

Constructing America's "New Blacks:" Post 9/11 Social Policies and their Impacts on and Implications for the Lived Experiences of Muslims, Arabs and "Others"

Buster C. Ogbuagu, Ph.D., M.S.W.

College of Arts & Sciences
Department of Social Work
University of St. Francis
500 Wilcox Street, Joliet, Illinois, 60435, USA
Email: bogbuagu@stfrancis.edu

Doi:10.5901/mjss.2013.v4n1p469

Abstract

Problem Statement: Blacks in North America have been oppressed, discriminated against and marginalized for over four hundred years. While there have been social policies enacted by various world governments in attempts to stem the tide of the oppression of Blacks and other minorities, these forms of oppressions continue, are practiced and reproduced by individuals and systems in the United States and across the world, albeit insidiously. Approach: The oppression of Blacks is not the issue here, for that remains in suspended animation, with the discovery and construction, since the unfortunate September 11, 2001 events of America's "New Blacks" represented by Muslims, Arabs, Asians and "Others." Results: Using interlocking oppressions and empowerment theories embodied by Critical Race Theory, the study explores post 9/11 social policies and their unsavory impacts on the lived experiences of Muslims, Arabs and "Others." Conclusion: It also attempts a reconnaissance of prosocial resistance skills and strategies to deal with the upsurge and continued profiling, singling-out and marginalization of this population by policies that having primarily been designed to protect America and Americans from further acts of terror, amplify, reproduce and sustain the emasculation of minority populations in and outside of the United States.

Key words: Arabs, Muslims, Blacks, ethnic minorities, 9/11, September 11, Terrorism, Homeland Security, Whiteness, PATRIOT Act, oppression, profiling, policies, empowerment, resiliency

1. Introduction

The United States of America as we know it today was founded on the basis of immigration by Anglo-Saxons, a large number of whom were religious separatists fleeing the autocracy of the kings of England (Elson, 1904). Others arrived with mercantilists ideologies which fertile grounds they strongly believed existed in the New World. When the English arrived, they met the original owners of the land, the Native Americans, who welcomed them with open hands, taught them techniques of surviving the harsh winters and frontier environment. With time, most of the Native Americans were either purposefully exterminated, forced to march into the wilderness in the "Trail of Tears" (Perdue and Green 1995), or they became victims of foreign ailments, especially smallpox to which they had no natural immunity. With the decimation of the native population, the Anglo-Saxons became the majority population. Burgeoned by other Europeans from Ireland, Italy and others, the entrenchment of exclusion and "Otherness" began first with the Native Americans, followed by Blacks, who had initially arrived in America as indentured servants and later brought in their hundreds of thousands in shackles. Prior to this time, the Irish, who were fleeing failed crops occasioned by potato blight [*phytophthora infestans*] and persecution by the English fared no better in the New World as they were roundly denigrated by the English in America (Bankston and Hidalgo, 2006; Graves, 1999). Help Wanted: "No Irish Need Apply"-NINA (Jensen, 2002) was a common cliché circa 1862 in England, Philadelphia and many parts of the New World. Eventually, the Irish presence became somewhat normalized, even boring when Blacks were perceived and initiated as cannon fodder for collective White persecution.

The Chinese began their own spate of immigration around 1849, but were not initially perceived as a threat by the majority population, owing to the already existing Naturalization Act of 1790, which tenets reserved citizenship for Whites. Not with standing the intolerable conditions under which the Chinese lived and labored in America, they developed resilience and established a successful and enviable commercial-oriented community in previously ghettoized Chinatown. This success had the effect of drawing envy and the ire of White labor organizations, which successfully

lobbied for the enactment of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 (Smith-Barusch, 2012). The Chinese Exclusion Act expressly outlawed immigration of Chinese laborers, representing the first notable legislation that explicitly outlawed the immigration of a readily identifiable people or nation state. By 1942, following the initiation of hostilities by Japan, which destroyed Pearl Harbor, the Japanese, who previously had a "Gentleman's Agreement" with President Roosevelt, became the next plausible target for discrimination, harassment and the politics of exclusion.

Executive Order 9066 which interned over 120, 000 Japanese became a cause célèbre that continues to reverberate globally and in America's body politic today. The relaxation of the 1790 Naturalization Act, by the Johnson administration under the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, significantly altered US immigration policy to include non-Europeans. This act provided macadam for previously non-European "undesirables" (Bankston and Hidalgo, 2006) to enter the United States as immigrants. These included Asians, Arabs and others from non-European nations. These Arabs, a large percentage of whom were Muslims overtime became naturalized American citizens, while siring offspring who became American citizens by birth. The Arabs and a host of others, especially those at the higher socioeconomic rung did not see the blatant exclusion of Blacks and the accompanying Civil Rights Movement, which they did not join as any concern of theirs. Then came September 11, 2001, when some misguided and terrorist Arab, Muslim youths from Saudi Arabia employed commercial jetliners to bring down the twin towers of the World Trade Center, as well as demolished a part of the Pentagon (Bergen, 2002; Cooley, 2002).

From then on, policy attention and enactment expediency shifted from Blacks, who, unlike the European victims of American historical exclusion still had not transcended the American discourses and intersectionalities of racism and exclusion, to Arabs, South Asians, Muslims and "Others." With the event of September 11, 2001, US immigration policy, with extensive legislative and executive responses now encompasses, even focuses on the exclusion of suspected terrorists, especially since the attacks were perpetrated by immigrants and non US citizens. Immigrating to the US or even the request for a visitor visa sends signals that are deemed coterminous with terrorism. Funding for the strict control of the US/Canada border has been increased exponentially under the auspices of 2001 Border Security Act. An overarching component of the Act mandates the fingerprinting of foreign visitors. The USA PATRIOT Act of October 25, 2001 provided unprecedented powers to the US Attorney General to arrest, detain indefinitely and without the benefit of a writ of habeas corpus, prosecute and deport suspected terrorists or those who are subjectively adjudged by the border control officer as having potentials for causing trouble. By means of the Enhanced Border Security and Visa Entry Reform Act of 2001, foreigners now run gauntlets to obtain US entry visa. Those who are brave enough [and there are many] are subjected to protracted background checks. This includes foreign students who must register with the Department of Homeland Security under SEVIS-Student and Exchange Visitor Program, on a regular basis or risk detention and deportation (Bergen, 2002; Cooley, 2002).

This study explores some of the post 9/11 policies aimed to stem the tide of terrorist activities against the United States and its citizenry. It also aims to explore how those policy pronouncements have been applied and the ways in which they have disproportionately impacted on the civil liberties and lived experiences of immigrants to the United States, non-US citizens and non-mainstream US citizens alike; Arabs, Muslims and potential "enemies" of the US state. The study uses phenomenological interviews of the aforementioned minority groups to elicit a comprehension of their lived experiences. Simultaneously it applied the findings to conceptualize and understand America's construction of Arabs and Muslims as the "New Blacks," for the purposes of emasculation. The occurrence of 9/11 suddenly rendered the issues engendered by the presence of Blacks or the so-called African Americans in the American polity quite boring. It was now time to move on.

2. Literature Review

The history of America is the history of multi-layered oppression, from the period of the Frontiers to the Suffragist Movement, to the era of the Civil Rights Movements, the GLTB population and currently, Muslims, Arabs and Asians. In this context, the government of the United States has from the onset been a willing participant in race-based oppression and racist outbursts against minorities in its policy making pronouncements, processes, and actions (Davis and Ben-Goodley, 2004; Loewen, 1995). Embedded in the history of the United States is a preoccupation, be it national, racial or religious affiliation with the concept of the "enemy," real or imagined. This construct of an "enemy" is brought full cycle and amplified in times of national crises or emergency, when such "enemy or enemies" are routinely targeted and scapegoated (Jansson, 2012; Kampf and Sen, 2006). According to Kampf and Sen, the unfortunate incident of September 11, 2001 in which Muslims from Saudi Arabia were implicated in the committal of acts of terrorism against the United States created convenient scapegoats in all Muslims, Arabs and Asians in a symphony of collective guilt. Crises and war time events create significant fissures in the civil liberties of already vulnerable populations, and assist in

the intersectionalization and amplification of the discourses of race, gender, ethnicity, national origin and socioeconomic power.

2.1 Historical antecedents

The first wave of Japanese immigration into the United States began in 1885; forty years after the Chinese began their immigration wave to the United States (Barusch, 2012). In this equation most of those Japanese immigrants had attained US citizenship prior to the WWII. And then came Pearl Harbor, when Japan bombed it, triggering not only one of the more egregious deprivations of earned freedoms and liberties in US history, but also representing an antithesis of the liberties and freedoms that America and its constitution frequently prides itself. With the deftness of his pen, President Franklin D. Roosevelt in February of 1942 etched Executive Order 9066 into the history of infamy, by approving the Internment in one of ten locations across the US of approximately 120,000 Japanese Americans and permanent residents. This Order was ostensibly to prevent them from collaborating with their fellow Japanese and sabotaging the war effort.

Paradoxically, two-thirds or 70 thousand of the men, women and children of Japanese ancestry were also bona fide American citizens by virtue of birth and 50 thousand by naturalization, and most of them had never been to Japan or knew anything about their ancestral home. When challenged under the writ of error coram nobis (writ to correct a previous error), the United States Supreme Court in 1944, except for Justice Jackson who dissented, upheld the Executive Order [which provides the President a carte blanche to override or sidestep the Congress in the event of an emergency] as constitutional in *Korematsu v. United States* (Kampf and Sen, 2006). In the same vein, 23,000 Issei [Japanese-born] and Nisei [American or Canadian-born-mostly children sired by Japanese parents] Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry were marched and interned in British Columbia, Canada on the same flawed assumptions (Villanuev and Ross, 2007).

The import of the Japanese Internment draws a parallel with the current treatment of Muslims, Arabs and Asians following the events of September 11, 2001. In such cases, American policies have found it expedient to sacrifice the liberties of an apparently expendable minority group in its midst, depicted as presenting a clear and present danger in the interest of national security and dominant group survival. In its sincere but sometimes misguided effort to protect America, the United States government has out of panic enacted protectionist policies, as evidenced by the PATRIOT Act and National Security Entry-Exit Registration System repertoire (Kampf and Sen, 2006) or other Special Registration Programs that have disproportionately targeted or impacted on the civil liberties of Arabs and Muslims, in America and elsewhere and South Asians and "Others."

The creation of the Department of Homeland Security and its operational mandate appears somehow to have equated immigration and the migrant ethnic minority with terrorism, which has provided it with the latitude to apply insidious but pervasive racism in its operational repertoire (Kampf and Sen, 2006). For instance and as Kampf and Sen maintained, the Special Registration Program of 2002 and 2003 mandated alien visitors in the United States, between the ages of 16 to 25, from twenty-four countries, Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Libya, Afghanistan, Morocco, Bahrain, Syria, Eritrea, North Korea, Oman, Qatar, Tunisia, Yemen, Egypt, Bangladesh, Jordan, Kuwait, Pakistan, Indonesia, Sudan, Somalia, United Arab Emirate, having a preponderance of Muslims to present and register with the Department of Homeland Security in order to abate terrorism. In an act that simulates the Internment of 120,000 Japanese during WWII, 80,000 [eighty thousand] of these minority, mainly Arabs, mainly Muslim cohorts entered the Special Registration in Security during the years under review. Predictably over 13,000 of them were arrested and deportation proceedings initiated against them.

3. Theoretical framework

The study applied theories of interlocking oppressions, gleaned from a body of knowledge on Critical Race Theory-CRT, which seeks to deconstruct "otherness" and subordinating relationships through counter-storytelling, or the act of telling one's own story. Critical Race Theory in its use of counter-storytelling engages primarily in unraveling societal inequities that are the outcomes of race and racism, especially those systemically perpetrated, sustained and reproduced by Whites and their institutions (Feagan, 2006; Delgado & Stefancic, 2005; McDonald, 2003; Harris, 2002; Razack and Jeffrey, 2002). There is a cognizance that racism and racialization are embedded in the fabric of American society, to the extent that it does not only take an individual perpetrating racism to articulate its pervasiveness in mainstream and dominant culture. Racism is institutionally embedded *ab initio*, period. Delgado and Stefancic (2000) argue vehemently that CRT debunks legal scholarship, with its framework surreptitiously embedded in color-blind justice.

White privilege and White supremacy are primordially wired to engender, reproduce and perpetuate the emasculation of ethnic minorities, especially those of color (UCLA School of Public Affairs, 2009). Since it is an accident

waiting to happen, because it is on a hair trigger, all it takes is an event for its insidiousness to rear up like the Kraken and devour its already buttered-up victim (Bonilla-Silva, 2010). Critical Race Theory exposes the hydraheadedness or intersectionality of oppressions, highlighting the activities of other overt, mostly covert participants in the oppression feeding frenzy which are manifest in a myriad of interactional environments. These participants include but are not limited to wealth, power, privilege, national origin or ethnicity, religion and societal appurtenances.

The use of narratives and counter-stories by the oppressed challenge the lop-sided and single narratives of White and other supremacies, especially the notion of Liberalism, which present prima facie as value-free, when in actual fact it is highly value-laden. Liberalism for Bonilla-Silva (2010) hides under four frames, namely: abstract liberalism, naturalization, cultural racism (see also Naber, 2008) and minimization. The theoretical framework applied in this study focuses on emancipatory empowerment in attempt to address the problems of the construction of "New Blacks," a nomenclature that has been used in this study to speak to and enhance the discourse of transplantable, transferable oppression. Emancipatory empowerment consents to the use of CRT as the vanguard of Social Justice, which toils daily to unmask subordination, end racial oppression in the first instance, and as a fulcrum for deconstructing and eradicating all forms of oppression, while simultaneously reconstructing the true lived experiences of those under the siege of oppression.

4. Methodology

The study utilized the ethnographic, ethnomethodology, therefore qualitative methodology in eliciting the lived experiences of those involved in this phenomenon. Ethnography and ethnomethodology involve phenomenological interviews, which are applied in the elicitation of appropriate information as they relate to the lived experience or that phenomenon under study. In order to accomplish an appropriate elicitation of information, the study employed phenomenological interviews, which speak to the lived experiences of those who are not only a part of the phenomenon, but have experienced it also—Arabs, Asians, Muslims and "Others" who are neither Arabs or Muslims, but have experienced the same phenomenon based on several variables that only those who have experienced the policies are able to fully articulate. Phenomenological interviews as pertinent as they are in eliciting knowledge about a lived experience are fraught with many epistemological dilemmas, including access and method of gaining access, some of which may call ethics into question (Alcadipani & Hodgson, 2009).

In the case of ethnography, Parthasarathy (2008) perceives it literally as representing a culture through searching for patterns that can be applied to explain formal and informal local relationships. It also means attempts to articulate the implicit and explicit meanings that are attached to behaviors that make sense to those who practice them in juxtaposition with their social relationships, local social setting and a wider societal context. For Bate (1997) ethnography represents an activity involving field work, an intellectual paradigm or as a narrative style engagement. Ethnography for Spradley (1979) surrenders important data and information about situational lives of a people. Here, and as Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) argue, the researcher of the ethnographic paradigm is in an overt or covert participation mode, observing for an extended period of time the participants' activities and ways of doing things. To this extent, ethnography is not so much a specific data collection technique, although data is collected in this process, as it is an approach to understanding a social phenomenon, through the use of Participant Observation and access to key informers. The key informers' narratives are juxtaposed with other narratives to ensure their veracity (Wright, 2003).

The researcher enters the holy grail of the people and the phenomenon, immerse themselves in the people and phenomenon to gather pertinent fact through sometime unstructured and often open-ended questions, which are spontaneous and triggered by a previous response from the participant (Babbie, 2004; Beins, 2004). Most ethnographic studies are not for the purposes of testing a hypothesis, since the researcher has either through a hypothesis or other means acquired knowledge about the issues they intend to study. Ethnography is frequently applied to describe the lived experiences of a people in a location, as well as use findings to amplify their silent voices. However, the ethnographer must be cognizant of the need to be self-critical and reflexive (Davis, 1999) prior to, during and after their sojourn in order to eschew harm to those that have yielded of themselves.

Argue Alcadipani and Hodgson (2009), ethnography's "cousin," ethnomethodology, uses several means to attempt to appreciate and analyze a people's modus operandi for everyday negotiation of their environment and how they apply this in their survival. In this, the researcher exposes those behaviors and practices of everyday life, including social practices that were hitherto taken for granted. Although ethnomethodology may be perceived as less intense, therefore less likely to promote serious ethical concerns and scrutiny, its properties, involving access, consent, anonymity, confidentiality and publication mirror the hazards of ethnography.

The participants in this study are mainly Arabs, Asians and Muslims, with the interspersions of "Others" who are neither Arabs nor Muslim, but have in many ways experienced similar policy subjectivities. In all, there were 50 study

participants, drawn from Chicago, Detroit, New York, Los Angeles and Atlanta. In light of the fact that the United States has collaborated with Canada on protecting their mutual borders, and the so called "War on Terror" many Canadians from minority ethnicities have also admitted to experiencing the full extent of the post 9/11 policies. The Canadian participants were drawn from Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal and Manitoba. For the fact that the post 9/11 policies disproportionately targeted Arabs and Muslims, 40 participants came from this population, while the rest 10 participants were of mixed ethnicities, but mainly immigrants from Africa. There were 20 women participants, 18 of whom were Arabic speaking and Muslim immigrants. Of these 50 participants 35 were citizens of either the United States or Canada and have resided in one of the two countries for periods ranging from 15 to 40 years. The balance of 15 participants were recent immigrants, having begun their residency in the US and Canada in the last 5-10 years.

The study participants were randomly selected from a pool of individuals residing in the aforementioned cities in the US and Canada. Some were either personally known to the researcher, who has resided or frequently visited the cities. In other cases they were introduced in person or proxy by friends, acquaintances and professional colleagues, who believed that insights into the phenomenon under review could be gleaned by their participation. All the participants were issued with informed consent forms and allowed ample time to peruse, sign and voluntarily agree to participate in the study. In some cases, the researcher conducted face-to-face interviews with the participants. The others were by telephone or Skype, and the interview process and duration were anywhere between one to one and half hours.

5. Limitations of the Study

The study is limited by the fact that the participants all came from visible ethnic minority populations, which means that none was White or Anglo-Saxon by heritage and may have opinions that are lopsided in their favor. Perhaps the infusion of participants of European descent may have generated other outcomes. Again, the reason for the choice of participants from a visible ethnic minority groups was contingent on their disproportionate experience with the post 9/11 and other policies. Another limitation is the fact that the researcher, having experienced the same subjectivities as the participants may have inadvertently structured the research questions in ways that show sympathy for the participants, thereby granting unintended taints to their narratives and skewing some of the outcomes.

6. Emergent Themes

Several and varied themes emerged from the phenomenological interviews related to post-9/11 social policies. There was a general consensus that the post 9/11 policies designed by the US government to protect America and its citizenry disproportionately impacted on Arabs, Muslims and other ethnic minorities in the following prominent variables. The most mentioned variables were *profiling*, including *disproportionate searches and scrutiny at airports and points of entry*; *post 9/11 labor market participation and integration*; *non-mainstream attire-turban, hijab*; *spotting a full beard and mustache*; *having an Arabic, Muslim-or non-mainstream-sounding name*; and *harassment in educational institutions*.

7. Discussion

7.1. Profiling and disproportionate searches at airports and points of entry

All the participants in the study admitted to experience with disproportionate scrutiny and searches at airports and points of entry in the United States and Canada. In contrast to the women, the men reported significantly enhanced searches and scrutiny than the women. Indeed, most of the men expressed dreading going through the airports owing to how they have frequently been perceived, leading to the type of treatment they received at airports by the security agents. The participants derived their summation by watching others from other nationalities, mainly Europeans, Chinese and Japanese travelers, who they believed were not subjected to the same degree of searches and scrutiny, and certainly did not observe the security agents to spend the same amount of time as they would routinely do with them (Cainkar, 2008; Murray, 2004). The men, more than the women reportedly endured intimate bodily searches, some of which they felt very embarrassed and uncomfortable with. Of the 50 participants, 42 or 84% admitted to experience with embarrassing intimate bodily searches and these were disproportionately males between the ages of 25 and 40. Of the 20 female participants, only 8 or 40% did report intimate bodily searches. Many of the participants have university or college degrees, and since the enactment of the Patriot Act of 2001, have read it, subsequently convincing themselves that they and their ethnicities, or religion were the target or at least disproportionately targeted. I have taken the liberty to provide a resume of the Patriot Act and other historically relevant policies that disproportionately impact on minorities and others to further the discussion on the issue.

7.1.1. The PATRIOT Act

The USA PATRIOT ACT of 2001 was enacted in response to the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks by foreigners believed to be Saudi Arabians against the United States of America. The PATRIOT ACT is a bacronym for *Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism*. The bill was introduced as H.R. 3162 on October 23, 2001 by Republican Congressman from Wisconsin, Jim Sensenbrenner, but was crafted by Viet Dinh, Assistant Attorney General of the United States. On October 24, 2001, the bill was hurriedly and overwhelmingly approved by Congress in the ratio of 357 to 66, and the Senate on October 25, 2001 by a ratio of 98 to 1. Senator Russ Feingold, a Democrat from Wisconsin was the only dissenting voice (US Department of Justice, n.d.).

7.2. Tenets of the PATRIOT Act

The Act provides carte blanche authority to the law and law enforcement agencies to detain immigrants indefinitely without the benefit of a writ of *habeas corpus* [you have the body]; provides for searches without warrant, of a home, business or other without the consent of or knowledge by of the property owners. The provisions of the Patriot Act also elasticizes the application of previously existing National Security Letters, extends to the FBI the power to search, investigate and intercept telephone calls, roving wire taps, e-mail or financial records without a warrant or court mandate. In the case of law enforcement agencies, the Act expands their authority and inroad into financial, business and library records. The PATRIOT Act was initially designed to sunset on December 31, 2005. However, its proponents have fought vigorously to make its sunset provisions permanent, which it now appears to have. President Obama approved its extension in 2011 by another four years by automatic pen while in France to avoid its sunset, just as the act was about to sunset (Electronic Privacy Information Center, n.d.; Mascoro, 2011; US Department of Justice, n.d.).

It is noteworthy that the PATRIOT Act would not represent the first time that American government, mainly out of fear and panic would denude and completely sacrifice the civil liberties of immigrants and minorities. President Woodrow Wilson during WWI enacted the Espionage Act of 1917 (ch. 30, tit. I § 3, 40 Stat. 217, 219) (ACLU, 2010) suppressing constitutionally granted freedom of speech and the press, due mainly to a growing resentment over the war. Additionally, there were incessant labor strikes, which a lot of Americans feared would lead to anarchy and civil unrest. Just like the Patriot Act, the Espionage Act of 1917 was quickly approved by Congress and in 1918 amended with the Sedition Act, which tenet was the criminalization and prosecution of any activity or action that appeared threatening to the administration. Protests against this Dracon resulted in multi-city riots, including the bombing of Attorney General, Mitchell Palmer's primary residence, which held the cities to a standstill and necessitated the involvement of federal troops to quell the riots (ACLU, 2010; Manz, 2007; Stone, 2004; 2003; Kohn, 1994). Just like September 11, 2001, US law enforcement agencies targeted and arrested 6,000 suspected "radicals" in 33 cities, most of whom were immigrants. Consistent with the provisions of the Patriot Act of 2001, the raids and arrests of 1918 were without warrants, involved unreasonable searches and seizures, abuses of the law, including, police brutality, indefinite detentions and wanton destruction of property. It was against this backdrop that the American Civil Liberties Union was founded in 1920 to represent those who would otherwise have no voice (ACLU, 2010; Manz, 2007; Stone, 2004; 2003; Kohn, 1994). ACLU insists that since January 11, 2002 approximately 775 non-citizens of the United States have been in indefinite detention in Guantanamo Bay.

7.3. Post-9/11 Labor market participation and integration

Many Arab Muslims and those with profiles akin to the terrorists of 9/11 were significantly impacted upon by labor market discrimination. Among the study participants, those who felt the impact most were those who were laid off prior to the attack. 10 of the participants who are in this cohort had been laid off previously and over many years but were rehired. They reported that following September 11, 2001, they had to wait for upwards of 7 months to hear anything from their employer. Of these, only 4 were recalled. The rest stated that they waited until their unemployment insurance ran out and they had to look for employment elsewhere. Most of those affected were between the ages of 25-35. The findings in this study is in consonance with Mora (2005); Kaestner, Kaushal and Reimer (2007) who reported an impressive reduction in the wages and earnings of Arabs and Muslims in juxtaposition with non-Latino Whites. What this finding suggests is that demographic categories, especially ethnicity, including names that bear semblance to those of the terrorists were impacted in the labor market.

Ethnic minorities, especially those that are visible and represented by Blacks, Hispanics and Asians have primordially been the subjects of labor market exclusions in the US, Canada and Europe. These discriminatory practices against them have occurred irrespective of their high educational attainment and comparative job skills when juxtaposed

with their cohort of the majority population, mainly those of Anglo-Saxon descent (Jansson, 2012; Ogbuagu, 2012; Krager and Stoesz, 2010). The events of September 11, 2001 appear to have given a dog a bad name in order to find a rationale for hanging it.

7.4. *Wearing of Hijab and Turban, or spotting a beard and or mustache by an Arab, Asian or Muslim*

There are many cultures and religious institutions that wear head gear for this purpose and they include Muslims, Sikhs of Punjab, Orthodox Jews who adorn Kippa or Yarmulke and the Borsalino, wide-rimmed black fedora hats. Prior to September 11, 2001 wearing of hijab or any form of head cover, including turban for religious purposes received moot frowns at the very best. Wearers, especially Muslims and Sikhs were reminded, albeit without a single word that that they were out of place. After 9/11 Muslims and Sikhs especially have been singled out for harassment and even physical assault, including stripping them of it (Naber, 2008). Such epithets as *rag-head* and other racial slurs have been hurled at them simply for fitting the profile that have been constructed about the religion of the terrorists (Alsalah and Olsen, n.d.).

The current opprobrium that turbans, hijab and other headgear, when worn by Arabs, Asians and Muslims attracts have intersectionality with race, religion and gender, as espoused by Wadud (1999). Wadud used the narratives of a Black woman who wears a hijab and is a Muslim as exemplifying such intersectionality or multiple whammies. The fact is that the Black woman is already one down because she is Black. When she wears a hijab because she is a Muslim, she is not perceived as African any longer and her words are measured with sarcastic politeness. On the other hand, when a hijab is not covering her hair she returns to being the despised Black and her words lose all value.

7.5. *Harassment of Muslim students*

It would appear that Muslims, Arabs and other Asians have not been spared the indignities of the September 11, 2001 aftermath even ten years after the fact, and even in such hallowed grounds as the school and educational institutions. Although there were no students in this study, however 36 or 72% of the participants stated having school and college-going children at the time of the 9/11 attacks. According to 26 or 52% of the respondents, their children returned home with serious tales of racial slurs and harassment by their peers, but surprisingly also from their teachers and administrators. Some unprintable epithets were used against them, making life unbearable in the school environment. Jandali (2012) reported that some of the epithets used against Muslim students even in 2012 includes *terrorist, son of Bin Ladin, towel-head, camel jockey, rag-head, she's going to blow up the school, jihad girl*, etc. Several reports to the school administration yielded limited outcomes, minimization and admonition to the victim of this bullying that the offending students were simply expressing their First Amendment rights. When the student complained over the teacher's stand the teacher retorted that "her people had caused a lot of problems in the world, and she should understand if people were frustrated with her" (para. 5). 5 participants had to withdraw their children from school and later place them elsewhere at an untold cost and inconvenience.

Similarly and according to the US Department of Justice (2011) in Owatonna, Minnesota, American students of Somali descent endured disproportionate discipline by their teachers and school officials, while being buffeted by harassment from their cohort and classmates from the majority population. The harassment became the catalyst for a department of education wide settlement agreement, which provisions included enactment of an anti-harassment policy, establishment of a working group and partnership comprising parents, students and educational district personnel, as well as competency training for faculty and staff. Similarly, in Cape Henlopen, Delaware, a fourth-grade Muslim student was the subject of ridicule by her teacher, including ridiculing the student's mother for wearing the hijab (US Department of Justice, 2011).

7.6. *"Others"*

7.7. *National Security Entry-Exit Registration System (NSEERS) (Port of Entry Registration and Departure Registration Requirements)*

According to Khanna (2012); Aldin (2011) following the events of September 11, 2001 the Bush administration targeted, as a form of profiling, a number of designated nonimmigrant alien visitors from Iran, Iraq, Libya, Sudan, Syria, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen for subjection to National Security Entry-Exit Registration System (NSEERS), referred also as Special Registration, on arrival at any United States port of entry. If other nonimmigrant aliens from any other country, whether they reside in or outside the US are adjudged by the Secretary of Homeland Security as meeting the criteria that it established, they may also be registered at the discretion of the Department of State consular officer. Registration of

nonimmigrant person/s from a country outside of the aforementioned ones may also be carried out at the discretion of the Inspection officer, where they believe this to be pertinent in the interest of law enforcement and national security.

NSEERS' letters are deemed to have been violated by the nonimmigrant alien, and my constitute reasons for denial of entry, detention or deportation should they fail to register their departure at a designated port. Also, nonimmigrant aliens from any country may be registered if they are determined to meet criteria established by the secretary of Homeland Security, if they are referred by a Department of State consular officer, or if the inspecting officer believes the alien should be registered in the interest of law enforcement or national security. Although the US Customs and Border Protection (2012) informed that a section of NSEERS requiring nonimmigrant persons to register when they depart has been suspended since April 27, 2011, not much appears to have changed and the disproportionate scrutiny continues and appears to have intensified somewhat. This is where non-Muslims, non-Arabs such as I enter the fray.

I am citizen of Canada, having resided in that country for at least 20 years. I am also a citizen of Nigeria by birth. Although I have very infrequently visited Nigeria, it is one of those countries that allows its citizens to maintain dual and multiple citizenships. During that time and with the US/Canada cross border arrangement, and NAFTA that provides flexibility for any of the citizens of both countries to enter and leave with minimum hassle I had entered and departed at will. For many years, my family and I have traversed the length and breadth of both countries without incident, as well as crossed and reentered both the US and Canadian borders without unnecessary scrutiny by the INS and border agents.

Suddenly, on December 25, 2009, an apparently misguided youth, said to be of Nigerian nationality but resident in England, Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab, currently and with the notorious appellation of the "underwear bomber" reportedly engaged in a terrorist activity, where he was alleged to have worn a bomb inside his underwear, aimed at bringing down the flight he was on to Michigan. This lad's stupid choice has now assigned to me and anyone from my country of birth and region or nationality with the same subjectivities as Muslims, Arabs, Asians and suspected terrorist. As a non-Muslim, non-Arab, non-Asian, non-terrorist, I have since that event been subjected to all sorts of indignities at the airports and border crossings, an experience that was largely alien to me and "Others" prior to the "undergarment" bomb threat. My personal experience, my family's as well as others who are neither Arabs, Asians nor Muslims accounts for insertion of "Others" in the title of this study. The reason that my case and those of "Others" is poignant is that I have been a resident of the United States since 5 years, therefore frequently move between the US and Canada, which makes the enactment and execution of applicable post 9/11 and post "undergarment" laws and ordinances particularly painful.

Anecdotally, I have experienced intimate bodily searches, machine searches, irrelevant questioning and my Canadian passport, which also bears the name of my country of birth has now been assigned special scrutiny. Indeed, just in November 2012, after a conference in Winnipeg, Manitoba, I returned to the United States and at one of the airports, I was for the first time in 20 years photographed and finger and palm printed. After the routine questions, which I had now got accustomed to and don't really mind, I was taken aback when the HLS officer curtly told me "Professor, you put your right finger on this, gesturing to a machine with a green, blinding light? I complied as I had always done, bewildered. He barked again "put your left fingers," then palm and finally asked me to look up at the camera, which shuttered. Feeling humiliated, as I had observed all the other passengers, most carrying Korean and Chinese passports waved through quickly, I gently inquired of the officer why this was the case and his response was "this is the order for the week; maybe next week there will be another type of order, professor."

What this experience told me is that I and my country of birth and region have entered the disproportionate scrutiny that was originally the domain of post 9/11 Arabs and Muslims. I have friends and colleagues from Ghana, Kenya, Liberia, Cameroon, Colombia for whom disproportionate searches and interrogations have been their lived experiences. Each time and following any trip outside the United States and even within the States, I have experienced disproportionate searches and scrutiny, which experience I normally bring up for discussion with my students as a part of my pedagogy on American social policy. As soon as I enter the class, the students would ask me to share my experience at the port of entry and the airports, which although we try to make light of, allows us to articulate serious social policy issues of the post 9/11 era and American social policy in general.

With these experiences I began to and have now largely been able to tease out why I get the disproportionate searches, questions and attention whenever I try to cross the US/Canada border or fly out of any airport in Canada, but especially the US. I had wondered why each time I cross the borders, be it by road or air, I am "randomly," as the border officers of both countries would always strongly suggest, selected for further scrutiny and extra portion of searches. After I pass the machines and nothing beeps, and I attempt to continue on my way, I am always told to hold it as the system indicated that I should be further evaluated, which now gives the officers the latitude to "frisk" me bodily. From the foregoing, it would be correct to surmise that although I have the nomenclature of Black imposed on me and those like me, and on this account subsequently endured racism, social exclusion and "otherness," we have also now doubly qualified as "New Blacks." This maiden designation has become imperative contingent on being recipients of all and

same subjectivities that Arabs, South Asians and Muslims have endured since September 11, 2001, based on the enactment of the applicable laws ostensibly aimed to hold any further acts of terrorism against the US at a full Nelson.

8. Prosocial resistance strategies

8.1. Active surveillance and self-interrogation

"And you all know, security is mortal's chiefest enemy" (Shakespeare-Macbeth, Act 3, Scene 5, Page 2).

As the axiom goes, therefore, no one in their right mind would blame the American government for trying to protect its land, citizens and sovereignty. While some would like to argue that American international policy is often narcissistic and selective, it certainly did not deserve its people being terrorized and killed within their continental shelf and territorial waters, as evidenced by the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. If anyone had a serious grudge against America, the existence of which is not in short supply, the 9/11 attacks did not select its victims based on their nationality as American. Rather the attacks randomly killed most people in their part, including minorities, Muslims and Arabs, which sense is somewhat unfathomable, if the attacks were designed as retribution against the American government and its citizenry.

The import of this argument is that like a lot of Judeo-Christian fundamentalists, who have historically committed mayhem against others of the non-Christian faith, radical Islam exists also with some non-stellar records. Prior to 9/11, Muslim extremist demagoguery in the West including in America found a culture of acquiescence, even tolerance amongst many decent American Muslims. Now that 9/11 has occurred and the repercussions and after-shock continue to be felt by Muslims and those who have been cloned with them, it is time for those moderates to engage in self-interrogation and stand strong against those who would preach harm and terrorism against America, even if those were of the same faith. The fact of the matter is that other Muslims know some of these extremists for they reside amongst them and pray with them during Jum'ah prayers.

The Bedouin syndrome that currently exists, especially owing to religion and ethnicity needs to be reexamined, deconstructed and appropriate paradigm shifts applied. Whether one is an Arab, Muslim or "Other" the fact that you live and benefit somehow from the American state as your country is an overarching reason to protect it against all who would seek to destroy it along with you for reasons that are best known to them. An Igbo adage states that "when one finger is smeared with oil, it takes no time to saturate and soil the other fingers." Regardless of how many minorities may feel about America's policies, some of which are racially and culturally emasculatory, the fact of the matter is that living here there are no winners when something terrible and untoward is directed against the American state. Everyone instantaneously loses. As a sovereign nation and from what we know about America, it will fight back and hard, and those who will be disproportionately victimized will be minorities, because that's just the way the cookie crumbles. So, when such radicals begin their secular and religious rhetoric, the only plausible recourse would be to borrow Ronald Reagan's drug abuse prevention axiom and "Just say no."

8.2. Religion and spirituality

Clay (2011) reports a publication in *Psychology of Religion and Spirituality* by Abu-Raiya, et. al (as cited in Sekandi and Mojaddidi, 2011, para. 5) which documents coping strategies by Muslim Americans following on-going post 9/11 discrimination and harassment. A survey of 138 Muslims living in the United States shows that most are exhibiting at least one stressful event consistent with their identity and identification as Muslims, the anti-Muslim rhetoric, disproportionate airport and border security scrutiny and singling out. In this case, the participants reported the resurgence of personal strength, integrity and sense of self-worth when they invoked their religion and spirituality. On the other hand, those who bottled-up and isolated themselves were dogged by serious mental health issues, chiefly depression and anger. At least 50% of the respondents in this study admitted to using religion and spirituality and the belief in supernatural intervention and protection to shield themselves from the oppressive discourses that appear to engulf them.

The use of religion and faith to moderate the post 9/11 backlash against Muslims, Arabs and "Others" finds support in the findings of (Bakalian and Bozorgmehr, 2009; Barrett, 2008; Rippey and Newman, 2008; and Abdo, 2006), all of whom maintain that feeling the heat of the 9/11 attacks, American Muslims sought succor in their religion and community. They also argued for a renewed sense of community solidarity, esprit de corps and religious renaissance amidst the widespread and unrelenting attack against Islam and its practices. Gould and Klor (2012) disagree with the findings, arguing instead that the study outcomes may have been related to sample size, the experience of the study participants and their thoughts and actions which may not be in consonance with their actions.

8.3. *Patience and Resilience*

The current construction of “New Blacks” in Arabs, Muslims and “Others,” just like most forms of discrimination and oppression have a shelf life and will one day soon come to an end, at least for the current recipients of the discrimination and harassment. It is a historical fact that during the periods of national emergencies, the majority population tends to find common tantrmic grounds with the minorities amongst them. United States history abounds with multi-ethnicities such as the Irish, Jews, Italians, Japanese and Chinese, who underwent persecution just for the mere fact of their ethnicities. They are all now mainstreamed and thriving as Americans and have become the majority population who currently has become the producers and reproducers of oppression against other minorities. Although it is unlikely that the “Othering” of Blacks in America will ever end even with the election and reelection of President Obama, who is routinely and whimsically demanded by Donald Trump and American “birthers,” to produce his birth certificate and other evidences as they consider him an outsider, Black experiences with discrimination appear to be ebbing somewhat. The reason for advising caution and patience with the current scapegoats is that the way we have come to know America, it may not be long before another set of “New Blacks” are identified and constructed and routinized, a situation that stands to provide the much needed relief from the negative attention that the Arabs, Muslims and “Others” within our society currently face.

8.4. *Positive outcomes of 9/11*

According to Clay (2011) 9/11 was devastating to Americans and others alike. However, it has also imparted a strong and invaluable lesson in Civil Rights to those, not Black Americans and not Whites, who thought previously that they were immune from subordination, therefore above the Civil Rights fray, because, as they believed, those matters only pertained to Blacks and African Americans. An Indian Muslim opined that prior to the 9/11 mayhem, Muslims and Arabs, as well as Indians and those of South Asia, especially ones that occupied a higher socioeconomic echelon did not feel that prejudice, discrimination and the entire racial discourse was a part of their existence and life construct. They expressed an unwillingness to stand with Blacks against the oppression that they were enduring and refused to participate in Civil or Human Rights struggles most of which they witnessed within or outside the boundaries of America. Now they believe that they know better, as the discourses of subordination transcends race and ethnicity, exposing their own inclusion and adequacy mirages. Now, they understand and state that even the younger generation has joined and has shifted attention to their identity, rights and civil engagement by asserting themselves as Americans first and Muslim-Americans second.

9. Conclusion and final thoughts

Like Pearl Harbor before it, the terrorist events of 9/11 will remain indelible in the minds and psyche of all those who witnessed it, all Americans and those who have been sieged by some of the policies that were created to prevent further acts of terror against Americans. For better or for worse, the events of the 9/11 have changed not only America, but the whole world, including the ways we think, perceive and act. One of the ways that terrorist activities changed the world as we knew it was in the way America chose to protect itself. It used immigration, profiling, covert and overt surveillance of its citizenry, especially minority groups as represented by Arabs, Muslims and “Others” who have been lumped in the same category for fitting profiles that were created by the Department of Homeland Security.

Tensions apparently are beginning to relax somewhat, especially following the abrogation of some of the tenets of the PATRIOT Act, such as a section of NSEERS in 2011 requiring nonimmigrant persons to register when they depart. However, the time it takes for its impact to be felt within the rank and file of security agencies at the airports and borders may be protracted. To this extent, those who are disproportionately impacted by the policies may not only have to be patient, but exercise constraints, a lot of it in the way they think, act or even associate with others, especially those who may harbor grudges against America. One of the key elements in reducing unwanted and painful contact with the security agencies is in compliance, for most of those who work here are simply following orders, despite the fact that a few may be engaged in an ego trip, due to the enormous powers that the Act has assigned to them. For in this, cooperation with the procedure is a form of prosocial resistance, which will go a long way to easing the tension and other unsavory outcomes more than any other form of resistance. The major solace is that eventually the unsavory experiences of those who are the disproportionate targets of the post 9/11 policy may soon be mainstreamed when other events may necessitate America’s construction of other “New Blacks.”

References

- Abdo, Geneive (2006). *Mecca and Main Street: Muslim Life in America after 9/11*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Alcadipani, R. & Hodgson, D. (2009). *By Any Means Necessary? Ethnographic Access, Ethics and the Critical Researcher*. TAMARA: *Journal of Critical Postmodern Organization Science*, 7(3/4), 127-146.
- Aldin, Edward (2011, April 28). *DHS Ends National Security Entry-Exit Registration System (NSEERS)*.
- Adfero Group, The George Washington University Homeland Security Policy Institute. Retrieved November 26, 2012 from <http://securitydebrief.com/2011/04/28/dhs-ends-national-security-entry-exit-registration-system-nseers/>
- Alsawah, Said, and Olsen, Matt (n.d.) *Arabs and Islam in America: Wearing the Hijab, an Overview*. University of Michigan. Retrieved December 1, 2012 from http://sitemaker.umich.edu/arabamericansandramadan/wearing_the_hijab
- American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) (2010, September 1) *ACLU History: Defending Liberty in Times of National Crisis*. Retrieved November 24, 2012 from <http://www.aclu.org/national-security/aclu-history-defending-liberty-times-national-crisis>.
- Babbie, E. (2004). *The Practice of social research*. (5th Ed.). Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company.
- Bakalian, Anny P. and Mehdi Bozorgmehr (2009). *Backlash 9/11: Middle Eastern and Muslim Americans Respond*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bankston, Carl, L., and Hidalgo, Danielle, (Eds.). (2006). *Immigration in US History*. Pasadena, CA: Salem Press. Retrieved from http://salempress.com/store/samples/us_immigration_history/us_immigration_history_history.htm
- Barrett, Paul M. (2008). *American Islam: The Struggle for the Soul of a Religion*, New York: Picador.
- Barusch-Smith, Amanda (2012). *Foundations of Social Policy: Social Justice in Human Perspectives (4th Ed.)*. Brooks/Cole, Cengage Learning.
- Beins, B.C. (2004). *Research Methods: A Tool for Life*. Boston: Pearson/Allyn & Bacon.
- Bergen, Peter (2002). *Holy War, Inc*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo (2010). *Racism Without Racists: Color-Blind Racism & Racial Inequality in Contemporary America (3rd Edition)*. Toronto: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Bukari, Zahid (2004, October). *Muslims in the American Public Square: Shifting Political Winds and the Fallout from 9/11, Afghanistan and Iraq*. Georgetown University Project MAPS/Zogby International. Retrieved December 1, 2012 from <http://www.projectmaps.com/AMP2004report.pdf>
- Cainkar, L. (2008). *Thinking Outside the Box: Arabs and Race in the United States*. In A. Jamal & N. Naber (Eds.), *Race and Arab Americans Before and After 9/11, from Invisible Citizens to Visible Subjects* (pp. 46–80). Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
- Clay, Rebecca A. (2011, September). *Muslims in America, Post 9/11*. *American Psychological Association*, Vol. 42, No. 8, p.72. Retrieved from <http://www.apa.org/monitor/2011/09/muslims.aspx>
- Cooley, John (2002). *Unholy Wars: Afghanistan, America, and International Terrorism*. London: Pluto Press
- Davies, C. (1999). *Reflexive Ethnography* London: Routledge.
- Davila, Al, and Mora, M.T. (2005). *Changes in Earnings of Arab Men in the US Between 2000 and 2002*. *Journal of Population Economics*, 18, 587-601.
- Davis, K. E., & Bent-Goodley, T. B. (2004). *The Color of Social Policy*. Alexandria, VA: Council on Social Work Education.
- Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2005). *The Derrick Bell Reader*. New York: New York: University Press.
- Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2000). *Critical Race Theory: The Cutting Edge*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Electronic Privacy Information Center (EPIC). (n.d.). *USA PATRIOT Act (H.R. 3162)*. Retrieved November 24, 2012 from <http://epic.org/privacy/terrorism/hr3162.html>
- Elson, Henry, William (1904). (Transcribed by Kathy Leigh). *"History of the United States of America"*, Chapter IV, pp. 99-103. New York: The MacMillan Company. Retrieved from <http://www.usahistory.info/New-England/Pilgrims.html>
- Feagan, Joe. R. (2007). *Systemic Racism: A Theory of Oppression*. *Community Development Journal*, Vol. 42, No. 1, pp. 134-145.
- Gould, Eric.D., and Klor, Esteban. F. (2012). *The Long-Run Effect of 9/11: Terrorism, Backlash, and the Assimilation of Muslim Immigration in the West*. Discussion Paper No. 8797, Center for Economic Policy Research, London: UK.
- Graves, Jeanette (1999). *Irish Immigrants are Good Example for Persecuted Groups*. Retrieved November 26, 2012 from http://articles.courant.com/1999-03-17/news/9903140025_1_potato-famine-irish-americans-irish-immigrants
- Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. (1995). *Ethnography: Principles in Practice (2nd Ed.)*. New York: Routledge.
- Harris, C.I. (2002). *Critical Race Studies: An Introduction*. *UCLA Law Review*, 49: 1215-1239
- Jansson, Bruce. S. (2012). *The Reluctant Welfare State: Engaging History to Advance Social Work Practice in Contemporary Society (7th Ed.)*. USA: Brooks/Cole Cengage Learning.
- Jensen, Richard (2002). *"No Irish Need Apply": A Myth of Victimization*. *Journal of Social History* 36.2 405-429. Retrieved December 1, 2012 from <http://tigger.uic.edu/~rjensen/no-irish.htm>
- Jindali, Ameena. K. (2012, October). *Muslim Students in Post-9/11 Classrooms: Interventions that can Stem Stereotypes and Bullying that Accompany Islamophobia in Schools*. *School Administrator*, No. 9, vol. 69, pp. 32-35. Retrieved from <http://www.aasa.org/content.aspx?id=24990>
- Kaestner, R., Kaushal, N., and Reimers, C. (2007). *Labor Market Effects of September 11th on Arab and Muslim Residents in the United States*. *The Journal of Human Resources*, 42, 2.

- Kempf, Lena & Senindra (2006). *History Does Not Repeat Itself, But Ignorance Does: Post-9/11 Treatment of Muslims and the Liberty-Security Dilemma*. Retrieved November 17, 2012 from <http://www.humanityinaction.org/knowledgebase/168-history-does-not-repeat-itself-but-ignorance-does-post-9-11-treatment-of-muslims-and-the-liberty-security-dilemma>
- Khanna, Rajiv. S. (2009) *National Security Entry-Exit Registration System (NSEERS)*. Law offices of Rajiv. S. Khanna, P.C. Retrieved November 26, 2012 from <http://www.immigration.com/visa/general-nonimmigrant-visa/national-security-entry-exit-registration-system-nseers>
- Kohn, Stephen M. (1994). *American Political Prisoners: Prosecutions Under the Espionage and Sedition Acts*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger.
- Krager, Howard J., & Stoesz, David (2010). *American Social Welfare Policy: A Pluralist Approach (6th Ed.)*. New York: Ally & Bacon.
- Loewen, J. (1995). *Lies My Teacher Told Me*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Manz, William H., (Ed.). (2007). *Civil Liberties in Wartime: Legislative Histories of the Espionage Act of 1917 and the Sedition Act of 1918*. Buffalo, N.Y.: W. S. Hein
- Mascoro, Lisa (2011, May 27). *Patriot Act Provisions Extended Just In Time*. Los Angeles Times. Retrieved November 24, 2012 from <http://articles.latimes.com/2011/may/27/nation/la-na-patriot-act-20110527>
- McDonald, H. (2003). *Exploring Possibilities Through Critical Race Theory: Exemplary Pedagogical Practices for Indigenous Students*. Paper Prepared for NZARE/AARE. Australia: James Cook University.
- Murray, N. (2004). *Profiled: Arabs, Muslims, and the Post-9/11 Hunt for the Enemy Within*. In E. C. Hagopian (Ed.), *Civil rights in peril: The targeting of Arabs and Muslims*. Chicago: Haymarket Books.
- Naber, N. (2008). *Look, Mohammed the Terrorist is Coming!: Cultural Racism, Nation-Based Racism, and the Intersectionality of Oppressions After 9=11*. In A. Jamal & N. Naber (Eds.), *Race and Arab Americans Before and After 9=11, From Invisible Citizens to Visible Ssubjects* (pp. 276–304). Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
- Ogbuagu, B. C. (2012). *Nice CV! You Will Hear From US: Canadian Labor Market & the Phenomenology of the Marginalized Ethnic Professional Migrant*. *Journal of Social Sciences* 8 (1): 1-12, 2012: ISSN 1549-3652s.
- Parthasarathy, Balaji (2008). *The Ethnographic Case Study Approach: Global Impact Study, Technology and Social Change Group, University of Washington Information School*. Retrieved November 29, 2012 from <http://www.globalimpactstudy.org/2008/07/the-ethnographic-case-study-approach/>
- Perdue, Theda and Green, Michael D (Eds.), (1995). *The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents* New York: Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press.
- Razack, N., and Jeffrey, D. (2002). *Critical Race Discourse and Tenets for Social Work*. *Canadian Social Work Review*, 19, Vol.2: 257-271.
- Rippy, A. E., & Newman, E. (2006). *Perceived Religious Discrimination and its Relationship to Anxiety and Paranoia among Muslim Americans*. *Journal of Muslim Mental Health*, 1(1), 5–20.
- Rowe, Katherine (2012). *Macbeth: Evans Shakespeare Edition, 1st Edition*. New York: Cengage Learning.
- Selandi, Nafisa & Mojaddidi, Hosai (2011, September, 27). *The Impact of 9/11 on the Mental Health of Muslims: 10 Years Later*. *Mental Health 4 Muslims*. Retrieved from <http://mentalhealth4muslims.com/2011/09/27/the-impact-of-911-on-the-mental-health-of-muslims-10-years-later/>
- Spradley, J.P. (1979). *The ethnographic Interview*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Stone, Geoffrey R. (2004). *Perilous Times: Free Speech in Wartime from the Sedition Act of 1798 to the War on Terrorism*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Stone, Geoffrey R. (2003). "Judge Learned Hand and the Espionage Act of 1917: A Mystery Unraveled." *University of Chicago Law Review* 70 (winter).
- UCLA School of Public Affairs (2009). *What is Critical Race Theory? Critical Race Studies*. Retrieved December 2012 from <http://spacrs.wordpress.com/what-is-critical-race-theory/>
- US Department of Justice (2011, October 19). *Confronting Discrimination in the Post-9/11 Era: Challenges and Opportunities Ten Year Later. A RepA Report on the Civil Rights Division's Post-9/11 Civil Rights Summit Hosted by George Washington University Law School*. Retrieved from http://www.justice.gov/crt/publications/post911/post911summit_report_2012-04.pdf
- US Department of Justice (n.d.). *The USA PATRIOT Act: Preserving Life and Liberty (Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism)*. Retrieved from <http://www.justice.gov/archive/ll/highlights.htm>
- U.S. Customs and Border Protection (2012) *Special Registration (NSEERS): What is the status of the National Security Entry-Exit Registration System (NSEERS)?* Retrieved November 26, 2012 from [https://help.cbp.gov/app/answers/detail/a_id/1214/-/special-registration-\(nseers\)](https://help.cbp.gov/app/answers/detail/a_id/1214/-/special-registration-(nseers))
- Villanueva, Ricco & Ross, Shmuel (2007). *Japanese Relocation Centers: During World War II, nearly 120,000 Japanese Americans were under lock and key*. Pearson Education, Inc. Retrieved November 26, 2012 from <http://www.infoplease.com/spot/internment1.html>
- Wright, C. (2003). *Saving the Differences: Essays on Themes from Truth and Objectivity*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.