mist

MUSLIM INTERSCHOLASTIC TOURNAMENT

TRUSTING THE PROCESS:
CONTENTMENT THROUGH ADVERSITY

MIST BOWL: TOPIC IV
MUSLIM YOUTH & MENTAL HEALTH

The Muslim youth population in North America is incredibly diverse, resilient and admirable. Despite the modern political and social climate, Muslim youth have remained persistent in owning their identity and building footholds to grow beside their contemporary counterparts. The conversation with youth is typically associated with increasing mental health awareness and with a global abundance of Islamophobic behaviours and anti-Muslim sentiment, it would be ignorant to disregard the relationship between North American Muslim youth and mental health. Data on community prevalence of psychiatric disorders among Muslim Americans is scarce. Whether it be through social stigma or lack of relevant training and resources, Muslim youth in North America are suffering. This MIST Bowl packet will dive deeper into the causes and methods current clinicians are using to bridge the gap.

Regional testable material for this topic includes:
1. The Family and Youth Institute's Bullying of Muslim Youth: A Review of Research and Recommendations
2. Yasmin Jiwani, Concordia University's Barbarians in/of the Land: Representations of Muslim Youth in the Canadian Press (page 40-48)

National testable material for this topic includes the abovementioned articles and:
3. American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry's Issues to Consider When Engaging Muslim Youth in Psychiatric Care
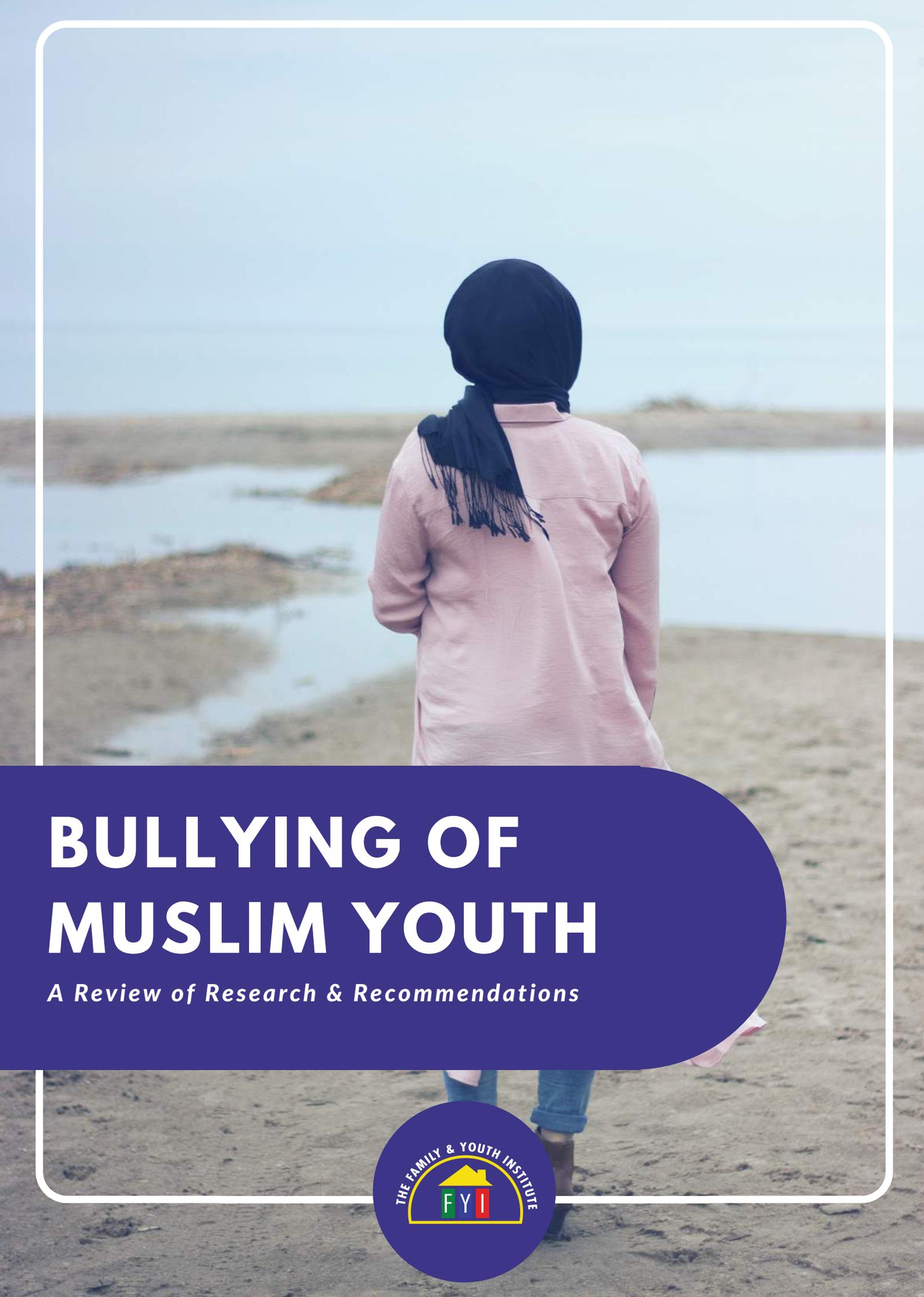
BULLYING OF MUSLIM YOUTH

A Review of Research & Recommendations

TABLE
OF CONTENTS

BULLYING
Impacts of Discrimination on Muslim Youth

91%

INCREASE IN HATE CRIMES AGAINST MUSLIMS

BETWEEN 2016-2017

55%

OF MUSLIM STUDENTS REPORT BEING BULLIED BECAUSE OF THEIR RELIGION

THIS IS TWICE THE NATIONAL AVERAGE!

1 IN 4 BULLYING INCIDENTS ARE BY SCHOOL STAFF!

WHERE DOES BULLYING OCCUR?

- CLASSROOMS
- BUSES
- HALLWAYS
- AFTER-SCHOOL PROGRAMS
- PUBLIC SPACES (malls, streets, etc.)

WHAT ARE THE IMPACTS?

INCREASED:
- DEPRESSION
- ANXIETY
- STRESS
- CRYING
- ACTING OUT
- SUICIDAL THOUGHTS

DECREASED:
- PHYSICAL HEALTH
- CONNECTION TO SOCIETY
- ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE
- SCHOOL CONNECTEDNESS

WHAT CAN WE DO TO HELP?

DEVELOP SUPPORTIVE RELIGIOUS LEADERS & MENTORS

FOSTER RACIAL/ETHNIC /RELIGIOUS PRIDE

TEACH RELIGIOUS COPING SKILLS (prayer, dua, etc.)

BUILD YOUTH CENTERED MASJIDS & ORGS

- Share The FYI bullying prevention resources with local schools
- Invite The FYI to your community for a workshop
- Sign up for The FYI's daily article share
- Support Muslim youth by donating to The FYI

Citations: www.TheFYI.org/Infographics/BullyingPrevention

www.TheFYI.org

> "They call me terrorist and when I get frustrated they say 'you're going to bomb us' and laugh."
>
> (CAIR, 2017b)

Introduction:

Due to an increasingly divisive socio-political climate, bullying of American Muslim children and adolescents is on the rise and occurs across various contexts within their lives. The pervasiveness of bullying places American Muslim children at risk for poor mental health and development, and increased engagement in risk behaviors. They also face challenges integrating into larger societal structures due to public devaluation of Islam and their minority status (Sirin & Fine, 2008). These challenges create an atmosphere in which American Muslim children and adolescents may feel misunderstood and isolated in different settings in their lives. They are often hard-pressed to understand the anti-Muslim sentiment in the broader geopolitical setting and feel powerless as agents of change, which can have drastic effects on their outcomes (Britto, 2008).

Given the challenges that American Muslim youth face, it is imperative to intervene from multiple avenues to buffer the impact of bullying and harassment. There is a growing recognition that those interested in supporting American Muslim youth development are often not equipped to provide the support that they need. To address this gap, this report (1) summarizes the research findings on bullying experiences of American Muslim children and (2) briefly provides recommendations and strategies for supporting their development. [Note: The usage of the term children refers to American Muslim children and adolescents unless otherwise noted.]

The Role of Context:

Children do not grow up in a bubble--rather, they experience development and growth amidst the interaction of many systems and contexts in their lives (Lerner & Galambos, 1998). In order to understand the experiences and impact of bullying on American Muslim children, it is necessary to first recognize the perception of Muslims in broader contexts. Surveys from various polling organizations show that significant numbers of Americans view Islam and Muslims negatively. About half (49%) of Americans think some U.S. Muslims are anti-American, and a quarter (24%) think American Muslims support extremism (Pew Research Center, 2016).

Alarmingly, in data collected between 2007 and 2009, even among Americans who reported no personal prejudice towards Muslims, a third (36%) still reported having an unfavorable opinion about Islam (Gallup Poll, 2011). These findings are troubling because it suggests that even if Americans do not hold prejudices about Muslims as people, they still view the religion negatively.

Anti-Muslim sentiment has resulted in increased reports of hate and discrimination, particularly after the presidential election in November, 2016 (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2016). In fact, based on an analysis of hate crimes reported to the FBI, the number of assaults in 2015 and 2016 surpass the peak that occurred in 2001 after the events of 9/11 (Pew Research Center, 2017).

There was a 19% increase in reported anti-Muslim hate crimes from 2015 to 2016, including increases in anti-Muslim intimidation and crimes that damage or destroy property, (i.e. vandalism of mosques, schools, Muslim centers). Violent incidents have also been reported, such as murders of Muslim individuals in broad daylight, bombings of mosques, and shooting and killing of Muslim worshippers during prayer (CAIR, 2017a).

~50%

About half of American Muslims report that it has become more difficult to be a Muslim in the U.S.

(Pew Research Center, 2017)

Religious discrimination was reported by 60% to 75% of American Muslims surveyed, with Muslim women and young people experiencing discrimination most frequently (Mogahed & Chouhoud, 2017). About half of American Muslims report that it has become more difficult to be a Muslim in the U.S. in recent years, and about a quarter view discrimination and racism as the most important problem facing American Muslims (Pew Research Center, 2017).

With rising anti-Muslim sentiment, the religiously-based acts of discrimination against Muslim adults permeate into the lives of Muslim children. Although harassment based on one's religion is considered discrimination, many children, parents, and educators often refer to it as bullying.

Bullying of Muslim Children

American Muslim children are increasingly experiencing identity-based bullying and harassment. Muslim parents are four times as likely as the general public to report that their school-aged children have been bullied (Mogahed & Chouhoud, 2017). A bullying survey of Muslim adolescents in California finds that 53% of Muslim students have experienced religiously-based bullying in school—nearly twice the national average of bullying (CAIR, 2017b). However, Muslim youth are a diverse group and vary in their racial, cultural, religious, and socio-economic backgrounds (Ahmed, Patel & Hashem, 2015).

In this section, we review the (1) various forms of bullying experienced by Muslim children, (2) sources of perpetrators of the bullying, and (3) different contexts within which discrimination occurs.

What Does Bullying Look Like?

Research indicates that Muslim children experience bullying in various direct and indirect forms (Houri & Sullivan, 2016). Verbal bullying was reported by 52% of adolescents and was the most common form of harassment reported (CAIR, 2015). Common themes include: (1) accusations of being affiliated with terrorism (2) derogatory comments about their religious practices or beliefs; and (3) statements which perpetuate negative stereotypes about Islam (Bonet, 2011; CAIR, 2017b; El-Hajj, 2007; Khanlou, Koh, & Mill, 2008).

## Common themes of verbal bullying:

- Accusations of being affiliated with terrorism
- Derogatory comments about their religious practices or beliefs
- Statements which perpetuate negative stereotypes about Islam

(Bonet, 2011; CAIR, 2017b; El-Hajj, 2007; Khanlou, Koh, & Mill, 2008)

Unfortunately, physical bullying is also on the rise. For instance, from 2014 to 2017, rates of Muslim adolescents reporting physical harassment and assault jumped from from 9% to 19% (CAIR, 2017b). Noted examples include: group of boys harassing Muslim girls with physical gestures at a mall; pulling headscarves off Muslim girls, physically assaulting Muslim children (Aroian, 2012; CAIR, 2017b; Wingfield, 2006).

Microaggressions

Muslim children are also the victims of indirect forms of bullying, or microaggressions--brief and everyday slights or insults that communicate negative messages towards individuals of color and may or may not be intentional (Sue, 2010). Different forms of microaggressions against Muslims include (1) asking Muslim children questions such as, 'Where are you really from?', and (2) misinformation and misrepresentation in the school curriculum content that portray Islam and Muslims as inherently villainous (Wingfield & Karaman, 1995), and in direct conflict with western civilization.

where are you REALLY from?
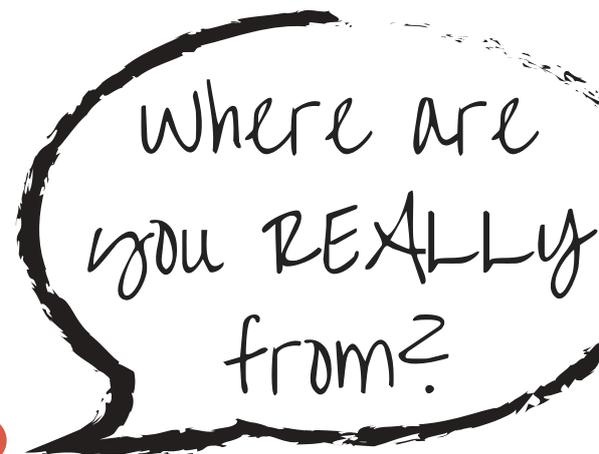
In reality, Muslims have contributed heavily to the building of America. Historical contributions began prior to the inception of America. African Muslims were forced into enslavement to help build the American economy and infrastructure; they were enlisted American soldiers in all major wars (including the Revolutionary war); and more recently many were active in the civil rights movements (Diouf, 2013; Muhammad, 2013). These contributions, as well as contributions to history, science, and the arts, are largely ignored in the classroom.

Microaggressions may also include school practices or policies that fail to accommodate Muslim students, such as the lack of support for Muslim student organizations, requiring fasting Muslim students to participate in strenuous physical activities during Ramadan, or the subtle exclusion of non-Christian holidays on school calendars (Dupper, Forrest-Bank, & Lowry-Carusillo, 2015). Although subtle in nature, microaggressions can similarly impact Muslim children's mental health, academic performance and school engagement, as they do for adjustment outcomes among other minority youth (e.g., Huynh, Devos, & Dunbar, 2012), which will be further discussed in a subsequent section.

`One Muslim parent explained that her son felt embarrassed when a student teacher explained to the class, in reference to the Kaaba, that Muslims worship idols.`

(Sabry & Bruna, 2007)

Who are the Perpetrators of Bullying?

Muslim children are being bullied by both peers and adults in their daily lives. Consistent with the bullying experiences of non-Muslim children (Olweus & Limber, 2010), Muslim children are bullied by their peers in both direct and indirect forms (Abu El-Haj, 2010; Aroian, 2012; Bonet, 2011; Dupper et al., 2015). Unfortunately, adults are also perpetrators. Within the schooling environment, school staff members (i.e. teachers, coaches, school administrators) engage in verbal (e.g.,"This is the region of the peace haters") and physical acts of discrimination (e.g., choking Muslim kindergartner until another adult intervenes) (Abu El-Hajj, 2007; Aroian, 2012; Bajaj, Ghaffar-Kucher, Desai, 2016; Dupper et al., 2015; Sabry & Bruna, 2007; Seward & Khan, 2016; Wingfield, 2006; see Table 1). In a survey of California Muslim students, 38% of the bullying incidents involved a teacher or school official, up from 20% in 2014 (CAIR, 2017b).

Girls wearing hijab reporting the highest level of discrimination by an adult (27%). Coaches may penalize students for missing practice for religious holidays or commitment. Some educators did not intervene when peers bullied Muslim students (Aroian, 2012). This is contrary to what typically occurs in schools where teachers tend to serve as mediators during peer acts of bullying (Olweus & Limber, 2010). When teachers or school staff intentionally or unintentionally allow bullying under their supervision, they are sending messages of rejection and fear to Muslim students. This, in turn undermines Muslim students' sense of trust and safety in the student-teacher relationship. Condoning Muslim-based bullying also sends the message to onlooking peers that acts of bullying are permissible and indirectly encourages them to recur in the future.

32%

Only 32% of youth in a California survey said reporting a (bullying) problem to an adult made a difference.
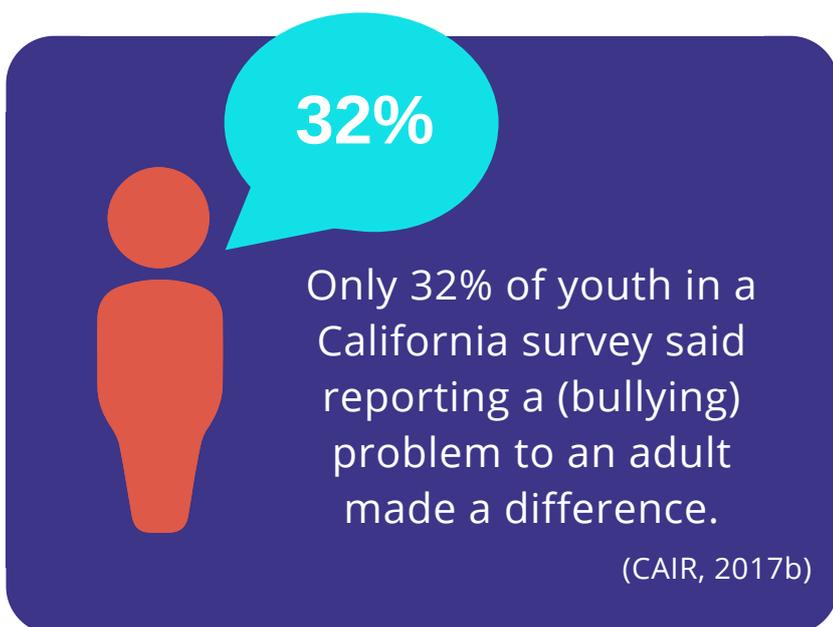
(CAIR, 2017b)

As a result, only 32% of youth in a California survey said reporting a problem to an adult made a difference, down from 42% in 2014 (CAIR, 2017b). Many Muslim students worry that reporting an incident may actually worsen the situation at school and hence fail to report incidents (Seward & Khan, 2016).

These underlying tensions between Muslim students, school staff and educators disproportionately shifts the power dynamics in the relationship between students and adults in the school setting. Muslim students may no longer trust that the adults in their schools will be there to provide protection, which can be more devastating and developmentally destructive than peer bullying (McEvoy, 2005).

The impact has been likened to that of a parent or guardian engaging in emotional abuse (Dupper et al., 2015). These findings are troubling as they suggest that Muslim children may be experiencing increased vulnerability and decreased sources of support and coping.

> Many Muslim students worry that reporting an incident may actually worsen the situation at school and hence fail to report incidents.
>
> (Seward & Khan, 2016)

Muslim Perpetrators

Sadly, American Muslim children also experience bullying from other Muslim children, a process termed intra-group bullying. Although there is no research on this phenomenon among Muslim children, other research shows that this process does occur among minorities and impacts their outcomes, such as their identity development (for a review, see Simon, Aufderheide, & Kampmeier, 2001). In the face of identity threats from the outgroup, ingroup members often reaffirm what it means to be a group member (Jetten, Summerville, Hornsey, & Mewse, 2005). So, as Muslim children experience threats to their identity from those external to their social groups (i.e. media, non-Muslim peers or adults), they may reaffirm what it means to be Muslim and discriminate against those who don't match their definition of Muslim, such as Muslim youth who engage in risky behaviors that are not accepted in Muslim circles (i.e. premarital dating, substance use) or Muslim youth from different racial groups (e.g., South-Asian versus Black Muslim).

Where Does It Happen?

Bullying of Muslim children is not isolated to one setting and actually occurs in different contexts. In school environments, Muslim children experience bullying while under adult supervision in the classroom (by both teachers and peers alike), in the cafeteria in the presence of lunch monitors, on the athletic field, and in afterschool programs (Dupper et al., 2015). Bullying also occurs in unsupervised settings, such as in school hallways, locker rooms, bathrooms, and while riding the school bus. For example, a 7th grader called a 6th grade Muslim student "the son of ISIS," then threatened to shoot and kill him (Washington Post, 2015).

The occurrence of bullying during unsupervised times is particularly problematic because there is greater risk for escalation without the presence of adults who can step in and intervene.

Muslim children also experience harassment outside of school and from complete strangers (e.g., Muslim girls receiving dirty looks; being called "Dirty Arabs"; Aroian, 2012). A young girl recalls that she was driving with her mother and both were wearing headscarves:

> A car full of teenage boys passed and made obscene hand gestures at them. When the car passed a second time, the boys rolled down the window and yelled verbal epithets about Muslims...The girls in the study unanimously agreed that they felt sad when people were angry and hateful toward them.

(Aroian, 2012)

Consequently, as Muslim children move between various social settings in their lives (i.e. shopping malls, movie theatres, after-school activities), they may worry and feel unsafe due to fearing unexpected discriminatory incidents.

Cyberbullying

The online world is equally unsafe for Muslim children. They are experiencing anti-Muslim cyberbullying, which refers to posting or sending electronic messages through varying forms of social media, with the intent to harass another individual (Awan, 2014; Bajaj et al., 2016). From 2014 to 2017, rates of California Muslim students who reported being victims of cyberbullying jumped from 19% to 26%.

In addition, more than half (57%) also report viewing their peers making offensive online posts about Islam or Muslims. Muslim children often do not report these offenses to adults because they do not feel doing so would make a difference (CAIR, 2017b).

Media

Another important context in which Muslim children experience bullying is through their exposure to negative rhetoric and attitudes of hate directed towards Islam and Muslims (i.e. Islamophobia) perpetuated by the media. Even if Muslim children have not directly experienced Muslim-based bullying, the perception of anti-Muslim and Islamophobic rhetoric in the media can mimic the impact of direct experiences of discrimination (Steele, 2010; Taylor, Ruggiero, & Louis, 1996).

Similarly, Muslim youth also encounter vicarious discrimination, which are discriminatory experiences directed at other same-religion peers and adults in the adolescents' life (McKown & Quintana, 2008), particularly online as cited previously. Thus, it is also important to consider the secondary impact of media's messaging on Muslim children.

The research findings in this section highlight the different forms, sources, and contexts in which American Muslim children experience bullying/discrimination. It is important to note that preliminary findings show that the extent of discriminatory experiences of Muslim children may also vary by ethnic or racial group, thereby making some subgroups more vulnerable than others (Ahmed, Abu-Ras, Arfken, 2013). Thus, it is imperative to use an intersectional approach when dealing with children who navigate multiple identities.

In the following sections, the impact of these bullying experiences on Muslim children's development will be discussed.

"I've just blocked that day out. All I can remember was walking down the hall and hearing a boy yell, 'The Mozlems are gonna be rounded up now!' Then kids started snickering and chanting, 'Make America great again!' I didn't look up, I just ran and hid in the bathroom before anyone could see me cry. No one came to help me. No one told them to stop. No one did anything about it. I don't feel safe there (at school). You can't make me go back there."

(Male Student, 9th grade, personal communication)

The Impact of Bullying on Muslim Children's Healthy Outcomes

Bullying is having a detrimental impact on Muslim children, from their mental health to school success and community empowerment. Although this body of research is growing for Muslim populations, the current findings uncover similarly negative effects of bullying on Muslim adolescents' outcomes compared to their same-age counterparts. In the following section, the impact of bullying on adolescents' (1) mental health, (2) identity development, (3) civic engagement, and (4) academic engagement will be discussed.

In this section, we will discuss the impact of bullying on adolescent's:

Mental Health

Identity Development

Civic Engagement

Academic Engagement

Mental Health

Discrimination and identity-based bullying has been found to increase symptoms of depression and anxiety, as well as other internalizing (e.g. "I cry a lot") and externalizing (e.g. "I get in many fights") behaviors among Muslim adolescents (Ahmed, Kia-Keating, & Tsai, 2011; Aroian, 2012; Dabbagh, Johnon, King, Blizard, 2012; Sirin & Fine, 2008). Hostility from peers and adults may contribute to Muslim adolescents internalizing anti-Muslim hate and questioning their self-worth (Sirin & Fine, 2008).

Muslim adolescents become conscious of being constantly watched by peers, teachers, other adults, and the larger community (Sirin & Fine, 2008). Engaging in this constant social vigilance may result in tremendous internal conflict, as they waffle between ignoring anti-Muslim acts for fear of validating them and feeling guilty about not reacting and perpetuating further acts. This may become a vicious cycle such that internal conflict leads youth to blame themselves, and to isolate themselves from other students in school, which may contribute to higher levels of depression and anxiety (Britto, 2008; Sirin & Fine, 2008).

Muslim adolescents state they often fail to report bullying incidents for fear of possible retribution (Aroian, 2012), which may contribute to feelings of helplessness and loneliness, and decreased source of support (Haslam, O'Brien, Jetten, Vormedal, & Penna, 2005). Muslim adolescents are less likely to divulge instances of bullying to their parents out of a need to protect them, which may result in increased psychological stress for these adolescents (Aroian, 2012). In this way, the experience of rejection, ridicule, and isolation from both peers and adult may result in poor mental health outcomes for Muslim adolescents exposed to bullying and discrimination.

"I didn't understand what side you're supposed to be on or anything. Like, you know, on one hand, you're Muslim, and they're saying, 'You're Muslim, go this way'; on the other hand, you're American, and you have to be like this. Like, if you go to the American side, they're never going to think of you as American, but if you go to the Muslim side, you're not Muslim enough."

(Marina, 17-year-old girl; Ghaffar-Kucher, 2015)

The othering process refers to how various systems espouse cultural norms and laws which perpetuate the notion that all Muslims are aliens to American culture (Jamal, 2008). Muslim identity has been referred to as "identity formation under siege", due to the othering of Islam and Muslims in legal policies, media dialogue, and educational institutions (Haque, 2004; Sirin & Fine, 2008).

Despite the developmental need to belong and be connected to society, Muslim adolescents receive direct and indirect messages of rejection from their environment (media, society, school, teachers, peers, etc.), thereby impacting their identity development (Sirin & Fine, 2008).

Adolescents' ability to cope with bullying and discrimination is dependent on individual traits, developmental context, and the interaction between these factors in their environment (Ahmed et al., 2015). For some adolescents, their Muslim identity serves as a protective factor in the face of bullying and discrimination (Bigelow, 2008; Wray-Lake, Syvertsen, & Flanagan, 2008; Cheah, Tahseen, & Balkaya, 2017).

As a coping strategy, these adolescents often engage in various identity enhancing actions, such as wearing hijab (a religious marker) or speaking out against stereotypes or misinformation about Islam in an attempt to portray Islam in a positive light, and to show signs of solidarity with fellow Muslims (Seward & Khan, 2016; van Driel, 2004). Such actions may serve to channel their energy, while fostering religious supports and sense of belonging with other Muslims to buffer the impact of psychological distress from discriminatory experiences on their developmental outcomes (Ahmed et al., 2011; Haslam et al., 2005; Khanlou et al., 2008).

On the other hand, some Muslim adolescents endorse lower levels of Muslim identity in the face of experiences with discrimination (Kumar, Warnke, & Karabenick, 2014). Muslim youth who accept discrimination as a "fact of life" report higher levels of anxiety and depression (Sirin & Fine, 2007) and feel unable to use their identity as a coping strategy. They may fear potential negative responses from teachers and friends (Aroian, 2012; Hutnik & Street, 2010) or feel ashamed about exerting their religious or cultural identity (Basford, 2010). As these youth experience self-hate, they may try to blend into dominant culture with respect to adolescent norms and behaviors (dress, values, leisure activities). This attempt at assimilation may result in becoming ostracized from their religious and cultural support groups, which can in turn increase the likelihood of engaging in risk behaviors (Ahmed et al., 2015; Basford, 2010).

> It's just the way it is...

Muslim youth who accept discrimination as a "fact of life" report higher levels of anxiety and depression and feel unable to use their identity as a coping strategy.

(Sirin & Fine, 2007)

Civic Engagement

Children "learn what it means to be a citizen through everyday experiences of membership in their communities and opportunities to exercise rights and fulfill obligations" (Wray-Lake et al., 2008; p. 85). Despite experiences with discrimination, majority of Muslim youth endorse overwhelmingly positive attitudes towards all conventional forms of American civic and political participation (Cristillo, 2008).

In a large study of Muslim students in New York City schools, 90% of students reported that civic and political engagement were important-- efforts ranging from involvement in community service to walking with others in marches. These rates were comparable to their non-Muslim counterparts in the study (Cristillo, 2008). Interestingly, perceived discrimination sometimes bolsters community engagement for young Muslim women. In these cases, young women may choose to engage with the very communities that placed them "under siege" in an attempt to fight back against stereotypes and discrimination (Sirin & Katsiaficas, 2011). It is important to note that although this study was on emerging adults, these findings show that negative experiences can be buffered by protective factors in later developmental stages.

90%

90% of students reported that civic and political engagement were important to them.

(Cristillo, 2008)
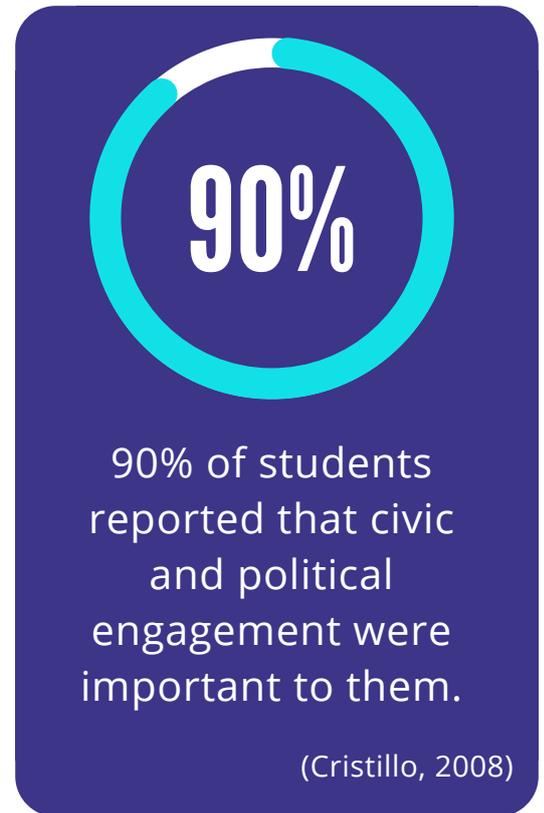
"I was on the school bus and this...random guy... he was like 'Go back to your country you f-ing Afghan'... I felt horrible, I felt really bad, I mean I was only in 7th grade, what am I going to do?...I felt that, I mean how ignorant American society is, [and] at the same time why do they have a wrong image of us? And I wish that... all Muslims including me could stand up, because I think that then we can really show America that we're not a bad religion. We don't teach violence; we teach tolerance."

(Female Muslim Student, Seward & Khan, 2016)

Preliminary research also highlights that bullying experiences can result in the civic marginalization of Muslim youth (Wingfield, 2006). If Muslim youth experience harassment and constant attacks on their Muslim identities, then they are more likely to feel distanced from their American identity which may impact their civic contribution (Bonet, 2011). Such feelings of exclusion may result in reduced civic participation and little concern with local social issues.
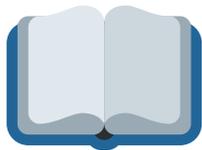
Academic Engagement

Research on the negative impact of discrimination and bullying on the academic lives of Muslim children is also emerging. Experiences with bullying in the broader school environment hinders Muslim children's academic engagement. The existence of anti-Muslim stereotypes in some school climates prevents students from feeling understood, safe, or included at school (Basford, 2010). In fact, Muslim students report lower levels of feeling welcome and respected in school (69%) compared to previous years (83% in 2014) (CAIR, 2017b). In addition, Muslim students have a hard time reconciling their self-image with the negative portrayal of Islam in curriculum materials (Nieto, 2000; Suleiman, 2001). Indeed, findings show negative portrayals of Islam and Muslims in school curriculum results in negative self-perceptions among Muslim students, which in turn results in lower levels of GPA (Tabbah, Chung, & Miranda, 2016).

A Muslim student recalled how a Social Studies teacher who was talking about the Middle East once said, "This is the region of peace haters." This greatly embarrassed the student and he began fearing that his non-Muslim peers would have the same "peace-hating" impression of him.

(Sabry & Bruna, 2007)

Muslim students also report that prejudiced views held by school staff and peers undermined academic success and resulted in difficulties maintaining their religious and cultural identity (Basford, 2010), which in turn, was associated with decreased academic performance. In addition, Muslim students were more likely to be disrespected in class by both peers and adults, and get in trouble (in and out of school) (Basford, 2010). However, when Muslim students perceived equal treatment of all students, regardless of religious background, school environment served as a buffer against the negative effects of discrimination (Baysu, Celeste, Brown, Verschueren & Phalet, 2016).

Recommendations

Muslim children experience various forms of bullying and discrimination from different perpetrators and within varying contexts. Thus, it is imperative that prevention and intervention efforts address different aspects of children's lives. In the following section, we provide recommendations for families, communities, educators, policymakers, and researchers, in order to foster positive outcomes for Muslim children.

In this section you will find recommendations for:

Families

Schools

Communities

Policy Makers

Researchers

Families

Muslim families can support their children in the following ways:

- Be aware of the signs of bullying or discrimination experienced by children. Do not minimize their experiences or blame them for being overly sensitive. Work on developing an open relationship with children so that they feel comfortable sharing their experiences with bullying.

This information and more can be found in the FYI Bullying toolkit (http://www.thefyi.org/toolkits/youth-support-tool-kit/).

- Foster a strong relationship with children's school and connect with local organizations to advocate for children (Wingfield, 2006). For example, parents can advocate for curriculum revisions to remove biased materials or support students' attempts to initiate a Muslim Student Association.

- Increase children's access to religious support systems and support their ethnic and religious identities (Hill & Pargamet, 2003) by:
  → Encouraging their participation and volunteering in youth-centered religious community activities.
  → Listening to them as they talk about their struggles in practicing Islam, without jumping to correct them.
  → Ensuring that they have access to mentors and peers that they can talk to and use for support.
  → Supporting their personalized religious or spiritual practices (e.g, some Muslim students turned to prayer outside of the regular five prayers or listened to the Qur'an to deal with stress (Cristillo, 2008).

- Report incidents of bullying to the school, local CAIR chapter, and Southern Poverty Law Center to increase accurate estimates of bullying among Muslims.

Schools

Schools can engage in the following prevention and intervention efforts to support Muslim students:

- Anti-bullying programs in schools need to incorporate identity-based bullying & discrimination and explicitly mention protected groups in the school's bullying policy.

- Staff training and procedures should ensure that adults and students are prepared to recognize and respond appropriately to bullying of students because of their religion or ethnicity (Houri & Sullivan, 2016). Refer to the FYI webinars in the Resources Section for more information.

- Education should be offered to increase staff, student and parents' knowledge about Muslim students' religion and culture to increase religious tolerance and culturally responsive school environments (Haboush, 2007; Houri & Sullivan, 2016). This training should include a discussion about the intersectionality of Muslim students' various cultural, racial, and religious identities which can result in unique bullying experiences.
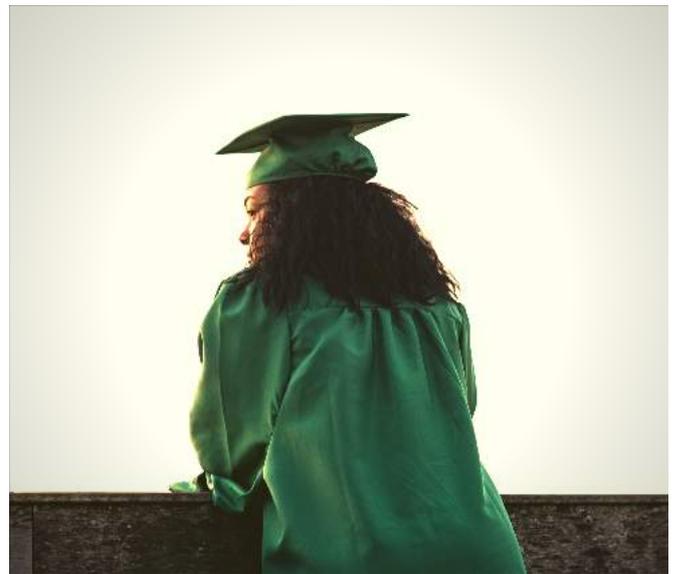
- Objective and specific tracking of bullying towards specific religious and ethnic groups to obtain group-specific rates of bullying.
- School psychologists and counselors should work with Muslim students to help them recognize the effects of discrimination on their identities and identify ways to deal with their struggles in a proactive manner. School counselors can also help Muslim students form alliances with individuals and groups that share similar interests as their own (Seward & Khan, 2016).

Communities

Muslim children are connected to many kinds of communities, such as mosques, youth groups, after-school programs, and alternative safe spaces. Youth programming efforts within each of these communities must create opportunities for young people to develop and cultivate meaningful and healthy relationships and experiences, which help them cope with their bullying experiences (Ahmed et al., 2015).

To do so, communities should:

- Conduct workshops on bullying prevention and coping with discrimination for both parents and children. These programs should help participants identify bullying, know their rights in schools, know what actions can be taken, and how to handle these experiences on a practical level.
- Collaborate with schools to provide resources on Islam and Muslims to increase cultural competency of teachers, students and other parents (Duncan & King, 2015; Houri & Sullivan, 2016), in the form of presentations at schools or disseminating materials to promote cultural awareness.
- Organizations should strive to develop an internal culture that is welcoming, inclusive, and empowering for young people of varying levels of religiosity, ethnicity/race, gender, and socioeconomic background (Ahmed et al., 2015). Provide programming that integrates awareness and appreciation of the intersectionality of racial, cultural, and religious identities among all children and youth within the community.
- Create mentoring programs for American Muslim youth to enhance their religious and cultural identities and practice how to handle bullying/discriminatory incidents. Mentoring programs should provide caring

adults guiding, mentoring, and creating opportunities to apply their skills in meaningful ways through projects serving their peers, religious community, neighborhood, or the wider community (Ahmed et al., 2015).

- Provide physically and emotionally safe places for children to socialize and engage in meaningful leisure activities which can promote social connection and youth development (Ahmed & Ezzedine 2009).
- Create opportunities for interfaith efforts that (1) expose youth to positive experiences with people of other faiths, and (2) allow them to advocate for their religious identity and beliefs, which can be therapeutic after experiencing discrimination (Cristillo, 2008).

Policy Makers

Policymakers should lobby for the following changes to policies and reporting practices:

- Amend Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to include the prohibition of discrimination on the basis of religion. Currently, the Office of Civil Rights only investigates acts in which religious discrimination intersects with racial/ethnic, national origin, or sex discrimination (Marcus, 2004). The inclusion of religious-based acts will allow victims to seek reparation against schools who receive federal funding and increase accountability for failure to address religious-based bullying (CAIR, 2017b).

- Expand the definition of bullying by the U.S. Department of Education (DOE) from incidents in which one's religion is explicitly stated (e.g., "Bad Muslim boy") to include those incidents when it is non-explicit, but implied by the aggressor (e.g., "Go back to where you came from"). The exclusion of such acts makes it more difficult to decipher the prevalence and impact of microaggressions from current federal data.
- Demographic information of the victim must be included in various reporting mechanisms of bullying incidents at different levels of the government. The exclusion of such information confounds issues of race, ethnicity, and religion in the currently reported prevalence rates of bullying.
- Introduce new laws to protect students from adult-based bullying in school contexts. Although the developmental impact on the student is often similar to that of a parent/guardian who emotionally abuses his/her child, current state laws do not protect students from teacher abuse in the school setting (McEvoy, 2005).

Researchers

Though research findings highlighted in this report provide insight into the impact of bullying and discrimination on Muslim children, much more research is needed. Future research should consider the following:

- Large-scale empirical studies of Muslim children and adolescents' experiences with bullying, including microaggressions, using nationally representative samples.
- Longitudinal studies using quantitative methods that explore the underlying processes and mechanisms of bullying, as well as the long-term impact of their experiences on developmental outcomes.
- Research on protective factors within various micro and macro systems, as well as examinations of effectiveness to mitigate negative effects of bullying.
- Explore the role of the intersectionality on adolescent's various identities (race/ethnicity, SES, religiosity, neighborhood setting) on their bullying experiences and related outcomes.

Conclusion

> "I am proud of my religion, but that is a lot of pressure, to try to present it and get everything right in front of everyone."
>
> (Dupper et al, 2015)

In all aspects of their daily lives, American Muslim children face direct and indirect forms of bullying from adults and peers alike. Although the pervasive nature of these bullying experiences potentially places them at risk for poor outcomes, there are many protective factors that may buffer them from the impact of bullying. Intervention and prevention efforts should target various areas of Muslim children's lives to maximize the support provided.

Additional FYI Resources

The Family and Youth Institute's Bullying Prevention Toolkit
This toolkit includes numerous resources for parents including: advice on how to talk to your child about bullying, the impact of bullying on Muslim kids, our FYI Bullying Prevention Infographic, resources for school administrators, and resources for youth themselves. These resources come in the form of articles, videos, webinars, and infographics.
http://www.thefyi.org/toolkits/youth-support-tool-kit/

Webinars for School Administrators
Strategies for Educators, Counselors and Community Members to Build Protective Factors for America's Muslim Youth
https://ojjdptta.adobeconnect.com/_a1110525827/p4tenfnnjnh/?launcher=false&fcsContent=true&pbMode=normal&proto=true

Helping Educators and Counselors Prevent Bullying of and Discrimination against our Nation's Muslim Youth from The Office of Juvenile Justice
https://www.ojjdp.gov/enews/16juvjust/160428.html
 At the time of publication, the above links were in working order.

FYI Workshops and Lectures
The Family and Youth Institute has an array of workshops and lectures available on topics related to positive parenting and bullying prevention. Check them out at: http://www.thefyi.org/workshops/

State of American Muslim Youth : Research and Recommendations by Sameera Ahmed, Sadiq Patel, and Hanan Hashem in collaboration with ISPU
 This report identifies the nuances and complexities of American Muslim youth's developmental context and environments. It highlights research on underserved Muslim youth populations—namely young Muslim women, African American Muslim youth, convert Muslim youth, and refugee Muslim youth. Risk factors and behaviors are also highlighted. Finally, eight youth programming recommendations that can be implemented around three developmental contexts (families, schools, and communities) are provided.
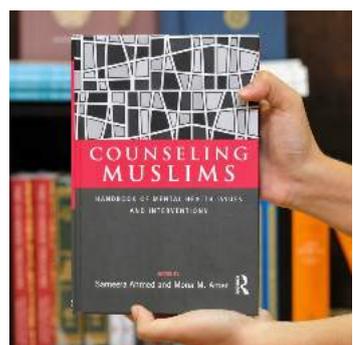
Counseling Muslims: Handbook of Mental Health Issues and Interventions Edited by Sameera Ahmed and Mona M. Amer
The issues and interventions discussed in this book, by authoritative contributors, are diverse and multifaceted. Topics that have been ignored in previous literature are introduced, such as sex therapy, substance abuse counseling, university counseling, and community-based prevention. Chapters integrate tables, lists, and suggested phrasing for practitioners, along with case studies that are used by the authors to help illustrate concepts and potential interventions.

Additional Resources*

*At the time of publication, the links below were in working order and directed the user to the titled resource.

ING Bullying Prevention Report
https://ing.org/bullying-prevention-guide/

ISPU Educators Toolkit
https://www.ispu.org/educators/

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention:
http://www.cdc.gov/ViolencePrevention/youthviolence/index.html

Dr. Dan Olweus Bullying Research, History & Prevention Statistics. Olweus Bullying Prevention Program:
http://www.olweus.org/public/bullying_research.page

No Bully.com:
http://www.nobully.com/

StopBullying.gov:
http://www.stopbullying.gov/

The Bully Project:
http://www.thebullyproject.com/

Not in Our School Parent Guide to Preventing Bullying and Intolerance:
http://www.niot.org/sites/default/files/Parent%20guide%20booklet%20screen.pdf

CDC Understanding Bullying Fact Sheet:
http://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/pdf/bullyingfactsheet2014-a.pdf.pdf

Harassment, Bullying and Free Expression: Guidelines for Free and Safe Public Schools:
http://www.firstamendmentcenter.org/tag/bullying

Cyberbullying:
www.safekids.com/bullying-cyberbullying- resources/

Barbarians in/of the Land: Representations of Muslim Youth in the Canadian Press

Yasmin Jiwani
Professor
Communication Studies Dept.
Concordia University[1]
yasmin.jiwani@gmail.com

With
Matthew Dessner
Research Assistant
Communication Studies Dept.
Concordia University
matthewdessner@gmail.com

Abstract

This paper examines representations of Muslim youth in a major Canadian newspaper, *The Globe and Mail*, over a four-year period (2010 to 2013). The first part of the article reviews some of the relevant literature regarding Muslim representations in the Western, mainstream media, paying particular attention to representations of Muslim youth. Based on a close analysis of a corpus of 158 news stories, a qualitative and quantitative analysis of the coverage is presented. Using a postcolonial and critical race perspective, this article traces the ways in which Muslim youth are represented, illustrating the ways in which a racial logic inscribes them. The findings suggest that Muslim youth are cast not only as an enemy within the nation state, but also as a contaminating force that must be disciplined or ejected from the body politic. They are, in short, barbarians in and of the land. At the same time, these representations cohere to produce an image of the nation as benevolent and dedicated to universal standards of truth and justice.

> And the barbarian's relationship with that speck of civilization… is one of hostility and permanent warfare. The barbarian cannot exist without the civilization he is trying to destroy and appropriate…He does not make his entrance into history by founding a society, but by penetrating a civilization, setting it ablaze and respectively destroying it. (Foucault, 2003, p. 195)

Introduction

Since the time of Edward Said's (1978; 1981) groundbreaking work documenting Orientalism, there is now a wealth of literature that details Western media stereotypes of Muslims and Islam (e.g. Karim, 2000; Mamdani, 2004; Muscati, 2002; Razack, 2008; Steuter & Wills, 2009). Maira (2009, p. 29) cynically refers to this as the bourgeoning "post 9/11 area studies". Ushered in by the tragic bombings of 9/11, these "area studies" have embraced both a progressive, critical

---

examination of the US imperial formation and the regressive practice of identifying and surveilling scholars working on issues related to Islam and Muslims in Western academies. On the progressive front, scholars have focused on the stereotypical media narratives and representations that make Muslim bodies legible in particular national and social contexts (e.g. Baird, 2009; Hage, 1998; Magnet, 2012; Smolash, 2009), and subject to heightened surveillance as well as criminalization.

Within the news media, the coverage has been equally stereotypical. For instance, Richardson (2004) has extensively documented the ways in which the British broadsheets represent Islam and Muslims in a pejorative manner. Similarly, studies of the Canadian and American mainstream press and popular media have also identified the stereotypically negative representations of Muslims and Islam (e.g. Byng, 2010; Boggs & Pollard, 2006; Hirji, 2011; Jiwani, 2004; 2010; Morey & Yaqin, 2011; Odartey-Wellington, 2009; 2011; Shaheen, 2001).

These stereotypes function as floating signifiers, ready to be harnessed to the dominant discourse of the day. For example, whereas Muslim women were historically thought to be licentious and provocative, they are now stereotyped as sexually oppressed by an ultra-patriarchal and repressive Islam (Richardson, 2004). Stereotypes are also fixed, leaving a rigid trace or palimpsest of the real (Morey & Yaqin, 2011). In the news media, such stereotypes work as discursive devices, offering ready-made templates (Kitzinger, 2000), to comprehend an event. Framed within a particular subset of occurrences, the stereotype gains its potency as an explanatory vehicle wherein the frame itself provides the necessary cues to prime particular interpretations. However, stereotypes while essentially presenting one-dimensional features are also inherently ambivalent (Hall, 2007). For every negative portrayal, there is a positive dimension that the stereotype gestures towards, such as the "good Muslim" / "bad Muslim" dichotomy (Mamdani, 2004). This is what makes the stereotype amenable to conscription by a dominant discourse. As with all discursive elements, there is a gendered dimension to stereotypes and in the case of Muslims, it is, as Razack (2008) aptly points out, the imperilled Muslim woman against the white knight who rescues her, or the lustful, dangerous Muslim man (Bhattacharyya, 2008), who seeks to subjugate her (see also Jiwani, 2009). The rescue motif, as Abu-Lughod (2002) and others have pointed out, is an embedded feature of colonial discourse used to buttress colonial and imperial agendas.

Muslim Youth

Representations of Muslim youth are similarly textured by the larger discourses operative in the contemporary landscape. Framed within the dominant discourse of the "War on Terror", many of these representations focus on young Muslim men as potential, if not actual, terrorists (Maira, 2009), and young Muslim women as caught within a cultural clash signified by their struggles against an oppressive Islam as embodied in the ultra-patriarchal practices of their fathers and brothers (Sensoy & Marshall, 2010; Zine, 2002; 2009). Indeed, these representations fail to account for the history or social location of Muslim youth – one that is marked by underemployment, discrimination and targeting (Helly, 2004; Haque, 2010; Khalema & Wannas-Jones, 2003). Yet, to date, few studies have documented the precise manner in which the mainstream Canadian news media depict Muslim youth.

In their analysis of the news coverage regarding the "Toronto 18" case and the arrest of eighteen Muslim youth on the grounds of their complicity in planning and executing terror plots, Miller and Sack (2010) argue that the majority of the coverage utilized a "home-grown terrorism frame". This frame effectively assembles the tropes associated with Islam and terrorism (Karim, 2000), and sutures them to issues of state security. In other words, the securitization of the state is made possible by a discourse of terrorism which pivots on play of orchestrated stereotypes – young Muslim men driven by a sense of grievance, unable to 'fit in', and incapable of performing as docile citizens. They are "Generation Jihad: Angry, Young, Born-Again Believers" according to a headline from *The Globe and Mail* quoted by Miller and Sack. Yet, the template used in the coverage of "Toronto 18" was etched before – in the mainstream media's coverage of "Operation Thread" (Odartey-Wellington, 2009) that involved the arrest of 23 young Muslim men, most of them marked by the first name Mohammed – many of whom were subsequently deported. They were arrested for participating in a terror cell, a network whose existence was tenuous at best. The coverage, as Odartey-Wellington points out, generated a moral panic in which "young Arabs and ethnic minority Muslims serve as the objects by which the threat can be mediated, recognized by the public, surveilled and controlled by the relevant state apparatuses" (p. 36). As Stenvall (2003) notes,

> The elements of threat inherent in the terrorist network metaphor largely depend on the secrecy and unpredictability of these networks. Terrorist networks are presented as "clandestine" and "shadowy"; and since they are "multinational", it is implied that no one in the world can feel safe. Accordingly, it can be argued that the sense of the word terrorist in public discourse really has changed, in that the word today evokes even stronger – and more persistent – negative emotions (such as fear and terror) than it did before September 11, 2001. (p. 397)

So strong is the terror stigma attached to the male Muslim body, that it has followed even that of Omar Khadr, a child soldier who was apprehended in Afghanistan and subsequently jailed in US prison in Guantanamo Bay for eight years before being transferred to a Canadian prison for another eight year term (Jiwani, 2011). We shall come back to the Khadr case as it was a notable thread running through our corpus of news coverage. What is important to note is that race and religion, as Bahdi (2003) astutely observes, have become the proxy for risk. Young Muslim men are the embodiment of risk; a risk made more evident in Canada's refusal to accept them as part of its intake of Syrian refugees (*The Guardian*, 2015).

Nonetheless, there is another side to this stereotype, and this deals with Muslim youth attempting to "fit in". The performative aspects of citizenship have been emphasized in the literature dealing with the negotiation of Muslim identity in diasporic communities in the West (e.g. Harris & Roose, 2014; Kassam, 2011; Maira, 2009). At the same time, the influence of consumer culture as a passport to "fitting in" has also been noted (Jiwani, 2014). However, "fitting in" also constitutes the sign of the "good Muslim", one who can set aside the lived aspect of Islam and privatize it, much as religion is privatized in a secular society – present but absent from the public gaze. As Mamdani (2004) observes, "good Muslims are modern, secular, and Westernized, but bad Muslims are doctrinal, anti-modern, and virulent" (p. 24). How then are these stereotypes prevalent in contemporary press reporting of Muslim youth? In the sections that follow, we discuss some of the findings from our corpus of news articles from *The Globe*

and Mail.

Methodology

A census (Sampert, 2006) of articles concerning stories of youth in *The Globe and Mail* was conducted using the Factiva database. The search terms utilized included the following: youth, young people, teen, teens, teenage, teenaged, teenager, teenagers. Excluding stories in the Arts/Entertainment, Sports, Fashion, Globe Drive, Report on Business Snapshot, Report on Business Financial Profile, Home Cents, Number Cruncher (Stock Column) Sections, and international stories, the search yielded 2,337 news accounts in total. Of these, 158 were stories that either specifically focused on Muslim youth or significantly referenced them in passing. In the sections that follow, we focus on these 158 stories.

In parsing through the articles, we categorized them using the following descriptors: *Radicalization & Terror* for stories that discussed Muslim youth involved in terrorist activities or as having been radicalized; *Surveillance* for stories concerning state surveillance of Muslim youth; *Immigration* for those which commented on immigration issues involving Muslim youth; and, *Honour Killings* to reference and categorize Muslim victims of honour crimes. In addition, due to the high number of stories referencing Somali youth, we coded these stories separately within the larger category of Muslim youth. Gang violence, which was a common theme in the stories dealing with Somali youth was also coded separately, as well as in the Somali youth category where the reference was explicit. Additionally, stories that featured "positive" representations of Muslim youth were coded, as were stories where these representations were either mentioned in passing or were not the main aspect of the coverage. Those stories where Muslim youth were alluded to, or where there was an assumed connection, were demarcated as "floating or unsaid". In some cases, these included stories about individuals who had previously been identified as Muslim or terrorists. Not all of our categories were mutually exclusive and so we relied on the most dominant motif in an individual story to determine in which category it would best fit. While our corpus is not exhaustive and is contingent on the usual problems associated with database searches, it does provide insights that can help to map out the terrain of the mediascape concerning Muslim youth.

The diagram below offers a pictorial representation of stories in each of the categories. The red portions represent those stories featuring Somali youth. The blue signifies all other representations of Muslim youth.

Figure 1: Muslim Youth Representation in *The Globe and Mail* (2010-2013)

Table 1: Quantitative Profile of the Coverage

Year	Number of Stories	Number of Muslim Youth Stories
2010	537	51
2011	627	15
2012	598	38
2013	575	54
TOTAL	2337	158

While articles on immigration were the highest in number, many of these were categorized as "floating" or where Muslim youth were mentioned in passing. In contrast, articles dealing with radicalization and terror were more likely to deal directly with Muslim youth. Tracking the themes over the four years reveals the following chronology: security concerns, terrorism, the

"new" profile of young "jihadists", gang-related murders, drug crimes and murder, and honour killings. Within this chronology, several issues dominated the coverage: the repatriation of Omar Khadr from Guantanamo, the murders of Somali youths, the court trials of the "Toronto 18", and the fatal shooting of Sammy Yatim, a Syrian youth by the Toronto Police. We turn now to a discursive analysis of the coverage.

Terrified/Terrifying Nation

> The eviction of groups of people from political community begins with their difference, coded as an incomplete modernity that poses a threat to the nation. While nationalism has always demanded the stigmatization of the foreigner, increasingly that stigmatization carries with it the probability that the stigmatized group will be literally expelled (deported), marked permanently as undeserving of the full benefits of citizenship, or abandoned. (Razack, 2008, p. 84)

As Razack remarks above, the differentiation of an "us" from "them" is a key discursive move by which targeted groups are alienated. In his insightful analysis of elite discourse and racism, Teun van Dijk (1993) identifies an "ideological square" as a primary discursive move by which the press makes and marks a difference between "us" and "them". Whereas, "we/us" are positively valued and valorized, "they" or "them" are negatively valued. In this way, the media projects all that is undesirable and contra hegemonic on to "them". "They" in turn become the threats that have to be expelled from the body politic, or isolated and marginalized. "Their" concerns become trivialized if not dismissed outright. But how is it possible to define an Other when "they" look and act like "us"? What "somatechnologies" (Pugliese, 2009) – technologies of the body, on the body and associated with the body – can one use to identify the difference that Razack (2008) speaks to? This is where Pugliese's concept of compulsory visibility comes into play; for the Muslim body is rendered, in the news media most especially, highly visible.

Homegrown Terror

The majority of news accounts focused on homegrown terrorism, stemming in part from the media's coverage of the trial of the "Toronto 18". The coverage in general stressed the emergence of a new generation of "jihadists"– a euphemism of terrorism linked to Islam. These "new" terrorists were the cause of considerable concern. For example, in describing the lead figure in the "Toronto 18" group, one news account portrays him as follows:
> An educated and affluent thirty something entrepreneur – born in the Middle East but raised in Canada – who allegedly saw an opportunity to profit from the chaos he would cause.…A decade older, better educated and far better off than most his co-conspirators, Mr. Abdelhaleem doesn't fit the profile of the teenagers and twenty somethings convicted to date. (Freeze, 2010)
In a column concerning the apprehension of another terrorist suspect, Khurram Sher, columnist Margaret Wente pens the following:
> He doesn't fit our mental picture of a would-be terrorist. He's not a disaffected kid who fell in with the wrong crowd. He is not a hate-filled product of poverty and disadvantage. He's not even a second-class citizen, such as France's French-born

> Muslims who speak with perfect Parisian accents but will never break into the
> elites. Instead, Dr. Sher's the product of Canada's uniquely successful
> multicultural meritocracy – a homegrown, ball-hockey-playing, fun-loving fellow
> who zipped through one of the toughest med schools in the country and made fun
> of religious Muslims on Canadian Idol (Wente, 2010).

Here, Wente alludes to the fear that the terrorist could be the person next door. In other words, "they" can look like "us" and act like "us" and therefore, we need to be on guard. The enemy is within, and can easily constitute a fifth column. News articles, as Miller and Sack (2010) contend, have a significant impact on audiences, particularly those who consider the columnist favourably, and Wente, it must be noted, has a considerable following.

However, while columnists can sway the public, the news media's reliance on official sources, such as government and security sources (e.g. the police) also command considerable legitimacy. Hence, an article that quotes credible sources such as reports by experts and specialized government agencies such as the Canadian Security and Intelligence Service (CSIS) is likely to not only draw more attention, but also elicit acquiescence on the part of the audience because of the inherent and assumed facticity of the information provided. Here, for example, is one such account of CSIS's report on radicalization titled "Canadian extremists likely homegrown: 'Secret' CSIS Report":

> ….none of the radicals studied by CSIS were "assessed to be poorly integrated into
> Canadian society." And these radicals tend to be relatively young and well-
> integrated members of society…. "That data appears to match what has been
> claimed in the literature: i.e. that radicalization and terrorism is largely a young
> person's game" (18-35), the study says. (Freeze, 2013)

Headlines, van Dijk (1993) contends, act as "cognitive organizers" – they tell us what to expect and summarize the story for us, from the viewpoint of those writing it. Here, what is interesting to note is that the implied notion assumes these young people don't really have any legitimate grievances. In other words, their involvement with terrorism is simply a "game". Further, that "game" is a lucrative one, not only for the profits it brings in terms of the presumed privileges of martyrdom, but also "because even nobodies can aspire to be somebodies. And a nobody who feels persecuted by society (petty criminals often have a victim complex) can be tempted to vent that hostility in murderous ways" (Wente, 2013).

The news accounts suggest that the turn to radicalism is illogical, indicating that those who are radicalized were normal at one time and then suddenly became abnormal. This is apparent in the following account concerning one of three friends, who presumably left Canada, to fight alongside terrorist groups.

> In 2008, Aaron Yoon, the London, Ont., man who has been reported to be in an
> African jail under mysterious circumstances, was a "fun-loving" teenager who
> worked part-time at a local restaurant and hung out with friends from work. But
> according to a former co-worker, something changed in the Korean-Canadian teen
> over the next few years. She watched her former friend become increasingly
> isolated and religious. "My Facebook was flooded with posts about Islam... It was
> getting excessive so I just deleted him," the young woman...said. (Hui, Freeze, &
> Thanh Ha, 2013)

This theme is reiterated in various other accounts leading readers to surmise that radicalization is this amorphous process that emanates from a phenomenon called "Islam", and is relayed by the Internet. It is as if exposure to Islam results in an alchemical reaction, drastically altering the individual's personality. One outcome of this is the legitimization of surveillance. The news accounts report on state authorities and police asking the communities to participate in this surveillance, and further, commending them for doing so and behaving like "good Muslims" (e.g. Chase & White, 2010).

A key thread linking homegrown terrorism to Muslim youth is the issue of immigration and crime. Numerous stories referenced the out-migration of Muslim youth as mentioned above. However, there were other accounts that referred to the deportation of youth who had been categorized as terrorists by the state, even though they had grown up in Canada (Wingrove, 2012). Immigration status then enhances the suspect nature of those who will not "fit", making them likely to be deported, and thereby exorcised from the body politic. On the other hand, if the nation can eject those it deems undesirable on the grounds that they do not legally belong, then it also makes itself accountable for citizens, who are also Muslim, imprisoned elsewhere. This is where immigration status becomes a strategic card that can be used to contest the state as occurred in the case of Omar Khadr.

Omar Khadr – An Anomaly?

A notable theme throughout the four years of coverage was the subject of Omar Khadr, his imprisonment in Guantanamo Bay, his status as a child soldier, the Canadian government's complicity with the US intelligence apparatus, and abandonment of this Canadian citizen. This is quite a departure from earlier accounts of Khadr in the mainstream press (see Jiwani, 2011; Shephard, 2008; Williamson, 2012). Apprehended as a child-soldier, Khadr was one of the only inmates at Guantanamo unclaimed by a Western nation whose citizens were confined there. The coverage that we examined pointed to a positive representation of Khadr, gesturing to and sometimes indicting the Canadian government for abandoning him and refusing his repatriation. A Supreme Court decision subsequently forced the government to bring him back to Canada under the condition that he plead guilty to the charges of terrorism and murder leveled against him. Khadr agreed, and subsequent reportage focused on his return and rehabilitation.

The interesting aspect of the news coverage is the stark contrast between the portrayal of young Muslim men as terrorists incarnate, and Khadr as a victim of government inaction and politics. On the one hand, these positive portrayals, which tended to express a sentiment of benevolence and fairness on the part of Canadians, consistently made mention of the Khadr family's connection with terrorism. Khadr thus becomes an exception marked by his age at the time of his apprehension (a 15 year-old), the conditions under which he was found – which seem to refute his involvement in the murder of an army officer, – and Canada's violation of an international treaty concerning the treatment and rehabilitation of child-soldiers. The reports offer a trenchant critique of the Canadian government. Here is an example of one such account from an editorial:

> And what role did Canada play? Shamefully, it sent its officials to bully him [Omar Khadr] into giving out incriminating information that it then handed to his prosecutors, an act the Supreme Court of Canada unanimously condemned. The

Canadian government then declared, "Let the process work." Some process. (*The Globe and Mail*, 2010, November 1)

However, the editorial ends with a statement reiterating Khadr's identity as a terrorist but calling on Canadian values of fairness and justice to recognize his status as a youth. Notwithstanding the benevolent stance of many of the editorials covering the Khadr case, the tone of opportunism was an emerging theme once Khadr was repatriated. For instance, there were allusions to how the Canadian justice system was soft and would work in favour of Khadr by enabling his early release (e.g. Makin, 2010).

This transformation in Khadr's representation may be attributed to the concerted grass roots mobilization that occurred as a result of his imprisonment in Guantanamo, and the publicity that advocates managed to garner. That aside, it may also have to do with the more important ideological task at hand – shoring up the national imaginary of Canada as a fair and just nation.

Gangs/Drugs, Murders and Terror: The Somali Connection

The theme of drug and gang warfare, often culminating in the murder of young Black men, was also a prominent theme in the corpus we examined. The nexus connecting these various issues was the youths' Muslim identities. In these reports, the figure of the Somali youth is the site where race and religion come together to signify a potent and toxic mix of danger, risk, mayhem and savagery. Here we see the Somali body making a journey from the housing projects of Toronto and its outskirts to Fort McMurray in Alberta. The relocation is a quest for stable work and money, but the Somali body ends up on the street, victimized by murder, and tainted by the drug trade. The news accounts make clear that this is a "lost generation":

> Mr. Jama is among what some fear is a lost generation of Somali-Canadian young men. About two dozen have been killed in Alberta over the past half-decade, overwhelmingly Canadian-raised and involved in drugs. Somalis call them the ciyaal baraf, or children of the snow. It's a kind of insult – neither truly Somali nor truly Canadian. (Wingrove, 2012)

The quote above suggests that Somali youth are caught in a culture clash – between the traditions of their parents and the modernity of Canada. However, a structural analysis would reveal that for many Somali youth, dead-end jobs, discrimination and the sense of abandonment they experience growing up in Canada, impact their sense of identity and belonging to the nation. As Black and as Muslims, they face the interlocking influences of racism and Islamophobia.

Many of the articles on Somali youth focus on policing strategies such as outreach, collaboration with mosques and community groups, and the hiring of Somali-Canadian police officers. However, what is most interesting is the ambivalence communicated in these accounts. On the one hand, there is a glowing commendation of Somali communities who have alerted the government and police about radicalized youth in the community, and on the other hand, there is a sense of hopelessness about this "lost generation." That hopelessness is also communicated through the use of exemplars of exception, as for instance, a young "Canadian-trained" Somali doctor who was able to transcend the limitations imposed on her by her race, class, and gender (Anderson, 2013), implying that if she can do that, so can the others.

The recruitment of Somali youth into terrorist cells abroad was a constant motif in the coverage. In a story ostensibly about the declining numbers of Somali youth going to join al-Shabab, the terrorist network in Africa, readers are reminded that:

> …the flow of aspiring fundamentalist fighters from the West to Syria is accelerating as that conflict becomes a global epicentre for self-styled jihadists. "They are going in great numbers," said a former federal official, adding that there has not been a migration like this since Afghanistan in the 1980s. Overall, he said, "you're talking hundreds and hundreds." (Freeze & Friesen, 2013)

Again, the reliance on numbers and the need to provide context constitute the rationale for the inclusion of this piece of information. However, against a background where the association between Muslim youth and terrorism is so sharply etched in the collective imagination, its inclusion combined with its articulation from an authoritative and hence credible source, reinforces the stigma. More than that, this information feeds into a moral panic (Odartey-Wellington, 2011) about Muslim youth as embodiments of homegrown terror, importing and exporting terror at will.

The Case of Sammy Yatim

On July 27, 2013, Sammy Yatim, an 18-year-old Syrian youth, was shot by Toronto police in the downtown section of the city. At approximately midnight, Yatim was travelling in a streetcar and had apparently told the passengers to leave after having first indecently exposed himself. As the situation continued, everyone but Yatim – who was now wielding a three-inch knife – had vacated the streetcar. According to the news accounts, police arrived and ordered him to "drop the knife" and step out of the vehicle. The incident was video-taped by an eyewitness and soon went viral. Yatim was shot nine times and then tasered and according to the accounts, "crumpled" after the first 3 shots were fired (Mahoney, Andreatta, & White, 2013). The tragedy sparked widespread protest and calls for police accountability. Thereafter, one of the 22 police officers on the scene, who had fired the shots, was charged with manslaughter.

Yatim was not branded a terrorist. Instead, as the subsequent stories revealed, he was a Christian Arab from Syria. Hence, instead of reverting to the terrorist frame, the coverage of the incident attempted to offer a logical explanation – Yatim as "brandishing a knife" and therefore as threatening to the passengers on the streetcar. When this didn't work because other passengers corroborated that he didn't seem rational and that even when presented with the opportunity to hurt a fellow passenger, he simply told everyone to leave (Blaze Carlson, 2013), the story shifted to Yatim himself. Under the title, "Caught between two worlds; A shy kid who had a fascination with knives; A teenager who grew up between two countries; A son with concerned parents, and a classmate eager to be cool," Blaze Carlson and Vidya Kauri (2013) elaborate on this victim of a culture clash, commenting that it was "his collection of knives that ultimately, albeit indirectly caused Mr. Yatim's demise". In his column on the shooting, Marcus Gee (2013), another popular columnist at the paper, opined: "There is, thankfully, no evidence of racial bias here, or even of simple 'police brutality'".

This denial of racial profiling and bias remained a consistent theme in the coverage even when it was found that there had been no need for the use of such excessive force by the police. Instead,

the articles that recounted this story pointed to several cases where excessive force was used by the police on mentally challenged individuals. However, one could surmise here that the connection between Middle Eastern "looking" youth and terrorism is so conjoined in the popular imagination that it may perhaps have influenced how the police dealt with Sammy Yatim; their actions propelled by the view of Muslim youth as dangerous and lethal (Dossa, 2008). So, although he wasn't a Muslim, Sammy Yatim looked like a Muslim, much as the Sikh men who were murdered in the immediate aftermath of 9/11 in the US, appeared "like" Muslims (Maira, 2009).

The Reader-Generated Series: "Time to Lead"

In the first week of July, 2011, *The Globe and Mail* initiated a series focusing on Islam and youth in Canada. The series began with a story titled "The gap between two solitudes; Young Canadian Muslims say bridging the 'us and them' divide requires breaking down some harmful, outdated stereotypes" (Bascaramurty, 2011). It concluded with the following description: "Time to lead is journalism driven by our readers – the ideas come from you. This week's series focuses on Muslims in Canada, as they find their way between tradition and modernity." As Hall et al. (1978) note, by identifying the situation and thereby imposing the limits of the debate, the news media constrain and curtail information to fit the frame. In this case, the paper's emphasis on defining Islam as "tradition" and Canadian society as "modernity" effectively framed the issue. The articles in the series focused on the culture clash, but also in the third installment, published a selection of the reader response. This response was largely concentrated to giving voice to public anxieties about Islam and Muslims, and in particular, the threat represented by both. The second installment of the series featured a longer comment from a Muslim woman that presented the argument that it was not the parents who were traditional but rather "it's their children – in desperate need for identity – who have turned to conservative, hard-line and politicized Islam for answers". This trend to embrace a politicized Islam has led to bloodshed in many parts of the world and is growing rapidly – and going unchecked – in Canada" (Fatah, 2011). What is apparent here is the voice of the native informant – the "good Muslim" who informs on her community and performs the role of the dutiful citizen. She alerts the public about the dangerous Muslim youth who need to be surveilled and disciplined.

Moreover, the very title of the series, "Time to Lead" presupposes that Muslim youth and communities haven't already been leading the way, begging the question: "To where should they be leading their communities?" The implicit message is that Muslim youth need to be trained (domesticated) to lead their communities and additionally, to demonstrate their capability in ways that are intelligible to the nation. In other words, they need to become more like "us."

Rescuing Young Muslim Women

If young Muslim men are dangerous and lethal, then young Muslim women are passive and oppressed – imperiled as Razack (2008) puts it. That seems to be the general equation suggested and, even more so, underscored in the coverage of the murders of three young women of the Shafia family. Framed as "honour killings", the news accounts posthumously rescued the young women (see Jiwani, 2014; Olwan, 2013) from the oblivion facing so many women victims of

domestic homicide. At the same time, a subordinate discourse is also emergent in the coverage – that young Muslim women's insistence on wearing the hijab (see Fatah, 2011) is a sign of their radicalization. Jasmin Zine's (2009) analysis of various flashpoints involving Muslim women in Canada provides a useful framework for analyzing the press coverage here. Zine posits the following logic as underpinning racist and discriminatory responses against Muslim women: death by culture, death of culture and disciplining culture. Death of culture speaks to the fear generated by the growing population of Muslims in Canada, a fear that was articulated most cogently in the reader driven response reported in the paper as part of its special series "Time to Lead", and also evident even in the paper's foregrounding of Muslim population figures in its series concerning a statistical profile of religious affiliation in Canada. These accounts seem to suggest a fear of being engulfed by Muslim masses and of the country being over-run by religious fanatics; this is also well documented by the large number of articles in our corpus that referenced matters of immigration. On the other hand, death by culture refers to the presumed victimized status of Muslim girls and women – their oppression as a result of being members of Muslim communities. Zine's notion of "disciplining culture" refers to both the invocation of a law and order response to stem what the media described as the growing tide of honour killings (Olwan, 2013), and the necessity of incarcerating young Muslim men in order to thwart terrorism.

Cognitive Organizers and Repetitive Genealogies

An interesting aspect of the coverage was the classification of the stories under particular capitalized headings. These headings were then followed by the actual title of the story. Discursively, these capitalized labels act as cognitive organizers, positioning the stories in a way that primes readers as to what to expect. For example, some of the stories concerning terror plots in Canada were prefaced by capitalized headings – "TERROR". At other times, this macro signifier was changed to "SECURITY". The links between terror and security were thus repetitively yoked. Another editorial, for instance, used the macro signifier "TERRORISM/LONE WOLVES" underscoring the element of fear embodied in the figure of pathological single Muslim man on the loose but yet connected to an amorphous terrorist network.

The stories also recirculated previously published information, ostensibly to provide contextual information. Thus, in the news accounts about Omar Khadr, his family's connections with al-Qaeda were repeatedly raised. Similarly, in accounts concerning domestic terrorism, previous terror plots or terrorists were consistently mentioned, such as the Boston Marathon bombings (e.g. Freeze, 2011). There is a lineage established and it's a genealogy that helps to make sense of the newly posted information.

While the mention of such background information may be necessary, in the case of terrorism plots, such a systemic frame seals the interpretation of Muslims as problematic communities and Islam as an irrational phenomenon. To be sure, *The Globe and Mail* editorials consistently brought home the message that there are "good" Muslims out there and that Islam is not to blame (*The Globe and Mail*, 2010, October 5). But, this was often in an adhoc manner, and as a way to soothe any criticisms of bias that Muslim communities consistently level at the mainstream

media. What stands out though is that coverage of other issues like violence against women, for instance, does not usually garner this same kind of systemic focus. Instead, in those cases, the news media tends to privilege singular interpretations; interpretations that construct a particular murder as more of an aberrant case and not part of a larger methodical pattern (Easteal, Judd, & Holland, 2015).

Concluding Remarks

While the analysis presented here is by no means exhaustive and additional research is required to reach any substantive conclusions, we can surmise that the news media's representation of Muslim youth tends towards more negative and stereotypical portrayals that cohere around terrorism and crime, as well as clashes between tradition and modernity. Islam remains the central identifier in this nexus, connecting these youth in ways that surpass the commonplace and common sense notions of youth as a troublesome and rebellious category.

In the carceral gaze of the dominant society, the body of the Muslim youth is identifiable through the prism of soft and hard power; the hard power of the state in terms of incarceration, deportation and legal abandonment; and soft power in terms of "culture talk" (Mamdani, 2004). This is where the issues of youth alienation, and culture clash between tradition and modernity, assume a heightened legibility. Within the news media, and most especially in the press (which offers a more fixed interpretation and where information can be archived more readily), Muslim youth are both the enemies within and the enemies outside. They are barbarians in and of the land.

Issues to Consider When Engaging
Muslim Youth in Psychiatric Care
September 2016

This document was developed by Allan Chrisman, MD, Co-Chair of AACAP's Disaster & Trauma Issues Committee, and Balkozar Adam, MD, member of AACAP's Diversity & Culture Committee, along with Farha Abassi, MD, Faculty, Muslim Studies Program, Michigan State, and Zainab Malik, MD, Resident, Duke Psychiatry Residency Training Program. The Disaster & Trauma Committee and Diversity & Culture Committee were involved in reviewing this document to ensure that the importance of cultural sensitivity was appropriately communicated.

Introduction:

Muslim youth in the United States are a heterogeneous population with varying backgrounds, experiences, and needs (1). African American Muslims comprise an often-overlooked part of Islam in America. A sizable minority — 15 to 20 percent — of those brought to the Americas as slaves originated from the Muslim-dominated nations of West Africa (2). Many Muslim youth are the children of immigrants who have adopted American cultural practices, while others are themselves recent immigrants who know little about this country and even less about U.S. cultural norms. Historically, both have been marginalized.

About two-thirds of the Muslims in the United States today (64.5%) are first-generation immigrants (foreign-born), while slightly more than a third (35.5%) were born in the United States. By 2030, however, more than four-in-ten of the Muslims in the United States (44.9%) are expected to be native-born. Children under the age of 15 make up a relatively small portion of the U.S. Muslim population today. Only 13.1% of Muslims are in the 0-14 age category. This reflects the fact that a large proportion of Muslims in the United States are newer immigrants who arrived as adults (3). In the next few decades, the Muslim population is expected to grow rapidly, reaching nearly 2.8 billion worldwide by 2050 (4). One survey showed that the majority of American Muslims are of middle-class socioeconomic status. Many are integrated into the mainstream of their communities and well educated, though a growing number are refugees, and a significant segment are underserved (5).

In order to provide best treatment and care, clinicians need to understand the cultural and religious background of a Muslim patient. For example, although religious adherence can vary greatly, Muslims typically observe, or at least recognize, the five pillars of Islam. These include 1) the belief in one God and the prophet Mohammad as His messenger, 2) praying five times a day, 3) fasting during the month of Ramadan, 4) giving charity, and 5) making the pilgrimage to Mecca. Almost two-thirds of Muslims report praying daily, and about half stated they pray all five prayers daily (6).

Muslim American youth, whether immigrant or second-generation, typically develop a hybrid cultural identity. Consequently, they will often blend or mix different aspects of mainstream American culture with the ethnic/cultural features from their country of origin i.e. some Muslim women wear makeup underneath their hijab. This is not typically obvious so sensitively asked questions should help clarify these multi-cultural features in addition to the degrees of religious adherence. This complexity of the hybrid multicultural identity makes it difficult for the clinician to be readily informed. Thus, this document has had to rely on such a diverse set of sources for the

information. Hopefully this will counteract the stereotypes which have been so widely promoted by various forms of media.

Never has the spotlight shone so brightly on Muslim youth in America. In the wake of the tragic attacks of Orlando, San Bernardino, and Boston, American Muslim youth are feeling intense scrutiny. Many Muslim youths have expressed a wide range of emotions: fear, confusion, anger, and melancholy. Now more than ever, clinicians must understand the religious and cultural backgrounds of Muslim patients in order to properly treat them.

The concept of Jihad has catapulted to the forefront after 9/11. While commonly translated as "holy war," this is an incorrect translation. Jihad actually means "to struggle" - a struggle to be kind, a struggle to be a good neighbor, a struggle to be a good citizen. War and fighting are actually a small part of Jihad. Even some Muslims do not understand the correct translation of Jihad, which is particularly apparent in the post-9/11 world. Islam has a clear and definitive prohibition against killing innocent people.

Many Muslims consider Islam a religion and a way of life. Islam spells out moral, ethical, and social justice standards that Muslims should follow, such as equality of race and gender and aiding the poor. In addition, Islam prohibits the use of recreational drugs, alcohol, and sexual contact outside of marriage. Tension within the family often occurs when youths do not observe these teachings, particularly when their parents are strict adherents. These differences may impact issues in treatment. Regardless of any differences between Muslim youth and their parents, some Muslims across generations and religious practices have expressed a concern that some non-Muslim clinicians do not have a firm understanding and awareness of Islam or a respect for Muslim beliefs and values (7).

Principles for working with Muslim patients

Principle 1: Clinicians should consider and address language/communication barriers for Muslim youth who seek psychiatric care.

Muslims around the world are from diverse backgrounds. Muslims have reached the 1.6 billion mark in the world population, spanning approximately 50 predominately Muslim countries and 5 continents. They are a diverse group from many different ethnic backgrounds speaking many languages. This reinforces the importance of the translator, interpreter, and cultural consultant when interacting with this population in psychiatric care. Consequently, as recommended in AACAP's Practice Parameter for Cultural Competence in Child and Adolescent Psychiatric Practice, "Clinicians should obtain linguistic support through qualified interpreters or possess demonstrable proficiency in the target language. Language brokering, the common practice of having children act as interpreters between parents and medical and school authorities, should be avoided, particularly when the patient is the language broker" (8).

Principle 2: Clinicians should learn about the importance of acculturation and immigration status of Muslim youth.

Acculturation, or the transition to adapting to a new culture's behaviors, values, customs, and language, is an adaptive developmental process but can be a source of stress for some Muslim youth and their families. Additionally, acculturation will have an effect on the developmental task of identity, which is crucial to mental health outcomes (9).

Because of diversity within the Muslim population, it is important that clinical understanding and strategies for the care of Muslim youth vary in accordance with the particular client. For example, some Muslim youth arrive in the United States as children, others as adolescents, and still others are born in the United States. It is essential to use a developmental approach to understand how

these differing cultural backgrounds and experiences may be contributing to current adjustment and presenting problems. The more recent the immigration, the greater the risk of acculturative stress.

This stress is associated with discrimination, stereotyping, racism, marginalization, and prejudice. Discrimination can be institutional, i.e. in schools, or occur with implicit bias (9,10). These challenges contribute to mental health difficulties.

Many Muslims are refugees who came to the United States to escape ethnic, cultural, or religious persecution, civil war, and international conflict. Other Muslims emigrated to the United States in search of economic and educational opportunities, to reunite with family, or to join a growing ethnic community (11). Despite their common Islamic religion, Muslim immigrants vary in religious affiliations, e.g. Sunni, Shi'ite, Sufis, Bahai'is. These differences result in different religious practices (5). Approximately half of the Muslim immigrant population and their children in the United States identify as Sunni Muslims, with 22% not identifying with a particular sect, and 16% identified as Shi'ite Muslim (11). Knowledge about why the client or client's family may have come to the United States and his or her expectations is important to a comprehensive intake assessment, which can inform treatment planning.

Adolescents from immigrant families often blend their family's cultural practices with that of their new community, creating a unique cultural viewpoint and set of practices (12). Recent studies have shown that Muslim-American youth often have a hyphenated sense of identity, with both American and Muslim identities differing in degrees at home and in the mainstream community (13). This may contribute to acculturation stress.

There is a deeply rooted stigma of mental illness and its treatment in the Muslim immigrant community. This is compounded with a cultural mistrust of the Western mental health system. Thus, there is an underutilization of mental health services, leaving many members of the Muslim community to live with untreated mental health conditions that not only impact themselves, but also impact their family and the larger community (11,15).

Principle 3: Clinicians should recognize culture-specific stressors experienced by Muslim youth and avoid negative stereotypes.

American Muslims have fallen victim to increased and even extreme prejudice and discrimination following 9/11. As Islamic extremism attracts increasing attention, they remain under the strain of harassment, hate crimes, and negative perception from many of their peers and colleagues. There have been reports of bullying at school, attacks on Muslims' place of worship (mosques), and attacks on women wearing hijab (15). This has contributed to the further marginalization of Muslims and has adversely affected their access to care. Such "Islamophobia" (not a psychiatrically identified phobia) has contributed to health disparities among American Muslims (16). For example, Muslims and even non-Muslims who look to be Arab or from South Asia have been viewed as threats, some even arrested on terrorism-related claims with scant or no evidence (17). This has resulted in anger among some Muslim youths and confusion among others. Clinicians need to be aware of such dissonance and must explore social, religious, cultural factors when assessing Muslim youth patients. In addition, this discrimination against American Muslims is perceived by some as justifiable as "collateral damage" of war on terror (18).

This discrimination puts Muslim youth at a greater risk for depression, high distress, low self-esteem, and alienation (19). Some Muslims have reported that they no longer felt safe or wanted in the United States. As a result, they may have difficulty acculturating. They also reported difficulty in trying to reconcile what they see as contradictory identities (20).

For African American Muslims, who are the largest percentage of native-born Muslims in the United States, (21) there is a complicated intersectionality of multiple discriminatory and traumatic factors. Black youth ages 12 to 19 are victims of violent crime at significantly higher rates than white youth, as reported by the U.S. Department of Justice. Black youth are three times more likely to be victims of reported child abuse or neglect, three times more likely to be victims of robbery, and five times more likely to be victims of homicide, (22) with homicide being the leading cause of death among African American youth ages 15 to 24 (23). Institutional racism is evidenced by African-American youth being disproportionately profiled, policed, arrested, and incarcerated (24). There are higher rates of juvenile incarceration, with one in three African-American men going to prison in their lifetime (25), where there is a high rate of conversion to Islam. They also face racism by some immigrant American Muslims, directly in the form of name-calling (*"abeed"* or "slaves") or indirectly by assuming the person has limited knowledge of Islam based on their skin color (1). These complex forms of historical and current community-based trauma pose unique challenges to the mental health clinician. A trauma-informed, multicultural perspective, often provided by specialized centers or multidisciplinary teams, is needed for such care. Consultation that addresses treatment-resistant care is frequently required.

This youth exposure to victimization is directly linked to negative outcomes for young people, including increased depression, substance abuse, risky sexual behavior, homelessness, and poor school performance. Youth victimization increases the odds of becoming a perpetrator of violent crimes, including felony assault and intimate partner violence, doubles the likelihood of problematic drug use, and increases the odds of committing property crimes (22).

One benefit of the spotlight on Islam and Muslims has been that it has piqued people's curiosity. While some have taken steps to learn about the religion and not succumb to stereotypes, unfortunately the average person knows very little about Muslims (6).

Principle 4: **Clinicians should demonstrate humility and respect when they address cultural differences in clinical encounters with Muslim youth.**

Mental illness stigma can be more complicated for those from racial and ethnic minority groups. The concept of "double stigma" occurs when both prejudice and discrimination are caused by an individual's racial identity and their mental illness. Here Muslim youth experience an intersectionality of complex relationships between different identities (e.g., race, gender, sexual orientation, class, and disability) (16).

Discrimination, a behavioral component of stigma, against Muslim minority groups has continued to increase since 9/11 and the war on terrorism. Some members of the public believe that prejudice against the Muslim community is justified (14).

Muslim immigrants are more likely to look to their religion for healing (11,26). Thus, it is critical for the mental health care provider to be able to give the client the option of integrating religious and traditional healing practices into the therapeutic process. This may involve the mental health care provider collaborating directly with local religious or traditional healers and acquiring knowledge about traditional healing practices common in the immigrant client's culture (27,28,29).

Ethnic minorities are sometimes thought not to access particular health services because of religiously based explanations of illness or disability that the family believes [16]. However, not accessing health services can also be related to parents' poor economic status and an associated lack of access to appropriate services for their children, compounded by the fear of being misunderstood by "out-group professionals." (16).

Muslim immigrants may question the intention of the counselor, believing that the non-Muslim and American mental health counselor lacks an ability to understand the cultural and religious context in

which they live. They may then fear that a counselor may steer the individual in the wrong direction or encourage them to take action that may be in conflict with their values and belief system (11).

Principle 5: Clinicians should understand the dynamics of the parent-child relationship and family characteristics that contribute to both strengths and vulnerabilities of Muslim families.

One of the most important features of Muslim society is the family. The family unit is regarded as the cornerstone of a healthy and balanced society. The family forms the basic building block of Muslim society. Despite the many pressures it faces, the family institution remains strong. The future of the extended family, however, is under considerable threat. Traditionally, family structure has been closer to the extended, rather than the nuclear, model. This is the result of continuity and not the outcome of innovation by Muslims (30).

Thus, clinicians should not be surprised if multiple family members attend sessions. Some are there for linguistic support, and others may be there for emotional support and to help the patient make treatment decisions (28,31). It is imperative, however, that clinicians speak to the patient alone to understand if he or she wants the other family members there or is agreeing only out of a sense of obligation. Some patients may have adopted more Western attitudes regarding individuality and/or may not want other family members knowing they are not practicing Islam.

Traditional Muslim values emphasize the importance of both the immediate and extended family. There also is a focus on being loyal to parents and respecting elders and authority. Many Muslim youth experience dissonance as they struggle to find the balance between their "Muslim" values and "American" values. There often is a marked difference between immigrant parents and second-generation youth. The parents are accustomed to having extended families to help in the child rearing and are likely to have family members live with them. They often struggle once they are in the United States without the support of extended family. Discipline, religious adherence, household values, and freedom of expression often arise as sources of conflict (11).

Many Muslim parents view their role as assisting their children in navigating American culture and values. Many families would prefer to seek support from other family members, the community, or religious leaders for their child's mental illness to avoid the stigma of mental illness.

Unlike cancer or diabetes, a mental health diagnosis has a negative connotation, and the decision of how to treat mental illness can split families. Different family members, especially of different generations, may view mental illness as a personal shortcoming or even the result of evil spirits. This could delay or even prevent families from seeking treatment or taking medication. As such, clinicians may need to get family buy-in to ensure adherence with treatment. They also may need to spend more time with their Muslim youth patients.

American Muslim families are also moving away from the more traditional patriarchal role of men. As first and second-generation women become well-educated, high achievers, and self-reliant, they are assuming equal roles within the family, which is consistent with the Islamic view that women are equal to men.

Principle 6: Clinicians should appreciate the role of intra-cultural coping in Muslim youth.

Cultural influences on presentation of symptoms and mental health problems need to be considered. Due to the lessened stigma of physical symptoms, as well as cultural idioms revolving around the physical body, mental health problems are often expressed as physical symptoms. In parallel, explicit mood symptoms such as hopelessness, self-deprecatory thoughts, and worthlessness are uncommon; in particular, women ultimately diagnosed with depression

frequently first present with physical symptoms and no self-recognition of psychological distress or sadness (14).

Normative cultural beliefs in existence of Jinn (evil, Satan-like spirits) may be confused with delusions of possession and control, and this may prevent patients and family members from recognizing medical or psychiatric problems (14).

Because of concerns with social standing, many researchers report that disclosure of mental illness is considered "shameful." Significant cultural differences within Muslim communities with respect to gender may put women at an especially high risk of shame for their family if they receive a diagnosis and treatment of mental health problems (14). This is not in line with Islamic teachings and is instead remnant of cultural practices. Muslim women may avoid sharing personal distress or seeking help from counselors due to fear of negative consequences with respect to marital prospects, or their current marriage.

The possibility that cultural normative beliefs may be mislabeled or unidentified due to cultural insensitivity also needs to be addressed — particularly because such mislabeling may lead to both the unnecessary stigmatization of those who, in fact, do not have psychiatric problems and the failure to help individuals who do need it (14).

Mental illness may also be perceived as a test or a punishment from God. In Muslim culture, belief in *Qadr*, or destiny, is strong. While *Qadr* may lead to fatalism in some cases, it also suggests positive acceptance of God's will and higher levels of optimism with respect to healing (14).

Principle 7: Clinicians should determine whether home and community-based therapeutic interventions can be used as alternatives to hospitalization for Muslim youth.

The role of family and religion in the intensive care of Muslim youth with severe mental illness requires the clinician to be particularly attentive to critical related issues such as language needs, gender roles, family hierarchy, family history, and spiritual practices (27).

It is important to pay attention to gender roles (e.g., pairing a female client with a female counselor) and the family hierarchy (e.g., not undermining a dominant father when providing a family intervention involving children.) (11).

Psychoeducation is a priority. The majority of Muslim immigrants come from countries where mental health services are reserved for the severely mentally ill and involve hospitalization (11).

Clinicians also should be aware of traditional healing as another model of Islamic counseling. A traditional healer who practices various rituals may be a Sheikh or Darwesh, depending on geographic location. This model explains illness or personal problems as possession by spirit (Jinn Satan-like spirits); despite the support of some studies of the value of traditional healing, many Muslims do not believe in this form of healing or consider it Islamic (29).

Principle 8: The Role of Mosques and Imams

Typically, Muslims first come to the mosque and seek out their Imam when they face problems. When Imams make referrals, people take them seriously. Some residents still struggle with the consequences of flight and the trauma of a brutal civil war, in addition to the stresses of starting over in America. Those can include loss of community status, joblessness, and family conflict. Noting the disproportionately low rates at which Muslims seek out professional help, a national survey of 63 Imams recently found lingering reservations about Western treatments of mental illness. They rated more active participation in the mosque as most effective and medication as

least helpful. Others responded, "Religion is still important, but it's also important to seek help from a scientific perspective. They are not against one another" (32).

The main role of Imams for Muslims is to provide advice which is in accordance with the Qur'anic principles and teachings of the Prophet Mohammad. Muslims approach Imams for counseling for social and mental health issues and, particularly, marital and family problems. The Imam's role is in part to meet the counseling needs of the Muslim community (27).

Following the terrorist attacks of 9/11, communities turned to their mosques for help but were noticeably hesitant to avail themselves of services offered by the broader community. Research has shown that few mental health professionals are familiar with the Arabic language and Islamic values. Moreover, little is known about Islamic counseling and psychotherapy or techniques applied by providers in mosques to help the Islamic community cope with stressful events (33).

Imams have knowledge of Islam and seek to solve all problems through Islam (Quran/Hadith). They often have degrees in religion and not in science. They recognize a need for "psychological assistance," and express a desire for "psychologist, psychiatrist, and social workers" to support them in addressing the issues of their congregants (34). In order to minimize disparities of mental health care to the growing Muslim population in the United States, community healthcare planners need to appreciate that Imams are (a) an important source of referrals and influence on the attitudes toward mental health and help-seeking within their communities; (b) able to recognize serious mental health problems; and (c) appear more willing to collaborate with mental health professionals if they have had previous consultation experiences. With such collaboration, Muslim communities may be more likely to utilize community resources, clinicians will be more likely to provide culturally competent care, and Imams will then be more effective in their collaborative role as de facto mental health providers (34).

Principle 9: Clinicians should be aware of the need to adapt evidence-based treatments (EBTs) with Muslim youth.

For most Muslim patients, modified short-term psychodynamic therapy is a better choice than classic long-term psychoanalysis (35). Focusing on family dynamics, conflicts, and relationships is also helpful and is recommended over focusing on intrapsychic conflicts. In addition, therapy should be aligned with the patients' religious beliefs and cultural values.

Specifically, cognitive-behavioral therapy (CBT), Solution-Focused therapy, modeling and behavioral techniques, including behavioral modification, systemic desensitization, and flooding, have all been shown to be effective when treating Muslim patients (28,36). Experts have recommended that clinicians may need to adjust the approach to ensure it is in line with the patient's beliefs, particularly when dealing with immigrant Muslim youth and first or second-generation youth. For non-immigrant youth, nondirective approaches, such as Rogerian therapy, can be helpful (28). Immigrant youth may need to discuss the pre-migration and post-migration trauma, particularly if they are refugees.

Muslims, who already spend significant portions of their days involved in prayer and meditation, may find techniques like guided imagery and relaxation to be congruent with their faith (28).

Because of the lingering stigma of mental illness in the Muslim community, many Muslims turn to their primary-care physician for treatment. In addition, they may be skeptical of taking medication for a mental health diagnosis. The clinicians may need to stress the Islamic permissibility of taking such medication to ensure compliance. There are rare cases when taking medication may present a problem — if the medication (and in most cases it is only the gel coating) contains gelatin derived from pork. In that case, an alternative should be sought out. Another challenge may arise during

Ramadan, when Muslims fast from all food and water from dawn until dusk. Clinicians are urged to work with their patients to find a medication regimen that will allow them to keep their fast (37).

Principle 10: Clinicians should assess the use of electronic/social media.

Social media has become a mainstream form of communication among youth today. According to a new study from Pew Research Center, 92% of teens report going online daily — including 24% who say they go online "almost constantly." Nearly three-quarters of teens have or have access[1] to a smartphone" (38).

This represents a significant social change. Although there are many valuable aspects of social media and networking, there also some dangers. A Clinical Report from the American Academy of Pediatrics (39) cited both benefits (socialization/communication, enhanced learning opportunities and accessing health information) and risks (cyberbullying/online harassment, sexting, Facebook depression, privacy concerns/digital footprint, and influence of advertisements).

Daily overuse of media and technology also has a negative effect on children, preteens, and teenagers by making them more prone to anxiety, depression, and other psychological disorders. Social media can be distracting and can negatively impact learning. Studies found that middle school, high school, and college students who checked social media at least once during a 15-minute study period achieved lower grades (39).

Like their counterparts, many Muslim youth spend much of their time on social media and prefer popular apps such as Snapchat and Twitter. However, some Muslim youth seek an escape in the online world. Western media often covers Islam or Muslims only in the wake of terrorism or violence, which can leave Muslim youth feeling marginalized and demoralized. In addition, the religious identity of a violent perpetrator is usually highlighted when he is Muslim. This all plays a role in creating a culture where Muslim youth are bullied and discriminated against.

In rare cases where the youth is isolated and has turned away from his family and his mosque, terrorist groups have been known to use social media to prey on the youth's vulnerability to try and recruit them.

As with all other patients, clinicians have to remain cognizant of the use of social media when engaging Muslim youth in psychiatric care. As health care providers, clinicians can promote discussion and address relevant issues in order to decrease the feeling of shame and stigma that is usually associated with asking for help.

Principle 11: Clinicians should assess for a history of loss, trauma, and/or community violence in Muslim youth.

Certain Muslim youth groups (African American, Refugee, and Immigrant) are at higher risk for a variety of traumatic events, such as physical and sexual abuse, witnessing domestic and community violence, separation from family members, and re-victimization by others. Also, the stress of assimilation and acculturation (often with downward social mobility for immigrant families), negative stereotyping, and cultural acceptance of corporal punishment of women in patriarchal family structures increase the risk for trauma reactions. Complex trauma can have devastating effects on a child's physiology, emotions, ability to think, learn, concentrate, impulse control, self-image, and relationships with others (40).

African-American Muslims are the largest percentage of native-born and converted Muslims (59% of converts to Islam are African American) in the United States. [6] The majority (55%) identify as Sunni. The shared history, racial struggles, societal experiences of extreme violence in the

community, including exposure to gang-related violence, interracial violence, and adverse socioeconomic conditions, may result in African-American Muslim youth identifying with their non-Muslim African-American peers more than their immigrant Muslim peers (41). Within the Muslim community, they may also face racism by immigrant American Muslims. Such victimization is directly linked to negative outcomes of depression, substance abuse, risky sexual behavior, homelessness, and poor school performance. The recognition and acknowledgement of this type of complex trauma is important for compassionate care.

Immigrant Muslims face xenophobia and discrimination. Negative stereotypes diminish their sense of safety and well-being. One in four Muslim students reported that they "often or always" experience stress at school, while three in four students described having been "really stressed out" at some time in the past 12 months (42).

Refugee Muslim youth experience unique developmental contexts with different intersecting cultural, sectarian, tribal, and racialized implications as they attempt to integrate into the American culture. Exposure to acts of war, terrorism, or political-related violence such as bombing, shooting, and looting is traumatic. Social adjustment difficulties are associated with multiple losses, financial stress, limited parental and social support, and untreated psychological wounds. They may experience higher incidence of depression, anxiety, and post-traumatic stress disorder and are more likely to report survivor's guilt, a pessimistic outlook on life, and suicidal ideation (43).

For African American Muslim youth and traumatized immigrant youth, trauma-informed treatment is an important foundation for effective mental health care. Providing respectful, culturally sensitive care to a traumatized individual and family poses many challenges. Seeking consultation and collaboration with specialists and community members is more often than not an expected feature of practice.

Vignette 1.

R is a 16-year-old girl who recently moved to the United States with her family from Pakistan. She started high school in the fall and had been worried about "fitting in," especially as she was Muslim. She had heard from some friends back home that things were difficult for Muslims in the United States post 9/11. After the extended and thorough airport search her family experienced upon landing, she grew quite concerned. She initially thought that she would not tell anyone where she was from, as she did not cover her head and did not have an Arabic name. But she decided that her religion was part of her identity, and she would not hide it. When asked to introduce herself to the class, she did so.

Over the past few months, she has been having a hard time at school. Some boys in her class have been teasing her and calling her "terrorist," and making remarks including, "Did they find Osama Bin Laden in your house?" On one occasion, a boy threw half a cup of water on her face. She reported this to her teacher, who informed the principal. The boy's parents were called, and he was given detention.

After this incident, she felt that some of the other students became even more hostile, as the boy had been one of the "popular kids." The overt remarks stopped, but she began to notice other little things such as when one of the girls in her class celebrated her birthday, she ordered only pepperoni pizza, which R could not eat. The girl saw her with an empty plate and remarked flippantly, "Oh, I forgot...you can just pick the pepperoni off…it's not a big deal." Sometimes, she feels that other girls are laughing and making fun of her outfits, especially as she is not allowed to wear short sleeves or skirts.

She has made a few friends who are supportive of her and often tell her to "ignore it" or say "you're being too sensitive and paranoid," but she has begun to dread going to school. She often complains of a stomachache in the mornings and stays home, and now her grades are slipping. She finds herself lying awake at night and often cries herself to sleep, wishing she were back home. Her parents have noticed the change and tried to talk to her about it, but she is worried that they will call the principal, and she does not want to draw any more attention to herself. She has begun to isolate herself and in school prefers to sit at the back of the class and eat her lunch by herself. As a result, even her friends have given up on her.

There is a school dance coming up, and the majority of conversations in class have centered on what the girls will wear and who will be their date. R's parents are supportive but very conservative and have clearly told her that she cannot date. She has decided that she will skip it, though a part of her really wants to go (she has never been to a school dance before). At times, she feels very resentful towards her parents for being too strict and finds herself becoming more distant from them. She finds herself conflicted between holding on to her religious and cultural identity and being able to fit in.

Vignette 2.

S is a 16-year-old high school student who was born and raised in the United States, but her parents are from Morocco. They moved to the United States about 18 years ago and have settled in well. Her mother is an Arabic teacher who tutors Muslim children at home. S had always been quite close to her parents and would go to the mosque with them on the weekends when she was younger. Since she started high school, however, she finds that she would rather go to the mall, a movie, or a sleepover.

S feels that her mother has become more critical of her friends lately and often wants to know whose house she is going to, whether there will be parents chaperoning, and calls her at least

twice when she is out with her friends to ask where she is. S has begun to feel embarrassed by her mother's behavior and has gotten into arguments with her mother over it. Another issue of contention is that her mother continues to buy clothes for her and insists that she only wear outfits that cover her from her neck to her ankle. Her friends wear cool, "funky" outfits, and she feels dowdy in front of them. At one sleepover, her friend convinced her to try on a mini-skirt and halter-top, and she loved how she looked. She now often leaves home wearing one outfit but then changes into clothes she borrows from her friends.

At times, she feels a nagging guilt about lying and hiding things from her mother, but she really wants to be able to fit in with her friends. She has been fighting with her mother daily over one thing or the other and often thinks that her mother doesn't trust her anyway so she might as well "do what the cool kids are doing." Her friends are now starting to experiment with smoking, drugs, and alcohol. Although she does not want to try them, she is worried that she will be considered a "party-pooper" if she does not.

Vignette Clinical Pearls

- ***Muslim youth may be particularly vulnerable to issues related to acculturation. While there is diversity among individual experiences based on gender, social environment, first vs. second-generation immigrants, legal and residency status, and expectations for life in the new culture, there also are certain common themes evident among youth who experience this.***

- ***Muslim youth often struggle to achieve a balance between their family's religious and cultural values and American mainstream trends, values, and lifestyles. They may lead double lives, which can be a source of additional stress in a vulnerable period of their lives, when they are making a transition from childhood to adulthood.***

- ***Many Muslim parents may feel a religious obligation to protect their families from cultural values different from their own. They often expect their children to comply with cultural norms, such as dress code, food habits, and socialization. This can cause conflict within the family. These youths may often experience guilt and resentment about having to hide certain aspects of their lives from their parents while they try to fit in with their non-Muslim peers.***

- ***Muslim youth may feel marginalized, isolated, and misunderstood because of the stereotypes, prejudices, and myths about their religion and its practices. Immigrant youth in particular may lack a sense of belonging and feel unaccepted by peers because of their different cultural values and practices. They may find it difficult to fit into both worlds and cultures and feel that they do not belong to either.***

- ***Acculturation stress can negatively impact the academic, social, and occupational functioning of Muslim youth and can also present in the form of somatic complaints.***

- ***These stressors can negatively affect the mental health of Muslim youth, some of whom may not feel comfortable working with non-Muslim therapists or mental health providers who they feel do not understand Muslim culture or the religious contexts of Muslim issues.***

In many Muslim communities, the Imam (i.e., the one who leads the prayer at a mosque and/or is an Islamic scholar) addresses the mental health problems of the community members. Youth may not feel comfortable discussing topics that are considered taboo, such as issues related to sexuality and dating, with someone who is considered a religious authority figure.