this information may help advance possible treatment

methods for dealing with consequences of Islamophobia at the psychological level, at least for members of this community, and create avenues for policymakers to involve Muslims in decisions that affect them as a community. Muslims continue to grow in numbers and will continue to grow steadily in the foreseeable future to be the fastest-growing minority in America (Amer & Bagasra, 2013). Understanding Senegalese Muslim perspectives on Islamophobia further contributes to fighting American public discourse that has favored Islamophobia. Religious organizations that use a two-level strategy, first on the national level and then on the local level, to alert national opinion on the ordeal of American Muslims can help dispel many concerns (Orsborn, 2016).

Research Tradition

Qualitative Research

In the research tradition, qualitative methods help researchers investigate and comprehend social and human phenomena from the view that individuals or groups ascribe to it (Creswell, 2009). However, for research to follow the qualitative tradition, four philosophical assumptions have to be present in the make-up of the design (Creswell, 2009). Qualitative research must be ontological, epistemological, axiological, and methodological (Creswell, 2009). What this means is that the idea of the plurality of realities must be present. Plurality, not only in terms of the reality that the researcher brings to the study, but also the different realities that each participant in the research also brings through his or her lived experiences (Creswell, 2009). Secondly, in qualitative studies, the closeness of the researcher to the participants is necessary since the only way to gain information is by delving into the subjective experiences of the people, which

only a certain measure of closeness can provide (Creswell, 2013). The axiological determinant in qualitative studies intervenes in the fact when researchers bring their values and biases to the table and acknowledge them rather than denying them (Creswell, 2009). Lastly, qualitative research follows a methodology whereby procedures are inductive rather than deductive (Creswell, 2009). What this means is that the researcher follows the emerging trends of his experiences garnered through the data collection and analysis phase then presents without the express concern to prove or deny anything (Creswell, 2013). In this study, the methodology helped me understand and interpret the lived experiences of Senegalese Muslim immigrants with rising Islamophobia in America since 2001. Qualitative research uses an open-ended line of questioning during the data collection process (Patton, 2002). The other difference between qualitative research and other research traditions is in the fact that the former uses purposeful sampling in order to get “information-rich cases” (Patton, 2002, p. 230). Because of all these reasons and in view of what was needed in this research, a qualitative approach to research was best suited in order to gain a deeper, more meaningful knowledge of the lived experiences of my participants with the growing phenomenon of Islamophobia in America.

Phenomenology

Among the five most-used research approaches in a qualitative study, phenomenology was best suited for this research because I focused on understanding the participants’ perceptions of the world around them through their lived experiences. Husserl developed the methodology at the start of the 20th century (Tuohy et al., 2013).

Phenomenology is the ability to describe an issue or phenomenon as it transpires through the prism of the person who is experiencing it (Tuohy et al., 2013).

Phenomenology can follow two traditions: a descriptive method or an interpretive method, also called hermeneutics (Tuohy et al., 2013). Descriptive phenomenology aims to describe the general characteristics of a phenomenon instead of focusing on the individual's lived experiences (Tuohy et al., 2013). Hermeneutics on the other hand, seeks to go beyond just describing but incorporates understanding and interpreting the participants' experiences (Creswell, 2009). Husserl (1901) introduced phenomenology as a rigorous science and is considered the creator of transcendental phenomenology, which is also known as descriptive (Cresswell, 2013; Van Manen, 2017). Transcendental phenomenology in Husserlian philosophy is the theory that consciousness is separate from phenomena because the latter only exists through the perception of people (Laverty, 2003). In other words, to research how people's lived experiences are described, it is necessary to bracket out our "preconceived opinions" (Reiners, 2012, p.1). Practical experience is the foundation of descriptive phenomenology, where questions are only asked based on a person's knowledge (Reiners, 2012). Descriptive phenomenology can also be eidetic in the sense that a person may retain mental images created through his or her own subjective experiences and personally gained knowledge in their psyche (Hamrick, 2001).

Interpretive phenomenologists on the other hand, understand that their role is indissociably linked with those of their participants. Furthermore, "the researcher needs to understand that experiences are linked to social, cultural, and political contexts."

(Tuohy et al., 2013, p. 19). Heidegger (1919), who was a student of Husserl, is the foremost proponent of hermeneutics, which focuses on the essence of being a human being and how our perceived humanness permeates through our lived experiences (Lavery, 2003). Heidegger's interpretive phenomenology suggests that human consciousness has links with a certain number of things like phenomena, and events which, in turn, reveal the nature of humanity (Smith, 2013). Interpretive phenomenology, in that sense, is all about studying the lived meaning of an experience (Van Manen, 2017). The search for meaning, places hermeneutics phenomenology on a quest for essences at all times. In that sense, Heidegger's philosophy is not that much different from the Husserlian transcendentalism because the strife for essences is a primarily Husserlian endeavor (Dahlberg, 2006).

In other words, the interpretive phenomenological research tradition (Hermeneutics) understands that "many footprints" participate together to enable a new way of looking at an issue or a "pattern of understanding" (Conroy, 2003, p.5). Because of those reasons, the phenomenological tradition is said to be constructivist. In so doing, phenomenology makes the point that our understanding of the world is based on our understanding or our construct of it. In other terms, the subjective meanings we assign to events of our lives are particular to each one of us. There is no such thing as a "purely objective perception of reality, and no such construction can claim absolute power" (Maxwell, 2013, p.43).

Role of the Researcher

In describing the role of the researcher in a study, Heidegger equated it to that of the human being going about his business in real life. To him, “we are always already in a world in association with others, not as observing beings but as beings inseparable from that which is observed and from a world of being” (Rapport & Wainwright, 2006, p. 229). This association puts the role of the researcher in a central place in qualitative inquiry, where he is active from start to finish and has a hand in all the activities (Patton, 2002). Since the researcher is front and center in qualitative research, his or her role starts with an empirical observation of an issue or phenomenon which comes into question.

I have been a practicing Muslim all my life and have lived in the United States since August 2000. Additionally, I have lived in this city where research is conducted since July 2000. Since then, I have frequented many worship places and social gatherings and have come in contact with various people of this community and interacted with them at different levels except supervisory ones. The researcher’s goal in this phenomenological study was to engage adult Senegalese Muslim immigrants who have had experiences with the phenomenon of Islamophobia.

It is my job as the researcher to then design the study from top to bottom by coming up with the questions, elaborating the subject and protocols, collecting data, and then analyzing it. Furthermore, it is also the uttermost role of the researcher to comply with regulations on how that data is gathered and the guaranties that no participant gets harmed in any way in the research. Since the centrality of the role of the researcher in qualitative research is without question, it is also dependent on the researcher to instill

quality on the research (Moustakas, 1994). The strength of a qualitative study depends on the professionalism of the researcher and his or her understanding of the rules that govern qualitative research. The validity and reliability questions of the research hinge on how the researcher handles biases and the process. In order for qualitative research to gain credibility, the role of the researcher is to remain above the fray because his interpretations of the phenomenon can be a strong influence on the study (Patton, 2002).

In that regard, my role as a researcher was to uphold those principles of integrity and professionalism first and foremost. It was necessary to comply with all the IRB protocols in order to be able to work with human participants. It was also the inquirer's role to develop a line of questioning, seek and obtain my participants informed consent about participating in the study. In doing that, the role was to further explain clearly, without any ambiguity, what the study entailed without either exaggerating its possible advantages or minimizing its reach. The job also included the recruitment of research participants and making arrangements to meet at their preferred environmental settings to conduct data gathering at times convenient to them.

At the end of data gathering, I organized notes and the information obtained, being extra careful to preserve participants' identities just like promised while getting their informed consent. Finally, after transcription, every single document was coded according to the themes that transpired through the process and I analyzed the results.

Phenomenology seeks to understand the underlying themes behind individual narratives (Rapport & Wainwright, 2006). As a researcher, seeking to inquire and understand the deeper meanings behind the participants' experiences with Islamophobia

in America. I did my utmost to display a high level of professionalism through the entire process of research. Every researcher comes with some biases that must be recognized and eliminated for the final report. Many threats to research pose a problem, but minimizing internal ones constitute a must to preserve validity and credibility in qualitative research. Following were the crucial steps I undertook to minimize those threats, which will be about: Managing bias, ensuring transparency, and epoche.

Managing Bias

Qualitative research, and especially a phenomenological approach, comes with inherent bias and responsibility for the researcher to maintain reliability and validity of the findings. Researcher bias first and foremost stems from coming into the issue with too much knowledge about the phenomenon already (Snelgrove, 2014). The researcher is usually full of a priori knowledge because of the information emanating from our common sense, prior knowledge of the subject matter through practical experience, and all that makes the researcher inclined to assign meanings to events without full knowledge of their real underlying significance (Snelgrove, 2014). Additionally, the researcher bias could emanate from the most unexpected sources, be it the tone, or physical traits, or even gender roles. All those things have the potential to warp the researcher's interpretation.

Although bias is largely determined by the researcher, there also remains the possibility that some answers from respondents are flawed based. Those flaws come either from biased questions or they could hinge on the sensibilities of the respondent. Participants could, for example, answer a question based on what they think the

researcher wants to hear or to keep themselves protected by revealing their true feelings about an issue. Bias could also creep into research through sampling. Sometimes, a researcher may find it hard to get the required qualified participants. To keep the research on schedule, he may be forced to accept participants that do not totally meet the criteria. This is called sample bias and could potentially damage the reliability and validity of the research.

Bias, therefore, is undesirable in research, at least when ignored in all its manifestations and not dutifully canalized. Bias, in other terms, messed with the objectivity of the results of the research (Kirshner, Pozzoboni, & Jones, 2011).

To avoid or limit bias in my research, I managed the academic knowledge that I received on the phenomenon by treating it like important information of course. However, the knowledge was not fundamental to my research because, ultimately the experiences of the participants or the meaning they placed behind it was more important. In the field, I was able to give the participants undivided attention while collecting data so as to not miss anything during the observations of their body language, or facial expressions while they answered the research questions. When some parts of their responses were vague or unclear, I sought clarifications of their responses to maintain accuracy (Patton, 2002). I conducted the interviews at places that were secure based on participants' choices to avoid putting them under unnecessary stress which could arise in unfamiliar surroundings. However, with all those guarantees, I still added two additional layers of security to control bias through epoche, and transparency.

Epoche or bracketing

Epoche, or bracketing, has been advocated by phenomenological researchers as a way to limit bias in a study. Bracketing in essence means freeing oneself of pre-conceived ideas and clearing the mind of all pre-existing knowledge. It is not quite the theory of the tabula rasa, which advocated doing away with all prior knowledge. Instead, it is compartmentalizing the knowledge in a way that it does not seep through and influence the research. Bracketing means gaining entry to the “phenomenological attitude” (Moustakas, 1994) that makes it possible to gain and accept new information even if it contradicts what the researcher came into the research believing. Epoche, therefore means a descriptive eidetic reduction (Husserl, 1964) where the researcher is always conscious and inductive when gathering data and taking notes. In interpretive phenomenology, bracketing means something different than it does in descriptive phenomenology. What bracketing means in this research is making abstraction of my experiences and background as it pertains to the phenomenon and the participants. Instead, bracketing, in this instance, means engaging and embracing those experiences which will serve to contextualize participants’ lived experiences.

As a researcher, I prepared myself by writing down all those preconceived ideas on a note pad prior to the encounter with the participants for data gathering. This process served as mental preparation to deal with new ideas that I received regardless of the initial belief. As a researcher investigating Islamophobia and being a practicing Muslim, numerous of ideas existed of how I assumed the participants would feel. However, I

convinced myself that those prior experiences were not necessarily the participants' experiences and proceeded to limit those biases as best as possible.

Transparency

Transparency entailed being upfront with advisors about the entire protocol of the research. I submitted the designs, protocols and all documentation to get criticism, which augmented value to the process. Transparency means being honest and trustworthy with participants by not overselling their participation or hiding the true nature of the research (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 1994). The researcher is to stay away from putting up a “fake persona” in order to appear more sympathetic to the respondents and gain more information (Miles et al., 1994, p. 62). Playing on participant sensibilities, coaxing information out of them in this way is a display of dishonesty, which the researcher agreed not to do when getting informed consent.

I abided by the promises in order to be faithful to the research and the respondents. I maintained transparency by keeping note of the entire process and keeping and organizing the documentation accordingly and explaining the reasons behind all the choices. In keeping with those engagements, the following is the detailed methodology of this research on Islamophobia.

Methodology

Participants

In qualitative inquiry, everybody who fulfills the criteria to be eligible to participate in a research joins a grouping called a sample universe. The criteria to participate in this research were the following: The participants had to be Muslim

Senegalese immigrants living in Indianapolis now and lived in the United States at least months prior to 2001. The study populations were adults who were at least 30 years of age at the time of study irrespective of gender, social, and professional status. This population best represented the sample that answered the criteria for this research. They had some experience living in the United States prior to the events of 2001, they were aware enough of the situation in the country prior to 9/11 and, therefore, experienced the changes in attitudes towards Islam and Muslims. In order to find participants in a study, there are 4 parameters to be considered: the setting, the actors, the event, and process (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 1994). In this case, the research was set in the Indianapolis area. The persons being studied were Senegalese nationals living in the Indianapolis area who were born into Muslim families. Additionally, they were practicing Muslims who were present in the United States at least several months prior to 9/11. The event under investigation is Islamophobia, which affects those members of the society and the process includes their experiences leading to that phenomenon.

Sampling Strategy

Because every qualitative research necessitates extensive data collection or “fieldwork” , the researcher needs to identify which strategy best answers his or her needs (Patton, 2002, p. 261). Qualitative researchers use inclusion and exclusion criteria to identify those participants to study and interview. For that reason, I chose purposeful sampling. The logic behind purposeful sampling is that it enables the researcher to find participants who can add unique insights into the topic. Those unique insights permit

what is called “information-rich cases” which the researcher benefits from via additional knowledge (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 34).

Selection

As stated earlier, the selection of the participants for this study followed many criteria the most important of which being that they had to be of Senegalese Muslim extract and lived in the United States prior to the terrorist attacks of 2001. Those participants were selected to share their experiences as Senegalese Muslims from Sub-Saharan Africa. Moreover, they experienced dealt the change in attitudes toward their religion since 2001. Exclusion criteria then include all those of the same background but who were not present on United States soil before that date or who were too young to remember those events. Language barriers constituted no exclusion criterion either because I could translate every data set of those whose English was not good enough or who felt more comfortable speaking in their native languages or French.

I was able to recruit the participants with the help of a local Masjid with a big Senegalese following but also the local Senegalese Association (Senegalese Community of Indiana). The Senegalese Community of Indiana (SCI) was a particularly useful community organization that caters to the majority of Senegalese nationals living in Indiana. Its role is to keep its members and sympathizers abreast of community happenings, assist in social issues, and provide needed help with needed information. There is a strong bond that exists between active members of the organization, and periodic meetings and picnics are organized for the community to socialize and exchange news. The chosen participants had to first of all express a willingness to participate in the

research by filling out informed consent forms after having satisfied all the requirements. They had to be adults of at least 30 years of age, of Senegalese background, have been born Muslim, residents of Indianapolis, have lived in the United States at least several months before the events of 9/11. Only after satisfactorily meeting those criteria were they deemed adequate participants in this research.

Accessing Research Participants

During a community meeting, the board members of SCI distributed request letters for voluntary participation in the research for willing members. I sent the same letters through the local Masjid requesting voluntary participation in the research on Islamophobia. After notification of willing participants, I made follow up phone calls to each prospective participant to further explain the purpose of the research to them. Those phone calls were brief and concise, and after satisfactorily explaining the issue, I let those potential volunteers who were undecided take time and contact the researcher when they were sure they wanted to participate.

Of those contacted and who agreed to participate, ten were initially called by phone and briefed about how this process would be conducted. I explained again the purpose of the research, which sought to learn about their experiences with Islamophobia, and I also signaled to them how the interviews were going to go. An additional five prospective participants were put on standby to see if I information saturation was possible or not and if there were to be discrepant cases, which could prompt the use or not of those remaining five volunteers. The participants' willingness and availability was

once again ascertained at the end of the screening process, and we again established that participation was voluntary.

Sample Size

There is no agreed-upon sample size in qualitative research; however, many agree that the sample size might hinge on what the researcher is trying to study. Questions like what is involved, the usefulness of the study, but also what means and time constraints are available to the researcher are all potential indicators of what sampling size is sufficient (Patton, 2002; Creswell, 2009). Nevertheless, many researchers are comfortable with a minimum of 10 to 12 participants in a phenomenological study (Patton, 2002) as long as the sample size provides the information needed about the experiences of Senegalese Muslim immigrants and their experience phenomenon of Islamophobia.

As a researcher using purposeful sampling, the aim was to keep going until redundancy. Redundancy is when a researcher reaches data saturation (Suri, 2011). When a researcher reaches the point where no new information is gained, then redundancy is achieved. For those reasons, the choice to start with ten participants to try and gain data saturation seemed sensible.

Data Collection Instruments

The researcher is central in a qualitative inquiry, and as such, he is the primary instrument in the study. However, in addition to being the first instrument, and for the sake of this research, I developed two other instruments:

- 1- A questionnaire and an interview protocol to be followed and used as guidance for gathering data in the field
- 2- A list of the contacts with their particulars including name, date and times of interviews.

I bought a very reliable voice recorder, which all the participants agreed would be used in the interviews. All the questions were comprehensible and open-ended so as to enable follow-ups to clarify a situation or delve more into an issue if it was warranted. Most of the participants live on the West side of Indianapolis, and so I decided that the setting should be in that area of the city where they felt most familiar and comfortable. The interview questions helped collect background information on the participants and also found out what their experiences were with islamophobia. Furthermore, the interview protocol helped find out which measures could help mitigate anti-Muslim hate.

The table below provides a view on how the interview questions align and help answer the research questions for this study on islamophobia as experienced by adult Muslim Senegalese immigrants.

Table 1

Interview questions and related research questions

Interview Questions	Applicable to RQs
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How old are you and when did you move to the United States?	RQ1
Were you born a Muslim? if not then, when did you become one?	RQ1, RQ2, RQ3, RQ4
Have you lived anywhere else in the United States and what prompted you to move to Indianapolis?	RQ1
What is your knowledge of Islamophobia?	RQ1, RQ2, RQ3, RQ4
Have you experienced anti-Muslim sentiment directed at you? If so, please tell me about it.	RQ2, RQ3
If you have been subjected to anti- Muslim bias, in what context did that occur?	RQ2
To your knowledge, what laws help curb anti-Muslim bias?	RQ4
Which administrative measures could help further curb anti-Muslim bias in your opinion?	RQ4

Validity

The primary step before engaging in data collection using human subjects is to seek clearance with the IRB. Therefore, I sought and received approval from the IRB primarily. Secondly, I asked a friend to interview me to ensure clarity of my questions so as to get rid of any ambiguities that could possibly elicit answers that the questions were not asking. In so doing, I was able to polish the questions by gaining input from a friend, who was also a scholar. The resulting of this exercise revealed that most of my questions were concise and to the point and a few others needed tweaking. In the end, I was comfortable enough with my questions to move right into data gathering. This exercise also helped determine approximately how much time each interview would take because each participant is different, and some have more to share than others. In any case, this exercise which was not be included in the final study gave me a ballpark idea of the duration of each interview.

Data Collection Procedures

As stated earlier, clearance by the IRB was the first thing I secured before being able to go on the field to collect data. In all research and especially in qualitative inquiry, the physical and mental integrity of study participants was primary. The participants' recruitment happened at a local mosque and a nonprofit community organization called SCI (Senegalese Community of Indiana), which caters to the needs of all the Senegalese living in the State of Indiana irrespective of their religions or faiths.

I first contacted the participants to find out which dates and times worked best for them. An additional reminder phone call was placed to them on the eve of our interviews

to see if they did not forget or if something else had happened that may prevent our meeting, in which case I was more than happy to reschedule. A time of one-hour maximum was to be set aside for the interviews knowing that it could be all done in 45 minutes or even less. Once again, I explained the protocol of the interviews and the purpose of the study and reminded them that participation was voluntary. However, they could stop the interview at any time if they did not feel like carrying on with the study or felt uncomfortable. When they understood everything, they signed the informed consent sheets and with data collection started at that point.

All interviews started with simple and easy questions about the dates of their first arrival in the United States. It is sometimes hard to delve into the meat of an issue without what could be characterized as a warmup run which has the potential to make the participants grow in confidence and build up to the real issue. I used aliases based on the participants' region of origin in order to conceal their identities but also to help me make a mental note of who the participant was when I am going through my notes. Using those aliases ensured anonymity of the participants, which increased the confidentiality of each interview data. In addition to recordings, I took extensive notes through participant observations but also to mark points that needed to be clarified or expanded.

At the conclusion of each interview, I re-read answers to make sure that I correctly wrote down what the participant said and ask if they had any questions or had clarification to make. I asked them if it was possible to contact them later if any questions or need for clarifications occurred. I thanked them when all was done and offered a five-

dollar gift certificate to each and every one as a token of my gratitude for their time before taking my leave. The entire data collection process took a week to complete.

Data Analysis

Data analysis entails transforming huge amounts of data into findings (Patton, 2002). It is very challenging to make sense of pages upon pages of raw data. As soon as data collection ended, I proceeded with the transcription while things were still fresh and clear. In order to do that, I followed the six-step interpretative phenomenological analysis process (IPA), which was developed by Smith, Flowers, and Larkin (2009). Following that six-step IPA helped manually code each transcript. These steps consisted of reading and re-reading in their entirety each transcript separately, taking notes, and posing questions about the data, recording the observations about the emerging content of data and ideas about their implicit meaning. Next, I made a summary of the emergent themes after reviewing each transcript. The fifth step in this analysis process consisted of comparing the themes throughout all the transcripts by using the clustering method, which grouped all similar themes. The last step in this method entailed using contextualization, abstraction, and polarization to explore cross-case themes as they relate to one another (Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009).

Along with this method, I first drew up two tables one with all the participants and their assigned aliases and a second one with their corresponding answers to the interview questions. I assigned a number to each data set in addition to using the names of localities each participant hailed from originally. Under each response, I assigned a code depending on which emerging themes there was in that response. This manual

coding helped to stay involved into the transcripts and helped the organization of the amount of data into more manageable information. In addition to hand coding each transcript, I used NVivo, a coding software which I was introduced to in classwork, and that I enjoyed because it clarified the trends in the data.

Following the two-headed coding strategy, I once again read the raw data along with the transcripts to make sure I was not missing anything about what themes emerged. I planned on double-checking my results against a coding expert I would pay to act as a third eye and who would code the transcripts independently if the need arose. The emerging themes of the coding were then used to interpret my participants' responses in the final write-up.

Discrepant Cases

Case discrepancy occurs when a participant's responses deviate from the norm of other participants. It is called stand-alone data by some experts when it does not fit into any mold. If the researcher followed the protocol exactly the same way throughout, then the discrepancy could be a result of the participant supplying erroneous information to the researcher. Some of that information could as well be partly true but incomplete, which could lead to this discrepancy.

Authenticity

The term authenticity is used interchangeably with trustworthiness in qualitative studies to make the degree to which the researcher was faithful and accurate in reporting participants' experiences. In a sense, trustworthiness of a researcher is contingent on the readiness of a researcher to remain loyal to what the participants say or do when they

describe their experiences of the phenomenon of Islamophobia. In this instance, Patton (2002) talked about the impartiality of the researcher. Authenticity could be obtained by the strategy of debriefing, which consists of reflecting on the process of how the information was gathered and asking the participants about their insights on how their experiences have been rendered by the researcher (Collins, Onwuegbuzie, Johnson, & Frels, 2013).

Credibility

The credibility of qualitative research is when the researcher has to answer the crucial question of the “truth value” of his research (Miles et al., 1994). Credibility calls into question the authenticity of data that the researcher used, transcribed, and analyzed. For a credible study, the researcher dutifully respects all steps that he designed in the protocols and follows them scrupulously. Furthermore, the researcher is tasked to verify with the participants that their experiences are reported correctly. Credibility is ascertained when a researcher uses his or her experiences in conducting the research to check with participants in view of authenticating his findings (Cope, 2014)

There exist many methods of enhancing credibility in qualitative research and triangulation, which consists of using multiple sources in view of arriving at a conclusion (Cope, 2014). In that sense, in this research on Islamophobia, using the different themes that arose permitted me to check the conclusions against the meanings behind the participants’ experiences to ensure that those conclusions were credible. Not only that, but triangulation is also achieved by using different methods of data collection like

observations and interviews to draw conclusions about the meaning of a participant's experiences.

The Length of time spent in the field with the participant can also ensure credibility. As qualitative researchers, our closeness to the participants, coupled with a keen observation sense, can also be a factor. Due to time constraints, some projects are less likely than others to allot considerable time on the field to conduct those in-depth interviews and observation techniques. Another strategy that enhances the credibility of research is member checking (Cope, 2014). What this strategy entails is for the researcher to painstakingly write down all the emerging themes and communicate them to his participants and request feedback on them (Cope, 2014). The last strategy to add credibility is to keep the reader informed of every step of the strategies used as evidence and quoting vivid passages of the participants so the reader can judge by themselves if the conclusions of the researcher make sense.

I ensured credibility by following those strategies, using member checking to get feedback from the participants, making sure that the entire process was transparent, and the protocol used easily subject to checking. Additionally, I made sure that everything was documented throughout the process and every single finding justifiable. In the field, I engaged the participants in a respectable way making sure to be available for questions, and limited bias by adopting the "phenomenological attitude" (Moustakas, 1994).

Generalizability or External Validity

The topic of external validity is one that has drawn many dissenting views in qualitative inquiry. While some experts think that not being able to generalize the results

of a study across the board is one of the weaknesses of qualitative research, others think that the issue should not be considered in conjunction with quantitative studies.

Generalization entails drawing broad conclusions of a particular phenomenon observed through the experiences of some and trying to apply those conclusions to others who were not observed (Polit, & Beck, 2010). Generalizability in qualitative inquiry follows a different path because researchers do not use probability sampling, nor do they have to use multiple settings or significant numbers of participants. In that sense, qualitative research rarely claims generalizability as an end product in the inquiry of a phenomenon (Maxwell, 2013).

Additionally, Maxwell (2013) distinguishes between two types of generalizability: internal and external. On the one hand, internal generalizability involves applying the results within the phenomenon, the setting and those studied to those unobserved. On the other hand, external generalizability aims to extend beyond that phenomenon to others outside that scope (Maxwell, 2013). To this end, some researchers argue more in terms of particularity rather than generalizability (Creswell, 2009). Others argue that transferability is likelier in qualitative studies provided that the researcher is thorough enough in describing the variety of his participants' selection in order to extend to others outside that realm (Cope, 2014).

In this study of the phenomenon of Islamophobia through the experiences of Senegalese Muslims living in Indianapolis, I tried to achieve transferability by thoroughly describing the protocol with minutia. I provided a detailed description of the setting, the

number of participants in the study, their age range and their location so readers can understand this phenomenon through their prisms.

Ethical Procedures

Institutional Review Board

While still doing coursework, I studied and took the certification test to make sure I am familiar with ethical rules concerning working with human subjects. Furthermore, I had made reading the dissertation rubric and all its different parts a weekly routine so as to always stay connected with the procedures. Only when I gained command of all those requirements and understood what was at stake when working with humans in a research setting did I seek approval to conduct research by the Walden University Institutional Review Board.

Informed Consent

Before conducting any studies using human subjects, it is necessary to come to some explicit agreements with them (Miles et al., 1994). I designed and sent letters of voluntary participation in my research to all the potential candidates. They received explanation of the aim of the study, the nature of their participation, the potential benefits of the study, and the confidentiality by which I am bound as a researcher. The willingness to participate in the study means that the potential participants were required to sign an informed consent form with the knowledge that taking part in the study was voluntary. After which, I filed all signed informed consent forms for the record.

Ethical Considerations

It is quite standard to offer study participants a little token of appreciation for their time and willingness to participate. However, this token of participation should not be too meaningful because then it raises the issue of coaxing participants to take part in the study, which is an ethical issue. Most researchers offer gift certificates of around \$5.00. Many researchers agree that this is a standard amount, which could hardly influence whether people chose to participate in a study or not.

Ethical Considerations during Data Collection

In view of collecting data for the research, a few things were done beforehand. Once again, I informed the participants that participation was always voluntary, and although they agreed to participate, if at any point during the interviews they felt like stopping, they could. Additionally, I reminded them of the purpose of the research and the potential risk factors that could affect them, however negligible they may be. Care was taken to list the risk factors in the consent forms that the participants read and signed. I afforded the participants ample time and gave them my undivided attention if they had any questions or concerns about the potential risks and how they might be affected. I also explained the benefits of the study which included an avenue to talk in depth about their experiences with Islamophobia. As members of the American society, they had everything to gain from participating a in the public debate regarding this phenomenon.

Furthermore, the benefits could spread to professional organizations that could be confronted with the potential of having to treat members of the Senegalese community adversely affected by the psychological impact of Islamophobia. In addition, the

completed research could be presented to local, and state-level policymakers to make them aware of how policies affect unintentionally some minorities. The completed research could also potentially educate members of the community on ways to stay involved in decision-making. Since this research was predicated on understanding the meaning behind the experiences of Senegalese Muslims living in Indianapolis vis-à-vis the phenomenon of Islamophobia, I made sure that no emotional trauma occurred during the face to face with them. Just in case some would experience something or have questions later, I was prepared to provide them with my contact information and thanked them for their willingness to participate.

Data Security

During the data collection phase, the participants may leave some identifying markers of places and names that could expose their identity. To guard against that possibility, I followed the standard research guidelines by first not recording their names but assigning them aliases known only to myself. The data was securely locked away in locked file cabinets in my office. I took special care to double the protection of electronic files because of the threat of cybercriminals. Not only were the files password-protected, but I also installed data encryption on all the files to guard against the potential of data theft. For references and documentation purposes, I archived all the records and made them available for members of my committee. I kept these files and documents for the standard five years after the completion of this study, after which time, all paper and electronic files would be destroyed and properly disposed after shredding.

Summary

I presented the different phases of research in this chapter. I explained in this qualitative phenomenology the purpose of the study on Islamophobia through the experiences of Senegalese Muslim immigrants in Indianapolis in view of understanding the phenomenon. I provided the different phases of research that lead to answering all the research questions in this inquiry. Furthermore, I listed and explained the different strategies to add quality to this research and make it credible research. Chapter 4 presents the results of the study.

Chapter 4: Results of the Study

Introduction

After September 11, 2001, all levels of the American population experienced some changes in how they deal with adversity and how different racial and religious communities deal with each other (Amer & Bagasra, 2013). Muslims, in general, experienced those consequences doubly first as Americans, and then as the community viewed suspiciously in this situation (Amer & Bagasra, 2013). Muslims' position as integral components of the American society faced questions, which made it even harder to assimilate and show a united front in the face of the terrorism that threatened the entire nation. Senegalese Muslims, a subgroup of the Muslim population in the United States, constitutes an understudied entity because much research still focuses on the more visible group of Arab Muslims.

Although Muslims, in general, at one point or another since 9/11 have faced existential questions about how to live their lives, it is yet unknown how Senegalese Muslims in particular have dealt with this situation (Kane, 2011). Questions like how they practice their religion, and how they dress according to their regional particularities. Many studies have been published since the events of 9/11 about Arab Muslims or southeast Asian Muslims in the United States but, studies targeting Sub-Saharan Muslims and Senegalese Muslim immigrants are rare and therefore needed to shed light on their experiences.

The purpose of this phenomenological research was to examine the lived experiences of adult Senegalese Muslim immigrants in Indianapolis, IN, with the

phenomenon of Islamophobia since the events of September 11, 2001. This phenomenological study's significance is that it may help reduce the knowledge gap regarding the diverse Muslim groups that live the United States. Moreover, this study should help policymakers implement the policies that take into consideration the heterogeneity of the Muslim population in the United States in dealing with Islamophobia and preventing or at least mitigating anti-Muslim sentiment and its consequences since 9/11.

The central research question of this study was *How have Senegalese Muslim immigrants in Indianapolis, IN, experienced Islamophobia, and what are their perceptions of public policies that are passed to make the United States more secure?*

To help answer that overarching question, I also considered the following research subquestions :

1. How do the adult Senegalese Muslims describe their lived experiences with the phenomenon of Islamophobia since 2001?
2. In what context do their experiences with Islamophobia occur?
3. How are individual differences reflected in the participants' account of their experiences with Islamophobia in the United States?
4. In what way has the lack of administrative measures hindered the fight to lessen the effects of Islamophobia in the Senegalese immigrant Muslim community?

Chapter 4 presents the demographics of the study participants and how they satisfied all the criteria for selection to participate in this study. The chapter addresses the ethical considerations about the research protocol and how such concerns were addressed. The

chapter also highlighted data collection, and the protocol for analysis to address the issues of trustworthiness. Lastly, this chapter presents the results of this study based on the answers of the participants to the research. Chapter 4 will conclude with the summary of the results and transitions to Chapter 5, which will focus on an in-depth analysis of those results and the interpretations of the research findings.

Settings for Data Gathering and Participant Demographics

I used a qualitative phenomenological approach to investigate in view of understanding the lived experiences of adult Senegalese Muslim immigrants in Indianapolis with Islamophobia. I sought 10 to 12 adult Senegalese Muslim volunteers for participation in this study who would share their personal experiences with Islamophobia after 9/11. Participants used this interview to explain whether this phenomenon had hindered them in any way in their professional, educational, and daily life. However, after seven interviews, saturation was achieved, and those interviews constituted the basis of this research.

All interviews were in English at the venues chosen by the research participants. As such, all wanted the interviews conducted privately at their houses and offices for more comfort in venues familiar to them. The participants contacted me after seeing flyers (Appendix F) posted at two venues. Five of the interview participants were recruited from the mosque while the local community organization provided the remaining two participants. However, four other potential participants expressed interest and were put on a waiting list because no new information filtered through after the initial seven participant interviews. The participants were informed that in order to be

selected they had to meet all the criteria. To be selected a participant had to be born Muslim, be a resident of the city, had been in the United States prior to the events of September 11, 2001, be at least 30 years of age, and lastly, to have had experience with Islamophobia. Only after answering “yes” to all those questions were the participants deemed eligible to participate in the research. Gender was not a factor in participant selection, nor was education level; however, only one female volunteered to share her experiences. All participants were over the age of 40, although one chose not to give his exact age. In that sense, the ages ranged from 30 to 54, and they had been in the United States prior to 9/11 while most had been here since the early 1990s.

The personal information of all participants was kept confidential. Any information that could be used to identify them personally was removed or altered to maintain confidentiality. Their real names were changed to aliases to protect their identities. All participants were from the country of Senegal. Table 2 underneath provides the biographical information of the study participants.

Table 2

Participant Demographics

Aliases	Age	Gender	In the USA Since	Occupation	Degree
Amir	44	Male	1999	Private Sector	Bachelor's
Benfa	Over 30	Male	1996	Sales	High School Diploma
Usman	51	Male	2000	Public Sector	Some College
Kathleen	45	Female	2001	Business Owner	Masters
General Hivar	46	Male	1999	Private Sector	Bachelor's
Baba	54	Male	1994	Public Sector	Bachelor's
Samba	43	Male	1996	Public Sector	High School Diploma

Data collection procedures

From June 2019 through early July, a purposive sampling technique was used to collect data from the participants who expressed an interest in the research and were found to be eligible after a screening questionnaire (Appendix E). Through face to face interviews, participants were asked to answer the open-ended questions. At the same time, I took hand-written observation notes to ensure accuracy and to capture important information that the audiotape recorder missed. As far as sampling is concerned, the initial projected sample size was 10 to 12 participants, but saturation was obtained after seven interviews. The participants were all adult Muslim immigrants of Senegalese descent who had been in the United States before the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.

Having lived in the city for more than a decade and having a good rapport with the community, which I am a member of, I did not encounter any significant difficulty getting access to participants. I recruited them both at a local mosque, and a community organization. Flyers were left on the bulletin boards of the local mosque with the permission of the director, who received a clear explanation of the research and did not have an objection. However, not all participants saw the flyers and those accepted to participate through word of mouth. Some participants heard of the research through friends and made contact to be part of the study. Some were retained, while three were politely told that they did not meet all the eligibility requirements for this specific research. They were thanked for their willingness and in turn, they promised to spread the word to other friends if I needed more participants.

All interviews were conducted in English and the data transcribed using two privately-owned software sites (Transcribeme and Rev.com) in order to put my own biases in check. However, I still had to spend considerable time cleaning up each transcript because of inaccuracies due to some participants' accents, which the transcribers had a hard time understanding. To ensure privacy and protection of my participants, every single data set was carefully checked for any personal identifier, and their names were altered, and each was assigned a pseudonym. No information that can be used to identify them was included in the results. In addition, all interview data were locked away in a code-protected file cabinet. They will be kept for 7 years, after which time, they will be destroyed completely. The interview questions were crafted to cover many topics ranging from biographical information, feelings after 9/11, the impact of Islamophobia on their professional lives and educational opportunities. Additionally, they answered questions about their views on the laws, their identities stemming from their membership to a Muslim subgroup in the United States, and how they intended to effect social change to change perceptions of Muslims.

At the end of each interview, the participant was asked if they had any questions or whether they wanted to clarify a point or expand on something. Only after they were satisfied with everything did I thank them and took my leave.

Data Analysis

The aim of data analysis is to break down massive amounts of data into smaller parts that make sense, also called findings (Patton, 2002). Two coding methods were used in this research. First and foremost, a hand-coding measure which entailed transcribing

the data as soon as the collection ended to ensure that all the facts were still fresh. I followed the six-step interpretative phenomenological analysis process, which was developed by Smith, Flowers, and Larkin (2009). I first read and re-read each transcript entirely, posed questions about the data, recorded observations about the emerging content of data and their implicit meanings. For the last three steps, I reviewed each transcript to make a summary of the emergent themes, I compared the themes in all transcripts by clustering, and finally, I used contextualization, abstraction, and polarization to explore cross-case themes as they relate to one another (Smith et al., 2009).

For the second method, I used NVIVO software and chose the themeing coding method. Themeing consists of using longer phrases or sentences that identify the meaning of a text (Saldaña, 2016). This particular method lends itself well for phenomenological research. The NVIVO software has its analytical goals that help find an overarching theme from the data sets or an “integrative theme that weaves various themes together into a coherent narrative” (Saldaña, 2016, p.297). Along with those two methods, I also used a text query of all the transcripts in NVIVO, which helped pinpoint the ultimate themes that emerged from the responses of the participants. Text query pinpointed the themes around the issues of integration, feelings, behavior, communication, ignorance, fear, stereotyping, and othering as reported by all participants Amir, Kathleen, Samba, Usman, Baba, with the exception of General Hivar and Benfa. Furthermore, word query revealed that all the participants thought that Muslims in America have a shared responsibility in how they are portrayed because they do not communicate enough with

their non-Muslim peers in their professional lives. The idea of communication came as a leitmotiv throughout all participant responses.



Figure 1. Data analysis- Word Query

Before the events of September 11, 2001, all the participants expressed satisfaction with their levels of comfort living in the United States with the exception of Benfa based on the responses. However, that changed after the terrorist attacks when anxiety, fear, and even anger replaced the previous feeling. They experienced fear and

anxiety because they dreaded reprisals and being targets on account of their religion. Fear from the broader population who could not differentiate between an entire religion and a few criminals who were using the faith to commit evil. None of the participants expressed anger towards the United States government for the policies enacted after 9/11 under the PATRIOT ACT that targeted Muslims. Instead, anger was directed primarily at those who hid behind their religion to commit evil acts and caused the rest of the Muslims to be singled out and blamed for various offenses towards the United States. During the analysis using those three coding methods, the following overarching themes emerged:

Table 4 listed the various data categories, emerging themes, and the breakdown of direct participants quotes as they applied to the research questions.

- 1- Islamophobia permeated American society, and all Muslims felt consequences.
- 2- Ignorance and fear are driving forces for anti-Muslim sentiment in the United States.
- 3- Lack of communication constituted a hindrance to inter-community relations.
- 4- Stereotyping and othering.
- 5- Policies and administrative measures were not lacking, but the existing laws need to be enforced better.
- 6- Culture and identity issues were ever-present.

During the analysis of participant responses, one discrepant case stood out from others, with one participant claiming to have had a completely different experience of Islamophobia than the others. All those responses were detailed in this chapter.

Issues of Authenticity

Generally used interchangeably with trustworthiness, trustworthiness indicates the degree of faithfulness and accuracy of the researcher in reporting participant responses about their experiences with a phenomenon. Trustworthiness is largely dependent on the loyalty of a researcher in remaining faithful to what the participant is reporting.

Faithfulness to the participant's experiences with the phenomenon of Islamophobia in this case, whether those experiences meshed with what the researcher anticipated or not.

Collins, Onwuegbuzie, Johnson, and Frels (2013) identified the method of debriefing as an approach to ensure trustworthiness. After the interviews, each participant gave insights into how the researcher captured their experiences. Each was also asked if the researcher accurately reported what the research participant meant. The issue of trustworthiness was talked about at length in the research procedures in chapter 3. Two points were identified that made the research authentic:

- **Credibility:** In qualitative research, credibility is when the researcher has to answer the critical question of the "truth value" of his research (Miles et al., 1994, p. 313). First and foremost, the data used was authentic as it was gathered from real participants, and it detailed their experiences with the phenomenon of Islamophobia. Data was gathered after gaining IRB approval to conduct research in total respect of all guidelines and interview protocol measures. Furthermore, credibility was established by relating participant responses faithfully, transcribing the data, and doing member checking. As a Senegalese Muslim from Senegal, the participants viewed me as an integral part of the community and did

not have any apprehensions about talking to me, which sometimes arises when people talk to foreigners about certain issues. Sharing the same religion, cultural background, and nationality made them adopt me as one of theirs and helped me gain in-depth insights into their experiences, thus cementing the validity of this research.

- External validity: The issue of generalizability has been a bone of contention in qualitative research for many years because many believe that the results of qualitative research cannot be replicated across the board with the same results. However, in qualitative research, the issue of replicating the same results is not as important as following scrupulously the protocol, which is what gives validity to a study. According to Polit and Beck (2010), Generalization entails drawing broad conclusions of a particular phenomenon observed through the experiences of some and trying to apply those conclusions to others who were not observed. For this study, I tried to achieve that by thoroughly describing the interview protocol, describing the setting, and the participants with details of their biographical information. This ensures that somebody else is able to replicate the same research at another time and space to study other populations who yet to be researched.

Results of the Study

Research questions

The following are the six themes that emerged from participant responses as they relate to the central research questions.

- 1- Islamophobia permeated American society, and all Muslims felt consequences.
- 2- Ignorance and fear are driving forces for anti-Muslim sentiment in the United States.
- 3- Lack of communication constituted a hindrance to inter-community relations.
- 4- Stereotyping and othering.
- 5- Policies and administrative measures were not lacking, but the existing laws need to be enforced better.
- 6- Culture and identity issues were ever-present.

Supporting Data

The 7 participants responded to all the interview questions as detailed in the interview response form (Appendix C). Based on their responses, the following conclusions were drawn. Each participant was asked preliminary questions detailing their demographics in terms of age, educational background, date of entry to the United States, and professional activity. I asked them to describe their feelings immediately in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks. What first emerged was the psychological impact of such acts on the participants who were feeling fear, abandonment but also anger at those who made them potential targets of reprisals and who were by the same token giving their religion a bad press. These themes quickly jumped to the forefront while I was reading and re-reading that data, transcribing, and coding the interviews. The following table shows the emerging themes with their associated research questions.

Table 3

Research Questions, Themes, and Direct Participant Quotes

Research Questions	Themes	Participant Quotes
Experiences with Islamophobia	Ignorance, fear, stereotyping and othering, psychological impact	<p>“Why did you guys do this”, “this made my heart really sink”, “I will never forget that. I was shocked”, “biggest disappointment in my life”, “I won't be praying outside, even if it's public area”, “we make sure we have a security here on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday”, “we have at least a, an IPD protecting us”, “Absolutely. I was scared. Like most people were very scared”, “started being more conscious and looking over my shoulder, being careful”, “, just limit my activities to work”, “there were some who were telling the men shave of your beard”, “, calling me Osama”, “and I did feel really discriminated against”, “you don't need to dress up as --- Muslims-- especially female because of the security hazard”, “there are some other that it's stupidity”, “I get, even get the biggest promotion of my life”, “and they gave me more responsibility”, “and nobody nobody's bothering me”, “we were not targeted...we do not look like them”, “so, they have a kind of stereotype</p>

Context of Islamophobia Occurrences	Islamophobia is everywhere, work, public and private	of who the Muslim should be”, “I was teaching for IPS”, “I was in my classroom and you know, we had the TVs on”, “Uh, even our own place, people have sent us letters, make phone calls, threatening us right here”, “do not see a lot of difference for myself in my workplace”, “I did. At work”, “we have a new manager and she had a problem...with me praying”
Differences in Participant Experiences with Islamophobia	Culture and identity	“somebody calling my phone here, with threats”, “I never experience hard feelings”, “I know if I've had my identity and I'm very proud”, “I know what it means to be a Senegalese. To be a Fulani, to be an African”, “through dialogue and through friendship”, “You don't know if it's because you're a Muslim, or an African”, “I study my culture historically and know it's very ancient and very—universal”, “. I have to learn about it, but I never experienced it”, “
Administrative Measures and Islamophobia	Inadequacy of Policies	“, I don't even, but the name of the bill, but they're working on it”, “not just Muslims or allowing all faith and to have freedom”, “, they were trying to avoid that term hate crime and call it something else”, “I think we need a clear law

that's for hate crime. We need that in Indiana”, “. I don't know why. It's all politics”, “If a decree from by the president, the president made a veto”, “, unfortunately we don't have it”, “we have the constitution which is the main law”, “so, yeah, we have a lot of law”, “so I don't think we need more laws”, “having specific laws for that help but the laws are already in place”, “We have enough laws now it's about how we can influence the media”, “, how do you call, EEOC, something like that”, “in the Constitution, I think, they have freedom of rights”, “we need to be more protected”, “i mean minorities”, “they can make it mandatory...to teach about other religions”

It became evident from the onset that each one had experienced some sort of fear except one male participant who related an entirely different experience from the rest of the participants. Although not wholly denying that Islamophobia existed, 4 participants mentioned that it was not institutionalized Islamophobia because the constitution was against it. The constitution, which is the law of the land, guaranteed that the government was against Islamophobia. However, those 4 participants failed to mention the crucial measures taken, and the laws passed right after 9/11 targeting Muslims. 2 participants

clearly stated that they were discriminated against at their places of work and that they had experienced anti-Muslim bias and othering in their day to day lives. Those hardships lead them to finding alternative means of subsistence that protected them from having direct contact with potential bias.

All seven participants indicated that, to a certain extent, the existing laws were sufficient to protect them from the consequences of Islamophobia if only the government enforced such laws. The government had to act decisively in guaranteeing their freedoms and their rights. Furthermore, communication or the lack thereof between the Muslim communities and the broader population, including lawmakers was decried as a stumbling block in better community relations by all 7 participants. To them, the othering and stereotypes of Muslims stemmed from ignorance from all parts. First, both the non-Muslims and some Muslims' ignorance of Islam were causes for stereotyping. Ignorance leads to fears of who Muslims really were, and this was grounds for the denial of their rights of existence as members of the American society. Secondly, the lack of proper understanding of their religion displayed by many Muslims makes dialogue almost impossible because they are unable to answer the difficult questions posed by curious non-Muslims. This leads to frustration, withdrawal, lack of connection to the ingroup which, in turn, becomes wary, and suspicious of the Muslims.

The following table details those six themes stemming from the analysis of the data and how they apply to the participants.

Table 4

Participant Responses- Emerging Themes

Islamophobia & Consequences on Muslims	Ignorance and Fear as Driving Forces	Needs for Communication and Dialogue	Stereotyping and Othering Hinder Integration	Importance of Policies and Administration	Culture and Identity and Need for a Muslim Voice
Amir	Amir	Amir	Amir	Amir	Amir
Kathleen	Baba Benfa	Baba Benfa	Baba	Baba	Baba Benfa
Baba	General Hivar	General Hivar			General Hivar
Samba	Kathleen Samba	Kathleen Samba	Kathleen Samba	Kathleen Samba	Kathleen Samba
Usman	Usman	Usman	Usman	Usman	Usman

Amir is a 44-year-old male who came to the United States in 1999 and lived during short spells in other parts of the country but had been a member of this community

since 2000. Before coming to this country, Amir had obtained a Bachelor's degree in English from his country Senegal. Before 9/11, he was a teacher at a public school, and he related his feelings after 9/11 as follows:

Oh, it was difficult? I do remember I was teaching for IPS and then a, it was in the morning. All the teachers were in their classrooms. I was in my classroom and you know, we had the TVs on. Everything was just, you'd run. Teachers were running around, the school wasn't on lockdown, you know, and I will never forget this. One of the teachers, and this made my heart really sink one. One lady came to me and asked me, why did you guys do this directly?

Amir goes on to add that his feelings of angst, and grief were further compounded by the attitudes of a female coworker, which led to his disappointment.

I will never forget this. I still have the image of the lady, you know, asking me that question in the hallway. I will never forget that. I was shocked. The, I think this was the biggest disappointment in my life. I really didn't know. I was shocked. I didn't know what to do. Tell her. I think I was just mumbling. You know, mumbling. You know, you if you're shocked, but whatever got out of my mouth was basically, I don't know what happened.

Because of that situation, Amir had to leave his job for he was no longer feeling comfortable working while his coworkers were viewing him as part of an evil invading force that had come to change America.

Kathleen is a 44-year-old female who moved to the United States in February 2001. After completing her Master's degree in her native country, she came to pursue educational opportunities. When 9/11 happened, she was working for a private company, and this is her account of her feelings on that fateful day.

I was at work, and I come back from work and it happened. And then once, that's when my brother told me about it, and we were so mad and we were so worried. I said, "Why would they do that? Why people would do stuff like that? Why would they run a plane on the building and kill all these innocent people? The whole media talking about Muslim, Muslim, Muslim this, Muslim this, Muslim this. That was not a good day. That was a sad day. That was a very sad day. And that was a day they did very, very, very wrong to the whole humanity. They have no right to do that.

Kathleen's response to 9/11 was that, although she had been a practicing Muslim since coming to this country, she was never into wearing the hijab or Muslim veil. However, a little after that, she started integrating the veil little by little into her clothing, which got her weird stares, and she suffered professionally and had to quit her job at a banking institution.

Baba is a 54-year-old computer engineer who moved to the United States in 1994. He obtained his Bachelor's at an American University and, soon after, got a job working in the public sector. He is a devout Muslim who did not experience much negative change in his professional life. If anything, he received his biggest promotion in the years after 9/11. He was traumatized after the terrorist attacks because of

apprehensions on his status as a Muslim, but he stayed true to himself. His work encourages him to practice his faith freely whenever the time to pray comes. On Fridays, they let him take off a couple of hours to practice his devotions and come back to finish up his work. Overall, his professional life and educational opportunities did not suffer as a result of 9/11 by his own estimation.

Usman is 51, a high ranking official in the public sector. His educational background includes some college after his high school graduation back home in Senegal. He has been at his current job for 17 years now and did not experience any detrimental drawbacks at his job. As a matter of fact, he lets it be known that he achieved a supervisory role in the years after 9/11. However, he felt anxious, scared, and worried after 9/11. Because of that, he is still afraid to pray in public for fear of getting attacked by somebody off the street who may feel offended by his religion.

Yeah. I was here before 911. And before 911, I never thought about anything like that. But after 911, I'm trying even to be careful. Because right now whenever it's time for me to pray or anything I won't to be praying outside, even if it's public area. But for me to be just putting my praying mat outside and pray, I have the fear. I always have my praying mat inside my car just for hiding. But the same people, they fear they can just go like the homeless and put their mattress outside and sleep and people normally passing them. Not saying that but I have the fear to be doing that while I have to pray. It may be a good thing that I have the fear. Like what they say I'm scared to do that.

Praying on time as prescribed by his religion has become a real problem for Usman when he is on duty and on the road because he would not stop to pray for fear of reprisals. At his job site, he does not have the accommodations to pray either and for a long time, he admitted to me that he had not been able to attend Friday's mandatory congregational prayers. He fears that requesting to pray on Fridays would be asking for too much. However, he says that his company is talking about getting a little prayer area in the future to accommodate its Muslim workers.

General Hivar is a 44-year-old male Muslim, and he works in the private sector as a Software salesman. He moved to the United States in 1999 after high school and went on to earn an MBA here in this country. According to him, after the initial feelings of shock, fear, and anger, things turned out well for him. He did not suffer any bias at work because management accommodated him well for his prayer times, and he gets to go to Friday prayers for a couple of hours and get back to work. This, however, was achieved through constant dialogue and communication with management. His initial feelings after 9/11 are as follows:

At that time? There was a feeling, and very right so, right. That much, that deep of events, that sad of events, where you think they, you know. And, there is nothing that you can do, right. And, if they tell you, they point at a group of people and say, "these are the people who did it," you know. But, personally, I have not experienced anyone coming to me directly and saying, "yes, you guys did it".

In his narrative of his experiences in the aftermath of the attacks, he believed that the American people were naturally justified to harbor ill-will against Muslims at that time as would anybody under those circumstances. However, his initial fears did not materialize as he has yet to face any anti-Muslim hate personally directed at him.

Samba is also another Muslim male from Senegal who moved here in 1996. He has more than a decade of experience working in the public sector. His experiences with Islamophobia have been mostly limited to his contact with people in the streets he encounters. At his job, apart from not being able to pray on time, or get to Friday congregational prayers, he feels comfortable living his religion.

Benfa is a Muslim male who works in the retail business as a salesman. He is a devout Muslim who believes that there is no Islamophobia in America. However, he has to accept working less than 40 hours a week if he wants to attend Friday congregational prayers. Management would not allow him to leave for a couple of hours and come back so, he chooses to take that day off. In so doing, he is only getting a four day per week schedule because his religion is more important to him than money. He does not want to give his real age and only pointed out that he was over 30. Here's his account of his experiences with 9/11.

I was in Indianapolis 9/11. My feeling of 9/11 has so-- I would say it was heartbreaking for me when I saw that. So, I have to express myself in a way that I was really, really, really heartbroken I say because Muslims generally this is not the way how they think. Because the American people have proven to us that they are very welcoming people [inaudible]. They

like people to live with them but those people made it difficult for us you know to live. Because we are complete savages because of our religion. Not because of the color of our skin but because of our belief. But as time went on, people started understanding that it is not the Islamic way of behaving.

Discrepant Case

On the question of whether they had experienced Islamophobia at all since 9/11, all my participants advanced varying levels of exposure except one. Benfa claimed unequivocally that not only he never experienced it, but moreover, to him, Islamophobia never existed in the first place. This was obviously a case that stood out well amongst all the others and constituted a particular point of view on the phenomenon of Islamophobia. However, Benfa's answers to the interview questions revealed findings that were contrary to his affirmations. This participant believed that Muslims are responsible for their situation since they came to this country and were welcome. It is, therefore, their responsibility to accept any situation in the name of harmony even if they have to sacrifice individual rights afforded to them by their status as Americans.

Summary of Chapter 4

Those were the responses of the seven research participants and how their accounts relate to the central research question and its sub-questions. Based on the responses, after the initial feelings stemming from 9/11, the feared consequences did not materialize for most of the participants. Most of the bias they experienced was from the general public. However, two of the seven had to quit their jobs because of problems

they had with management or coworkers who viewed them as threats to America. Based on the responses of the participants, six themes emerged: Issues with stereotyping and otherness, identity and culture, ignorance and fear as driving forces of anti-Muslim bias, the need for communication and dialogue, and the importance of policies and administrative measures.

Chapter 5 is more detailed and focuses on the issues at hand from the point of view of the theoretical frameworks of the integrative threat theory and the theory of representative bureaucracy described in chapters 1 and 2. Chapter 5 further includes the implications for social change but also offers avenues for future research.

Chapter 5: Interpretations, Conclusions, and Recommendations

Introduction

Because of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, there was a shift in race relations and how the country as a whole was going to deal with its foreign populations (Smith & Hung, 2010). Congress passed the USA PATRIOT Act in the months following 9/11, which had the potential to alter the way Muslims were viewed and treated (Smith & Hung, 2010). The national Muslim registry and Mosque surveillance were some of the measures that were taken in that instance, leading to massive arrests of Muslims and people of Middle Eastern descent (Smith & Hung, 2010). While numerous studies continue to be published about the Arab Muslim populations, there is a scarcity of research on how Senegalese Muslims, for example, fit into that situation (Kane, 2011). It is expected that within the next 25 years, the majority population of United States will consist of minority races; there is an need of studies focusing on Muslims in America who are a very heterogeneous group (Abu-Ras et al., 2013). The purpose of this study was to learn about the lived experiences of adult Senegalese Muslim Immigrants with Islamophobia. I used a qualitative phenomenological approach to explore the experiences, and perceptions of the participants with the phenomenon of Islamophobia. I used open-ended questions to find what their experiences were and in doing so, the data showed six emerging themes. In the past, most research focused on other groups of Muslims in the United States. This made the study of unknown subgroups like Senegalese immigrant Muslims a necessary step into

bridging the gap in knowledge of all components of the Muslim population (see Kane, 2011).

Key Findings

Six significant themes came to light:

- Islamophobia permeated American society, and all Muslims felt consequences.
- Ignorance and fear are driving forces for anti-Muslim sentiment in the United States.
- Lack of communication constituted a hindrance to inter-community relations.
- Stereotyping and othering.
- Policies and administrative measures were not lacking, but the existing laws need to be enforced better.
- Culture and identity issues were ever-present.

The findings of this research extend the current body of knowledge around adult Senegalese Muslim immigrants in the United States. The findings could explain the effects of Islamophobia on this subgroup of Muslims. They could help craft intervention strategies that could mitigate anti-Muslim bias.

The results of the data showed different responses from the participants. However, the one constant through their answers was that most experienced fear of being targeted because of their religion after 9/11. Although those fears never materialized for some, for others, they suffered from anti-Muslim bias at their places of business, and from the general population. The majority believed that Islamophobia was not institutionalized

because the American constitution guaranteed freedom of religion and that ignorance of Islam was the main culprit of anti-Muslim bias.

The majority believed that the othering of Muslims was caused by ignorance from Muslims themselves first and then by the general population who were exposed to toxic anti-Muslim narratives on television. According to the data responses, about half of the participants laid some of the blame on Muslims whom they thought needed to learn their religion more in order to be better interlocutors and represent their faith better. However, the findings showed also that the in-group through stereotyping and ignorance, is in large part, responsible for the attitudes against Muslims.

Corroborating Findings

The following findings were consistent with previous research on the matter. Numerous studies addressed the role of mass media in shaping people's attitudes against Muslims since 9/11. News media representation of Muslims (Watt, 2012) helped shape new identities for Muslims. Islam was painted in conjunction with terrorism, extremism, and hatred (Watt, 2012). As a result, the people who had been exposed to 24/7 media formed their media-aided opinions of their Muslim neighbors (Awan, 2016; Khan & Brusckke, 2016). Many of the study participants decried the roles of the media after 9/11 and how it helped push the idea that Muslims in America were not to be trusted because their religion teaches evil. To be Muslim and American were, therefore, not compatible because the values were supposedly different.

The stigma attached to being Muslim has many psychological consequences on many of the participants who reported being terrified after 9/11 because of how they were

viewed. Because of the stereotypes about Muslims, many of the participants feared retaliatory practices from people and from their jobs. The microaggressions some faced at work led to trauma because some feared to pray in public or being targeted if they displayed signs that they practiced Islam. Some others reported having to quit their jobs because managers and coworkers were viewing them as threats to general safety and threats to the national symbols which Islam was purportedly against in their views. Microaggressions are hard to deal with in places of work because it is hard to prove if it has occurred and if the perpetrator has a bias (Vogel et al., 2013).

Because of not being able to bring the issue to upper management, some of the participants just chose to quit their job and look elsewhere for employment where they will be mostly independent. Kathleen reported her experience in the following words as such:

But we have to change the manager. We have a new manager. And she had a problem. I hear asking about me while I was praying one day. And everybody was saying, "Oh, no. She'd be back. She's not going to stay too long. She's just praying." Say, "What? What is she doing?" And say, "Yeah. That's her time to pray she always pray. She's going to be so quick. She had beef with me. That's how stuff happen between me and her. I was not comfortable. Anything that happen, then, she just did so many wrong things to me that I till I end up leaving. But Alhamdullilah thank God.

On the question of culture and identity issues, it became apparent that Islam in America is very heterogeneous, and that Arab culture was conflated with Islam (Sziarto,

Mansson, McGinty, & Seymour-Jorn, 2014). Many of the participants reported that colleagues and coworkers were shocked to find out that they were Muslims because they did not fit the typical portrayal of the phenotype of a Muslim. Additionally, many of the participants reported that because of their culture of tolerance, dialogue, and open-mindedness, they were viewed in a better light by their peers at work or school. Their culture dominated over their faith, and they were viewed as less of a threat by their peers who engaged them and showed appreciation for their culture. For example, Benfa said:

But look like people are still changing and there is so much understanding about Islam now They're more interested in my customs, my culture, and my tradition. When they ask me, "Are you Muslim?" I say, "Yes." Say, "we really like the way you behave?" I say, "Because I don't have no difference, no differences between a Muslim and a non-Muslim." For me, I take everybody as God's creation, so I respect everybody's free will. And I love people just like how I love myself that I am going to be—

He went on to say that being Muslim is more than just appearance or name. To be Muslim is a way of life of someone who submits to the will of God. Just having a typical way of dressing or a Muslim-sounding name does not make a person a Muslim.

What is a Muslim? A Muslim is not an ideology. No, a Muslim is not like a cloth that you put on. No. A Muslim is a person who submits his heart or her heart, to the will of the Almighty God. God created us out of love. first of all, is that you have to love one another.

Culture and identity questions were found to impact how seriously Islamophobia was felt by my research participants. This seems to indicate that the conflation of Islam with phenotype, and culture plays a part in how Muslims are viewed.

On the theme of communication and dialogue with other communities, most of the participants agreed that such actions were severely lacking. Muslims needed to reach out more, be more proactive in their communities in fostering dialogue and integrating into American society. Proactivity in communication can be done at many levels, namely places of work and neighborhood communities, but also in creating conditions of interfaith communication (Osborn, 2016). These findings are consistent with other studies that concluded that churches in America no matter their denominations needed to be informed about the plights of Muslims and to coordinate acts against egregious acts targeting Muslims (see Osborn, 2016).

For that instance, Baba stated:

Yeah I think. Yeah that we have because before we didn't have a Muslim chaplain just a Christian. Because also Muslims never try to seek in those theatre also we have a negative approach idea of the law enforcement . We think they're all biased. And we never tried it as a community like the even some Muslim organizations to go and to initiate a dialogue and try to talk to the FBI to the police to see how we can work together. And I think it started even after 9/11 and years after that. Yeah, we always think you know they come to harm us yeah there is a lot of bias against Muslims that.

In a nutshell, the study findings agreed in many ways with prior research that was presented in chapter 2 about the situation of Muslims and Islam in the United States after 9/11. Although most research corroborated the findings, it is worth noting that previous research unearthed other points which were not corroborated here. Mostly, the study findings did show that the experiences of Senegalese Muslims in many instances differed from those of certain Muslim groups like Arab and Southeast Asian Muslims who have a different phenotype and appear to readily fit the bill of who is a Muslim in the United States.

Noncorroborating Finding

Much previous research focused on the roles that politics and religious conservatives played on exacerbating the Islamophobia phenomenon (Gude, 2015; Jung, 2012; Kampmark, 2015; Lal, 2015). According to the research, the responsibility of public authority figures and social conservatives was influential in exacerbating anti-Muslim bias with their opinions on Islam and Muslims (Kampmark, 2015). The U.S. Constitution protects all Americans but Muslims are seen as foreigners to the land and as such, are seen as existing outside the scope of justice and underserving of certain rights (Sweeney & Opotow, 2013). My findings were inconsistent with this research as neither one of the participants mentioned the roles of politicians, or Christian groups in that way. Instead, they stressed the need for interfaith dialogue and called into question the responsibility of the entire population. Usman said:

But some people, they just ignorant. I call them ignorant because they don't know what's going on. They're just putting, try to divide people,

degrade religion and you say in French "diviser pour mieux régner". If you all don't speak the same language that's how we're going to be enemy.

Because if you don't understand what I say or that I can come behind you and say, "Malick is just like insulting you," because I don't know what he is talking about and you. And that's how then I think there is people behind that this type of divide, divide us. That's what I think.

When pressed to clearly explain his thoughts and pinpoint if he meant to hold politicians or religious conservatives responsible for marginalizing Muslims in America, Usman only said the following:

It could be you know, put it to any level of the society that's where I am gonna give it. Any level. Because whenever you want to divide people you have to start from the bottom going up. The word may come from the politician go to the church go to the, like certain church are just like - how would you say - against the religion. But I see some church, they're not like that. You know they are different. I'm taking from all levels.

The roles of politicians and religious conservatives in how Islamophobia spread was not mentioned by any of my participants. This suggested that maybe their roles were negligible and that perhaps we need to look at other causes for Islamophobia.

The findings were also not in line with the idea that Islamophobia was widespread in all Muslim communities in the United States as showed by research on other Muslim communities (Bazian, 2015; Belt, 2016; Das & Shirvani, 2013). It

appeared that most of the participants only marginally experienced what they thought was bias. However, most could not tie it to Islamophobia or the fact that they are black and foreigners. Usman once again stated:

Yeah. I ever have any other problem. Maybe people can look at you, but mostly you don't know, it's just because of your color, or you are foreign, or you are Muslim. Whenever they don't say, you can just feel when they don't say. That's why I cannot say if it's about religion, or just—

Not only Usman, but another one of my participants, Baba, highlighted his thoughts as thus:

It's hard to tell sometimes people can have bad feel I mean lots of hate towards you. You don't know because you're a Muslim, sometimes you have to know. You don't know if it's because you're a Muslim, or an African or you have a different accent they know you're a foreigner so just like let me just say. "Yeah just because I am a Muslim, they do that".

These narratives highlighted how hard it is to pinpoint to Islamophobia in this Senegalese community. The lines become blurred as to what constituted anti-Muslim sentiment since they do not fit the definition of who is Muslim according to the long-standing stereotypes.

In this study, the majority of the participants claimed that their experiences with Islamophobia in the United States were negligible. The findings showed that they could not pinpoint accurately if some of the biases that they had experienced were because of their religion. In my interpretation of the findings, I realized that Senegalese Muslims in

America are victims of the invisibility syndrome, as advocated by the invisibility writers like Fanon (1952), Ellison (1952), and Baldwin (1955). Arabs are usually the only ones thought of when talking about Islam or Muslim surfaces in America (see Kane, 2011). This situation places the other subgroups of Muslims into a situation of nonbeings' because of "their beliefs, affiliations, or some socially despised but unchangeable aspect of their person" (Donald, 2010, p. 6). Add summary; do not end paragraphs in a direct quote.

Theoretical and Contextual Interpretations

The qualitative phenomenology used in this research was appropriate because it helped explore the lived experiences of adult Senegalese Muslim with Islamophobia in the United since 9/11. In phenomenological research, the approach is constructivist, and as such, there exist many realities and truths because every participant has their worldviews of a phenomenon. Such worldviews and realities are called "footprints" and they "join together through interpretation to create a new pattern of understanding" (Conroy, 2003, p. 5). Those footprints are the lived experiences of each of the participants about Islamophobia. The job of the researcher is to unravel those footprints by interpreting their real meanings. The way to make sense of all that in phenomenology is for the researcher to understand that each participant's experience is linked to many factors, which are social, cultural, and political.

In this study, I used both the Integrated Threat theory and the theory of representative democracy to understand the role that fear had on forming attitudes

against Muslims and how representative democracy may help Muslims occupy their real place in America.

Integrated Threat Theory (ITT)

This theoretical framework was appropriate for this research because it offered an approach that facilitated gathering and interpreting evidence into why public opinion about Muslims changed after 9/11. Practically all participants stated they were viewed suspiciously, albeit at varying degrees by their peers and coworkers after 9/11. Their perceptions were based in large part by the attitude changes and the comments made to them after the terrorist attacks painting all Muslims as threats to America and western civilization. Amir said:

So the lady came to me directly and say, why did you guys do this? I will never forget this. I still have the image of the lady, you know, asking me that question in the hallway. I will never forget that. I was shocked. The, I think this was the biggest disappointment in my life.

The members of the in-group represented by the broader population feel threatened by the presence of Muslims as the out-group. That fear leading to anti-Muslim bias is not always about physical violence; rather, it is about symbolic threats. Muslims were considered inherently dangerous and inferior and, if they are allowed to permeate American society, there is the risk of the changing of what the in-group sees as American values. As evidenced by the question posed by Amir's coworker: "why did you guys do this?", some members of the in-group view all Muslims as foreign forces plotting the

downfall of the United States. Moscovici (1987) estimated that historically, minorities were always viewed as collective conspirators against the interests of the majority.

Representative Bureaucracy

This theory was also very appropriate for the research because it used the data findings to determine whether the representation of minorities could play a part in integration and identification with new laws. Most of the participants advocated the need for more Muslim involvement regardless of ethnicity in the decision-making places. The willingness to participate in dialogue and cooperation was seen as a necessity to assuage fears and dispel stereotypes. Muslims needed to trust local authorities who, in turn, saw the need to have Muslim police officers and chaplains act as a bridge for community relationships. The cues to action to my participants were that some experienced firsthand the positives of communication and openness at their jobs and how it helped improved community relationships.

Many of the participants believed that it would be vital for Muslims to be represented in places of authority by people who share the same beliefs and who can identify with them. By having that, mutual suspicions between Muslims and those who govern and make laws would be lessened because the trust would be established between all stakeholders. This process would take time but is necessary because following 9/11, there had been more than a decade of policies constricting identity formation of American Muslims (Haddad & Harb, 2014).

Limitations of the Study

Seven participants who had experience with Islamophobia residing in Indianapolis were involved in this research. Only the views of this particular group of people living in this particular area were represented by this study on Islamophobia in the United States. Therefore, the results of this study should not be generalized to other populations and other parts of the country, which means that those who come in contact with this research should interpret the findings within the scope of its limitations. This research could, however, serve as a launchpad for future studies on Islamophobia and its impact on sub-Saharan Muslims as a whole and Senegalese Muslims living in the United States in particular. I ensured the credibility of the study by making sure that the entire process was transparent and that the protocol was followed in its entirety each time.

I reported the data collection procedures, coding methods, and analysis in a way that others could understand and emulate in their research. I posed questions enabling the participants to give their full account of their experiences and their impressions about the phenomenon of Islamophobia. I ensured confirmability by making sure I did not influence the participants responses in any way. I did, however, ask follow-up questions when I felt that more information could be had on certain points based on the participants answers. The only things that differed were the fact that not all the interviews were done on the same day and at the same time. The interviews were also done in their entirety at the participants' houses and offices in private settings.

Other limitations included the fact that only one female participant was involved in the study and the fact that she is wearing the Islamic veil could have set her apart from

other women who do not cover their hair at their places of work. The study was also limited by education levels and socioeconomic status. All of the participants at least graduated high school, and others earned graduate degrees. Their experiences could be different from other populations within the same sub-group who are far less educated and have to work jobs where competition for employment requires them to accept certain adverse conditions.

Recommendations

The paucity of knowledge about Islamophobia and how understudied sub-groups of Muslims, especially Senegalese Muslims in the United States, cope with it remains a big challenge still even 15 years after 9/11 (Kane, 2011). One of the chief reasons behind this dearth of research is that often, Islam in the USA was conflated with being Arab or to a lesser extent, southeast Asian. In actuality, Muslims in America are the most diverse and heterogenous group and they represent over 77 nationalities and ethnicities but also represent various interpretations of Islam (Abu-Bader, Tirmazi, & Ross-Sheriff, 2011).

I used a qualitative phenomenological research method to learn about the lived experience of adult Senegalese Muslim with Islamophobia in the United States. The research findings addressed gaps in the knowledge about how adult Senegalese Muslims in America experienced Islamophobia and how they reacted to anti-Muslim bias. However, this research in no way has the pretense of having covered all angles of this issue vis-à-vis Senegalese Muslims and as such, future research could help answer the limitations of this study. Here are the recommendations for future avenues of research.

Research focusing on more women who wear the Muslim veil but also others targeting participants from a lower socio-economic group or those less educated from that same subgroup of Muslims could offer other insights into the issue of Islamophobia. Many participants stressed the need for more inclusion of Muslims into decision-making places or at least having some people of their faith serve as a liaison between their communities and those who make decisions or apply the law. In that regard, studies examining what affects total communication and involvement of Senegalese Muslims with lawmakers and how that influences perceptions of Islam and the integration of Muslims in the United States will provide beneficial information about community policing.

Of course, this present study provides some useful information about Islamophobia and how it affected the participants in their work and life. However, the nature of this research did not afford me as an investigator to spend more time on the field to learn about this phenomenon more thoroughly. Hence, my recommendation would be for the conduct of a longitudinal study. Such a study will allow a more in-depth understanding of not only the lived experiences of the participants, but also will inform about their coping mechanisms when confronted with anti-Muslim bias in the workplace or in public services. During this research, some of the participants alluded to the fact that when faced with bias, they chose to either look for work elsewhere, or they just accepted the situation because they felt that their recourses were limited. The State of Indiana's 'Employment-At-Will' provision means that employees work without a contract, and they may be terminated at any time because the reason to terminate such employment

does not matter (Katz, 2015). In that sense, longitudinal research looking at that issue and how it affects perceptions of Islamophobia will be precious.

This study could also be extended to other Senegalese Muslims in other areas of the State of Indiana, especially in smaller rural communities. Those results would be engaging in the sense that rural communities usually have less experience in dealing with diverse communities.

Implications for Social Change

Positive social change is never the result of a haphazard occurrence. Instead, it is always a deliberate process where the well-being of individuals, communities, and organizations is achieved through the adoption of ideas and strategies that “promote the worth, dignity and development...” (Walden University, 2012). I tried to contribute to the knowledge regarding Islamophobia perception and how it affected a sub-group of Muslims from Sub-Saharan Africa in the United States. The findings could have multi-layered usefulness from the individual, societal, and State levels as they could provide useful information as to how to combat Islamophobia. In my analysis, I uncovered themes in the findings that hold very critical information as to how to achieve positive outcomes in dealing with Islamophobia and guaranteeing the security of our nation.

At the individual level, this study can hopefully open the eyes of the Senegalese Muslims of their responsibility to be involved in changing perceptions by being at the forefront of the fight against bias. More often, when they encounter issues at work because of the lack of information, they tend not to report microaggressions and other acts for fear of losing their jobs and not having recourse. Knowing that they have options

which are only achieved through coming together as one community regardless of ethnicity, national origin, or brand of Islam can help build strength in numbers. The biggest issue facing Muslims in America is that they operate along ethnic lines and tend not to be involved when their community is not directly under attack. The fight against discrimination should be a general undertaking whether it is for religious freedom, sexual orientation, or color equality. The biggest mistake Muslims in America and Senegalese Muslims for that matter can make is to view their fight as separate from that of other minorities. In that sense, if this study can help raise awareness in Senegalese Muslims of their shared responsibility in the global fight against bias, then this research would have achieved something.

At the policy level, whether we accept it or not, the existing policies need to be rethought with the rights of the minorities in mind. The general anti-discrimination laws protecting all citizens can only do so much in the fight against bias in the workplace, for instance. The hate crime law finally passed and was adopted by the State of Indiana on July 5, 2019, however, it remains to be seen how it will be applied more efficiently and how it will determine what constitutes a hate crime. The Muslims' input is more than necessary in shaping laws that will apply to them. This study may raise awareness as to the responsibilities of all stakeholders in the fight for a just, more secure America. The reason why there is a constant climate of suspicion between Muslims and lawmakers is that laws are usually adopted after 9/11 without taking into consideration the well-being of Muslims. As such, any idea of dialogue is automatically viewed in a bad light.

At the societal level, Senegalese Muslims need to use the good reputation they seem to have to be more proactive in their communities for dialogue and communication to educate non-Muslims about what Islam is. Senegalese Muslims cannot be just satisfied with slipping through the cracks of harsher Islamophobia. However, they need to be at the forefront of the fight to make American society finally accept that Islam is American, and that practicing the religion does not turn anybody into a criminal. Many things are unknown about Islam, and that situation gives rise to many stereotypes. Senegalese Muslims need to first know their religion in order to be worthy interlocutors to non-Muslims for a fruitful dialogue.

Conclusion

The best way to combat the rise of Islamophobia and anti-Muslim bias is to gather more knowledge about those who practice Islam and who experience microaggressions or heinous acts against them. The United States in general, and many of the states in particular are now aware of this situation. Many states are, therefore, passing laws to help protect their most vulnerable. There is, however, a need for more inclusion of Muslims in shaping and creating those laws.

In this research, I studied adult Senegalese Muslims in Indianapolis and their lived experiences with Islamophobia. They experienced it and constructed their interpretations of the phenomenon, how it affected them, and what could be done to eradicate it. Despite the drastic consequences of Islamophobia and the need to stand up against it, Senegalese Muslims are still reluctant to step out of their comfort zone to take on the fight along other Muslims. I hope that this research provides the elements and

tools that all stakeholders could use in supporting policies that would be beneficial for the full integration of Muslims into American society.

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Appendix A: Participant Invitation Letter and Consent Form

Dear Sir or Madam,

You are hereby invited to take part in a research on the experience of Senegalese Muslims with the rising phenomenon of Islamophobia. The study will involve 12 people who have been in the USA before the events of September 11th, 2001 and live in the Indianapolis metropolitan area. Participation in the study is totally voluntary and you can choose at any time to terminate or suspend your involvement. The interview will take approximately 40 to 60 minutes to complete. This form is a section of ‘informed consent’ which permits you to understand the purpose of this research before you decide to participate in it. This study is being conducted by Malick Ndiaye, a doctoral candidate at Walden University.

Background Information

The purpose of this study is to gain a more profound understanding of the meanings behind the experiences of Senegalese Muslim adults regarding the phenomenon of islamophobia. It is necessary that each participant agree to take part in this study and answer the questions freely.

Procedures

Should you elect to participate in this research, you will be asked to take part in an interview lasting between 40 to 60 minutes with the Malick Ndiaye (researcher). When the interview concludes, you may be asked to provide a brief review of your answers for accuracy purposes.

Voluntary Participation

Your participation in this study is voluntary. As such, the researcher (Malick Ndiaye) will dutifully respect your decision about whether to participate or not in this research. You will not be treated differently if you choose to participate or not in the study. Should you decide to participate now, you would still have the right to terminate your participation at any point if you so wish or feel uncomfortable answering the questions.

Participation Risks and Benefits

Taking part in this study can potentially stir up some unfortunate memories and anxiety such as one encounters daily in life. However, this study does not pose any risks to your safety and your well-being. The information you provide will be recorded during the interview for data analysis purposes and will be confidential. The significance of this study is that it has the potential to shed light on the phenomenon of islamophobia from the angle of Senegalese Muslims. The information provided may help experts in other fields to take into account cultural particularities and beliefs of Senegalese Muslims when crafting strategies to help cope with the consequences of Islamophobia.

Payment

At the end of the interviews, each participant will be given a gift card in the amount of \$5.00 as a token of appreciation. These \$5.00 will be given to all participants regardless if they finished the interview or not.

Privacy

Every piece of information you provide will be kept secure and confidential. The researcher (Malick Ndiaye) will never disclose or use your personal information outside

of this study. Additionally, the researcher will not record your name or anything that can make you identifiable to the outsiders and risk exposing you. The data will be kept safe and secure in a locked file cabinet in a secure office. In addition, data will be kept for 5 years as required by the University and then destroyed subsequently.

Contacts and Questions

At the end of the interview, you will have the chance to ask questions or call the interviewer later at the number provided. Should you want to talk privately to the researcher about your rights as a participant, you can call the researcher at the following number or email him at the address

Statement of Consent

I have read the above information and I feel confident enough in my understanding of the purpose of the study and I feel well enough to get involved. By signing below, emailing back with the words "I consent", or returning this form, I understand that I agree to the above terms of participation.

Printed Name of Participant

Date of Consent

Participant's Signature

Researcher's Signature

Appendix B: Qualitative Research Instrument

Walden University

Researcher: Malick Ndiaye

“Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study. The information you provide today is very important in tackling the phenomenon of rampant Islamophobia in American society since 9/11. It will help experts in various fields to understand how Islamophobia affects different sub-sections of Muslims living in the United States. In this interview, I am interested in understanding your experiences with Islamophobia and how it affects you as a Muslim and a Senegalese national living in the USA. I want to understand what this experience means to you, how islamophobia plays into your life, your Muslim beliefs, your professional and social life, and how it affects your interactions with those outside your group.

I would like to ask you specific questions about your experience as a Muslim living in America and how Islamophobia affects you. The information you provide me today will not be used to personally identify you in any way. I would also like to ask whether it is alright for me to record our interview. The purpose of the recording is to make sure that I am writing exactly what you say and that everything is correct. The information you provide will only be used for the purpose of this study and not for anything else outside this research. At this point, if it is okay with you, I would like to turn on the recorder to begin our interview. Participant A

- 1 How old are you and when did you move to the United States?
- 2 Were you born a Muslim? if not then, when did you become one?

- 3 Have you lived anywhere else in the United States and what prompted you to move to Indianapolis?
- 4 What is your knowledge of Islamophobia?
- 5 Have you experienced anti-Muslim sentiment directed at you? If so, please tell me about it.
- 6 If you have been subjected to anti-Muslim bias, in what context did that occur?
- 7 To your knowledge, do they exist any laws that help curb anti-Muslim bias?
- 8 Which administrative measures could help further curb anti-Muslim bias in your opinion?

End of recording at this time. Thank you very much for participating and your time.

Please accept this token of my appreciation for accepting to take part in this study.

Appendix C: Interview Response Form

Time of Interview: _____ Date _____

Place: _____

Interviewee: _____

Questions:

- 1- How old are you and when did you move to the United States?

- 2- Were you born a Muslim? if not then, when did you become one?

- 3- Have you lived anywhere else in the United States and what prompted you to move to Indianapolis?

- 4- What is your knowledge of Islamophobia?

- 5- Have you experienced anti-Muslim sentiment directed at you? If so, please tell me about it.

- 6- If you have been subjected to anti-Muslim bias, in what context did that occur?

- 7- To your knowledge, do they exist any laws that help curb anti-Muslim bias?

8- Which administrative measures could help further curb anti-Muslim bias in your opinion?

Appendix D: Research Assistant Confidential Agreement

Name: _____

During the course of my involvement in data collection for this research, I will have access to confidential information which I agree not to disclose. I agree that all information collected should remain safe, secure, and confidential because improper disclosure of confidential information can be damaging to the participant.

By signing this Confidential Agreement, I acknowledge and agree not to:

Discuss or disclose any confidential information with others including friends, or family.

Copy, divulge, exchange, sell, destroy, or change any confidential information without proper authorization to do so.

Discuss any part of any confidential information in places where others can overhear my conversation even when the participant's identity is not mentioned.

Make any un-sanctioned transmissions, inquiries, amending of confidential information in my possession.

I agree that I am bound by the same obligations even after my involvement with this study comes to an end.

I understand that any violation of any of these agreements will have legal implications

I understand also that I will only access systems or devices that I am officially authorized to and not demonstrate or show those devices to unauthorized persons.

By signing this legally-binding document, I acknowledge that I have read and understood the document and that I agree to comply with all requirements stated above.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Appendix F: Invitation Flyer

Islamophobia is a real issue!

**Addressed to adult Senegalese immigrant Muslims In
[REDACTED], Indiana ages 30 and up.**

Have you lived in the United States prior to September 11, 2001? Have you noticed a change in attitudes towards you as a Muslim as a consequence of rising Islamophobia? Would you like to talk about your experiences? I am conducting a research study. Would you be interested in participating? All you do is talk about ISLAMOPHOBIA POST 9/11 for about 40 to 60 minutes.

This academic research is being conducted in support of a doctoral degree at Walden University. The study is not related to any official program of a mosque or community organization.

**If you would like to participate please contact:
Mr. Malick Ndiaye**