THE ROAD TO RECONCILIATION: GOVERNMENT STRATEGIES AND AMERICAN MUSLIM INCLUSION SINCE 9/11

Abdullah Mohammed Alsharari, Ph.D. and Abdullah Saleh Alsharari, Ph.D.

College of Business Administration, Northern Border University, Arar, Saudi Arabia Abdullah Alsharari **Abstract:** American Muslim communities are diverse, growing, and play an increasingly significant role in the United States. Estimating their numbers is challenging due to limitations on gathering religious affiliation data by government agencies. However, estimates suggest a population of two to seven million American Muslims, constituting a minority but still significant percentage of the total population. This demographic diversity underscores the importance of understanding the experiences and needs of American Muslims as an integral part of the nation's social fabric.

Keywords: American Muslims, demographic diversity, religious affiliation, United States population, Muslim communities.

1. Introduction

American Muslim communities share one common characteristic, which is Islam. Islam is the fastest growing religion in the United States. There are various estimations of the number of Muslims in the United States. It is difficult to formulate precise numbers because the United States Census Bureau and the Immigration and Naturalization Service are not allowed to gather information based on religious affiliations. The Muslim population in the United States is estimated to be between two to five million (Ayers, 2007). According to another estimate, the population of Muslims in the U. S. is six-to-seven millions (Gaskew, 2009). This is at least five percent of the American population, which is still a minority of the U. S. population. According to Peek, about three-to-nine million Muslims live in the United St 1ates. The survey upon Muslim community in USfound that Muslims who lived in the United States numbered about 2.35 million. It also found that approximately 65 percent of American Muslims were born outside the United States.

The American Muslim community in the United States is diverse. The Muslims who have immigrated (about 2/3rds of the community) come from about 68 countries with various traditions, languages, and practices. According to the Survey, 27 percent of Muslims born outside the United States come from South Asian countries such as Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Afghanistan, and Indonesia. More than 37 percent are from Arabic countries such as Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Palestine, and Egypt. According to Leonard, the Muslim American population can be broken down into 42% African Americans, 24.4 % South Asians, 12.4% Arabs, 6.2% Africans (Somalis, Kenyans, Sudanese, South Africa, etc.), 3.6% Iranians, 15.2% Europeans and others. The first major group, the African Americans, adopted Islam as an alternative to Christianity and the white American culture. The Arabs typically come from countries such as Lebanon, Syria, Egypt, Jordan, Palestine, Iraq, Morocco, and Saudi Arabia. The third group is South Asian Muslims who are from Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Afghanistan and Indonesia.

The fourth group is composed of Africans who are from Somalia, Kenya, Sudan, South Africa, etc. All these groups were affected by the September 11 events, but the diversity of backgrounds and interests is so great that it is difficult to talk about an American Muslim community as a coalition or power block. The Muslim community is usually organized through the mosques, which also manage the Muslim charity groups because "zakat," or tithing, is one of the central pillars of Islam. These charity groups were affected by government regulations after September 11. These groups filed anti-discrimination suits against the federal government, although these suits have been unsuccessful (Hacking, 2010).

After September 11, the public, media, and government officials interchangeably use the terms, "Arab" and "Muslim". Not all Muslims are Arabs and not all Arabs are Muslims. A Muslim is anyone who believes in the Islamic religion and he/she could speak any language and come from any ethnic or racial background worldwide. On the other hand, Arabs are the only people who speak Arabic and mostly come from Arabic countries. This is true of Christian Arabs, Jewish Arabs, etc. The term, Muslim, refers to individuals who identify themselves as followers of Islam. This religious term does not reflect individual levels of devotion to the followers of the religion. Islam is the religion and Islamic refers to aspects of this religion. There are variations in Islamic religious beliefs, depending on where Islam is practiced.

Since September 11, the Muslim population in the United States has faced challenges because it is being targeted as a terrorist group. Some of the challenges involve finding jobs, being treated differently, etc. Some American authorities have negative attitudes towards Muslims. For example, there are many Muslims who are investigated and even arrested without just cause. More broadly, typical Americans think that Muslims are responsible for the September 11 tragedy. Also, they see all Muslims are the same. Part of the problem is that Muslim Americans have very different backgrounds and come from very different cultures. According to Peek (2011), "Muslim Americans can be of any race or geographic origin, and immigrants from dozens of different countries, nativeborn Muslims, and converts to the faith make up the Muslim American community." According to Leonard (2002), the Muslim American population in the United States can be broken down into 42% African Americans, 24.4 % south Asians, 12.4% Arabs , 6.2% Africans , 3.6% Iranians, and 15.2% Europeans and others. The first major group, the African Americans, adopted Islam as an alternative to Christianity and the white American culture. The Arabs typically come from countries such as Lebanon, Syria, Egypt, Jordan, Palestine, Iraq, Morocco, and Saudi Arabia. The third group is south Asian Muslims who are from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Afghanistan.

It is important to recognize that there are many Muslims who are against terrorism. However, after September 11, Muslims Americans have been negatively affected by the U.S. government regulations aimed at terrorists. The study focuses on the Arab and Bosnian ethnic communities within the Muslim community because each of these groups is affected by the events of September 11. In 2006, USA Today did a survey and found that 39% of Americans were prejudiced against Islam and Muslims. Approximately one third of Americans said that American Muslims sympathize with terrorist groups (Saad, 2006). According to a 2009 Gallup survey, more than 43 percent of Americans had negative feelings about Islam, indicating that the majority of Americans lack knowledge about Islam ("In U.S., Religious Prejudice Stronger against Muslims" 2010).

According to Peek (2011), 60 percent of Americans mentioned they know little about Islam (2011, p. 14). Reportedly, U.S. citizens have the idea that Muslims worship a "Moon God" (CAIR)(Moore, 2002). All these examples strongly suggest that the general public is misinformed. Many groups involved in this issue need to cooperate to ensure the civil liberties of American Muslims. The federal government should consider that there are Muslims who are not responsible for September 11 and are simply part of the U.S. community and they should treat Muslims fairly. The Muslim community needs to present itself as a group that is part of the American

population. Also they should interact with the public to change negative public perceptions about Muslims. The non-Muslim public needs to learn more about Islam in order to have proper perceptions. The goal is to discourage and minimize the stereotyping Muslim Americans. Many Americans should distinguish between the terrorists and the Muslims who are working hard to help Americans understand that Islam is a peaceful religion. American Muslims have jobs, families, and are loyal to the United States of America, so in order to reduce hate crime and other negative experience.

The goal of this paper is to it examine the following question: "How are U.S. governmental policies single out Muslim American community after September 11?"

In order to examine this question, the remainder of this paper is structured as follows. Section 2 discusses the related previous literature. In Section 3, the empirical methodology is developed, while Section 4 focuses on analyzing empirical results based on the Logit model and path analysis. Finally, Section 5 concludes with the main findings.

2. Review of related literature

There has been considerable research about the American Muslim community in the United States. One study by Verbrugge (2005) focuses on the problems that face and single out the American Muslim community as a result of the September 11th attacks. The author reports that according to the FBI, the majority of hate crimes occurred during the three weeks after the September 11 attacks. These crimes include attacking mosques, Islamic centers and businesses.

The author pointed out that the American–Arab Anti- Discrimination Committee reported more than two hundred complaints from Muslims who experienced harassment only during the six week period after the September 11 tragedy. Said Hamad who is the Committee Regional Director announced, "We have had a feeling of fear and wondering what will happen. People feel they are going to be singling out." (Verbrugge, 2005: p.10). According to the author the vast majority Americans support American Muslims. For example, many Americans volunteer to protect mosques and Islamic centers. They stand outside mosques and Islamic schools and walk with children to ensure their safety from people who want to attack the community (Verbrugge, 2005: p.10).

Hager (2012) explores the link between community discourse and narrative identity development through specific questions such as: How was the Arab-American Muslim population represented in local Saint Louis media between 1999 and 2011? How do community leaders, Muslim and non-Muslim, view the Arab-American/Muslim population in Saint Louis? How do American Muslim women in their 20s and 30s, who lived in Saint Louis during 9/11, maintain their Muslim identities? Analyses of interviews of four Arab women, nine community interviews, and newspaper editorials suggested that there is still a lack of knowledge about Muslims and their beliefs. According to Hager, in Saint Louis, close familial relationships developed around the time of 9-11, and these relationships shaped their ethnic identity and helped the participants feel empowered. This study is important because it helps explain why the situation of female Arab Muslims in Saint Louis was more positive than that in other communities in the U.S.

Nathanson (2013) interviewed 28 individuals. Her findings were that Bosnian face problems in terms of social and economic integration in Saint Louis. In her study, she used a qualitative approach. She narrated stories about the experiences of Bosnians in Saint Louis. She conducted 16 interviews with former Bosnian refugees, asking them about their experiences in terms of finding new houses, employment, access to credit, and social support. Nathanson's study focused on one community, the Bosnian Muslims, in Saint Louis. Her study was important for my dissertation because I intended to focus on the Bosnian Muslims, along with the Arab Muslims.

Haque (2002) believes the September 11 attacks have had great impacts on minorities in the United States, especially Muslims. Americans become more aggressive and intolerant towards Muslim Americans, south Asians

Americans, and Sikh Americans. He emphasizes that the laws that were passed after September 11, especially the Patriot Act, negatively affected the civil rights liberties. Specifically, the freedom of speech, the right to privacy, the equality of religions practices. Also it affected the respect between other races, genders, national origin. In addition the war on terrorism affected the social rights of Americans in general. For example, the war on terrorism cost the federal government a huge amount of money which affected the spending on social programs, specifically the welfare program. Haque(2002) suggests that it is important to understand the causes of the terrorism itself. It might be result of the military actions and interventions of American government in other countries. Also, it is necessary to have a clear definition of the terrorism. He believes the definition of the terrorism is so vague that it may lead to unreasonable restriction of other people"s rights.

Another study by Panagopaulos(2006) analyzes the changes in public sentiment about Muslims and Arab Americans and Islam during the war on terrorism. According to Panagopoulos (2006), the Muslims and Arabs in the U.S. experienced thousands of incidents, including hate crimes, verbal violence, and much other harassment. The results show that Americans have less awareness and understanding of Muslims and Islam; also, Americans tend to have reservations about Arab and Muslim Americans. The author finds that most Americans after September 11 felt they were singling out Muslim Americans and Arab Americans. The author also suggests that the event of September attacks grab more attention and raises concerns about Islam phobia sentiment in Americans. In addition, the tragedy stimulates a wide group of researchers to study this phenomenon. The public opinion in the study indicates that Americans have resentment about Muslims and Arab Americans after September 11. Finally he found that some data was unavailable and monitored because of the continuation of the war on terror.

Skitka et al. (2006) utilize a representative sample about citizen reactions to Muslims Americans after the September 11 attacks. The reactions were highly emotional and had psychological consequences. The negative reactions involved anger and fear against Muslim Americans. Also, the angry study participants approved the military actions and were optimistic about the future. The fearful study participants supported the mass deportations of Muslims American and they were pessimistic about the future. The goal of the article was to justify military actions and deportations. Political theorists suggest that the responses of fear or anger might lead to aggression reactions such as supporting military actions. The fear and anger might explain why people were divided about responding militarily to September 11. Those who responded with anger wanted confrontations with Americans Muslims.

Those who responded with fear wanted the federal government to prevent future attacks. The results show that fear and anger had important links to confrontational versus defensive policy positions. They also suggest that the September 11 attacks played very strong emotions and the resulting implications. The research implied that anger resulted in a call to expanding the war against terrorism and fear supported deportation of Arab Americans and Muslims. Cole and Dempsey (2002) focus on the patriot Act consequences on American Muslim community. He argues that the Patriot Act violates constitutional rights including freedom of speech, freedom of religion and freedom of association. For example, under this law even innocent associations with suspect groups could get a person arrested or deported. The author gave hypothetical example of potential donation of coloring books to a nursery school which could get the person in trouble if that organization had some connection to political or religious groups that were in terrorist list. The argument is, if they donate these material the organization can save money for military actions. In addition, by donating to these groups the person could get into trouble by "guilt by association" (Cole and Dempsey, 2002:p.153). Even if the person was working with an organization to stop the terrorism, he or she could be deported as a terrorist. Also, they pointed out that, "Painting with a broad brush is simply not a good law enforcement tool; it wastes resources on innocents and alienates communities, making it

all the more difficult for law enforcement to distinguish the true threats from the innocent by standers" (Cole and Dempsey, 2002:p.152). The Patriot Act also violated "due process" because people could potentially be detained indefinitely for being suspected terrorists without proof. The authors said, "due process requires that the agency seeking to deprive a person of a liberty afford him a fair procedure in which to be heard" (Cole and Dempsey, 2002:p.157).

Ahmad (2004) described the terrible consequences of racist actions against Arabs, Muslims, and South Asians. The author explain what these groups faced in terms of hate violence and governmental profiling which produced more racial profiling of "Muslim- Looking" groups. He used this term for two reasons: First, it describes the community that experienced the most violence of September 11. Second, all groups to whom he refers have political and social implications (Ahmad, 2004: p.1261). Ahmad (2004) believes that September 11 is linked with unthinkable violence and backlash from American society and the federal government toward Arabs, Muslims, and South Asians in turn creating a new kind of violence after September 11. His article has three purposes: first, to find out if there is a relationship between hate crimes and government racial profiling, second, to investigate the motivations behind hate crimes against a sampling to communities. Ahmad (2004), attempts to demonstrate that there is a perception of racial hatred against the Muslims, Arabs, and south Asians. In this sense, the author points that this is the relationship between emotionalism and the reason for the terrorist attacks. Ahmad (2004) debates how long the war against terrorism would continue and whether there is a logical reason for it or not. He points out that the passion and not reason is driving the government and American people to be involved in the War on Terrorism. Even worse, some laws in the United States legitimate the war and were developed by unthinkable reasoning and rash behaviors, in reaction to the terrorist attacks. This kind of action made the Muslims, Arabs, and south Asians face many types of violence.

El-Aswad(2006) examines the Arab Americans through views of identity, belonging and mobility in the post – 9/11 Detroit metropolitan area. He compares their experience to the experience of other immigrants, Muslims and non-Muslims, in the U.S. The author emphasizes the effects of September 11 on Arab Americans. He reports that Arab Americans experienced many kind of discriminations after September 11, such as stereotyping based on racial profiling, the inability to speak the English language, their dress, and their religion. Moreover, many Arab immigrants have faced a sense of alteration and identity crises. He implies that Arab and Muslims in the U.S. become the most targeted and one of the most misunderstood ethnic groups in American.

Another study by Mills (2012) explores the perceived nature of the so called "Islam phobia" in American society, and how Islam phobia is embedded in everyday experiences and identity negotiations based on a sample of Middle Eastern immigrants, ten years post-9/11. One of the findings suggests that perceived discrimination and cultural hostility, according to both gender and religion, are prevalent. For example, women who cover with the Hijab suffer more discrimination than men or women who do not cover with the Hijab. The author concludes the overall trends of discrimination are perceived to be receding from their peaks during the 9/11 backlash.

Hisako Matsuo and Alma Poljarevic (2011) investigate the "life satisfaction" of Bosnians in Saint Louis. This study was entitled, "Life Satisfaction of Bosnian Refugees in St. Louis, Missouri". The authors explain why the Bosnians resettled in Saint Louis, because, as noted before, the Catholic charities and the International Institute of Grater Saint Louisare headquartered in Saint Louis. They sponsor Bosnians in Saint Louis and throughout the country. The second reason that Bosnians migrated to Saint Louis was the lower cost of living. Typically the Bosnians were between the ages of 30 to 50 when they arrived in Saint Louis and did not hold college degrees.

The goal of the study was to examine factors such as life satisfaction, discrimination, English competency, sense of coherence, and attachment to the U.S., and demographic variables. All the factors impacted the life satisfaction of the Bosnian refugees in Saint Louis. The study found that the satisfaction of the life for Bosnians in Saint

Louis was low. One significant factor was the issue of language competency. The results imply that educational and work limitations, due to second language problems, were the most important reasons why the Bosnians interviewed were not satisfied. However, an attachment to the U.S. and a sense of coherence had a positive impact.

Bakalian and Bozorgmehr (2005) in their article argue that after September 11, the general public began to look at the Muslims as a unified ethnic and homogeneous group. They mentioned that most Arabs are Muslims. However, a large number of Arabs are Christians. The authors stated, "There is an emerging trend toward religiosity, especially among the second generation; and, as a term, "Islam" has gained political currency and come to incorporate ethnicity, nationality, religiosity, and community as one construct in American society". The authors asserted that prior to 9/11, the general public did not see Islam as an ethnic group, but as a religion.

3. Empirical methodology

This is study to analyze the dataset of the survey which studies American Muslims in the United States. As well as immerse myself in the current research and studies about this issue. I obtained the information for my research from the available data and records.

After September 11, the public, media and government officials interchangeably used the terms, "Arab" and "Muslim". Not all Muslims are Arabs and not all Arabs are Muslims. A Muslim is anyone who believes in the Islamic religion and he/she could speak any language and come from any ethnic or racial background all over the world. On the other hand, Arabs are the only people who speak Arabic and mostly come from Arabic countries. This is true of Christian Arabs, Jewish Arabs, etc.

In the statistics, six independent variables were used for analysis. The first independent variable was "gender" which was defined as 1= male and 0= female. Race and ethnic status were coded as white, black, Asian and other. Education attainment was analyzed as a ranked categorical variable beginning with those with no schooling (grade 1-8)until Post-graduate training or professional. Citizen was defined as U.S. citizen or not. The "employment status" was determined by the response to the question, "Are you now employed full-time, part-time or not employed?" Employment status was coded as "employed full time", "employed part time for those who worked less than 20 hours per week" and "not employed" for those who are out of jobs. The dependent question was, "Do you think that the government's anti-terrorism policies single out Muslims in the U.S. for increased surveillance and monitoring, or don't you think so?" There were three responses for this question: "yes, government policies single out Muslims after 9/11,", "no, don't think so" and "don't know or refuse to answer the question.

4. Empirical results

This study examines the Muslims" perception of U.S. government policies after September 11. There were 1,067,402 people who participated in the survey, who were asked whether the government policies of the United States single out Muslim Americans after September 11.

Table 1: Mean, standard deviation, range, and count for all variables

	Variable	N	Range	Mean	Std.
<u>Y1</u>	Muslim	Perception	of 0-1	1.3674	Deviat.48210
	Americans	1067402	anti-		
	government's	terrorism			
	policies				
X1	Gender	1067402	0-1	1.46	.498
X2	Age Group	1050609	1-4	2.4247	1.0771
X3	Race	1067402	1-4	2.19	² 1.230

X4	Education	1067402	1-8	4.10	1.765
X5	Citizenship	659713	1-2	1.44	1.091
X6	Employment	1067402	1-3	2.14	1.355

As Table 1 shows, there are 4 race categories including white, African American, Asian, and Other race, with mean 2.19 and std. deviation 1.23. The level of education of the participant ranged from elementary school to post graduate with mean 4.10 and std. deviation 1.765. of the participants of the survey 42% are citizens and about 19% are non-citizens; however a large percentage, 38% did not answer this question. When asked whether they think government policies single out Muslims in the U.S. after 9/11, 63.3 percent said yes and only 36.7 percent said no, which supports the idea that the U.S. governmental policies after September 11th single out Muslims and agrees with what other researchers found, such as Verbrugge (2005).

Table 2: Degree of association among the factors impacting Muslims perception on government polices after 9/11.

<u>Y</u> 1		\mathbf{X}^1	\mathbf{X}^2	X^3	X^4	X ⁵	X ⁶
Y1 : Perception of government's anti-terrorism policies	1	.009**	.055	- .026 **	- .201 **	.087 **	.09 5* *
X1 : Age		1	.006 **	- .033 **	- .062 **	.09 4* *	.12 9**
X2 : Gender			1	- .024 **	.062 **	.14 8* *	.08 9**
X3 : Race				1	.013	.09 0* *	.20 0**
X4 : Education					1	.16 0* *	.02 4**
X5 : Employment						1	.59 7**
X6: Citizenship							1

Notes: *p<.05 **p<.001

Table 2 shows that the participants" perception of government"s anti-terrorism policies is associated with Age (r=0.009, p<.001), Gender (r=0.55, p<.001), Race (r=-0.026, p<.001), Education (r=0.20, p<.001), Employment (r=0.09, p<.001), and Citizenship (r=0.10, p<.001). Though statistically significant, these correlations are largely negligible or weak, except for education. Similarly, the correlations between the independent variables are statistically significant, but largely negligible. In Table 2, all the variables in the analysis show significant correlation. There is a positive relationship between the dependent variable and age, gender, employment and citizenship. There is an inverse relationship between the dependent variable and the race and education of the respondent. The highest correlation is between citizenship and employment (.597). Employment and age are negatively correlated. There is a medium correlation between race and citizenship.

In Table 3 a logistic regression analysis was performed to assess whether or not participants believe government policies single out Muslims after 9/11 or not (Table 3.Coded 1 for Yes and Table 4.Coded 0 for No). The model contained six independent variables: Age, Employment, Citizenship, Education, Race and Gender. The Hosmer-Lemeshow goodness of fit test (Chi-square =15037.823, p<.001) indicates that there might be some problems with the fit of our model. This is also reinforced by the value of 0.11 from Nagelkerke R Square which indicates that 11% of the variance independent variable is explained by the six-predictor model

Table 3: Logistic regression analysis of factors impacting Muslims' perception on government policies after 9/11, Dependent variable (1= Yes, think government policies singles out Muslims).

	Logit	Exp(B)	95% CI	
	coefficient	Exp(D)	Lower	Upper
Age	.309**	1.362	1.332	1.393
Employment	.166**	1.181	1.175	1.187
Citizenship	365**.	.694	.689	.699
Highest education	.248**	1.282	1.278	1.286
Race	.095**	1.099	1.095	1.104
Gender	535**	.586	.579	.592
N	611			
Cox & Snell	.080			
R				
Negelkerke R square	.107			

Notes: *P<0.05; **p<.01

Table 3 shows the results of binomial logistic regressions with a dichotomized dependent variable. It indicates that all the variables in the model are significant and explain the Muslim Americans perception of government policies. Age and education are the strongest predictors with odds ratio of 1.362 and 1.282, respectively. This indicates that having a higher education degree decreases the likelihood of perceiving that policies single out Muslims. This is followed by employment and race (OR 1.181, 95CI 1.175- 1.187) and (OR 1.099, 95CI 1.095- 1.104), which indicates that being white or having a better job reduces the likelihood of perceiving that policies single out Muslims. Gender and citizenship turned out to be the least predictors with .694 and .586, respectively. It should be noted, however, that the model does not fully explain the dependent variables. The overall R Square is 8% and Negelkerke R square is 10.7%.

In Table 4, all the variables in the model are shown to be significant and explaining the dependent variable.

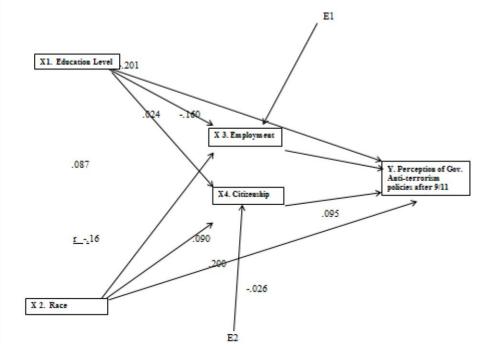
Table 4: Logistic regression analysis of factors impacting Muslims' perception on government policies after 9/11, Dependent variable (0= No, don't think so).

	Logit	Eve (D)	95% CI	
	Logit coefficient	t Exp (B)	Lower	Upper
Age	309**	.734	.718	.751
Employment	166**	.847	.842	.851
Citizenship	.365**.	1.441	1.431	1.451
Highest	248**	.780	.778	.782
education				

Race	095**	.910	.906	.913
Gender	.535**	1.708	1.690	1.726
N	611			
Cox & Snell R square	.080			
Negelkerke R square	.107			

Gender and citizenship are the strongest predictors with odds ratio of 1.708 and 1.441. This is followed by employment and race (OR .847, 95CI .842- .851) and (OR .910, 95CI .906-0.913). Age and education are the weakest predictors with ratio .734 and .780, respectively. The overall Rsquare is between 8% and 10.7%. The model itself shows that gender with logistic coefficient of 1.708 and citizenship with logistic coefficient of 1.441have the largest effect on the participant"s perception of government"s anti-terrorism policies. In other words, the log odds of that perception would change negatively if the gender is male and citizenship is American, respectively.

Figure 1: Path Diagram relating to Perception of government anti-terrorism policies after 9/11



The path modelin Figure 1 was developed based on the review of relevant literature, which suggested that level of education and race have a strong impact on the Muslims" perception of government policies after September 11. It also suggests a causal relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variable. The paths also show the predictors that have direct or indirect impact on Muslims" Perception in the U.S. Education level and race have direct and indirect impact among the Muslims" perception of government antiterrorism policies after 9/11. represents Pearson"s correlation: -.16, e is the standard error that represents the amount of error arising from the variance that is unexplained by the variables in the equation. All the variables in the model showed a significant impact on the outcome variable. The overall model summary had a -2Log likelihood of 859237.617 which is a large number of unexplained variance. Cox and Snell R² were .069 and Negelkerke R² of

.092 the variable have explained 7 to 10 percent of the variance. The entire variables have significant impact on the dependent variable. The path diagram above can be summarized by three regression equations:

```
X_3: = \Box 0 + \Box 1X1 + \Box 2X2 + e1

X_4 = \Box 0 + \Box 1X1 + \Box 2X2 + \Box 3X3 + e2

Y = \Box 0 + \Box 1X1 + \Box 2X2 + \Box 3X3 + \Box 4X4 + e3
```

5. Concluding remarks

The findings of the study was as follows: first, when the participants of the survey were asked whether they think the U.S government policies after September 11 single out Muslims, 63.3 percent of the participants answered yes and only 36.7 percent said no, which supports the idea that the U.S. governmental policies after

September 11th single out Muslims and agrees with what other researchers found, such as Verbrugge(2005). Second, the level of education of the participant shows that those Muslims who have better education think that the government policies not single out them. Also, whether or not the U.S. citizenship has significant impact on beliefs about whether policies single out Muslims. The U.S. citizens think that the government policies do not single them out. However non-citizens think the opposite. Also the race of the participants have a significant impact, indicating that being white or having a better job reduces the likelihood of agreeing that policies single out Muslims. However, gender and citizenship turned out to be the least predictors which mean that being male Muslim or female Muslim does not make a difference for beliefs about whether policies single out Muslims.

It is important to note that this study did not look at elements of culture, language, country of origin and recent and established immigrants who may have lived in the U.S. before and after the September 11th tragedy. Those factors may have impact on Muslim perception toward the government policies after September 11. The author believes it is important to include these factors for future research.

In particular future research should compare recent immigrants and established immigrants who have lived in the U.S. before and after the September 11th tragedy. The analyses in the study which are correlation, logistic, and path model showed that the perception of Muslims had a significant effect on explaining variance in education and citizenship. Therefore, it would be appropriate to predict that those who have higher education and U.S. citizen are perceived less affected by government policies.

Summery

This paper explores the effects of September 11 United States government policy and anti-terrorism regulation on American Muslim community. This research is important to show that there are many innocent American who were affected by the September 11 government policy and regulation such as the USA Patriot Act (Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act). American Muslim communities share one common characteristic, which is Islam. Islam is the fastest growing religion in the United States. There are various estimations of the number of Muslims in the United States. Study found was as follows: first, when the participants of the survey were asked whether they think the U.S government policies after September 11 single out Muslims, 63.3 percent of the participants answered yes and only 36.7 percent said no, which supports the idea that the U.S. governmental policies after September 11th single out Muslims and agrees with what other researchers found, such as Verbrugge (2005). However non-citizens think the opposite. Also the race of the participants have a significant impact, indicating that being white or having a better job reduces the likelihood of agreeing that policies single out Muslims. However, gender and citizenship

turned out to be the least predictors which mean that being male Muslim or female Muslim does not make a difference for beliefs about whether policies single out Muslims. The analyses in the study which are correlation, logistic, and path model showed that the perception of Muslims had a significant effect on explaining variance in education and citizenship. Therefore, it would be appropriate to predict that those who have higher education and U.S. citizen are perceived less affected by government policies.

References

- Ahmad, M. I. (2004). A Rage Shared By Law: Post-September 11 Racial Violence as Crimes of Passion. California Law Review, 92.5, 1259.
- Ayers, J. W. (2007). Changing Sides: 9/11 and the American Muslim Voter. Review of Religious Research, 49(2), 187198.
- Cole, D.,& Dempsey, J. X. (2002). Terrorism and the Constitution: Sacrificing Civil Liberties in the Nam of National Security. New York: The New Press.
- Costas P, (2006) . The Polls-Trends: Arab and Muslim Americans and Islam in the aftermath of 9/11 Public Opinion Quarterly 70.4 (2006):608.
- El-Aswad, E. (2006) The dynamics of identity reconstruction among Arab communities in the United States Anthropos: International Review of Anthropology and Linguistics, 101. 111-121.
- Gaskew, T. (2009). Peacemaking Criminology and Counterterrorism: Muslim Americans and the war on terror. Contemporary Justice Review, 12:3, 345-366, DOI: 10.1080/10282580903105913.
- Hacking, Amany R, A New Dawn for Muslims: Asserting Their Civil Rights in Post-9/11 America (2010). St. Louis University Law Journal, Vol. 54, No. 917, 2010. Available at SSRN: https://ssrn.com/abstract=2574294
- Hager, Emily Anastasia (2012). Narrative Identities of American Muslim Women in a Midwestern City [Dissertations]. Retieived from https://irl.umsl.edu/dissertation/339
- Haque, M. S. (2002). Government Responses to Terrorism: Critical Views of Their Impacts on People and Public Administration. Public Administration Review, 62 (Special Edition)
- Leonard, K. (2002). American Muslims, before and after September 11, 2001. Economic and Political Weekly, 37(24), 2293-2297+2299-2302.
- Mastsuo, H. & Poljarevic, A. (2011). Life satisfaction of the Bosnian refugees in St. Louis, Missouri. International Journal of Humanities and Social Science, Vol. 1 No. 19; December 2011.
- Mills G. J.(2012). Beyond the backlash: Muslim and middle eastern immigrants' experiences in america, ten years post9/11[Master thesis]. Universty of South Florida.

- Moore, K. (2002). A part of us or apart from us? Post-September 11 attitudes toward Muslims and civil liberties. Middle East Report. 224 (Fall 2002).
- Nathanson, R. P. (2013). Twenty Years and still Becoming: Bosnian Social and Economic Integration in St. Louis [Master thesis]. Universty of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.
- Peek, L. (2011). Behind the backlash: Muslim Americans after 9/1. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Saad, L., (August 10, 2006). Anti-Muslim Sentiments Fairly Commonplace: Four in ten Americans admit feeling prejudice against Muslims [GALLUP NEWS SERVICE]. Retrieved from http://media.gallup.com/WorldPoll/PDF/AntiMuslimSentiment81006.pdf
- Skitka, L. J., Bauman, C. W., Aramovich, N. P., & Morgan, G. S. (2006). Confrontational and Preventative Policy Responses to Terrorism: Anger Wants a Fight and Fear Wants "Them" to Go Away. Basic and Applied Social Psychology, 28(4), 375-384.

Verbrugge A. (2005). Muslims in America, School Library Journal.