THE CRESCENT AND THE DYNAMO: THE CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC ATTITUDES OF MUSLIMS IN THE WASHINGTON METROPOLITAN AREA

by

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DEDICATION

To Dr. Elizabeth Sturtevant. May you journey well.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Much appreciation to my committee, my family, my friends, and Dave Sturtevant.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND NON-ENGLISH TERMS

Abaya ..... loose-fitting gown worn over clothing
AGCE ..... American global cultural expansion
BAM ..... British anglicizing mission
CGT ..... classic grounded theory
ELL ..... English Language Learner
Fatwa ..... legal opinion or decree by Muslim clerics
Fusha ..... classical Arabic
GT ..... grounded theory
Hijab ..... scarf-like piece of fabric used to cover hair
Hijabi ..... Muslim woman who wears a head-covering while in public
IDB ..... Islamic Development Bank
Jilbob ..... loose-fitting gown worn over clothing
Khutbah ..... sermon given during Friday prayers
Madrassa ..... traditional Islamic school
MC/ML ..... multicultural/multilingual
Shelwar kamees ..... traditional Pakistani outfit
TEML ..... teaching English as a missionary language
TNA ..... thematic network analysis

ABSTRACT

THE CRESCENT AND THE DYNAMO: THE CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC ATTITUDES OF MUSLIMS IN THE WASHINGTON METROPOLITAN AREA

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George Mason University, 2020

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This modified grounded theory study discusses the linguistic and cultural attitudes of multicultural/multilingual Muslims living in the Washington DC metropolitan area and offers an emerging theory to explain how these attitudes developed. The findings of this study suggest that the influence and relevance of heritage cultures and languages of participants is diminishing significantly. Fluid identities were preferred by most participants. These non-traditional identities resolved much of the tension among their heritage cultures/languages, the English language, Islam, and globalism. Choosing the English language as their dominant language and identifying as American were not only compatible with most participants' Muslim identities, but also integral and essential. While heritage languages and cultures were largely extraneous to participants' lives in most cases, the English language was vital, as it was associated with the ability to access powerful ideas that challenged the traditional norms, assumptions, values, and practices of heritage cultures.

CHAPTER ONE

The purpose of this modified grounded theory project was to explore the attitudes of multicultural/multilingual (MC/ML) Muslims in the Washington Metropolitan area toward the English language, American culture, their heritage languages and heritage cultures, and to generate a theory to explain how these attitudes were developed.

This chapter is divided into four main sections.

The first section, Statement of Problem, gives a brief overview of the problems associated with the fact that much of the research on linguistic and cultural attitudes of Muslims has been carried out by researchers who have adopted Eurocentric lenses.

The second section, Significance of Study, outlines how this project sought to lay the foundation for constructing a more nuanced lens to understand Muslim identity.

The third section, Muslim Encounters with The English Language, consists of four subsections. Each subsection outlines a complex situation in which language, culture, religion, politics, and identity intersect. This section illustrates the limitations of Eurocentric perspectives on Muslim identity and the need for a more powerful, nuanced lens through which to view Muslim identity.

The fourth and final section, Research Situation, describes the context of this study from a grounded theory perspective.

Statement of Problem

Much of the research in the field of education which focuses on the linguistic and cultural attitudes of Muslims as well as Muslim identity has been carried out through a Postcolonial lens.

Phillipson's (1992) views presented in his seminal work *Linguistic Imperialism* is indicative of how many in the field deconstruct the relationship between Muslims, Islam, and the English Language. He describes a world where the "Centre" is dominant and the "Periphery remains in a dependent situation. . . .This structure is the framework within which the relationship between the core English-speaking countries and periphery-English countries in the ELT field needs to be seen" (Phillipson, 1992, pp. 57-58).

Phillipson's (1992) insistence that the world "needs to be seen" from one perspective (i.e., his) reveals a particularly troublesome aspect related to the Postcolonial approach to Muslim identity: It tends to be presented not as a way of exploring identity, but as the only way.

Phillipson (1992) argues that the English language cannot be separated from its colonial hegemonic past and that it still serves as a tool of political, cultural, economic, linguistic and educational imperialism. He divides the world into two broad categories: dominant and dominated. Non-European cultures are viewed as subjugated by dominant European cultures. Phillipson also describes his theoretical approach as one that will

> integrate the perspectives of those dominated (female, immigrant, mother tongue a 'small language') and the dominate (male, dominate group, mother tongue an 'expansionist' language), and where the goal of such scientific work is both a

> theoretically-based understanding of each perspective and analysis which can promote increased justice for both groups. (p. 3)

Although Phillipson (1992) claims to "integrate the perspectives of those dominated," his work does not access the narratives of Muslims or any others he categorizes as "dominated," other than fellow researchers who share his worldview.

The Postcolonial lens purports to contest the lens constructed by Orientalists, those scholars and theorists whose work is characterized by a complex, "subtle and persistent Eurocentric prejudice against Arabo-Islamic people and their culture" (Ranjan, 2015, p. 88). The Postcolonial lens, however, is ironically similar to the Orientalist lens it purports to contest in two important ways. First, both lenses turn an imperialist gaze toward non-European cultures and peoples, viewing them as powerless, passive, and dominated by European cultures. Lewis (1979), who was regarded as the foremost scholar of Middle Eastern studies for several decades, diagnosed non-Europeans as suffering from a "difficulty of perception . . . [and] even now, non-European civilizations still have the greatest difficulty in understanding intellectual curiosity of this kind [i.e., the kind exhibited by Western scholarship]" (Lewis, pp. 366-367). It is this "difficulty of perception" and inability to understand the lofty motivation of Western scholars to study Islam and the Orient, Lewis believed, that made non-European cultures inferior.

The second significant similarity between Postcolonial and Orientalist lenses is that each one is Eurocentric. Orientalism and Postcolonial theory both have European roots, and most of the research in both fields is carried out by researchers who have European backgrounds and/or were educated in Western universities.

Elmessiri (2006) warns researchers about what he terms "Western epistemological bias," which he describes as the "attempt by the West, conscious or unconscious, intentional or unintentional, to force its cultural paradigms onto the people of the world" (p. xi). Elmessiri refers to the act of forcing a culture's paradigms onto another as a cultural invasion, one that occurs even from within Middle Eastern culture when Arab researchers blindly embrace terminology and ideas that have gained currency in the West, parroting "the latest fashion, be it in dress or thought" (p. xii). He also speaks of the "imperialism of categories" as he points out that many categories developed in Western contexts are assumed to be universal, such as Marx and Engels' concept of class. Marx and Engels' knowledge of the world, Elmessiri points out, was scant, and even their knowledge of an Eastern European country such as Poland was questionable (p. 52).

Hussein (2006) reminds researchers that dividing and naming different segments of society using Western nomenclature distorts historical perspective: "Our social classes have imports different from those determined by the concepts of the European context" (p. 87). He explains how concepts such as "feudal lords," "bourgeoisie," "proletariat," and "capitalists," as well as the conflicts that played out among this group, do not explain the unique social dynamics that occurred in the Middle East.

In Said's (1972; 1981) seminal works *Orientalism* and *Covering Islam*, he critiqued Lewis's and other Orientalists' tendency to essentialize the Middle East, Islam and Muslims. Similarly, Kabel (2007) criticizes Karmani's (2005) Postcolonial view of English and Islam, accusing him of essentializing and reifying English and Islam. He

argues that Karmani's (2005) view of language is that of the Conduit Metaphor—the notion that language is a just a container in which a person places objects (ideas) and then sends them (communicates) to a receiver. Such a model does not take into account that the receiver will not always interpret messages as the sender intended. English and the act of teaching English, even if they do carry or promote certain ideological messages and assumptions, will not always be decoded in predictable ways. Mahboob (2009) makes the same point when he states that the periphery often constructs "nativized varieties of English, which are a form of resistance to colonial Englishes" (p. 177). In other words, the Periphery is not passive and at the mercy of an omnipotent Center, as both the Postcolonial and Orientalist lenses tend to regard it.

If the Periphery is not a passive recipient of ideas and ideologies packaged and arriving from the Center, what, then, is one to make of these two forces, English and Islam? Kabel (2007) argues that

> one alternative to this would be to see both English and Islam, not as monolithic, essentialized and reified phenomena, but as different ways of pursuing understanding, sets of enquiries for making sense of the world. And like all other forms of meaning, both are elusive, fluid, evolving, and fuzzy categories. Nevertheless, this does not make of them incorrigible oppositions. Quite the contrary. (p. 141)

Rajagopalan (1999) agrees with Kabel's (2007) argument that we must question the Postcolonial insistence that the English language be viewed only in context of its colonial past. He rejects the notion that English has "imperialist pretentions," arguing

instead that cultural intermixing and growing multilingualism have led to "unstable identities and shifting conceptual contours" (Rajagopalan, 1999, pp. 204-205). He states that it is only natural that languages will come in conflict and be subject to inequalities and argues that the rise of English isn't sinister, but a natural linguistic phenomenon.

The problem for researchers who wish to explore and generate theories related to Muslim cultural and linguistic attitudes and Muslim identity is that the two most widely used lenses are embedded in Eurocentric ideologies and entangled with preconceived notions of how Muslims relate to culture, language, and religion.

Significance of Study

Kabel (2007) called for researchers to put an end to the habit of essentializing the English language and Islam:

> There is, I think, room for reconciliation, cross-fertilization, and for what Homi Bhabha calls a 'third space', which is 'as unrepresentable in itself, where the symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity, where the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricized and read anew.' (p. 141)

Sen (2006) also called for a more nuanced understanding of Muslim identity—one that does not essentialize Muslims as agents of terror or victims of oppression. Such extreme views of Muslims are not a recent phenomenon, nor are they limited to academic inquiry—they play out in both American media and politics:

- For centuries, Western portrayals of Islam in literature, film, and theatrical productions depicted Muslims as untrustworthy, violent, seductive, exotic, and dangerous. (Richards & Omidvar, 2013)

- According to figures from the FBI, racially-motivated incidents against Muslims doubled from 2014 to 2016. More broadly, one-third of Muslims responding to Pew's poll in 2017 reported being treated with suspicion, compared with a quarter a decade earlier. Research by the Voter Study Group, another think-tank, shows that Muslims are viewed far less favorably than racial or sexual minorities like Blacks and gays are. (Barzegar, Levinson, & Arain, 2019)
- In a recent poll conducted by YouGov, 18% of respondents said they would support denying Muslim Americans the right to vote. (Barzegar et al., 2019)

Bias toward Muslims and stereotyped notions about Muslim identity and Islam have devastating effects in schools. Muslim students in the US report that schools are becoming an increasingly difficult place to interact positively with peers, teachers, administrators, and curriculum. Barzegar et al. (2019) reported that:

- Muslims face bullying at twice the rate of the national average and most children report that they do not feel safe approaching their teachers or school administrators about the issue;
- Inaccurate or low-quality curriculum materials may exacerbate anti-Muslim and Islamophobic ideas and lead to student alienation and targeting. Curriculum pertaining to Islam and Muslims have at times been found to be radically biased against Islam and Muslims; and
- School administrators and teachers are often underresourced to address this complex challenge, whether in terms of mitigating conflict or simply possessing

the cultural literacy tools to manage shortcomings in curriculum, extracurricular activities, and interpersonal communication.

A culturally responsive pedagogy necessitates the inclusion of students' cultural references in all aspects of learning (Ladson-Billings, 1994), yet curriculum designers, teachers, and administrators are placed in a difficult position when they are expected to understand a Muslim student's cultural references while they are faced with the generalizations, misinformation, disinformation, and/or stereotypes concerning Muslim identity that dominate global media, academic research, and global politics. The present study addresses the need for a nuanced lens through which to understand Muslim identity, one that is free from Eurocentric and anti-Muslim ideologies and grounded in the perspectives of Muslims living in the US. It is this kind of research on Muslim identity that is needed to help curriculum writers, teachers, and administrators acknowledge, respond to, and give full equitable access to Muslim students.

The nuanced lens this study seeks to construct will result from an emerging theory of Muslim identity from participant narratives via interviews, one that attempts to explain the fluid, sometimes messy and paradoxical relationship Muslims living in the US have with the English language, American culture, and their heritage languages and cultures.

Grounded theory studies do not produce a definitive or grand theory that purports to demonstrate a complete understanding of the subject under scrutiny. Rather, a grounded theory study puts forward a hypothesis for consideration, a theory that works and fits the data, that is modifiable and adaptable to different contexts, and one that a community of researchers can build upon and enhance.

Muslim Encounters with the English Language

This section will examine several incidents that illustrate historical and contemporary issues related to the often problematic relationship between Muslims, their heritage languages and cultures, and the English language. I have chosen these particular incidents because I believe they illustrate the incredible diversity and richness of the encounters between Muslims and the English language over the past three centuries, and they demonstrate how poorly suited are two of the most popular lenses researchers often use to explore Muslim identity—the Orientalist and Postcolonial lenses.

These incidents show how important it is to listen to all strands of the Muslim narrative of how being part of the English-speaking world has affected their ability to relate to, among other things, the global community, their family, local community, culture, religion, and also their past. The Orientalist and Postcolonial lenses will typically highlight only those strands from the Muslim narrative that legitimize their preconceived notion of Muslim identity.

Mukhtar Mai Girls' Model School. The first incident that gives us a look at an encounter between Muslims and the English language takes place in the contemporary tribal regions of Pakistan. If there is one symbol that convincingly depicts the ever-shifting nature of the English language in the Muslim world, it would that of a village school deep in Pakistan's tribal region.

Interestingly, although the school stands over 1000 kilometers away from the English medium schools of Karachi, the school's name is proudly proclaimed on a sign in bold Latin characters: "Mukhtar Mai Girls' Model School." Beneath it, in much smaller

script, appear words written in Urdu script, the national language of Pakistan and of millions of subcontinental Muslims. Ironically, if you speak only Urdu, you will not be able to understand the Urdu script on this sign because it's not a translation of the English content, but a transliteration. Urdu, then, is not only relegated to a less prominent space on the sign, but also its function has been reduced to merely conveying the sound of the English text. How is it that even in places in the Muslim world where English is spoken by only a few, it can still achieve a dominant position in terms of status and function?

If we adopt Phillipson's (1992) Postcolonial lens, the sign is merely more evidence of the all-powerful Center's reach into the minds of those even in the most far flung places of the Periphery. It may be evidence of an internal colonization, one that plays out in signage all over the Muslim world. But there is much more to the story than that.

The order in which languages appear on signs in the Muslim world has resulted in some contentious issues. In 1943, for example, Elias Koussa, a Palestinian lawyer, wrote a letter to the High Commissioner for Palestine complaining about a leaflet dropped from "His Majesty's aeroplanes" announcing the screening of the movie Desert Victory. The complaint was not about the propagandist movie or the fact that proceeds would be allocated to the Middle East British War Fund. "Arabic is printed last," Koussa complained, "instead of immediately after the English version . . . and the Hebrew language is given precedence over Arabic" (as cited in Suleiman, 2011, p. 25). This, Koussa pointed out, was in violation of Article 22 of the Mandate, a regulation that required Arabic to follow English but to come before Hebrew on such fliers.

Koussa's concern with the ordering of languages may seem trivial, but in the context of being an Arab and living under British sovereignty, it was one of the few battles he was able to wage. Like Shakespeare's Caliban, Koussa used his master's language to act on his own agenda. He didn't unquestioningly internalize his colonizer's worldviews.

Return now to the school sign in Pakistan. To understand the full impact of this sign as a symbol of English's complex power in this distant Muslim tribal region, it's important to know a few details of where and how this school was founded.

The English language, an enduring legacy of Britain's colonization of the Muslim world, once represented subjugation in the tribal heartland of the subcontinent. Urdu, with its Arabic, Turkish and Farsi roots, was an important identity marker in the subcontinent that distinguished Muslims from Hindus, and thus became the national language of the newly founded Muslim nation of Pakistan in 1947. Since the departure of the English-speaking colonizers in the mid-twentieth century, the central government of Pakistan has struggled to unify the country under its rule. Tribal regions are known to still embrace tribal forms of justice, such as honor-revenge rape.

The founder of this particular school was the victim of a gang rape ordered by a tribal council in an honor-revenge case. While victims of such tribal sentences in Pakistan often commit suicide, Mukhtar Mai brought her attackers to court and had them prosecuted, attracted the attention of international media, was named "Woman of the Year" in 2005 by Glamour Magazine, and used the money awarded to her to open the first girls' school in her village. Her choice of English as the dominant language of this

school, then, indicates a profound linguistic and semiotic transformation—the language of colonization, Christianity, and subjugation of the Muslim psyche has now become an emblem for the liberation of Muslim tribal women in Pakistan. This is where Phillipson's one-dimensional model of Center vs. Periphery breaks down and is of little use in helping explain or recognize the significance of how the symbolic value of English in Pakistan can be transformed from a tool of oppression to one of liberation.

Rahman (2005) provides us with a much more powerful lens through which to view this incident. He states that the linguistic attitudes of Muslims in South Asia toward the English language can be viewed as three distinct perspectives: Rejection and resistance, acceptance and assimilation, and pragmatic utilization. These three responses to English may be difficult to distinguish. For example, Mukhtar Mai's decision to implement English-medium instruction (instruction in which English is the primary language) in her school can be perceived as indicative of each of the three responses, depending on one's perspective. It can be viewed as an act of resistance if a localized variety of English is taught because the periphery often constructs "nativized varieties of English, which are a form of resistance to colonial Englishes" (Mahboob, 2009, p. 177). It can also be interpreted as an act of assimilation, especially if "core English" (i.e., a standard American or British version) is emphasized rather than an indigenous or local form. In this case, girls at the school would be assimilated into a global world in which membership demands knowledge of English. It can also simply be a pragmatic act, a recognition that the girls in this village will have a bleak future and will be stuck in the

village if they do not learn English. Finally, it could be all three to varying degrees, or none of the above.

Whatever perspective one chooses to decode the use of English by Mukhtar Mai's village school (which now teaches boys also), one thing is certain: The relationship between English and Muslims is complex, and there is a distinct need of research that examines this multifaceted relationship from multiple perspectives. One perspective will yield much, but it will likely overlook even more. Whether we choose Phillipson's lens or we view this situation through the multifaceted lens supplied by Rahman (2005), we are still viewing the incident from afar and are, to some degree, guilty of committing the sin to which Said (1972) called attention: Looking upon a culture and a people via the distant scholarly gazes of a multitude of other distant scholars. One needs to travel to the village where the school is and to talk to people about the sign, about language, about the school, rather than view the sign in isolation. Maybe some or many or all business signs in this village are English first followed by an Urdu transliteration. If so, why? What is being communicated by this? Travelling to the village would not give you access to "The One Truth," but it would give you access to hundreds of smaller truths that exist at that moment in time, something vastly superior to what gets passed off as Truth in the pages of writers that assume the world is a predictable shadow show. One needs to get out of Plato's cave once in a while, even if things out there make little sense and distort what we think we already know about the world.

For the next incident, we will stay in the Indo-Pak subcontinent, but we will turn back time to the 1830's when the British were about to withdraw their support of local languages and convert all Indian schools to an English-medium curriculum.

Macaulay and English-medium education in India. 1835 marked a turning point for education in India. The English Education Act of 1835, on order of the Governor-General of India, Lord William Bentinck, ended the British support of Persian and Sanskrit education in traditional Muslim and Hindu schools in India. This legislative act was initiated on the advice of Thomas Babington Macaulay, a politician, historian an essayist, who wrote his now famous and lengthy Minute upon English Education. In it, he advises:

- English should replace Persian as the official language of India;
- English should be the medium of education in all schools in India "because whoever knows that language has ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations" (Macaulay, 1835, para.12);
- At present there aren't enough resources to translate Western knowledge into Persian and Sanskrit; and
- Indians taught English would then in turn teach it to other Indians. (Chandra, 1995).

Macaulay's *Minute* was long in the making, and there were many before him who questioned the practice of the Crown financing indigenous education in the colonies. In 1792, for example, Charles Grant (1746-1823), a member of Parliament and chairman of

the East India Company, penned *Observations on The State of the Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, Particularly with Respect to Morals and the Means of Improving it.* An Evangelical Christian, Grant is considered the father of modern education in India, and his belief was that the introduction of the study of English, a "Christian tongue," and English literature would alone save an Indian society, that had 'long sunk in darkness, vice and misery'" (as cited in Sekar, 2015, p. 127). Studying English literature would rid Indians of their superstitions, and also

> wherever this knowledge would be received, idolatry, with the rabble of its impure deities, its monsters of wood and stone, its false principles and corrupt practices, its delusive hopes and vain fears, its ridiculous ceremonies and degrading superstitions, its lying legends and fraudulent impositions would fall. (as cited in Sekar, 2015, p. 127)

Interestingly, the study of English literature in India was instituted in universities in Madras, Bombay and Calcutta in 1857. Oxford and Cambridge, however, did not find English literature worthy of study until 1894 and 1911 respectively, each believing until then that only Greek literature merited serious study (Sekar, 2015).

For Macaulay, English-medium education in India served two main functions. First, it gave Indians access to European knowledge:

> I have conversed both here and at home with men distinguished by their proficiency in the Eastern tongues. . . . I have never found one among them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia. The intrinsic superiority of the

> Western literature is indeed fully admitted by those members of the committee who support the oriental plan of education. (Macaulay, 1835, para. 10)

Just as his countryman Bernard Lewis would do more than a century later, Macaulay cites the work of other white Eurocentric scholars sharing his academic pedigree to advance his argument that the European mind is superior to the Eastern mind.

Secondly, Macaulay's (1835) vision of India was built upon Grant's notion that it was in the best interests of the Crown and of Indians themselves that they be anglicized:

> It is impossible for us, with our limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect. (para. 34)

The anglicizing mission of the British is what has caused so much anxiety among Muslims in the subcontinent. While Macaulay (1835) states in his *Minute* that the British government in India must be neutral in matters of religion and not "publicly" encourage Christian missionaries, he questions why the government would finance Muslim and Hindu religious schools in which young men "waste their youth" studying "monstrous superstitions . . . false history, false astronomy, false medicine, because we find them in the company with a false religion" (para. 31). While he felt the British government should not actively advance an agenda aimed at converting Muslims and Hindus, shortly after having written the *Minute*, Macaulay stated:

> It is my firm belief that if our plans of education are followed up, there will not be a single idolator among the respectable classes in Bengal thirty years hence. And this will be affected without any effort to proselytise; without the smallest interference in their religious liberty; merely by the operation of knowledge and reflection. (Krishnaswami & Krishnaswami, 2006, p. 31)

For Macaulay, there was no need for Christian missionaries—an English medium education of "Western knowledge" would be enough to free Indians of their false beliefs. Unlike Grant, Macaulay doesn't aim to bring the masses of Indians into the fold of Christianity, but just to free them from anything that binds them to a non-European way of life. Grant would have all Indians become Christians, Macaulay hopes for them all to become English. Talib (2002) has described English literary education in India as "imparting quasi-Christian religious values" through which Indians would become "estranged from their own culture" (p. 11).

Influential educationists like Grant and Macaulay were the architects of modern education in India, and both saw English-medium instruction as the prime tool for transforming Indian intellectual, social and religious identities. This is why historically many Muslim thinkers have been suspicious of English-medium education and see it as an assault on their religious and cultural identities.

Muslims, however, are not the only people who have a less than amicable history with the English language. Ireland and Wales have struggled to come to terms with the incursion of the English language and culture. Padraic Pearse, an Irish nationalist, viewed

the 19th century English education system as a "murder machine" whose aim was to eradicate Irish culture and the Irish language (cited in Edwards, 1994, p. 9).

The other "neighbors" of England have also experienced many tribulations related to the spread of English in their country, and even until the late 20th century there were terror attacks related to the incursion of English. During a resurgence of Welsh nationalism from the late 1970's to the 1990's, there were more than 200 cases of arson involving holiday homes purchased by wealthy English buyers. Ironically, the marketing slogan that enticed many wealthy English to buy quaint Welsh cottages was "Come home to a roaring fire" (Thirty years, 2009). During this time, bilingual road signs in English and Welsh could be found with the English spray painted over. Also, even though many adults in Wales do not speak Welsh, many of their children are being taught Welsh in schools as the nation attempts to reclaim a culture that was largely marginalized by the English.

If Ireland and Wales, two of England's nearest neighbors, are still trying to sort out the position and roles of their native languages and cultures in relation to the incursion of the English language, it should not be surprising that the Muslim World is also faced with a similar if not more intense struggle to figure out their socio-cultural and linguistic identities in a world that is becoming more and more Anglo-centric.

Deputy Nazir Ahmad. Perhaps no other person best illustrates the paradoxical relationship between Muslims and the English language better than Deputy Nazir Ahmad, a 19th century Indian social reformer. In an undated letter to his son, he reveals a nuanced attitude toward English as he gives his son advice about protecting his Muslim and

cultural identity. Interestingly, Deputy Ahmad's father was against his son learning English, proclaiming he would rather he die than learn English. Ahmad begins the letter (which was originally written in Urdu) by saying that he has praised English in the past, but now it is time for his son (who received an English-medium education) to learn about the negative attributes of the language. First, he shares his opinions about those Indians who have learned English: "It's not only my opinion, but that of most people, and the English themselves make the same complaint, that Indians who learn English become haughty and insolent and conceited" (Russell, 2003, p. 492).

Ahmad's claim here about English ruining the character of Indians is the earliest mention I've found of a Muslim thinker warning of the serious moral peril involved in learning English. Is Ahmad embracing linguistic determinism—the notion that language itself determines how one sees (or doesn't see) the world? Not likely. Ahmad doesn't portray English as having "ruined" the British, just the Indians who learned the language. He is probably commenting on the arrogance of those Indians who feel that by having learned English, they have reached nearly the same status of their British rulers and, therefore, are superior to other Indians. Ahmad is likely warning his son not to be as obnoxious and egotistical as that class of Indians just because he has had the privilege of learning English. It doesn't appear he sees English itself as inherently immoral. Ahmad actually dedicates a good bit of this letter speaking of the cultural differences between the British and Indians, and his general theme is: To each their own. He also enumerates flaws present in both cultures, probably illustrating to his son the importance of not being a xenophobe or an Anglophile.

Ahmad does, however, share an interesting linguistic belief concerning the four major languages of the Muslim world (Urdu, Arabic, Persian and Turkish). These languages, he intimates, are not capable of expressing modern technical concepts. He tells his son how it's impossible to understand a single article in a Persian or Arabic newspaper if you don't know French and English technical terms. The reach of the English language into every field of human endeavor has made it impossible for Muslims to ignore:

> The scope of English is such that if you sit down to translate any book on the science of agriculture or chemistry, or medicine, or anatomy or natural philosophy or any other science there will be in every line three or four words that are outside the scope of Urdu, poor language that it is. (Russell, 2003, p. 492)

Ahmad goes on to predict that English will "prevail over all other languages," by virtue of the fact that God has gifted the British with political domination (Russell, 2003, p. 493).

In what is one of the most fascinating parts of the letter for linguists, Ahmad shares with his son his belief that English has had a beneficial influence on the Urdu language, even to the point where he implies English has had an Islamizing effect on Urdu:

> I always say that Persian literature has been our ruin. But now English has begun to make an impact on Urdu, and our language has to a considerable extent purged itself of these faults of exaggeration and cheapness. People have begun to appreciate clear, straightforward language. In the law courts even the humblest

> Muslim clerk no longer wants to call himself "your born slave" who "eats your salt" or call his superior "lord of lords," "my spiritual guide" and "he to whom the world turns in worship." In short English has whispered to him that he too is a man, who lives his own life and has his own property and sense of honor. All his rights are safeguarded. He is Empress Queen Victoria's subject and to some extent subordinate to those who at present govern him, but he is nobody's slave. It is incumbent upon him to respect his superior officer, but not to worship him. He gladly salutes him, but he does not prostrate himself before him. (Russell, 2003, p. 493)

Ahmad is referencing how flowery Persian and Urdu tend to be, and how the hyperbole of Persian literature has negatively influenced how formal Urdu is spoken. Ironically, the Victorian English spoken by India's colonizers is now regarded as the epitome of stilted language, but it was still no match for the "exaggeration and cheapness" that had crept into Urdu (Russell, 2003, p. 493).

Phillipson (1992) would have a difficult time integrating Ahmad's views of English using a Postcolonial lens. The relationship between Center and Periphery is supposed to be one of domination and exploitation, but here is Ahmad claiming that the imperial language actually helped cure Urdu of some of its biggest flaws, thereby teaching Urdu speakers that they are not slaves and that they are free and worthy of respect. The Postcolonial lens does not generally validate such views as Ahmad's because they violate their model of how the world works. Views expressed by voices of the Periphery that don't support the notion of the Center as imperialistic and the

Periphery as exploited are claimed to be hegemonic views of the Center that the passive people of the Periphery have internalized. The voices of the Periphery, when they dare express views incompatible with Postcolonial dogma, are typically dismissed as exhibiting the pathology of a dominant ideology. All too often, in the world of Postcolonial studies, what the researcher seeks, the researcher shall find, even if the voices of the Periphery must be silenced in the name of "giving voice" to the Periphery.

Ahmad's perspective on English is complex. He realizes that Arabic is no longer the language of science and global thinking, and that Muslims are presented with the choice of either learning English or being left behind. He also believes that Muslim languages are unable to adapt to the modern world because of they have not kept pace with the growing specialized scientific vocabulary.

We should not dismiss Ahmad's views as emanating from the Center, although that is one possible explanation. Macaulay embodies the extreme xenophobic linguistic beliefs that emanated from the Center at that time. Ahmad is more of pragmatist: He recognized that since science is being done in English- and French-speaking nations, their languages adapted to address the need for neologisms. Phillipson (1992) has commented on the fact that scientific research is carried out mostly in the Center by stating that the "imperialist structure ensures that the West has a near monopoly on scientific research" (p. 58). Phillipson once again shows why the work of Postcolonial theorists is not that useful if one is interested in looking at things from different perspectives, especially in the Muslim world.

Phillipson (1992) and other Postcolonial theorists begin their studies already having embraced a model for how interactions in the world work; their research, therefore, is generally not an exploration of social processes, but an exercise in interpreting everything within the context of their predetermined worldview. And it is a worldview espoused by mostly white academics of European origin, predicated largely on the vision of Karl Marx, a white, European male born into an upper-class family and his white, male European colleagues, associates and followers. It is a scholarly pedigree that in race, gender and origin is extremely similar to that of Bernard Lewis: An exclusive club of mostly white males who, having decided amongst themselves how the world works, cite each other's works and as if this somehow proves their worldview is the only legitimate one.

The fact that science continues to be done most in what Phillipson (1992) would call the Center does not mean this occurs simply because Western powers have rigged the world so that they control scientific inquiry. That is one possible explanation, but it is a doubtful one, and it is at least partially based upon the racist assumption that white Western males are superior in strength and intellect and have continued over the centuries to exploit inferior, passive and powerless non-whites for their own selfish gains. Furthermore, this explanation once again requires us to see the Periphery as being powerless and at the mercy of an all-powerful and evil Center.

We need a more nuanced theory of how Muslims in India developed their views of the introduction of English. Before English, the official language of the government of Muslim-ruled India was actually another foreign language, Persian. Perhaps that's why

Ahmad's letter doesn't show any resentment toward a foreign language being adopted by the Indian government. Ahmad's letter actually embodies a very subtle and well-thought out response to the rise of the English language, as well as a unique assessment concerning its potential dangers and benefits to Muslim culture, Muslim languages, and Muslim identity. Researchers interested in exploring language, culture an identity among Muslims would do well to study a figure such as Deputy Nazir Ahmad. I'm sure many contemporary Muslims may hold equally complex and surprising linguistic and cultural attitudes.

Edward Said and Leila Ahmad. Next, I will discuss two well-known 20th century Arab writers and scholars, Edward Said (1935-2003) and Leila Ahmad (1940-), both of whom have recounted their internal and external conflicts stemming from being raised in Egypt and attending English-medium schools. Ahmad (2000) writes of her childhood growing up in Cairo:

> We lived in our heads and in the books we lost ourselves in, in a world peopled with children called Tom and Jane and Tim and Ann, and where there were moles and hedgehogs and grey skies and caves on the shore and tides that come in and out. And where houses had red roofs. Red roofs that seemed far better and more interesting and intriguing to me than roofs that were like, say, the terraced roof of our house in Alexandria. We grew up believing that some world over there was better, more interesting, more civilized than this world here. (p. 154)

Suleiman (2011) posits that English was, for Ahmad and those of her social background, the "means through which [they] were internally colonised by making them more knowledgeable about the history, geography, literature and flora and fauna of the British Isles than about those of their native country" (p. 99-100).

Ahmad's internal colonization, as Suleiman (2011) describes her feelings of inferiority before the British, was the goal of Macaulay's English-medium education. The goal was to loosen the colonized person's affinity for their own cultural and religious background so that one instead embraced an anglicized identity. Ahmad (2000), who went on to study at Cambridge and teach Islam at Harvard, said she came close to converting to Christianity while at Cambridge, a testament to Macaulay's theory that Christian missionaries are not needed to convert the colonized, just an English-medium education rooted in Western knowledge.

Ahmad (2000) would wrestle with classical Arabic, fusha, her entire life. Once, at age 12, she had great difficulty reading aloud a fusha text in Arabic class. It was an alien language to her, very different from the Egyptian dialect she spoke. Her teacher screamed at her: "You're an Arab! . . . An Arab! And you don't know your own language!" To which Ahmad replied, "I am not an Arab! I am Egyptian!" (p. 243). Ahmad slammed the book shut and her teacher struck her across the face. Another Arabic teacher made advances toward her that she was afraid to report.

Ahmad's (2000) alienation from fusha would have life-long implications: She would advocate for the Arab world abandoning fusha and using their local dialects as the official language. She views fusha as an imperialistic language that attempts to impose

alien ideologies and structures in the name of Arab unity. Over the centuries, fusha was mastered by only a few select men who used their literacy to subjugate Islam and bind it to their self-interests. As a result, Ahmad argues, Islam became fossilized and alienated from the great mass of people, forcing them to practice an obsolete and narrow version of a religion that once lived and breathed within the spirit of a community. Fusha, for Ahmad, was no different than the British culture Macaulay sought to export to India. In fact, Ahmad felt a greater kinship with English than with fusha. She says of English and her Egyptian dialect of Arabic: "Both are living languages and both have that quickness and pliancy and vitality that living spoken languages have and that the [fusha] of our day does not" (p. 283).

I find it fascinating that Ahmad (2000) speaks of fusha as an imperialistic language, one that is even more dangerous than English. Hers was not the first voice to call for the abandonment of fusha. Suleiman (2004) recounts how in 1893, a British engineer, William Wilcocks, who worked in Egypt, became part owner of the Egyptian publication Al-Azhar, which he used to disseminate his linguistic views. In an article written in Arabic titled "Why are the Egyptians deprived of the power of invention now?", he posited that Egyptians think and talk in one language (the local dialect) but write in a different language (fusha). Writing in fusha acts as a veil that prevents them from seeing clearly, he argued. They will not progress, Wilcocks proposed, until they embrace colloquial Arabic. He makes reference to how England never progressed until it put aside Latin and made English its national tongue. He also tells Egyptians that they are

wrong for striving for political freedom first, because the English progressed after making the aforementioned language change even while they were not politically free.

Suleiman (2004) argues that Wilcocks' arguments are chock-full of imperialist ideological assumptions. First, the word "now" in the title suggests Islamic as opposed to pre-Islamic times, the assumption being that Islam—through fusha—has held Egyptians back. Secondly, the veil metaphor is another attack on Islam, suggesting that women and society in general must cast off veils from their faces and from their language, i.e. "social liberation and linguistic liberation must therefore go together" (p. 66). Assuming that a weak nation such as Egypt must emulate another country's actions that transformed it from a weak country to a strong one is also an ideological assumption.

Is it possible that Wilcocks and Ahmad (2000), although they express the same theory about fusha's role in interfering with the development of the Egyptian mind, are motivated by different factors? This question is best considered from multiple perspectives, and it would be beneficial to consider this question in the light of another Egyptian intellectual's experiences with fusha and English.

The Christian Edward Said grew up in similar circumstances to Leila Ahmad. Both were upper class Egyptians who went to foreign schools in Cairo where English was the only language allowed to be spoken. But both had very different relationships with fusha.

Said (1999) attended Victoria College (the Eaton of Egypt), where Rule 1 was that no other language was to be spoken except English, and anyone caught doing so would be severely punished. Because of this rule, Said says that "Arabic became our

haven, a criminalized discourse where we took refuge from the world of masters and complicit prefects and anglicized older boys who lorded it over us as enforcers of the hierarchy and its rules" (p. 184). Of course, like Ahmad, he had Arabic classes that tried to mechanically infuse fusha into the heads of students by making them memorize grammar rules and digest unimaginative works of prose praising political leaders. The Arabic teachers were regarded with contempt, so it's little wonder why neither Ahmad nor Said developed a love for fusha.

Like Ahmad, Said traveled west. His father sent him to a boarding school in New England where he met a tennis coach whose native language was Arabic. After being given the cold shoulder, he decided to speak to him in Arabic to see if it would make him open up more. His response was, "No brother . . . no Arabic here. I left that behind. Here we are Americans . . . and we should talk and act like Americans (Said, 1999, p. 228). This event stung Said, much like the slap across the face for Ahmad. He wrestled with identity issues, saying that "the overall sensation I had was of my troublesome identity as an American inside whom lurked another Arab identity from which I derived no strength, only embarrassment and discomfort" (p. 90).

Unlike Ahmad, however, Said (1999) could not turn his back on fusha. In his later life, he said he was able to "overcome [his] alienation from Arabic caused by education and exile and take pleasure in it" (p. 198). Said actually came "close to accusing Ahmad of 'professional hypocrisy' for accepting a professorial appointment at Harvard that requires extensive and intimate knowledge of the fusha while publicly professing a lack of deep knowledge of it" (Suleiman, 2011, p. 92).

Interestingly, Suleiman (2011) does not criticize or accuse Ahmad of impropriety for claiming to be very weak in fusha, even though he discusses how speaking European languages is still seen as a "badge of modernity, advancement and enlightenment in Egyptian society" and how "feigning, or asserting, weakness or lack of facility with Arabic is sometimes paraded as a sign of status, class and, perversely, even education . . ." (p. 93). Suleiman (2011) considers that such linguistic behavior is "deployed to mask social inferiority towards colonial culture" (p. 84), yet he is very forgiving when discussing Ahmad's claim she doesn't know fusha. Nor does he criticize her views on fusha, even though they echo the views of Wilcocks, which he eviscerates.

How do we interpret Wilcocks', Nazir Ahmad's and Leila Ahmad's criticism of Arabic, and in the case of Nazir Ahmad, Urdu? Are these—in the case of the latter two—internalized colonial ideologies about the inferiority of their heritage languages? And is Wilocks' (1893) assessment of Arabic merely an imperialistic ideological attack on the Periphery? Is there any other way to interpret their linguistic assertions? Do they arise from different ideological positions? And why is Said's view of fusha different?

Although Said never portrayed Arabic as incompatible with the modern world, throughout his career he published all his major work in English and taught at an American university. It took him an entire lifetime to make his peace with Arabic/fusha and to embrace the language as a part of himself that he had long denied or repressed. Said expresses such joy and fulfillment in rediscovering Arabic that it's as if he were enraptured by the aesthetic beauty of a great work of art. In a sense, perhaps Said could

only re-approach fusha when he had completed much of his life's work, when perhaps he was more confident about his identity as an Arab intellectual teaching in the US.

This brief overview of the encounters of Nazir Ahmad, Leila Ahmad, and Edward Said with the English language and Western culture brings up dozens of questions. Why is it Said, a Christian, struggled just as mightily if not more with his relationship to English and Western culture than did Nazir Ahmad and Leila Ahmad? How is it that both Nazir Ahmad and Leila Ahmad saw fusha as unable to adapt to the needs of the modern world and the modern mind? Do tradition and Islam weigh down Arabic? Just as the Church once wielded more power before the printing press put the Bible in the hands of the laity, have Muslims over the centuries been disempowered from having any say in their religious institutions because fusha has been kept in the hands of a small group of Muslim clergy?

Safouan (2007), in his book *Why are the Arabs not Free?*, points out that the differences between fusha and Arabic dialects is even greater than that of Italian and Latin. Arabic dialects, he argues, should be considered different languages from fusha, and for that reason the common Arabs need to have the Qur'an translated into their dialects. This, he predicts, will lead to enlightenment and will free their thinking processes. Safouan doesn't think that Arabic is incompatible with the modern world, but he argues that the language of the Qur'an, fusha, is used by the rulers and the elites to control commoners.

Safouan's (2007) ideas, Suleiman (2011) points out, are radical "because they place language at the center of social and political transformation in society in ways that

have not been allocated to language before . . . ” (p. 115). Although Safouan’s arguments are powerful, I think we must question Suleiman’s Postcolonial assessment. I find Safouan’s view of Arab political structure to be simplistic. If he were correct in arguing that Arab dictators and elites somehow control their nations via fusha, would they not—if they were indeed this powerful—find a way to even use dialects to control the masses? And if they could not, how is it that another group of elites and dictators would not rise up who could use Arabic dialects for their own self-interest? It is difficult to see how simply raising Arabic dialects in status will usher in an enlightenment accompanied by political freedom. Wilcocks (1893) made the exact same argument more than a century before Safouan did, and Suleiman (2004, 2011) dismissed Wilcox as little more than a colonial agent. The fact that Suleiman did not deconstruct Safouan’s and Ahmad’s (2000) arguments the way he did Wilcocks’ may be evidence of ontological gerrymandering (Hammersley, 2008): Suleiman sympathetically portrays the voices of people he feels are devalued, oppressed or discriminated against, while pathologizing those he has little sympathy for (e.g. those “in power” who support the “status quo” and/or are deemed to be racist, sexist, etc.). This “gerrymandered” approach is indicative of the limitations of the Postcolonial lens.

Contemporary Muslim and/or Arab thinkers generally view fusha either in very negative terms (Ahmad, 200; Safouan, 2007) or positive terms (Said, 1978; Suleiman, 2004, 2011). English, however, is viewed by contemporary Muslim and/or Arab thinkers in overwhelmingly negative terms. Maalouf (2000) for example, compares the spread of English in the Arab world to “cancer that eats away at our identity, mocks our very

existence, and turns us into disfigured midgets and ghosts of ourselves that orbit in a sphere that is very distant from our culture, from our original roots and from our distinctive character'" (cited in Suleiman, 2011, p. 136-137). He blames the "lure of English" for seducing Arabs away from fusha, which he considers the "first line of defending Arab identity" (pp. 136-137). Bisher speaks of the spread of English into the Arab world as "linguistic and cultural Western foreignization" (p. 138). He complains about English used on commercial and public signage in the Arab world, and says, like Maalouf, that the omnipresence of English has disempowered fusha. The result, according to Bisher, is that Arabs are subject to "confusion and anxiety" (p. 138).

Such negative views of English are not only expressed by Muslim intellectuals and novelists. The battle between Islam and Muslim identity also plays out in TESOL literature. Karmani (2005), an ESL teacher and researcher in the Middle East, sees the spread of English in the Muslim world as a major part of a corrective mission aimed at changing the Muslim identity by making the Muslim worldview more compatible with US foreign policy and thinks ESL teachers in the Muslim world may unknowingly spread imperialistic ideology through their teaching. He also believes that English continues to be marketed as a civilizing language that promotes peace and tolerance, as opposed to Muslim languages that promote militancy.

The writers mentioned here do not tend to see English as inherently treacherous, but they see it as being used as a tool to linguistically, politically, psychologically, and culturally dominate Muslims and/or Arabs. Those that have negative views of fusha cite the same reason: It is used to oppress Arabs and/or Muslims and to disenfranchise them

from the local and global political arenas. Interestingly, Nazir Ahmad was much more comfortable with the role English was beginning to play in connecting the Muslim mind with the modern age of science, even though he was living at the time when the British empire was at its peak. He recognized early on that English would, by virtue of Britain's political power, go on to dominate all languages. His only concern was that Muslims do not become haughty simply because they speak the language of their occupiers or begin to blindly adopt British customs and culture.

The large number of contemporary Muslim writers, thinkers and scholars who perceive English as a tool used by Western powers to reinvent the Muslim identity so that it is more compatible with Western interests deserves a much closer look. Does this common perception reflect what Lewis (1990) referred to as "Muslim rage"? Do these Muslim writers see themselves as pushing back at what they see as a second Western expansion, one that is more interested in colonizing minds than nations? I'll close this section with an intriguing quote by Fredericks (2004), from his review of three books about Islam that were published shortly after 9/11. It offers an assessment of McWorld (Western secular globalism characterized by international commercialism) vs. Islam that is remarkably similar to view of the Muslim writers discussed in this section:

McWorld is a comprehensive worldview, a way of life. The same, of course, must be said of Islam. And like Islam during some of its history, McWorld is in the midst of an aggressive expansion. McWorld erodes traditional ways of envisioning social relations and replaces them with its own image-driven, consumer-oriented mores. Since the guardian of social order has traditionally been religion, McWorld's expansion has a

secularizing effect. McWorld handles religions the way it handles toilet paper: Religious belief, like everything else, becomes a consumer choice. “Freedom of religion” is established by ensuring a multiplicity of brands for religious consumers to choose from: Buddhism and Hinduism, Judaism and Christianity in their various forms. After some unpleasantness, Christianity has made its peace with McWorld. With a few exceptions—Martin Luther King and Desmond Tutu come to mind—Christianity has learned to keep to its assigned place in the private realm of “personal piety,” safely out of the public square. (Fredericks, 2004, para. 5)

Research Situation

A classical grounded theory project will not identify the specific research problem before the fieldwork begins (Glaser, 1992). While Glaser does warn against developing preconceived theories before beginning the project, he does, however, emphasize that researchers should not ignore their opinions and pet theories related to the research situation, but to treat them as all other data. And like all other data, they have to earn their way into the final theory.

After having engaged in countless discussions with MC/ML Muslims living in the US about language, culture and identity (the research situation addressed by this project), and after having read possibly every study published in English that has examined the linguistic attitudes of Muslims toward English or other Western languages and/or their heritage languages, I identified a few significant problems that this project would likely address before I conducted the first interview.

First, nearly every study on the linguistic attitudes of Muslims toward English or other Western languages found that the "new generation" of Muslims (from middle school students to college students)—generally do not connect English to its imperialistic past or see it as a threat to their national and religious identities (Kim, 2003; Mohd-Asraf, 2005; Ketner, Buitelaar, & Bosma, 2004; Keaton, 1999; Washima, Harahita, & Naysmith, 1996; Elyas, 2008; Crismore, Ngeow, & Soo, 1996). Participants in one Malaysian study (Kim, 2003) specifically referred to those Malaysians who resisted English as "old," no matter their age, because they associated a negative view of English with the older generation. Kim (2003) concludes that the students do reap benefits from English in that it, in the words of her participants, "offers them another cultural prism through which to view life" and "allows one to slip in and out of one's own cultural boundaries" (p. 153). Washima, Harshita, and Naysmith (1996) found that for the first time in the Malaysian culture, students are beginning to feel they are in control of English and that there is no conflict between English and Islam. These findings on their own call into serious question the traditional Orientalist and Postcolonial lenses that tend to view non-European (i.e., the Periphery) people and cultures as passive and subjugated to dominant European cultures.

The problem here is that the linguistic views of today's generation of Muslim students—whether they are in South East Asia, the Middle East, or Europe—are entirely at odds with those of many contemporary Muslim thinkers and researchers cited earlier in this chapter. These Muslim researchers and thinkers by and large embrace Samuel Huntington's (1993) model of conflict as described in his article "Clash of Civilizations?"

in which he predicted we were entering an era in which conflict would be based on rival cultural and religious identities. Apparently, based on studies of Muslim linguistic attitudes, this global conflict does not play out in the lives of young MC/ML Muslims. These young Muslims tend to have a sophisticated and nuanced lens through which they view English. They speak of English encouraging them to be better grounded in their culture while also helping them "de-center" from it by not adopting a single cultural perspective (Kim, 2003). They also speak of it being their duty as Muslims to learn English because that is the only language that can connect the global Muslim community (Mohd-Asraf, 2005).

Why is there such a gulf between how contemporary Muslim thinkers view English as opposed to how young ML/MC Muslim students do? And why do these young students tend to have a more nuanced view of English in comparison to Muslim thinkers who generally view English from a single perspective? Is it possible that academics and scholars must of necessity adopt the prevailing perspective/theoretical lens in order to improve their chances of being taken seriously and being published? Along the same lines of reasoning, is it also possible that these thinkers instinctively choose one of the more controversial and extreme perspectives to improve their chances of being published and of attracting an audience? Can a Muslim thinker who views English through a multifaceted lens—similar to the way the vast majority of young MC/ML students do—be relevant (and gainfully employed) in a contemporary discourse about language, cultural and identity? Or is this variance merely generational, with many Muslim thinkers

having grown up either during the time their nation was colonized or shortly after independence?

The possible disconnect between the views espoused by linguists concerning the effect of English on the Muslim psyche and the views of Muslims who speak English is potentially an interesting research problem. Such a problem is not limited to the Muslim world. A case in point is Ronald Bailey (2004) who sardonically describes a panel discussion at a conference in Chicago that addressed the question of "what is wrong with people who disagree with the mainstream of American academic social scientists" (para. 1)? One researcher who gave a presentation blamed the problem on authoritarian personality disorders—i.e., those people who do not concur with mainstream social scientist are mentally ill!

Another potential significant research problem is the fact that the Muslim thinkers who publish widely on the topic of English, Arabic, Islam, the Muslim world, culture and identity, rarely access anyone's ideas other than those of other academics. Perhaps they do not have many discussions with young Muslim students, or perhaps they do and they believe the new generation of Muslims has a very different perspective on English, but one they consider unenlightened. Perhaps they do not value the perspectives of young Muslims, or don't feel their perspectives are relevant. Possibly Muslim thinkers are attempting to "open the eyes" of the new generation that doesn't realize the dangers associated with the English language because they don't know the historical context of the spread of English. We must also ask complex and controversial questions, such as how long will the elite world of Muslim thinkers shut out the voices of young MC/ML

Muslims while simultaneously protesting the fact that the common Muslim isn't given a political voice?

As for the rest of the world that accesses the Muslim world through books, here is the problem: If one reads only the work of contemporary Muslim thinkers, one would be convinced that the entire Muslim World saw the English language as a Trojan horse that has infiltrated their cultures. One would be told that this Trojan horse was built to house nefarious ideological constructs that, when released, colonize the minds of Muslims by estranging them from their heritage, language, culture, and religion. As a result of this linguistic assault, Muslims are poised to bring about a cultural and religious revolution that will attempt to topple dictatorial regimes as well as the entire Western world from their shared perch. It is a compelling narrative and an awe-inspiring image. Such rhetoric is highly marketable, but such hyperbole plays into the hands of Orientalists such as Bernard Lewis (1990) who peddles the idea that the Muslim world is seething with "Muslim rage" after having lost the Caliphate, and that the Muslim world is a dangerously combustible commodity that must be dealt with decisively and swiftly before Western civilization is doomed.

There have been several sociological and cultural studies of Muslims in the US: Haddad & Esposito (2000); Kahera (2002); Naber (2000); Read (2003); Read & Bartkowski (2000); Leonard (2003); Walbridge (1999); Smith (1999); Waugh, Abu-Laban, & Qureshi (1991); and Peek (2005). These studies address various aspects of Muslims living in the US, ranging from the architecture of mosques to gender and race, but none of them offer an in-depth exploration of linguistic attitudes of Muslims. An

exploration of what MC/ML Muslims living in the US feel about English and their heritage languages represents a gold mine of research opportunity.

All the ideas, perspectives, and questions discussed in this chapter must be considered if we are to construct a nuanced lens through which to explore the linguistic and cultural attitudes of Muslims. The Orientalist and Postcolonial lenses are useful only in that they give us ideas, questions, and perspectives to consider, but the mindset that touts them as the only legitimate way to explore Muslim identity must come to an end.

CHAPTER TWO

The purpose of this modified grounded theory (GT) project was to explore the attitudes of multicultural/multilingual (MC/ML) Muslims in the Washington Metropolitan area toward the English language, American culture, their heritage languages and heritage cultures, and to generate a theory to explain how these attitudes were developed.

This literature review is divided into four sections:

1. the first section is a brief overview of the purpose of literature reviews in grounded theory projects;
2. the second section offers an overview of the context and background of the most influential work done on Muslim identity in the field of Middle Eastern studies;
3. the third section discusses the major studies that have explored Muslim identity and Muslim linguistic attitudes; and
4. the fourth section, the conclusion, discusses some of the main themes of research on Muslim identity and Muslim linguistic attitudes that are most relevant to the present dissertation project.

Literature Reviews in Grounded Theory Projects

While many mistakenly believe that grounded theory researchers must avoid reviewing literature in fear it may "contaminate the process" by introducing ideas in a researcher's thinking that didn't emerge from the data, Glaser (1992) states "being a good author of grounded theory requires a lot of reading" (p. 37). Glaser has some very specific advice about when, what and why a researcher should read. First, he divides literature into three categories and discusses their uses separately: 1. professional literature related to the substantive area; 2. professional literature unrelated to the substantive area under research; and 3. non-professional, popular and pure ethnographic descriptions. While I read literature from each category, this literature review discusses only works from the first category (professional literature related to the substantive area under research) that related to the focus of this dissertation project.

Related professional literature. Some grounded theory researchers do not generally write research questions or choose which substantive field their study will focus on until these emerge from the data, it is impossible to know what literature will be related to the study at hand. At the beginning of a study when researchers begin collecting and coding data, it is important that they do not "contaminate, be constrained by, inhibit, stifle or otherwise impede [their] effort to generate categories, their properties, and theoretical codes from the data" (Glaser, 1992, p. 31). As theory becomes "sufficiently grounded in a core variable and in an emerging integration of categories and properties, and the researcher is firm in their discovery of theory, the researcher's stance toward literature changes" (p. 32). The critical point here is that researchers should be

confident enough in their theory that reading related literature will not lead to their ideas being “forced or preconceived by preempting concepts” (p. 32). For the grounded theory researcher, literature is data, and so during the latter grounded theory process (saturation, densifying, sorting and writing), the researcher can use ideas from related literature to integrate, extend or vary their theory as well as sharpen their categories and look for other “integrative connections . . . as he [*sic*] compares his [*sic*] work to related literature . . . “ (Glaser, 1992, p. 33). As literature is read during the later stage, researchers can cover a large amount of literature very efficiently since they are reading with a purpose and only looking for what relates to the emerging theory as opposed to reading beforehand with no clear idea about what is or is not relevant. Researchers not only collect ideas from other researchers while reading their literature, but they should also focus on generating new ideas by, for example, making connections the authors did not see. Reading, however, is not done to negate or invalidate the work of others. Reading will make researchers more theoretically sensitive in that the ideas they glean and generate from reading will connect with emerging theory, making them more sensitive to what can be discovered in the data. Reading will also help guide theoretical sampling as gaps are discovered between theory and literature and researchers reflect on what data is needed to explain, for example, the lack of fit. Lastly, reading related literature will help the researchers integrate their grounded theory with the work of other researchers to show its contribution.

Unrelated professional literature. While related literature is avoided until near the end of the grounded theory project, unrelated literature can and should be pursued immediately at the outset. Reading unrelated literature has several uses. First, it helps

sharpen researchers' "theoretical sensitivity to conceptualization of data and to theoretical codes, which are replete in literature" (Glaser, 1992, p. 35). It also serves to introduce researchers to different models for writing up their report. Aspects of style that researchers should pay close attention to when reading are: "constructive techniques . . . such as rhetorical codes, integration schemes, densification, scope, clarity, sources of data and degree of grounding" (Glaser, 1992, p. 35).

Researchers should read unrelated literature in which the writer is working or struggling with data just as they are. Such literature could give researchers a good lead, or a tip or strategy that may prove useful, which in turn could further stimulate theoretical sampling.

Nonprofessional, popular and ethnographic literature. This range of literature includes "ethnographies, biographies, diaries, comments, manuscripts, records, reports, catalogues, etc." (Glaser, 1992, p. 37). It should be related to the area being studied, and it can be read at any stage of the research project.

This reading material provides more data to be analyzed using the constant comparative method. Just like data collected from the field, the data from this literature "help generate concepts and hypotheses" (Glaser, 1992, p. 37). One may worry about the authenticity, veracity and accuracy of such data, but researchers must rely on the constant comparative method as they do for the analysis of all data, and trust that this method will "correct through integration as it does for all generated concepts" (Glaser, 1992, p. 37).

The remainder of this literature review discusses professional literature that is related to the Muslim identity and linguistic attitudes. The next section focuses

specifically on the work of Bernard Lewis who has been one of the most influential writers on the topic of Muslim identity in the 20th century.

Research on Identity

Identity research can be traced back to the early 19th century when Whilhelm von Humboldt theorized that identity is a simple and direct extension of language: "The differences between languages are not those of sounds and signs but those of differing world views" (as cited in Allan, 2010, p. 162). For Humboldt, who is regarded as the father of linguistic relativity, the way we think and see the world is determined by the grammar of our language. He also hypothesized that European languages were better suited for critical thinking than other languages, thereby supporting the colonial ideology of spreading European languages for the betterment of humanity.

Although identity research has rejected Humboldt's theories which are steeped in linguistic determinism and racism, for much of the 20th century identity research tended to focus on people of European origin, and theories resulting from these studies tended to be greatly influenced by values associated with Western cultures (Bosma & Kunnen, 2001). For example, a coherent personal identity (one in which a person is committed to a set of goals, ideals, values, and beliefs) is associated with being healthy and well-adjusted. Identity exploration and openness are regarded as indicators of identity coherence, but these processes simply reflect values respected by Western cultures (Serafini & Adams, 2002). Being "well adjusted," then, is more of a measure of how "Western" a person is rather than an objective measure of identity coherence.

The most influential work on identity during the latter half of the 20th century is that of Erikson (1950, 1980). Erikson described eight stages of psycho-social development and viewed identity as a lifelong developmental process which occurred in stages, with each stage characterized by a crisis. The way people resolve these crises determines their identity and influences their future development. For example, Erikson (1950) believed that early in our adolescence we are faced with a crisis in which we must determine to what extent we will internalize and reflect the values of those around us. This crisis is pivotal, according to Erikson, and there will be lifelong consequences if it is negotiated unsuccessfully (i.e., if we go to either extreme of blindly adopting the values of those around us or rejecting them and isolating ourselves, thus becoming closed-minded).

Theorists have questioned the notion that identity development is tied to crises, pointing out how many people explore and experiment with different identities. For Gee (2000), identity is situated and contextualized: "The kind of person one is recognized as 'being' at a given time and place can change from moment to moment in the interaction, can change from context to context, and of course, can be ambiguous or unstable" (p. 99). Gee (2004) has referred to these dynamic changes in identity from context to context as "identity kits," stating that "it's almost as if you get a toolkit full of specific devices (i.e. ways with words, deeds, thoughts, values, actions, interactions, objects, tools, and technologies) in terms of which you can enact a specific identity" (p. 124).

It wasn't until the late 20th century when researchers began to question the universality of identity theories and explore ways in which identity may work differently

for people in non-European cultures. Globalism brings with it new challenges in determining the "health" or "well-adjustedness" of a person's identity. If we accept Erikson's (1980) definition of social identity as one's "inner solidarity with a group's ideals," how would one measure the coherence of an immigrant's identity (p. 109)? Would a well-adjusted immigrant's identity more closely align with the perspectives of their heritage culture, the receiving culture, both, or neither?

In the case of immigrants, Schwartz (2001) posited that identity can better be understood as a synthesis of personal, social, and cultural self-conceptions. While personal identity is a combination of goals, beliefs, and values a person embraces, and social identity relates to the group one identifies with, cultural identity is a "special case of social identity," which refers to a "sense of solidarity with the ideals of a given cultural group and to the attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors manifested toward one's own (and other) cultural groups as a result of this solidarity [Jensen, 2003; Roberts, Phinney, Masse, Chen, Roberts, & Romero, 1999]" (p. 6).

The task of constructing a coherent identity is often more complex for those immigrating from heritage cultures associated with fundamentally different interpretations of a well-adjusted identity. Serafini & Adams (2002) identified two cultural orientations related to identity formation: "Collectivist," which tends to focus more on imitation and identification; and "individualist," which emphasizes exploration and construction. Application of the concepts of identity confusion, identity distress, and identity coherence are problematic in the case of individuals who move between collectivist and individualist cultures. Furthermore, multiculturalism and multilingualism

become complicated when identities encompass such disparate cultural orientations, especially for adolescents in school.

For most of the 20th century, theorists and policymakers in the US viewed multilingualism and multiculturalism as problems best dealt with by using two strategies: Segregation and Americanization (Moll, 2010). Segregating Native American, Asian, African, and Latinx children from mainstream education, however, ensured the ostensible goal of Americanization would not be achieved. Even in the latter part of the 20th century when support in the US for multiculturalism grew, bicultural and multicultural identities created issues that schools in the US were not prepared to tackle.

For multicultural students, moving among cultures and constructing multiple identities may not be as straightforward as Gee's (2004) notion of simply reaching into the toolkit of identity and choosing devices (words, thoughts, beliefs, etc.) best suited for a specific context. Nieto (2008) argues that biculturalism is "neither facile nor uncomplicated, but full of inconsistencies and challenges" in that students are often faced with "terrifying situations in unfamiliar environments" which require them to "incorporate the cultural motifs of disparate values and behaviors" (p. 139).

Are bicultural/multicultural immigrants destined to experience confusion, alienation, isolation, and even terror at having to navigate across cultural boundaries? Research suggests personal identity can serve as an anchor during the process of transition and adaptation for nonwhite, non-Western immigrants living in Western nations (Schwartz, Montgomery, and Briones, 2006):

Personal identity. . . may play a protective role to the extent that its core remains

> stable. We contend that the person's personal identity—one's most fundamental goals, values, and beliefs and the coherence among these ideals—has the potential to stabilize the individual during the transition to a new society. The presence of a coherent set of goals, ideals, values, and beliefs may help individuals decide how to proceed in the face of such incompatibilities, whereas lack of coherence in one's personal identity may render one susceptible to the extremes of either the new receiving culture or one's culture of origin (p. 11).

Additionally, research suggests rejecting the heritage culture's core ideals, values, and beliefs and adopting those of the receiving culture is associated with self-destructive behavior among adolescent immigrants (Gil, Wagner, & Vega, 2000; Ford & Norris, 1993).

Borders and boundaries, however, are problematic when it comes to cultures and identities. Grimson (2010) pointed out that a person can be "symbolically close to someone on the other side of the planet and extremely distant from his/her neighbor" (p. 62). Borders between nations no longer indicate cultural boundaries, and they do not always coincide with identity boundaries. We "become foreigners when we arrive 'someplace else' that is another symbolic spatiality, and not necessarily a physically distant place" (pp. 62-63). Assigning all migrants in the same country a "diasporic identity" is problematic and is an act of essentialization because not all migrants interrelate or construct the same identity (p. 66).

For Grimson (2010), the idea that race and place of origin indicate a shared cultural identity must be "denaturalized," and it is only by studying migrants

ethnographically and historically that we can "answer questions of the when, where and who of a particular diaspora" (p. 67). In recent years, however, many academic studies of have adopted an anticultural approach to migrant identity by "unhooking" identity from culture and overemphasizing the role of politics and conflict. Grimson (2010) suggested we "focus a little less on academic trends and a little more on how real people experience the phenomena under discussion" (p. 70).

The kind of ethnographic identity studies Grimson (2010) recommends have been carried out on Muslims living as immigrants in Western cultures. These studies have found that Muslim immigrants in the West developed different strategies to construct coherent identities. Clinging to the heritage culture as an "anchor" while developing a multicultural identity may not be a panacea for helping immigrants develop a coherent identity. Research suggests Muslim immigrants may have significant difficulties integrating their identities with Western cultures (Saroglou and Galand, 2004), and the core beliefs of their heritage culture may be responsible for their reluctance to engage with Western culture. Muslims may experience considerable identity distress when they feel embracing the ideals of the receiving Western culture is "sinful" and a "betrayal of the traditional religious faith" (p. 16).

Further complicating the process of acculturation for Muslim adolescent immigrants is the fact that they may also be placed in ELL (English language learner) classes. While home and school cultures may be a source of conflict for immigrant students, schools also have multiple communities which ascribe students with differing degrees of agency (Chen, 2010). Being identified as an ELL typically places a student in

a position of low status, which means Muslim immigrant ELLs, then, are faced with a particularly difficult task of acculturation.

Muslims are often faced with the dilemma that "you either integrate or disintegrate" (with integration often indicating assimilation) (Sivanandan, 2009, p. 82). Bhatti's (2011) study of four adolescent male immigrant ELLs from Pakistan who lived in the UK found that "Religion, race, gender and social class combine with shifting political and ethnic affiliations to create a complex, multi-layered changing reality" (p. 94). The boys felt that to integrate meant to assimilate, and they were haunted by the stereotypes of Muslim immigrants as terrorists and sought ways to distance themselves from that stereotype while simultaneously attempting to understand what it meant to be British. They found themselves positioned as cultural insiders and outsiders, and at times they found it difficult to identify with either.

Some studies have highlighted the fact that adolescent Muslim immigrants in Western nations have developed strategies to avoid assimilating by integrating competing ideals from receiving and heritage cultures. Separate studies of teenaged Muslim girls of African descent living in Paris (Keaton, 1999) and in the Netherlands (Ketner, Buitelaar, & Bosma, 2004) found these girls had developed complex identities that integrated their desires to be modern and traditional, synthesizing seemingly contradictory ideals into a coherent identity. While the media often portrays such immigrant children as being "caught between two worlds," the girls were not "passive and conformist victims of their tradition," but "agents of cultural transformation" and the "'barometer' of their changing world" (Ketner et al., 2004, pp. 166-167).

Another identity strategy developed by Muslims living a Western culture was described by Chaudhury and Miller (2008). Focusing on religious identity formation among Muslims living in the US, the researchers identified two identity orientations among Bangladeshi American Muslims. They refer to the first orientation as "external seekers," which describes those who "look outside of their religion for answers, exploring other faiths or abandoning religion altogether, before making a decision about their personal religious stance" (p. 395). "Internal seekers," however, "look within their religion to resolve any conflicts or questions that they have about their faith" (p. 396). While these immigrants were assigned an ethnic identity without choice, their religious identity was asserted, and these two orientations represented the way they had chosen to exercise their agency.

The pervasiveness of globalism with its roots in Western cultures means Muslims who reside within their heritage cultures must face many of the same identity issues that face Muslims who have immigrated to Western nations. Muslims in the Muslim world, for example, develop divergent orientations toward English—using standard English in support of a "global(ist)" identity and using a nativized dialect of English as part of a "local(ist)" identity:

> The globalist orientation looks outwards at the world, and the localist looks within. The association of two distinct ways of speaking English with the two opposing cultural orientations demonstrates the bipolarity of speaker orientations in terms of goals, preoccupations and practices. (Alsagoff, 2010, p. 343)

In summary, Muslims who have migrated to Western nations as well as those still residing in their heritage cultures are faced with a similar task when it comes to identity construction. They must develop strategies to construct identities which account for the sometimes-conflicting ideals and perspectives they associate with Western culture, globalism, Islam, and heritage cultures. There are four main strategies researchers have identified:

1. Occupying a third space between cultural "insiders" and "outsiders;"
2. Integrating heritage and receiving cultural ideals and perspectives to create a hybrid identity;
3. Moving between global and local identities; and
4. Choosing to either look outside or inside their religious traditions for answers.

The next section focuses specifically on the work of Bernard Lewis who has been one of the most influential writers on the topic of Muslim identity in the 20th century.

Context and Background of Most Important Work Done on Muslim Identity

The notion of "Muslim identity" has been examined by researchers working in a variety of fields, including but not limited to: language studies, ESL, political science, cultural studies, post-colonial studies, economics, history, Near Eastern studies, religion, public policy, education, anthropology, and psychology. The majority of studies that explore Muslim identity focus on Muslim immigrants living in the West or English-speaking Muslims living in the Muslim world, where English is often associated with colonialism and missionary activities. The purpose of these studies is generally to determine how Muslims cope with living in a country or speaking a language associated

with cultural norms and values that are often considered or assumed to be at odds with the traditional Muslim worldview.

The most influential writing on Muslim identity has emanated from the field of Middle Eastern/Near Eastern studies over the past two centuries. Edward Said (1978)—one of the most outspoken critics of the field and one of the founders of Post-Colonial studies—argued that much of the work of Middle Eastern studies scholars could be classified as "Orientalism," a complex, "subtle and persistent Eurocentric prejudice against Arabo-Islamic people and their culture" (Ranjan, 2015, p. 88). Despite such harsh criticism, the work of Orientalists on Muslim identity is by far more influential than similar studies produced in other academic fields because their findings "have served, and continue to serve, as implicit justifications for the colonial and imperialist ambition of the European powers and the United States" (Ranjan, 2015, p. 88). Not only is the work of Orientalists on Muslim identity often pressed into service as a justification for foreign policy, but it also is more likely to influence popular opinions as many Orientalists are invited to share their views on Islam and Muslim identity as guests on nationally televised news and political opinion shows.

The influential work of Bernard Lewis. One particular renowned scholar of Near Eastern studies, Bernard Lewis, has had pervasive influence on other academics as well as popular opinion regarding Islam and Muslim identity. Lewis has devoted seven decades to studying Islam's relationship with the West, and Edward Said (1978) highlights his work as a prime example of Orientalism. A major theme of his work is his analysis of how the once magnificent Muslim Empire became stagnant and fell to

Christendom. Much of Lewis' work has been devoted to deconstructing the Muslim response to this fall, and in doing so he has become one of the foremost authorities on Islam and the history of the Muslim world. Lewis (2002) points out that from the 7th to 17th centuries, Islamic culture was associated with intellectual curiosity, great wealth, powerful military strength, scientific discovery, and philosophical speculation. Having achieved and sustained such a high level of success, Muslims could hardly be blamed for viewing Western Europe as

> …a kind of outer darkness of barbarism and unbelief, a primitive tribe beyond the border to which they gave understandably little attention. There was nothing to fear and nothing to learn. On the contrary, it was the Europeans who went to the great Muslim universities in Spain, in Sicily and in the East. In those centuries, Europe—meaning Christendom as Muslims saw it—was a poor benighted backwater. (Lewis, 2002)

Lewis (2002) argues that things gradually changed, starting with the second Turkish siege of Vienna in 1683. He reminds us that up to that time, European powers did not ask *if* the Ottoman Empire would conquer Europe, but *when*. As the Ottoman Empire weakened and Western European powers grew more confident, Lewis asks: "What went wrong? There was a growing awareness that Muslims, who had always been victorious, were now losing on the battlefield, in the marketplace and, in fact, in every significant field of human endeavor" (Lewis, 2002).

My initial interest in Muslim identity began with that very notion—Lewis' idea that Muslims suddenly found themselves having to adapt to a culture and worldview that

they had traditionally considered vastly inferior to their own. While Muslims were not the first people to see their empire fall, there was—in Lewis' eyes—something about Islam and its rise that made it more enduring, more than just one of history's great civilizations that would fade into history. While modern day Greeks and Romans could look back at their ancient civilizations with great pride, Muslims, according to Lewis (1990), find no solace in looking back at their former glory. Rather, they feel an insufferable sense of loss.

This sense of loss comes from the fact that Islam, the world's first truly global faith, was suddenly bereft of its global empire. It had dominated all who challenged it from the 7th to the 17th centuries. Lewis is not alone in his appreciation for the uniqueness of the Muslim empire. The historian Michael Hart (1993) describes Islam's rise from a handful of believers to an empire as one of the "most astonishing series of conquests in human history" and ranks Muhammad as the most influential person in history as he is "the only man in history who was supremely successful on both the religious and secular levels" (p. 3).

For Muslims, Islam's compelling rise as an empire was a sign of the veracity of its claim to be a divinely ordained revision of Judaism and Christianity. According to Lewis, the fact that there is no longer a Muslim empire that signifies in political power what Islam embodies in divine truth presents a problem for modern day Muslims. What are they to do? Has the loss of empire led to a loss of faith? Or do Muslims simply interpret the fall of their empire as part of the natural order of things, and thus join the ranks of the Greeks and Romans as a people with a once glorious past? Or have Muslims

taken it upon themselves as a religious duty to resurrect their empire and bring about the downfall of Christendom and anything else that stands in the way? These are extremely complex questions. They cut right to the root of the identity of the modern Muslim. *Or do they?*

Critique of Bernard Lewis' work. The question above in italics is my question. It is not a question Lewis and most Near Eastern scholars would ask. This is the point where I part ways with Lewis and other Orientalists. For Lewis, there is no question—only an answer. And the answer is his answer: Muslims do indeed feel a sense of great loss. In Lewis's (1990) words, they experience "Muslim rage" for having squandered the opportunity to complete the final step of global domination. For Lewis, the answer is literally in the pages of history—the history texts he has studied and written for more than seventy years. These texts show that Muslim encounters with the West are but a succession of jihads and crusades. Ask Lewis to discuss Muslim identity and he will point to these texts. For him, that is where "the Muslim" exists.

It is important to note two things about Lewis' analysis of the relationship between Islam and the West. First, he tends to think of Islam and the West as distinct global entities. Secondly, he considers rivalry and conflict inherent in the relationship between these two entitles. These two points represent a recurring theme in many of his works. Although Lewis is not the first scholar to focus on conflict between Islam and the West, and he is just one of the many thousands who study this relationship, I consider him the most influential for two reasons. First, his work in this field spans no less than seven decades (his first book, *The Origins of Islamism,* was published in 1940). Second,

in addition to being an historian, he is also a respected and popular political commentator. Although his expertise is Turkish history, Lewis has been called upon by several presidential administrations, national media outlets and various think tanks to expound upon a range of controversial topics, including American foreign policy in the Middle East, Iran's nuclear capabilities, the invasion of Iraq, and the immigration of Muslims into Western Europe and the US.

Lewis has written extensively on the relationship between Islam and the West, and he invariably portrays this relationship as two irreconcilable and clashing worldviews. Lewis illustrates how different Western and Islamic worldviews are when he discusses the state of Middle East studies in a seminal article published in 1979. Lewis argues that Western scholars of Islam are somehow immune to bias and are motivated by a lofty desire to seek truth, whereas non-Europeans suffer from a "difficulty of perception . . . [and] even now, non-European civilizations still have the greatest difficulty in understanding intellectual curiosity of this kind" (Lewis, 1979, pp. 366-367). According to Lewis, Western scholarship on Islam and Muslims is fueled by a motivation unique in human history: Intellectual curiosity. Lewis derides Egyptians, for example, for imputing false motives, such as treasure hunting or espionage, to European Egyptologists. These false accusations are said to be the result of non-Europeans' inability to understand how European scholars are inspired by the simple desire to find truth. Edward Said (1981), however, reminds Lewis that motivation is rarely so one-dimensional, and that European archeologists reaped career-enhancing rewards for their discoveries. Lewis' positioning of Western scholars as unbiased is, in Said's (1981) words, "a deliberate attempt to

conceal the connections between scholarship and what we might call worldliness, for the sake of maintaining the fiction of nonpartisan and unpolitical scholarly truth" (p. 132).

While the West is characterized by its desire to seek out truth, even when that truth engenders no economic or political benefits, the Muslim world, according to Lewis, is driven by a much more worldly desire. Specifically, Lewis has ominously referred to Islam as a threat to the survival of Western civilization during his media appearances. After driving the USSR from Afghanistan, Lewis believes Muslims have now set their sights on the US, which he considers the only thing that stands between Islam and world domination. Such statements have earned Lewis a fair share of critics. In an interview, Noam Chomsky declared Lewis "a vulgar propagandist and not a scholar" (Chomsky, 2002). Interestingly, the founders of Stop the Islamization of America, Robert Spencer and Pamela Geller, have also criticized Lewis, with Geller vilifying the man who warns Europe of a Muslim-takeover as an apologist for Islam (Geller, 2013). This kind of banter typifies the dialogue among those who need to create a certain perception of Islam and Muslim identity in order to market their political observations and solutions.

The relationship between Islam and the West has changed drastically since the 17th century, but where does it stand now? The historian Francis Fukuyama (1992) suggested we are now witnessing the "end of history" when he declared Western-style democracy and free market capitalism the pinnacle of human evolution. While Lewis may not agree with Fukuyama's assertion that history has come to an end, he does agree that the West, with its Judeo-Christian values, has proven its superiority to Islam. Lewis

reminds us, however, that the fate of Western civilization is at stake and it depends on one thing: An appropriate response by "the West" to "Muslim rage."

Bernard Lewis' perspective on Muslims immigrating to West tends to be apocalyptic. The West (and all its cultural, political and economic achievement) teeters precariously on the edge of doom, Lewis contends. A battle royale looms, one that will not be over this or that insignificant tract of territory. It will be a battle for all the marbles. It will be us vs. them. The enemy is not us, but *among* us. And we are woefully ignorant of the enemy's hatred of us. We have forgotten that we saved our souls when we turned Muslims back at the gates of Vienna. In our slumber, we naively opened the gates and let them walk right in, Lewis (1990) asserts. They are here now, and they have come to reverse the course of history. In their eyes, we should see our end.

These are very alluring ideas. They play well before many audiences: They contain enough academic content (i.e., the concern for the perseverance of Western civilization) to appeal to intellectuals, and enough fearmongering to create political strife. Lapidus (1993) in his review of Lewis' book *Islam and the West*, criticizes Lewis' tendency to essentialize Muslim identity when he observes that "The old formulas are no longer the key to the much more complex present situation" (p. 8). Still, Lewis' ideas about Islam and Muslim identity continue to be highly sought-after commodities among media outlets with anti-immigrant perspectives.

In comparison with the apocalyptic nature of Lewis' views on Islam and the West, other questions about Muslim identity appear mundane. But mundane, sobering questions need to be asked lest we become drunk on Lewis' intoxicating mantra. How do Muslims

in this or that community see themselves? How do Muslims distinguish themselves from other Muslims, people of other faiths, other Americans? What do they feel about migrating to non-Muslim countries? Near Eastern scholars have little use for such questions and would likely sneer at the suggestion that their theories of Muslim identity lose credibility since they are not grounded in this type of data. Lewis attempted to stifle such criticism when he accused non-Europeans of having a "difficulty of perception" (Lewis, 1979, p. 367).

With the disappearance of such unifying concepts as "Christendom" and the "Muslim empire" due to globalism and its emphasis on the fluidity of borders and identities, is it still possible to think of Islam, Muslims, and the West in binary and oppositional terms? Many theorists, however, embrace Lewis' Orientalist framework and view Islam/Muslims and the West as still occupying two vastly different territories of the mind, even if they do share the same geographical space.

Does the rivalry between these two forces of Islam and the West still exist? Where and how are the battles, if any, fought? Have battles over territory now transformed into battles over minds? Is there a feeling among Muslims who live in the West that they represent (or are perceived to represent) a way of thinking and being that cannot be integrated (or tolerated) with the ways of the West? Or is that merely a myth being peddled by a few Near Eastern scholars who need to keep the old conflicts alive so that they, armed with their ancient texts and grave demeanors, remain relevant in a world that sees little value in rehashing ancient battles? Is the turmoil we see today the result of a few displaced Muslims, Communists, and anarchists who are struggling with their

dying breaths to topple the new world order? Is Fukuyama (1992) right—has history ended? Are we left to ponder with Peggy Lee: Is that all there is?

Barber (1992) paradoxically stated that "the planet is falling precipitantly apart *and* coming reluctantly together at the very same moment" (p. 53). How does this falling apart and coming together play out in the minds of Muslims, or does it? In light of Barber's observation, do Muslims feel that they are simultaneously drawn to and repulsed by the experience of living in the West? Do Muslims even think of the world in terms of Islam vs. the West, or Islam vs. the rest? Is it possible such grand dialectics exist only in the minds of Near Eastern scholars, such as Lewis and Barber, and the ideological warriors and "jihadists" who strive to keep the old divisions alive? To find possible answers to these questions, these questions first need to be asked.

Educational and sociological research on Muslim identity. While Lewis' work on Muslim identity towers above all other work on the same topic in its pervasive influence, there have been dozens of educational and sociological studies that have explored Muslim identity. Most of these studies include an exploration of Muslims' linguistic attitudes, similar to that of the present project. The next section of this literature review provides an overview of the major research done on Muslim identity and linguistic attitudes over the past quarter of a century by researchers mainly in the fields of education and sociology.

Muslim identity and Muslim linguistic attitudes. The study of linguistic attitudes interconnects with a multitude of other research topics related to language, culture and identity. When we discuss a language or compare two or more languages, we

express our attitudes, beliefs, and feelings, about them, the people who speak them, and the cultures/religions they are a part of, either directly or indirectly. This is why the study of linguistic attitudes is at the intersection of language, culture, and identity.

A researcher exploring linguistic attitudes typically asks questions similar to the following:

1. What roles do particular languages play in the lives, families, communities and cultures of a participant?
2. How do these roles compare to those of the participant's heritage language?
3. How does learning another language and using it in certain aspects of life affect a participant's linguistic, cultural, social, and religious identities? and
4. How do the participants feel about those who speak this or that language and those who do not?

Researchers study linguistic attitudes for three main purposes: 1. To explore why bilinguals have a more positive or negative attitude toward one language (e.g., Dewaele, 2005); 2. to investigate the psychological effects of learning another language on identity formation (e.g., Downes, 2001); and 3. to examine the social, political and cultural consequences of the spread of English as a global, intercultural language (e.g., Oakes, 2005; Erling, 2007). Studies of English language learner (ELL) attitudes toward English in the post-colonial world are especially interesting in that they often explore all three purposes at once (e.g., Mahboob, 2009; Kim, 2003; Crismore, Ngeow & Soo, 1996).

How are linguistic attitudes measured? Studies of linguistic attitudes are generally qualitative (a few are mixed methods) and usually use a combination of three tools: Matched-guise technique, questionnaires, and interviews. Some studies use a matched-guise technique (or a variation thereof) in which participants listen to a polyglot speak languages with different accents (e.g., American, British, or a local accent), and/or speak multiple languages (English and/or the native language and/or another foreign language). Participants are typically asked to rate their response to each language, accent, or dialect on a Likert scale, indicating how favorable their opinions are of each language, accent and/or dialect.

Studies also often employ questionnaires in which participants respond to statements concerning language using a Likert scale. These questionnaires typically range from ten to twenty statements, containing such statements such as "If I have children, I would like them to be English speakers regardless of other languages they may know" (Lasagabaster, 2003, p. 597). Bilingual studies, such as Lasagabaster (2003), will often use two questionnaires, one with statements about English and an identical one with statements about the native language.

Lastly, interviews are another tool used by most studies that allow researchers to follow up on questionnaire or matched-guise responses. Many qualitative studies, however, use only interviews.

Where is research on ELL attitudes toward English carried out? Research on ELL attitudes toward English is carried out on every continent, from Western democracies, such as the UK (Brown & Sachdev, 2009) and Germany (Erling, 2007), and

the developing world, such as Argentina (Friedrich, 2003) and China (Young & Yee, 2006), to post-colonial settings, such as Malaysia (Crismore et al., 1996) and Pakistan (Rahman, 2005), and industrialized Asian nations, such as Japan (Hino, 2009) and Singapore (Bokhorst-Heng & Caleon, 2009). While research on the linguistic attitudes of ELLs is also carried out in North America, it is typically limited to Canada (Winer, 2007). The US is conspicuously absent from the long list of countries where researchers explore ELL attitudes toward English. While a handful of studies have touched upon ELL attitudes toward English in the US (e.g., Song, 2010), researchers in the US typically focus on the attitudes of "mainstream" teachers toward ELLs (e.g., Youngs & Youngs, 2001; O'Brien, 2009; Karabenick & Noda, 2004; Jenelle, 2006).

Muslims are among the least studied members of the ELL community in the US (Peek, 2005). No other community of ELLs faces the psychological, socio-political, cultural and religious issues the Muslim world has wrestled with during the ascendancy of English. While Muslims living in the US have been the focus of several cultural, sociological, and anthropological studies (e.g., Peek, 2005; Haddad & Esposito, 2000; Kahera, 2002; Naber, 2000; Read, 2003; Read & Bartkowski, 2000; Leonard, 2003; Walbridge, 1999; Smith, 1999; and Waugh, Abu-Laban, & Qureshi, 1991), not a single study, however, has been carried out on the attitudes of MC/ML Muslims living in the US toward the English language.

Why study the linguistic attitudes of ML/MC Muslims? While most regions of the world have adopted English as at least a co-language of politics, commerce and education, the Muslim world—the only region to stand toe to toe against Western

political, economic, religious, and cultural expansion over the past thirteen centuries—continues to have one of the most problematic relationships with the English language. In light of the fact that widespread use of English in the Muslim world remains an extremely controversial issue that continues to be met with resistance, and the fact that in the US, Muslims have come under intense scrutiny after 9-11, it would be enlightening to explore how MC/ML English-speaking Muslims living in the US view English and their heritage languages. Such research would possibly reveal and help explain divisions among MC/ML Muslims in their attitudes toward a language that has played such a disruptive role in their regions' and cultures' history, bringing to light the diversity of opinions among a community that is often portrayed in the popular media in simplistic, binary terms. Huda (2006) points out that there are many Islamic organizations and communities in the US that are ethnically, culturally and politically diverse, a fact that illustrates not only their ethnic and cultural diversity, "but also of the diversity of views in understanding themselves as Americans, particularly their developing identities in a country that is at war" (p. 188).

What are Muslim ELL attitudes toward English? In particular, studies concerning the attitudes of Muslim students toward the English language are especially interesting in that they often explore psychological, social, cultural, and political issues and conflicts related to the spread of English in the Muslim world (e.g., Mahboob, 2009; Kim, 2003; Crismore et al., 1996). In 1992, Barber divided the world into two opposing camps in his article "Jihad vs. McWorld," terms he used to symbolize tribalism against globalism. A Muslim student's attitude toward English, then, may not reflect merely a

linguistic attitude, but a position in relation to globalism and its relationship to the traditional Muslim identity. Studies of Muslim ELL attitudes toward English have been carried out in Saudi Arabia (Elyas, 2008), Jordan (Zughoul, 1984; Al-Saidat, 2009), Malaysia (Mohd-Asraf, 2005; Washima et al., 1996; Crismore et al., 1996; Kim, 2003), and Pakistan (Rahman, 2005). In general, these studies typically find that several variables often are associated with Muslims students' attitudes toward English, including gender, college major, socio-economic background, religious perspectives, and attitude toward the heritage language.

What do studies of Muslim ELL attitudes toward English usually find? One has to do little more than glance at the titles of works dealing with the spread of English in the Muslim world to see that all is not well: English and Islam in Malaysia: Resolving the tension;

- English, 'terror', and Islam;
- The Muslim response to English in South Asia;
- Petro-Linguistics: The emerging nexus between oil, English, and Islam; McWorld vs. Jihad; and
- English and Islam: A clash of civilizations?

The dominance of English in the Muslim world has given rise to many literacy issues that are complicated by the fact that they tend to be inextricably interwoven with controversial political, theological, ideological, historical, philosophical, ethical, psychological, sociological, and economic issues. Further complicating the matter is the fact that this topic evokes many passions as it attracts a wide range of ideological

perspectives. Discourse can quickly become less than civil as rival camps highlight certain issues related to the relationship between English and Islam to buttress their particular ideological view of the region. For example, there is a popular perception that English and Islam are somehow intrinsically at odds with each other, as if they are both vying for the souls of Muslims, but there is little agreement about how their oppositional relationship plays out in the Muslim World and in the lives of Muslims.

The term "English" rarely is used to denote the language itself, but it may mean a number of different things depending on the researcher's perspective: The dominant international language and key to expanding globalism; a vehicle for American political and economic domination; a relic of colonialism; a linguistic and socio-economic scourge polarizing societies in the developing world; a conduit for secular humanist values; a tool for modernization; or even an antidote for radical Islam.

Likewise, the term "Islam," when used in opposition to "English," does not indicate the set of beliefs and practices passed down from the prophet Muhammad some 1,400 years ago. Researchers use Islam to symbolize an assortment of phenomena, including the only force capable of challenging "McWorld"; the power of traditional values; an anti-modern worldview; a monolithic identity; a threat to global peace; a threat to globalism; an obstacle to assimilation; a militaristic response to Western expansion; or the antidote for materialism and moral bankruptcy.

Although this literature review does not exclude any works based on their perspectives or socio-political orientations, it does focus on works that explore attitudes of Muslims toward the English language and their heritage language and culture, and how

these attitudes influence identity construction. Some influential works that focus mainly on political interpretations of the English language, globalism, Islam, American culture, and Muslim cultures will be discussed in order to illustrate the contentious and complex context that studies on Muslim cultural and linguistic attitudes and Muslim identity take place within.

Research dealing with the attitudes of Muslim students toward English is difficult to summarize in general terms because the studies differ widely in purpose. Some studies include non-Muslim participants (e.g., Kim, 2003; Abu-Rabia, 2003; Zughoul & Taminian, 1984), others focus on finding differences in attitudes among groups of Muslims studying in different educational settings or who have different college majors (e.g., Rahman, 2005; Malallah, 2000; Elyas, 2008), while other studies explore students' attitudes toward English in relation to native language and Islam (e.g., Mohd-Asraf, 2005; Washima et al., 1996).

Despite differences in purpose, there are some important similarities among many of these studies. First, they typically take place in the Muslim world (spanning through the Middle East, Asia, and South Asia). Second, these studies tend to focus on students in secondary schools and universities, generally employing questionnaires and semi-structured interviews to collect data.

The findings of many of these studies are also similar. For example, most studies find that Muslim students, regardless of their attitudes toward English, view knowledge of the language as an absolute must in a global world and do not see its pervasiveness as a threat to their linguistic and cultural identities. Furthermore, participants in these studies

typically do not view English as a threat to their identity as Muslims. In fact, some studies have actually found Muslim students expressing the view that learning English is a duty they must perform as Muslims (Washima et al., 1996). Other studies have explored the idea that some Muslim schools have "Islamized" English by attempting to remove any trace of its colonial baggage and cultural values (Mahboob, 2009). In studies which include students from different socio-economic backgrounds, students who are more conservative or traditional in their religion tend to have less positive views of English, while those who are more liberal tend to have a more positive view of English (Rahman, 2005; Zughoul & Taminian, 1984).

English-speaking Muslims (both in the Muslim world and in diaspora communities) have been the subject of several studies which explore issues related to identity construction. Many of these studies examine the strategies these non-native speakers employ to integrate English's assumed modern, Western perspective with their traditional Islamic identity. Since the events of September 11, 2001, researchers have shown special interest in how English-speaking Muslims respond to the perceived "war on Islam" and the effect of this on their identities. Additionally, linguists have examined the changing US language policy in the Muslim world and how Muslim nations have responded.

Islam in a post 9/11 context. The educational systems and religious teachings of the Muslim world have come under intense scrutiny after the destruction of the World Trade Center and other terrorist acts associated with Osama bin Laden and his Al-Qaida network (Sajjad, 2013). As the language of the new advent of "American Globalism,"

English has been pitted against what many consider to be the biggest obstacle in the way of the US global domination: Islam (McDaniel, 2003). Phillipson (1992) coined the term "linguistic imperialism" to describe the hegemonic process that has led to the rise of English as an international language, a process he perceives as a neo-colonial expansion of US and British interests. Karmani (2005) provides an example of how language is an integral part of imperialist expansion when he examines the post 9/11 war on terror policy of the US, which encourages the Muslim world to adopt an educational policy of "more English and less Islam" (p. 263). He believes that English is being used as the major part of a corrective mission aimed at changing the Muslim identity by making the Muslim worldview more compatible with US foreign policy.

English vs. Islam. Karmani (2005) also discusses issues that arise from "teaching English as an international language in Muslim educational contexts" (p. 262). The title of his article ("English, 'terror', and Islam") is telling, and it reveals the contentious political conflict he believes exists between the world's most powerful language and one of its most powerful religions. He views Islam and English in oppositional terms, describing their intersection in schools and politics as creating a linguistic battlefront. Karmani believes the 9/11 terrorist strikes have been used to justify an "extraordinary unprecedented degree of pressure" being put on Muslim governments to reform their educational curricula, "the underlying belief being that current educational systems in place in the Muslim world were partly responsible for motivating the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon" (p. 262). He points to a US Congressional resolution that accuses textbooks used in Saudi schools as fostering views characterized

as “intolerance, ignorance, anti-Semitic, anti-American, and anti-Western,” and were a threat to national, regional, and global security (p. 262).

Madrasas and English. The colonial legacy of English in South Asia still causes Muslims to respond to the language in different and often political ways. Even in present day Pakistan, some sixty years after independence, Rahman (2005) found that English still played a divisive political role. In a survey of Pakistani students (grades 10 and 11) enrolled in “elitist” English medium schools, cadet colleges, Urdu medium schools, and madrasas (i.e, traditional Islamic schools), Rahman found the greatest discrepancies in attitudes between students from English medium schools and those enrolled in madrasas. The English medium students were largely in favor of equal rights for other religious groups, while students from madrasas were not. English medium students also opposed militant policies in Kashmir, while madrasa students did not. Students in English medium schools also were in favor of gender equality, while students in madrasas were not. Rahman (2005) does not equate the vastly different responses of students from English medium schools and madrasas as an indication of a healthy diversity of opinions and attitudes toward English among Muslim secondary students, but as evidence of “the apartheid of language” (p. 132). Rahman sees the militant Islamists who control the madrasas as denying students access to other perspectives, even to the point of printing their own English textbooks in order to purge the language of any discourses that would challenge their militant perspectives. Students in English medium schools, however, gain access to a wider range of discourses, including “liberal circles in the Islamic world as well as the West and the rest of the world” (p. 131). Kim’s (2003) findings in her study of

fourteen Malaysian college students who majored in English support Rahman's theory. The students in Kim's study found that learning English helped them "decenter from their own culture or singular cultural viewpoint" (p. 149).

Karmani (2005) indicates that madrasas in Pakistan and Afghanistan have also been targeted as producing terrorists, with US Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld portraying the schools as hampering the war on terror, which led to calls for Muslim countries to introduce a more secular curriculum. Responding to the growing pressure, many Muslim countries adopted a "more English and less Islam" approach characterized by cutting back on time students spend studying Arabic and Islam and increasing the time they study English (Karmani, 2005, p. 263).

Rahman's (2005) view of these traditional Islamic schools is extremely different from that of Karmani (2005). Whereas Karmani challenges Donald Rumsfeld's view that these schools are essentially terrorist factories, Rahman interprets his data to indicate that madrasas do indeed pose a serious problem to the political stability of Pakistan, but this situation is not caused by the US language policy. Both researchers, however, appear to agree that madrasas are being used as pawns in a greater conflict, but Karmani questions the US's reasoning and right to determine this ancient institution's curricula, and Rahman questions the militant Islamists' right to indoctrinate students and isolate them from other perspectives.

Shift in US language policy. Karmani (2005) points out that US involvement in the educational systems of Muslim countries for political purposes is not unprecedented but represents a reversal in language policy. The US produced a series of textbooks for

Afghani children in two local languages which contained images of "war, hatred, and jihad," which he sees as an attempt to create "an entire generation of jihadist warriors that would participate in the Afghan jihad against the Russian 'infidels'" (p. 264). The current language policy reversal results from "shifting political alliances in the current international power struggle for greater control of the Middle East," and is driven by three beliefs about how English can play a role in the war on terror (p. 264):

1. Muslim languages (especially Arabic) are "inherently programmed to promote a militant Islamic mindset" (p. 264);

2. English is "exclusively endowed to promote the values of freedom, democracy, justice, openness, tolerance, [and] decency" (p. 265); and

3. "a certain dosage of teaching English can supposedly help suppress a latent radical Islamic disposition" (p. 265).

To illustrate the fallacy of at least two of these assertions, Karmani (2005) confirms that all nineteen 9/11 hijackers were "middle-class, westernized Arabs" who spoke English (p. 265).

Karmani (2005) reminds TESOL professionals in the Muslim world that they need to be cognizant of their roles as potential tools for "delivering global ideologies . . . diametrically in conflict with the worldviews of our Muslim learners" and consider how they may unwittingly become "de-Islamising agents on the linguistic front between 'Islam and English'" (p. 266).

English and secularism. Karmani and Pennycook (2005) argue that "English" is not just a language but a complex symbol representing a bundle of worldviews, including

"modernity, secularization, and particular cultural and political formulations" (p. 158). "Islam," on the other hand, has become "a major symbol of mobilization against what is rightly seen as the hegemony of Western capital, culture and worldviews" (p. 158). Karmani and Pennycook (2005) also argue that to encourage schools in the Muslim world to adopt a more secular curriculum that devotes more time to English language study with its promise of economic and cultural riches is to advocate a drastic transformation that may have great socio-religious and political repercussions. For example, the researchers indicate that as part of a three billion dollar aid package, Pakistan is working with the US on introducing more modern subjects, such as English, into madrasa curricula—an educational system that traditionally has been responsible for inculcating each generation with cultural and spiritual worldviews.

Although English was used to develop anti-colonial movements in India, Africa and South East Asia, Karmani and Pennycook (2005) point out that this actually helped strengthen the position of English in the world, with consequences including creating class divisions between the English-speaking elites and non-English-speakers. They theorize that political figures in the Muslim world are also classified linguistically, with those who speak English well being perceived as more benign compared to those who insist on speaking their native languages. They point out that the US appointed two figures fluent in American English, Hamid Karzai and Ahmad Chalabi, to govern Afghanistan and Iraq respectively. Karmani and Pennycook (2005) suggest these appointments stem from "linguistic naivety" emanating from the "monolingual ideologies of the British and American empires" that naïvely posits that "if everyone speaks English,

they'll also follow a particular agenda" (p. 167). Such beliefs are also evident in the British Home Secretary's advice to British Asians to abandon speaking ethnic languages at home to "prevent schizophrenic rifts between generations of families" (Karmani & Pennycook, 2005, p. 166).

Karmani and Pennycook (2005) also recognize the necessity of using English to empower "alternative voices" as they "oppose domains of pro-English policy (particularly policies such as those supporting native speakers and opposing bilingual education, or using English to promote particular ideological positions)" (p. 162). Realizing that a culture that attempts to shut itself off from the rest of the world puts itself in a position of weakness, they do not believe English should be completely opposed and resisted. They consider the possibility that English can be appropriated "for Islamic purposes" (p. 163).

English as a missionary language. Karmani and Pennycook (2005) indicate the growing trend of using English language teaching in the Muslim world as a missionary strategy aimed at using the power of English to spread Christianity. They discuss a variety of perspectives from which one could view this type of missionary activity, from the secular humanist viewpoint that makes the classroom off limits to proselytizing, to the position that classrooms are places for the free exchange of cultural and political ideas (Karmani & Pennycook, 2005, p. 169). They point out that this issue brings up ethical questions that should be considered in light of the uneven power relationship that is created between students and missionaries that favors the latter. Varghese and Johnston (2007), however, may have identified a trend in how future English teachers from

Christian colleges in the US view their roles in "spreading the gospel." These researchers interviewed ten undergraduate English language teachers-in-training (all in their early twenties) at two Christian colleges and made several surprising findings. First, the participants viewed their religious beliefs as inseparable from other parts of their lives, including teaching. The four components of evangelical Christianity (crucicentrism, Biblicism, conversionism, and activism) permeated their lives. Secondly, each participant wrestled with the obligations of activism and witnessing as they dealt with the moral dilemma of respecting students' cultures and individual rights versus their spiritual obligations as Christians. While they agreed that the objective is to "bring nonbelievers to Christ," they "struggled with what it was supposed to entail" (Varghese & Johnston, 2007, p. 18). Contrary to "the common liberal perception of evangelical Christians as dogmatic and fixed in their beliefs," the participants appeared to be still in the process of forming ideas about how to witness as teachers (p. 24).

A finding that has implications for those who perceive TESOL as a missionary threat is that all the teachers-in-training interviewed by Varghese and Johnston (2007) agreed that outright attempts at conversion were ineffective, and that the right way was to "plant seeds," a recurring metaphor used by several participants to describe a theory that living a Christlike life will induce nonbelievers to become inquisitive about Christ (p. 18). The participants did not view themselves as missionaries but saw their roles as teachers as fulfilling a vital component of the evangelical life: Service. While they did see the use of ELT programs as platforms for missionary work as a good idea, they

voiced their concerns that such programs should "provide quality teaching" and not impose "American cultural values" (Varghese & Johnston, 2007, p. 23-24).

Pennycook and Coutand-Marin (2003) emphasize the need for an open debate about what they refer to as "TEML" (teaching English as a missionary language). They warn that if such a discussion does not take place, "We will be left with a critical left that believes in its own political rectitude, a religious right that believes in its God-given agenda, and a large liberal middle that erroneously believes that all of this can be kept out of the classroom" (p. 352).

Muslim response to English. Rahman (2005) identifies three ways Muslims responded to the introduction of English to South Asia by British colonizers. First, some Muslims responded with "resistance and rejection," a reaction based on the fear that English and its "alien values" would threaten their Muslim identity and worldview (p. 122). Second, other Muslims have responded to English with "acceptance and assimilation," which led to the "emergence of modernist or secular, Westernized Muslims" and made English the "chief marker of modern identity" (p. 123). Third, some Muslims responded with "pragmatic utilization," a response characterized by selectively embracing certain aspects of English in order to "empower one's self while maintaining one's identity as firmly as one could" (p. 123). To anchor Muslim responses to English in a historical context, Rahman (2005) examines the political goals British colonizers set for spreading English in South Asia: 1. To "civilize" natives; 2. to conquer an inferior race; and 3. to supplant local religions with Christianity (p. 121).

Linguistic apartheid. Rahman (2005) regards English as a valuable cultural capital that is being unevenly distributed in Pakistan, an inequality that has created an ominous polarization between those who attend expensive English medium schools and those who cannot. He feels that Pakistan's purported language policy to support the national language of Urdu actually ends up "subsidizing the elite in its quest of acquiring English" and recommends the state support uniform, competent English programs in all schools so that all students have equal access to the language (p. 133). He also calls for an end to all English medium schools and believes schools should adopt Urdu or the local language as the medium of instruction. English would then no longer become a "source of class and ideological conflict," but a "source of empowerment and humanitarian improvement for all in Pakistan" (p. 133). Rajagopalan (1999), on the other hand, does not agree with the argument that English contributes to existing power inequalities in the post-colonial world or that it creates new inequalities. He asserts that it is "in the very nature of human languages, all of them, to be riven by power inequalities" (p. 205). Rajagopalan (1999) also argues that English can no longer be viewed in the context of its colonial legacy, and "as the world's international language today can only be understood in its true perspective if we dissociate it from the colonial conditions of its early diffusion" (p. 203). The EFL teacher's "guilt complex" and the need for "penitential self-flagellation" makes them believe they are "unwittingly letting themselves be used as cogs in a gigantic cultural steam-roller that ruthlessly crushes to extinction minority languages as it trundles along (p. 201).

Rajagopalan (1999) also contends that cultural intermixing and growing multilingualism have led to "unstable identities and shifting conceptual contours" (p. 204-205), and the notion that English has "imperialist pretentions" is the product of an "intellectual climate where identities were invariably thought of in all-or-nothing terms" (p. 201). Lastly, he argues that the rise of English as the world's top lingua franca is often sensationalized as if its triumph was at the expense of countless other languages and cultures.

The politics of English. The "English vs. Islam" discourse is very continuous and political, and it appears naïve to think the world will simply one day join hands and happily speak English together. It is important to keep in mind that English has played and continues to play many roles in the Muslim World, and it has caused and continues to cause profound economic, religious, social, political, cultural, and even psychological consequences. It is unreasonable to expect the Muslim World—or any community for that matter—to view English as a benign, unobtrusive language that will not challenge local languages, ideologies, traditions, assumptions, and institutions. The politics of English are especially problematic when it comes to education and language policy. Often discussions and decisions concerning how, why, and to what extent English will be taught and what resources will be allocated to fund such language programs are made by powers external to communities where such decisions will have a great impact. In the end, Muslims themselves are left with the job of determining how English and its associated ideologies should or should not be integrated into their identities.

My master's language. Although all Muslim countries that were once colonized by Brittan have won their independence, the language of the former colonial masters still holds sway. Even in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the heartland of Islam, English is the official language of instruction in engineering, medicine, and science programs at all Saudi universities (Al-Kahtany, Faruk & Al Zumor, 2016).

Educational settings are not the only place English has exercised influence in the Kingdom. Some Saudi mosques offer two separate khutbahs (sermon given during Friday prayers), one in Arabic followed by one in English. The introduction of English into the religious sphere has alarmed many traditional Muslims and prompted Muslim clergy to issue fatwahs (legal opinion or decree by Muslim clerics) stipulating that English khutbahs are permissible only when they are translations of a preceding Arabic khutbah.

In the fourteen-hundred-year history of Islam, no language has rivaled Arabic as the lingua franca of the Muslim world until the spread of English. Although Muslims continue to use only Arabic in formal prayers, and the Arabic Qur'an continues to be recited and memorized by Muslims who do not speak or understand Arabic, Arabic has been reduced to a nominal role as an official language in many organizations in the Muslim World. For example, the fifty-six member countries of the Islamic Development Bank (IDB) would not be able to communicate with each other without the use of English. It is obvious that there are multiple ways to conceive of the relationship between English and Islam, but most perspectives certainly assume that there is and will continue to be a degree of conflict on at least some levels between these two powerful forces.

Jihad vs. McWorld. According to Huntington (1993), only Japan has succeeded in becoming modern without becoming Western. As mentioned earlier, Barber (1992), in his seminal article "Jihad vs. McWorld," pits tribalism (symbolized by the Islamic term "jihad," which indicates a struggle to obtain spiritual goals) against globalism (symbolized by a term indicative of American corporate expansion) as the pivotal conflict of the coming years. It is possible that such a cataclysmic rupture and fusion also occurs during the identity formation of a person who has a foot in both the global and tribal worlds. It is also possible that Huntington's and Barber's prophesies of the impending Westernization of the Muslim World's economies will also play out in the minds of Muslims as well. Will Muslims who wish to secure membership in "McWorld's" economy gradually adopt the "McIdentity" that comes along with "McEnglish"? While it is thought-provoking to look into the future and conceive of all the possible ways English and Islam will interact on the global level, much can also be learned from how things stand at present on a more human level. What do English-speaking Muslims who live in the Muslim world as well as those who live in the Muslim diaspora say about the way they see themselves? Are they trapped between two worlds? What effect does English have on the way Muslims see themselves and their traditional Islamic culture? If "the very process of becoming literate involves taking up new positions and becoming a different sort of person" (Merchant & Carrington, 2009, p. 63), does this spell double trouble for Muslims who speak or are learning to speak English? Are they pulled one way by English and another way by their Islamic faith? Must they choose one over the other

or risk being marginalized by fellow Muslims on one hand and by fellow English-speakers on the other?

English in Malaysia: Switching and evolving identities. The English language is viewed by many as a threat to the socio-religious and cultural homogeneity of the Muslim World. Kim (2003) examines the issue of English and identity in a study that investigates the process of identity construction of fourteen adult English language learners at a university in Malaysia, half of whom are ethnic Malays from the country's Muslim majority. She explores the kind of identities the participants constructed when learning English, and how their identities were shaped by the language's acquisition. Kim's (2003) findings reflect the complexities involved in determining the role second language acquisition plays in identity construction, especially when that language is as culturally and politically controversial as English. The Muslim participants in this study reported that when they speak in English they are often seen by members of their communities as elitist, showing off, and acting *kweio lo* (acting like the white man, or literally, *foreign devil*). A participant reported that in some situations she felt "a sense of hostility against using English" because of its ties to colonialism, a fact that has created within her a need to be "more grounded in her culture" (Kim, 2003, p. 145). Another Muslim participant in Kim's (2003) study reported that using English in some contexts was perceived as making one less of a Muslim because English is associated with religion, although she felt learning English did not detract from her Malay identity or cause her to internalize cultural components of the language (p. 145). Two Muslim participants reported strategically switching from English to Malay to project a particular

identity and avoid negative reactions of other Malays who could react with "nonacceptance, resentment, marginalization, or a combination thereof" (p. 149). Did participants in Kim's (2003) study regret learning English and dealing with the complex identity shifting it entailed? On the contrary, participants found that "knowledge of English brings along with it an exposure to alternative views and ideas, and facilitates a more reflective and critical attitude towards one's own culture [and helps them] to decenter from their own culture or singular cultural viewpoint" (p. 149).

Another Malay participant felt that she had become more tolerant because of the books she had read in English and found educated people who don't read English books narrow-minded. This indicates that learning English does have the potential to affect people's identity in significant ways, to reshape the way they interact with others from their own culture, and to cause them to reintegrate into their cultural settings by developing a variety of identities. Kim (2003) concludes that the students do reap benefits from English in that it "offers them another cultural prism through which to view life" and "allows one to slip in and out of one's own cultural boundaries" (p. 153). These benefits may also "bring along negative dividends such as disenfranchisement and cultural displacement" (p. 155).

Washima, Harshita, and Naysmith (1996) studied the "tension" between English and Islam among one hundred sixteen- to nineteen-year-old secondary students in a state-funded religious school in Malaysia. Over a period of three months, the researchers used questionnaires and interviews to probe the students' attitudes toward the three languages taught in the school: Arabic (the language of their religion), Bahasa Melayu (their native

language,), and English. They found that the students associated Arabic with spiritual aims, Bahasa Melayu with their cultural identity, and English with economic benefits. The researchers also unexpectedly found that English is also associated with Islam. One student pointed out how the government had recently begun an English program for local Muslim clergy so that they can communicate with other clerics who do not speak Arabic, and another student pointed out that English would be included in the Prophet Muhammad's command to seek knowledge "as far as China" (p. 229).

Washima et al. (1996) also found that English was not considered a threat to the students' identities by the students nor the headmaster and staff but was "actively encouraged in both the formal and hidden curriculum of the school" (p. 229). The students were also very aware of the difference between learning English and adopting a "Western lifestyle." One student pointed out that "Learning the language does not mean adopting the culture" (p. 230). Although all students saw English as useful, some felt English was "under their control and within their ownership," while some perceived English as a cultural threat because it is "in some way connected with alien, Western values" (p. 231). The students did not, however, appear to view the language itself as conveying any values.

Washima et al. (1996) made another interesting discovery: The majority of students interviewed appeared to have a low filter in connection with English, meaning they were more tolerant of other cultures and had a "more secure self-identity," and were thus "more receptive to learning English" (p. 232).

Perhaps the most important sociological finding of Washima et al. (1996) is that the students' attitude toward learning English is part of an evolving new worldview that characterizes this particular generation. A number of students referred to themselves as "new Malays" and those who resist English as "old Malays," terms that have nothing to do with age, but with attitudes (p. 233). The old Malays' rejection of English was a relic of colonization, and the new Malays viewed them as "backward, they don't think of the future, they don't want to better themselves . . . and don't have a vision" (p. 233). For the first time in this culture, the researchers point out, these students are beginning to feel they are control of English and that there is no conflict between English and Islam (p. 233).

Although Mohd-Asraf (2005) acknowledges that research indicates the present generation of Muslims in Malaysia has largely moved beyond seeing English as "the language of the Christians" or "the colonists" (p. 113), the question of how Muslims see English is complex. The legacy of colonialism in the Muslim World, the fear of losing cultural values and identity, the knowledge that English has been and is still being used by Christian missionaries in attempts to convert students, the apprehension that English may supplant Arabic, and the widespread negative portrayal of Muslims after 9/11—all these factors continue to influence Muslim attitudes toward English and create anxieties that may be interpreted by English teachers as a lack of interest in learning the language.

English-speaking Muslims in the US: Assimilation or displacement?

Chaudhury and Miller (2008) studied the identity construction of sixteen second generation adolescent American Bangladeshi Muslims. All the participants' parents

spoke English as a second or third language, and all but one described their parents as having assimilated to Western culture "while holding onto their Islamic and Bangladeshi culture and tradition" (p. 387). Semi-structured interviews were conducted to explore the participants' spiritual and religious development. Even though the participants in Chaudhury and Miller's study lived in very different settings than those in Kim's (2003) study, both studies indicate Muslims, whether they are second generation Americans or English majors in a post-colonial setting, face many of the same conflicts and develop similar strategies in forming their identities. The participants in Chaudhury and Miller's (2008) study said their parents expected them to speak Bengali at home, learn to read the Qur'an in Arabic, and keep good relations with family in Bangladesh. The first and last demands helped the participants develop their ethnic identity and were not resisted; however, learning to read the Qur'an in Arabic with no understanding of the language caused a substantial conflict. One participant reported:

> I think to me, reading it in English and knowing what the assumption is and the meaning is behind it would be a lot more meaningful than just reading it in Arabic and learning how to pronounce the words. (Chaudhury and Miller, 2008, p. 394)

Chaudhury and Miller (2008) indicate that there is a crucial difference between ethnic and religious identities, the former being assigned "in a way inescapable," while the latter is "asserted, and therefore more of a statement of choice" (p. 405). Still, the participants do not make the same choices concerning the formation of their religious identities, but "create their unique and personal religious identities" (p. 405). Some choose to remain within their parents' religious communities while others follow a

spiritual journey that takes them outside their community. Both groups, the authors point out, experienced spiritual struggles that are equally dynamic and fervent, and none of them chose the path of assimilation:

> They recognize both their Muslim side and their American side, spending a great deal of time finding their personal balance of these two dialectical components. For example, Rakib explains that maintaining one's religious identity is both an ongoing process and a continuous struggle. (Chaudhury and Miller, 2008, p. 404)

Does learning English change one's worldview? Karmani's (2005) argument that learning English does not change the attitudes and worldviews of Muslims must be reconsidered in light of Kim's (2003) and Rahman's (2005) studies. Rahman found that students in madrasas who are taught a limited amount of "culture-free" English do exhibit drastically different attitudes and perspectives on socio-cultural and political issues than their counterparts who study in elite English medium schools. Kim also found English-speaking Malays credited English with providing them with a prism through which to view their own cultures and exposed them to different views. Karmani's (2005) argument, however, is that English itself will not change a Muslim's worldview, just as a Muslim's native language does not in itself make him or her militant or fanatical. Considering these studies, English, when it provides access to a variety of discourse communities, provides Muslims with more choices about identity construction and provides them with more perspectives to explore, but it does not determine in and of itself what beliefs and worldviews are adopted. As for English being the "language of Christians", Varghese and Johnston (2007) found that even when English is taught by

evangelical Christians, they choose whether to use the English class as a conversion opportunity. Each study suggests that English is an access point for those who teach it and those who learn it. Its power emanates from the fact that it is in very high demand among those learning other languages, and it provides perhaps unequalled access to a myriad other cultures, perspectives, and worldviews, as well as an assortment of ways of living, thinking, and being.

The Arab-American predicament. Schumann (2004) examined how the magazine *Al-Hewar/Arab-American Dialogue* focused on various issues, including Americanization and its threat to Arab and Muslim cultural identity. He found many paradoxes in the Arab diaspora's experience in America, many of which were illustrated in the magazine. Schumann (2004) found that Arab-Americans are in a "triangular relationship between the diaspora, [their] host country, and the homelands" (p. 310). This predicament places them at the margins of two communities and forces them to face difficult questions regarding what language should be used between Arab-Americans themselves and by media, such as *Al-Hewar*. Other issues regarding the role of translating and reinterpreting also emerge as a result of ethnicity, ideology, and religion (Schumann, 2004, p. 308). Although the diaspora has developed an identity centered on "Arabism," the central component of this identity is the Arabic language, which leads to the question of how this identity is altered when other languages are used for communication. *Al-Hewar* considers assimilation, which it views as a loss of identity, as a threat to Arab-American and Islamic identities. It generally views assimilation as a "loss of Arabic language skills and ignorance of Arab history, politics, and culture"

(Schumann, 2004, p. 323). As for religious assimilation, "it is not clear whether assimilation means conversion, secularization, ignorance of religious practice, or merely the 'Americanization' of Islam" (p. 323). One thing is clear, though: *Al-Hewar* takes the position that a loss of Muslim identity will deny Muslims the opportunity to "participate in American society as Muslims," and a similar result would occur if Muslims became invisible and passive in response to negative portrayals of Islam in the American media (p. 323).

Another predicament faced by the Arab-American diaspora is the fact that there has been no Arabic publication in the US targeting a Muslim audience since the demise of *Al-Bayan* in 1970. Arab-American Muslims have therefore integrated into organizations such as the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), which uses English in all its publications.

The predicament for Arab Muslims living in the US lies in the nexus among Arabic, English, Islam, American culture, and their heritage cultures. The choices they make about how to integrate or prioritize these powerful forces will determine their identities as Arab-American Muslims living in the US.

Religious identity formation. Peek (2005) conducted a two-year ethnographic investigation in which she studied the process of religious identity formation among 127 Muslims who lived in the US. All were fluent speakers of English, their ages ranging from eighteen to thirty-three. The subjects were mostly "1.5 immigrants," or second-generation immigrants who were primarily raised in the US. Peek (2005) found that the process of religious identity among participants in her study occurred over three stages:

1. Religion is an ascribed identity;

2. Religion becomes a consciously chosen identity; and

3. Religion is a declared identity.

The third stage occurred after the events of September 11, 2001, when most participants "decided it was vitally important to both strengthen and assert their identities at this time in order to retain a positive self-perception and correct public misconceptions" (p. 236).

This study also indicates that for participants, the formation of religious identity is not a static event, but a continuous process in which a religious identity is "actively constructed by individuals and groups in our social world . . . [involving] heightened reflection and self-awareness, individual choices, and the acknowledgment of others" (Peek, 2005, p. 236). For these individuals, religious identity formation is driven by internal and external conflicts, pressures and rewards, and their religious identities are "ultimately achieved identities" (p. 236).

One of Peek's participants, Ariana, illustrates the difference between her parents' view of English and hers:

> Then when they came here [the US], they realized that we have to hold on to the religion, but they wanted us to talk English. They wanted us to assimilate, kind of. They think they should have taught us more from the beginning. We actually taught ourselves. We started looking into Islam. For them, Islam and the culture are so infused together, some things, my mom had this thing where if you eat fish, then you can't drink milk. All this weird stuff. She's like, "It's true. The prophets

say so. [laughter]" (p. 229)

Ariana's parents' view of English differs from that of the people referred to as "old Malays" in Washima et al. (1996), those who believed one either chooses an Islamic identity or speaks English. In both studies, the new generation of Muslims does not equate learning and speaking English as a rejection of their Islamic identity. In Ariana's case, however, her parents equate their ethnic identities with their Muslim identities. Ironically, it is Ariana's American experience that prompts her to search for an Islamic identity that is separate from the cultural/ethnic identity her parents "infused" with their Muslim identities. Peek's (2005) participants, just as the Bangladeshi-Americans in Chaudhury and Miller's (2008) study, do not uncritically adopt their parents' identities.

Whether the setting is Malaysia or the US, English-speaking Muslims in these studies engage English without fear that it will prove detrimental to their identities, and many must negotiate the rejection of their parents' post-colonial view of English as well as their cultural view of Islam.

Muslims and other Western languages. English is not the only language Muslims speak that has a colonial legacy. Do Muslims who live in other secular Western democracies undergo similar experiences in forming their identities as they do in the US? In other words, if we remove English from the equation and replace it with another Western language, will there be a significant change in how Muslims form their identities and view themselves? Ketner, Buitelaar, and Bosma (2004) studied the identity strategies developed and employed by adolescent Moroccan girls in the Netherlands. Using the Groningen Identity Development Scale to interpret interviews and questionnaires, the

authors examined the participants' commitment and amount of exploration concerning the following themes:

1. school/ leisure/work;
2. family relationships;
3. religion;
4. friends;
5. gender; and
6. ethnicity. (Ketner et al., 2004, p. 149)

These girls were popularly perceived by the media and the local community as having problematic identities:

> They are socialized simultaneously in Western society and in more traditional culture . . . at least in the media and in daily conversation, one can often hear the negative expression 'caught between two cultures' in regard to migrant adolescents. (Ketner et al., 2004, p. 146)

Ketner et al. (2004) found, however, that the girls did not adopt the identity to which many assumed they were restricted. Consciously or unconsciously, the girls used strategies that did not create an "either-or" situation in which they had to choose among "the modern, Moroccan, and religious expectations," but overcame these apparent contradictions and "developed certain strategies . . . to combine the conflicting values" (p. 145). Rather than viewing these girls' Muslim identity as a static relic and product of colonization, Ketner et al. (2004) viewed their identities as dynamic and indicative of the fluidity of culture in general. The authors urge us not to see the girls as "passive and

conformist victims of their tradition" (p. 166), but as "agents of cultural transformation," and as the "'barometer' of their changing world" (p. 167).

Keaton (1999) examined the identity construction of Muslim girls of African descent aged thirteen to nineteen who live in Paris. She studied a group of girls for nine months, observing them in school and conducting interviews with them and their teachers. This is a significant study in that Keaton (1999) examines the

> experiences of Muslim girls in secondary education who are asserting their national identity to negotiate the complex expectations of home, secular schools, and their 'cite' during a period in France when the notion of French identity itself is being transformed. (p. 47)

Paradoxically, Keaton (1999) found that for the girls, the "desire to be modern" and "the desire to be traditional" were not mutually exclusive (p. 49). In fact, she found a "complex interplay between French and Muslim traditions which make it incumbent upon Muslim girls to negotiate often competing interests and expectations" (p. 60).

Ketner et al. (2004) and Keaton's (1999) studies of Muslims living in Europe come to conclusions that are similar to the previously discussed studies that explore the identity formation of English-speaking Muslims in Malaysia and the US. In almost every case, whether they are immigrants in a Western nation or live in a Muslim-majority country, Muslims who speak English or other Western languages must navigate the often-contradictory assumptions and expectations of:

1. heritage languages and cultures;
2. diaspora cultures;

3. American/Western cultures;
4. the previous generation's linguistic, cultural, and religious attitudes;
5. the English language/other Western languages; and
6. their own evolving understanding of Muslim identity.

Conclusion

Many of the works discussed in this literature review have titles that emphasize the discord between English and Islam, often casting these two powerful global forces in an oppositional relationship. The prospects for peaceful coexistence look bleak, especially after the events of September 11, 2001. Statements such as those made by Osama bin Laden encouraging the killing of American citizens and their allies (Bin-Laden, Zawahiri, Taha, Hamzah, & Rahman, 1998) and by Ann Coulter calling for the slaughter of Muslim leaders and the forcible conversion of Muslims to Christianity (Coulter, 2001) do not promote the dispassionate exploration of relevant issues.

There is, however, a strong reason to believe the dynamic encounter between two of the world's most powerful forces, English and Islam, will not result in the destructive battle many political pundits predict is inevitable. The data collected from around the world concerning how the present generation of Muslims constructs their identities in a variety of settings shows a marked shift in attitudes and thinking. While much has been written about the tribulations of the nations of the Muslim world struggling to find their identities in a post-colonial context, the present generation of Muslims does not appear to be encumbered by the colonial legacy of the English language. Unlike many of their parents, they do not consider English as the language of the enemy and do not view

speaking English as antithetical to being Muslim. They actively construct their identities and view English as an access point that not only increases their economic opportunities, but also gives them a way to re-evaluate their own cultures and traditions. Multilingual and multicultural settings do not tend to create anxiety within them. Rather, these complex and rich environments tend to motivate them to become self-reflective, to explore and critically evaluate and potentially integrate within their own frameworks for understanding the world diverse perspectives that older generations would likely have found alien or even heretical (Peek, 2005; Chaudhury & Miller, 2008; Keaton, 1999).

One thing is certain: Researchers in the US need to realize the importance of exploring the linguistic attitudes of ELLs as well as their families and communities. Our professional interest in measuring teacher attitudes toward ELLs in mainstream classrooms is indicative of our commitment to protect the "outsider," but the paucity of studies in the US of ELL/immigrant linguistic attitudes is an indication of not only a serious omission, but a great failure on our part. How can we as a community of researchers speak with any authority on the attitudes of "mainstream teachers" toward ELLs if we do not explore the attitudes of ELLs and their families? Why is research on ELL attitudes toward English and other languages conducted throughout the world, but not in the US? Does this gap in the literature reflect a condescending attitude in the US toward the linguistic experiences of ML/MC communities? Or do researchers in the US simply prefer to explore issues related to power and dominance?

Ironically, by exclusively addressing teacher attitudes towards ELLs while neglecting to explore ELL attitudes toward English and other languages, we are

essentially silencing the same community we ostensibly seek to give voice to. It is time for researchers to give ELLs, recent immigrants, and other under-served communities the opportunity to articulate their own stories of how English and other languages fit into their lives.

While the present generation of English-speaking Muslims appear to be moving beyond many of the post-colonial conflicts that have shaped the relationship between English and Islam for a century, there are still reasons to be concerned. For example, some ideologies have a vested interest in keeping alive the old construct of "Islam vs. the West" as a way of interpreting all exchanges and interactions between Muslims and Western nations. While those to the right of the political spectrum may use the image of the anti-Western militant Muslim immigrant to rouse xenophobic fears that placate an anti-immigrant constituency, those on the left may bring into play an equally self-serving image, that of Muslims as helpless and passive victims of Western expansion. Muslims and certain Islamic groups themselves may also employ the "Islam vs. the West" construct to coerce the new generation of Muslims to adopt more traditional cultural identities that do not engage a world that they believe is principally controlled by anti-Islamic forces. In such cases, any group that champions the "Islam vs. the West" construct will not be eager to acknowledge ML/MC Muslims who assert their power to construct unique Muslim identities within local and global settings that suit their own needs.

In a post 9-11 world, there are many who seek to distort or regulate how we view Islam, Muslims, Christianity, multilingualism, multiculturalism, secularism, imperialism,

post-colonialism, the Western World, and all their associated socio-cultural, political, religious, and ideological frameworks. The greatest danger is that many of the organizations and individuals who create these distortions and seek to manipulate our views are media savvy and have a profound influence on popular opinion. Researchers must take the lead in not only conducting research that explores the nuances of Muslim identity and all things associated with it (e.g., language, culture, religion, and post 9-11 politics), but also in challenging those who essentialize such identities.

Furthermore, while the vast majority of the research examined in this review showed how drastically linguistic attitudes can change in one generation and the profound socio-religious implications of such changes, there is one exception to the phenomenon. Pakistani students in madrasas do not appear to be a part of the Muslim world's new discovery, exploration, and engagement of English and the Western World. Surprisingly, this is not an "East vs. West" debate, but more of a "good vs. good" debate. Muslim researchers such as Rahman (2005) voice growing concern about the fact that madrasa students are taught only a smattering of English in a way that strips the language of its cultural context, thanks to in-house production of English language texts. While Karmani (2005) addresses this issue by defending the madrasas' linguistic rights, Rahman focuses on the rights of students to have access to a variety of discourses. For Rahman, it is a question of access and our responsibility to ensure students are not exposed to only one perspective, especially when it appears to be a very militant perspective. The work for researchers here again goes beyond conducting research and reporting results. More work needs to be done on strategies for enhancing the madrasa

curriculum, including working with madrasa teachers and administrators to create more opportunities for students to think and communicate critically and creatively. The International Center for Religion and Diplomacy, based in Washington, DC, and the Peace and Education Foundation, based in Islamabad, Pakistan, are at the forefront of the movement to enhance madrasa curriculum and provide training for teachers and administrators. The key word here is "enhance," not reform. Both these organizations respect the right of madrasas to determine their own curricula but seek to find ways to ensure madrasa students are not given an inferior education.

It is likely that madrasas will continue to be at the center of many hotly contested debates in the future, especially as this issue has become politicized. The tendency, unfortunately, is to treat madrasas as an abstract symbol, to make them emblematic of a cause which we should either support or condemn. Madrasas differ widely, one from the other. The madrasa former President Obama attended in Jakarta, for example, admits children of all faiths, but many of his political rivals took advantage of the average person's association of madrasa with terrorists and successfully reinforced the misconception that he was a closet radical Muslim. And if we continue to view madrasas from such uninformed perspectives that are subservient to a particular political agenda, we will continue to enable such divisive and disingenuous discourse.

CHAPTER THREE

The purpose of this modified grounded theory study was to identify the attitudes of multicultural/multilingual (MC/ML) Muslims in the Washington Metropolitan area toward the English language, American culture, their heritage languages and heritage cultures, and to generate a theory to explain how these attitudes were developed.

A qualitive research design was best suited for this study because the goal was to "answer questions about experience, meaning and perspective . . . from the standpoint of the participant" and not to collect data that are "amenable to counting or measuring" or to seek "general or probability information . . . on opinions, attitudes, views, beliefs, or preferences" (Hammarberg, Kirkman, & de Lacey, 2016, pp. 498-499).

Decisions concerning data collection and analysis as well as participant selection were also guided by the study's purpose. A grounded theory approach was selected to identify the linguistic and cultural attitudes of Muslims living in the US. Because this study had to end prematurely to conform to institutional time requirements for dissertation projects, the findings of this study are presented as the results of the initial stage of a longer grounded theory investigation.

My Philosophical Orientation as a Researcher

This study gave me the opportunity to interact with MC/ML participants from a wide variety of cultural heritages of the Muslim World. It was, therefore, of critical importance for me to reflect on how my philosophical orientation and my Western European heritage would influence me as a researcher. Creswell (2014) points out that while a researcher's worldview and philosophical ideals "remain largely hidden in research, they still influence the practice of research and need to be identified" (p. 5). Creswell also advises that researchers make "explicit the larger philosophical ideals they espouse" (p. 5).

Birks (2014) defines philosophy as "a view of the world encompassing the questions and mechanisms for finding answers that inform that view" (p. 18). My emerging philosophical orientation is best described as oscillating between constructivism and pragmatism tempered by theistic existentialism. From constructivism, I embrace the notion that "meanings are constructed by human beings as they engage with the world they are interpreting" (Creswell, 2014, p. 8). As a constructivist researcher, I prefer to use open-ended questions to give participants an opportunity to share their narratives, and I embrace the notion that "qualitative research is largely inductive, with the inquirer generating meaning from the data collected in the field" (Creswell, 2014, p. 9).

From pragmatism, I subscribe to the notion that because the world is not an absolute unity, the researcher should not be bound by a single philosophical orientation, worldview, or single set of assumptions and should therefore be "free to choose the

methods, techniques, and procedures of research that best meet their needs and purposes" (Creswell, 2015, p. 11). Finally, my understanding of meaning is influenced greatly by theistic existentialism, which is reflected in the following notions I embrace:

- There is such a thing as meaning or value to be found in life;
- There is possibly inherent meaning in the universe (either intrinsic or from God), but its existence is a matter of faith;
- It is essential that individuals create meaning in life themselves;
- The pursuit for intrinsic or extrinsic meaning in the universe is not futile and may itself have meaning; and
- The pursuit for constructed meaning is not futile. ("Absurdism," 2019)

Theistic existentialism, similar to atheistic existentialism, holds that the individual must "subjectively discover the Truth for oneself" and "the individual must pursue the question of the meaning of existence, and that this question is above all other scientific and philosophic pursuits" ("Absurdism," 2019).

Lastly, as a European American exploring the linguistic and cultural attitudes of Muslims who were or whose parents were educated in the Muslim world, I must be cognizant and reflective of my Western epistemological bias, which Elmessiri (2006) describes as the "attempt by the West, conscious or unconscious, intentional or unintentional, to force its cultural paradigms onto the people of the world" (p. xi). Elmessiri refers to the act of forcing a culture's paradigms onto another as a cultural invasion, one that occurs even from within Middle Eastern culture when Arab researchers blindly embrace terminology and ideas that have gained currency in the West, parroting

“the latest fashion, be it in dress or thought” (p. xii). He also speaks of the “imperialism of categories” as he points out that many categories developed in Western contexts are assumed to be universal, such as Marx and Engels’ concept of class. Marx and Engels’ knowledge of the world, Elmessiri points out, was scant, and even their knowledge of an Eastern European country such as Poland was questionable (p. 52).

Hussein (2006) reminds researchers that dividing and naming different segments of society using Western nomenclature distorts historical perspective: “Our social classes have imports different from those determined by the concepts of the European context” (p. 87). He explains how concepts such as “feudal lords,” “bourgeoisie,” “proletariat,” and “capitalists,” as well as the conflicts that played out among this group, do not explain the unique social dynamics that occurred in the Middle East.

While I was educated in the Western World in institutions populated by mostly European Americans, I have the following experience related to the Muslim World: I

- taught for 10 years in a Middle Eastern university;
- worked as a trainer for five years at the Islamic Development Bank;
- learned classical Arabic so that I could read the Qur’an and other Islamic texts in Arabic;
- helped translate a biography of the Prophet Muhammad;
- worked for seven years at two Muslim schools in the US as a teacher and administrator;
- worked on peace building projects in the Muslim World with The Peace and Education Foundation;

- worked as a short-term consultant for the World Bank on Middle Eastern projects; and
- lived for 15 years in multicultural communities made up of mostly Muslims from various parts of the Muslim world.

These many experiences helped me develop a keen respect for the remarkable cultural, intellectual, and ethnic diversity of the Middle East, as well as a sense of awe for the unparalleled artistic, theological, and scientific achievements of its peoples. As Elmessiri (2006) suggests, however, the Western epistemological paradigm is pervasive, and even participants in this study educated in the Muslim world may consciously or unconsciously view themselves, their heritage cultures, as well as the entire world through its lens. As a researcher, I accept that my philosophical orientation, my education within the Western epistemological paradigm, and my experiences with Muslims and the Muslim World will influence every aspect of this study, and I therefore accept the responsibility to be reflective and as transparent as possible about how this study was designed and carried out.

Given my philosophical orientation and the goal of this study to construct a theory about how participants formed their linguistic and cultural attitudes, it was important that I choose a research approach that was free to a great degree of the Western epistemological biases outlined by Elmessiri (2006) and Hussein (2006). I chose a classic grounded theory approach as it provided me with the most freedom as a researcher to adopt multiple perspectives without tethering myself to a single ideological position.

Grounded Theory

In 1965, Barney Glaser introduced the world to the methodology of what would become grounded theory when he published the article "The Constant Comparative Method of Qualitative Analysis." The article would later be used verbatim as chapter 5 of the book Glaser coauthored with Strauss in 1967, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*.

Grounded theory is the

> systematic generation of theory from systematic research . . . [which includes] a set of rigorous research procedures leading to the emergence of conceptual categories . . . [that are] related to each other as a theoretical explanation of the action(s) that continually resolves the main concern of the participants in a substantive area. (What is grounded theory?, 2018)

I chose a grounded theory approach because in addition to investigating the linguistic and cultural attitudes of participants, I sought to generate a theory explaining the development of these attitudes.

Grounded theory is well suited for a study that seeks to generate theory rather than testing existing theories. There are, however, at least three versions of grounded theory. For the purposes of this study, I elected to use what some refer to as classic grounded theory or Glaserian grounded theory. Classic grounded theory (which I will refer to as "grounded theory" henceforth) is more closely aligned with my pragmatist philosophical perspective in that it gives researchers the freedom to choose a theoretical lens that fits the researcher's philosophical perspective and the research situation:

This is not to suggest that classic grounded theory is free of any theoretical lens

> but rather that it should not be confined to any one lens; that as a general methodology, classic grounded theory can adopt any epistemological perspective appropriate to the data and the ontological stance of the researcher. (Holton, 2009, para. 2)

I, therefore, adopted a grounded theory approach as developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967), by Glaser in subsequent works, and by other classic grounded theorists.

Participant Selection

Theoretical sampling is a key strategy used by grounded theory researchers that systematizes participant selection and aids in the discovery of theory. Glaser and Strauss (1967) describe theoretical sampling as

> the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes, and analyzes his [*sic*] data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his [*sic*] theory as it emerges. (p. 45)

In a grounded theory study, participants are not predetermined. Participant selection is guided by data analysis. As the researcher collects and codes data, emerging themes and a developing theory will help the researcher develop theoretical criteria for participant selection: "The basic question in theoretical sampling . . . is: *what* group or subgroups does one turn to *next* in data collection? And for *what* theoretical purpose?" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 47).

The goal of theoretical sampling is to reach theoretical saturation, at which point data collection concludes:

> *Saturation* means that no additional data are being found whereby the sociologist

> can develop properties of the category. As he [sic] sees similar instances over and over again, the researcher becomes empirically confident that a category is saturated. He goes out of his way to look for groups that stretch diversity of data as far as possible, just to make certain that saturation is based on the widest possible range of data on the category. (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 61)

Reybold, Lammert, and Stribling (2012) indicate that "describing who your participants are is quite different from explaining how you chose those participants" (p. 713). Participant selection is especially important in a grounded theory study exploring attitudes. Selecting a group of participants that are homogenous in certain key characteristics would result in the building of a theory that is extremely limited in its power to explain attitudes. Dick (2005) advises grounded theory researchers use as diverse a group of participants as possible given the research situation. I sought to recruit a diverse range of participants in order to generate a theory that was not limited to one small segment of the population targeted by this study.

Building diversity among participants had to occur within the boundaries of participant guidelines. In order to take part in this study, participants had to:

- consider themselves Muslim;
- consider themselves multicultural and multilingual;
- live in the Washington Metropolitan area;
- be at least 18 years of age; and
- speak English fluently enough to participate in an interview about cultural and linguistic attitudes.

Participants were chosen with the help of cultural liaisons (one female of Indo-Pak origin and one male Arab who live in the Washington Metropolitan area) who recruited participants that were diverse in the following demographic characteristics:

- language background;
- cultural/ethnic background;
- educational background;
- profession;
- gender; and
- age.

Data was collected from nine participants when the study had to come to a premature end due to time requirements. Participant demographic characteristics are shown in Table 1.

Table 1
Participant Backgrounds in Interview Order

Name	Gender	Ethnicity	Birthplace	Age	Heritage Lang	EDUC in US	Citizenship	Occupation
Nuh	M	Turkish	Turkey	29	Turkish--fluent	UG/G	US	Program Manager
Noor	F	Indo-Af	US	23	Urdu--weak	E/S/UG/G	US	Teacher
Rahma	F	Asian	Pakistan	36	Urdu--fluent	UG/G	Canada	Consultant
Fatin	F	Arab	KSA	52	Arabic--fluent	G	US	Student
Curtis	M	Arab-Af	US	19	Arabic--good	E/S/UG	US	Student
Osman	M	Arab-Af	Eritrea	57	Arabic--fluent	UG	US	Chauffeur
Saeed	M	Arab	Jordan	62	Arabic--fluent	None	US	School Admin
Hana	F	Asian	US	21	Urdu--weak	E/S/UG/G	US	Teacher
Mahira	F	Asian	Bahrain	21	Urdu--good	E/S/UG/G	US	Teacher

*Af=African; E=elementary school; S=secondary school; U=undergraduate studies; G=graduate studies

Data Collection

The main data collection instruments recognized by Glaser are interviews, conversations, and observations. Glaser (2015) does not provide researchers with much guidance as to how data should be collected, but he is not in favor of taping interviews, which he states is "suitable for QDA [qualitative data analysis] dull description, but not suitable for CGT [classic grounded theory] conceptualizing for theory as it overdoes interchangeable indicators" (p. 9). Glaser (1998) suggests that audio-recorded data may actually hinder the development of a grounded theory.

Glaser (1978) does not recommend recording or taking notes during an interview or during the collection any other data, so there is no question of transcribing recordings. Dick (2005) agrees with Glaser (1978) that transcribing interviews is time consuming and the time could be better put to use conducting more interviews. Dick (2005), however, advises graduate students conducting grounded theory studies to take key-word notes and convert them to themes afterwards and also recommends tape-recording interviews in order to check notes.

While respecting Glaser's (1978, 1998, 2015) advice not to audio-record interviews and Dick's (2005) advice not to transcribe recordings, my dissertation committee requested that I audio record and transcribe interviews for this study. While not exceedingly thrilled about the prospect of transcribing each interview, I did discover two significant benefits of transcribing. First, the act of transcribing is essentially a close reading of a text, and while transcribing an interview, I wrote memos concerning sudden insights that occurred during transcription. These memos proved to be important in

building theory. Second, transcribing interviews preserved every word of the participants. During the initial coding of data, many text segments did not appear to offer a significant contribution to the development of themes, but while rereading transcripts through the lens of thematic networks and/or the emerging theory constructed from collected data, I was able to reinterpret these segments, sometimes with surprising results. One such example is a statement made by Fatin which originally befuddled me, but when I reinterpreted it through the lens of the emerging theory, I realized its significance. The statement was: "Because the English reinforced the religion, and the religion reinforced the English. Both of them were working together." Frankly, the statement appeared odd, but rereading the transcript in light of the emerging theory, the statement proved to be an illustration of the central tenet of the theory as expressed in chapter 4 of this dissertation:

> The findings of this study suggest that the English language, in the context of Muslim identity construction, is similar to Islam in its scope and power; Muslims, therefore, must negotiate the relationship between English and Islam in every domain of their identity. (p. 129)

In choosing to collect data exclusively through interviews, I was faced with a choice of which type of interview to conduct: Unstructured, semi-structured, or structured. Unstructured interviews typically do not require predetermined questions and are conducted "in conjunction with the collection of observational data" (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006, p. 315). Unstructured interviews would not have been effective for this study because no observational data was to be collected, and it would have been difficult to compare interview data and build theory if each participant had been asked different

questions. Structured interviews, on the other hand, consist of a set of predetermined questions which every participant is asked in the same order. While such interviews would make it much easier to compare participants' responses, structured interviews would also not have worked well for this study because their rigidity prevents interviewers from asking spontaneous questions that may arise from a participant's unexpected perspectives or insights on the topic. Semi-structured interviews are "generally organised around a set of predetermined open-ended questions, with other questions emerging from the dialogue between interviewer and interviewee/s" (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006, p. 315). A semi-structured interview format, therefore, was ideal for this study in that it allowed me to compose a set of predetermined questions that all participants would be asked so that I could easily compare interview data, but it also provided me with the flexibility to improvise questions based on participant responses.

Each participant was asked to participate in a 60- to 90-minute interview. They were asked to choose a time and place they would be comfortable with, and they were also asked to choose a pseudonym to conceal their identities. Participants were given an informed consent form (see Appendix B), which indicated they could terminate the interview at any time or request, after the interview was complete, that their interview data not be included in the study.

DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree (2006) underscore the importance of creating rapport with participants during interviews, indicating that many people being interviewed feel apprehension "characterised by uncertainty stemming from the strangeness of a context in which the interviewer and interviewee are new. During this

phase the goal is to get the interviewee talking" (p. 316). Interviews tend to create and even amplify social inequalities, so I spent several minutes talking with each participant prior to beginning the interview. During these pre-interview exchanges, I reiterated the rights of participants, explaining that although I will exercise a certain amount of control over the interview, the only power I have is the power they permit me to have. I emphasized that they may withdraw that power at any point by telling me they prefer not to answer a question or to speak further about a topic, or by ending the interview at any time they wish. Judging by the fact that each participant shared personal narratives about their experiences as MC/ML Muslims, the pre-interview exchanges were successful in helping me establish rapport and trust with each participant.

Some participants shared stories of abuse and/or personal suffering. I followed Meyers' (2017) advice to counselors working with victims of abuse: "Help them feel in control of what they disclose and when and how much. Don't make the mistake of thinking you need all the details and then push to get them. You can retraumatize someone that way" (p. 21). The day after interviews, I sent each participant a thank-you text or email, and to those who had shared stories of trauma and/or abuse, I sent a text or email asking if they were experiencing any conflicts or anxiety. Over the next several months, I kept in touch with one participant in particular who shared stories of trauma with me that she had never before shared with another person. I offered my support if she needed to talk with me further, and I indicated where she could receive help for free as a student if she wanted to speak with a therapist. I also communicated to her how proud I was of her for undertaking such an inspirational journey, and she has expressed interest

with working on projects with me in the future in which she could help immigrant children who encounter similar abuse.

Data Analysis

Data were concurrently collected and analyzed. The data consisted of interview transcripts as well as analytical, theoretical, and methodological memos I had written throughout the study, all of which (except the methodological memos) were coded. The aim of data analysis in this study was not only to explore the cultural and linguistic attitudes of participants, but to develop an emerging theory which explained how their attitudes developed.

A grounded theory approach seeks to develop theory that is grounded in the data. Getting from data to theory is an arduous journey of discovery. I adopted two analytical tools and developed a framework for organizing concepts that emerged from data in order to move systematically from data to theory. One of the most powerful tools I used was memoing. I recorded several kinds of memos:

- field notes: initial impressions of interviews, notes pertaining to pseudonyms chosen by participants, and any important details related to the interview that transcripts didn't reflect;
- analytical: reflections on themes, connections, and patterns as they emerged from data;
- methodological: reflections on how the study developed and proceeded from stage to stage (these memos were not coded); and

- theoretical: reflections on how concepts in the data related to each other and theories about these relationships.

Immediately after conducting an interview, I wrote field notes—these ranged from a sentence to a paragraph. I began transcribing interviews within three days of conducting them, and I wrote analytical memos during and after transcribing and coding. I also wrote analytical memos about codes and the three different levels of themes (discussed below) that emerged from the data. Finally, I wrote theoretical memos throughout the study exploring different ways to view the findings in order to construct theories to explain what was happening related to the cultural and linguistic attitudes of participants.

After transcribing an interview, I analyzed the transcript and all applicable memos using open coding, a line by line analysis of data in which I wrote notes in the margins answering the questions:

- What is this data a study of?
- What category does this incident indicate?
- What is actually happening in the data?
- What is the main concern being faced by the participants? And
- What accounts for the continual resolving of this concern? (Glaser, 1998, p.140).

Although I had written preliminary research questions before collecting data, I remained open to any of what Glaser termed “incidents” related to language and culture that participants discussed during interviews. Each language/culture incident was assigned a code, and a total of 115 codes were assigned to the data. Codes (which I refer

to as *basic themes* in this study), by themselves, do not suggest theory—they merely label incidents. To move from codes to theory, I employed the constant comparison method, one of the strategies Glaser and Strauss (1967) developed that is a key component of grounded theory research.

In using constant comparison, I compared each incident that related to culture and language to other incidents within a single transcript and its associated memos. Comparing incidents with other incidents helped me identify underlying patterns within the data and identity basic themes. After coding another transcript and its associated memos, I followed the same procedure as previously described, except that I also compared incidents across transcripts and memos, which either generated new basic themes or increased the density of basic themes that had emerged earlier.

The constant comparing of incidents to incidents, incidents to basic themes, and finally basic themes to basic themes is a process designed to lead to the development of a grounded theory which explains what is happening in the data. There are, however, two essential interrelated elements that provide vital support to constant comparing: Theoretical sampling and theoretical sensitivity. Theoretical sampling (discussed above in "Participant Selection") controls the process of data collection as the researcher jointly collects and codes data and determines where to get additional data next based on the emerging theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). To be successful at constantly comparing incidents and themes, determining relationships among themes, identifying underlying patterns, and understanding where to go next to collect data to fill in the gaps of emerging

theories, a researcher should have sufficient theoretical sensitivity—the ability to "conceptualize and formulate theory as it emerges from the data" (p. 46).

Theoretical sensitivity is perhaps the single most important component of a grounded theory study. If the researcher lacks the insight to identify concepts and patterns, does not possess a temperament conducive to exploring how concepts relate to each other, has difficulty interrelating concepts to help generate emerging theory, can't determine what data needs to be collected next to fill in gaps, and/or cannot determine when theoretical saturation has been achieved, then strategies such as constant comparing are not going to be of use. While concepts and theories do indeed emerge from the data, this emergence takes place in the mind of a researcher. Glaser (1992) indicated as much when he pointed out that different researchers analyzing the same data may generate different theories, and this is acceptable and expected because in grounded theory research, no theory is presented with a sense of finality as if it represents the one and only Truth. Glaser and Strauss (1967) also state emphatically that "the root sources of all significant theorizing is the sensitive insights of the observer himself [*sic*]" (p. 251). While theory emerges from and is grounded in the data, it is constructed in the researcher's mind.

As a novice researcher, I came to this study with an uncertain degree of theoretical insight. I had thirty years of experience with the textual analysis of literature, both as a student and teacher. I had always mistrusted the notion that lay readers of literature have little power to challenge authoritative interpretations of texts, so Glaser and Strauss's (1967) criticism that many departments of sociology were "mere

repositories of ‘great-man’ theories” that were taught with “charismatic finality that students could seldom resist” resonated with me (p. 10). I saw grounded theory as a powerful method providing researchers with an opportunity to interact creatively with texts in a way that facilitated discoveries and helped them make meaningful and original contributions to their fields. The present study, however, showed me that grounded theory is easy to love but difficult to do. Using constant comparison, I was able to see many concepts emerge, but initially I found it difficult to compare concepts with each other in a way that generated theory. I needed a tool to help me produce insights.

The study’s methodologist, Dr. Reybold, recommended I consider using Attride-Stirling’s (2001) thematic network analysis (TNA) as a tool to help construct theory from data. TNA offers explicit procedures for thematic analysis of data that generates “web-like illustrations (networks) that summarize the main themes constituting a piece of text” (p. 386). These networks depict the relationships among three levels of themes and illustrate how small themes combine to produce more powerful themes, which in turn combine to produce theories. Figure 1 is a sample thematic network. It consists of three levels: outside, middle, and center. The outer level consists of clusters of basic themes which, when grouped together in a coherent way, generate organizing themes, which are middle level themes. These organizing themes are grouped together (similar to how basic themes were clustered) so that they produce a single global theme:

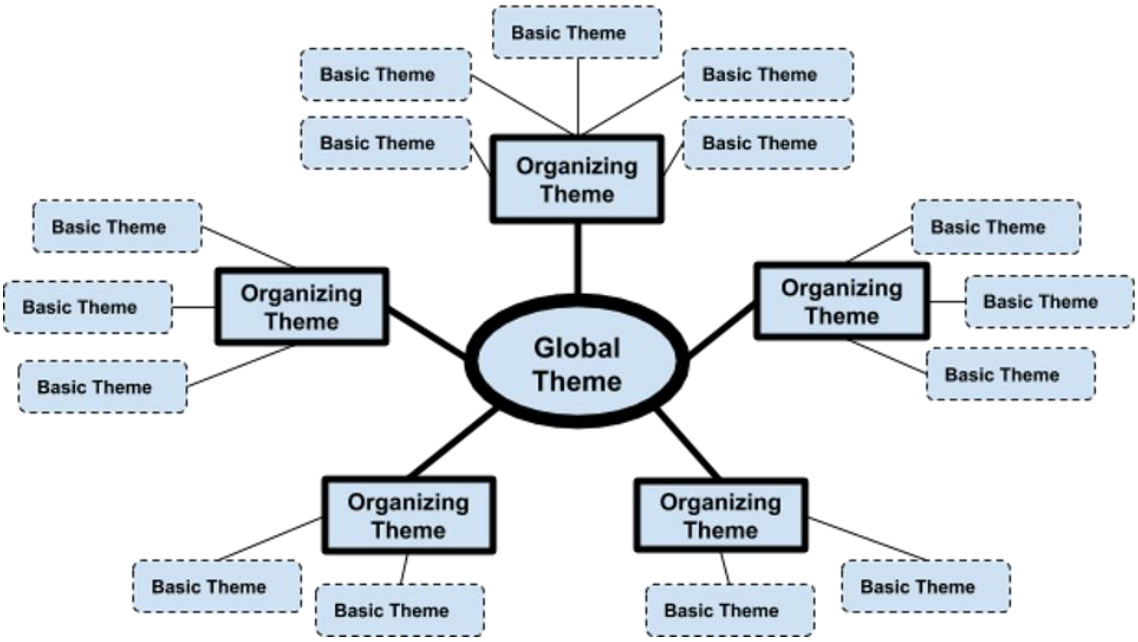

Figure 1 **Thematic Network**

I adapted Attride-Stirling's (2001) six analytical steps (p. 391), with a few modifications, for employing thematic networks in this study. I adopted TNA after I had finished collecting and coding data and found myself faced with 115 themes and unable to organize them in a meaningful and coherent way to build theory. In my original dissertation project proposal, I stated:

> I will analyze all data by breaking them down into units of meaning, which could be a word, phrase, line, or sentence that conveys one or more ideas. These units of meaning may be assigned codes which situate them on various levels of the following tentative coding hierarchy: *Label* (a significant word or phrase that doesn't express an idea), *concept* (a significant idea), *theme* (a significant idea

> that emerges from different data sets), *property of categ*ory (a trait or building block of a category), and the highest level, *category* (a hypothesis; an idea with explanatory power). I will continue coding each new data set the same way, continually comparing new codes with the labels, concepts, and themes from pervious data sets until I finally begin to see categories and their properties emerge . . . .In time, one core category should emerge that is well-connected to other categories and offers a theory that provides one possible answer to my research questions. (Richardson, 2013)

I successfully coded transcripts with labels and concepts, which helped me identify themes that emerged from the data. The next two steps (identifying properties and categories), however, proved to be difficult. And without first identifying categories, core categories—which are powerful themes with explanatory power—will not emerge from the data. TNA provided me with a tool to address this gap in my analysis.

My modified version of TNA consisted of three stages and eight steps:

Stage A: Breakdown of text.

Step 1. Code data. Devise coding framework and dissect text into units of meaning using the coding framework.

In this step, I coded data as I transcribed interviews using a coding framework. I constructed a coding framework using my research questions and a hierarchy of coding terms: ***Label*** (a significant word or phrase that doesn't express an idea but relates to ideas in the research question)*;* ***basic theme*** (a significant idea that emerges from data that when viewed in context with other similar basic themes reveals underlying patterns)*;*

organizing theme (a unifying theme that organizes several basic themes into a cluster and helps reveal the more abstract meanings of the text); and ***global theme*** (an hypothesis with explanatory power which is produced by a network of organizing themes and helps answer the research question). Each global theme serves as the nucleus of a ***thematic network*** (consisting of organizing themes and basic themes) which gives readers a more detailed understanding of how I constructed my interpretations of the data. While I developed a coding framework spanning from ***labels*** to ***global theme***, in Step 1 I only coded for ***labels***. Each transcript yielded roughly 30 to 60 codes.

Step 2. Identify basic themes. After coding for labels, I explored ways labels could be clustered together in coherent ways to generate basic themes. I made sure each theme was "(i) specific enough to be discrete (nonrepetitive), and (ii) broad enough to encapsulate a set of ideas contained in numerous text segments" (Attride-Stirling, 2001, p. 392).

From each transcript, I extracted segments of text (what Glaser & Strauss [1967] refer to as "incidents") that illustrated each basic theme to make certain they fit the data.

Step 3. Compare basic themes. Next, I compared basic themes across the data (i.e., within one and among all interview transcripts). I first compared basic themes to other incidents that were similar to the incidents they summarized to make certain there was no overlap, repetition, or blurred boundaries between basic themes.

I then compared basic themes to other basic themes, which resulted in some basic themes collapsing into others or creating new denser basic themes that summarized

multiple incidents across the data. During this step, 115 basic themes emerged from the data.

Step 4. Identify organizing themes. I experimented with clustering together similar basic themes around shared concerns to form organizing themes. This was a time-consuming but extremely important process, and each basic theme had to earn its way into a cluster by making a significant contribution. Each cluster of basic themes formed an organizing theme which told only part of the story of what was happening within the data. After that, I named each organizing theme so that it encapsulated the main concern of the cluster of basic themes it summarized. The 115 basic themes formed 27 organizing themes.

Step 5. Construct thematic networks. I explored ways in which the organizing themes fit together to form thematic networks. Each of the 27 organizing themes was written on cards which were then scattered on a large table. Conceptually, the organizing themes divided almost evenly into two categories, language and identity, forming three thematic networks for each category.

I named the global theme at the center of each network. Global themes "tell us what the texts as a whole are about within the context of a given analysis. They are both a summary of the main themes and a revealing interpretation of the texts" (Attride-Stirling, 2001, p. 389), and they are "the core, principal metaphor that encapsulates the main point in the text" (p. 393). Naming global themes is a process identical to naming organizing themes: The goal was to find a name that summarized the main concern of the cluster of smaller themes it unified.

Step 6. Refining thematic network. This was the last step of Stage A and it involved testing thematic networks for coherence and relevance in terms of how well they addressed the research question. I made only one minor change in one thematic network: I collapsed two organizing themes to form a single denser organizing theme.

After making a single adjustment in one thematic network, I proceeded to Step 7 and began summarizing networks. It was at this time that I discovered the networks were too cumbersome and lacked the focus needed to address the research questions properly. I returned to Step 6 and spread out the organizing themes on a table and began to explore how to construct more salient thematic networks that were more closely aligned with my research question. A breakthrough occurred when I questioned the rationale behind my dividing organizing themes into the categories of language and identity. I returned to Step 5, restructured organizing themes in new clusters without first separating them into categories, and I found this shift created coherent and more nuanced networks that more clearly depicted the themes in data related to culture and language. My decision to impose categories upon the organizing themes and create separate networks for each category disrupted the fluidity and interconnectivity that should characterize thematic networks.

Before moving to Step 7, I once again tested the new networks for coherence and relevance. After experimenting with different configurations and making modifications, I discovered that the most salient basic and organizing themes (i.e. those that most closely related to the concerns participants voiced about culture and language) constructed two

thematic networks. These two networks contained 15 basic themes and five organizing themes (see Table 2, Table 3, Figures 2, and Figure 3).

Stage B: Exploration of text.

Step 7. Check that themes are grounded in the data. I summarized both thematic networks, elucidating the connections between themes and supporting interpretations with relevant segments from text.

Summarizing each network resulted in making three minor adjustments: the wording of two organizing themes and one basic theme was revised so that they more closely fit the data.

Stage C: Integrate theories.

Step 8. Use thematic networks to interpret text and construct theories. The first seven steps developed an interpretive tool (two thematic networks) that provided a lens through which to interpret data and identify underlying concepts, patterns and structures associated with the cultural and linguistic attitudes of participants. The thematic networks provided a structure for discussing findings: I discussed each basic theme separately, citing relevant data and exploring how they connected to other basic themes and generated organizing themes. I then illustrated how the applicable organizing themes produced a global theme.

Finally, I studied the relationships of both thematic networks to each other and to the data and constructed an emerging theory concerning how participants were in the process of developing their attitudes toward language and culture. The theory is not a grand theory—it represents my preliminary insights based on the data I collected during

this initial stage of a grounded theory study that was brought to a premature end by a non-negotiable deadline. I do intend to return to the study and recruit participants via theoretical selection in order to address any gaps in the theory.

Table 2
Thematic Network 1

Global Theme: English challenges the traditional order of things

Basic Themes	Organizing Themes
Growing American cultural presence in Muslim World English as an ideological and socio-economic tool and colonial relic Growing up with no true native language: English became the "natural path"	The enduring legacy of the English language
Fluid vs. rigid linguistic boundaries English as a foreign language in Turkish & Arabic-medium schools Heritage languages as foreign languages in English-medium schools	Languages compete within shared spaces
The allure of the English language and American culture English provides a lens through which Muslims view Islam English is associated with cultural elite in Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and Turkey	English challenges heritage languages' spiritual and cultural status

Table 3
Thematic Network 2

Global Theme: Constructing non-traditional identities resolves tension among English, Islam, and globalism

Basic Themes	Organizing Themes
Ability to float among different communities without belonging to any The role of race, ethnicity, and culture in identity construction Obsolescence of national identity in global world	Fluid identity
Race, skin tone, and SES in Muslim schools in the US Clothing: Revealing and concealing identity Muslims' tendency to discriminate against and oppress each other	Liminal cultures

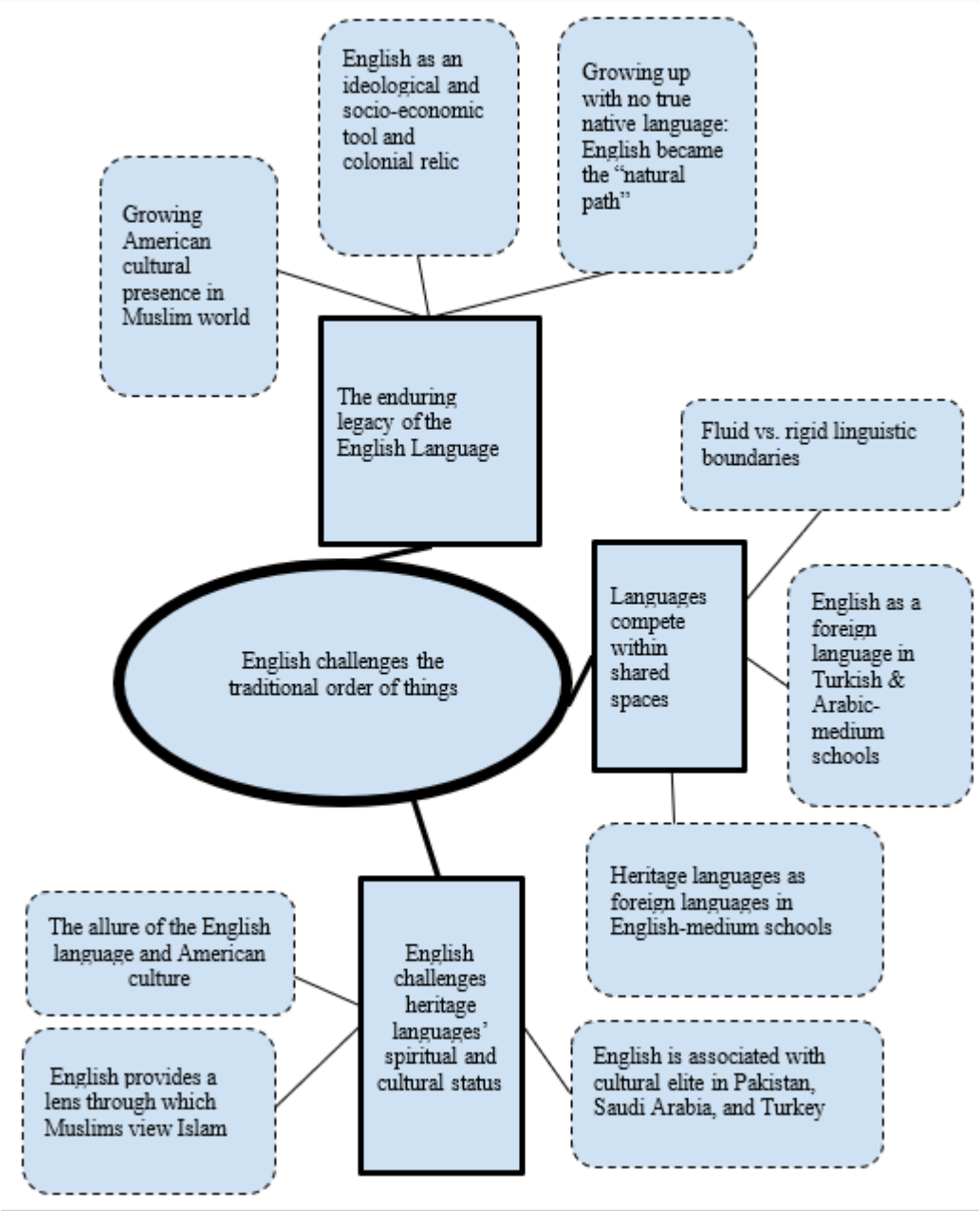

Figure 2 **Thematic Network Web 1**

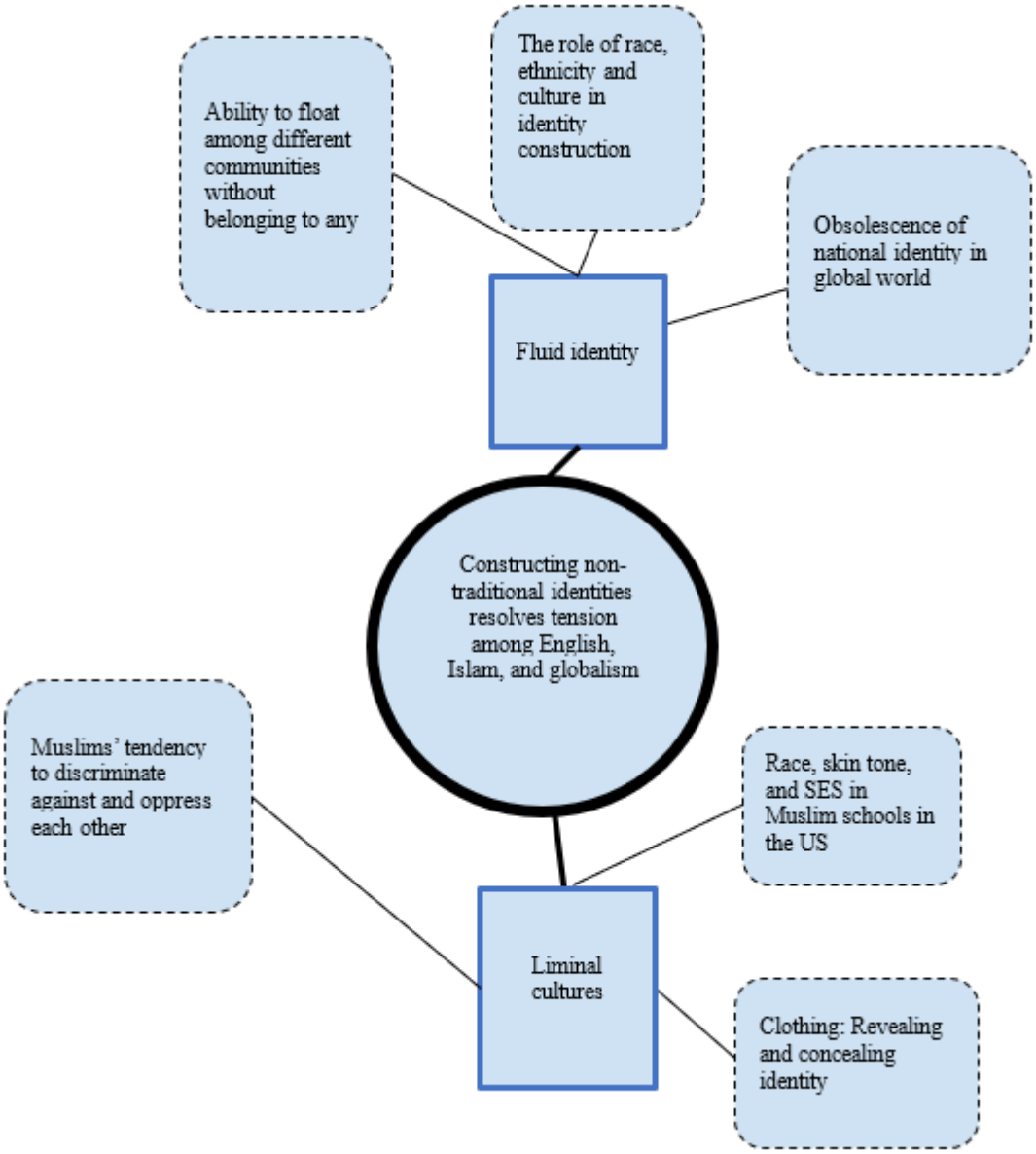

Figure 3 **Thematic Network Web 2**

Limitations

This study represents the initial stage of a longer modified grounded theory study. The major modification made to the classic grounded theory approach was the limited use of theoretical sampling, which Glaser and Strauss (1967) define as

> the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes and analyses his [*sic*] data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his [*sic*] theory as it emerges. (p.45)

Theoretical sampling is a specific type of purposeful sampling which is key to the generation of theory—it is in fact "controlled by the emerging theory" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Glaser and Strauss (1967) clearly state that planning extensive data collection in advance by designating detailed criteria for selecting participants runs counter to grounded theory methodology:

> Beyond the decisions concerning initial collection of data, further collection cannot be planned in advance of the emerging theory (as is done so carefully in research designed for verification and description). The emerging theory points to the next steps—the sociologist does not know them until he is guided by emerging gaps in his theory and by research questions suggested by previous answers. (p. 47)

The fact that participants were not chosen via theoretical sampling means that the grounded theory produced by this study is emerging and has not reached the point of theoretical completeness, a point Glaser (1978) states is reached when researchers have completed their analysis of the topic with as much coverage as possible. When such a

point is reached, Glaser states that the researcher “explains with the fewest possible concepts, and with the greatest possible scope, as much variation as possible in the behavior and problem under study” (p. 125).

While selection of participants was not pre-planned for this study, the emphasis was on recruiting demographically diverse participants, which Dick (2005) advises is the best approach for initiating a grounded theory study. During the next stage of the study, the emerging theory will guide participant selection until theoretical completeness is reached.

CHAPTER FOUR

Introduction

The purpose of this modified grounded theory project was to explore the attitudes of multicultural/multilingual (MC/ML) Muslims in the Washington Metropolitan area toward (1) the English language and American culture, and (2) their heritage languages and heritage cultures, and to generate a theory to explain how these attitudes were developed. The findings of this project were generated by using thematic network analysis to identify the most relevant themes in the participants' interview transcripts, given the research context.

This chapter presents a discussion of the study's findings. First, each of the participants will be introduced with a focus on conflicts they've experienced in relation to their MC/ML backgrounds. These conflicts were instrumental in the development of participants' linguistic and cultural attitudes. Next, the themes that emerged from the data will be discussed. Themes have been organized into two thematic networks that address the study's research questions. Each thematic network will be discussed separately. Lastly, this chapter concludes with a brief section highlighting questions that emerged related to the study's findings. These questions address the paradoxical nature of some findings and point to the need of a new theoretical lens through which to understand

Muslim cultural and linguistic attitudes. Chapter Five of this study discusses the emerging theory that addresses these questions.

Profiles of Participants

A diverse range of nine MC/ML Muslims were interviewed for this project. As a group (five females and four males), they range in age from 18 to 62 and speak one of three different heritage languages: Arabic, Turkish or Urdu. Three participants were born in the United States (US), while the others were born in Saudi Arabia, Eritrea, Jordan, Bahrain, Pakistan, or Turkey. Those born in the US have traveled internationally at least once to visit at least one of their parents' heritage cultures. Eight of the nine participants have lived in the Washington Metropolitan area for more than ten years, all but one attended school in the US (elementary school, secondary school, undergraduate and/or graduate studies), and all but one plan to remain in the US.

The goal of a grounded theory (GT) project is to build theory. To this end, Glasser (1978) advises GT researchers to distance themselves from thick description and to write about concepts, not people. GT projects tend to gradually shift focus from thick description (participant narratives in the case of this project) to conceptualization of the data. The movement toward the abstract, while necessary for hypothesizing, runs the risk of distancing the theory from the actual people and contexts the theory is meant to help us understand. For this reason, the analysis carried out for this project aims to build theory while preserving the uniqueness of participant narratives and preserving and honoring participant voices.

Table 1 shows pertinent demographic information about each participant. Below however, are more in-depth profiles of each participant in alphabetical order:

Curtis. Curtis is a 19-year old college student in Northern Virginia, where he was born. He is the son of another participant in this study, Osman. His father is of African descent and his mother is Arab. He speaks English fluently and is proficient in Arabic. Curtis attended a private Muslim school from first to twelfth grade. At home, Curtis's parents speak to him in Arabic, and he replies in English. Curtis doesn't think his non-Arabic speaking peers are compromised as Muslims as he does not believe knowledge of Arabic is essential for Muslims. He would like for his children to speak English as their first language since he plans on remaining in the US, and he hopes they will learn "Arabic or any other language. I feel like any other language is a strength."

Curtis believes that being a ML/MC Muslim gives him an advantage over someone who is monolingual and monocultural: "I have a different perspective on the world because I don't have just one way of thinking. . . . I feel like it opens up my mind a little more."

Concerning his identity, Curtis was decisive:

> I'd say I just feel like American Muslim. That's what I say when someone asks me where I'm from, I just say, "American. . . . I dislike it when people say you can't be a Muslim and an American. That's why I usually like listening to lectures associating with people who fully develop as Muslims and have an American identity. . . . There's Imam Suhaib and there's also Congressman Keith Ellison—I think he's the first Muslim congressman from Michigan.

Curtis doesn't feel that his American and Muslim identities conflict in any way, arguing in fact that being Muslim makes him a better American:

> I feel like being a Muslim makes me even more patriotic because you have to do good for your country, be a beneficial citizen in this society, just following the guidelines of Islam. If you are a practicing Muslim, I feel like you would be a very beneficial citizen to this society.

Fatin. Fatin is a former teacher and administrator at a Muslim school in the Washington Metropolitan area. She was born and grew up in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia where her grandparents had immigrated from Turkey: I grew up speaking two languages. I don't know which one is my native—is it

> Arabic or is it the Old Turkish? My grandma used to speak Old Turkish, so I spoke with her the Old Turkish, and I spoke Arabic with my cousins and siblings and others in the house. I never knew that I was speaking two languages. It was so automatic.

At school she hid the fact that she was bilingual because bilingualism was associated with immigrant communities, which were associated with imported labor and, therefore, associated with low social status:

> When I was in third grade, fourth grade, I hated the fact that I spoke Old Turkish. I wanted to be like everybody. We had no languages in school. I just wanted to be just Arab. I didn't want to be anything but Saudi. I remember my ancestors were like pilgrims who came to Saudi Arabia. So they were almost like immigrants. So they wanted to fit in, like the Latinos want to fit in [in the US]. So we didn't talk

> about it. You know, our were parents busy making money, our grandparents were busy, you know, nostalgic about their lives, their old lives.

Fatin began studying English in the seventh grade, and immigrated to the US with her family when she was in the eighth grade:

> When I came to the United States, I had almost very, very, very limited English. So I went to a language institute for a couple of months, and then summer, and then they just threw me inside the classroom with no ESL support—nothing. I don't know how I survived it. I did! In a matter of 6 months, I was speaking English.

Fatin completed high school and one year of college in the US before returning to Saudi Arabia, where she completed her bachelor's degree in English Literature. She says she didn't feel that she had any trouble fitting in when she returned to Saudi Arabia because she became a member of an elite class of English-speaking Arab women:

> But I was always—I knew there was—I had something—I had—somehow, I felt I was privileged. Because of this English. I don't know. I always felt—and I was with that English literature group, and they were always considered in school different, and I had a different kind of life.

Hanna. Hanna teaches at a Muslim school in the Washington Metropolitan area and studies part-time in a local university's graduate program in education. She is a "hijabi" (i.e. she wears a head-covering while in public), unmarried, lives with her mother and father (who are from India and Pakistan respectively), and was born in the US. Hanna's maternal grandparents were the first of her ancestors to immigrate to the

US. Her grandfather was an engineering student and spoke English fluently. Her grandmother, however, did not speak English and learned the language through doing odd jobs, such as hair cutting and babysitting. Hanna's parents disagreed on whether their children should learn Urdu—the mother thought it was important that their children learn Urdu, while the father argued that since they live in the US, they didn't need to speak Urdu. Her mother attempted to encourage Hanna and her sisters to learn Urdu by giving them "children's books in Urdu and workbooks in Urdu." Her father would treat the children to "story time in Urdu, but we would be so lost and bored," and so her parents eventually gave up.

Hanna visited her relatives in India when she was a senior in high school. Frustrated by the fact that none of her Indian relatives could speak English, she looked down upon them. Furthermore, the basic level of standard Urdu she had begrudgingly learned did not help her because "they spoke something called Pushtaoki, which is that village's dialect. I think they also learned Gujarati, which is the state language."

Mahira. Mahira works full time while pursuing a bachelor's degree in education. She was born in Bahrain to Pakistani parents, and the family moved to New York when she was two years old. She attended public school, and the way teachers and peers spoke to her made her feel like she didn't belong:

> I felt kind of out of place because when teachers and students used to speak to me, they were like, "ARE—YOU—DOING—OKAY?" Like emphasized. And even though I understood what they were saying, for some reason the words never used to come out of my mouth. I just didn't know how to explain it or how to say it. I

> would just shake my head yes or no. I was just like in my own world.

Mahira's parents did not speak English when she was growing up, so the family spoke Urdu at home, which proved to be a difficult language for her to grasp. Mahira was placed in ESL classes when she began confusing English and Urdu expressions:

> So for me it was a lot of confusion with English and Urdu, where I would say certain words in English in an Urdu way, like how my mom would say, like the regular way is to say "sweep the floor," my mom would say "broom the floor." You know, stuff like that. It was a lot of words that were mixed around. And because of that confusion, I ended up going to ESL classes because my teachers knew I was not good in English. So in school teachers would tell me, "You're not good in English." And at home, my family would tell me, "You're not good at Urdu."

Being constantly reminded that she had limited proficiency in both languages, Mahira became frustrated and began to doubt herself:

> It used to make me feel dumb. Like someone saying you need help with English and someone saying you need help with Urdu. Well, that means I need help with everything—I'm just behind in life. I don't know what I'm doing, I don't know what I'm saying. So at least in school, they used to do stuff to get me help to learn English, but at home it just used to be criticism. They didn't really work on correcting or fixing anything. So it used to make me—it lowered my self-esteem, like I always needed help with something.

Mahira's father came to the US with the understanding that he would work with his brother, but when the family arrived, the job opportunity was no longer available. The father eventually resorted to driving a taxi, and the mother performed various blue-collar jobs to help support the family. Mahira's parents learned English partly by interacting with their daughters, but they never formally studied English:

> They didn't purposely try to learn English, like they picked up a few stuff from shopping outside, doing groceries. Then they learned when eventually when we grew up and when we—us sisters—we used to speak in English to each other. We never spoke in Urdu to each other, because English kind of became our common language, but we knew to speak Urdu with our parents. And in a respectful way. So when my mom used to sit with us and we were talking she would pick it up from us as well. And through conversation eventually they picked up enough English to understand.

Nuh. Nuh was born in Saudi Arabia to Turkish parents, and while he was still a child, the family moved to Holland. His family left Holland while he was still in school and moved to Turkey, where he lived from ages seven to 16. The family first lived in a modern city, and then in a conservative rural area. When Nuh was in high school, his family moved back to Saudi Arabia where he attended an American international school, which was a "multicultural environment." At age 19, he left for the US to study, where he has remained ever since. Presently, 10 years after coming to the US, Nuh is a program manager at an international financial institution. The fact that Nuh's family moved several times while he was growing up led to his becoming "confused" about where he

"belonged" and made it difficult for him to trust people. His parents, who were not very religious growing up in Turkey, were introduced to a more religious lifestyle in Saudi Arabia, which led them to adopt "new identities." When the family subsequently moved to Holland, his parents became defensive of their Muslim identities and became more "radical" and "conservative," a change that left Nuh feeling even more confused. When his family moved back to Turkey, Nuh felt as though he didn't belong:

> I sort of didn't see myself belonging anywhere, and as a child this was tough. It was hard for me, for example, to build relationships with people . . . or trust people. . . . I remember difficulty with identifying where I really belonged, in terms of culture.

Noor. Noor's father was born and raised in India; her mother, an African American, was born and raised in the midwestern US. Noor grew up in the Midwest and presently attends law school in the Washington Metropolitan area. Growing up, Noor attended two different Muslim schools as well as a public school.

Noor's parents directed her to study Arabic because of her Muslim identity. At a young age, Noor began wearing a scarf, which became an important part of her identity:

> When I was younger—so I started wearing hijab when I was very young. I thought it was very pretty so I started wearing it. You know how girls want to be like their moms, so I started wearing it when I was really young and I think because of that I was able to be—I was just anything—I wasn't really Black or Indian or I wasn't anything. I was just the girl with the scarf on. So I think I was able to sort of circumvent—I was able to avoid a label. I think I was able to avoid

> a label almost until college. Maybe I wasn't, but I didn't feel like I was labeled. I felt like I was just the other, and I was fine with that category because I didn't have to identity with it. It was other people's label for me, right, so I didn't have to identify with it.

A critical moment in Noor's life occurred in second grade when students were asked to Irish-ize their names to commemorate St. Patrick's Day, but she refused to do so:

> And so then I guess what I said was, "You will have to learn to respect other people's religions." But that doesn't have anything to do with St. Patrick's Day, or the O'- Mc- thing, but I really feel like that was the moment where I was like, like I'm different and I don't want to change my name. But I don't know where that came from. I think it must have been from my parents saying things around me. Before second grade.

Noor noticed a more pronounced cultural shift at home as she neared high school graduation. Her parents had always encouraged her to pursue her academic interests, but as she enrolled in college, they became specific about what they wished her to study, especially after learning that she intended to major in writing:

> I was a good kid. I just did what they wanted me to do all the time. I think that's because my parents pretended in high school and middle school that they wanted what I wanted. They pretended that. They were like, "Yeaaah, when you get to college you can do whatever you want. Yeaaaah." They pretended that. "How'd the chemistry go? Good?" They were like that. And when I got to college it was

> like, “Why are you doing this to us?” But when I finally said I didn’t want to be pre-med—I mean I went to the dean, and I was like, “Call my parents. Tell them I don’t want to be pre-med, that I shouldn’t be pre-med.” And he was going to do it, but then he was like, “Noor, this is a really bad decision and it will be a terrible phone call and [you] shouldn’t force them into this situation.” But when I finally quit pre-med, they—my dad—was so unhappy.

She attributes her father’s unhappiness with her decision not to be a doctor to his “immigrant mentality”:

> Stability. I think it’s like that. I think it’s sort of an immigrant mentality. You pick the—also it’s not in India necessarily—like in the Arab countries—it’s like the highest you can go. But like mainly I think it was stability for my dad. Because like if someone had said the most stable job in the US is a mechanic, my dad would say, “Be a mechanic.”

Osman. Osman was born in Asmara, Eritrea, in the 1960s. He spent the first fifteen years of his life there until his family moved to Saudi Arabia and then Kuwait, where he graduated from high school. At age 18, he immigrated to the US where he has remained ever since. He currently works as a chauffeur.

Osman grew up speaking Arabic, Italian, English, and Tigrigna, the local language. His parents spoke Arabic because some his ancestors immigrated to Africa from Yemen; he spoke Italian because Eritrea (formerly a colony of Italy) still retained a large population of Italians.

To understand Osman's identity, one has to listen to him describe the city where he grew up. It was there that he developed his views on culture, race, and language. No other participant in this project spoke of his or her identity in more certain terms than Osman, and no other participant retained such a strong emotional connection to their birthplace and heritage culture.

Asmara itself was divided into three major areas: Arab, African, and Italian, a division based on what Osman called "voluntary segregation":

> The Arabs stay in one part, the Italians stay in one part, the Eritreans stay in one part—I guess they came from Ethiopia, they migrated. They stayed in one part, and they don't mix. You see them in the market, but everybody has his own area. So you walk to the Italian section, and it was like you were in Rome. And the Arab section, you would think you were in Hijaz [region of the Arabian Peninsula near the Red Sea], since it was mostly Saudi and Yemeni—it was a mixed culture really—we come from a culture which is diverse really—it's amazing.

The people of Yemen had been traveling back and forth between Yemen and this part of the world for centuries, frequently intermarrying and settling throughout Africa. And while Osman referred to his family as "Arab" or "Arabito," they were essentially of African descent. Still he grew up seeing Africans as people who lived on the periphery of Arab culture. The Arab-run schools attended by children from the ethnic Arab community ensured their identification with Middle Eastern culture:

> The school was English and Italian and Arabic. We went to an Italian school that was an Arab community school, they called it. It was run by Arabs, supported by

> the Arab League. So all the curriculum comes from Egypt. So we were in separate from the local people, who would take Tigrigna and all this. So we were in a different world. Our culture was connected to the Arab world completely.

Osman was not aware while growing up of any conflicts between the three main cultures in the city:

> Our neighbor was Italian, our shops were run by Italians, the other side was Arab. So you go—it's an amazing lifestyle. There's no discrimination, no color, no. It was like "kumbaya". We don't know. The White people with the Black. There was a big harmony. People lived—everybody knew their position and understood—respected the other.

Rahma. Rahma grew up in Pakistan and is presently a consultant at an international organization. Her parents spoke to each other in Memoni (a dialect of Sindhi) but communicated with their children in Urdu. Although she studied in a private English-medium convent school, Rahma doesn't recall speaking English at home until she was older. Her mother wasn't as proficient in English as her father, and it wasn't until her teens that she remembers becoming an avid reader of English books. She remembers seeing her father read an English-language newspaper every morning.

The school Rahma attended was based on the "British system," and she makes a strong distinction between the British English she learned and the American English she uses in her job as a consultant:

> But you have to remember that this was all British English, because I was going to the British system. So everything is sugar coated—you never say anything

directly. You caveat it in a way. It was a very flowery language. British English is very flowery. I mean you never say, this is this, this is this, this is that. It's always around and around and around.

At the English-medium school she attended, Urdu was used in only two classes—Urdu language class and Islamic Studies. Rahma points out that when she was young, the tuition at English-medium schools was not very expensive, but only families that "knew what the wealth of education was" sent their children there. Now, however, with increased competition in the job market, she says she sees even poorer families sending their children to English-medium schools.

Rahma's ability to read Urdu remains weak. Apart from occasional Urdu reading assignments from Urdu language class, she used Urdu exclusively for conversations at home. The medium of education at the public university she attended in Pakistan was also English. There she saw students from diverse backgrounds—students who came from villages and were not very proficient in English. Class lectures, textbooks and exams were all in English.

Rahma has noticed that English has become much more widespread in Pakistan, and "every second person you meet on the street would know English." She attributes this phenomenon to the spread of technology and the fact that many shows on television—including talk shows and a popular news program—are in English. Even the working class is expected to speak English in order to hold down jobs at places such as McDonald's, which are now widespread.

Rahma wishes she had learned Urdu more thoroughly, as she views it not as a language, but as a "dying tradition." She sees it as her generation's cultural responsibility to learn the language for the next generation: "You're not learning Urdu for yourself, you are learning Urdu to leave the tradition of Urdu alive, because it's a dying tradition."

Saeed. Saeed has worked in the same K-12 Muslims school in the Washington metropolitan area since 1984. Starting out as a teacher, he currently serves as an administrator.

Saeed was born in in the 1950s in Jordan, where he attended an Arabic-medium school. In the Jordanian system, students began studying English in the fifth grade. He attended college in Saudi Arabia, where he majored in Islamic Studies, a program that included conversational English classes during his last two years of study.

From the time he studied English in elementary school, Saeed rarely used English other than in class. That changed in 1984 when he arrived in the US and began working full time as an Arabic teacher. Although in dire need of English classes because of his limited proficiency, he was too tired to attend classes after working all day. Instead, Saeed improved his English by listening to the radio, watching TV, and talking with friends.

Saeed and his wife did not discuss what language they would use when speaking to their two sons as they grew up (both of whom are US-born and now in their 20s). He said it just came as "natural" that they would speak Arabic at home and English outside the home. He wanted his sons to speak Arabic for religious reasons, but he says he wishes they knew other languages, such as French, German, and Spanish, because it would give

them an advantage in the job market. His sons also attended the same Muslim school where both he and his wife work.

Saeed noted there are certain emotions that he can express better in Arabic than in English, but for his sons, he thinks “they feeling English more than Arabic in their hearts.” He speaks Arabic with them when discussing matters related to Islam, but he speaks English with them when speaking about a specialized subject that his sons can’t understand well in Arabic:

> I believe the Arabic language is a great language and it have a lot of culture with it and I believe since we are Muslim and the Islam start with Arabic and to understand Islam very well you need to understand Arabic very well.

Findings

The purpose of this modified GT project was to describe and investigate the attitudes of MC/ML Muslims living in the Washington Metropolitan area toward the following:

1. The English language and American culture, and
2. Their heritage languages and heritage cultures.

After a thematic analysis of the interview data was conducted, three levels of themes were identified within the context of the research question:

1. Basic themes: The lowest level of themes, these are significant ideas that emerge from the data that possess little explanatory power, but when interpreted in the context of other related themes, they form a more powerful category of themes, called organizing themes;

2. Organizing themes: Unifying themes that organize several basic themes into a cluster and help reveal the more abstract meanings of the data and, when viewed in context of other related organizing themes, construct the most powerful themes with explanatory power, global themes; and
3. Global themes: Powerful macro themes that are produced by and organize lower-level themes and suggest possible hypotheses with explanatory power. Each global theme serves as the nucleus of a thematic network (consisting of organizing themes and basic themes), which in turn acts as an analytical tool for interpreting the data.

In the present study, 15 basic themes emerged from the interview data; these basic themes produced five organizing themes, which in turn produced two global themes. Each global theme appears at the core of a thematic network consisting of interconnected basic and organizing themes (Figures 1 and 2). These thematic networks do not provide direct answers to the research questions; instead, they represent powerful lenses through which data can be interpreted. They are especially powerful because they emerged from the data collected for this study.

The global themes of the two thematic networks are:

- English challenges the traditional order of things (Table 2 and Figure 1); and
- Constructing non-traditional identities resolves tension among English, Islam, and globalism (Table 3 and Figure 2).

Thematic Network 1 reflects the main conflicts that participants in this study faced regarding English, American culture, their heritage languages, and their heritage

cultures. The global theme at the heart of this network ("English challenges the traditional order of things") summarizes these conflicts and highlights the fact that the English language and American culture have been disruptive forces in the lives of participants, challenging the traditional ways people from their heritage cultures interact and communicate with other people and even with the divine.

Thematic Network 2 represents different strategies participants have used or observed being used by other Muslims living in the US to resolve the conflicts identified in Thematic Network 1 that have caused many Muslims considerable identity distress. The global theme at the center of this network ("Non-traditional identities resolve tension among English, Islam, and globalism") is a primary metaphor expressing how participants found traditional heritage cultural identities simultaneously inadequate and oppressive for their lives as Muslims in the US. Participants have constructed a variety of non-traditional identities to resolve tension among the often conflicting and competing forces of their heritage cultures and languages, the English language, Islam, and globalism.

Discussion of Themes

While the most powerful part of a thematic network is the global theme, its power derives from the organizing themes and basic themes which produced it. The data, therefore, was interpreted through a set of telescoping lenses: Global themes, which are produced by the interaction of several organizing themes, offer the broadest view of the data and provide a powerful lens through which to analyze data in context of the research question; organizing themes, which are unifying themes that organize several basic

themes into a cluster and help reveal the more abstract meanings of the data; and basic themes, which summarize significant ideas from participant interviews which relate to the research question.

The findings of the data, therefore, will be discussed at all three levels in order to show the connection between the data and the description and theories generated in response to the research question. The focus of a GT project is to generate a theory or theories that are to a certain degree generalizable. Theories produced by a GT project do not represent the ultimate answer to research questions, but they offer a way of answering research questions that is grounded in the collected data.

Each thematic network will be used as a tool to discuss the findings and to illustrate the connection between data and theories generated by data analysis. The data that produced each basic theme will be presented in the form of quotes from participant interviews.

The discussion of the findings of this study is divided into two main parts. The first part of the discussion is filtered through the lens constructed by Thematic Network 1 ("English challenges the traditional order of things") and explores the various attitudes participants expressed related to language, culture, and identity as Muslims living in the US (as well as growing up in the Muslim world, where applicable). The second part of the discussion of findings is filtered through the lens constructed by Thematic Network 2 ("Constructing non-traditional identities resolves tension among English, Islam, and globalism") and explores the strategies participants have employed or witnessed other

Muslims employing to resolve the tension among language, culture, and identity, and what attitudes these strategies suggest.

Thematic Network 1

The global theme of this thematic network is "English challenges the traditional order of things." This global theme emerged from a set of three organizing themes, which in turn emerged from nine basic themes. I will discuss each organizing theme and the basic themes that produced them separately. The first organizing theme is "the enduring legacy of the English language," and the three basic themes that produced this theme are discussed below.

Basic theme 1: Growing American presence in the Muslim world. Participants who grew up in the Muslim world all came in contact with the English language at an early age and witnessed the growing presence and influence of American culture. This powerful influence of American culture represents the most significant challenge to traditional heritage cultural identities experienced by participants.

Many of the parents or grandparents of participants in this study first learned English during British rule. One participant, Nuh, in describing the changing attitudes toward the English language in Turkey, said that some "backward-thinking" people of an older generation may ask questions like, "Why would you learn the language of the enemy, or the language of the nonbelievers?" Nuh indicated that this type of negative attitude toward the English language and Turkish students who learn the language is practically non-existent among today's generation. Rahma, who grew up in Pakistan, also indicated English, once associated with colonialism, has now aligned itself with a softer

version of colonialism connected to American global corporate expansion. Turkey and Pakistan both illustrate how attitudes toward the English language are changing in the Muslim world as the influence of American culture increases.

Participants who grew up in the Muslim world all studied English as a foreign language in schools (both private and public), and they were introduced and greatly influenced by American culture through one or more of the following: American military presence, American diplomatic missions that provided support for English teachers, American international schools, American radio and TV programming, American self-help books, and American global corporate expansion. The tension caused by participants being exposed to English and American culture while growing up in the Muslim world is frequently articulated in their narratives, indicating that this exposure had significant effects on the course of their lives and on the development of their identities.

Osman grew up in the city of Asmara in Eritrea, home to a large US military base called Kagnew Station, which housed about thirty thousand American troops. The base built the city's first TV and radio stations, which offered exclusively American programing. Osman grew up exposed to American media daily, watching Westerns and listening to Motown music.

During my interview with Osman, he navigated to YouTube on his phone and found many videos of Asmara filmed during the 1960s and 1970s, all of which reflected the city's Americanized nature: American cars were common on the streets, and people in Western attire walked along shop-lined sidewalks.

Recalling his youth fondly, Osman made it clear that the American military base in Asmara provided him with a powerful connection to the American "way of life":

> Soldiers, private citizens that were working there. When you go to the base, it's like almost like you're in the United States. You have yellow buses, schools, swimming pools, movie theatres. So it's a small America, and the Americans were welcoming the locals to come and see. Every year they opened the doors, and you know those bikers would come in the city, Harley Davidsons, and we used to ride behind them in the back. Fun, you know? Americans—they were nice. . . . We used to live next to a bowling alley. So the Americans came with bikes, so we started looking at the bikes, and they went around varooooom! Very loud! So for me to become American, it wasn't a big thing. I experienced the culture. And I met the Americans—most of them were white at that time. So the white Americans never showed us any kind of discrimination. We never thought that in America they had this kind of discrimination between Blacks and whites because they were nice to us. They had bars. The lifestyle was different there. . . . From the beginning, I thought my destiny was here. I never could stay in the Middle East. Never.

At age 18, after having graduated from high school in Kuwait (where his family moved to during the political upheaval in Asmara), Osman left for the US, never to return. In Osman's mind, so strong was his affinity for all things American, that any place that was not touched by American culture was "dark." His heart was not enamored with Western culture in general, but with American culture in particular:

> When I was in London, I was at the airport. The lady asked me at immigration, "Why don't you want to stay in England?" I told her, "I don't like England! I want to go to the States!" I don't know why. I just wanted to go to the States. I just liked America. We never had any British influence. [He then accesses a YouTube video on his phone of a recording of a radio station in Asmara which is playing American music from the 60's. The video shows pictures of 1960s Asmara, including the American military base and American cars in the streets, resembling an American city in the 1950s]. You never had the feeling you were in Africa. And the weather was beautiful. We had a TV station and a radio station. [Many more American songs play]. We were very Americanized! Now you know why I love America! Life was so great! The whole of Africa was dark at that time.

Unlike Osman who linked his affinity for American culture to the US military and cultural presence in his hometown, Rahma, who attended school and college in Pakistan, believes it is corporate America as embodied in the fast-food chain McDonald's that has been the catalyst for change in Pakistan. She posits that McDonald's and other fast-food chains of its ilk have been instrumental in promoting the recent spread of English among lower social classes and in challenging cultural norms about dress and the role of women in the workforce:

> Previously women weren't in so much in the workforce. Like now, McDonald's, if you go you'll see this woman who is dressed in pants and shirt, like in this Western image of McDonald's, and obviously when you think of McDonald's you have this thing in your mind, and you imagine that whoever is working there

> is somewhat Westernized. So you wouldn't have someone standing in a shalwar-kurtar [traditional Pakistani clothing] serving you in a McDonald's. So it comes with its own territory. So now you would go there and open the door and they would speak English. I mean it's a very common thing, and even if they won't speak English, if you speak English, they would understand it.

Through her work for an international financial institution, Rahma has traveled extensively in the Muslim world; she observed that only one country in the region does not reflect the predominance of American cultural influence on the surface:

> I haven't seen this in Iran. In contrast to Pakistan, in Iran, people don't understand English. And I feel that in this age, whether you can speak or write English, understanding English is very important because it comes with its own territory. If you can speak English, you can do a lot of things because the world is speaking English, so you get access to the world.

Much like Osman, Fatin, who grew up in Saudi Arabia and attended high school in the US, recalls that from an early age she had a desire to be American:

> When I was young, I was like, I don't want to be Saudi: I want to be American. I'm an American. I seemed everything American. I was fascinated with the way of living. Even when I went back, I was still living the American kind of life.

Fatin recalled that her husband, a Saudi citizen working for the giant Saudi American oil conglomerate ARAMCO, also had a great affinity for America, and he was determined that his children would be influenced by Western and specifically American culture:

> My husband was fascinated with America. My husband wanted the kids to have both cultures. He did not believe in the Saudi educational system. He sent the kids when they were very young to Europe--to Switzerland--all my kids would go to boarding school at 8th grade and finish there and go to universities in the United States because he wanted them to have command of both languages.

It was from the ARAMCO library that her husband would bring home American books for his family to read:

> My husband is from ARAMCO—so what they did in the 90's is ARAMCO they were, like, they were revamping their library. So my husband brought me all these valuable books, all these presenters on leadership. And I used to sit for hours and hours and hours and watch presentations and read books—that's when I got hooked on Stephen Covey.

Another major source of American cultural influence in Saudi Arabia was the American Embassy's cultural attaché who supported Saudi English teachers. In her government appointed position as a trainer for English language teachers, Fatin worked closely with the Cultural Attaché of the American embassy, then located in Jeddah:

> She used to send us—the English department—to workshops. And that's when we initiated the TESOL Arabia—that's when we initiated the—we were part of the curriculum development. I was a member of the curriculum development, and she provided us with tons, tons of books with videotapes on listening, reading, writing, from ASCD--if you know that organization. And that was very helpful. Also, the second thing that helped me maintain my language and improve my

leadership skills and my language teaching skills.

Nuh, born in Saudi Arabia to Turkish parents, describes how the American international school he attended in Saudi Arabia greatly influenced his career path:

> The way I ended up in the United States has a lot to do with these ideas, with what I wanted to do. Economics, for example, the way I chose my profession has to do with being exposed to English. . . . When I was in Turkey, I was very good in math, and people who are good in math in Turkey or sciences or chemistry they end up in an Engineering school. Because those are the most prestigious degrees to have in Turkey, or you can become a doctor. But I thought I was going to become an engineer. Because in this Turkish system, that's where people who are successful, that's what they do. But when I moved to Saudi Arabia . . . I got first exposed to economics and I said, "Ah! This is something I enjoy." And I came to college and I chose my major as economics and I was able to see more in college that I could use my math skills in economics, and that's why I pursued graduate school in economics and that's how I became an economist. So, yeah! I think learning English, and not just learning it, you know, but having gone to an American school, changed what I became in my professional life. Otherwise I would've ended up being an engineer in Turkey.

The growing American cultural presence in the Muslim world builds upon the groundwork of the Anglicizing mission of former British colonizers. While some participants studied at British-style English medium schools, none of the participants felt influenced or drawn to British culture or considered studying or living in the UK. The

decline of British influence in the Muslim world continues despite the enduring legacy of the English language. Once the most powerful tool of British imperialism, the English language is now, in the eyes of the participants who grew up in the Muslim world, associated with American global cultural expansion (AGCE). AGCE in the Muslim world represents a greater challenge to traditional cultural identities than did the original British Anglicizing mission (BAM) for several reasons:

1. BAM targeted the upper class, whereas AGCE targets all social classes;
2. BAM sought to replace local religions with Christianity, whereas AGCE tends to be secular;
3. BAM focused on denigrating local cultures, whereas AGCE markets itself as free choice; and
4. BAM represented the interests of one small nation, whereas AGCE aligns itself with globalism.

All four of these key differences illustrate why the growing American cultural presence in the Muslim world represents a greater challenge for Muslims who attempt to adopt traditional cultural identities both in the US and in their countries of origin.

Basic theme 2: English as ideological and socio-economic tool and colonial relic. The English language was initially spread throughout the Muslim world by the British, who sought to anglicize the cultures of their colonies. While the anglicizing mission of the British is waning (even as British-style education remains a highly sought-after commodity in some parts of the Muslim world), Americanization and globalization are increasingly powerful forces in the Muslim world that also use the English language

to influence socio-political systems. One participant, who attended a British-style school in the Muslim world but works in the US, highlighted what she considered the most significant difference between British and American English, one that forced her to learn to think in a different way. Another participant who grew up in the US visited her mother's family in the Muslim world and had a confusing encounter with English street signs that were essentially colonial relics and not an indication that anyone in the village spoke English. Another participant illustrated the power of the English language to not only challenge the traditional languages of the Muslim world, but also to dethrone other European colonial languages.

Hanna, born in the US, visited her mother's family in Pakistan while she was a high school student. Having learned basic Urdu, the national language of Pakistan and also spoken by most Muslims in the Indian subcontinent, Hanna felt confident that she would be able to communicate with family members via a combination of English and Urdu, especially after noting that all the streets signs in her family's village were transliterated into English.

Upon meeting the family, however, she found that no one spoke English. She looked down upon them and thought to herself, "You guys, you know, why don't you know English? You should know!" Furthermore, the basic level of standard Urdu she had begrudgingly learned did not help her because "they spoke something called Pushtaoki, which is that village's dialect. . . . [and] Gujarati, which is the state language."

Hanna found she had fallen down a linguistic rabbit hole. The English translation/transliteration of street signs and most other signs in the village wasn't an

indication that English was spoken in the village, but it was a relic of Pakistan's colonial past. Additionally, although her mother told her that her family's native language was Urdu, no one in the family actually spoke Urdu—or at least not the standard version that Hanna had learned. They spoke a dialect of Urdu which bore little resemblance to the classical language Hanna had learned.

Rahma grew up in Pakistan and faced a similar linguistic challenge. She studied in an English-medium convent school in which Urdu was used in only two classes: Islamic studies and Urdu language classes. Her parents spoke to her in Urdu at home, but they spoke Memoni to each other, a language Rahma and her siblings didn't speak.

Rahma points out that when she was young, the tuition at English-medium schools was inexpensive, but only families that "knew what the wealth of education was" sent their children to these schools. Now, however, with increased competition in the job market, she says she sees poorer families are sending their children to English-medium schools.

For Rahma, the significant role English plays in Pakistan does not come without a price. She sees language as directly connected to ideological beliefs and identity, and she feels the widespread embrace of the English language among Pakistanis has caused them to become confused about their identities:

> I just feel that ideologically we in Pakistan are totally messed up. Who are you? What defines you? This is a bottom-line question. Because of the way Partition happened, the way our history has been coined, we haven't really figured out who we are. Do we want to be Muslims? Do you want to be Pakistanis? Do you want

to be Britishers? Who do we want to be? Who, what are we? By speaking more English, I'll be accepted more. You have to first define what your own ideology is before you say to the world, "This is who I am." I think we haven't really figured it out. And you know the funny thing is it's not just us. It's everyone who has gone through colonialization. Everywhere globally. I mean Laila Ahmad wrote a book and after reading it I felt the same way she does. Because you just don't know what your identity is. And you grapple with it throughout your existence. I think language also becomes that grapping thing, you feel if you are more assimilated in American society you would ace what that tool is. Whereas if you are in Pakistan, it's a different thing. But I think it all boils down to that—who you are, and who you want to be. I mean, ideologically we're lost. Because in Pakistan there are a lot of languages, a lot of dialects, and different things happening all around the country. It's all one. So I mean I come from a Memonian family—I even studied Sindhi for that matter when I was going to school. At one time I was speaking Urdu, English, Sindhi, Memoni, and Gujarati. So there were a lot of things—languages—that I was exposed to. But there is also Punjabi that is popular in Pakistan—I have a lot of friends that speak Punjabi. And there is Pushtu. So you know you get exposed to these different languages and it becomes a potpourri, so what defines you? It's not the languages that define you, is it? I don't think so.

The linguistically rich environment in which Rahma grew up prevented her from connecting her identity to one specific language. Furthermore, she feels that she,

Pakistanis, and all people with a history of being colonized are ideologically fractured and confused by the "potpourri" of languages and dialects they must choose from. And for Rahma, there is no integrating of identities—one chooses to be a "Britisher" or a "Muslim," and it's a choice she believes she and others like her must "grapple with throughout your existence."

Nuh, meanwhile, saw the French-influenced Turkish educational system's shifting emphasis to English not as a consequence of colonization, but as a result of the growing global status of the English language:

> But yeah learning English was actually seen as sort of prestigious. Not every school taught English. People wanted to go to schools where they could learn English. Even to the you know to the limited extent they were still preferred to other schools. The French was the main foreign language in Turkey for many years. After the founding of Turkey, we took a lot of our sort of legal code from the French system, and before the Turkey Republic was founded, sort of the people who wanted to reform the system—the Ottoman system—they got educated in France. So they had a lot of French influence, and that's why Turkey embraced laissez-faire instead of secularism. Which these concepts are slightly different, but we had a lot of French influence in those early years of the republic, and French was the main foreign language. It was taught in schools as the main foreign language. But at some point, I think, in the 80's it changed, it was changed to English. So my parents' generation, they actually learned French in school, in high school, as a foreign language. But my generation learned English.

While Nuh and his parents all spoke Turkish, French was the dominant foreign language taught in schools during his parents' student years. French was a natural choice for Turkish students because of the language's ideological connection to Turkey's political structure, which was based on the French model. It speaks to the global power and rising prestige of the English language that by the 1980s, the English language became the foreign language of choice in Turkey, despite the historical significance of French. The dethroning of French in Turkey as the most prestigious foreign language indicates the power of the English language to not only make inroads into Muslim countries, but also to topple other languages, even those with strong historical and political ties to a culture.

Basic theme 3: Growing up with no true native language: English became the "natural path." Many participants grew up in linguistically rich contexts with several languages being spoken within a small area. In many cases, their parents and grandparents spoke languages that the participants did not speak, which thus required them to find a common language in which to communicate. A few participants and many of their parents grew up speaking several languages out of necessity: They spoke their respective official national language, which differed from the official state language, which itself differed from the local language, which again differed from the tribal or classical language strongly tied to their heritage. Added to this rich linguistic tapestry, many of the participants' parents and grandparents spoke English, even if they had never left the Muslim world.

The English language, then, was adopted by many Muslim communities, states, and nations as a universal language, one that would unite various communities who did not share heritage or regional languages. The global reach of English made it a logical choice for many communities in the Muslim world wishing to connect to other communities. As one participant put it: English became the "natural path;" another participant described speaking English as becoming "natural."

English thus enabled Muslims from different language communities and different generations to communicate in common language. However, English also has the potential to divide people. Some participants recounted how English gave them access to the world, which often distinguished them from others who viewed English as only a tool for communication and career advancement. Participants who used English to become more global in their perspectives found that they had essentially become a separate social class or tribe within their communities. As English connects, it simultaneously divides people.

Several participants had difficulty identifying their mother tongue. Fatin's family immigrated from Turkey to Saudi Arabia shortly before she was born:

> I grew up speaking two languages. I don't know which one is my native--is it Arabic or is it the Old Turkish. My grandma used to speak Old Turkish, so I spoke with her the Old Turkish, and I spoke Arabic with my cousins and siblings and others in the house . . . . I never knew that I was speaking two languages—it was so automatic.

Fatin moved with her family to the US when she was in the 9th grade, and she was the only Arabic-speaker at school. She had completed her high school education and one year of college in the US when her family moved back to Saudi Arabia. Upon returning to Saudi Arabia, Fatin enrolled in college as an English major. Despite growing up speaking Old Turkish and Arabic, something happened when she returned to Saudi Arabia. She says that "English became very natural." She found herself drawn to other students whose preferred language was English, and although her family had moved back from the US, her identity was forever changed:

> I [didn't'] want to be Saudi, I [wanted] to be American. I [was] an American. I seemed everything American. I was fascinated with the way of living. Even when I went back, I was still living the American kind of life.

Fatin married a Saudi who was equally enchanted by the American way of life. He sent their children to attend boarding school outside Saudi Arabia beginning in grade eight, and all of them attended university in the US. Through her choice of friends and her decision to marry a man who reflected the same values she and her closest friends held regarding the "American kind of life," her love of English and American culture set her apart from many of her compatriots. It was only when she moved to the US and took a job requiring her to work closely with diverse groups of Saudis that Fatin realized how different she was from them. Embracing English, then, as the key language with which she interacted with and explored the world was natural for Fatin as it was the key factor that distinguished her from her compatriots.

Rahma also had difficulty identifying her mother tongue. Growing up in Pakistan, she was educated in English her entire life. At school, she studied Urdu; at home, her parents (who spoke to each other in Memoni, which their children couldn't understand) spoke to their children in Urdu:

> And I feel that because my parents weren't Urdu-speaking, they never really encouraged the Urdu part. . . . The Memoni that they spoke was a colloquial language only. The writing of that was in Gujarati. We never spoke in Gujarati. We never wrote in Gujarati. I could understand it if someone spoke, but Memoni, I can understand it, but my speaking is not very good. But the thing is that, so English was the only thing because we were going to school in English: It was the natural path; it became the natural path. It was like out of the six subjects we were studying, we were studying four in English, and that too because one was Urdu and one was Islamic. So the more of education, I mean it was something you were just fed into it automatically.

Both Fatin and Rahma used the word "natural" when referring to the English language. In Rahma's case, she was exposed to five languages growing up: Urdu, English, Sindhi, Memoni, and Gujarati. English, however, became the "natural path" because it was the language that dominated her education, and she grew up seeing her father read English newspapers every day. For Fatin, English became "natural" for her because it was part of the American identity and "American way of life" to which she was drawn. Both Fatin and Rahma have grappled with identity issues their entire lives, and for both, language is at the center of the conflict. Both challenge the notion that

language is a neutral tool. English especially, with its connection to a powerful "American kind of life," creates for many Muslims a challenge in which they must determine how and whether they can integrate or incorporate English into their larger Muslim and heritage cultural identities.

This concludes the discussion of the first organizing theme, "The enduring legacy of the English language." The participant narratives about how they came to learn and embrace the English language illustrate the immense power of the language. Originally a colonial tool used by the British for their anglicizing mission, the English language has endured, long after the British packed up and left and Muslim states gained independence. Not only has the English language endured in the Muslim world, as we have seen from the participants in this study, it is pervasive. During the colonial era in the Muslim world, Muslim languages (e.g., Arabic, Farsi, Turkish, and Urdu) were systematically marginalized as English was made the required medium of study. Today, however, Muslim states, communities, and families have more latitude in choosing which language or languages to use in educational, political, and cultural institutions. Many participants narrate how they and their families were drawn to the English language for a variety of reasons, including its connection to a highly respected American identity, globalism, and professional and social advancement.

All the participants stated that the English language empowered them; some participants, however, also described the dominance of English in their heritage cultures and in their personal lives as disruptive. Because the English language is associated with certain ideologies and forces at variance with traditional heritage and Muslim identities,

some Muslims feel compelled to choose either to integrate and synthesize these contrary ideologies into their Muslim and heritage identities, or to abandon them altogether. Greater insight into the internal and external conflicts associated with Muslims' attitudes toward and engagement with the power of the English language is offered in the following discussion of the second organizing theme, "Languages compete within shared spaces."

The second organizing theme is "languages compete within shared spaces," and it emerged from three basic themes which are discussed below.

Basic theme 4: Fluid vs. rigid linguistic boundaries. Each participant grew up and lives in a multilingual environment. In some cases, multiple languages are used in any given space, boundaries are fluid, and speakers code switch freely when speaking with others fluent in multiple languages. In other cases, however, boundaries exist within which specific languages are designated as either permissible or forbidden.

Participants in this study often experienced or witnessed conflict connected to linguistic boundaries, and they described linguistic boundaries that were constructed in different ways for different purposes. In some cases, participants saw schools drawing linguistic boundaries and determining which languages can and cannot be spoken in specific spaces. Their parents and the larger communities also construct linguistic boundaries, and there is sometimes conflict among the community and between parents concerning such boundaries. Certain dialects of a language are associated with social groupings, and people who speak a dialect of a language may construct boundaries and accept or reject someone's attempt to align their identity with a specific dialect

community. Institutions such as schools also create linguistic boundaries, such as those that separate mainstream English classes from ESL classes. Some linguistic boundaries emerge subconsciously, where family or community members adhere to certain boundaries without directly acknowledging them. Also, a person may construct linguistic boundaries for themselves, hiding the fact that they speak a certain language because of the low social status associated with it or because of their perception that it is not appropriate to speak a particular language in certain professional settings. Lastly, languages themselves create boundaries among themselves, and young ML students sometimes find one language interfering with another language in a way that teachers misinterpret as a sign of linguistic or cognitive deficiency.

Osman and his wife did not force their US-born son to speak Arabic. At home, they speak to him in Arabic, but he usually replies in English. They regard Arabic as important only because it allows him to read and understand the Qur'an and to communicate with his extended family. They do not give Arabic a special status or think it is integral to their or their son's Muslim identity.

Osman, however, pointed out that, unlike his household, there are members of the Arabic-speaking community who don't identify as Americans and almost criminalize any language other than Arabic at home. He refers to these parents as "extremists":

> I know a family that is going through a hard time because the father wants only Arabic, and the mother wants mixed. It became a conflict. The father keeps asking his son, "Did your mother speak to you in English?" Too extreme. He's going to hate the language! He's not going to like the language at all. "Because this is the

language that destroyed my family," he's going to say.

Linguistic boundaries are also a prominent theme for Rahma, who grew up exposed to multiple languages in Pakistan. She recalled that her parents communicated with each other in Memoni, but whenever the parents and children wished to communicate, they all spoke standard Urdu. However, her father began to speak more and more English with her at home as she grew older. In school, four of her six classes each term were taught exclusively in English, while Urdu language and Islamic Studies were in Urdu only. Around town, Rahma variously spoke Sindhi (the state language), Gujarati (one of her heritage languages), Urdu (the official national language), and English, based on whom she was speaking with.

Since coming to the US, Rahma has noticed that whenever she meets other Pakistanis in a professional setting, "they would make a very concerted effort to speak English." She thinks fellow Pakistanis would do this "to prove a point" because "ideologically we in Pakistan are totally messed up." She and her Urdu-speaking friends, however, often code-switch, mixing Urdu with English.

Furthermore, Rahma noted that even though she performs her ritual prayers in Arabic as required, she chooses to make supplications in English, not Urdu. Similarly, despite the availability of Urdu translations, she reads an English translation of the Qur'an.

Rahma, then, has encountered a series of linguistic boundaries. Urdu was confined to two specific classes in school and mostly communication with family and Urdu-speaking friends. As she has grown older, the spaces where Urdu may or should be

spoken have shrunk. She has found that in professional settings, Urdu-speakers avoid communicating in Urdu at all times. English, meanwhile, is permissible or required in many more spaces in her life, including at home when she entered high school. English has even supplanted Urdu in her spiritual life as she relies upon it for formal prayers and supplications, although Urdu translations of the original Arabic texts are readily available.

Saeed also holds that throughout his life, most of the world he moves in has been characterized by rigid linguistic boundaries. While growing up in Jordan, he spoke only Arabic at home and in the community where he lived. English was spoken only in English class at school, beginning in grade five. Also, while attending college in Saudi Arabia, he lived in a monolingual community; however, he did take a class focused on conversational English for the purpose of engaging English-speakers in discussions about Islam. Finally, when he moved to the US, Saeed himself and his wife (an Arabic teacher) unconsciously created a rigid boundary between Arabic and English: "It just became we speak Arabic at home we speak English outside. Why is that? I don't know. Maybe that's the easy way."

Osman's son, Curtis, was brought up within fluid linguistic boundaries. His parents speak Arabic to him, and he responds in English. His parents adopted this fluid approach because they felt that forcing their son to speak Arabic at home, as many Arabs in the community do, would cause him to feel out of place in the mainstream society and to view Arabic as a segregated language.

Growing up with fluid linguistic boundaries at home, Curtis came up against more rigid linguistic boundaries at school, often resulting in conflict. Throughout his schooldays, he attended an English-medium Muslim school, where he was required to take Arabic courses each year. The school also ran an Arabic-medium program for students of Middle Eastern descent who had weak English skills. Students self-segregated into two main groups based on language: A small minority of recently arrived Arab students who spoke mainly Arabic; and a larger, more diverse group comprised of Indo-Pak and Arab students, most of whom were US born and fluent in English. These two groups typically did not take common classes, and during recess they often played separately, with younger students among these groups often viewing each other as rival factions, which led to many playground fights.

In the case of Hanna, her significant encounters with linguistic boundaries occurred at home in the US and also India, which she occasionally visited. Her Pakistani Muslim father and Indian Muslim mother disagreed on the significance of Urdu, with the father discounting the importance of teaching his children Urdu, and her mother holding frequent "learn Urdu! conversations" with her:

> "It's the language of your culture! It's the language of your heritage!" She really stressed the fact that we have, back home in India, family that she kind of wanted us to maintain a relationship with, but it would be very difficult for us to maintain a relationship if we didn't know the language. And so for her, I think that was the primary reason why she wanted us to learn, so that we could keep up those ties but also kind of keep up a cultural identity. And I think now that I'm older I do

> agree with her that it is a part of our identity to learn the language back home. It's really important to be able to speak to people who are part of the same culture. It is ultimately who you are, or a part of who you are.

Hana's father attempted to tell stories to the children in Urdu, but he eventually gave up when he saw they were not motivated to learn the language. Hana did, however, manage to learn basic Urdu by listening to her parents speak and by spending time with her grandmother learning how to cook Indian food. When speaking with Urdu speakers, she sometimes will "mix in some Urdu," but she prefers to speak "mainly" English.

When Hana spends time with her friends, they play a game in which they teach each other words from each other's heritage language, and in the process of doing so, she discovered how weak her Urdu was:

> We'd like sit down around the table and be like, "How do you say this in your language?" And I wouldn't be able to! Like, "I don't really know! Can I text someone? Most of them were born here. But I think their parents really pushed them to learn the language. And they're mainly first generation too, so they had no choice but to speak their home language with their parents.

Hana pointed out that her weak understanding of Urdu didn't present any problems interacting with her friends because "we still had English." While young, she didn't feel learning Urdu was important; therefore, she created a rigid boundary around the language and used it only when necessary. As she grew older, however, she took to heart her mother's words about the importance of preserving her culture and being able to connect with her family in India. As they planned her first trip to India during her senior

year in high school, she committed herself to improving her Urdu in order to communicate with her family, thereby remapping her linguistic boundaries to allow Urdu to play a role in her identity construction.

Upon arriving in her mother's Indian village, Hana noted that all the street signs were written in Urdu and transliterated in English. These bilingual signs made her feel confident that she and her relatives would be able to switch back and forth between English and Urdu with some fluidity. Upon meeting her Indian family, however, she learned that none of them could speak English, a fact which frustrated her and caused her to view them unfavorably: "You guys, you know, why don't you know English? You should know!" Furthermore, the basic level of standard Urdu she had learned did not help her because

> they spoke something called Pushtaoki, which is that village's dialect. . . . They were going to local Gujarati schools. Urdu was an elective for them. You could learn Urdu, Persian, English, but they spoke something called Pushtaoki, which is that village dialect. I think they also learned Gujarati, which is the state language.

For Hanna, Urdu suddenly lost its appeal as it proved to be useless in helping her connect to her extended family. She learned that sometimes boundaries exist within a language, separating dialects and those who speak them.

Fatin's encounters with linguistic boundaries are complex and indicate the existence of internal linguistic boundaries and their implications concerning identity. She reevaluated her notion of what it is to be Saudi multiple times during her life. As a second-generation Saudi, Fatin spent her early life wishing to be only Saudi, which

entailed creating a rigid linguistic boundary between Arabic and Old Turkish. At home, she communicated with her family only in Old Turkish, but at school she was careful to speak only Arabic in an attempt to hide her bilingualism from her peers because of its lower socio-economic implications:

> When I was in third grade, fourth grade, I hated the fact that I spoke Old Turkish. I wanted to be like everybody. We had no languages in school I just wanted to be just Arab. I didn't want to be anything but Saudi. I remember my ancestors were like pilgrims who came to Saudi Arabia. So they were almost like immigrants. So they wanted to fit in, like the Latinos want to fit in [in the US]. So we didn't talk about it.

After graduating from university, she had to adjust her idea of what it means to be Saudi. It suddenly occurred to her that she and her peers who had majored in English Literature formed an "elite class" of English-speaking Saudis, which made her feel "privileged." Her ability to speak English thus conferred upon her the membership of an exclusive group, one that embraced a more global worldview than the local culture. Those linguistic boundaries mirrored the ideological boundaries she saw as distinguishing her from non-English speaking Saudis.

When Fatin took a teaching position in a US school with a large Saudi population, she describes the experience as a "culture shock" as she met the "real" residents of her own home country. Whereas previously, she had moved only in her circle of well-traveled, "elite" English-speaking women, she realized after meeting and working with different people from all regions of Saudi Arabia, that she was not a "real Saudi." She discovered

that the way she embraced English and American culture was not typical of her compatriots, many of whom embraced tribal identities.

Unlike Fatin's case, the linguistic boundaries enclosing Mahira's world were not self-imposed, but they were uncertain, confusing and anxiety-inducing. Mahira had agonizing experiences with learning languages. She had difficulty knowing how to construct boundaries between languages to keep each one from interfering with the other. She was also confused as to why she was taken from mainstream English classes and placed in ESL classes, a move across an important linguistic boundary that made her feel powerless.

The daughter of Pakistani immigrants, Mahira was forced to learn English, Urdu, and Arabic simultaneously by her parents, and she found herself struggling with each language. Struggling to learn Urdu so that she could communicate with her parents, she invariably fell short of her mother's expectations. Her anxiety about learning the language caused the Urdu she learned to interfere with her English. Such crosslinguistic interference (a phenomenon in which a language learner mistakenly incorporates linguistic elements from one language into another language) was misinterpreted by her teachers as limited English proficiency.

Mahira, like many children learning multiple languages simultaneously, viewed languages as having fluid boundaries. The syntax, grammar, and/or vocabulary of one language may creep into another as language-learners experiment with communicating with multiple languages. In Mahira's case, she found boundaries between languages to be

fluid as she adopted the structure of certain Urdu expressions when she spoke English, which caused her to be placed in ESL class.

> So for me it was a lot of confusion with English and Urdu, where I would say certain words in English in an Urdu way, like how my mom would say, like the regular way is to say "sweep the floor," my mom would say "broom the floor." You know, stuff like that. It was a lot of words that were mixed around. And because of that confusion, I ended up going to ESL classes because my teachers knew I was not good in English. So in school teachers would tell me, "You're not good in English." And at home, my family would tell me, "You're not good at Urdu."

While crosslinguistic interference caused Mahira to be relegated to ESL classes, Noor feigned crosslinguistic interference to gain acceptance. After starting out in public school, she was sent to two different Muslim schools, where she studied both Arabic and Urdu. She viewed linguistic boundaries as challenges, and invented strategies to cross boundaries to gain acceptance by different language communities. Noor tells the story of how she gained acceptance at her Indo-Pak Muslim school:

> I think at [the Indo-Pak school] I developed this way of speaking so when—I feel like when Indians speak English they speak—how would they do it? They would be like, "This thing? The way this works? Is that?" Like everything has a question mark and there is a lot of hand movement to show how "this" works. So I developed that. It was like a substitute for Urdu. Like if I didn't know Urdu, I couldn't speak Urdu fluently, but I could say, "You know chemistry? So? I have

> to work? Harder?" And people would say, "Okay, she's legit. Because look at the way she's moving her hands." So I did that a lot at [the Indo-Pak school]. And the same thing works with Arabs, but you have to do it in a slightly different way. You know how Arabs speak, like Arabs will move their hands a lot, like this kind of hand motion, or they look like they are feeling the air out for the word, you know that, that—anyway, so I developed little nuances in my English to fit into whatever group. And I did that definitely with the Black kids [in college]. . . . Like I said, they were very bougie Black kids, so I didn't really fit in very well with them.

Noor's primary, secondary, and collegiate experiences are all characterized by her appropriating certain language features of communities to gain acceptance. She had limited success, however, in being accepted by any group because she found it involved much more than just imitating a group's speech patterns or embracing their dialect. In Noor's case, she explored ways to find at least honorary membership in certain language communities, even if she didn't speak the language. And although English is her first language, it was with English that she found it most difficult to identity with a dialect community. Her fellow Black students at university who were from low SES backgrounds protected the linguistic boundaries of their dialect community by censoring those who didn't have what they considered the proper "street cred" to join. They critiqued not only how Noor spoke, but what she said:

> Like one day I said, "I'm starving! I haven't eaten since 4." And the girl who I was with was like, "You don't know starving. My family lived in a shelter." I was

> like, “Oh God.” This is not going to work. . . . I worked with middle school students there [in a poor neighborhood near the university she attended]. It’s funny because when I left work and came back to [university], for the rest of the night I was talking like the kids that I had worked with. Like I would just take on whatever identity that I needed to take on, so the kids would be like, “Yo we gonna have lunch or what?” And then I would start talking like that and acting like that back at school, and that gave me a little street cred.

While speaking multiple languages gives participants in this study access to a wide range of different language communities and cultures, it also exposes them to linguistic boundaries that are often confusing, uncertain, anxiety-inducing, and shifting. Simply speaking a language does not give one automatic membership in a language community, and ML speakers often struggle with identifying with one or more language communities and subgroups within them. Since language is an important component of identity for all participants, their success or lack thereof in dealing with the tension and conflict related to linguistic boundaries has a significant effect on their identity construction.

Basic theme 5: English as a foreign language in Turkish & Arabic-medium schools. To understand the importance of the English language in the Muslim world, one need consider only one fact: All five participants (representing five different countries) who attended schools in the Muslim world first encountered English in elementary school. Four of the five attended public school in Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Eritrea, or Turkey, indicating that those governments considered English proficiency as essential for

all citizens, not just those from higher SES backgrounds (the fifth participant attended a private English-medium school from first to twelfth grade in Pakistan, where English language classes are also offered in public schools at the elementary level).

For the participants who attended school in the Muslim world, the study of other languages began in high school, whereas their English language education started in elementary school itself. ESL/EFL courses, then, have nearly achieved the status of math and science as essential subjects for all students in the Muslim world. To reach this status, the English language had to vanquish rival foreign languages. Nuh pointed out that during his parents' schooldays in Turkey, French was the dominant foreign language studied, but by the time he entered school in the 1990s, English, being considered more prestigious, had toppled French.

The case of Nuh and his parents illustrates how foreign languages compete within shared spaces, resulting in parents speaking different second languages from their children because of socio-political changes. Nuh recalls his studies at Turkish-medium schools from the age of seven to 16 in the 1990s:

> French was the main foreign language in Turkey for many years. . . . .We had a lot of French influence in those early years of the republic, and French was the main foreign language. . . . But at some point, I think, in the 80's it changed, it was changed to English. So my parents' generation, they actually learned French in school, in high school, as a foreign language. But my generation learned English.

The replacement of French with English as the dominant second language in Turkish schools significantly influenced Nuh's career choice. When his family moved back to Saudi Arabia, 16-year-old Nuh's English proficiency enabled him to be enrolled in an English-medium international school with an American curriculum:

> When I was enrolled in the American school. . . . I mean my sort of way I ended up in the United States has a lot to do with these ideas [that I was exposed to in the American school], with what I wanted to do. Economics, for example, the way I chose my profession has to do with being exposed to English. I would say so! I thought I was—when I was in Turkey—I was very good in math, and people who are good in math in Turkey or sciences or chemistry—they end up in an Engineering school. Because those are the most prestigious degrees to have in Turkey, or you can become a doctor. But I thought I was going to become an Engineer. Because in this Turkish system, that's where people who are successful, that's what they do. But when I moved to Saudi Arabia, and I remember taking the high school level economics class—it's a semester-long class: One semester it's government and the other semester it's economics. That's when I got first exposed to economics and I said, "Ah! This is something I enjoy." And I came to college and I chose my major as economics and I was able to see more in college that I could use my math skills in economics, and that's why I pursued graduate school in economics and that's how I became an economist. So, yeah! I think learning English [laughs], and not just learning it, you know, but having gone to an American school, changed what I became in my professional life. Otherwise I

would've ended up being an engineer in Turkey.

Nuh credits the ultimate trajectory of his life to his study of English, first as a foreign language and then as the medium of instruction at his private school with its American curriculum. His story exemplifies how even as a foreign language, English facilitates thinking that challenges traditional notions of heritage cultures regarding career choices.

At the other extreme is Saeed, who does not consider his exposure to English as a life changing influence. In 1970s Jordan, the study of English as a foreign language began in grade five. Moreover, growing up in a mostly monolingual environment, Saeed rarely needed to converse with anyone in English. He declares, "English is just communication. It make me more open to be able to speak with other people." As such, he does not consider his learning English as having influenced his identity at all. He does, however, believe that American culture has strongly influenced not just his identity, but those of his sons. After obtaining his PhD in the Middle East, he settled in the US where both his sons were born. As a frequent visitor to Jordan, he finds many more Jordanians proficient at speaking English in 2015, unlike fifty years ago.

Highlighting his son's struggles as a graduate student in Jordan, he says:

> He doesn't have problem with the language [Arabic] because he speak it in very high level. But he really unhappy with the culture because he learn a good system here in the United States to be honest to be truthful which is those should be in the Middle East, but the people they don't practice those in their life. They consider if you trick somebody or some people if you trick him or you not honest like you are

smart, which is that's not the Islamic value.

Saeed described how his son was frustrated trying to navigate Jordanian culture because he assumed his fluency in Arabic as well as his strong Muslim identity would facilitate his integration in that society. Once there, however, he found many Jordanian cultural practices to be antithetical to the tenets of Islam, discovering ironically that it was his American identity, rather than Jordanian culture, that was more closely aligned with his Muslim identity.

For Saeed and his son, it was not the English language itself that caused them to critique Jordanian culture so harshly, but the access English gave them to American culture. While Saeed and Nuh may appear to view English from two different extremes, with Nuh crediting his career choice to his exposure to English and Saeed viewing English as just a tool for communicating, they both share the same pattern: Exposure to English as a foreign language ultimately drew both Saeed and Nuh closer to what Nuh called "American ideas," and what Saeed called the American "system," causing them both to question their heritage culture's values and assumptions.

Osman and Fatin are the other two participants (in addition to Saeed) who studied English as a foreign language in an Arabic-medium school. Although Osman is African by race, he grew up in the Eritrean city of Asmara as an ethnic Arab in an Arab community school run by Arabs and supported by the Arab League:

> So all the curriculum comes from Egypt. So we were in separate from the local people, who would take Tigrigna [the local language] and all this. So we were in a different world. Our culture was connected to the Arab world completely.

Thus, despite living in an African city and learning the local language, Osman attended a school with an imported Egyptian curriculum with Italian and English as required foreign languages.

Osman's socialization into Arab culture was so thorough that African culture was alien to him: "We didn't know we were in Africa! We thought this was Arabia for us!" He did, however, feel at home in the Italian section, where his family actually moved. He never mixed with Africans, who were generally of a much lower SES than Arab and Italian residents:

> Most of the local people were poor, living in slums, where streets weren't paved. Maybe inside of them, they were feeling bad, I don't know! We see them, but we don't play with them. We have our own area, and my parents moved to the Italian section of town, from the Arabian side, so our neighbors were all Italians.

Osman grew up under the influence of both Arab and Italian cultures, but it would be the English language and American culture that he would find most alluring. His study of English as a foreign language gave him access to English language TV and radio programs, which aired exclusively American content from the large US military base in Asmara. Osman felt drawn to the American culture he was exposed to not only via TV and radio, but also through visiting the military base where he would meet friendly American soldiers with their loud Harley Davidsons. Osman also frequented the publicly accessible American-style movie theaters and bowling alleys adjoining the military base.

Even though he attended a school which followed a largely Egyptian curriculum, Osman described the school itself as an "Italian school" because it was in an Italian

neighborhood. The powerful Italian presence in Asmara was reflected in their cultural influence on schools, as well as Italian-owned and operated restaurants, coffee shops, and other businesses. The prominent colonial legacy of Italian architecture included the Catholic churches of Asmara. What is striking, however, is that even though Osman grew up speaking Italian and living among the Italian diaspora in an Italian neighborhood, he identifies the English language and American culture as the most significant influences on his life.

The Saudi participant, Fatin, attended Arabic-medium public schools where English was taught as a foreign language. When she was in the 10th grade, Fatin's family moved to the US where she attended a public high school and one year of college. When the family moved back to Saudi Arabia, Fatin enrolled in a local college as an English literature major.

For Fatin, learning English gave her access to a world of ideas that she did didn't find in Arabic books. Fatin believes that her introduction to the English language led to an obsession with the English language. However, she says it was not the language but her longing to be an American and to live as Americans live that jeopardized her Muslim identity. Even when it came to marriage, she made certain to choose an English-speaking Saudi who was equally passionate about looking beyond the local culture for meaning. Fatin's husband considered the "American system" to be enlightened, and he insisted that all their children be sent to European boarding schools at a young age and later to the US for university.

All the participants who attended school in the Muslim world studied English at a young age, and it was their knowledge of English that eventually connected them to a culture outside their heritage culture. That connection led them to reflect on the norms, values, and in three cases (Saeed, Omar, and Fatin) the Islamic authenticity of their heritage cultures. Without having first learned English, the participants would not have had access to what they refer to as American ideas, the American system, and American culture—and it is this access that provided them with the tools they needed for constructing their critical perspectives of their traditional cultures, and for constructing their identities as English speakers.

Basic theme 6: Heritage languages as foreign languages in English-medium schools. Four participants studied their heritage languages as foreign languages in English-medium schools: Rahma, Curtis, Noor, and Hanna. All completed their elementary and secondary education in the US, except for Rahma, who completed all her studies in Pakistan up to and including undergraduate studies before completing graduate studies in the US.

Rahma studied the Urdu language in an English-medium school in Pakistan, with Islamic Studies as the only other class using Urdu as the medium of instruction; Urdu was also the language in which she communicated with her parents. She noted that other than that, she did not find many occasions to use Urdu. When Rahma entered high school, her father began communicating with her in English (her mother's English was weak). Rahma found Urdu becoming even less useful as she grew older. Moreover, Urdu was the only other language besides English that she studied formally, even as she had to

learn basic Sindhi, Gujrati, and Punjabi to communicate with people in her diverse community. English, she says, is the "common thread" that unites speakers of different languages in Pakistan.

Rahma considers Urdu a "dying tradition" that one learns simply to pass on to the next generation. She relies exclusively upon English to access Islamic texts and to communicate with her associates at the international organization where she works. She uses Urdu with a few Urdu-speaking friends, but even with them she switches back and forth between Urdu and English.

Curtis attended a private English-medium Muslim school, where he took a course in Arabic as a foreign language each year until he graduated. Many of Curtis's classmates from non-Arabic-speaking communities also studied Arabic as a foreign language. Concerning linguistic differences among his former ML/MC Muslim school classmates, Curtis said,

> I felt like everyone there was my brother, so I didn't feel that kind of discrimination of difference. I didn't feel any linguistic boundaries maybe because we were all Muslim as well so it was kind of like we feel like the same, like even though the language is different, we had the same beliefs.

Curtis does not see linguistic differences in and of themselves as causing division or disunity, but he does think that being a ML/MC Muslim gives him an advantage over someone who is monolingual and monocultural: "I have a different perspective on the world because I don't have just one way of thinking. I feel like it opens up my mind a little more, maybe."

Noor and Hanna also studied Arabic and Urdu at different Muslim schools. Noor did not consider her language study to be successful, and she believes that studying heritage languages outside of their culture makes them seem "foreign and odd":

> Like if you want your kids to learn a certain language, take them to a certain, take them to a country. Let them learn it there. Let them learn the culture, let them learn everything about that language, you know? Like even now, I can understand Arabic to some extent, I can usually understand it, you know? I can actually speak it, but I sound so ridiculous in my head, like when I hear myself speaking it? Like I feel like I, I feel like those white people who come into the inner city and are like, "Yo! Check it!" That's how I feel when I speak Arabic. And I'm not saying that because I don't like the way it feels, you know, I like, like when I'm alone by myself, maybe reading or listening to Qur'an, I feel good about it, like it feels nice, it doesn't feel foreign, but as soon as someone else is there, even though I pronounce everything fine, I don't have that cultural--to go with it.

Noor felt out of place studying Urdu with classmates who were much more proficient. Being the only biracial (Indian and Black) student in the class, she already felt like an outsider:

> I felt a little different. Well, like I tried to take the Urdu class, so I went to that class and I sat in there for a while, and she [the teacher] refused to speak English. The rest of the kids spoke Urdu, they just had to learn to read it or write it. But she wouldn't, she just didn't know English. It was like there was no way to get through.

Hanna studied Arabic in a Muslim school and also in college. Like Noor, she wished to be able to read the Qur'an in its original language. Unlike Noor, however, she did not learn Arabic with the intention of communicating with other people, so she was not concerned about the lack of authenticity associated with learning a language outside its cultural context. In her case, she viewed studying Arabic as a way of "distancing herself" from her Indo-Pak identity:

> I started to learn more and more about the language, it seemed like such an interesting language to know so I kind of wanted to learn more, especially how nuanced it is. I think for a while, especially when I was in high school, I was in this rebellious stage where I didn't really want to learn my own language. But I think as I've grown older, I want to learn now. It's a priority—it's become a priority. When I was younger it really wasn't something that I wanted to do. I kind of wanted to distance myself.

Hanna prefers to communicate with her friends in English, and she views Urdu and Arabic as important languages only because they give her access to Islamic books. Having begun studying Urdu primarily to communicate with her mother's family in India, she learned they spoke a spoken dialect of Urdu and not the literary classical Urdu she had learned. This frustrated her, but she is still committed to continuing to learn both Urdu and Arabic:

> Because I've always been interested in like learning Islam from like a scholarly perspective too. And I know that a lot of scholars from the Indian subcontinent write and a lot of their books are in Urdu, so it would nice to have access to those

books. And with Arabic, of course, that's like, you can't really get into kind of higher texts or even the Qur'an itself if you don't have an understanding of Arabic.

The four participants who studied heritage languages in English-medium schools did so for four main reasons:

1. to fulfil a cultural obligation;
2. to access Islamic texts;
3. to construct an alternate identity; and
4. to gain an additional perspective.

All four participants prefer to speak mainly English, and all four were encouraged—but not forced—to study their heritage languages. Only one (Rahma, who grew up in Pakistan) of the four participants uses her heritage language predominantly to communicate with their families.

This concludes our discussion of the second organizing theme, "Languages compete within shared spaces." For participants in this study, competition among languages manifested itself as English versus heritage languages (Arabic, Turkish, and Urdu). Each language competes for dominance in certain domains as it struggles to remain relevant to the participants' lives. Based on their narratives it is clear that for our participants, the power of the English language can be attributed to 10 main reasons:

1. English, originally a tool of colonization, has long been a part of educational systems in the Muslim world;
2. English aligned itself with modernization in the late 19th and early 20th century;

3. English has rebranded itself, effectively shedding its historical, colonial, and anglicizing missions;
4. English has aligned itself with global capitalism;
5. English has aligned itself with American culture (or the "American system") and "American ideas," which Muslims admire;
6. English provides a common language for diverse language communities to communicate;
7. English provides access to all the cultures of the world;
8. English provides multiple lenses through which Muslims can critique their own heritage cultures;
9. English enhances career prospects; and
10. English is associated with Islamic values by Muslims;

These 10 factors have given the English language unparalleled power among other languages in the lives of participants in this study. Speaking English was described by participants only in positive terms, synonymous with enlightenment. Speaking English was also associated with the ability to access powerful ideas that challenged the traditional norms, assumptions, values, and practices of heritage cultures. Heritage languages have lost much of their value for participants as they no longer play a major role in education, careers, and communication among family members and communities. Surprisingly, the power of heritage languages is also waning in two areas where they once dominated: Tradition and religion. Participants did not view their heritage cultures/languages as governing their behavior, expectations, assumptions, or

perspectives, but simply as traditions rooted in the places from which they or their parents happened to have originated. Participants also viewed their heritage cultures and languages as having little to no connection to their identities as Muslims. The cultures of the Muslim world were often described in terms antithetical to the teachings of Islam, whereas American culture was viewed as embracing many Islamic characteristics, such as honesty, fairness, and justice. Most participants also access Islam via English texts and do not feel that this compromises their Muslim identity. Only Arabic, being the original language of the Quran, was described as having any vital connection to Islam. Even so, no participant felt it was incumbent upon a Muslim to learn Arabic. The challenge that the English language poses in the spiritual and social lives of Muslims will be discussed in the following section on the third organizing theme, "English challenges heritage languages' spiritual and cultural status."

The third and final organizing theme for the first thematic network is "English challenges heritage languages' spiritual and cultural status," and it emerged from three basic themes which are discussed below.

Basic theme 7: English is associated with the cultural elite in Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and Turkey. Participants who grew up in the Muslim world all observed how speaking English was an important social marker associated with elite status in their communities.

After graduating from a Saudi university and accepting a position as an English teacher trainer, Fatin moved in a social circle, which she calls "the elite group, or Jeddah

women," that consisted of English-speaking women who had lived abroad and currently resided in Saudi Arabia's most freewheeling city.

Fatin moved back to the US, where she had lived for several years while growing up, and took a position in which she had to interact with two groups of Saudis she had very little experience with: Those who didn't speak English and those who spoke English just as a means of communication: "It was the first time I met real Saudis. . . . That's when I knew that I'm not Saudi—all along I thought I was Saudi—but I'm not Saudi."

Meeting Saudis outside her circle of English-speaking elites led Fatin to revise her notion of what being a "Saudi" meant. She then questioned the validity of her own identity and found that she could not call herself "Saudi." For Fatin, English was not a foreign language, but it was a tool that enabled a person to explore and understand the world outside of their heritage culture in a way that challenged their worldview. English gave one the opportunity to transform themselves. Most people she met who called themselves "Saudi" saw English as only a tool of communication and were not interested in its transformative power. They spoke English, but they clung to the same cultural beliefs, practices, and traditions that they had grown up with.

Similar to Fatin, Rahma also observed that "knowing English gives you an elite status" in Pakistan. She also stated that English "comes with its own territory." The word "territory" is a very powerful word in reference to a language, suggesting that English is not simply a language, but a force that invades, occupies, transforms, and/or replaces the traditional landscape. The "elite status" and "territory" associated with English in

Pakistan evokes images of a community of people who have risen above laws that apply to common Pakistanis, such as the prohibition on drinking alcohol:

> It's cool now to have alcohol because you speak English and you are partying. There's a level of acceptance, you know, that comes with the territory too, that just because you're an elite, you speak English.

Rahma pointed out that in the 1980s, only privileged families sent their children to private English-medium schools in Pakistan. This created a sharp divide among poor and affluent Pakistanis, with only the former speaking English, which allowed them to secure higher-paying jobs. Now, however, she feels that

> English has become such a common man's tool, that everyone is speaking English, because of the media explosion and because of the technology advance. But now every second person you meet on the street would know English. . . . Even to get a job for a Pakistani in Dubai, if you don't speak English you can't get a job. So it becomes a necessity to access global markets. So even a person from a humble background, for him to provide opportunities for his family, English becomes a key component.

Rahma's experience with and observations about the English language illustrates how deeply English has not only penetrated the educational system of Pakistan, but how important it has become in securing even blue-collar jobs.

In Pakistan, Rahma attended a public English-medium university, where she saw students from more diverse backgrounds. In addition to those from similar affluent backgrounds and private English-medium schools, she met students who came from

villages and didn't speak English that well. Even though students from low SES backgrounds struggled with English, all class lectures, textbooks, and exams were in English, without exception.

Although Rahma has observed a decrease in linguistic inequality that once made English a class marker in Pakistan, she still believes the English-for-all movement is not a panacea for the main aliment that she identifies as afflicting Pakistanis: "ideologically we in Pakistan are totally messed up." While access to English has given Pakistanis from low SES communities more economic opportunities, Pakistanis in general, she believes, still must wrestle with identity issues that cannot be resolved solely by expanding access to English.

The privilege afforded by English is an issue for Nuh also. He commented that although high school students in Turkey could choose from among several foreign languages to study, English was the one most highly regarded:

> Learning English was actually seen as sort of prestigious. . . . Not every school taught English. People wanted to go to schools where they could learn English. Even to the you know to the limited extent they were still preferred to other schools. The Turkish educational system focused forging in its youth a strong Turkish identity, mainly by inculcating within them respect for the glories of the Ottoman Empire. However, for global currency, English was seen as . . . a tool to access the outside world.

Just as in the case of English in Pakistan and in Saudi Arabia, English in Turkey provided a way for people to overcome the insular and ethnocentric characteristics of the

local cultures. In doing so, English-speakers acquired an elite status that challenged the centrality of their heritage cultures, forcing them to redefine what it means to be Pakistani, Saudi, or Turkish.

Basic theme 8: The allure of the English language and American culture. Asmara, Osman's boyhood home, was formerly colonized by the Ottomans and Italians and thus home to two thriving transplanted cultures: Arab and Italian. Neither culture, however, attracted Osman the way American culture did. In 1960s Asmara, the US military base created an equally important cultural presence by giving locals access to an American-style movie theater and bowling alley, in addition to broadcasting American television and radio programs

Osman was so enamored by American culture that he refers to its role in his life in powerful metaphorical language which makes it clear how he regarded American culture as superior to other cultures in Africa, including his own ethnic Arab one: "We were very Americanized! Now you know why I love America! Life was so great! The whole of Africa was dark at that time." Like his other family members, Osman had a choice of identities growing up, ranging from Arab, some hybrid form of Arab, African, and Italian. Yet it was the English language and the American identity that most resonated with him: "From the beginning, I thought my destiny was here [the US]. I never could stay in the Middle East. Never."

Osman's family fled to Saudi Arabia during the Red Terror in Eritrea when all Arabs and Italians were expelled. In Saudi Arabia, Osman found the antithesis of the American culture he admired so ardently:

> Saudi Arabia is a closed society. Because they don't know—they think they are the only Muslims, and they rest they think are Kafirs [non-Muslims]. . . . At that time, in the Arab Gulf, they weren't extremists like today. In the late 70s, that's when people started pointing fingers, saying, "We are the chosen ones." They are the ones that started this mess.

Although an ethnic Arab, Osman was marginalized by Saudi culture because of the religious zealotry that had begun to radicalize Saudi Muslims when his family sought refuge there. Osman recalls the intolerance and arrogance of Saudi culture which positioned fellow non-Saudi Muslims as non-Muslims. Although he was in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait for a short time, the oppression, arrogance, and intolerance he experienced there only increased the love and admiration he felt for American culture. When Osman immigrated to the US at age 18, he decided to raise his family the same way he was raised, in a lifestyle and with a mindset equally compatible with American culture as with Islamic tenets:

> It was very simple. The way I grew up, free. I wanted him to grow up that way. I never had any discrimination here. I lived in harmony with everyone, open-mindedness. Because we don't hate people because they are different. This is what I tried to influence in my son. I would tell him, everyone has his own opinion, his own religion. Nobody here bothers you.

Admiration for the English language and American culture ran equally strongly in the relatives of some participants, such as Fatin's husband and Saeed's son. Fatin describes her Saudi-born and raised husband as "a very intellectual man" whose

knowledge of Arabic was “so strong.” He worked for Aramco corporation, and insisted on a US college education for all his children:

> My husband was fascinated with America. My husband was more in love, and he used to say, “Look at this system. Look how fair it is.” He was fascinated with the system, with the culture, and he was too proud when the kids spoke English and would brag about it in front of the family.

Similarly, Saeed emphasizes his son’s admiration for the “system” represented by American culture, so much so that he prioritized Islamic values above his heritage culture:

> But he really unhappy with the [his heritage] culture because he learn a good system here in the United States to be honest to be truthful which is those should be in the Middle East but the people they don’t practice those in their life. They consider if you trick somebody or some people if you trick him or you not honest like you are smart, which is that’s not the Islamic value.

A major finding in this study is that many participants (and their families) indicated that embracing the English language and identifying as American was not only compatible with their Muslim identity, but necessary. Participants made it clear that they did not find the English language and American culture or “way of life” alluring for superficial reasons, but because these two forces gave them the autonomy to construct their identities free of the constraints imposed by their heritage cultures, which they regarded as restrictive and even, in some cases, antithetical to the teachings of Islam.

Basic theme 9: English provides a lens through which Muslims view Islam. Where Islam has gone, the Arabic language has followed. Islam and Arabic spread in the Middle Ages throughout the Middle East, Africa, Europe, and Asia, resulting from conquests, trade, and thriving Muslim scholarship in science, mathematics, and philosophy. Unlike many Christians, Muslims still strongly emphasize the importance of accessing their scripture and prophetic teachings in the original language of Arabic. This reverence for Arabic has meant that while Arabic is spoken by 313 million people, it is still read and accessed by the approximately 1.8 billion Muslims, who comprise a quarter of the world's population.

It is striking that hundreds of millions of Muslims recite and memorize verses, chapters, and even the entire text of the Qur'an in its original Arabic without understanding its meaning. Despite recognizing Arabic as the liturgical language of Islam, hundreds of millions of Muslims must access the meaning of the Qur'an and the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad through languages other than Arabic.

The pervasiveness of English even in religious contexts is underlined by Rahma, who grew up in Pakistan but relies completely on English to access Islamic texts. She mentioned that she memorizes and reads the Qur'an and supplications using books with an English transliteration and translation of the original Arabic:

> It's much more comfortable [to perform prayers in English]. I actually even do. I even do my niya [statement of intention made before prayer] in English. Because when you do niya, you can make a supplication during niya. Because I learned the meaning of the surah [Qur'anic chapter] in English, I actually use that. See, like

all the translations of the supplications I have are in English. If I have to supplicate, I pick up that paper and I read it. And even during prayers, like doing prayers, I never used to do it in Urdu. I used to do it in English, when I do dua, supplication. I would do it in English. So the thing was this person asked me if I dream in Urdu, and I distinctly remember that at that point I was actually dreaming in English. Now I'm not so sure—I don't know.

Incredibly, the English language plays a major role in framing Rahma's interaction with all religious texts and rituals. She uses English in every facet of her life as a Muslim. This indicates both Arabic, the original language of the Qur'an and all recorded teachings of the Prophet Muhammad, and Urdu, the language spoken by most Muslims of the subcontinent (which Rahma speaks fluently), are in some cases being replaced in the spiritual lives of Muslims by the language originally associated with Christians and Christian missionaries. Rahma doesn't think using English in her spiritual life compromises her Muslim identity, but she does feel Pakistan's colonial history and the power of Anglo and American cultures have made it difficult for Pakistanis to determine their identities.

Fatin found that at one point her fascination and even obsession for the English language and American writers jeopardized her Muslim identity. She devoured American self-help books from the library at Aramco, where her husband worked. Reading contemporary Arab writers at the same time, Fatin was stuck by the difference between those books and the American self-help books:

Honestly, when I read them in Arabic, like these kinds of books, I realized that

> they're just copying. They—because we don't have the ability—No! We have the ability—let me not say that. But our ideas are not genuine. We're so fascinated with everything American.

Fatin, just as the Arab writers she criticizes as being unoriginal and mimicking the ideas in American books, found herself heavily influenced by the ideas of contemporary American thinkers. This influence reached the point where she felt in danger of losing her Muslim identity. Only after she accessed older books written by classical Muslim thinkers, however, did she realize that the tendency for Arab writers to parrot American writers is a contemporary problem, and that Muslim writers from centuries ago were able to engage the world and construct insightful ideas from an Islamic perspective:

> If you go back to the old writings—these are genuine writings. These people who mention Descartes, who mention this, who analyze this, who analyze that, from an Islamic perspective. These are different.

Ancient Muslim writers thus restored Fatin's faith in her Muslim identity, and she found a way to integrate what she learned from American thinkers and American culture with her Muslim identity:

> I neglected a lot of things, and I couldn't make the balance. And I think that's typical—I think all people go through at like that age of 28, you're like fascinated with something and you try to find yourself. And I'm glad I was exposed to these too. Because the English reinforced the religion, and the religion reinforced the English. Both of them were working together. It's not like—I tried picking up—luckily the best in the two cultures. I know there is bad in the American culture—

> there's a lot of bad in there that I don't like. And I don't approve of. And I know there is a lot of bad in the Saudi culture that I don't approve of. So now with age, that—my fear now is for my kids. Are they able to make that balance, or are they?—still, gradually I see my kids also trying to come into that equilibrium.

Unlike Fatin, Saeed does not view English and American culture as a threat to his and his family's Muslim identities, nor does he feel the need to find a balance. Rather he finds they are in harmony, and he praises American culture as embracing the Islamic ideals (honesty, fairness, and justice) that he believes contemporary Muslim cultures neglect. For this reason, Saeed criticizes Muslims who confuse the practices and norms of Muslim cultures with Islam:

> Not everything in Arabic culture is Islamic, not everything in Pakistani culture is Islamic, [even though] those countries they are Muslim. They mix that together. Whatever they prefer. If we talking about the Islam, it's not belong to the Arab at all.

Despite Saeed's belief that America is an ideal place for Muslims to learn and practice their faith, he does acknowledge that his two sons' American upbringing has affected their grasp of Arabic on an emotional level: "They feeling English more than Arabic in their hearts." He said he speaks to his sons mainly in Arabic, but they switch to English when required, such as when they are discussing a topic that is better suited to English (technology, for example), or if his sons need to express something on an emotional level that is beyond their level of Arabic speaking proficiency. They use the

same approach for religious topics, by using Arabic for certain Islamic terms that are difficult to translate but using English to discuss matters related to Islam.

Curtis, born in the US to parents of Arab and African origin, also indicated that he prefers to learn and discuss topics about Islam through English, even though he does read and write Arabic. Although his parents were careful not to force him to communicate in Arabic, he did study Arabic and Islam every year of his primary and secondary education at a Muslim school. Like Saeed's sons, he is more comfortable using English as a way of understanding Islam, and he does not think knowledge of Arabic is essential for someone to fully develop their Muslim identity. Similarly, Mahira does not see her heritage language, Urdu, as connected to her spiritual identity. Moreover, despite considering Arabic important for Muslims, she reads the Qur'an via an English translation.

This concludes the discussion of the third organizing theme, "English challenges heritage languages' spiritual and cultural status." This section builds upon the first two sections to further illustrate the immense power and influence of the English language and American culture in the lives of participants. This section also reveals how participants utilize this power. The English language provides them with a lens with which they can explore and critique their own heritage cultures, and it also provides a filter through which non-Arabic speaking participants form their Muslim identities. Each participant found their heritage cultures and languages inadequate for defining who they are, and their embrace of the English language as a lens to understand the world and themselves led to many participants feeling alienated from people who share their heritage culture. For most participants, interacting with the world using the English

language and identifying as American were not only compatible with their Muslim identity, but integral and necessary.

Global theme 1, “English challenges the traditional order of things,” reflects the main conflict participants face in constructing their identities as Muslims living in the US. Each participant’s heritage culture traditionally was viewed as being unquestionably a part of Muslim identity. Participants in this study, however, either reject or are ambivalent about this traditional view and seek alternative ways to live as Muslims in an era of globalism that rejects the insularity and ethnocentrism associated with their heritage cultures. Most participants chose the English language as their preferred way to interact with the world, and even with the divine. The English language as well as identifying as American, were not only compatible with most participants’ Muslim identity but also integral and essential.

The English language, then, provides participants with a tool that helped them construct immensely powerful lenses and filters which they used to access and critique various perspectives and identities, including traditional heritage cultural identities, American identities, global identities, and Muslim identities. These lenses and filters simultaneously empower and destabilize the participants as they seek to resolve the tension among their heritage cultures, Islam, English, and globalism. Finally, the English language is a powerful force in the lives of participants, and it played a crucial role in their search for autonomy to construct identities free of the constraints imposed by their heritage cultures, which they regarded as anachronistic in a global world, restrictive, and even, in some cases, antithetical to the teachings of Islam.

The next section will explore Global theme 2, “Non-traditional identities resolve the tension among Islam, English, and Globalism.” It will discuss specific strategies that participants observed or employed for resolving the identity distress experienced as Muslims living in the US.

Thematic Network 2

The global theme of this thematic network is “constructing non-traditional identities resolves the tension among Islam, English, and globalism.” This global theme emerged from a set of two organizing themes, which in turn emerged from six basic themes. I will discuss each organizing theme and the basic themes that produced them separately. The first organizing theme is “fluid identity,” and the three basic themes that produced this theme are discussed below.

Basic theme 10: Obsolescence of national identity in global world. Six participants—Fatin, Mahira, Nuh, Osman, Rahma, and Saeed—were born in Muslim-majority counties, and none of them described their identities in terms of their birthplace. All three participants who were born in the US—Curtis, Hana, and Noor—do, however, identity with their birthplace and not with the birthplace of their parents, although they did learn their heritage languages. The way participants explore the idea of identity being grounded in place of birth or nationality reflects a key part of how they have attempted to find ways to resolve the tension among Islam, English, and globalism.

When she was young, Fatin, who was born to Turkish immigrants in Saudi Arabia, was obsessed with being Saudi. She not only hid the fact that she was bilingual, but she also despised herself for knowing a language other than Arabic because it

jeopardized her being accepted as a Saudi. Fatin hid the fact that she spoke Old Turkish, a language with low social value in Saudi Arabia, and the only other language other than Arabic she spoke with friends during school was English.

As Fatin matured, her notion of the Saudi identity changed. Her ingroup after graduating from a Saudi university with a degree in English was a social circle of English-speaking Saudi women who had experience living abroad and whose perspectives weren't always filtered through their culture's traditional norms, practices and perspectives. Fatin then moved to the US to work at a Muslim school, and her experiences with different Saudis whose children attended this school prompted her to begin questioning her Saudi identity. She met non-English-speaking Saudis and Saudis who spoke English only for the purposes of communication (i.e., they were not avid readers or showed little interest in American or other cultures). She felt that she didn't belong to the same culture as these people even though they all shared the same nationality, language, and cultural heritage.

Fatin had begun to think in a way not typical of Saudis, and concluded that she could no longer refer to herself as being "Saudi" since it was too general a term and did not differentiate between the mentality of her "elite group" of Saudi women and the more tribal Saudis she met in the US as a teacher at a Muslim school: "That's when I knew that I'm not Saudi—all along I thought I was Saudi—but I'm not Saudi." She needed to find a better way to describe her identity after discovering the inadequacy of an identity solely based on birthplace or nationality.

Like Fatin, Nuh was born in Saudi Arabia to a family that had immigrated from Turkey. Nuh and his parents, however, did not have Saudi nationality, and he returned to study in Turkish schools at a young age. During his stay in Turkey, he developed a Turkish identity that he still retains to some degree to this day:

> The [Turkish] education system sort of channels you toward being Turkish. [It] is very biased toward sort of bringing up all these glories of the Turkish history and not really talking about things that may not be as—how to say?—you know, things that you may not be so proud of. So yeah I grew in that—I mean I grew up being exposed to that system, and people around you sort of reinforced those ideas in your head. We have many different ethnicities in Turkey. A lot of them do sort of come together under the idea of being Turkish. They have accepted that and I think this education system has a lot to do with that, except for the Kurdish people. They are still very proud of their own history and their own glories in the past. But almost all the other ethnicities—we have the Laa's in the north, we have the Charckas in the east, some Armenians, some Greeks and Arabs—most of them have sort of come together under the idea of being Turkish and they have accepted the way people who are living in the sort of the western part of the country.

The Turkish educational system had to perform a difficult feat: Create a single Turkish identity that would be embraced by all ethnicities. One way of doing that was to create an urgency of unity based on being surrounded by enemies who would attack the moment they perceived disunity and a weak military:

In Turkey, everyone else is an enemy. . . . There are Turkish sayings that there are no friend of, there is no true friend of Turkey. And that we are surrounded, even all our neighbors are enemies. And that comes from sort of very recent history. The Ottoman Empire, which was a very large empire, included all those regions. The way that Turkey was founded was sort of leftovers of the Ottoman Empire. So all of those sort of nations rebelled against the Ottoman rule and our ancestors fought them too with all they had. And they were able to retain what we have today as Turkey, so that's, that's not very long, long time ago. It's recent. That's just before the World War I. So people grew up with those stories still. Maybe the next generation will be less influenced by that history, but my generation is definitely . . . my grandmother, my great grandmother, experienced the war herself. I heard stories about it from her, directly from her, how the Greeks or other invading European states, they fought against them. So when I grew up, everyone was the enemy of Turkey, including the British. They weren't singled out. Sometimes they are singled out as being the mind-master behind it: "Brits are very sleazy;" things like that, but they were not singled out as the only one. I mean, Italians, the French, the Greeks—all of them tried to invade Turkey, and they carved out the country into their own. The Greeks took the western region and the Italians took the south, and the British took the northwest, the Istanbul region, so it was a lot of that. And the Arabs from the east, and the Russians from the Northeast.

Nuh believes that today Turks are beginning to question the myth of the glorious Turkish empire and how it evolved into the state of Turkey and how the empire/state has always been threatened from all sides by conniving enemies. Nuh's generation is beginning to understand that the empire fell apart not because of the underhandedness of its enemies, but because the Ottomans "may not have treated those people well and in turn they rebelled against Ottoman rule." His generation is beginning to question the national identity they had once readily adopted, thinking they were being responsible citizens who should be proud of and help protect the achievements of a glorious empire. Nuh's narrative illustrates how states can use the concept of national identity (and the expectations of patriotism associated with it) as a way of controlling citizens.

Nuh's own Turkish identity has changed since he left Turkey, studied, and worked in other countries:

> Even though I feel very strongly about where I come from, I'm definitely more evolved than were I was maybe 10 years ago when I was in high school where I had these very strong ideas about being Turkish, sort of the glorious past of Turkish people, and where they stand in the world, you know. Right now, the way I look at it is that it's just where I come from. And that's what sort of explains me. That explains a lot of things about me, because it's my identity, that's how I grew up, that's where my ancestors come from. But it doesn't determine the things that I do in my life, day to day. Or it doesn't influence my decisions about future. It's just a part of me, not necessarily the entire me.

Nuh still identifies as "Turkish," but similar to Fatin, his understanding of what it means to be Turkish has changed as he gained more international experience and examined his national identity from outside the country. And although he still describes himself as being Turkish, he feels he has more in common with a multicultural non-Turk than with a monocultural Turk:

> This factor, being multicultural or monocultural, affects one's life a lot. For example, I was telling you earlier that I don't really share much with people who are monocultural, and that includes people who are monocultural and Turkish—they embrace Turkish culture as the only thing that defines them. I don't have much in common with them and I don't usually hang out with those people, because our ideas are very different, our perceptions of the world and the way that we absorb knowledge and the way we interpret knowledge are very different. It's just not them being monocultural and I being multicultural. Or even though we have sort of Turkish, being Turkish being the common element—that's not enough because our ideas are very different, the way we interpret the things that are around us is very different. So I prefer not to hang out with those people. It's not natural. People usually hang out with people they enjoy talking to and listening to. I honestly don't have—even we come from the same heritage.

Nuh is one of four participants to use the word "natural" in describing a way of describing the cultural and linguistic choices they made. In the case of Fatin and Rahma, they both used the word "natural" to describe their adopting English as the main language of communication. Saeed stated that raising his sons to speak Arabic at home and English

outside of the home was something that occurred in a “natural” way and that he and his wife didn’t discuss this beforehand. For Nuh, it is “not natural” to socialize with monocultural people, even if they share his Turkish heritage. In a global, interconnected world, Nuh and other participants have rejected the traditional more insular and provincial identities associated with their heritage cultures, and in doing so they have reinterpreted what it means to be Turkish, Pakistani, Arab, or Saudi, and they have recalibrated their notion of what is reasonable and natural when it comes to language and culture.

Basic theme 11: Ability to move among different communities without belonging to any. Noor simultaneously feels empowered and disempowered by her biracial MC/ML identity. Her biracial identity often prompts people to ask her which one she identifies with the most (her father immigrated from India, while her mother is a Black American):

> I didn’t want to say I’m half Indian and half Black because I then I felt like that was saying I’m neither. I never wanted to say I’m half Indian and I’m half Black because that was like saying, “She not really Indian enough. She not’s fully Indian,” or “She’s really not Black enough. She’s not really fully Black.” And I never fit in anywhere when I said, “I’m half Indian, I’m half Black.” Because you know Indians would say, “Well, she’s Black. Period.” And Black people would say, “She’s Indian. Look at her, she can’t even carry on a conversation.” So if I just said like, if I just let people make up their own decisions about what I was, like make up their own mind about what I am, then I was able to just fit whatever

> stereotype they—not fit the stereotype—but like satisfy whatever their expectations were.

Noor eventually rejected the strategy of letting other people determine her identity. She began to resent the way a professor attempted to assert control over her identity while taking a class on race relations:

> So I started doing that kind of thing. I took a couple of classes on race relations between Asians and Blacks—I hated that class so much. I took three classes on race relations between Asians and Black people. One class—the first one I took—I hated so much because she started the class by asking, "Okay, so what is your mix?" I was like why would you start off a class like that? We are all working on, you know, how to be just one thing or how to understand each other. Why would you go about separating people off into their little respective mixes? And when she asked me—it was a class of like 40 people—and I was like, "I'm half Indian and half Black." She was like "ARE YOU SERIOUS? WHAT! OH MY GOD! ARE YOU SERIOUS?" I'm like a freak, you know? Like everyone's turning in their seats trying to see. Like, I felt like I had like odd facial features, like a nose over here. So I hated that class, because that's what she did every day. It was like, you know: "Noor, how do FEEL about? How do you FEEL about that?" "Fine. I feel fine about that." And I think it was when I really started being like, "I'M NOT HALF INDIAN. I'M NOT HALF BLACK. I'M FULL BLACK. AND I'M FULL INDIAN. I AM ONE HUNDRED PERCENT HUMAN BEING."

Choosing to view herself as “full Black” and “full Indian” was a critical moment in Noor’s life, but being accepted by any ethnic group proved to be difficult for her because of her multicultural background. For example, Noor found that there were two different types of Black students at the university she attended, and each group had very particular characteristics:

> I started identifying with the Black people, but you know, at [my college] all the Black kids were . . . all very privileged. There were two categories: Like you were very privileged, like you were richer than the white kids. Your parents had worked to get you this far, and if your mom came to school and saw you walking around without your pearls on, she’d go crazy. Right? So That group of Black kids, or the group that was like, “I’m from a homeless shelter and the reason I’m here is that I got a great SAT score and somebody sponsored me.” Right? I didn’t fit in with either group of Black kids. I thought maybe I knew I could never. I was never going to buy that bag and buy those shoes and buy that jacket and therefore fit in with them because that would be $3000. I’d rather just—I was just thinking that maybe I could fit in with those kids on this side of the socio-economic scale, but that wasn’t happening. Like one day I said, “I’m starving! I haven’t eaten since 4.” And the girl who I was with was like, “You don’t know starving. My family lived in a shelter.” I was like, Oh God: This is not going to work! So mainly I just hung out with Muslim kids again in college.

Noor had tried to identify with Indian students at the Muslim high school she attended, but they continually found ways to send her signals that she wasn’t fully Indian.

The girls of Indian heritage at the school played a marriage game in which they would pair up each girl with a potential husband. Whenever Noor expressed an interest in an Indian boy, the girls would question her choice:

> So anyone I had a crush on, they would be like, "Umm—why?" So that's how I kind of started getting an inkling that they thought of me in a certain way because they must think of me as Black, because why are they hooking me up with [a Black student] when he's younger than me and we have nothing in common at all. Or they would hook me up with [another student] because he was mixed.

Frustrated, Noor began to make reference to her biracial background and pretend that at different times certain aspects of each race would dominate and make her act in a certain way:

> So like sometimes you know I'll be with my non-Muslim friends and somebody will offer to pay for something, and like it's just natural for me to fight. I think it's a Muslim thing. I don't know if it's a Muslim thing or not. Maybe it's an Indian thing. But it's just natural for me to argue and fight and make a big scene about it. And so I'll start doing that, and I know they're see me do that, and I'll say something like, "There goes my Indian side," or I'll say something like that. I don't think of it that way. That's just what I do, you know? Or like, math. If someone needs something done in math in my head or something, I'll do it. They'll say, "Wow!" I'll say, "Yeah! That's my Indian side!" But really, it's just me. But I'll say it.

While Noor found it impossible to be fully accepted by an ethnic group, she found that unlike those who belonged to specific ethnic groups, she had the ability to move fluidly across cultural and ethnic boundaries. What she once thought of a weakness associated with being a biracial MC/ML Muslim, she now sees as an asset:

> I think it gives me a lot of leverage. I mean when it comes to making relationships. I think I make relationships very well, with people from a lot of different backgrounds, not just people that are Indian and Black, you know, like at the Masjid [the mosque]? People in the same day, I get talked to in like three different languages. Because I've been around lots of Muslims, around three or four different, big concentrations of three or four concentrations of different cultures, I'm able to understand and to respond and to do what they ask me to do or do, you know? I can sort of move. I like that. I like being able to do that. And there are definite limitations: You never feel like you are completely in one group.

Noor plans to advise her children to develop transcultural and transethnic competencies, but she would not prevent them from choosing an ingroup to identify with unless it compromised their identity is certain ways:

> I would probably at some point try to encourage my kids to be—like float between groups. But I don't know if that would be the best encouragement. I think I would do that, but I think I'd feel bad about it later on. Like if they found a group they felt comfortable in, you know? As long as that group didn't have weird habits that would stop them from doing something else, they should probably just enjoy themselves in that group where they felt comfortable, but I

wouldn't encourage that.

Noor describes a complex process in which she constructs a transcultural identity that enables her to interact (or "move" and "float") among different cultural communities without being anchored to one cultural identity. Her transcultural identity gives her the ability and, perhaps more importantly, the need to move fluidly from one cultural or ethnic contact situation to another. While Noor inherited her biracial identity from her parents and they also played an important role in the construction of her multicultural identity, they did not play a role in developing her transcultural identity. Complex and fluid, Noor's transcultural identity consists of elements from different cultures and ethnic communities she has interacted with as well as a set of skills that help her communicate and interact with different groups, all of which she constructed and refined autonomously. Visiting the multicultural space of mosques gave Noor many chances to interact with different cultures and to internalize certain elements, and it also gave her opportunities to hone her skills at moving within and across multiple groups.

Noor embraced a transcultural identity after she was unable to gain membership in three ethnic groups with which she considered identifying with: Low SES Blacks, high SES Blacks, and Indians. She did not possess enough wealth to identify with high SES Blacks, and her middle-class upbringing precluded her from being accepted by low SES Blacks. Furthermore, she was marginalized by the Indian community as a biracial Indian, a designation that prevented her from accessing the privileges of the "full Indian" elite. Apart from these frustrating interactions with these three groups, Noor's college

professor positioned her as biracial in a class on race relations, an identity she regarded as disempowering and condescending.

These attempts by others to construct a marginalized identity for her led to Noor's asserting her authority to construct her own identity, culminating in her declaring that she was "full Black. . . full Indian. . . [and] one hundred percent human being." Born out of the failure to be accepted by ethnic groups, Noor's declaration that she is not half-anything represents her resisting the attempts of others to ascribe to her disempowered identities. Her creative approach to affirming her "fullness" as a Black and Indian human being indicates a crucial point about her transcultural identity: She has not merely combined elements from multiple cultures or ethnic groups, she has integrated certain cultural forms, insights, and skills as part of her identity that are not associated with a particular culture or ethnic group. It was the many difficulties and conflicts Noor experienced in testing cultural, linguistic and ethnic boundaries that led to her constructing an identity that gives her the power to communicate and interact with multiple groups without being accepted as a member.

Lastly, Noor points out that her transcultural identity comes with risks and opportunities. She has the privilege of interacting with multiple cultural and ethnic groups, so she feels essentially unlimited in her ability to interact meaningfully with various groups. She also feels confident that she can find a way to communicate effectively with a group she is not familiar with because she sees cultural, linguistic and ethnic boundaries as challenges. In her eyes, the risk of a transcultural identity, however, is that even though she may interact with and move within and among groups, she will

never feel that she belongs to any group. She is simply regarded as an outsider whose way of interacting and communicating resonates to a certain degree with group members.

Nuh, who was born to Turkish parents in Saudi Arabia, is not biracial, but he shares Noor's preference for not identifying exclusively with one ethnic or cultural group. His parents moved frequently when he was young, and similar to Noor, he unsuccessfully attempted to find an ingroup with which he could identity:

> That's one of the reasons I was confused. I sort of didn't see myself belonging anywhere, and as a child this was tough. It was hard for me for example to build relationships with people, you know, or trust people. It took me a while and I think that has to do with the fact that we moved a lot, so I never really developed long term friendships. I'm guessing for some people, moving around a lot makes them, I guess, it makes it easier for maybe make friendships, but for me at least in the early years of my childhood it made it more difficult. But now it makes it easier for me, the fact that I've sort of moved a lot and people just went in and out of my life so many times. I just make friends very easily now, so I feel that until some point in my life I remember difficulty with identifying where I really belonged.

Nuh spent his childhood and early adulthood searching for a community or group he could identify with until he finally, like Noor, embraced the power of a transcultural identity:

> So I feel that I don't belong anywhere. I could belong anywhere in the world. I feel I could just go anywhere and work. I feel at this time people are more

> connected; they have more access to more places, in terms of working or living in those environments. And I feel I could just pack my stuff and go live in China for a couple of years and to Africa and live there a couple of years. I don't think our parents thought that way. Or a lot less thought that way in their time than we do in these times.

Nuh's multicultural upbringing, during which he lived in Saudi Arabia (where he attended an American international school), Holland, urban Turkey, and rural Turkey, left him confused about where he belonged. Adding to this confusion, his parents' identities were strongly influenced by the extremist religious culture of Saudi Arabia, which caused a disconcerting shift in his home culture. Even his family's move from a liberal urban city in Turkey to a conservative rural area of the country exposed Nuh to new cultural forms: "The cultures were very different, so that I would even consider that growing up bicultural, even though you're living in the same country."

Like Noor, Nuh's unsuccessful attempts at fitting in with various cultural and ethnic groups, while initially frustrating, was the impetus for constructing a transcultural identity which enabled him to convert his disconnectedness into an asset. Ironically, it's in a hyperconnected world that his disconnectedness becomes his greatest strength as such a world provides multiple opportunities for him to move from one cultural contact situation to another. His ability to move within and among various cultures does not depend on his having prior knowledge of a culture. Rather, he has developed the confidence to not only engage with but to live for a long period among cultures that are alien to him. His cross-cultural competence consists of ways of coping with cultural

situations he found confusing and anxiety-producing as a child, and this skill set is so strong that although he has no knowledge of Chinese or African cultures, he feels confident he could "just pack my stuff" and go work in either of those places for "a couple of years." It is this ability, he says, that his parents and their generation lacked. Like Noor, along with the ability to embrace such transcultural experiences, he also has the willingness and need to do so:

> I can't stay in one location for a long time, for example. It starts boring me. And I know people who want to live in once place and live out their lives there: they like stability and they don't like change. But I like change.

Transcultural identities, however, may pose a greater risk than the feeling of not belonging or being accepted by a cultural or ethnic group, as Noor indicated. Similar to Noor and Nuh, Rahma found it frustrating to find an ingroup with which to identify. She believes the inability to fit-in with a group is the lifelong fate of everyone with a post-colonial background:

> Because you just don't know what your identity is. And you grapple with it throughout your existence . . . . But I think it all boils down to that—who you are, and who you want to be. I mean, ideologically, we're lost.

Rahma believes that the children of post-colonialism must first create a specific identity before they can engage with other cultural, ethnic, and ideological groups, and this is done by facing direct questions about their identity pertaining to what they believe, how they see themselves, and to which cultural or ideological group they belong. She

thinks that developing transcultural skills at the expense of having a specific identity is not a strength, but a symptom of being ideologically "messed up":

> You have to first define what your own ideology is before you say to the world, "This is who I am." I think we haven't really figured it out. And you know the funny thing is it's not just us [Pakistanis]. It's everyone who has gone through colonialization.

While Noor and Nuh view developing a transcultural identity as a strategic, effective, and advantageous way of interacting with the world, Rahma argues that it represents the powerlessness of post-colonial identity confusion. Noor agrees that transcultural identities do come with a kind of existential funk born of a realization that you do not belong to any particular cultural or ethnic group; Nuh, however, points out that such identities are empowering for that very reason: When one isn't anchored to one group, one has access to all groups—and within each group, one is likely to find other disconnected people who have constructed transcultural identities.

Basic theme 12: The role of race, ethnicity and culture in identity construction. Participants discussed three main ways of viewing race, ethnicity and culture when discussing their MC/ML identities:

1. minimizing the importance of race, heritage culture, and ethnicity;
2. seeking balance between differing/conflicting racial, cultural and ethnic identities; and
3. grappling with questions concerning race, culture, ethnicity, and ideology and choosing one definitive identity.

Most participants in this study have constructed or attempted to construct identities that minimize the importance of race, ethnicity and/or cultural heritage, stating that identities that are not based on these concepts are more fluid. Race, ethnicity, and culture, in the experience of many participants in this study, are often used in divisive ways to exclude and marginalize. Additionally, every participant described their heritage culture as being to some degree parochial, insular, or tribal.

Osman is racially African and ethnically Arab and grew up in an Eritrean city that was home to Africans, Arabs, and Italians. He feels his race and ethnicity have little to do with his identity, and he, like his son, identifies himself as an "American Muslim":

> I'm an American Muslim. That's all. I've never went more far than that. Because I left everything behind when I came here. This is America! That's why I keep telling Curtis [his 20-year-old son]: If you want to stay here, you must think you belong here. If you don't feel that you belong, you have to go back. Don't waste your time.

Osman criticizes members of the Muslim community who do not encourage their children to see themselves as American Muslims:

> Most Arabs, in their gatherings, they say they are just temporary here. But why did you bring this son here, because he was born here. Now you're confusing the kid. Where does he go, this kid? He doesn't know where to go.

In Osman's view, clinging to cultural and ethnic identities while living in the US will cause children to become confused and make them feel as if they don't belong. Both Osman and Curtis feel that a Muslim identity should not be modified by race or heritage.

Osman asserts that when he immigrated to the US, he "left everything behind," which is not surprising when considering the clashes and conflicts he witnessed in the name of culture, ethnicity, and race. Osman's family was expelled from Asmara for being ethnic Arabs, and when they sought refuge in Saudi Arabia, they were treated as unwanted African refugees who practiced an inferior version of Islam (Osman says their Saudi hosts considered themselves to be the "chosen ones"). And even in his native Asmara, communities were segregated largely by ethnicity. In his life, culture, ethnicity and race were used to segregate and divide communities, and it's clear that he does not want his son to experience such confusion and conflict.

Fatin, on the other hand, explored identities from what she considered two extremes. Early in her life she longed only to be Saudi; however, after studying in the US and returning to Saudi Arabia, she became obsessed with the notion of being American and stripping away her Saudi identity. Fatin reached a point in her life in which she felt her love for English and American culture threatened her Muslim identity, and this is what caused her to seek "balance":

> It [a fascination with English and American culture] did retract me from [my Muslim identity]—I was fascinated--I wanted to be an American. I wanted people to know. I wanted to speak the way the Americans spoke.

At this stage in her life, she believes that neither identity suits her, and that she is best served by finding a balance:

> It is a very difficult balance to make. It is a very—you have to be purposeful—you have to be conscious about it. Or else you get drifted. It's not easy. And some

people adapt easily, and they can switch from here to there [the US and Saudi Arabia].

Similar to Fatin, Rahma also sees racial, cultural and ethnic identities as contested spaces that will be forever plagued by post-colonial conflicts. Rahma believes that the citizens of many countries (and not just Muslim-majority countries) that were colonized must grapple with unstable identities that result from conflicts between local cultures and the colonizer's influence. For Rahma, there is no easy way to minimize or balance influences on identity, and one must struggle their entire lives with questions about identity.

Rahma and Osman both pointed out the pervasive and disruptive influence on identity construction of soft colonization by the US via fast-food chains, such as McDonalds, American media programming, and the creation of mini American neighborhoods (including yellow school buses, Harley Davidson motorcycles, theaters, and bowling allies) that spring up on and around US Military bases. Rahma (as well as every participant who studied in a Muslim-majority country before immigrating to the US) indicated the prestige and power of English-medium education and English-as-a-foreign language programs. Rahma reads the history of English in her native Pakistan as a history of colonization: The language was once a tool used first by the British empire and now by American businesses that challenges local language, gender norms, and social hierarchies. The effects of both types of colonization were extremely disruptive to the identities of the colonized. Rahma believes each person with a post-colonial legacy must "grapple" and sort out their identity by first choosing a defining core characteristic,

such as “ideology,” which could lead them to adopt an identity associated with the culture of the colonizer or an identity more closely aligned with their heritage culture. Rahma points out that a person with a post-colonial background living in the US, however, must be concerned with “acceptance,” and that largely depends upon not revealing a more traditional cultural identity.

Noor’s experience in high school and college as biracial led to her rejecting the notion that she could construct an identity based on her race, ethnicity, or heritage culture. She was not able to fit in or be accepted by either low or high SES Black students in college, and she was marginalized by students who shared her Indian background because she was “half Black.” After these frustrating experiences, she began to define herself not by what groups she belonged to, but by how many she could interact with and “move” within and “float” among. Likewise, Nuh prizes his high tolerance for being able to move within spaces dominated by unfamiliar cultural forms. While he still refers to himself as Turkish, he believes his Turkish identity is simply descriptive of where he and his parents originate from, but it doesn’t indicate how he lives or thinks. For both Noor and Nuh, they feel more connected to others who share similar transcultural identities, regardless of their race, ethnicity or cultural background.

This concludes the discussion of the first organizing theme, “Fluid identity,” of the second global theme, “Constructing non-traditional identities resolves the tension among Islam, English, and globalism.” This section highlights how heritage culture, heritage language, nationality, race, and ethnicity all have a diminishing influence on the way participants construct their identities. Participants felt these concepts played a more

important role in the identities of their parents' or those of previous generations of Muslims. They also felt that now, however, as Muslims living in the US and part of a network of diverse communities, concepts such as race, culture, and nationality restrict one's ability to interact with the world in a meaningful way. Many participants place more value on the ability to move within and among different cultural and ethnic groups than on belonging to a specific group. A few participants indicated that fluid identities, while empowering, do sometimes elicit feelings of alienation, anxiety, and unbelonging, while still appreciating their ability to adapt to shifting cultural landscapes as global migrants.

Muslim school cultures and the larger community cultures that Muslims construct while living in the US will be discussed in the next section about the second and final organizing theme, "liminal cultures." This theme emerged from three basic themes which are discussed below.

Basic theme 13: Muslims' tendency to discriminate against and oppress each other. As immigrants or the children of immigrants who are associated with a religion and cultures that are frequently vilified by American politicians, films, and news media, many Muslims living in the US are likely face a certain degree of intolerance or prejudice, or feel discriminated against from time to time. Only one participant in this study, however, related any instances in which they witnessed or experienced an act of discrimination, intolerance, prejudice, or oppression by a non-Muslim based on ethnicity, race, culture, or religion. Curtis, a 19-year old of Arab and African descent, indicated that he has "defended" his mother and aunts, some of whom wear hijab which covered their

faces, from people who discriminated against them. Curtis was proud of the fact that none of his family members were distraught after these experiences, and witnessing discrimination actually enhanced Curtis' concept of what it means to be American:

> So I felt like those conflicts kind of made me even more patriotic because a lot of times people would make you feel like you're not welcome here. It'd make me feel even more patriotic because I feel like this is my country and no one has the right to say otherwise.

Osman, Cutis' father, in describing his nearly four decades of experience living in the US, asserted that "nobody here bothers you." The tolerance and acceptance of diversity that Osman associates with American culture represents a core value that he taught his son:

> Because we don't hate people because they are different. This is what I tried to influence in my son. I would tell him, everyone has his own opinion, his own religion.

All the other incidents of discrimination, intolerance, and/or oppression that participants either experienced or witnessed were carried out by members of the Muslim community against other Muslims, and in some cases, against family members. Most of the acts of intolerance participants mentioned were carried out by members of the Muslim community who attempted adhere to the norms, practices, and worldviews of their heritage cultures and forced others to do the same. All participants, without an exception, questioned the portability of heritage cultures and critiqued those who attempted to socialize and enculturate their children with only their heritage culture.

For Osman, Muslim parents do a great disservice to their children if they do not allow them to construct their own identities that extend beyond their heritage cultures. If children aren't allowed to do this, and they are forced to live and think according to their heritage culture, Osman believes they will become confused. Osman's point is insightful, indicating Muslim parents can contribute to their children's identity confusion and marginalization within American culture.

Mahira's story is a powerful illustration of Osman's insight concerning how Muslims parents themselves can play a role in marginalizing and disempowering their own children. Her father beat her when she did not conform to the expectations of his traditional Pakistani culture, leaving bruises that her mother instructed her to cover up:

> I remember I got a grade in 2nd grade and it was an English test of reading and writing and I got a zero on that test. And I remember my dad took a belt, and he just kept hitting me and hitting me and hitting me with it. And I was in 2nd grade—how old are you in 2nd grade? So I still till this day remember it like it was yesterday. In my old school, I used to have uniform. And during the summertime, my mom had to make me wear a full sleeve shirt because I had bruises on my arms. And she was like, "If anyone asks, don't tell them what happened."

Mahira was forced to follow Pakistani cultural norms, and when she failed to do so, her parents sent her to Pakistan where her uncle kept her under "house arrest" for six months:

> It was just that one room. So the bathroom was separate, so you had to go outside. And the shower—there is no shower. You have to fill the bucket and sit

> on the floor. So it was just completely different lifestyle with what I grow up in, in America, with this luxurious buildings, and showers, and hot water. But I didn't have any of that there, so I used to just sit on the bed. Wake up and sit on the bed, wait until nighttime and count my days. And my mom used to call me, and I used to beg her and cry, I'm so sorry, I'm so sorry. And so I dropped on the floor and you know I stayed there for six months. Miserable. Every single night—not one night I spent laughing. And my mom used to call me, and I used to beg her and cry, I'm so sorry, I'm so sorry. She was like, no no no. I'm not accepting you here. When I come there in six months, I'm dropping you off in the hostel—you're going to stay in the school over there. It was just the most depressing times of my life, and six months later my mom came, and she saw my condition. Like when you looked at me, I looked like this crazy person that just came out of the mental hospital. And she was like I think she has to go back, so I guessed she realized it.

Just as Osman predicted, Mahira spent her childhood confused about who she was and what she was supposed to be: "I was really confused. I wanted to be this American girl, because I was being forced to be this Pakistani girl." Her identify confusion was so traumatic that Mahira spoke of it extensively, indicating how it stunted her emotional and psychological growth:

> But they [relatives in Pakistan who envied her for living in the US] don't know that when you come here, it's a real struggle. Your identities get mixed up. You get confused. You don't know where you're from. You don't know what to

expect. You don't know what to believe. So it's just a lot of mental stress going through that.

Osman also predicted that enforcing strict language and culture rules on children will create conflict within a family which will ultimately lead to children viewing their heritage languages and cultures as divisive. He described families in his community in which one parent is an "extremist" who criminalizes English at home, and children grow up seeing their parents fighting over what language can and cannot be spoken at home: "He's going to hate the language! He's not going to like the language at all. 'Because this is the language that destroyed my family,' he's going to say."

Mahira, once again, illustrates Osman's point. She is the only participant in this study who described being forced to adopt her heritage culture and language while growing up in the US, and she, more than any other participant, disdains her heritage culture and resents having been made to abide by its norms while growing up. She scathingly refers to people who belonged to the Pakistani community in New York where she spent part of her childhood as "weird" gossiping hypocrites who took great pleasure in discrediting other families in the community while hiding their own flaws.

Noor also shared her experiences concerning discrimination (discussed in detail in the next section, *basic theme 14*) at the hands of fellow Muslims. She felt "othered" and marginalized, feelings that had a powerful effect on her attitude toward her heritage culture. She attended two Muslim schools while growing up, and at both schools one's Muslim identity was secondary to one's race and SES. In both schools, her fellow Muslim students discriminated against her based on these two categories, and they did so

without malice—they were merely mirroring what they perceived to be the ethos and social hierarchy of their heritage cultures.

Ironically, only one participant mentioned an act of discrimination or oppression against a Muslim by a non-Muslim based on race, ethnicity, or religion, and his observing this incident actually increased his patriotism as an American and reaffirmed his right to protest. All the other incidents of discrimination experienced or witnessed by participants were carried out by fellow Muslims.

The stories participants told of Muslims discriminating against or oppressing fellow Muslims indicate that these acts are rooted in at least 3 causes:

1. the belief by some immigrant Muslim parents that their children will be corrupted by American culture and, therefore, must be enculturated with their heritage culture;
2. the attempt by children to create a school culture that mirrors what they perceive to be the ethos and social hierarchy of their heritage culture; and
3. the belief of some immigrant Muslim families that they will only stay in the US temporarily, and their children, therefore, should not develop a sense of belonging.

Basic theme 14: Race, skin tone, and SES in Muslim schools in the US. Muslim schools in the US are fascinating institutions that play a critical role in socializing and enculturating Muslim children. These schools are nexuses where the local American cultures and the Muslim community's cultures intersect, and it is in these spaces where many members of a new generation of Muslims are enculturated. Even if

most children from a Muslim community attend public or private schools not affiliated with Islam, the cultural ethos of a Muslim school may reflect some of a Muslim community's dominant views concerning the ideal Muslim identity for the next generation. In some cases, the mission and culture of a Muslim school may reflect minority views within the Muslim community that seeks to protect its identity and make it relevant for the next generation.

Muslim schools, of course, differ greatly one from another. For example, some Muslim schools focus on preparing students to be academically successful so that they can gain admission and successfully compete for scholarships at elite universities. Other Muslim schools, however, may focus more on creating a strong Islamic ethos and instilling students with a particular kind of Muslim identity. Since there is often disagreement in the Muslim community concerning the ideal identity the new generation of Muslims in America should embrace, a single Muslim community may have multiple Muslim schools, each one with a different focus and/or ideal identity model(s).

While a Muslim school may attempt to enculturate students with a particular culture, the most powerful and predictive culture within a school may be the liminal culture students construct that acts as a buffer between them and American, school, heritage, and home cultures. Student-created liminal cultures in a Muslim school are a kind of identity barometer that indicates the way this young Muslim generation makes sense of the various socio-cultural influences they encounter, and they may reflect or predict changes in the way Muslims will orient themselves in America.

Four participants have had five or more years of experience either attending or working at Muslim schools in the US. Noor attended two Muslim schools and noticed differences between the liminal cultures students constructed at both schools. The first school she attended was a majority-Arab school, and here she noted that a student's status depended on two key factors: Race and SES:

> Being Arab was very, very important in that community. I remember the kids that weren't like Syrian, who were from like the Arabian Peninsula or from the Middle East, I feel like they still felt like they had to identify with being Arab. So the Sudanese kids, or the Egyptian kids? At that phase of their lives at [that Muslim school], they would all say, "I'm Arab, I'm not African, I'm Arab. I'm not African, I'm Arab." And they would be very, very clear about that, you know? I remember there were a couple of kids—three or four kids—who were Sudanese, and if someone said, "Oh, yeah, Lenah, you mean the Black Lenah, the Sudanese girl?" They would say, "No, she's Arab. She's Arab." They were very strong about that. But when they got into college, everyone was African. They were all African because . . . it's easier to identify with what's considered an underprivileged minority. You get much more street cred for that.

Noor, whose parents were of different races, Asian (of Indian descent) and Black, indicated how fluid race is among students at the first Muslim school she attended by describing how some students pivoted between being Arab and African, depending on which identity gave them a more powerful social status. The other factor that determined a student's social position at this Muslim school was SES:

> [The students there were] all very rich Arabs. Like the kids would say stuff like, "You know the land this school is built on? My dad donated the land." And that was true. You know, or like, their dad like donated the big gold dome for the mosque. So you know my family's very middle class, like we're just average people, and also they were all Arab and Arabs sometimes can be a little cliquey. There were all Syrians. So very cliquey. Super cliquey. So there I couldn't feel just feel like an Other—I couldn't just you know just go to that. So I felt different there, especially because my dad was not a doctor, and I think if anything it was economics that I felt the difference from there.

Being from a non-Arab middle-class family positioned Noor at the bottom of the school's social hierarchy. Since race and SES are conspicuous social markers, she felt powerless to construct her own identity. She could not, then, assume the identity of "an Other" as she had in public school, an identity that empowered her by giving her a way to "circumvent" being positioned or defined by others:

> I wasn't really Black or Indian or I wasn't anything. I was just the girl with the scarf on. So I think I was able to sort of circumvent—I was able to avoid a label. I think I was able to avoid a label almost until college. Maybe I wasn't, but I didn't feel like I was labeled. I felt like I was just the *Other*, and I was fine with that category because I didn't have to identity with it. It was other people's label for me, right, so I didn't have to identify with it.

Noor also attended an Indo-Pak majority Muslim school in which students had created a liminal culture with a social hierarchy based on different criteria than the one at

the majority-Arab school. In this school, race and skin tone were the key determiners of social status. Noor was made aware of just how powerful these social status determiners were when she found herself being included in a game instituted by a popular girl with fair skin who would match girls with boys in fantasy marriages:

> Most people thought I was Black, I think. So I look Black, so that probably what they thought. I know for sure that they thought I was Black when they would start pairing people up, boys and girls, like this is who you should be with, this is who you should be with. Because it was always Ibrahim Rahman [one of the few Black students in the school], that's who I got. Remember him? That was always my future. So anyone I had a crush on, they would be like, "Why?" So that's how I kind of started getting an inkling that they thought of me in a certain way, because they must think of me as Black, because why are they hooking me up with Ibrahim when he's younger than me and we have nothing in common, at all. Or they would hook me up with Mohammad Ahmad, because he was mixed.

At the majority Indo-Pak school, race was a factor of social status, with "pure" Asians with an Indo-Pak background possessing the most clout. Mixed-race students and non-Asians were positioned lower and were expected to marry among each other. Indicating the extent to which the social hierarchy was internalized by students, Noor recounted how she once revealed she had a crush on an Indo-Pak boy, and she was simply asked one question: "Why?" The social hierarchy embedded in the school's liminal culture was deemed a powerful enough mechanism to control even biological urges.

Noor considered herself fortunate to be considered “mixed” and not Black. Students who identified as Black (Noor’s mother was Black) received a special designation in the school’s social structure: They were given demeaning nicknames:

> I’m glad I didn’t identify with a group at [the Indo-Pak school] because the kids that identified with being Black got nicknames immediately. I don’t know if you noticed that, but Ibrahim, everyone called him “kaloo” [Hindi for black]. And he’s fine with that, he’s fine with that. I can’t tell you how many times I had to, when someone called him that, I had to say, “You can’t call him that.” But he didn’t care! You know? I guess it’s not like “nigger,” but it’s still—why would you call someone “Blackie”? You know? That’s what it is. Like why would you be okay with that? I guess that’s why I’m glad I never identified with anything at [the Indo-Pak school]. I just let people assume.

Apart from race, skin tone was another important criterion in determining social status at this school, with fair skin being deemed more attractive and, thus, more powerful. The Hindi word *gori* means “fair skinned” and is considered a compliment when used to describe a woman. Noor recalled how she got frustratingly trapped in a web of bizarre social constructs and mistaken assumptions regarding skin tone:

> I remember it was so difficult for a while for me because of Amina [a mixed-race student whose parents were Black and white]. We used to be best friends. Because
>
> people would say like “ebony and ivory” when it really was not that much of a difference. Or they would say crazy little things, like, you know, like I was Mrs.

> Reem's [a Black school administrator] daughter, no matter what. Everyone would say, "That's your mom, right? That's your mom, right? That's your mom, right?" No, that's not my mom! And I would go crazy about it, right, because I have my own mom. So with Mrs. Reem being my mom, every bad thing that Amina [Mrs. Reem's daughter] did she wouldn't get in trouble for, but I would. So it wasn't fair. So yeah, skin color was a huge deal at [this school], a huge deal. So yeah so everyone thought that Amina was like gorgeous because she was white-looking, and I was just her sidekick. I don't like that role.

Noor believes the social hierarchies constructed within the liminal cultures in both Muslim schools mirrored the social hierarchies of the heritage cultures associated with the Muslim communities they served. The Arab majority school was dominated by students of Syrian descent, and the families of those students in the Muslim community placed a high value on Arabness and on wealth acquisition as indicators of success and social status. The Syrian community provided conspicuous financial support for the local mosque, and larger contributions secured more social clout for a family. The status of a student in the school's liminal culture depended greatly on their family's conspicuous wealth.

The Indo-Pak majority Muslim school, however, had a different social hierarchy that reflected the local Indo-Pak community's obsession with marriage. Race (with higher status associated with being completely of Indian or Pakistani background, or "desi," which is Hindi for pure) and skin tone (with higher status associated with fair skin tones) were two important factors for determining social status. Islam, unlike Hinduism, does

not have a caste system, but in the Indo-Pak community, social status often governs the marriage system, determining whether a couple is well-suited for each other. The students simply integrated their heritage culture's views on race and skin tone into their liminal culture, and the match-making game was a rehearsal for how they themselves will likely be partnered with someone based on the same criteria.

Liminal cultures in the Muslim schools Noor attended, then, served as a kind of training ground for students, ingraining them with their community's dominant views concerning social value, as well as bolstering and perpetuating the relevance of those views.

Curtis also attended a Muslim school and described its liminal culture. He received his entire education from grade 1 to grade 12 at the same Muslim school. The majority of students were Arab, and Islamic Studies and Arabic classes were mandatory. Curtis grew up in the US with English as his dominant language; therefore, he took ASL (Arabic as a second language) classes. His proficiency in English was an important factor in giving him a high social status at the school.

The school was divided into three main sections, and the school's culture grew out of this division. Students were assigned classes based on their English proficiency, with students like Curtis, most of whom were born in the US or immigrated with their families at a young age, occupying the top tier. Most of the school's Indo-Pak students also occupied this position. Students in the intermediate division had limited English proficiency and were mostly Saudi or other Arab students who had been in the US for a

few years. The last division of students were almost all recently-arrived Saudis who were at the entering or beginning level of English proficiency.

The school focused most of its resources on the top tier students, those with the highest English proficiency. The intermediate students were sometimes allowed to take advanced IB courses with top tier students, but students would often self-segregate by English ability and sit on opposite sides of the classroom. The students with the lowest level of English proficiency, who occupied the bottom of the social hierarchy, created a separate liminal culture that was based on tribal alliances, northern vs. southern Saudi tribes. Curtis rarely interacted with students from the bottom of the social hierarchy and only occasionally with those in the middle because all three groups, with few exceptions, were on different academic tracks. The higher a person was in the social hierarchy, the more likely the person was to remain in the US for higher studies and to pursue a career. The lower a person was in the hierarchy, the more likely the person was to plan to return to their heritage culture for higher studies and/or to pursue a career.

Students positioned lower on the social hierarchy were also more likely to be unfamiliar with American culture and embrace the more tribal heritage cultures of the Arabian Peninsula. Students with low social status, who were essentially monocultural, often had conflicts with students positioned above them in the school's hierarchy. For example, they would carry out raids on the playground in which they would grab other students' footballs and instigate a fluid game with no rules in which they would tackle anyone with the ball, rip if from their hands, and run aimlessly until they were tackled and lost the ball.

Curtis described a liminal culture developed by students like him who occupied the top tier as one that was closely aligned with the school's vision of academic excellence and Islamic equality. Students of lower social status often resented being marginalized because of their limited English proficiency and, as a response, created their own social hierarchy that was more closely aligned with their heritage cultures. Top tier students, however, enjoyed occupying a space where nationality, ethnicity, race, social class, and cultural heritage were not regarded as important indictors of social status. Curtis believed top tier students viewed all other students through the same lens:

> I didn't feel any linguistic boundaries maybe because we were all Muslim as well so it was kind of like we feel like the same, like even though the language is different we had the same beliefs. I felt like everyone there was my brother, so I didn't feel that kind of discrimination of difference.

Curtis felt that he is more "open-minded" than his parents are, but he doesn't attribute this to the liminal culture he helped construct at school:

> I was born as a millennial, so I'm more open-minded, and as an American Muslim, I'm more open-minded to things than they are—different types of people. I just feel like there's a cultural gap, a huge gap, between my generation and my parents' generation. I feel like they're just a little more closed-minded. And accepting people. Like I don't have a problem with anyone, like befriending anyone from a different faith or any type of person. I don't mind like sharing my thoughts with them.

Although Curtis says his parents are “just a little more closed minded,” he describes this as a “huge cultural gap,” indicating how crucial open-mindedness is to him. He doesn’t attribute his open-mindedness to the liminal school culture he helped create, but to other factors: “Upbringing. Being raised here. It’s a democratic country, and all the media—social media-and just TV shows and all this shaped my thinking to be more open-minded.”

Curtis says his Muslim peers have the same views: “I feel like they are more open-minded. They just want the same rights for everyone. Like if someone wants rights, then we should give them rights as well.”

Both Saeed and Fatin worked as administrators in Muslim schools, and their descriptions of school cultures and the cultural views of Muslim communities complement the accounts of Noor and Curtis. Saeed spoke of the mistake a number of Muslims make in not being able to distinguish between their heritage cultures and the teachings of Islam: ‘Like not everything in Arabic culture is Islamic, not everything in Pakistani culture is Islamic [even though] those countries they are Muslim.’

Fatin, herself a Middle Easterner, recounted how as an administrator at a Muslim school she had to learn aspects of various Middle Eastern cultures and dialects in order to interact effectively with each teacher. Her remark indicates that the school, although it may have had a common ethos, was also home to multiple cultures among its staff, in addition to the liminal cultures students constructed. Parents from the community, who sometimes came from and still embraced tribal cultures, also required her to find effective ways to communicate.

From the narratives of the four participants who had over five years of experience either attending or working at Muslim schools in the US, five main points related to language, culture and identity stand out:

1. heritage languages played no role in any of the schools' social hierarchies;
2. English proficiency played a decisive role in how one Muslim school streamed students in a ternary system, thereby influencing the development of three separate liminal cultures by students;
3. Islamic studies programs were never mentioned as playing a role in the creation of school ethos or influencing the identities of students;
4. liminal cultures developed by students often reflect the social hierarchies present in their heritage cultures;
5. students may construct liminal cultures in Muslim schools as a training tool and/or transitioning space in preparation for entering a similar culture as adults; and
6. liminal cultures may be buffer zones that help students make sense of a perplexing spectrum of converging and conflicting cultural expectations, norms, and practices that confront them in a ML/MC environment.

Basic theme 15: Clothing: Revealing and concealing identity. Three female participants discussed the politics of clothing, culture, and identity. Two of the three participants encountered resistance for making clothing choices that others deemed inappropriate, while the third participant found herself empowered by her ability to choose to reveal or to conceal her identity through clothing choices.

Mahira, a 21-year old college student born in Bahrain to Pakistani parents, was forced by her mother to wear traditional Pakistani clothes when she entered grade eight while growing up in the US:

> Eighth grade was very bad for me where she used to make me wear shalwar khameez [traditional Pakistani outfit of pants with a long shirt] which is the shirt and pants, and I used to get made fun of. And it used to be hot, and I used to sweat in there, and I used to stink like sweat, and I got bullied more because of that.

Being forced to wear traditional Pakistani clothes to school was part of the systematic and forced enculturation of her heritage Pakistani culture that Mahira endured from an early age. She recalls how in grade two she was beaten with a belt by her father for not meeting her parents' academic expectations. Her mother coached her how to lie in case anyone saw the bruises on her arms. Wearing Pakistani clothes, however, brought constant shame upon Mahira and subjected her to constant bullying. The shame was so severe that she had a secret pair of jeans she would smuggle to school and wear every day:

> I would go to school in shalwar kameez, and I would literally hide my face so that no one recognized me, and I would run to the bathroom and take my jeans and my shirt and wear it and go to the bathroom and change my clothes and go to class. And same thing when I had to go home, just change back into shalwar kameez, hide my face and run out of school so that no one sees me in it. The thing about that is that I had one pair of jeans that I was trying to do for the rest of the year.

> And one day we had a field trip and I wore that because I changed my shalwar kameez and when it was time to go home we were dropped off at—we went to this park where they had sprinklers on and my jeans got wet. We then back to our classroom and it was time to go home so I changed my shalwar kameez and I put my pants in my bookbag at the bottom of the bag. So I had to do homework, so if someone saw my jeans, I was dead meat. Like, "Why do you have jeans in your bag?" So the next day when I had to take my jeans out, they stunk. So I stunk. But I did not care, because they were my jeans. It was that important for me! I remember as I sat, we used to have a group of 5 people at each table. And everyone at that table was covering their nose, and the girl next to me was coughing and like gaging. And I knew it was me, but I told myself, they don't know it's me. I will put myself in denial that they don't know it was me, so just play along, just say, "Yeah, it stinks." It was crazy.

Marhia's magical jeans had to come to an end when her parents discovered she cut class to spend time with her boyfriend at school. A call from the school's dean infuriated her mother and set into motion extensive reconnaissance missions in which she would be checked on daily, and if she were caught wearing jeans, the consequences would be even more severe:

> And the first thing my mom was like going crazy. And that's why it had to stop [changing into jeans at school]. And then to that point, I couldn't change anymore. I couldn't have my jeans in my bag anymore, so I had to wear what they were making me wear because in the middle of the school day, they would come

> check on me, or they would make my sisters go and just peek in the classroom to see what I was doing. So at that point I had no excuse or nothing left to save myself. I was done with that.

Mahira's characterized her parents' forcing her to wear traditional Pakistani clothes to school while growing up in the US (as well as forcing her to learn Urdu and abide by Pakistani cultural norms related to interacting with males) as part of their attempt enculturate her with their heritage culture: "I was really confused. I wanted to be this American girl because I was being forced to be this Pakistani girl." Being forced to identify with a culture she found alien made her become rebellious, resentful, and bitter:

> It made me hate my culture. It made me hate people for bullying me about it. It made me hate my parents. It made me hate myself. I just became this hated, hateful person. How can someone stand their child being bullied in school? And when I used to cry and tell my mom people made fun of me, she used to tell my little sister to go and complain for me. It would make things worse. "Oh, your little sister is here to back you up." So she never found an alternative way to help me that would actually help me. In fact, she used to make things worse for me. In her mind, she's helping me, but she's not. She's making me more rebellious. She's making me more hateful. She's making me do more things I'm not supposed to do.

Mahira is the only participant whose parents used coercion and physical abuse in an attempt to force her to integrate her heritage culture into her identity. She also suffered mental abuse at the hands of bullies in school who targeted her for her exotic dress. In

recounting her experience of forced enculturation, she uses one word repeatedly: Hate. The powerful hatred she experienced was directed at many targets: Her culture, her bullies, her parents, and herself. In light of her suffering, she promised she would never force her children to undergo forced enculturation. In fact, so deeply traumatizing was her experience that in describing how she would raise her children, she experienced flashbacks of the resentment, pain and confusion she associates with being forced to live by cultural traditions she found alien and abhorrent:

> Where they [her future children] live is how they should act. I'm not going to make them dress and stand out and maybe be made fun of because I went through that. If you want to teach me something, you don't make it worse for me where I just want to run away. You're supposed to make it easy for me! You're supposed to make me understand so that I don't become rebellious! I know I'm definitely not going to make my kids wear shalwar khameez to school because it just doesn't make sense.

Hanna, born in the US to parents who had immigrated from India and Pakistan, had a vastly different experience with cultural clothing than did Mahira because her parents trusted her and respected her right to choose how she dressed. She made clothing choices depending on her desire to conceal or reveal her cultural heritage and spiritual identity. By sending ambiguous signals regarding her cultural identity through dress, she found that she could determine the language with which people spoke to her:

> Sometimes they won't really know my identity because I don't always wear traditional clothes. If I am wearing traditional clothes, they'll speak to me in

> Urdu, and then we'll have this awkward conversation where I try to fake that I understand that I know what they are talking about, but usually it's like minimal interaction and then I leave. Sometimes I throw people because of the way I dress—it's more like a Muslim cultural identity and not an Indian cultural identity. So sometimes people will think I'm Egyptian or something. So they will just opt to speaking English because they're not sure where I come from.

For Hanna, clothing is power. More specifically, the power of clothing resides in Hanna's knowledge of what certain articles of clothing signify and in her knowledge of how to control the symbiotic mechanisms associated with clothing. Her adeptness at using clothes to convey messages is illustrated in her manipulation of what many people regard as a symbol of oppression: The hijab (scarf-like piece of fabric used to cover hair) and abaya (loose-fitting gown worn over clothing). For Hanna, the hijab and abaya can be liberating and empowering when it is freely worn by a woman, when she uses it to make a statement about who she is, and when it makes her stand out:

> I want to say that I felt like it [hijab] was really empowering. When I first put on a hijab, it was kind of making a statement, and it made me feel, it made me feel different, but in a good way. It was great, but when I was younger, I didn't want to feel judged, but as I got older, I wanted to make my own identity, and wearing the abaya and the hijab was a way for me to forge that identity. Yeah, I like the fact that I stand out.

Ironically, two of the original purposes of the hijab and abaya were to conceal a woman's identity and to cover features that may draw unwanted attention, but Hanna

used hijab to assert control over her own identity and to attract the notice of others. Additionally, the abaya is not commonly worn among women in the Indo-Pak community as it is associated with Arab culture. She purposefully adopted this traditional Arab article of clothing in order to create ambiguity concerning her cultural background. While many participants described their youth as a time of confusion in trying to figure out where they belong, Hanna delighted in the power she had to confuse others concerning her cultural identity:

> When I was younger, I would wear American clothes, unless there was like an event that we had to go to, like an Indian or Pakistani event, a wedding or something. I wear shalwar kameeses [traditional Pakistani outfit] at home, but I don't wear it outside much. I tend to wear American clothes out. I'm not sure, you know? I think when I was younger it was really about being judged by peers. Yeah, especially when I was in elementary school, and in middle school and high school, it was like no one else wore it, so why should I go out and wear it. I feel like at that stage, like, you really just wanted to fit in—you didn't want to be different than you already are. And then as I grew up, I chose to wear the abaya, so that's completely different.

Hanna exercised freedom to choose what clothing she would wear while growing up, and she made use of garments from her heritage culture as well as from other cultures that suited her purpose. She was cognizant of how what she wore influenced the behavior of those around her, and she experimented with this power as she grew up. Mahira, on the other hand, had to follow strict cultural clothing guidelines as part of her parents' forcing

her to grow up in the US as a Pakistani female. While Mahira understands the power of clothing to stifle one's identity, she never had the opportunity as Hanna did to experiment with using clothing to construct her own messages about her identity.

Noor, born in the US to parents of Indian and African descent, had her most interesting experience with clothing, culture, and identity when she was a child and had a laundry problem—it was a school day and her jumper was dirty. Her mother wore a jilbob (similar to an abaya, a long loose-fitting gown some Muslim women wear over their clothes), so Noor decided to wear her mother's jilbob to the Muslim school she attended. She did not realize the implications this would have:

> There was a dress code, so it wasn't really a uniform, as long as you wore navy and white, okay? So I guess one time my jumper was dirty so I wore a jilbob, a navy jilbob. It was my mom's—I like took it out of the closet and wore it to school. So I wore it and then from that point on everyone just assumed I'd be wearing it. It was almost like they expected—like I had taken some kind of oath that I would wear this thing.

Noor discovered that while the school had an official dress code, there was also an understanding among teachers and students that girls, once they had reached either a certain state of physical or spiritual development, would transition to wearing a jilbob:

> You know, so when I went back to a jumper everyone was like, "You're wearing tights." You know, "Your jumper—it's really bad! I can see the shape of your calves!" So I think that really bothered me as far as being a woman or being a girl.

Both female teachers and fellow female students pressured her to continue wearing a jilbob, viewing this pressure as encouragement for her to continue progressing spiritually. Noor also discovered that with the Syrian culture, the color of one's jilbob or abaya signified one's rank within a certain sisterhood of Muslim women. She referred to certain teachers who wore blue abayas as the "blue ensemble," a color that denoted a high rank within the organization:

> It's like a women's empowerment group. So a lot of the women were that. So they really did this whole women's empowerment—women should be able to get up and go to their halaqat [a religious discussion group], and leave the house you know, and go to your circle, learn your Islam. But the thing is they sort of make it rigid. It's fluid in that they can get up and go and do what they want, right? But it's rigid in that they make rules for themselves, like you have to wear this color of scarf, this color of clothes, you have to dress this way, present yourself this way. So I think the women who ran the school sort of did the same thing to the girls.

The power females possessed concerning clothing in the Muslim school Noor attended as a child was complex and gradated. First, female teachers of Syrian descent, who formed the majority, belonged to a women's empowerment organization with a rigid hierarchy. One's position in the hierarchy was signaled by the color of one's abaya and scarf. Members of this organization, then, had to follow a strict dress code. Rather than empowering women to challenge the traditional roles their heritage culture expected them to play as Muslim women, this organization fought for their rights to embrace those roles.

Second, female teachers played a significant role in creating an unofficial dress code for female students that pressured them into adopting traditional Middle Eastern clothing norms for Muslim women as a part of their Muslim identity. Shame was one of the key strategies teachers and students used to convince female students to adopt these norms. It was this type of coercion that was designed to make female students feel self-conscious about their bodies and how they dress that led to Noor stating that "Muslims will make you feel a little different than other people will." Third, the fact that adult females in Noor's school, as well as her female classmates, used their power to enforce cultural clothing norms on other female students reveals how females themselves may be complicit in creating and enforcing what are often viewed as oppressive dress codes for females. Lastly, the politics of clothing, culture, and identity that Noor encountered taught her the lesson that in some traditional Muslim cultures, the power a female possesses in relation to how she dresses is limited to her giving power to others to dictate what clothing she should wear at each stage of her physical and spiritual development.

This concludes the discussion of organizing theme 2, "liminal cultures." This section discussed the main strategy that participants observed being used by Muslims to make their heritage cultures relevant: The creation of liminal cultures. Liminal cultures mainly are mini versions of heritage cultures that act as buffers between some Muslim communities and American culture. These buffer cultures often import social hierarchies as well as norms and practices from heritage cultures and represent the attempt of some Muslim communities to resist Americanization while at the same time searching for ways to thrive in an interconnected society that typically doesn't value insular and tribal

worldviews. Participants observed these liminal cultures within Muslim schools, Muslim communities, and Muslim families. None of the participants had positive attitudes toward any liminal cultures they encountered, finding them oppressive, discriminatory, and lacking an Islamic ethos.

Global theme 2, "constructing non-traditional identities resolves the tension among Islam, English, and globalism," offers a powerful view of how participants resolved tension and conflicts among language, culture, and identity as MC/ML Muslims living in the US. The two organizing themes, "fluid identity" and "liminal cultures," represent two extremes. Fluid identity encapsulates the rejection by many participants of nationality, heritage culture, heritage language, race and ethnicity as important aspects of identity. Instead, participants preferred to construct fluid identities that empower them to move among and within various groups, including cultural and ethnic communities with which they are not familiar. Liminal cultures represent the other extreme and indicate the attempt of some Muslims to create spaces that act as buffer zones between their heritage cultures and American culture. Rather than being a blending of "the best of two worlds," participants viewed these liminal cultures as a hodgepodge of discriminatory and oppressive ideologies and practices imported from heritage cultures and often dressed in the trappings of Islam.

Conclusion

The purpose of this project was to explore the attitudes of multicultural/multilingual (MC/ML) Muslims in the Washington Metropolitan area toward (1) the English language and American culture, and (2) their heritage languages

and heritage cultures, and to generate a substantive theory to explain how participants developed these attitudes. Some of the more paradoxical findings of this study point toward several questions related to Muslims linguistic and cultural attitudes as well as Muslim identity. These questions must be addressed by the emerging theory this study set out to construct. Listed below, these questions will be addressed in the next chapter in the discussion of findings:

1. How is it that Arabic still has relevance as a spiritual language to participants, yet they consider English as playing the most significant role in their identities as American Muslims?
2. How do heritage cultures still play a role in the identities of participants who embrace global identities?
3. How do participants integrate American culture with their Muslim identities?
4. Why don't participants integrate heritages cultures with their global Muslim identities?
5. How do fluid identities work for participants, and why did they choose to construct them?
6. What role does English play in the participants' identity construction?
7. What were the determining factors in how participants integrated languages and cultures into their identities?

CHAPTER FIVE

The purpose of this modified grounded theory project was to explore the attitudes of multicultural/multilingual (MC/ML) Muslims in the Washington metropolitan area toward the English language, American culture, their heritage languages and heritage cultures, and to generate a theory to explain how these attitudes were developed.

The Problem of Eurocentrism

The two dominant theories that address at least some aspects of Muslim linguistic and cultural attitudes are those put forward by Lewis (1979; 1990; 2002) and Phillipson (1992), both of which essentialize Muslims as either raging against a superior Western civilization and seeking revenge for the loss of the caliphate (Lewis' Orientalist theory), or as passive victims of the dominant imperialist Western hegemonic culture (Phillipson's Postcolonial theory). Both theories have proven to be extremely influential in academic writing as well as popular culture, yet they offer simplistic and Eurocentric views of Muslim attitudes.

Importantly, neither of the prevailing theories of Muslim identity were constructed from the narratives and experiences of Muslims. Instead, they were born of what Elmessiri (2006) terms Western epistemological bias: The "attempt by the West, conscious or unconscious, intentional or unintentional, to force its cultural paradigms onto the people of the world" (p. xi). These theories represent an "imperialism of

categories" in which categories and ways of understanding things developed in a Western context, such as Marx and Engel's concept of class, are assumed to be universal (Elmessiri, 2006, p. 52), and Eurocentric concepts such as "bourgeoisie," "proletariat," and "capitalists" are used to explain the unique social history of the Middle East (Hussein, 2006, p. 87).

Said (1972; 1981) critiqued the Orientalist's tendency to essentialize the Middle East, Islam and Muslims. Similarly, Kabel (2007) criticized the Postcolonial lens for essentializing and reifying English and Islam and challenged researchers to see them as not symbols of rival ideologies, but "as different ways of pursuing understanding, sets of enquiries for making sense of the world. . . . elusive, fluid, evolving, and fuzzy categories" (p. 141). Mahboob (2009) also questioned the Postcolonial inclination to essentialize English and the periphery as dominant vs. dominated. The periphery, he argued, often constructs "nativized varieties of English, which are a form of resistance to colonial Englishes" (p. 177). Rajagopalan (1999) questioned the Postcolonial insistence that English can't be viewed outside the context of its colonial past. He rejected the notion that English has "imperialist pretentions," arguing cultural hybrids and multilingualism have led to "unstable identities and shifting conceptual contours" (Rajagopalan, 1999, pp. 204-205). Sen (2006) has also rebuked the tendency to essentialize Muslim identity as either that of a purveyor of terror or a passive and oppressed victim.

These critiques strike at the heart of the Postcolonial and Orientalist tendency to portray Muslims (and others associated with the "periphery") as subjugated and

marginalized by the "center," or intellectually inferior and resentful of Western civilization. Both lenses were constructed by a distant gaze; therefore, Muslims are portrayed as embodying a single attitude, a single goal, and a single fate. The theories do not offer space for contradictions, paradoxes, diversity, or uncertainty.

Theory Emerging from Muslim Narratives

The present research project was founded upon the belief that a theory emerging from diverse Muslim narratives will be a major step toward constructing an authentic, nuanced lens through which to view Muslim identity. Such a theory requires a paradigm shift, one that frees theory construction as much as possible from the Eurocentric ideologies that obscure the Postcolonial and Orientalist lenses. Kabel (2007) alluded to some key aspects of this paradigm shift when he articulated the need for researchers who explore Muslim identity, Islam, and English to consider

> room for reconciliation, cross-fertilization, and for what Homi Bhabha calls a 'third space', which is 'as unrepresentable in itself, where the symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity, where the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricized and read anew.' (p. 141)

A major goal of the present study was to answer the calls of Kabel (2007), Sen (2006), Elmessiri (2006), Mahboob (2009), Rajagopalan (1999), Hussein (2006), and Said (1972; 1981) by constructing a more nuanced understanding of Muslim identity. This project sought to achieve this goal by constructing a theory grounded in the narratives of Muslims living in the US., a theory that attempts to explain the fluid,

sometimes messy and paradoxical relationship Muslims living in the US have with the English language, American culture, and their heritage languages and cultures.

Theory and the Ontologically Unfinished World

Grounded theory studies do not produce a grand theory that purports to demonstrate a complete understanding of the research situation. Rather, a grounded theory study puts forward a hypothesis for consideration, a theory that works and that fits the data, that is modifiable and adaptable to different contexts, and one that a community of researchers can enhance with further research (Glaser, 1992). This kind of theory construction is in stark contrast to the Orientalist and Postcolonial claim to having created lenses that are universal and definitive. A theory which emerges from data collected from diverse participants may be messy and paradoxical, and it likely will not validate a particular worldview since it emerges from different perspectives rather than a single perspective or from the researcher's personal beliefs and pet theories. And it certainly will not claim to be the final word on the topic.

The two worlds of Dutch social psychologist Diederik Stapel are revealing when considering what makes a theory authentic. In one world, he is "frustrated by the messiness of experimental data, which rarely led to clear conclusions" (Bhattacharjee, 2013, p. 45). Despite the messiness, Stapel wrote papers which mapped out the "complicated and messy relationships between multiple variables" (p. 46). But when it came time to publish, he faced a problem: Messiness isn't always marketable. Journal editors asked him to leave certain things out and to make things appear simpler. This is when Stapel created a second world, one in which everything was clear, certain, perfectly

connected, and in his eyes, beautiful. In this world, his conclusions and theories were elegant and symmetrical. Journal editors embraced his work, finding it sexy. Stapel, however, admits there was one small problem with the work he produced in this magical second world: “It was a quest for aesthetics, for beauty — instead of the truth” (p. 45). He concocted the data and results of dozens of studies until some graduate students noticed some questionable details in one of his studies, and then in another study, and then in another—until many of his articles fell like dominoes, one after another. Journals had to make an embarrassing number of retractions, and his career ended. He, of course, published a book about his fall. And, of course, parts of the book were plagiarized.

Stapel describes his fall as the result exchanging the search for truth for aesthetics and beauty, but he may be guilty of romanticizing his fall. Stapel chased career advancement, power, and prestige, not beauty (or, perhaps we could say in his defense that for him these blandishments represented beauty). Ironically, his initial unpublished papers that mapped out messy and shifting relationships between variables reflected the same beauty the philosopher Slavoj Žižek (2019) described when he argued that paradoxes don’t undermine and invalidate theories, but they actually verify their authenticity:

> Paradox—getting entangled in some precisely defined—not any—inconsistencies is maybe the only reliable proof that we are touching the real . . . the world is in itself inconsistent. . . . Reality in itself, is not in itself in the sense of some consistent reality full reality out there being fully ontologically constituted and waiting for us to discover it slowly. I think that realty in itself is, in some sense,

ontologically unfinished, open. (The Institute of Art and Ideas, 2019)

The present project's emerging theory of Muslim identity is founded upon Muslim linguistic and cultural attitudes. It will not conceal or gloss over contradictions or paradoxes expressed by participants, but it will embrace and highlight such breaches in logic and explore possible causes in an effort to, as Žižek says, "touch the real."

Participant Attitudes

Participants described nuanced attitudes and orientations toward the English language, American culture, and their heritage languages and cultures. The complex attitudes of each participant are discussed below:

Mahira. She was the only participant who had her heritage culture and language forced upon her. More than any other participant, she expressed extreme contempt for her heritage culture, especially the women she described as having no jobs who were given to gossiping and hypocrisy. As a punishment for not abiding by Pakistani cultural norms, she was beaten as a child, and as a teen she was exiled to Pakistan and locked in a room in her uncle's house for six months. She was forced to wear traditional clothing at puberty. She had difficulty learning English, Urdu, and Arabic, much to her parents' consternation. She married the first English-speaking boy her parents introduced her to in order to escape their oppression. She resented her parents' inability to speak English. While her parents and siblings refer to themselves as Pakistani Muslims, she refers to herself as American Muslim. Her positive attitude toward American culture stems from the fact that she sees it as free from the closemindedness and gender oppression associated with her heritage culture. While she feels Muslims should be able to read

Arabic as it is the language of the Qur'an, she does not feel her heritage language is connected to her identity. She would like for her children to learn Urdu only to be able to communicate with their grandparents.

Rahma. She views her Pakistani heritage culture and language through a lens of postcolonial identity distress. She feels like to be Pakistani is to be ideologically lost and faced with several different identities to choose from. For Rahma, constructing a hybrid cultural identity is not wise because it will lead to confusion. Rahma doesn't prefer one culture over another—she believes one must adapt to the culture they live in, just as she had to learn the conventions of American English after being educated in British curriculum schools in Pakistan. In learning the conventions of American English, Rahma had to unlearn the flowery and indirect nature of British English as taught in Pakistan. She witnessed the power of the English language and American corporate expansion in Pakistan as working-class people suddenly began learning English, once a social marker, and even lower-class girls began wearing American style clothes and speaking English while working in American fast food restaurants. Indicative of English's power is the fact that Rahma uses the language to access Islamic texts and even recites the Arabic Qur'an by reading an English transliteration, although texts are available in her heritage language (in which she is proficient). She views her heritage language—Urdu—as a "dying tradition," little more than a cultural artifact.

Fatin. Her attitudes toward being Saudi, American, and an English- and Arabic-speaking Muslim have fluctuated over her life.

As a young girl, she only wanted to be Saudi. She grew up ashamed of being bilingual, so she hid the fact that she spoke a language other than Arabic. Being a speaker of Old Turkish positioned her as an immigrant in a culture that assigned low social value to outsiders. Later in life, she developed a somewhat negative attitude toward Middle Eastern cultures in that they tend to promote tribalism. Now she attempts to extract what she considers to be the positive aspects of American/Western culture and Middle Eastern/Islamic culture.

Her attitudes toward Arabic became less positive as she began reading self-improvement books in English. She found that Arabic writers imitated English writers, so she felt Arab culture and thinking was impoverished. Just as she was once obsessed with being Saudi, she became obsessed with being American to the point she felt it jeopardized her Muslim identity. She then discovered classical Arabic books in which Muslim thinkers viewed the world through an Islamic lens, and it was then that she realized modern Muslim writers had lost their identity. With this new perspective, she began to seek "equilibrium" between Islam on one hand, and English on the other. After going to extremes, she now feels she is at a place where Islam and English both support each other, but she must keep them in balance.

Her husband praised Western/American culture as being an enlightened system with respect for human rights and wanted all their children educated in the West. Her youngest son, born in the US, rejects his heritage culture and, like his father, finds American culture more closely aligned to the teachings of Islam.

Saeed. His negative attitude toward Middle Eastern Muslim cultures stemmed from his belief that they value characteristics that are antithetical to those valued by Islam. For example, his heritage culture prizes a person's ability to cleverly deceive others in business.

His positive attitude toward American culture is based upon his belief that American culture values characteristics praised by the teachings of Islam, specifically honesty and truthfulness. His neutral attitude toward Arabic and English stemmed from his notion that languages are just "tools" and do not affect who we are as people. His son, born in the US, faced difficulty in adjusting his father's heritage Jordanian culture when he pursued graduate studies there. He was shocked at how many things he found in the culture that were antithetical to Islam's teachings.

Nuh. His positive attitude toward English stemmed from the fact that English introduced him to a value system that differed from that of Turkish culture, and this changed the course of his life drastically. As his math skills were very good, in Turkey he would've been expected to pursue a career in Engineering, but he was introduced to economics as a student in an American international high school in Saudi Arabia. Economics intrigued him greatly, and he pursued higher studies in the US and became an economist.

His somewhat negative attitude toward Turkish culture relates to Turkish schools instilling within students a nationalistic Turkish identity conducive to political control, which emphasized an "us vs them" mentality. He still considers himself "Turkish," but not culturally. For him, his Turkish identity just identifies his heritage, but it doesn't

inform his actions or worldview. He considers himself a “global citizen,” able to move anywhere in the world and adapt. By belonging nowhere, he is able to move anywhere. He cannot develop relationships with other Turks who are monocultural or nationalistic.

Noor. Her negative attitude toward Indo-Pak and Arab cultures derived from her experiences with both cultures as liminal cultures in Muslim schools, where both cultures marginalized her. Noor’s negative attitude toward Urdu and Arabic was contextual (like Mahira’s) and based upon the notion that they are “inauthentic” when learned and spoken outside their respective cultures. What she lacked in authenticity as a speaker of Urdu and Arabic, she made up for in the way she spoke English. Her positive attitude toward English was rooted in how she could adjust the way she spoke English to imitate Indian speakers of English to demonstrate her “legitimacy” as a member of the Indo-Pak community. She was rejected, however, by a group of Black American college students with low SES backgrounds because her style of speaking was inauthentic in their eyes as she didn’t come from an impoverished background.

Being the child of Indian and Black parents, she found that Indians tended to position her a Black, while Blacks tended to view her as Indian. She resisted their attempt to foist an identity upon her by asserting that she was “full Indian” and “full Black.” After her negative interactions with different cultural and ethnic groups, she developed strategies to move within and among different cultural and ethnic groups without belonging to any group exclusively.

Osman. His positive attitude toward English emanated from its universality in communication with different cultural groups, and his positive attitude toward American

culture developed from his early exposure to American music and TV programs, and from an American military base he visited during his childhood in Africa. He referred to himself an American Muslim, and he felt it was his "destiny" to become an American. His attitudes toward his heritage culture were dualistic: He praises the Arab culture he grew up within while living in Eritrea because it embraced diversity, but he condemns the arrogant Arab culture associated with Saudi Arabia and Gulf states because of its ethnocentrism and religious intolerance. He also expressed negative attitudes toward many Arab Muslims living in the US for preventing their children from developing an American identity, a mindset he believed confuses them about where they belong.

Curtis. His positive attitude toward English emerged from the fact that it provided him with a way to communicate with a linguistically diverse group of peers. His positive attitude toward American culture centered on his belief that it provides a space for people to fight for equal rights and to protest when they are marginalized. His view of his heritage language and culture were neutral, but he preferers to reply to his parents in English when they speak to him in Arabic. He sees Arabic as the language of the Qur'an, but he believes one doesn't have to speak it to be a practicing Muslim. He referred to himself as an American Muslim.

Hanna. Her positive attitude toward English derived from her use of the language to communicate with her family and diverse friends. Her negative view of her heritage language relates to her frustration with the fact that Urdu lacks the universality of English, and that she must learn classical Urdu to read the Islamic books she longs to read, but she must learn a minor dialect of the same language to communicate with

family in India. When she visited India as a high school student to meet her mother's family, she was dismayed to find that although street and store signs were all transliterated into English, no one in her family spoke English, a language she felt they should know how to speak.

The Diminishing Influence of Heritage Languages and Cultures

The findings of this study suggest that the influence and relevance of heritage cultures and languages of Muslims living in the Washington Metropolitan area is diminishing significantly. Unlike their parents, participants in this study did not view their heritage cultures and languages as influencing their behavior, expectations, assumptions, or perspectives. Rather, they viewed their heritage cultures as little more than the traditions rooted in the places from which they or their parents happened to have been born. Participants also viewed their heritage cultures and languages as having little to no connection to their identities as Muslims. In fact, heritage cultures and languages were described as "dying traditions," "foreign and odd," and in terms antithetical to the teachings of Islam. Conversely, American culture was viewed as embracing many Islamic characteristics, such as honesty, fairness, justice, equality, openness, and tolerance.

For participants in this study, there were five reasons why they found it useful to learn heritage languages:

1. to fulfil a cultural obligation of preserving the language;
2. to access certain Islamic texts in their original language;
3. to construct an alternate identity;

4. to gain an additional perspective; and
5. to communicate with family members who don't speak English.

While heritage languages still play at least a small role in their lives, most participants expressed negative attitudes toward liminal or buffer cultures (mini versions of heritage cultures) constructed within schools, communities, or families, finding them oppressive, discriminatory, and lacking an authentic Islamic ethos. Participants found their traditional heritage cultures in general to be restrictive, insular, tribal, and, therefore, inadequate as a basis for constructing communities or identities in a global world in which insularity and ethnocentrism hamper one's ability to interact meaningfully with members of various cultures and ethnic groups.

Participants have rejected, redefined, or are in the process of negotiating what it means to be biracial, Turkish, Saudi, Pakistani, Indian, and Arab, as these are racial, ethnic, cultural and/or national identities their heritage cultures tend to view as homogenous and fixed. Most participants felt that national and racial identities are obsolete and associated with outdated identity models that they have rejected.

Participants felt that national and racial identities played a more important role in the identities of their parents and of previous generations of Muslims. Identifying as "American" was preferable to most participants because it is an identity associated with fluidity and a high degree of adaptability. Many participants emphasized that they were comfortable being associated with otherness as it liberated them from being positioned within a particular cultural or ethnic group.

Fluid identities were preferred by most participants. These non-traditional identities resolved much of the tension among their heritage cultures/languages, the English language, Islam, and globalism. While all participants described themselves as multicultural and Muslim, many described their identities in a way that indicated they were or were in the process of becoming transcultural, prioritizing the ability to move within and among cultural groups while not belonging to any cultural or ethnic group in a traditional sense. In a hyperconnected world, many participants preferred to construct identities that remained disconnected (i.e., free from being governed by the limitations of a single cultural or ethnic group). A few participants indicated that fluid identities, while empowering, do sometimes elicit feelings of alienation, confusion, anxiety, and unbelonging, yet they still appreciated how these identities provided them with the ability to adapt to shifting cultural landscapes as global migrants.

Most participants chose the English language as their preferred way to interact with the world, and even with the divine. A major finding of the study is that choosing the English language as their dominant language and identifying as American were not only compatible with most participants' Muslim identities, but also integral and essential. All participants viewed Islam as a force that transcended time, place, culture, and ethnicity, and non-Arabic speakers chose English over their heritage languages as the preferred language to experience Islam (i.e., reading translations of Islamic texts and even praying to the deity). Arabic-speakers, while still identifying as Americans, valued having access to the original language of many Islamic texts, but still considered the English language as a viable way to experience Islam and develop a Muslim identity.

Despite the English language being a disruptive force in the lives of participants, they spoke of the language in generally positive terms, synonymous with enlightenment. Knowledge of English was also associated with the ability to access powerful ideas that challenged the traditional norms, assumptions, values, and practices of heritage cultures. While heritage languages and cultures were largely extraneous to participants' lives in most cases, the English language was pervasive and vital.

Emerging Theory

One of the aims of this study was to generate a substantive theory which explains the causes of participant attitudes toward their heritage languages/cultures as well as the English language and American culture. As discussed above, participants in this project had an overwhelmingly positive view of American culture and the English language, seeing both as not only compatible with but also integral to their identities as MC/ML Muslims. Meanwhile, most participants expressed generally negative views of their heritage languages and cultures, viewing them at best as incompatible with their fluid identities as Muslims living in the US, and at worst as oppressive and discriminatory.

The findings of this study suggest that the English language, in the context of Muslim identity construction, is similar to Islam in its scope and power; Muslims, therefore, must negotiate the relationship between English and Islam (as well as heritage languages and cultures) in every domain of their identity. English emerged as the only language powerful enough to influence and support the development of multiple domains of participants' lives, including the intellectual, emotional, professional, personal, social, and spiritual domains of self.

The theory this study proposes does not view English and Islam separately as a language and a religion which affect separate aspects of identity. Rather, English and Islam are the key components of identity development among the participants in this study. Both English and Islam influence every facet of participants' lives. Often viewed as oppositional in research on Muslim identity, English and Islam emerged from the data as powerful forces that are rarely in conflict. Participants viewed themselves as having agency in determining how these forces interacted with each other in each sphere of their lives, describing three main orientations:

1. English and Islam were viewed as working together harmoniously;
2. English and Islam were viewed as acting separately in a balanced way; and
3. English or Islam was viewed as being dominant.

The English language's expansiveness and dominance in every field and in practically all human endeavors means every domain of a person's self is likely to be influenced to some degree by the English language. This study suggests that Muslims negotiate the influence of languages, religions, and cultures by either rejecting, accepting, integrating, or synthesizing their influence separately in each domain of self, including social, intellectual, spiritual, emotional, personal, professional, and emotional domains of self. For example, one may reject (deny completely) the influence of English in one's spiritual life while unreservedly accepting it (completely replacing one's traditional ideologies) in one's intellectual life. The same person may integrate (accept without rejecting traditional forms) the influence of English in their social life while synthesizing it (blending it with traditional forms to create a hybrid) in their professional life. For

Muslims with fluid identities, these choices are dynamic, unstable, contextual, ambiguous, and perplexing. Choices occur on a spectrum, and they shift unexpectedly, depending upon innumerable factors, such as context, personal growth, conflicts, needs, and purpose. The participant Fatin exemplified how creatively a person can connect two powerful forces that have been viewed traditionally as incompatible when she said: "English reinforced the religion, and the religion reinforced the English. Both of them were working together."

The Development of Muslim Linguistic and Cultural Attitudes

Why have the Muslim participants in this study rejected outright or minimized the role their heritage cultures and languages play in how they construct their identities? Furthermore, why do the English language and American culture figure so prominently in their identity construction? These questions are at the heart of the emerging theory put forward by this project. A Postcolonial lens would interpret this shift away from heritage languages and cultures as being rooted in the anglicizing mission of the former British empire, as well as in American corporate and cultural hegemony. The Orientalist lens would read this shift as an ideological and geographical immigration from "Jehad to McWorld," from an inferior old world of myths to a more enlightened world where the search for truth is paramount. The theory put forward by this study of Muslim linguistic and cultural attitudes, however, offers another explanation for the shift. To understand it, we first need to go back to 19th century India when Nazir Ahmad, an Indian social reformer, penned a letter to his son advising him about the English language and British culture.

Nazir Ahmad made an extremely sobering observation as well as a revolutionary prediction in a letter to his son. Arabic, he proclaimed, was no longer the language of science and global thinking. Similarly, languages indigenous to the Muslim world, he predicted, would not be able to keep pace and create the specialized vocabulary demanded by the engine of science that had been relocated, by God's will, to England. Before him loomed the English language, the tool Macaulay (1835) proclaimed would be used to create "a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect" (para. 34). Muslims were at a crossroads, Ahmad argued, and either they embraced the English language, or they would be left behind.

Ahmad had already witnessed the paradoxical power of English to corrupt and to enlighten. Indians who learned English, he warned his son in a letter, became "haughty and insolent and conceited" (Russell, 2003, p. 492). This corruption of character may have been the result of Macaulay's (1835) stated mission of English to create "a class of persons" who would act as "interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern" (para. 34)—a class of people who would be raised in status above non-English speaking Indians, and who may have, as Ahmad indicates, acted conceitedly. But Ahmad also recognized the power of the English language to purify Urdu of its "faults of exaggeration and cheapness" that Persian literature had introduced:

> People have begun to appreciate clear, straightforward language. In the law courts even the humblest Muslim clerk no longer wants to call himself "your born slave" who "eats your salt" or call his superior "lord of lords," "my spiritual guide" and "he to whom the world turns in worship." In short English has whispered to him

> that he too is a man, who lives his own life and has his own property and sense of honor. All his rights are safeguarded. He is Empress Queen Victoria's subject and to some extent subordinate to those who at present govern him, but he is nobody's slave. It is incumbent upon him to respect his superior officer, but not to worship him. He gladly salutes him, but he does not prostrate himself before him. (Russell, 2003, p. 493)

Ahmad may be the first Muslim thinker who recognized the paradoxical nature of the English language, its power to undermine and enhance Muslim identity. Despite the British introducing English-medium education in India to alienate Indians from their non-Christian beliefs, Ahmad understood that Muslims would suffer an unthinkable fate if they resisted the English language. Ahmad's recognition is powerful, and it is similar to that of Henry Adams as he stood before the dynamo in 1900 at the Great Paris Exhibition. Adams (2011) saw the dynamo as a "symbol of infinity" with the "moral force" of "the Cross" ("The Dynamo and the Virgin," para. 3). The world, as Adams saw it, was splitting apart into two: One part symbolized by the dynamo—a world of science and technology—and the other symbolized by the Virgin—a world of old religion and old cultures. Adams saw the dynamo and the world of science as a new religion ("Before the end, one began to pray to it" ("The Dynamo and the Virgin," para. 3).

From where he stood in 19th century India, Ahmad also saw the world splitting apart, but with one principal difference. On one side, he saw the English language as inextricably integrated within the structure of the dynamo. The English language not only gave one access to the dynamo, it supplied the dynamo with its power, connecting and

uniting the energy of every English-speaking mind to its coils. Unlike Adams, however, Ahmad did not see the inverse of this world as one of old religion and old cultures, but one of old languages, languages that would not be able to adapt to and integrate the discoveries of the new world. Islam, in Ahmad's mind, was independent of Muslim languages and Muslim cultures, and highly adaptable. Traditional Muslim languages (e.g., Arabic, Farsi, Turkish, and Urdu) were useful to Muslims only as much as they enabled them to access and practice Islam, but it was English that was not only needed but required for Muslims to fulfil the dictum of their faith to seek knowledge.

This was a somewhat radical idea, that Muslims' faith required them to embrace the English language at a time when they were being targeted by its associated anglicizing mission. Yet Ahmad directed his son to embrace the language, and he didn't paint English as merely a tool for accessing and constructing knowledge. He credited English with embodying essential Islamic values that Urdu and Farsi, two of the four major Muslim languages, did not embrace. English's plainness and directness differed greatly with the excessively ornate style of Urdu and Farsi. Here is a language, Ahmad argued, that is fitting for a faith that emphasizes the equality of all human beings, no matter their social position, who have a clear and direct connection with the deity, a connection that required no intermediaries. This language, English, was not only suitable for such a faith, but it was powerful enough to influence other languages, to challenge them to match its straightforward, democratic ethos.

Muslims, in Ahmad's eyes, do not choose between science or faith—they choose both. The fate of Islam does not rise and fall with the fate of its traditional languages and

cultures because it is drawn to cultures and languages that reflect its intrinsic values, and it follows the arc of science and discovery, just as it moved from Makkah to Mindanao, northern Arabia, Africa, and Europe.

Ahmad's perspective on the Arabic and English languages is even more radical today in many contexts, such as among linguists and socio-cultural theorists who focus on the Muslim world. Many of the most influential contemporary Arab linguists and sociocultural theorists tend to embrace extreme views concerning classical Arabic (fusha), with some expressing very negative views (e.g., Safouan, 2007), and other positive views (e.g., Said, 1978; Suleiman, 2004, 2011). Ahmad's view of Arabic places him squarely in the middle of these two contentious groups: He recognized the limitations of classical Arabic in the world of modern science, but he did not see classical Arabic as a tool for disempowering Muslims.

English, on the other hand, typically evokes visceral reactions, such as that of Maalouf who called English a "cancer that eats away at our identity, mocks our very existence, and turns us into disfigured midgets and ghosts of ourselves that orbit in a sphere that is very distant from our culture, from our original roots and from our distinctive character'" (cited in Suleiman, 2011, pp. 136-137). Maalouf blames the "lure of English" for seducing Arabs away from fusha, the "first line of defending Arab identity" (pp. 136-137). The linguist Karmani (2005) describes the post 9/11 war on terror policy of the US as pressuring the Muslim world to adopt an educational policy of "more English and less Islam" (p. 263). English, Karmani argues, is being used as the major part of a corrective mission with the goal of changing Muslim identity by shifting

the Muslim worldview so that it is more compatible with US foreign policy. The spread of English in the Arab world has also been termed as "linguistic and cultural Western foreignization" (Bisher,1995, as cited in Suleiman, 2011, p. 138). Bisher also speaks of the omnipresence of English in the Arab world on commercial and public signage as subjecting Arabs to "confusion and anxiety" (cited in Suleiman, 2001, p. 138). Finally, Karmani and Pennycook (2005) assert that "English" is not just a language but a complex symbol symbolizing a collection of worldviews, including "modernity, secularization, and particular cultural and political formulations" (p. 158). "Islam," they also assert, has become "a major symbol of mobilization against what is rightly seen as the hegemony of Western capital, culture and worldviews" (p. 158).

In the eyes of a great many linguists and sociocultural theorists who focus on the Arab and Muslim world, the English language is at best a disruptive force which imperils traditional identities and the survival of indigenous languages, and at worst it is the engine of a mission to overthrow and destroy all things incompatible with American political and cultural hegemony. It is revealing, though, that none of the studies cited here which make assertions about the effects of the English language on Muslim (or Arab) identity and the indigenous languages of the Muslim world cite any data to support their conclusions other than the opinions of other linguists and theorists who advance the same arguments. Ahmad's more nuanced view of the English language does not appear to appeal to journal editors in the 21st century.

The Language and Culture of Islam

Strikingly, participants in this study did not reflect the attitudes toward English as expressed by any of the modern linguists and sociocultural theorists cited in this study. This disconnect between participant views and the views of linguists and sociocultural theorists is troubling, but it indicates the importance of constructing new insights, theories, and constructs about the linguistic and cultural attitudes of ML/MC Muslims and about how these attitudes influence identity construction.

The participants in this study unanimously shared Ahmad's orientation toward Islam and the English language. For them, Arabic is the language of the Qur'an, but not Islam. The language of Islam is the language that gives them the most powerful lens to explore their faith, the world, and their identities, and for all but one of these participants, that language happens to be English. The sole exception was an Arabic speaker, Saeed, the oldest participant in the study, whose English proficiency was among the weakest of all participants. While Saeed dismissed the influence of language in general on identity (he described language as merely a "tool"), he felt very strongly about culture. He indicated that American culture was more in alignment with the values inherent in Islam than his heritage culture. He narrated a powerful story of how his son, born in the US, traveled to the Middle East for graduate studies and was shocked to find a Muslim culture could have an orientation antithetical to the teachings of Islam. While Saeed preferred to access Islam through Arabic texts, he found that his understanding of Islam was best expressed through American culture, which he called the "American system."

While the attitudes expressed by Saeed and his son toward their heritage culture may appear extreme compared to those of many theorists who view the English language and Western culture as anti-Islamic forces, they are not novel attitudes. Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905), an Egyptian Islamic scholar and reformer, bluntly stated over a century ago: "I went to the West and saw Islam, but no Muslims; I got back to the East and saw Muslims, but not Islam" (Hasan, 2011). As a journalist and activist, Abduh was anti-colonial and resisted the British expansion into Egypt and the Muslim world, yet he warned Muslims not to seek shelter in the previous generation's interpretation of Islam as a reaction to colonization. Western civilization, he believed, had achieved greatness because it revered independence in both thought and will, two things Muslims had to embrace in order to develop their understanding of Islam in a changing world.

Migration, Resettlement, and Pilgrimage as a Way of Being

Islam is a religion of migration, resettlement and pilgrimage. The word hijrah (immigration) and words associated with its root (to abandon) appear in 27 verses of the Qur'an (Aldeeb Abu-Sahlieh, 1996). Early in the Prophet Muhammad's mission, he sent a group of his followers who were being persecuted by the inhabitants of Makkah to Abyssinia, a Christian kingdom, for protection. And in the year 622, Muhammad himself fled Makkah and settled in Yathrib, where he and his followers established the first Muslim community. The Islamic calendar begins on the date of his immigration to Yathrib. Muhammad also required the desert nomads who embraced Islam to resettle in the community and to abandon nomadism. It is incumbent upon every Muslim who is capable to perform pilgrimage to Makkah once in a lifetime. Lastly, the teachings of

Muhammad often make use of metaphors related to the concepts of journeying and seeking.

Clearly, from its inception, Islam has been associated with people migrating from one culture, mindset, faith, city, region, and way of life to another. Islam is dynamic in that it requires adherents to view a commitment to belief and faith as transformative. The Qur'an makes it clear that the expectation is that after embracing faith, Muslims will not remain static but will seek knowledge by interpreting the verses of the Qur'an as well as by interpreting the signs of the universe around them (in Arabic, the word for both "sign" and "verse" is ayah): "We will show them our signs in the universe and in their own selves until it becomes clear to them that this Qur'an is the truth" (The Qur'an, Fussilat 41:53).

The participants of this study mirror the dynamic narrative of Islam: Their shifting linguistic and cultural attitudes and fluid identities reflect the continual process of migration, transformation, and adaptation that has characterized Islam for 14 centuries. This is one of the most important features of Muslim linguistic and cultural attitudes and Muslim identity that Orientalist and Postcolonial lenses often neglect to address, opting instead to present Muslims, Islam, and English as static artifacts viewed through a Eurocentric lens that accentuates conflict and political domination. And it is this shifting, dynamic, paradoxical, unpredictable, and fluid understanding of the world and themselves by Muslims that researchers and theorists must not ignore.

Old paradigms and theories position the English language, Western civilization, and American culture on one side, and Muslim cultures, Muslim languages, and Islam on

another side. These irreconcilable adversaries are indeed locked in an eternal battle against each other—but this battle takes place within the pages of textbooks and scholarly articles. The findings of this study, however, force us to question the significance of this cosmic battle. In the minds of this diverse, small group of MC/ML Muslim participants, no such battle lines are drawn. There is no battle between McWorld and Islam, no cataclysmic clash among civilizations; there is just negotiation. Our participants carried out radical negotiations, forming alliances with old "enemies" and reconstructing structures that are often portrayed by popular opinion and even academia as being fixed and absolute.

The participants negotiated the influence of languages, religions, and cultures in unanticipated ways, choosing to reject, accept, integrate, or synthesize the influence of these powerful forces within their social, intellectual, spiritual, emotional, personal, professional, and emotional domains of self. Their relationship with languages, religions, and cultures, then, is multidimensional, fluid, and dynamic depending upon numerous factors, such as context, personal growth, conflicts, needs, and purpose.

Implications for Education

The findings of this study concerning the cultural and linguistic attitudes of Muslims and Muslim identity have implications beyond research on identity, culture and language. These findings stand as a critique of the way Islam and Muslims are depicted in school textbooks and how high school curricula generally teach about Islam. Additionally, these findings offer insights to teachers in developing a culturally

responsive pedagogy and to administrators and guidance counselors in developing more meaningful relationships with Muslim students.

Islam and Muslims as depicted in textbooks. A major implication of this study relates to how Islam and Muslims are portrayed in textbooks used in the US. Many American schools have adopted guidelines approved by seventeen religious and educational organizations in 1988 that clarify the difference between teaching about religion and teaching religion (Haynes & Thomas, 1994). Among the criteria articulated by these guidelines, schools are to approach religion from an academic and not devotional perspective, and practices and beliefs should be presented without being reduced to "sociological or psychological phenomena" (Douglas & Dunn, 2003, p. 57). Textbooks, according to these guidelines, are to explain "'how people of faith interpret their own practices and beliefs,' using language that clearly attributes these tenets to their adherents" (Douglass & Dunn, 2003, pp. 58-59).

Studies have found many textbooks used in American public schools generally adhere to the 1988 guidelines when discussing all religions except Islam (Douglas & Dunn, 2003). Textbooks often, for example, include theories about the origins of Islam that depict Muhammad as a false prophet, portray Muslims as a homogenous group motivated almost exclusively by religious impulses, and view Islam as an antiquated faith associated with a fallen empire. Such textbook depictions of Islam and Muslims are pervasive and not limited to the US. Studies have found vicious negative portrayals of Islam and Muslims in textbooks throughout Europe (e.g., Estivalèzes, 2011; Rasero & Bochaca, 2011). In the UK, for example, little has changed over the centuries, with

Muslims still being depicted as irrational and motiveless in their violence and thus "easily dismissed, disparaged and demonized" (Bloom, 2009, p. 9).

The findings of this study suggest that the ways Muslims and Islam are often depicted in textbooks and the media are not only inaccurate, but they are frequently antithetical to how Muslims describe their identities and Islam. Rather than being one-dimensional, homogenous, and anti-Western, Muslims in this study have developed nuanced and multidimensional attitudes toward cultures and languages, with each participant viewing American culture and the English language as necessary to some degree for constructing their identities as Muslims. They also described negative or at best neutral views about their heritage cultures and languages while recognizing that American culture and the English language reflected many of Islam's core principles. Islam, rather than being static, archaic, and belligerently anti-modern, anti-Christian, and anti-Western, was described by participants as an expansive framework for engaging with and interpreting the world, a framework that is highly adaptable and not tied to a particular place, time, or culture, and one that is often used in conjunction with the frameworks of American culture and the English language.

Textbook writers are not necessarily the reason why Islam and Muslims are generally depicted in such a negative light. Textbooks are sites of ideological struggle, and there will likely always be contention over not only what content is included or excluded, but also on how content is organized, presented, and/or discussed. Publishing companies give their largest markets the ability to ideologically customize textbooks, and smaller markets generally must select from these textbooks without input. Content,

therefore, is often determined by a very one-sided market (Goldstein, 2020). The Texas Board of Education represents a very powerful voice in the textbook market, and publishers are often forced to acquiesce to their demands. Conservative members of the Board have been very vocal about protecting students from what they see as textbooks that portray Islam in a positive light and Christianity in a negative light—with one Board member indicating that Middle Eastern investments in a textbook company were part of an Islamic conspiracy to take over the minds of young people (McKinley, 2010).

No matter how skilled and fair textbook writers are, when those who have a powerful say in textbook content insist textbooks adopt a pro-Christian or pro-Euro-American perspective, textbook companies either must customize their products to satisfy those demands or risk losing lucrative contracts. Students entering high school will likely not be shocked by the cultural, racial, religious, and ethnic bias found in high school textbooks. Studies have found that children's literature books often embrace a Euro-American outlook, with stories and illustrations sometimes reinforcing pernicious stereotypes (sometimes subtly), portraying groups with fixed characteristics and little individuality, and adding rather than integrating ethnic content (Darling-Hammond, 2017). Many students, unfortunately, have been desensitized to the cultural, racial, religious and ethnic bias they may be exposed to in high school textbooks.

Poor understanding of Islam and Muslim students. Even if textbooks portray Islam fairly in the same way other religions are portrayed, the dominant model of teaching about Islam in public schools emphasizes conflict and otherness (Barzegar et al., 2019). Additionally, many schools adopt an approach to teaching about Islam and

Muslims that reinforces the harmful stereotypes perpetuated by the media, which "reduce Islam to a religion that promotes violence and the oppression of women, therefore reproducing the same stereotypes that have existed since the Middle Ages and have dominated modern epochs such as colonialism and the War on Terror" (Green, 2015, pp. 233-234). Green refers to this pervasive bias against Islam as Islamophobia: "The fear of and hostility toward Muslims and Islam that is rooted in racism and that results in individual and systemic discrimination, exclusion, and violence targeting Muslims and those perceived as Muslim" (p. 38).

The stereotyping of Islam and Muslims in schools has devastating effects on the ability of teachers and administers to meaningfully interact and work with Muslim students. No participant in this study described school as a place that helped support or guide them in constructing a coherent identity. In fact, participants described several instances occurring in elementary and secondary schools as well as in college in which peers or teachers had a very destabilizing effect on their identity. Additionally, blatant misrepresentations of Muslim identity not only misinform all students but reinforce stereotypes, essentialize the rich and diverse cultures associated with Muslim peoples, and exacerbate the otherness felt by Muslim students and their families in the US. Since both textbooks and the media often convey generalizations, misinformation, and disinformation concerning Islam and Muslims, teachers need specialized training to help them plan culturally responsive lessons that do not marginalize Muslims, and administrators and guidance counselors also need support in knowing how to fulfil the needs of Muslim students.

Schools have played a major role reinforcing the negative stereotypes associated with Islam and Muslims in Europe and the US; consequently, the opportunities for meaningful interfaith and intercultural dialogue, understanding, and collaboration have been reduced. Textbooks, curricula, teachers, administrators, and guidance counselors form a powerful nexus that should protect all students from being influenced or harmed by misinformation, disinformation, prejudice, and bigotry. Studies strongly suggest, however, that Islam and Muslims are frequently not provided the same level of understanding, respect, and protection in schools as other religions, cultures, and minorities are given (Green, 2015; Barzegar et al., 2019). Malik and Wykes (2018) report that Islamophobia in educational settings "could have a profound effect on Muslim students' confidence, motivation or self-esteem," and could lead to Muslims hiding their Muslim identity and disengaging from schools (p. 26). The Islamophobia Muslim students face is not limited to textbooks. Research on teacher attitudes toward Muslims has found that "many Muslim students are confronted with teachers who hold negative attitudes toward them such as believing that Muslim students look favorably on violence and jihad" (Agirdag, Loobuyck, & Van Houtte, 2012, p. 374).

With the media and school curricula in the US both tending to negatively stereotype Islam and Muslims, it is not surprising that studies have found "Islamophobia is the most acceptable form of bigotry in the West today" (Green, 2015), that Muslim students report bullying at twice the national average and feel targeted by teachers and administrators, and that almost one-fifth of Americans state they would support revoking the voting rights of American Muslims (Barzegar et al., 2019).

Recommendations

In light of the findings of this study in conjunction with the inaccurate, inequitable, or Islamophobic depictions of Islam and Muslims that characterizes many school textbooks and curricula which hinder the ability of teachers, administrators, and guidance counselors to develop an understanding of the needs of Muslim students, the following educational enhancements are recommended:

Metaliteracy. Students encounter ideologically, politically, and culturally biased texts throughout their education and beyond. It is imperative, then, that both teachers and students be trained to recognize and deconstruct misinformation, disinformation, generalizations, ideological content, racism, prejudice, bigotry, and intolerance in any text they read. In training students to engage with texts, Cooke (2017) argues that the "end goal is to produce proactive critical thinkers, researchers, and information consumers who can sidestep false information and its deleterious effects" (p. 219).

Given the findings of this study and the prevalence of inaccurate, inequitable, or Islamophobic depictions of Islam and Muslims in textbooks and the media, the best course of action to protect students from being susceptible to the harmful effects of disinformation and misinformation about Islam and Muslims is to give them a powerful tool that can be used to decode a wide range of texts.

Students spend much more time on social media platforms than engaging with textbooks, and social media is often subject to more subtle yet strident Islamophobia than textbooks and other media (Sparkes-Vian, 2019). Even though students in the US engage in creating social media as early as in kindergarten, the notion of "digital natives" is in

need of being redefined (Dodds, 2017). Many young people may be adept at skillfully using technologies to create digital content, but studies show they are acutely susceptible to extremist ideologies that lurk within content designed for young teens, and young middle class white teen males are especially susceptible to being influenced and even recruited by extremist groups that often promulgate Islamophobia (Neumann, 2013; Reitman, 2018). While some researchers have asserted that digital communication is democratic and, therefore, self-correcting when it comes to misinformation or disinformation, Sparkes-Vian argues that online propaganda techniques are constantly evolving, and that while more than two thirds of the public deny being racist, online extremist Islamophobic narratives have widespread appeal.

Although states' learning standards require students to develop digital literacy skills from an early age, many researchers have pointed out that our notion of what constitutes adequate digital literacy needs to be redefined based on the surge in online radicalization (McNicol, 2016). Critical digital literacy is one such attempt to train children to "recognize underlying messages in all types of resources (written, images, film, multimedia, etc.), critique them, and produce counter narratives when engaging with online materials" (McNicol, 2016, p. 233).

Critical digital literacy goes beyond instilling students with the more basic cognitive and emotional skills associated with digital literacy, but it lacks an emphasis on how students produce and share messages in a digital environment. Metaliteracy, however, provides students with a more powerful set of skills and a holistic framework which integrates other discrete literacy skills, including critical digital, news, new media,

communication, technology, and information literacies (Cooke, 2017). A metaliteracy approach is made powerful by its twin emphasis on how messages are decoded and produced in collaborative communities. It is, therefore, an ideal way of helping students and teachers be critical consumers of texts and to reflect on the assumptions embedded in their own messages and interpretations as well.

Introduced by Mackey and Jacobson (2011), metaliteracy gives students opportunities to use multiple literacy skills in evaluating and deconstructing information and information sources used in constructing and distributing messages to others while participating in social media and online communities. The emphasis is on shifting students away from being solely consumers of texts to becoming active participants in creating and disturbing knowledge to potentially global communities.

Metaliteracy training would empower students to not only deconstruct the often Eurocentric cultural and ideological assumptions of textbooks, but it would empower them to practice metacognitive reflection as they engage in participatory environments, discover and analyze new strategies used to create misinformation and disinformation (e.g., through memes that appear benign and free of ideological content), and collaborate within and across online and face-to-face communities.

Training students to develop metaliteracy skills is an extremely effective way of empowering them to understand the mechanics of how ideologies, assumptions, and contexts are packed into every message and to ethically apply that knowledge to the production of their own messages. In such a classroom, a textbook rife with generalizations, disinformation, and Islamophobic content would serve as a useful

resource to help students practice metaliterary skills and to illustrate the need for them to produce messages that do not support oppressive and bigoted ideologies.

Text sets. The findings of this study grew out of participant narratives that expressed a multiplicity of views on language, culture, and identity. A single indisputable truth or even a collection of truths did not emerge from the narratives. Rather, themes emerged from each narrative, which when viewed in relation to other sometimes-conflicting themes, suggested possible answers to the study's research questions and helped build theories to explain what was happening in the data. Other researchers analyzing the data would likely come up with different answers and theories. Students are unfortunately trained to look for a single correct answer by standardized testing that utilizes selected response items, most of which test memorization and recall skills (Kretler, Hampton, & Martin, 1994).

A key skill that will help support the development of metaliteracy is the ability to assemble a text set (a collection of various texts focused on a theme, issue, or topic) which provides multiple viewpoints. Hoch, McCarthy, Gurvitz, and Sitkoski (2019) view the ability to "synthesize multiple conflicting messages and evaluate digital texts that may be intentionally deceptive are essential to engaged citizenship" (p. 701). Multimodal text sets expressing different viewpoints provide students with an excellent opportunity to practice synthesizing conflicting perspectives.

While some text sets can be provided by the teacher, students need to practice constructing their own text sets. The ability to seek texts with differing views is an essential literacy skill that will help protect students from being influenced by only one or

two dominate perspectives. A text set may include several texts, e.g., a documentary, a poem, an essay, a painting, a photograph, a scholarly article, a novel, an interview, a movie, a newscast, an essay, a research paper, a graph, etc. Students may create one or more texts of a text set, but the emphasis is generally on locating multiple perspectives expressed by a wide range of voices.

Because Islamophobia and disinformation about Islam and Muslims has become more prevalent in textbooks and the media in the US since the September 11 attacks in 2001, it is essential for students to know how to access alternative viewpoints concerning issues related to Islam and Muslims. Giving students multiple opportunities to create text sets demonstrates to them the value of integrating a multiplicity of voices in understanding issues and topics and underscores the idea that textbooks represent just one narrative among many.

Many teens do not have experience being exposed to a multiplicity of perspectives. Thirty-eight percent of teens in the US repot that they check social media constantly, and the number of teens using social media continues to rise rapidly (Herold, 2018). Research on social media has identified users' tendency to create "filter bubbles" (or "echo chambers"), "which are the result of the careful curation of social media feeds that enable users to be surrounded by like-minded people and information that is congruent with their existing beliefs" (Cooke, 2017, p. 115). Text sets break up filter bubbles so that teens are more likely to be challenged by different perspectives, something social media generally doesn't encourage.

Creating text sets takes time, especially when students have little to no experience in seeking out conflicting perspectives. Curricular changes will likely need to be made to accommodate more in-depth study of content and less breadth. For decades researchers have described curricula as often being "overstuffed and undernourishing," and "a mile wide and an inch deep," but those who call for reducing curriculum content are often charged with "dumbing things down" (Fratt, 2002, p. 57). The case must be made, however, that racing through a wide range of content will not give students the opportunity to analyze and deconstruct stereotypes, cultural biases, and ideological constructs often found in textbooks and media messages. Text sets are an excellent tool for such work, giving students a chance to examine Islam and Muslims from a multitude of perspectives. Islamophobia and the stereotyping of Islam and Muslims cannot withstand the light created by differing, diverging, and dynamic perspectives.

In addition to being an antidote for distorted textbook and media accounts of Islam and Muslims, text sets can also be used to fill in gaps. Textbooks typically minimize Muslim contributions to anthropology, theology, philosophy, science, math, and political science—all fields in which Muslims played significant roles in laying the foundations that are used by today's researchers and theorists (Malik, Ziermann, & Diogo, 2018). Such bias by omission in textbooks can be remedied by text sets that document not only Muslim contributions to these fields, but also Muslim scholarly collaboration with the Chinese, Greeks, Persians, Indians, and Europeans. Such insights into how Muslims collaborated with each of these cultures would provide a counternarrative to the theme of conflict that textbooks tend to focus on regarding Islam.

Focusing on intercultural collaboration would also give the study of history a more integrated "holistic, humancentric" approach that "focuses on the interconnections between regions and people across the world" rather than a multicultural model that "fragments and isolates societies based on preconceived notions of what constitutes a 'culture' or civilization" (Barzegar et al., 2019, p. 9). Such fragmented models reduce Islam to perhaps only one or two class periods of study, much of which is likely focused on Islam as an ancient and alien Middle Eastern religion.

Professional development. The first two recommended educational enhancements outlined above (metaliteracy and text sets) focus on how schools can take a skills-based approach to addressing the issue of Islamophobia in high school textbooks and digital media. Both these recommended approaches are highly adaptable to different contexts and can be used to train students to recognize and deconstruct generalizations, misinformation, disinformation, stereotypes, and cultural, religious, and racial bigotry against any individual or group of people. The last recommendation, however, pertains mainly to Islam and Muslims.

While there is ample educational research and professional development for educators dealing with the needs and issues related to African American, Latinx, undocumented immigrants, Native American, and low-income groups, little work has been done about what educators and administrators should know about religious diversity (Callaway, 2010). More than any other religion or minority group in the US and Europe, Islam and Muslims are more often targeted by right-wing political groups using distorted and fear-provoking imagery that appeal to and incite a broad xenophobic base (Green,

2015). Schools that endeavor to instill in students critical thinking skills, compassion, democratic ideals, social justice values, and/or tolerance cannot overlook the fact that Islamophobia is one of, if not the, most prevalent form of hate directed toward a minority group in the US and Europe.

In order to prepare culturally responsive, inclusive and engaging lessons that do not marginalize Muslim students, to provide Muslim students with the support they need to become meaningfully integrated within the school and larger community, and to recognize and develop strategies to identity and resist Islamophobia, teachers, administrators, and guidance counselors would greatly benefit from ongoing specialized training that features overviews of the following:

a. The history and current manifestations of Islamophobia through the work of prominent scholars, such as Green (20015), who defines Islamophobia as "the fear of and hostility toward Muslims and Islam that is rooted in racism and results in individual and systemic discrimination, exclusion, and violence targeting Muslims and those perceived as Muslim" (p. 38). The focus should be on types of Islamophobia found in textbooks, workplaces, popular media (including social media and movies), and politics.
b. The types of discrimination and bullying faced by Muslims in schools and examples of effective measures schools have adopted to support Muslim students and staff and to reduce discrimination and bullying.
c. The complexity of Muslim identity, highlighting not only the cultural, ethnic, and

racial diversity of Muslims, but the range of shifting cultural and spiritual attitudes Muslims express.

d. Islam's roots as an Abrahamic faith and its often-misrepresented teachings on topics such as peace, war, forgiveness, social justice, crime and punishment, human rights, the rights of women, etc.

e. The surprisingly successful strategies used by extremist groups to accomplish the online radicalization of middle-class white teens (mostly males). These groups often preach Islamophobia in the guise of benign social media content (Reitman, 2018).

f. Contemporary Muslim narratives expressing their views of what it means to be an American Muslim (or a Muslim in America). Blogs written by Muslims would be an excellent resource, such as the blog written by the organization Teaching while Muslim, in which Muslim teachers, parents, and students "describe their experiences, and list resources such as lesson plans and curriculum guides on anti-bias education" (Vara-Orta, 2018, p. 12).

g. Profiles of Muslims from different walks of life, past and present (similar to the brief profiles presented in chapter one of this work), including American soldiers, researchers, theorists, human rights advocates, members of the LGBTQ community, blue collar workers, public servants, inspirational speakers, entrepreneurs, engineers, professional athletes, artists, actors, peace advocates, etc. Such profiles would counter the tendency of textbooks and media to depict Muslims as homogenous.

h. Significant Muslim contributions to various fields, as well as Muslim collaborations with and contributions to different cultures, such as introducing paper, algebra, and the concept of zero to Europe.

i. The powerful literacy tools of metaliteracy and text sets, both of which teachers should introduce to students in order to help them identify and deconstruct Islamophobia and other bigoted messages found in texts. Helping students develop metaliteracy and the skills associated with creating text sets will help students protect themselves from the divisiveness and distrust that Islamophobia and other forms of bigotry try to sew among people, and it will give students the opportunity to become knowledge creators.

Conclusion

The disparaging and demonizing of Islam and Muslims has historic roots dating back over a thousand years in Europe and still occurs in contemporary textbooks and the media. Such long-term extreme stereotyping of Muslims and Islam gives credibility to Green's (2015) argument that Islamophobia is not based on ignorance of Muslims and Islam but is part of a pernicious ideological construct that serves bigoted social and political agendas. Schools have a civic and ethical duty to oppose oppressive ideologies, e.g., racism, prejudice, bigotry, and intolerance (Darling-Hammond, 2017), and Islamophobia is one of the most pernicious yet acceptable forms of bigotry in Europe and the US. Students should not be denied the right to study all religions in a fair and equitable manner. Max Müller viewed the study of religion not only as a right, but as a duty: "He who knows one, knows none (Alles, 2019).

The findings of this study offer a powerful contrast to the assumptions that underpin Islamophobia and can help guide efforts to develop strategies for schools to combat this pernicious, divisive, undemocratic, and oppressive ideology.

APPENDIX A

IRB Approval

GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY

Office of Research Integrity and Assurance

Research Hall, 4400 University Drive, MS 6D5, Fairfax, Virginia 22030
Phone: 703-993-5445; Fax: 703-993-9590

DATE:	December 14, 2016
TO:	Elizabeth Sturtevant, PhD
FROM:	George Mason University IRB
Project Title:	[993677-1] The Linguistic Attitudes of Multicultural, Multilingual Muslims Living in the US
SUBMISSION TYPE:	New Project
ACTION:	DETERMINATION OF EXEMPT STATUS
DECISION DATE:	December 14, 2016
REVIEW CATEGORY:	Exemption category #2

Thank you for your submission of New Project materials for this project. The Office of Research Integrity & Assurance (ORIA) has determined this project is EXEMPT FROM IRB REVIEW according to federal regulations.

Please remember that all research must be conducted as described in the submitted materials.

Please note that any revision to previously approved materials must be submitted to the ORIA prior to initiation. Please use the appropriate revision forms for this procedure.

If you have any questions, please contact Katie Brooks at (703) 993-4121 or kbrook14@gmu.edu. Please include your project title and reference number in all correspondence with this committee.

This letter has been electronically signed in accordance with all applicable regulations, and a copy is retained within George Mason University IRB's records.

APPENDIX B

IRB Informed Consent Form

The Linguistic Attitudes of Multicultural, Multilingual Muslims Living in the US

Informed Consent Form

This study is about language and culture among multicultural, multilingual Muslims living in the Washington, D.C. metro area. I would like to learn your thoughts about what roles the English language and your heritage language play to your life, in your family, and in your community. If you agree to participate, you will be asked to have a face-to-face 60 to 90-minute interview. We could also conduct the interview over Skype or by phone, if you prefer. I may also ask you for a follow-up interview that would last from 30 to 60 minutes. You may choose to conduct the follow-up interview face-to face, over Skype, or by phone also. Please let the researcher know whether or not you agree to have your interview audio recorded by marking that option at the end of this form.

RISKS and BENEFITS

There are no foreseeable risks for participating in this research and no deception will be employed. There are also no benefits to you as a participant.

CONFIDENTIALITY

The data in this study will be confidential. Confidentiality will be maintained by asking you to choose a pseudonym for yourself and through the codification of data. The pseudonym you chose will be used in the final reports and any publications related to this study. Your identity will not be revealed to anyone outside the research study. The recording will be transcribed by the researcher, and he may take notes during the interview and type them in a Word document afterwards. Members of the research team may listen to the audio recording and/or read the transcription and/or read the interview notes. The transcription and audio recording of your interview will be kept on a password-protected computer owned by the researcher and on the researcher's digital recording device. A copy of the audio file and transcript of your interview will be encrypted and sent to Dr. Reybold, a co-researcher, and kept on a password-protected computer that is located in her locked office on the campus of George Mason University. While it is understood that no computer transmission can be perfectly secure, reasonable efforts will be made to protect the confidentiality of your transmission. All copies of the audio file of your interview will be destroyed five years after the completion of the project. For those who agree to be interviewed over Skype, participants may review Skype's website for information about their privacy statement: https://privacy.microsoft.com/en-us/privacystatement/

PARTICIPATION

Participants must be at least 18 years of age and identify themselves as multicultural/multilingual Muslims who live in the Washington, DC metro area. Your participation is voluntary, and you may withdraw from the study at any time and for any reason. If you decide not to participate or if you withdraw from the study, there is no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. There are no costs to you or any other party.

CONTACT

This research is a dissertation project being conducted by Michael Richardson, a PhD student at the College of Education and Human Development at George Mason University.

APPENDIX B (CONTINUED)

Informed Consent

He may be reached at mricharg@gmu.edu or (703) 346 5783 for questions or to report a research-related problem. This study is being supervised by Dr. Sturtevant, a professor at George Mason University, who may be reached at esturtev@gmu.edu or 703-993-2052. You may contact the George Mason University Office of Research Integrity & Assurance at 703-993-4121 if you have questions or comments regarding your rights as a participant in the research.

This research has been reviewed according to George Mason University procedures governing your participation in this research.

CONSENT
I have read this form, all of my questions have been answered by the research staff, and I agree to participate in this study.

__I agree to audio recording.

__I do not agree to audio recording.

_____ Signature

_____ Printed Name

_____ Date

APPENDIX C

Semi-Structured Interview Guide

- Tell me about your background.
- Where were you born?
- Where did you grow up?
- What kind of schools did you attend

- What language(s) did you speak at home growing up? At school? Now?
- What language(s) do you feel most comfortable with?
- What language(s) do you dream in?
- What language(s) do you use with your family, friends, colleagues, at work?

- Do you speak different dialects or styles of English with different people? How would you describe the differences?
- Do you think of one language as "your language"?
- Do you ever mix languages?
- Do particular words or expressions tend to come out in a specific language?
- Are there certain situations in which you prefer to use a particular language?
- How important are the languages you speak in defining who you are as a person?
- Do you think a Muslim who speaks only English can develop a fully as a Muslim?
- Do you think the fact that you speak more than one language makes you think or see the world differently from people who speak only one language?
- Does using one language make you "feel" or "think" differently than when you use another language?
- If you had a child, would you want that child to follow the same path you followed (i.e. learn English, study/live/work in the US, etc.)?
- How would you describe your experiences of being a MC/ML Muslim in the US?
- If you were asked to define your cultural identity, what would you say?

- What influence did the people you grew up with (family, friends, neighbors, teachers, classmates, etc.) have on how you see yourself as a MC/ML Muslim?

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BIOGRAPHY

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