

**Inclusion of Arab-Americans and Muslim-Americans within Secondary U.S. History Textbooks**

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**Abstract:** Over the past 2 decades, textbook publishers have made large improvements by including multicultural education within their texts. U.S. history textbooks have specifically included diverse perspectives. The increased inclusion of diverse perspectives creates a more historically accurate depiction of how various cultures have contributed to the growth and success of America and promotes cultural pride and understanding. Unfortunately, the same is not true of Arabs, Muslims, and Arab- and Muslim-Americans. A contextual analysis of five U.S. history textbooks was conducted to determine if Arab, Muslim, Arab-American and Muslim-American contributions and achievements were included. The results determined that Arabs and Muslims are included within U.S. history textbooks, but primarily during times of conflict. Arab- and Muslim-Americans are typically not included nor are their contributions and achievements.

*Keywords:* Arab-Americans, Muslim-Americans, stereotypes, education, social studies curriculum, multicultural education, textbooks

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**Introduction**

After 9/11, there were attempts to counter stereotypes and biases of Arabs, Muslims, and Arab- and Muslim-Americans through the large-scale inclusion of these groups within the curriculum. More than a decade after the catastrophic events of September 11, concerns over the portrayal of Arabs, Muslims, Islam, and Arab- and Muslim-Americans within public schools have extended beyond the curriculum. There are also concerns over how these groups are included in history textbooks. Secondary social studies curricula and textbooks have often presented historical events from a European perspective that highlight major European accomplishments, such as the great cities of Rome and Constantinople (now Istanbul), but ignored Muslim accomplishments such as Baghdad, Damascus, Cordoba, or Seville (Douglass, 2009). Little attention, if any, is paid to Muslim accomplishments in mathematics, science, astronomy, art, music, poetry and medicine (Douglass, 2009). Instead, textbook coverage that makes reference to the Middle East focuses on topics such as petroleum, Israeli/Palestinian foreign policy issues, and portrays Islam "as a struggle between religious traditionalism and secular modernism" (Douglass, 2009, chapter 4, "Teaching about World Religions", para. 9). Teachers, unfamiliar with Islam or the Middle East, rely on textbooks to help guide their

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instruction, which has proven to be problematic. In their research, Haddad and Smith (2009) found that many teachers also showed elements within their teaching that were Islamophobic. As a result, textbook portrayals do little to promote positive images of Arabs, Muslims, Islam, or the Middle East. The portrayal of Islam, Arabs, and Arab- and Muslim-Americans within textbooks is vital as it is one of the ways educators can help students challenge misconceptions about these groups. From a critical race perspective, this requires that textbook publishers critically analyze how they include Arabs, Muslims, and Arab- and/or Muslim-Americans.

Like many immigrants, Arab immigrants have made large contributions to the United States. Early Arab immigrants invented the first ice cream cone, and they later established the Joy Cone Factory, one of the America's largest ice cream cone producers. Arab-American, John Zogby, founded Zogby International, a major polling company. Arab-American, Paul Orfalea, established Kinko's, the largest international copy services chain (Kasem, 2005). Contributions within science and medicine include that of actor and Arab-American Danny Thomas, who established St. Jude Children's Research Hospital, one of the leading children's cancer research hospitals in the country. One of St. Jude's major fundraising contributors is also Arab-American, the American Lebanese Syrian Associated Charities (Kasem, 2005; Arab American National Museum, n.d). Arab-Americans have contributed to science and medical research, in particular, Dr. Michael DeBakey, inventor of the heart pump, and geologist, Dr. Farouk el-Baz, who "helped plan all the Apollo moon landings and later pioneered the use of space photography to study the Earth" (Kasem, 2005, p. 8). Arab-Americans have served as presidents, CEOs, and CFOs of major companies, including Pan-American Airlines, Ford Motor Company, and Morgan-Stanley.

For centuries, Muslim-Americans have also made great contributions. Some of the earliest documented Muslims in America were African-Muslim slaves. Many of these African-Muslim slaves continued to practice Islam in the United States, teaching it to their descendants and establishing some of the earliest Muslim-American communities (Austin, 1997; Diouf, 1998; Muhammad, 2013). The story of Bilali Mohammed, a slave, who helped organize other slaves to defend Sapelo Island, off the coast of Georgia, from British attacks during the War of 1812 is notable. (Austin, 1997; Muhammad, 2013). Muslim-Americans continued to actively contribute to American society well into the 20th and 21st centuries. Activists, such as Malcolm X, greatly influenced the civil rights movement in the United States. Muslim-American comedians, such as Preacher Moss, Mohammed Amer and Azhar Usman, have used their talents and diversity to challenge stereotypes about Muslims and Muslim-Americans (Kalin, 2008). So too has former Miss Michigan and Miss USA, Muslim-American, Rima Fasih. Internationally renowned Muslim-American, Dr. Mehmet Oz, has made many contributions to the medical world and is the host of his own medical TV show (Scheifer & Ahmed, 2013). Another internationally recognized Muslim-American is Fareed Zakaria who is the host of CNN's Fareed Zakaria GPS, an editor-at-large for *Time Magazine*, and a columnist for *The Washington Post* (Scheifer & Ahmed, 2013).

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Arab- and Muslim-Americans have served within the military and as political servants, activists, poets, artists, Emmy award winning actors and actresses and sports icons (Kasem, 2005). They have won Nobel Peace prizes. Their contributions to the United States are too numerous to include on a single list, and yet most of their achievements go unrecognized. Their contributions are important not only to the history of Arabs and Muslims, but also to all Americans. The dynamic role these two groups have had in science, education, geography, history and exploration should not be underestimated. Teaching and learning about their contributions will lead to true multicultural education, one that allows students to study and analyze historical events from multiple perspectives. Long held stereotypes that Muslims and Arabs are of a foreign religion and culture, which do not have a place within the American tapestry will be disproved. Arab-Americans and Muslim-Americans have contributed to the history and success of the United States. Arab- and Muslim-Americans will be better understood as a people, through a truly a multicultural curriculum.

### Research Strategy

A contextual analysis of five commonly used secondary social studies textbooks, published by the top textbook companies, was conducted. The major research question was to determine whether or not Arabs, Muslims, and Arab- and Muslim-Americans were included within the texts and within what context (e.g. cultural/religious beliefs, times of conflict, etc.), and finally whether contributions and achievements by each group were included within the textbooks.

The five textbooks analyzed were *The Americans: Reconstruction to the 21st Century* (Danzer, Klor de Alva, Krieger, Wilson, & Woloch, 2007) published by McDougal Littell; *History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals* (Goff et al., 2013) published by Teachers' Curriculum Institute (TCI); *The American Vision* (Appleby, Brinkley, Broussard, McPherson, & Ritchie, 2010) published by Glencoe McGraw Hill; *United States History: Reconstruction to the Present* (Lapsansky-Werner, Levy, Roberts, & Taylor, 2013) published by Pearson Prentice Hall; and one advanced placement textbook, *American History: Connecting with the Past* (Brinkley, 2012) published by McGraw Hill.

In light of the scope and focus of this study, only secondary U.S. history textbooks were used. The second criteria used in selecting textbooks for this study was publication date. The selected textbooks are close in publication year, the oldest printed in 2007, and the most current edition printed in 2013. It is equally important to note that all the textbook editions were post 9/11. Finally, each of the textbooks was selected from major U.S. publishing companies. The three largest textbook publishing companies are Pearson, McGraw-Hill and Houghton-Mifflin Harcourt (Davis, 2013). These companies published four of the textbooks analyzed: *The American Vision*, *United States History: Reconstruction to the Present*, *American History: Connecting with the Past*, and *The Americans: Reconstruction to the 21st Century*. The fifth textbook, *History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals* is published by Teachers' Curriculum

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Institute (TCI), a company that focuses on K-8 science textbooks and K-12 social studies textbooks. It was selected because it is a leading publisher in social studies textbooks. Additionally, more than 36 states currently use TCI textbooks, allowing it to maintain 12% of U.S. market shares (Teachers' Curriculum Institute, 2013; M. Moorman, personal communication, January 27, 2014).

According to American Textbook Council (ATC), an independent national research organization that reviews history textbooks, publishing companies withhold information about sales and distribution of their textbooks to protect performance levels (ATC, 2015). Therefore, information regarding textbook publishing company ranks was limited, since many publish more than textbooks. Since 1986, ATC has maintained a database compiled from survey publishers' websites and key state and large school districts to ascertain which history and social studies textbooks are the most commonly used across the United States (ATC, 2015). On its website is a list of the most widely adopted history textbooks, along with the publishing companies, for the 2011–2012 academic year. Included in the list were *American Vision* and *The Americans: Reconstruction to the 21st Century*, which were used in this study. In other words, two of the five textbooks used in this study are not only published by the largest publishing companies, but are among the most widely used in the United States.

Content analysis was used to answer the research questions. Content analysis "is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use" (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 18). Krippendorff (2004), a leading researcher in content analysis argues that it is "one of the most important research techniques in the social sciences," allowing researchers to view data in "texts, images, and expression that are created to be seen, read, interpreted, and acted on for their meaning" (p. xvii). Through content analysis, researchers can categorize or code information into themes that emerge from the texts to answer the research question.

According to Krippendorff (2004) there are six features of texts that frame content analysis. First, texts are not reader-independent and require all readers to engage with the text and understand the key elements, such as understanding the who, what, where, when and why (p. 22). Second, texts have multiple meanings that can be read from multiple perspectives. As a result, the meaning of a text does not need to be agreed upon by all readers, making it the third feature of texts. Fourth, texts often convey more than just information. Krippendorff (2004), expands upon this fourth feature to include that texts can "invoke feelings, or cause behavioral changes" and sometimes have hidden meanings or agendas (p. 23). Fifth, "texts have meaning relative to particular contexts, discourses, or purposes." (p. 24). As such, texts are read, placed within context, and analyzed by the reader to determine its purpose. Finally, researchers must "draw specific inferences from a body of texts to their chosen context," in a way that "narrows the range of interpretations," to answer the research question (p. 24–25).

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All of Krippendorff's (2004) features of texts were utilized when conducting the content analysis of the five textbooks. First, students often engage with the textbook, usually in the form of informational reading, to find answers to questions posed in a worksheet or by the teacher. Therefore, which information textbooks put forth or leave out is important to understand because it will influence how students engage with the text. Additionally, texts have multiple meanings, which mean that the same historical events can be portrayed differently within each textbook. It also means that students will analyze texts to develop their own understanding of historical events and characters. The fourth feature of Krippendorff's (2004) text framework, suggests that texts do more than provide information, but can also appeal to reader emotions or influence behavior. This is a key component of the current research because it suggests that the positive or negative portrayal of Arabs, Muslims, and Arab- and/or Muslim-Americans can influence students' emotions or behavior towards these groups. This fourth aspect affects the fifth feature, which allows the reader to determine the purpose of the text. Again, whether a textbook positively or negatively include Arabs, Muslims, and Arab- and/or Muslim-Americans affects how students view the purpose of the reading. Was the purpose of the text to understand the Arab-American immigrant's narrative or to understand that the majority of the 9/11 hijackers were Arabs? Finally, I as the researcher am responsible for analyzing the texts to draw information that answers the research questions, as will be discussed.

Many researchers have used contextual analysis as a way of evaluating textbooks. Through their research, Mohammed Saleem and Michael Thomas (2011) analyzed the portrayal of 9/11 in 12 social studies textbooks to understand how the portrayal of 9/11 affected Muslim-American students. The researchers used coding strategies to create themes that emerged from the data. Their research suggested that textbook publishers used propaganda "in order to identify Arabs, Islam, and Muslims as the 'other'" as well as in "associating terrorism with Islam" (p. 30–31). The study was unique because it also analyzed how the Muslim-American students interacted with the text. However, there is also a limitation to the research: only eight students participated in the study, all of whom self-identified as Sunni-Muslims.

Gilbert Sewall (2008) of the American Textbook Council used contextual analysis when publishing its review of 10 of the most commonly used junior and senior world and American history textbooks. His review examined how history textbooks characterize Islam's foundations and creeds, terrorism, 9/11, weapons of mass destruction, as well as additions made since 2001. Sewall's (2008) results revealed that many textbook publishers made few corrections to their editions since 2001. As a result, many of the textbooks analyzed still had errors regarding the portrayal of Islam, misrepresentations of Islamic figures, Muslims, the Middle East and its population. These errors were more prominent in junior high textbooks than in U.S. history textbooks, which do not cover Islam, the Middle East, Arabs and Muslims as frequently as junior high texts (Sewall, 2008). Other researchers, such as Douglass (2009), which is expanded upon later in this study, have also contextually analyzed the portrayal of Islam and Muslims within

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textbooks. There are limitations to both these studies, in comparison to the current study, in that neither concentrate on Arabs or Arab- and/or Muslim-Americans.

Although multiple studies have been conducted on social studies textbooks, even the inclusion or portrayal of Arabs, Muslims, Islam and the Middle East, few have concentrated on the inclusion or portrayal of Arab-Americans and Muslim-Americans. The current study expands upon the research of others, to include Arab-Americans and Muslim-Americans. Content analysis was an important research strategy within the current study because it provided data in regards to Arab, Muslim, and Arab- and/or Muslim-American inclusion within U.S. history textbooks. Equally important, contextual analysis provided data on when these groups were included, for example during U.S. immigration, international conflict or terrorism. Finally, contextual analysis allows for the interpretation of the texts not available in quantitative research techniques.

#### **Textbook Analysis of Arab- and Muslim-Americans within U.S. History**

As part of the analysis, information from each textbook was gathered by first examining their indices to determine if any of the books included Arabs, Muslims, Islam, and Arab- or Muslim-Americans. The initial review of the textbooks showed that ethnic and religious groups such as Asian-Americans, Mexican-Americans, Latino-Americans and Catholics were included in the indices and several of the books included smaller groups such as Dominican-American, Korean-American, Jewish-Americans and Cuban-Americans, all of which demonstrate textbooks publishers' attempts at multicultural education. However, none of the textbooks listed Arab-Americans or Muslim-Americans. *United States History: Reconstruction to the Present* (Lapsansky-Werner et al., 2013) did not include Arabs or Muslims. In fact, *United States History: Reconstruction to the Present* did not include a reference to Islam, only Islamic fundamentalists. *The American Vision* (Appleby et al., 2010) did not include Arabs or Muslims within their index, but did include Islam. *The Americans: Reconstruction to the 21st Century* (Danzer et al., 2007) did not include Arabs, but did include Muslims and Islam. *History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals* (Goff et al., 2013) did not include Arabs, but did include references for Shi'a and Sunni Muslims and Islam. *American History: Connecting with the Past* (Brinkley, 2012) did not include Muslims or Islam within its index. The text's only indexed reference to Arabs was the use of the term *street Arab*, which was used to describe "poor children in the cities, some of them orphans or runaways, living alone or in small groups scrounging for food" (Brinkley, 2012, p. 513).

#### **Pre- exploration of the New World**

After reviewing the index, a page-by-page analysis of each textbook was conducted to determine if Arabs, Muslims, Islam, and Arab- and Muslim-Americans were included in other areas and within what context. All of the texts, with the exception of *History Alive! Pursuing*

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*American Ideals* (Goff et al., 2013) included brief references to Islam, Arabs and/or Muslims within their first few chapters, particularly on pre-exploration of the New World. In addition, although none of the books included Arabs within the index, they all mentioned Arabs throughout various sections and chapters of the entire text. *The American Vision* (Appleby et al., 2010) included short references about Arabs and Muslims when describing trade and information exchange with Europeans (p. 12–18). Specifically, the text mentioned al-Idrisi as an Arab geographer whose works were used by European explorers (p. 8). *The Americans: Reconstruction to the 21st Century* (Danzer et al., 2007) specifically mentioned another Arab geographer, Al-Bakri, including a quote about taxes in Ghana during the 11th century (p. 9), but later mentioned European explorers who used the works of Arab and Jewish scholars for cartographic information (p. 12). *United States History: Reconstruction to the Present* (Lapsansky-Werner et al., 2013) included only one reference to trade routes that were dominated by Muslims (p. 6). Finally, *American History: Connecting with the Past* (Brinkley, 2012) mentioned Mayan civilizations having written language similar to Arabic (p. 3), Muslim societies taking "control of eastern routes to Asia" and searching for "faster, safer" routes to Asia (p. 10), Guinean converts to Islam (p. 21), and west African regions that "survived the spread of Islam" (p. 22). It is also the only text to refer to the Prophet Mohammed (Peace Be Upon Him) (p. 9). *History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals* (Goff et al., 2013) began with the foundation of America in 1776 and, therefore, excluded any pre-exploration or exploration of the New World.

### **Early 1900s**

Aside from these sections, Arabs, Muslims, Islam, and Arab-/Muslim-Americans are almost non-existent within any of the five texts. Arabs reappear in *The Americans: Reconstruction to the 21st Century* (Danzer et al., 2007) 400 pages later, in a long list of immigrant groups that flocked to Chicago (Danzer et al., 2007). Also included in the textbook was a sidebar about the ethnic cleansing of Bosnian Muslims in 1995. This sidebar was included on a section in the book that discussed Bosnia and the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand (Danzer et al., 2007). In *The American Vision* (Appleby et al., 2010), the term *Arabs* is included again, this time in a passing reference about Arabs who sided with the allies against the Ottomans during World War I. *History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals* (Goff et al., 2013) mentioned Muslims when describing Armenian Christians and their attempt to escape from the "Muslim Ottoman Empire," during the Armenian Genocide (p. 169). In other words, Arabs, Muslims, Islam, and Arab-/Muslim-Americans disappeared from U.S. history textbooks for approximately 500 to 800 years, depending on the textbook.

This is misleading for several reasons. First, it implies that Arabs, Muslims, and Arab- and Muslim-Americans were not a part of America prior to WWI. There is no mention of African-Muslim slaves brought to the United States, including Omar ibn Said, who was captured and

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brought to the United States in the early 1800s, and whose Arabic manuscripts document his practice of Islam throughout captivity (Diouf, 1998). There is also no mention of Bilali Mohammed, a slave, who helped organize other slaves to defend Sapelo Island, off the coast of Georgia, from British attacks during the War of 1812. Mohammed also continued to educate his descendants on Islamic studies (Austin, 1997). In addition, none of the textbooks specifically mentioned Arab immigration patterns, which began prior to WWI, struggles to assimilate or contributions to America. However, other immigrant groups such as Irish-Americans, German-Americans, Italian-Americans and their contributions were included (Danzer et al., 2007; Goff et al., 2013; Appleby et al., 2010; Brinkley, 2012). With the exception of *The American Vision* (Appleby et al., 2010), there was no mention of Arab contributions to aid the Allies during both WWI and WWII. Instead, German, American, British, and French leaders and their contributions to win battles within the Arab world were included.

### **Post WWII to 9/11**

Arabs, Muslims, Islam, and Arab- and Muslim-Americans reappear consistently in the textbooks after World War II. *The American Vision* (Appleby et al., 2010) and *History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals* (Goff et al., 2013) reintroduced Arabs, first, when discussing the UN partition of Palestine in 1948. *History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals* specifically mentioned that Arabs rejected the partition, which led to the series of Arab-Israeli conflicts (Goff et al., 2013, p. 425).

In all five of the textbooks, Arabs, Muslims, Islam, and Arab- and Muslim-Americans were most frequently mentioned during times of tension, violence and conflict. These included the 1956 Suez Crisis, the 1950s nationalization of oil fields in Iran, 1970s oil embargo, the Arab-Israeli crisis, conflict between Hindus and Muslims in India and the establishment of Pakistan and Bangladesh, the Islamic Revolution in Iran and the Iranian hostage crisis, the 1975 Civil War between Christians and Muslims in Lebanon, ethnic cleansing of Muslim Bosnians and Albanians in the 1990s, Persian Gulf, 9/11, and the Iraq and Afghanistan wars.

In many cases, the textbooks failed to include key background information about the conflicts, which distorted the accuracy of the events. For example, *The American Vision* (Appleby et al., 2010) discussed the Iran hostage crisis, but failed to mention why the U.S. embassy was stormed and U.S. citizens taken hostage. The textbook did not mention America's prior involvement in the region, America's success in restoring Iran's king, Shah Pahlavi, to power after his initial removal by Iranians, or that the U.S. granted the Shah asylum within America (several texts did mention that the Shah was allowed to enter the U.S. for medical treatment), both of which led to anti-American sentiments within the region. In later chapters, *The American Vision* (Appleby et al., 2010) mentioned Yasser Arafat's rejection of a Palestinian-Israeli agreement at Camp David II and Palestinian violence during the Intifada that followed. Again, there is no reference explaining why Arafat rejected the agreement and how this led to the Intifada. *History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals* (Goff et al., 2013) briefly mentioned Arabs

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rejecting the United Nation partition of Palestine, but did not mention why Arabs rejected the plan. This creates a one-sided version of history where Arabs and Muslims react to situations in rage and anger with little to no justification.

Table 1. *Inclusion of Arabs, Muslims, Arab- and/or Muslim-Americans, and Islam in Textbooks by Time Period*

	<b><i>History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals (Goff et al., 2013)</i></b>	<b><i>United States History: Reconstruction to the Present (Lapsansky-Werner et al., 2013)</i></b>	<b><i>American History: Connecting with the Past (Brinkley, 2012)</i></b>	<b><i>The American Vision (Appleby et al., 2010)</i></b>	<b><i>The Americans: Reconstruction to the 21st Century (Danzer et al., 2007)</i></b>
Indices	Sunni and Shi'a Muslims, Islam	Islamic fundamentalism	street Arab	Islam	Muslims, Islam
Pre-Exploration	-----	-Trades routes dominated by Muslims (p. 6)	-Mayan civilizations written language similar to Arabic (p. 3)  -Muslim societies control of trade routes (p. 10)  -Guinean converts to Islam (p. 21)  -West African regions	-Arab and Muslim trade/exchange of information with Europeans (p. 12-18)  -al-Idrisi (p. 8)	-al-Bakri (p. 9)  -European explorers working with Arab and Jewish scholars for cartographic information (p. 12)

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			"survived the spread of Islam" (p. 22)  -Only text to refer to the Prophet Mohammed (Peace Be Upon Him) (p. 9)		
Early 1900s	-Muslims mentioned during Armenian Genocide	-----	-----	-Arabs included as allies against Ottomans during WWI	-Arab immigrants in Chicago  -Sidebar on Bosnian-Muslim genocide in 1995 (included in section discussing assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand)
Post WWII – 9/11	-Arab rejection of UN partition of Palestine			-Arabs and UN partition of Palestine	
Times of Conflict	Included in most of the textbooks: the 1956 Suez Crisis, the 1950s nationalization of oil fields in Iran, 1970s oil embargo, the Arab-Israeli crisis, conflict between Hindus and Muslims in India and the establishment of Pakistan and Bangladesh, the Islamic Revolution in Iran and the Iranian hostage crisis, the 1975 Civil War between Christians and Muslims in Lebanon, ethnic cleansing of Muslim Bosnians and Albanians in the 1990s, Persian Gulf, 9/11, and the Iraq and Afghanistan wars.				

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***Arab and/or Muslim Political Figures***

Arab and Muslim leaders were also included within the textbooks, post WWII. Figures such as Gamal Abdel Nasser, Anwar Sadat, Hosni Mubarak, Muammar al-Gaddafi, Mohammed Mossadegh, Mohammed Reza Pahlavi and Saddam Hussein were mentioned. With the exception of *History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals* (Goff et al., 2013) that mentioned Saddam Hussein being a Sunni Muslim, none of the leaders were mentioned as being Arab or Muslim. In some cases, the countries that they represented were identified as being Arab or Muslim, but not the leaders themselves. In *The American Vision* (Appleby et al., 2010), Sirhan Sirhan, who assassinated Robert Kennedy, was referred to as an Arab nationalist, but in *The Americans: Reconstruction to the 21st Century* (Danzer et al., 2007), *American History: Connecting with the Past* (Brinkley, 2012), and *United States History: Reconstruction to the Present* (Lapsansky-Werner et al., 2013) he was described as a Palestinian.

***Arab- and/or Muslim-American Political Figures***

Another important finding was the lack of Muslim-Americans within the textbooks. Only two Muslim-Americans were mentioned consistently throughout all the textbooks, Elijah Muhammed and Malcolm X, members of the Nation of Islam (Danzer et al., 2007; Goff et al., 2013; Appleby et al., 2010; Brinkley, 2012; Lapsansky-Werner et al., 2013). Although the Nation of Islam is not identical to the Islamic faith, an aspect that was mentioned in several of the books, both men were Muslim, with Malcolm X becoming an orthodox Muslim later in his life. Only one textbook, *The American Vision* (Appleby et al., 2010), included a small reference about Muhammad Ali losing his license to box after refusing to join the army (p. 837). The reference did not mention his faith.

Equally important were references to Arab-Americans. Several textbooks did refer to Americans who have Arab heritage, but not as Arab-Americans. Presidential candidate Ralph Nader, an Arab-American politician, was included in *The American Vision* (Appleby et al., 2010) and *United States History: Reconstruction to the Present* (Lapsansky-Werner et al., 2013), however, any information about his Arab heritage was excluded (p. 1033; p. 697). Interestingly, other Americans and their religious or cultural heritage were recognized. For example, within *The American Vision* (Appleby et al., 2010) was Joe Lieberman, who was included as the "first Jewish-American ever to run for vice president," only a page before Ralph Nader (p. 1032). Another Arab-American contribution that was overlooked was the establishment of Mothers Against Drunk Drivers (MADD). The organization was included in *The American Vision* (Appleby et al., 2010), but there was no mention that the founder, Candace Lightner, was an Arab-American. Today, MADD is the "largest crime victims' assistance organization in the world, with more than three million members and supporters" (Kasem 2005, p. 13). Aside from these examples, no other Arab- or Muslim-American contributions were included in any of the other

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books. Not only does this ignore the cultural capital that Arab-Americans and Muslim-Americans possess, it also denies these groups of their contributions to the United States.

***Arabs, Muslim, Islam, and Arab- and/or Muslim-Americans, 9/11 and Terrorism***

By far, the most frequent references to Arabs, Muslims, Islam, and Arab-/Muslim-Americans were with regard to terrorism, the attacks on 9/11, and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. In *The American Vision* (Appleby et al., 2010), the Taliban were included as a Muslim fundamentalist group. References to the conflict between Sunnis and Shiites in Iraq, Palestinian terrorism, and al-Qaeda's recruitment of Muslims were also made. The book also included a timeline titled, "Global War on Terror, 2001–2007," which included images and names of Arabs and Muslims (p. 1044–1045) and a section on the 9/11 causes and effects, which included general references to Arabs and Muslims and pictures of al-Qaeda and Osama bin Laden (p. 1056).

*History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals* (Goff et al., 2013) specifically mentioned the Arab controlled Sudanese government, as well as Arab militias that attacked black Africans in Darfur. The same textbook also included portions of Osama bin Laden's speech, in which he "declared that all Muslims had a duty to kill Americans" (p. 674) and that "the 9/11 terrorists were Arab Muslims" (p. 684). *The Americans: Reconstruction to the 21st Century* (Danzer et al., 2007) included a timeline of terrorism against the United States. Muslims or Arabs carried out seven of the nine events on the timeline out; some were mentioned as Muslims or Arabs and others not (p. 896–897). The textbook noted that Palestinian terrorists killed the Israeli Olympic team in 1972, and that the 9/11 hijackers were Arab. Finally, the textbook, *American History: Connecting with the Past* (Brinkley, 2012), referred to Osama bin Laden as a leader who was "little known outside the Arab world," conflating bin Laden's Arab roots with the Muslim world that he operated within (p. 906–907). The book included a map of terrorism titled, "Crisis in the Middle East," which was supposed to emphasize conflict within the Middle East from the 1970s to 2003, and included conflicts within Turkey, Libya, Iran and Afghanistan (p. 907). The textbook also included rumors that President Obama was Muslim (p. 908).

There was an attempt by the textbooks to remain unbiased when discussing contemporary history, particularly the September 11 attacks and the Iraq and Afghanistan wars that followed. For example, when discussing terrorist attacks such as the American embassy attacks in Kenya and Tanzania, the *U.S.S. Cole*, and 9/11, both *American History: Connecting with the Past* (Brinkley, 2012), and *The Americans: Reconstruction to the 21st Century* (Danzer et al., 2007) included examples of terrorism by other groups including the Irish Republican Army (IRA) in northern Ireland, Jewish terrorism against the British in Palestine, and the South American group, Shining Path. Some of the textbooks also emphasized terrorist groups as radical Islamic or Muslim organizations, drawing a distinction between these groups and those who practice the Islamic faith. In *The American Vision* (Appleby et al., 2010), the textbook included

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statements from one of President George Bush's speeches, explaining, "Islam and Afghan people were not the enemy" (p. 1041). The textbook also included unlawful imprisonment court cases brought forth by Muslim prisoners at Guantanamo Bay, which included *Rasul v. Bush* and *Hamdan v. Rumsfeld* (p. 1049–1051). *History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals* (Goff et al., 2013), included Arab and Muslim racial profiling that took place after 9/11 and the Arab Spring. It was the only text to use the term *Arab-Americans* when it discussed the FBI's investigation of more than 400 hate crimes against Arab-Americans (p. 684–685).

Table 2. *Inclusion of Arabs, Muslims, Arab- and/or Muslim-Americans, and Islam in Textbooks*

	<b>History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals (Goff et al., 2013)</b>	<b>United States History: Reconstruction to the Present (Lapsansky-Werner et al., 2013)</b>	<b>American History: Connecting with the Past (Brinkley, 2012)</b>	<b>The American Vision (Appleby et al., 2010)</b>	<b>The Americans: Reconstruction to the 21st Century (Danzer et al., 2007)</b>
Arab- and/or Muslim Political Figures	-Saddam Hussein listed as Sunni Muslim	-Sirhan Sirhan, Palestinian	-Sirhan Sirhan, Palestinian	-Sirhan Sirhan, Arab nationalist	-Sirhan Sirhan, Palestinian
	Arab and Muslim leaders were included within the textbooks, post WWII, such as Gamal Abdel Nasser, Anwar Sadat, Hosni Mubarak, Muammar al-Gaddafi, Mohammed Mossadegh, Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, and Saddam Hussein. None were identified as Arabs or Muslims.				
Arab-American and/or Muslim-American Political Figures	Elijah Muhammed and Malcolm X were the only two Muslim-Americans to be mentioned and were included in all the textbooks.  Several Arab-Americans and their positive contributions were included, such as Ralph Nader and Candace Lightner, but their Arab heritage was not included.				
Arabs, Muslims, Islam, and Arab-	-Arab controlled Sudanese	-Included Palestinian suicide	-Osama bin Laden (p. 906–907).	-Taliban as Muslim fundamentalist	-Time of terrorism; seven of nine events

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and/or Muslim-Americans, 9/11 and Terrorism	government -Arab militias attach black Africans in Darfur  -Osama bin Laden's speech to "Muslims had a duty to kill Americans" (p. 674)  -9/11 terrorists as Arab Muslims	bombers -Osama bin Laden and Islamic fundamentalism	-Map of terrorism "Crisis in the Middle East" (p. 907)  -Rumors that President Obama was Muslim (p. 908)	group -Conflict between Sunnis and Shiites in Iraq  -Palestinian terrorism  -al-Qaeda's recruitment of Muslims  -Timeline "Global War on Terror, 2001–2007" (p. 1044–1045).	included Muslims or Arabs (p. 896–897).  -Palestinian terrorists at 1972 Olympics  -9/11 hijackers were Arab.
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### Conclusion

The analysis of the five textbooks demonstrates that publishers have included many ethnic groups, their cultural traditions, contributions and achievements, however, Arabs, Muslims, and Arab- and Muslim-Americans are still greatly ignored. Overall, Arabs and Muslims were limited to early contributions that assisted in European exploration of the New World, a topic that is likely to be discussed in a middle school U.S. history or world history course, but not in a high school course, which starts with Reconstruction. Even so, this is the only discussion of Arab and Muslim contributions. None of the texts included Arab- or Muslim-American immigrants or contributions by these groups. Arab- and Muslim-Americans were excluded from textbooks until post-WWII chapters that dealt with conflict within the Arab or Muslim world, and emphasized the many stereotypes that already exist about these groups. Only one text specifically mentioned Arab-Americans, comparing Arab-American stereotyping and discrimination in the aftermath of 9/11, to anti-Japanese sentiments after the attacks on Pearl Harbor (Goff et al., 2013).

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The analysis of the five textbooks demonstrate that Arab- and Muslim-Americans are still not included appropriately within textbooks. Basic elements of Arab- and Muslim-American multicultural education, such as cultural capital, contributions and achievements continue to be ignored. Famous Arab-Americans, even when included in texts are not identified as Arab-American. Muslim-Americans, their stories and achievements are overlooked and ignored, for example, those of African-American Muslim slaves or Muslim-Americans after 9/11. There was little attempt to acknowledge the way Arab- and/or Muslim-Americans are a part of America, using these groups' contributions and achievements to break down stereotypes and construct an accurate portrayal that fosters equity, core elements of multicultural education, particularly through social justice and advocacy. The lack of inclusion of Arabs, Muslims and Arab-/Muslim-Americans within textbooks contributes to the negative stereotyping and bias that exist.

Multicultural social studies education requires teachers to teach about Islam, not only the basic beliefs, but also the discussion of the multiple views within Islam from ultra conservatives to liberals, from religious beliefs to Sharia law, and the differences in the practice of Islam in Iran to Saudi Arabia and Bosnia and Indonesia. This will require that teachers dismantle the negative stereotypes and biases that students may already possess to then rebuild and implement Arab- and/or Muslim-American studies in a way that emphasizes equity. Through multicultural education, teachers can include the narratives of Arab Christians and Muslims across the Arab world, particularly within the context of the Arab-Israeli conflict, changing it from a strictly Muslim and Jewish struggle to one that includes Christians, Muslims and Jews. Teachers can and should utilize resources and activities, which allow students to challenge biases towards Arabs, Muslims, and Arab- and/or Muslim-Americans through real world application (for additional teaching resources refer to Eraqi, 2015). This empowers students towards social action and justice, a key aspect of multicultural education. While these are only two examples, they provide the foundation for teachers to revamp the current curriculum towards a more pure form of social justice. Social studies education gives a voice to minorities, like Arab- and Muslim-Americans, by recognizing their histories and cultural capital. Only then, will the social studies have lived up to its true purpose as a subject that studies the interaction, behavior and culture of all human beings.

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