

Copyright

by

Shan Mohammed Siddiqui

2019

**The Thesis Committee for Shan Mohammed Siddiqui
certifies that this is the approved version of the following thesis:**

**Perceived Islamophobia and
Life Satisfaction among Muslim Americans**

**APPROVED BY
SUPERVISING COMMITTEE:**

Bridget J. Goosby, Supervisor

Néstor P. Rodríguez

**Perceived Islamophobia and
Life Satisfaction among Muslim Americans**

by

Shan Mohammed Siddiqui

Thesis

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Master of Arts

The University of Texas at Austin

December 2019

Dedication

I dedicate this project to members of the Muslim American community, who, in the face of adversity, have continued to show an extraordinary amount of resilience. You all have given me the strength and motivation to carry out this work, and for that, I am grateful.

Acknowledgements

I thank God for continuing to watch over me, inspiring me to do great things, and making this endeavor possible. I am also grateful for the support of my supervisor, Dr. Bridget Goosby and thesis reader, Dr. Néstor Rodríguez. Thank you for validating the importance of my work, providing constructive feedback, and guiding me throughout this process. I owe special thanks to three members of my doctoral cohort: Amy, Abraham, and Dom. Your friendship, support, and presence made it easier for me during hard times in our program. Finally, I would like to acknowledge my family for always being there for me, encouraging me, and checking in with me throughout graduate school. I am who I am because of you.

Abstract

Perceived Islamophobia and Life Satisfaction among Muslim Americans

Shan Mohammed Siddiqui, M.A.

The University of Texas at Austin, 2019

Supervisor: Bridget J. Goosby

Over 3.4 million Muslims live in the United States, and in recent years, they have been subjected to a sharp spike in hate crimes, heightened government surveillance, and legislation that bans travel from Muslim-majority countries. These incidents are cases of Islamophobia, an irrational fear and/or hatred of Muslims. Although prior studies have shown that exposure to racial discrimination negatively impacts health and well-being, research on the effects of religious discrimination against Muslims has been limited. Using data from Pew Research Center's 2017 Survey of Muslim Americans, this thesis examines the relationship between experiences with Islamophobia and life/country satisfaction among Muslim Americans. I find that being personally discriminated against due to one's faith is not related to life satisfaction. Perceiving vicarious Islamophobia, however, is strongly associated with poorer life *and* country satisfaction. Implications for future research on Muslim Americans are discussed.

Table of Contents

List of Tables	ix
List of Figures	x
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1 Statement of the Problem.....	1
1.2 Population of Interest.....	1
1.3 Significance of the Study.....	2
1.4 Broader impacts	2
1.5 Research Objectives.....	3
Chapter 2: Background	4
2.1 Introduction.....	4
2.2 Literature Review	4
2.3 Theoretical Framework.....	8
Chapter 3: Methods.....	11
3.1 Data.....	11
3.2 Measures	12
Dependent Variables.....	12
Independent Variables	12
Demographic Variables	13
3.3 Statistical Analysis.....	13
Chapter 4: Results	15
4.1 Descriptive Analysis	15
4.2 Predicting Life Satisfaction	20

4.3 Predicting Country Satisfaction	24
Chapter 5: Discussion	28
5.1 Conclusions.....	28
5.2 Limitations	30
5.3 Future Research Agenda.....	31
References.....	32

List of Tables

Table 1:	Descriptive Statistics.....	15
Table 2:	Odds Ratios from Logistic Regressions Predicting Life Satisfaction.....	21
Table 3:	Odds Ratios from Logistic Regressions Predicting Country Satisfaction	25

List of Figures

Figure 1:	Life and Country Satisfaction by Race	18
Figure 2:	Life and Country Satisfaction by Vicarious Discrimination.....	19
Figure 3:	Vicarious Discrimination by Race	20

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Over 3.4 million Muslims live in the United States, and in recent years, they have been subjected to a sharp spike in hate crimes, heightened government surveillance, and legislation that bans travel from Muslim-majority countries (Samari 2016). These incidents are cases of Islamophobia, which is the fear and/or hatred of Muslims and involves practices that discriminate against this group (Runnymede Trust 1997; Considine 2017). Prior research has shown that exposure to racial discrimination adversely affects various indicators of mental health and subjective well-being, including life satisfaction (Verkuyten 2008). However, despite the rise in fear and hostility toward Muslims, insufficient research has examined how religious discrimination affects the well-being of this highly stigmatized social group. This thesis aims to add to the discrimination literature by examining the associations between exposure to Islamophobia and life satisfaction among Muslim Americans, as well as how such associations differ by race.

1.2 Population of Interest

Muslim Americans make up a little more than 1% of the total U.S. population (Pew Research Center 2018). Although the current size of this group is relatively small, projections suggest that the Muslim American population will grow much faster than other religious minorities and that by 2040, Muslims will become the country's second-largest religious group after Christians (Pew Research Center 2018).

Aside from being an underrepresented population in the discrimination literature, Muslim Americans are interesting to study because they make up a significantly diverse group of people – racially, ethnically, geographically, and socioeconomically. Approximately 41% describe themselves as White, 28% as Asian, 20% as Black, 8% as Hispanic, and 3% as other or mixed race (Pew Research Center 2017). Many jobs have

drawn Muslims to the United States from both the working and middle class, and Muslims reside in various areas across the country. All of these factors contribute to the diversity of this population (Read 2008).

Although Muslim Americans are becoming increasingly visible, members of this community still face acts of discrimination due to their faith. In 2015, for example, 257 incidents of anti-Muslim hate crimes were reported, a 67% increase from the previous year (Federal Bureau of Investigation 2016). With anti-Muslim sentiment and violence on the rise in the United States, it has become increasingly important to study this population and better understand how Islamophobia impacts Muslim Americans' overall well-being.

1.3 Significance of the Study

The significance of this study involves advancing knowledge about Muslim Americans' experiences with discrimination and how these experiences may impact their life satisfaction. This advancement is important because Muslim Americans make up a heavily understudied population, despite being the group most likely to report experiences with faith-based discrimination, compared to other religious groups (Mogahed and Mahmood 2019). Furthermore, though research on life satisfaction among minority groups has grown over the years, it is still not fully understood how social phenomena, such as Islamophobia, impact the overall well-being of this community. Accordingly, this thesis will help researchers better understand the relationship between discrimination and life satisfaction among Muslim Americans and illuminate how findings from research on racial and ethnic minorities map on to the experiences of this highly stigmatized social group.

1.4 Broader Impacts

The broader impacts of this research include enhancing our understanding of the effects of Islamophobia, an issue that has become increasingly relevant over the past few years. Examining how Islamophobia affects Muslim Americans is vital because discrimination

has consequences for targeted groups, and these consequences have serious implications for mental health and well-being. Furthermore, the community-related and mental health needs of Muslim Americans may parallel those of other disadvantaged groups. This work, as a result, will be useful in conveying information about Muslim Americans that may also apply to other marginalized communities who are impacted by discrimination in the United States.

1.5 Research Objectives

This thesis addresses key gaps in the discrimination literature by focusing on Muslim Americans' experiences with Islamophobia through an empirical study, using a unique and nationally representative data set with a diverse population of Muslim Americans. The research questions guiding this study are:

- 1) Is experiencing Islamophobia (i.e. private discrimination) associated with the life satisfaction and country satisfaction of Muslim Americans?
- 2) Is perceiving that other Muslim Americans experience Islamophobia (i.e. vicarious discrimination) associated with the life satisfaction and country satisfaction of Muslim Americans?
- 3) Are there racial differences in the association between perceived Islamophobia and life/country satisfaction?

The next chapter (Chapter 2) provides an in-depth literature review of discrimination against Muslim Americans. Chapter 3 discusses the methods used to carry out the present study on Muslim Americans. In Chapter 4, I summarize the major findings. Finally, in Chapter 5, I give my conclusions, discuss limitations of the study, and suggest directions for future research.

Chapter 2: Background

2.1 Introduction

Islamophobia has been described as a system that is squarely rooted in, tied to, and informed by misrepresentations and stereotypes of Muslims (Beydoun 2018). The presumption that Islam is inherently violent, foreign, and unassimilable is one that is driven by the belief that expressions of Muslim identity are linked to a propensity for terrorism (Beydoun 2017). In *American Islamophobia: Understanding the Roots and Rise of Fear*, Beydoun (2018) argues that a complex and multidimensional form of bigotry requires an equally complex and multidimensional conceptualization, consisting of private, structural, and dialectical forms of Islamophobia. For the purpose of this study, the effects of private Islamophobia on Muslim Americans' life satisfaction are examined.

Private Islamophobia is defined as the fear, suspicion, and/or violent targeting of Muslims by actors acting in a capacity not directly tied to the state (Beydoun 2018). In 2015, 257 incidents of anti-Muslim hate crimes were reported, a 67% increase from the previous year (Federal Bureau of Investigation 2016). Since 2015, Islamophobia has been on the rise, and studying the effects of this social phenomenon on Muslim Americans has become increasingly important. The following section discusses research on the mental health effects of Islamophobia, as well as prior studies that have examined similar forms of discrimination and their consequences on affected communities.

2.2 Literature Review

Research on the effects of discrimination on minority groups' mental health and well-being has grown over the past few decades. Discrimination refers to the inequitable, negative, or harmful treatment of people, which can be manifested in many ways and serve as a source of stress for targeted groups (Pascoe and Richman 2009). Since this treatment can be subtle and often difficult to observe, many researchers interested in discrimination

rely on self-report measures that examine respondents' perceptions of unfair treatment (Paradies 2006). Although these perceptions are subjective, perceived discrimination, in many regards, is a conservative measure because it only captures instances of unequal treatment that individuals are aware of and can identify. This measure does not take into account external factors that people are unable to recognize, which may also have an impact on their mental health and overall well-being. Prior research, for example, has shown that the health profiles of African Americans, relative to other groups, are still worse, even after accounting for interpersonal experiences with discrimination (Lewis, Cogburn, and Williams 2015). What this finding suggests is that there are structural factors at play that contribute to poor health, and even though people may not think that they are experiencing discrimination, the fact that they are still experiencing negative outcomes can be costly for their health and well-being.

Vicarious discrimination is another mechanism through which health and well-being can be jeopardized. Vicarious discrimination refers to indirect forms of unequal treatment, that is hearing about or seeing another persons' experience of discrimination (Lewis, Cogburn, and Williams 2015). Although research on the effects of discrimination has mainly focused on the individual's direct experiences of unequal treatment, a growing body of evidence suggests that even witnessing discrimination is associated with negative mental health outcomes (Priest et al. 2017; Rivers and Noret 2013). One study, for example, used dyadic data analyses to examine whether one person's experience of discrimination has psychological effects on their partner and relationship (Wofford, Defever, and Chopik 2017). The authors found that both actor and partner discrimination were associated with poorer health, greater depression, and greater relationship strain. These findings illustrate the importance of examining Muslim Americans' personal and vicarious experiences with unequal treatment.

Although Muslims have increasingly become targets of discrimination in the United States, research on this population has been limited (Amer and Bagasra 2013). Two significant reasons for this gap in the literature involve participant recruitment/retention and sampling methods (Amer and Bagasra 2013). Various studies, for example, reported difficulties obtaining enough Muslim participants, which ended up resulting in small sample sizes or affected the researchers' abilities to complete the investigations as planned (Rippy and Newman 2008; Rousseau and Jamil 2010). Multiple reasons have been cited to explain Muslim Americans' unwillingness to participate. One reason was that Muslim Americans may be embarrassed or offended to respond to questions about mental health, due to the cultural stigma surrounding this issue (Abu Raiya et al. 2007; Aloud and Rathur 2009). A second reason was that Muslim Americans may have fear, suspicion, or mistrust of the researchers' motivations for carrying out their studies (Rousseau and Jamil 2010). Suspicion of the researchers' motives may have risen since the attacks on the World Trade Center in 2001, with Muslims fearing that psychological measures are a form of profiling or surveillance (Baker 2007). A third reason was that due to the negative stereotypes and dehumanizing rhetoric against Muslims in mainstream media, Muslim Americans have become sensitive about their status and may decline participation, due to concerns that data collected may further tarnish their image and reputations (Amer and Bagasra 2013). One study, for example, found that participants were unwilling or hesitant to admit negative aspects related to their religious experience, which the authors attributed to a desire to defend the reputation of their faith (Abu Raiya et al. 2007).

With respect to sampling methods, a challenge to obtaining an ethnically and religiously representative sample of Muslim Americans has been the infeasibility of probability sampling (Amer and Bagasra 2013). This difficulty, in part, is due to the fact that religious affiliation is often excluded from many public demographic surveys, or if it

is included, the “Muslim” category is frequently overlooked. As a result, some studies have relied on purposive or convenience sampling, some of which are described below.

One study investigated the relationship between perceived religious discrimination and two different mental health outcomes (paranoia and anxiety) among Muslim Americans (Rippy and Newman 2006). The researchers used convenience sampling to voluntarily recruit participants from the Muslim community in Oklahoma ($n = 152$). They found a significant relationship between perceived religious discrimination and paranoia, but not with perceived religious discrimination and anxiety. The results suggested that anti-Muslim discrimination is associated with increased vigilance and suspicion. The authors, however, acknowledged the need for more research to replicate and support these findings.

Another study examined perceived discrimination and spirituality in predicting depression among Muslims in the United States (Hodge, Zidan, and Husain 2016). The researchers implemented a purposeful snowball strategy to obtain a diverse sample of Muslim participants ($n = 269$). They found that Muslims who reported being called offensive names were more likely to report clinically significant levels of depressive symptoms, compared to those who were not called offensive names. They also found that spirituality was a protective factor. Those who performed daily prayers had a lower likelihood of reporting elevated levels of depressive symptoms. The findings of this study highlighted the link between anti-Muslim discrimination and mental health and emphasized the need for more research to confirm similar results with other samples of Muslim Americans.

Since insufficient research has examined the impact of Islamophobia on Muslim Americans, it is helpful to look at similar systems of oppression and how they affect other marginalized communities. In a meta-analysis that examined racism as a determinant of health, researchers found that racial discrimination was linked to poorer mental health

outcomes, including depression, anxiety, and psychological distress, for multiple racial and ethnic groups (Paradies et al. 2015). It should be noted, however, that the association between racism and negative mental health outcomes was significantly stronger for Asian and Latino participants, compared to their African American counterparts (Paradies et al. 2015). Since various racial and ethnic groups have responded differently to experiences with discrimination, it is important to examine if and how the effects of Islamophobia on Muslim Americans' life satisfaction differ by race as well. Addressing the implications of Islamophobia through a general measure of well-being (e.g., life satisfaction) can provide important insight into the consequences of discrimination against targeted populations. Life satisfaction is also correlated with other measures of physical and mental health (Palmore and Luikart 1972). For these reasons, I use this variable as my outcome of interest.

Life satisfaction is a holistic evaluation of a person's own life and is routinely used as a measure of subjective well-being in many studies (Amati et al. 2018). This outcome can be used as a good indicator of wellness and directly reflects one's quality of life (Shin and Johnson 1978). Since research on the effects of discrimination on mental health has focused on clinical outcomes (e.g., depression), as opposed to indicators of subjective well-being, such as life satisfaction, this study will help shed light onto an important aspect of mental health that often gets overlooked and is relevant to other measures of health and well-being. The following section discusses the theoretical framework employed in this study as well as the hypotheses that were tested.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

For this thesis, I combine elements of social stress theory with the process of racialization to explain how Islamophobia impacts the life satisfaction of Muslim Americans and how certain Muslims may be affected more than others, due to how they

are racialized in the U.S. Social stress theory provides a useful theoretical lens to explain mental health disparities and has become one of the most influential theories guiding sociological research in this area (Aneshensel, Rutter, and Lachenbruch 1991; Aneshensel and Avison 2015). This framework introduced the field to the concept of chronic stressors and the idea that stressors are not always isolated, independent incidents, but can be interrelated and dependent upon people's status in society (Pearlin et al. 1981). Social stress theory illustrates that within society, stressors, such as life events and chronic triggers, can have a direct, adverse impact on mental health, and the effects of these stressors are stronger for some people than others (Pearlin et al. 1981). To understand how this happens, it is helpful to discuss the process of racialization.

Racialization is a process by which people are identified and labelled through racial differentiation, skin color, and also through perceived cultural features (Omi and Winant 1994). While Muslims are not a "race," they are examined through a racial process that is demarcated by cultural markers (e.g., religious symbols), physical features (e.g., phenotype or skin color), and racial underpinnings (Considine 2017). Even if certain cultural markers of Islam are absent, such as having a Muslim name or wearing a headscarf, certain people who are not Muslim may still be perceived as such because of how Muslims are racialized (Garner and Selod 2015). What this suggests is that race has shaped experiences with Islamophobia and created a place on the social hierarchy that has positioned various Muslims in different ways.

For these reasons, this thesis examines the unique interaction (both conceptually and statistically) of perceiving Islamophobia *and* identifying as a certain race on both satisfaction with one's life and satisfaction with the country. Since Muslim Americans make up a racially diverse population, their experiences with discrimination intersect in unique ways because race can correlate independently with life/country satisfaction and

may serve as a possible moderator in the relationship between experiences with Islamophobia and life/country satisfaction as well.

It is important to note that in addition to having racial diversity within the population, Muslim Americans also consist of many individuals who identify as immigrants. Prior studies that have examined the effects of discrimination on the well-being of minority groups, unfortunately, have not always distinguished between general life satisfaction and satisfaction with the country of settlement (Verkuyten 2008). For a group that consists of many people with immigrant backgrounds, like Muslim Americans, this distinction is important to make. Both general life satisfaction and satisfaction with the country are meaningful indicators of subjective well-being for a population like this one. This study, as a result, examines the effects of perceived Islamophobia on these two different outcomes. Guided by Social Stress Theory, the process of racialization, and building upon findings from previous research, I hypothesize that:

1) Experiencing Islamophobia (i.e. private discrimination) is associated with lower life satisfaction and country satisfaction.

2) Perceiving that other Muslim Americans experience Islamophobia (i.e. vicarious discrimination) is associated with lower life satisfaction and country satisfaction.

3) Experiencing Islamophobia *and* identifying as Black is associated with lower life satisfaction and country satisfaction.

The next chapter (Chapter 3) discusses the methods used to test these hypotheses and carry out the present study on Muslim Americans.

Chapter 3: Methods

3.1 Data

For this study, data were drawn from Pew Research Center's 2017 Study of Muslim Americans. This survey is unique and an ideal tool to use for this investigation because it contains a representative sample of 1,001 Muslim American adults, was recently conducted, and asks about a wide variety of topics, including social values, religious identity, political opinions, and experiences with discrimination. Although many Muslims living in the United States speak English as their first language, the survey was also administered in Arabic, Persian, and Urdu to account for the fact that many Muslims come from immigrant backgrounds and may feel more comfortable communicating with the interviewer in a language other than English. The interviews were conducted via telephone between January 23rd, 2017 and May 2nd, 2017.

The foundation of this survey was a sampling design where every residential phone number in the United States had a known probability of being selected for the study (Pew Research Center 2017). In random-digit dial (RDD) surveys of the U.S. population, only about 1% of respondents identify as Muslim in response to a question about their faith (Pew Research Center 2017). If researchers relied exclusively on national RDD sampling techniques, they would have to screen and interview roughly 100,000 people to end up with a sample of just 1,000 Muslims. Since this is not a practical approach, researchers used existing data on Muslim Americans living in the United States (and on telephone users more generally) to design a sampling plan that reached and interviewed a nationally representative sample of Muslim Americans more efficiently (Pew Research Center 2017).

To do this, the researchers used a number of statistical techniques for surveying rare populations and getting accurate national estimates (Pew Research Center 2017). First, they over-sampled parts of the country where many Muslims live and under-sampled parts of

the country where fewer Muslims live. The researchers also over-sampled telephone numbers that were more likely to be servicing Muslim households. While these approaches could leave the researchers with a biased sample skewed toward Muslims who live in areas with more Muslims, it is important to note that the researchers used random sampling in other parts of the country to get a diverse group of participants and used weighting to address bias that can arise from oversampling (Pew Research Center 2017).

Since the focus of this thesis was to examine the effects of perceived Islamophobia on life satisfaction among Muslim Americans, analyses were limited to respondents who answered questions about their experiences with religious discrimination and subjective well-being. The final analytic sample consisted of 928 respondents, with 73 (out of the 1,001) cases lost, due to missing values on independent variables in the models. The findings are reported as is. However, I conducted a sensitivity test using multiple imputation, which showed that the results did not substantively change. The various measures in this study are described below.

3.2 Measures

Dependent Variables

The main dependent variable of this study was life satisfaction. This outcome was assessed with the following question: Overall, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in your life today? Participants could respond with: dissatisfied (coded as “0”), satisfied (coded as “1”), or state that they did not know/refuse to respond.

A second dependent variable that was examined was satisfaction with the way things are going in the United States. This outcome was assessed by asking: Overall, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today? Participants could respond with: dissatisfied (coded as “0”), satisfied (coded as “1”), or state that they did not know/refuse to respond.

Independent Variables

The main independent variables were personal experiences with religious discrimination. These variables were assessed with the following questions: 1) In the past twelve months, have you been called offensive names because you are a Muslim, or not? 2) In the past twelve months, have you been physically threatened or attacked because you are a Muslim, or not? 3) In the past twelve months, have people acted as if they are suspicious of you because you are a Muslim, or not? Participants could respond with: no, has not happened (coded as “0”), yes, has happened (coded as “1”), or refuse to respond.

Another important independent variable was vicarious experiences with religious discrimination. This variable was assessed by asking: Just your impression, in the United States today, is there a lot of discrimination against Muslims? Participants could respond with: yes, there is a lot of discrimination (coded as “0”), no, not a lot of discrimination (coded as “1”), or refuse to respond.

To test how race moderates the relationship between Islamophobia and life/country satisfaction, an interaction term was also included in the models.

Socioeconomic and Demographic Variables

The socioeconomic and demographic variables in this study were: age (in years), gender (male or female), race (non-Hispanic White, non-Hispanic Black, non-Hispanic Asian, Hispanic, or other), educational attainment (high school or less, some college, associate’s degree, bachelor’s degree, or advanced degree), nativity (U.S. born or foreign born), employment status (full-time, part-time, or unemployed), self-rated financial situation (excellent, good, fair, or poor) and religious importance (very important, somewhat important, or not too/at all important). Due to a very small number of participants identifying as Hispanic only, this classification was combined with the “other race” category.

3.3 Statistical Analysis

Stata/SE 15 was used to analyze data from Pew Research Center's 2017 Survey of Muslim Americans. The final sample was weighted to ensure proper representativeness before conducting any analysis.

A descriptive analysis examining different socioeconomic and demographic factors were reported in Table 1. Next, bivariate analyses examining life and country satisfaction by different variables were reported in Figures 1 and 2. Finally, to test the effect of perceived Islamophobia on the odds of being satisfied with one's life and the odds of being satisfied with the country, a series of binomial logistic regressions were estimated, with and without interaction terms, in Tables 2 and 3. These were calculated using the following general equation:

$$\text{logit}(p) = \log(p/(1-p)) = \beta_0 + \beta_1*x_1 + \dots + \beta_k*x_k$$

I let "y" be the binary outcome variable, indicating dissatisfaction (coded as "0") or satisfaction (coded as "1") and let "p" be the probability of y to be 1. I let x_1, \dots, x_k be a set of predictor variables. The logistic regression of y on x_1, \dots, x_k then estimated parameter values for $\beta_0, \beta_1, \dots, \beta_k$. The results are described below.

Chapter 4: Results

4.1 Descriptive Analysis

Table 1 shows the distributions of demographics, socioeconomic characteristics, personal and vicarious experiences with religious discrimination, life satisfaction, and country satisfaction, using Pew Research Center's 2017 Survey of Muslim Americans.

Table 1 - Descriptive Statistics

<u>Variables</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>% of sample</u>
Age (in years)		
18 to 29	314	31.37
30 to 44	310	30.97
45 to 64	290	28.96
65 or older	79	7.90
Gender		
Male	616	61.54
Female	385	38.46
Race		
White, non-Hispanic	349	34.87
Black, non-Hispanic	208	20.78
Asian, non-Hispanic	344	34.37
Hispanic	37	3.70
Other	63	6.29
Education		
High school or less	252	25.28
Some college	145	14.54
Associate's degree	79	7.92
Bachelor's degree	312	31.29
Advanced degree	209	20.96
Nativity		
Native born	356	35.56
Foreign born	645	64.44
Employment Status		
Full-time	500	50.97
Part-time	146	14.88
Unemployed	335	34.15

Table 1 (continued)

Financial Situation		
Excellent	101	10.21
Good	373	37.71
Fair	359	36.30
Poor	156	15.77
Importance of Religion in Life		
Very important	673	67.50
Somewhat important	226	22.67
Not too/at all important	98	9.83
Just your impression, in the United States today, Is there a lot of discrimination against Muslims?		
Yes, there is a lot	763	78.02
No, there is not a lot	215	21.98
Have you been called offensive names because you are a Muslim, or not?		
Yes, has happened	210	21.00
No, has not happened	790	79.00
Have you been physically threatened or attacked because you are a Muslim, or not?		
Yes, has happened	48	4.80
No, has not happened	953	95.20
Have people acted as if they are suspicious of you because you are a Muslim, or not?		
Yes, has happened.	281	28.30
No, has not happened.	712	71.70
Overall, are you satisfied with the way things are going in your life today?		
Satisfied	796	79.52
Dissatisfied/Don't know	205	20.48
Overall, are you satisfied with the way things are going in this country today?		
Satisfied	251	25.07
Dissatisfied/Don't know	750	74.92

Table 1 shows that over half of the respondents (62.34%) fell between 18 and 44 years of age. More than half of the sample (61.54%) also identified as male. The sample

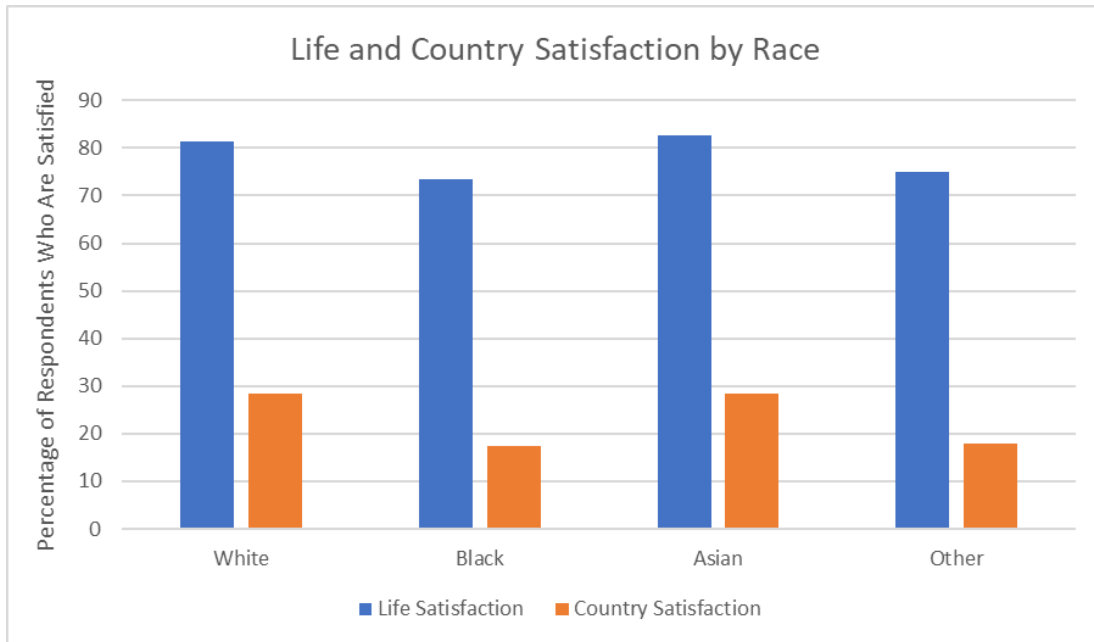
had a racially diverse makeup, with 34.87% identifying as White, non-Hispanic, 34.47% identifying as Asian, non-Hispanic, 20.78% identifying as Black, non-Hispanic, 3.70% identifying as Hispanic, and 6.29% identifying as some other race. Over half of the respondents (52.25%) had at least a bachelor's degree. The majority of the sample (64.44%) was also born outside of the United States. With respect to employment status, a little over half of the sample (50.97%) held a full-time job, and 34.15% of the sample was unemployed. The respondents' personal financial situations varied widely. 10.21% had an excellent financial situation, 37.71% had a good financial situation, 36.30% had a fair financial situation, and 15.77% had a poor financial situation. The majority of the sample (67.50%) viewed religion as being a very important part of their life.

When asked if there is a lot of discrimination against Muslims in the United States today, 78.02% of respondents said, "Yes, there is a lot." However, only 21% of the sample reported personally being called offensive names because of their faith, 4.8% reported being physically threatened or attacked because of their Muslim identity, and 28.3% reported that due to being Muslim, other people acted as if they were suspicious of them.

With respect to life and country satisfaction, the majority of the sample (79.52%) reported being satisfied with the way things are going in their lives. Only 25.07%, however, reported being satisfied with how things are currently going in the United States.

Figure 1 shows the percentage of respondents who are satisfied with their lives and with the country, stratified by race. A description of the figure is given below.

Figure 1 – Life and Country Satisfaction by Race

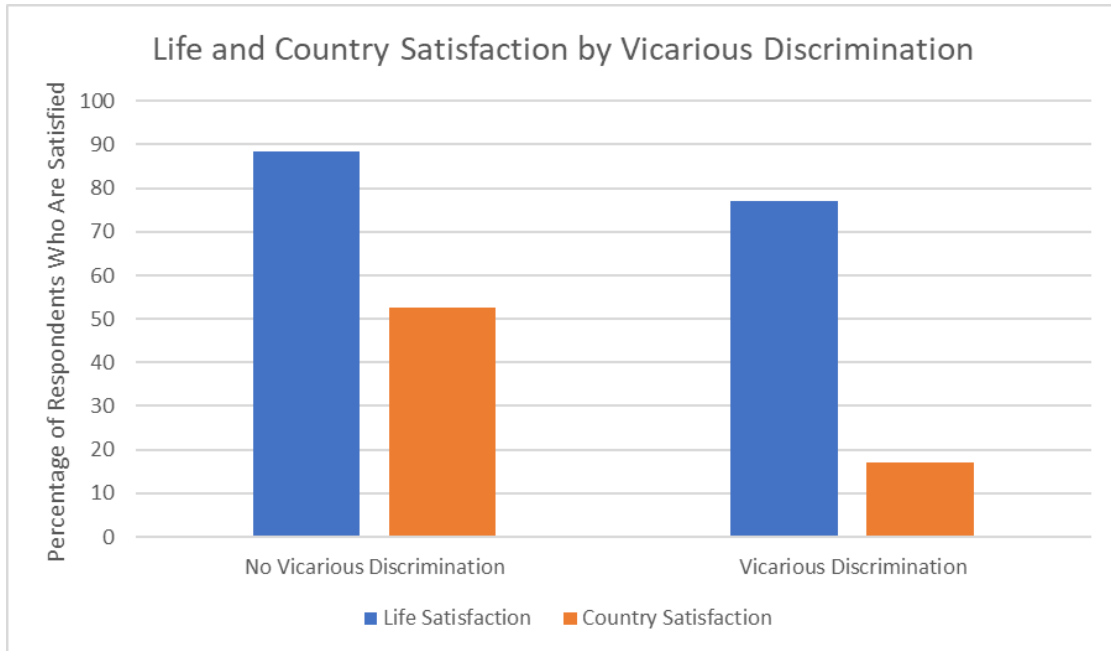


As shown in Figure 1, the percentage of respondents who reported being satisfied with their lives (79.52%) is much higher (overall) than the percentage of respondents who were satisfied with the country (25.07%). This difference is statistically significant ($p < 0.01$). Racial differences within both of these outcomes, however, were small and non-significant. A description of the results is included below.

When examining life satisfaction alone, 82.56% of Asian respondents reported being satisfied with their lives, compared to 73.56% of Black respondents. When examining country satisfaction alone, 28.49% of Asian respondents and 28.37% of White respondents reported satisfaction with how things are going in the United States, compared to 17.31% of Black respondents.

The following figure (Figure 2) illustrates the percentage of respondents satisfied with their lives and with the country, stratified by experiences with vicarious discrimination. The results are described below.

Figure 2 – Life and Country Satisfaction by Vicarious Discrimination

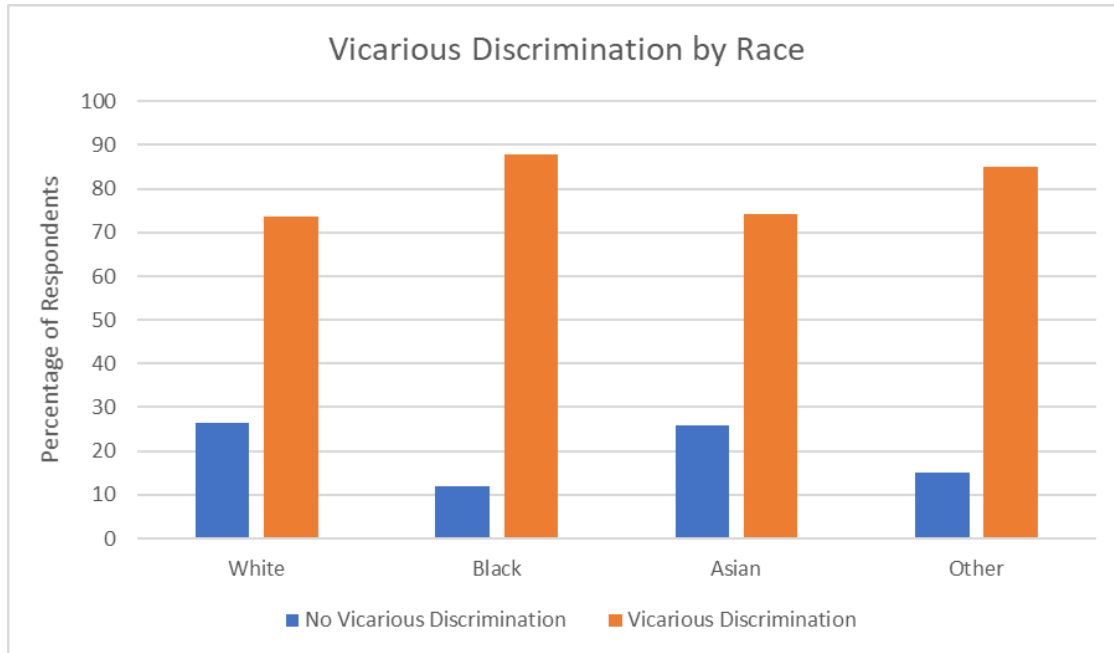


As shown in Figure 2, the percentage of respondents who are satisfied with their lives is higher for respondents who do not experience vicarious discrimination (88.37%), versus those who *do* believe that there is a lot of discrimination against Muslims in the United States (77.06%). This difference, however, is not statistically significant.

With respect to country satisfaction, the percentage of respondents who are satisfied with how things are going in the United States is higher for respondents who do not experience vicarious discrimination (52.56%), versus those who do (17.04%). This difference *is* statistically significant ($p < 0.01$). Due to this finding, I also examined vicarious discrimination across racial categories.

The following figure (Figure 3) illustrates the percentage of respondents who do (and do not) report experiences with vicarious discrimination, stratified by race. The results are described below.

Figure 3 – Vicarious Discrimination by Race



As shown in Figure 3, the majority of the respondents across racial categories perceive that there is a lot of discrimination against Muslims in the United States. This includes 73.67% of White respondents, 87.98% of Black respondents, 74.1% of Asian respondents, and 85% of other race respondents. When looking at these percentages, however, the differences across racial categories are not statistically significant.

I also examined the percentage of respondents who did not perceive vicarious discrimination across racial categories. This includes 26.33% of White respondents, 12.02% of Black respondents, 25.9% of Asian respondents, and 15% of other race respondents. These differences are not statistically significant either.

4.2 Predicting Life Satisfaction

Table 2 shows the odds ratios from the logistic regression models predicting life satisfaction, both with and without interaction terms. The results are described below.

Table 2 – Odds Ratios from Logistic Regressions Predicting Life Satisfaction

PREDICTORS OF LIFE SATISFACTION	Model 1	Model 2
Age	0.9736 (0.0291)	0.9793 (0.0293)
Male	0.6125** (0.1185)	0.6206** (0.1214)
Associate's degree	0.9031 (0.2325)	0.9186 (0.2379)
Bachelor's degree	0.6163* (0.1551)	0.6325* (0.1602)
Advanced degree	0.6379 (0.1797)	0.6420 (0.1818)
Foreign-born	0.7904 (0.1623)	0.7872 (0.1628)
Part-time employment	1.097 (0.3028)	1.116 (0.3098)
Unemployed	0.6450** (0.1304)	0.6311** (0.1288)
Good financial situation	0.6951 (0.2632)	0.6778 (0.2575)
Fair financial situation	0.4396** (0.1649)	0.4197** (0.1583)
Poor financial situation	0.1538*** (0.0602)	0.1461*** (0.0577)
Religion as somewhat important	1.012 (0.2197)	0.9946 (0.2173)
Religion as not very important	0.9968 (0.3060)	0.9529 (0.2966)
Black	0.7531 (0.1841)	0.1546*** (0.1055)
Asian	1.276 (0.2843)	0.3629* (0.2100)
Other race	0.7893 (0.2487)	1.054 (1.239)
Personally insulted due to faith	0.9011 (0.2164)	0.9325 (0.2247)
Personally attacked due to faith	0.7171 (0.2687)	0.7212 (0.2718)
Personally viewed as suspicious due to faith	0.8082 (0.1686)	0.8176 (0.1715)
Vicarious discrimination	0.4583*** (0.1166)	0.1802*** (0.0902)
Black##Vicarious discrimination		6.092** (4.393)
Asian##Vicarious discrimination		4.462** (2.796)
Other race##Vicarious discrimination		0.7546 (0.9175)
Constant	53.41*** (29.13)	122.3*** (82.64)
Observations	928	928

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Model 1 in Table 2 predicts life satisfaction among Muslim Americans without any interaction terms. The results are presented as odds ratios, which are exponentiated coefficients from logistic regressions and tell us how much the odds of being satisfied with one's life differ as a given independent variable increases by one unit, holding all other variables constant. Below, I report relationships that are statistically significant, as well as results involving my main independent variables. As shown in Model 1, there is a significant negative relationship between identifying as male and being satisfied with one's life. The odds of being satisfied with one's life for male respondents are 0.6215 lower than the odds of being satisfied with one's life for female respondents ($p < 0.05$). There is a significant negative relationship between having a bachelor's degree and being satisfied with one's life. The odds of being satisfied with one's life for respondents with a bachelor's degree are 0.6163 lower than the odds of being satisfied with one's life for people who have a high school diploma or less ($p < 0.10$). There is a significant negative relationship between being unemployed and being satisfied with one's life. The odds of being satisfied with one's life for respondents who are unemployed are 0.6450 lower than the odds of being satisfied with one's life for respondents who have a full-time job. There is a significant negative relationship between having a poor financial situation and being satisfied with one's life. The odds of being satisfied with one's life for respondents who have a poor financial situation are 0.1538 lower than the odds of being satisfied with one's life for respondents who have an excellent financial situation.

Contrary to what I had expected, my results did not reveal substantial racial differences in life satisfaction. I did not find any significant associations in Model 1 (negative or positive) between race and being satisfied with one's life.

When examining the relationships between direct, personal experiences with Islamophobia and life satisfaction, I did not find any significant associations either. In

Model 1, neither being personally insulted, physically attacked, nor viewed as suspicious due to one's faith were related to life satisfaction. These results do not suggest that other forms of unequal treatment are unimportant for examining subjective well-being. What they do suggest, however, is that these particular discrimination variables were not relevant to explaining variation in life satisfaction for this group.

Interestingly, however, when examining *vicarious* experiences with Islamophobia, there was a significant negative relationship between having a general impression that there is a lot of discrimination against Muslim Americans and being satisfied with one's life. The odds of being satisfied with one's life for respondents who experienced vicarious discrimination are 0.4581 lower than the odds of being satisfied with one's life for respondents who did not ($p < 0.01$). What this suggests is that there is something about believing that people in one's larger religious community are being treated unfairly that is strongly associated with worse subjective well-being.

Since vicarious discrimination was an important predictor of life satisfaction in Model 1, I interacted this variable with race in Model 2 and found multiple significant relationships. First, the odds of being satisfied with one's life are 6.092 higher for respondents who experienced vicarious discrimination and identify as Black ($p < 0.05$). Breaking down the composition of Black Muslims by nativity status reveals that the majority of Black respondents (56.25%) identify as native-born. Knowing this background information is relevant because for native-born Black Muslims, sharing a collective identity may be an important factor for how they navigate and/or respond to experiences with discrimination in their community. Prior research, for example, has shown that having a positive collective identification with one's social group and having outlets to process shared experiences have been associated with enhanced subjective well-being (Riggs et

al. 2015). This may help explain why experiencing vicarious discrimination and identifying as Black is associated with higher life satisfaction.

A second relationship that I observed was that the odds of being satisfied with one's life are 4.462 higher for respondents who experienced vicarious discrimination and identify as Asian ($p < 0.05$). Breaking down the composition of Asian Muslims by nativity status reveals that the majority of Asian respondents (81.69%) identify as foreign-born. This information is important because prior research suggests that most people who live in the United States and identify as Asian have been living in America for two or fewer generations, and as a result, their cultural values and beliefs are still important in shaping how they express their feelings and emotions, including satisfaction with how things are going in their lives (Kim and Omizo 2005). Although there are many within-group differences among Asians, this group still shares common cultural values, and it is possible that holding these values may be associated with better subjective well-being and protection against adverse effects of race-related stress (Diener, Oishi, and Lucas 2003). Many immigrants also display strong identification with their original cultural group, and studies have shown that this identification is positively associated with other variables, including life satisfaction (Nesdale and Mak 2003; Nesdale et al. 1997). An alternative explanation for this finding is the development of resilience, where experiencing vicarious discrimination and identifying as Asian may actually allow individuals to be more satisfied with their lives, possibly due to the fact that this subgroup, which consists mostly of immigrants, has been able to adapt to life events in the face of negative social conditions. Future research, however, would need to test this hypothesis to support this explanation.

4.3 Predicting Country Satisfaction

Table 3 shows the odds ratios from the logistic regression models predicting country satisfaction, both with and without interaction terms.

Table 3 - Odds Ratios from Logistic Regressions Predicting Country Satisfaction

PREDICTORS OF COUNTRY SATISFACTION	Model 3	Model 4
Age	0.9414** (0.0280)	0.9394** (0.0282)
Male	1.655*** (0.3175)	1.656*** (0.3206)
Associate's degree	0.4546*** (0.1120)	0.4465*** (0.1113)
Bachelor's degree	0.4604*** (0.1057)	0.4594*** (0.1063)
Advanced degree	0.3351*** (0.0940)	0.3310*** (0.0934)
Foreign-born	2.051*** (0.4376)	2.044*** (0.4407)
Part-time employment	1.249 (0.3351)	1.260 (0.3418)
Unemployed	1.321 (0.2682)	1.290 (0.2644)
Good financial situation	0.5578** (0.1626)	0.5551** (0.1632)
Fair financial situation	0.5585* (0.1662)	0.5423** (0.1634)
Poor financial situation	0.5413* (0.1843)	0.5229* (0.1805)
Religion as somewhat important	1.332 (0.2701)	1.296 (0.2644)
Religion as not very important	0.7120 (0.2245)	0.6577 (0.2137)
Black	0.7019 (0.1834)	0.4226 (0.2261)
Asian	0.9709 (0.1950)	0.5564* (0.1861)
Other race	0.8767 (0.2997)	1.613 (1.019)
Vicarious discrimination	0.2744*** (0.0521)	0.1878*** (0.0569)
Personally insulted due to faith	0.7269 (0.2007)	0.7680 (0.2135)
Personally attacked due to faith	1.034 (0.4853)	1.016 (0.4885)
Personally viewed as suspicious due to faith	0.5587** (0.1334)	0.5424** (0.1312)
Black##Vicarious discrimination		2.024 (1.229)
Asian##Vicarious discrimination		2.351** (0.9736)
Other race##Vicarious discrimination		0.4116 (0.3180)
Constant	1.732 (0.7578)	2.344* (1.094)
Observations	928	928

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Model 3 in Table 3 predicts country satisfaction among Muslim Americans without any interaction terms. Similar to the previous table, the results are presented as odds ratios. As shown in Model 3, there is a significant negative relationship with age and country satisfaction. The odds of being satisfied with the country decrease by 0.9414 as a respondent gets older ($p < 0.05$). There is a significant positive relationship between identifying as male and country satisfaction. The odds of being satisfied with the country for respondents who identify as male are 1.655 higher than the odds of being satisfied with the country for respondents who identify as female ($p < 0.01$). There is a significant negative relationship between educational attainment and country satisfaction. The odds of being satisfied with the country for respondents who hold a bachelor's degree are 0.4604 lower than the odds of being satisfied with the country for respondents who have a high school diploma or less ($p < 0.01$). There is a significant positive relationship between identifying as foreign-born and country satisfaction. The odds of being satisfied with the country for respondents who are foreign-born are 2.051 higher than the odds of being satisfied with the country for respondents who were born in the United States ($p < 0.01$). There is a significant negative relationship between having a poor financial situation and being satisfied with the country. The odds of being satisfied with the country for respondents who have a poor financial situation are 0.5413 lower than the odds of being satisfied with the country for respondents who have an excellent financial situation ($p < 0.10$). Similar negative relationships were observed for respondents who had fair and even good financial situations.

Contrary to what I had expected, the results did not reveal substantial racial differences in country satisfaction. I did not find any significant associations in Model 3 (negative or positive) between race and being satisfied with how things are going in the United States.

When examining direct, personal experiences with Islamophobia, I found a significant negative relationship between being personally viewed as suspicious due to one's faith and country satisfaction. The odds of being satisfied with the country for respondents who were viewed as suspicious due to their faith were 0.5587 lower than the odds of being satisfied with the country for respondents who were not viewed this way ($p < 0.05$). Feeling untrustworthy, as a result, matters. The other two personal discrimination variables, however, were not significant in predicting country satisfaction.

When examining the relationship between vicarious experiences with Islamophobia and country satisfaction, I observed a similar result to the first outcome of life satisfaction. The odds of being satisfied with the country for respondents who experienced vicarious discrimination were 0.2744 lower than the odds of being satisfied with the country for respondents who did not experience such discrimination ($p < 0.01$). What this suggests is that not only is vicarious discrimination related to one's life satisfaction, but it is also relevant to how satisfied one is with the way things are going in the United States.

Since vicarious discrimination was an important predictor of country satisfaction in Model 3, I conducted a similar analysis and interacted vicarious discrimination with race in Model 4. The interactions of being Black and experiencing vicarious discrimination or being an "other" race and experiencing vicarious discrimination are not statistically significant. However, the odds of being satisfied with the country are 4.462 higher for respondents who experienced vicarious discrimination and identify as Asian ($p < 0.05$). As mentioned earlier, the majority of Asian respondents (81.69%) identify as foreign-born. This information is relevant because research has shown that national identity develops rapidly in immigrants and intensifies other forms of national attachment as a consequence, including things like pride (Huddy and Khatib 2007). This may help explain why experiencing discrimination and identifying as Asian results in higher country satisfaction.

Chapter 5: Discussion

5.1 Conclusions

This thesis examined the relationships between perceived Islamophobia and life/country satisfaction among Muslim Americans, using survey data from Pew Research Center's 2017 Survey of Muslim Americans. The main questions guiding the study were:

- 1) Is experiencing Islamophobia (i.e. private discrimination) associated with the life satisfaction and country satisfaction of Muslim Americans?
- 2) Is perceiving that other Muslim Americans experience Islamophobia (i.e. vicarious discrimination) associated with the life satisfaction and country satisfaction of Muslim Americans?
- 3) Are there racial differences in the association between perceived Islamophobia and life/country satisfaction?

Guided by Social Stress Theory, the process of racialization, and building upon findings from previous research, I hypothesized the following:

- 1) Experiencing Islamophobia (i.e. private discrimination) is associated with lower life satisfaction and country satisfaction.
- 2) Perceiving that other Muslim Americans experience Islamophobia (i.e. vicarious discrimination) is associated with lower life satisfaction and country satisfaction.
- 3) Experiencing Islamophobia *and* identifying as Black is associated with lower life satisfaction and country satisfaction.

The results of the study showed partial support for my hypotheses. Personally experiencing Islamophobia (i.e. private discrimination) was not associated with poorer life satisfaction among Muslim Americans. When respondents believed that there is a lot of unequal treatment against Muslims in general (i.e. vicarious discrimination), however, the odds of being satisfied with one's life *did* significantly decrease. This result is consistent

with prior research that has found that vicarious experiences with discrimination are associated with lower ratings of mental health and well-being (Ford et al. 2013). What this finding suggests is that there is something about believing that members of one's larger community are being treated unfairly that is linked to poorer subjective well-being. Additionally, although I had anticipated that experiencing Islamophobia and identifying as Black would be associated with lower life satisfaction, my results indicated the opposite. Perceiving vicarious discrimination and identifying as Black actually increased the odds of being satisfied with one's life. It is possible that having a shared, collective identity is important for Black Americans in how they navigate and/or respond to experiences with discrimination. Holding this collective identity, which has been associated with enhanced subjective well-being (Riggs et al. 2005), may help explain this outcome.

My results also showed that perceiving vicarious discrimination identifying as Asian increased the odds of being satisfied with one's life. This outcome for this subgroup, which consisted mostly of immigrants, may be explained through multiple mechanisms: 1) Holding certain cultural values, which are shared and maintained among many Asian groups, may be associated with better subjective well-being, 2) Asian immigrants, compared to their native-born counterparts, may display stronger identification to their cultural group, which has been positively associated with life satisfaction (Nesdale and Mak 2003; Nesdale et al. 1997), and 3) Asian immigrants may develop resilience to discrimination, which may allow for adaptation to life events in the face of adversity.

With respect to country satisfaction, only one personal discrimination variable was strongly associated with country satisfaction. Being personally viewed as suspicious due to one's Muslim identity was linked to poorer satisfaction with the way things are going in the United States. Being personally insulted or attacked due to one's Muslim identity, however, were not related to this outcome. What this suggests is that personally feeling

untrustworthy by others may be a more important factor in shaping how people view the country in which they reside. Similar to life satisfaction, when respondents believed that there is a lot of unequal treatment against Muslims (i.e. vicarious discrimination), the odds of being satisfied with how things are going in the United States significantly decreased as well. Finally, although I had hypothesized that experiencing Islamophobia and identifying as Black would be linked with poorer country satisfaction, this interaction was not statistically significant. I did, however, find that the odds of being satisfied with the country increased when a respondent experienced Islamophobia and identified as Asian (most of whom were foreign-born). This result is consistent with prior work that has found that immigrants develop a sense of attachment to their country of settlement over time, even when faced with adversity (Huddy and Khatib 2007). Limitations are discussed below.

5.2 Limitations

Although this thesis provided insight into Muslim Americans' experiences with Islamophobia and their relationship to life/country satisfaction, this study is not without limitations. First, the data used in the study are cross-sectional, so I was not able to account for any potential period effects or examine how Muslim Americans' life and country satisfaction might vary over time. Second, I was not able to make any causal claims with these data. Any significant relationships that were reported were associations. To examine causal relationships, a different type of dataset would be needed. Third, this thesis used four specific discrimination variables to examine the relationship between personal and vicarious experiences with Islamophobia and life/country satisfaction among Muslim Americans. It is possible that there are other relevant factors that are linked to life/country satisfaction that were not examined in this study (e.g., being singled out for being Muslim by the police). There are many avenues, as a result, for future research.

5.3 Future Research Agenda

Further research using multiple measures of personal and vicarious discrimination is needed to help shed light on the effects of Islamophobia for Muslim Americans. Additional research is also desirable to examine how the effects of Islamophobia vary over time, through longitudinal data, and identify any potential period effects to better understand when religious discrimination becomes more pronounced. Since this thesis examined variables that are correlated with mental health, future research could also study outcomes such as psychological distress, anxiety, etc., which would give researchers and service providers with much-needed information concerning the mental health of this population. More studies that examine Muslim Americans from an intersectional lens and analyze how experiences with Islamophobia are gendered are important to conduct and would add to what we know about the intersections between gender identity and religious discrimination. Lastly, to develop a better understanding of this population, more theoretical and empirical studies should examine the effects of discrimination on the health and well-being of Muslim Americans.

References

- Abu Raiya, Hisham, Kenneth I. Pargament, Catherine Stein, and Annette Mahoney. 2007. "Lessons Learned and Challenges Faced in Developing the Psychological Measure of Islamic Religiousness." *Journal of Muslim Mental Health* 2(2):133-154.
- Amati, Viviana, Silvia Meggiolaro, Giulia Rivellini, and Susanna Zaccarin. 2018. "Social Relations and Life Satisfaction: The Role of Friends." *Genus* 74(1):7.
- Amer, Mona A., and Anisah Bagasra. 2013. "Psychological Research with Muslim Americans in the Age of Islamophobia." *The American Psychologist* 68(3):134-144.
- Aneshensel, Carol S., and William R. Avison. 2015. "The Stress Process: An Appreciation of Leonard I. Pearlin." *Society and Mental Health* 5(2):67-85.
- Aneshensel, Carol S., Carolyn Rutter, and Peter A. Lachenbruch. 1991. "Social Structure, Stress, and Mental Health: Competing Conceptual and Analytic Models." *American Sociological Review* 56(2):166-178.
- Baker, Cynthia. 2007. "Globalization and the Cultural Safety of an Immigrant Muslim Community." *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 57(3):196-205.
- Beydoun, Khaled. 2017. "'Muslims Bans' and the (Re)Making of Political Islamophobia." *Illinois Law Review* 1237.
- Beydoun, Khaled. 2018. *American Islamophobia: Understanding the Roots and Rise of Fear*. University of California Press.
- Considine, Craig. 2017. "The Racialization of Islam in the United States: Islamophobia, Hate Crimes, and 'Flying while Brown.'" *Religions* 8(9):165.

- Damien W. Riggs, Gavriel Y. Ansara, and Gareth J. Treharne. 2015. "An Evidence-Based Model for Understanding the Mental Health Experiences of Transgender Australians." *Australian Psychologist* 50(1):32-39.
- Diener, Ed., Shigehiro Oishi, and Richard E. Lucas. 2003. "Personality, Culture, and Subjective Well-Being: Emotional and Cognitive Evaluations of Life." *Annual Review of Psychology* 54(1):403-425.
- Federal Bureau of Investigation. 2016. "Uniform Crime Report: Hate Crime Statistics." *Federal Bureau of Investigation*, Retrieved Aug 30, 2019 (https://ucr.fbi.gov/hate-crime/2016/resource-pages/hate-crime-2016-_summary).
- Mogahed, Dalia, and Azka Mahmood. 2019. "American Muslim Poll 2019: Predicting and Preventing Islamophobia." Institute for Social Policy and Understanding, Retrieved Sep 7, 2019 (<https://ispu.org/american-muslim-poll-2019-predicting-and-preventing-islamophobia>).
- Ford, Karen R., Nixon Hurd, Rob J. Jagers, and Randall M. Sellers. 2013. "Caregiver Experiences of Discrimination and African American Adolescents' Psychological Health Over Time." *Child Development* 84(2):485-499.
- Garner, Steven, and Saher Selod. 2015. "The Racialization of Muslims: Empirical Studies of Islamophobia." *Critical Sociology* 41(1):9-19.
- Hodge, David R., Tarek Zidan, and Altaf Husain. 2016. "Depression among Muslims in the United States: Examining the Role of Discrimination and Spirituality as Risk and Protective Factors." *Social Work* 61(1):45-52.
- Huddy, Leonie, and Nadia Khatib. 2007. "American Patriotism, National Identity, and Political Involvement." *American Journal of Political Science* 51(1):63-77.
- Jamil, Uzma, and Cecile Rousseau. 2011. "Challenging the 'Official' Story of 9/11: Community Narratives and Conspiracy Theories." *Ethnicities* 11(2):245-261.

- Kim, Bryan S., and Michael M. Omizo. 2005. "Asian and European American Cultural Values, Collective Self-Esteem, Acculturative Stress, Cognitive Flexibility, and General Self-Efficacy among Asian American College Students." *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 52(3):412-419.
- Lewis, Tene T., Courtney D. Cogburn, and David R. Williams. 2015. "Self-Reported Experiences of Discrimination and Health: Scientific Advances, Ongoing Controversies, and Emerging Issues." *Annual Review of Clinical Psychology* 11:407-440.
- Mohamed, Besheer. 2018. "New Estimates Show U.S. Muslim Population Continues to Grow." *Pew Research Center*, Retrieved Aug 30, 2019 (<https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/01/03/new-estimates-show-u-s-muslim-population-continues-to-grow/>).
- Nasser, Aloud, and Amena Rathur. 2010. "Factors Affecting Attitudes toward Seeking and Using Formal Mental Health and Psychological Services among Arab Muslim populations." *Journal of Muslim Mental Health* 4(2):79-103.
- Nesdale, Drew, and Anita S. Mak. 2003. "Ethnic Identification, Self-Esteem, and Immigrant Psychological Health." *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 27(1):23-40.
- Nesdale, Drew, Rosanna Rooney, and Leigh Smith. 1997. "Migrant Ethnic Identity and Psychological Distress." *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 28(1):569-588.
- Omi, Michael and Howard Winant. 1994. *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Palmore, Erdman, and Clark Luikart. 1972. "Health and Social Factors Related to Life Satisfaction." *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 13(1):68-80.

- Paradies, Yin, Jehonathan Ben, Nida Denson, Amanuel Elias, Naomi Priest, Alex Pieterse, Arpana Gupta, Margaret Kelaher, and Gilbert Gee. 2015. "Racism as a Determinant of Health: A Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis." *PLoS One* 10(9):e0138511.
- Paradies, Yin. 2006. "A Systematic Review of Empirical Research on Self-reported Racism and Health." *International Journal of Epidemiology* 35(4):888-901.
- Pascoe, Elizabeth, and Laura Richman. 2009. "Perceived Discrimination and Health: A Meta-Analytic Review." *Psychological Bulletin* 135(4):531-554.
- Pearlin, Leonard I., Elizabeth G. Menaghan, Morton A. Lieberman, and Joseph T. Mullan. 1981. "The Stress Process." *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 22(4):337-356.
- Pew Research Center. 2017. "Demographic Portrait of Muslim Americans." *Pew Research Center*, Retrieved Aug 30, 2019 (<https://www.pewforum.org/2017/07/26/demographic-portrait-of-muslim-americans/>).
- Pew Research Center. 2017. "How Pew Research Center Surveyed 1,000 U.S. Muslims." *Pew Research Center*, Retrieved Dec 3, 2019 (<https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/08/16/muslim-americans-methods/>).
- Priest, Naomi, Ryan Perry, Angeline Ferdinand, Margaret Kelaher, and Yin Paradies. 2017. "Effects Over Time of Self-Reported Direct and Vicarious Racial Discrimination on Depressive Symptoms and Loneliness among Australian School Students." *BMC Psychiatry* 17:50.
- Read, Jen'nan G. 2008. "Muslims in America." *Contexts* 39-43.
- Rippy, Alyssa E., and Elana Newman. 2006. "Perceived Religious Discrimination and Its Relationship to Anxiety and Paranoia among Muslim Americans." *Journal of Muslim Mental Health* 1(1):5-20.
- Rippy, Alyssa E., and Elana Newman. 2008. "Adaptation of Scale of Race-Related Stress for Use with Muslim Americans." *Journal of Muslim Mental Health* 3(1):53-68.

- Rivers, Ian, and Nathalie Noret. 2013. "Potential Suicide Ideation and Its Association with Observing Bullying at School." *Journal of Adolescent Health* 53(1):S32-S36.
- Runnymede Trust. 1997. "Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All." *The Runnymede Trust*, Retrieved Dec 2, 2019 (<http://www.runnymedetrust.org/uploads/publications/pdfs/islamophobia.pdf>).
- Samari, Goleen. 2016. "Islamophobia and Public Health in the United States." *American Journal of Public Health* 106(11):1920-1925.
- Shin, Doh C., and D. M. Johnson. 1978. "Avowed Happiness as an Overall Assessment of the Quality of Life." *Social Indicators Research* 5(1):475-492.
- Verkuyten, Maykel. 2008. "Life Satisfaction among Ethnic Minorities: The Role of Discrimination and Group Identification." *Social Indicators Research* 89:391-404.
- Wofford, Nyla, Andrew M. Defever, and William J. Chopik. 2019. "The Vicarious Effects of Discrimination: How Partner Experiences of Discrimination Affect Individuals Health." *Social Psychological and Personality Science* 10(1):121-130.