

**An Exploration of the Relationship Between Teachers' Implicit Bias Regarding Islam and Their Response to Student Behavior in a Classroom Vignette**

by

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## **Abstract**

The purpose of this study was to gain insight into how early childhood and elementary education teachers within the United States respond to a Muslim student in a classroom-setting scenario. The study explored (a) teachers' implicit bias level against Islam, (b) whether how teachers' response to a student's negative and disruptive behavior differs based on the student's religious-type name and implied religious background, (c) the extent to which teachers' implicit bias against Islam can predict responses to a Muslim student's behavior, and (d) teachers' overall knowledge and experiences regarding Muslims. A survey was administered to 261 early childhood and elementary school teachers across all four geographical regions of the United States. Results indicated that implicit bias against Islam does exist among teachers in the United States. Further, findings indicated that teachers do respond differently to a Muslim student with disruptive behavior compared to a non-Muslim student with the same behaviors.

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In the name of God, the Most Beneficent, the Most Merciful

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“They replied, “Glory be to You! We have no knowledge except what You have taught us. You are truly the All-Knowing, All-Wise.”” — The Holy Quran, 2:32

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## CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

### Background

Across the United States, communities have rapidly become more diverse than they have ever been (Fruja Amthor & Roxas, 2016; Grigorenko & Takanishi, 2009; Headden, 2014). This has intensified the importance of learning about and understanding the educational implications of this increased diversity (Hawkins, 2014). Early childhood and elementary educators are among those who must be especially invested in understanding diversity and incorporating students' diversity into classroom curricula in developmentally appropriate ways. Since the diversity of individuals and communities are an important aspect of societies across the nation, educators must portray this importance by moving beyond simply acknowledging diversity. Instead, they must be active and intentional in their modeling and teaching of diversity, social justice, and educational equity (Derman-Sparks et al., 1980). This task has become more important over the recent years, as schools have become increasingly populated with culturally, religiously, and linguistically diverse students (Childs, 2017; Gay, 2018; Lee, 2012; Grigorenko & Takanishi, 2009; Headden, 2014). As educators of young children, teachers understand that children are social learners who learn from others and the environments around them. For many young children, school is the first place where they encounter individuals who look and speak differently than they do (Bauml & Mongan, 2014). The experiences that these children have during their schooling will ultimately determine the attitudes they develop towards individuals who differ from them, and whether those attitudes give way to excluding or accepting behaviors towards others.

For many years, teachers have embraced multicultural educational approaches that focus on the perspective and histories of people from diverse cultural backgrounds (Nieto, 1994).

However, many teachers misunderstood the goal of multicultural education and mistakenly assumed they were adopting a multicultural approach to teaching (Guo et al., 2009; Kirmani, 2007; Merryfield, 2004; Sharma et al., 2011; Vandebroek, 2007). This emphasized the need for a more activist educational approach that focuses strongly on social justice in education to challenge and reduce prejudice, stereotyping, and bias (Schoorman & Bogotch, 2010). As a result, the anti-bias education curriculum was created to help students develop the skills they need to effectively interact with the people of the world, while also preventing the negative stereotypes and biases regarding human diversity from damaging their development (Derman-Sparks et al., 1980; Hohensee & Derman-Sparks, 1992). By embracing anti-bias education, teachers begin to actively and directly address the negative messages made within the school and classroom environment about certain student differences to counter the harmful effects such messages have on students' development (Derman-Sparks & Edwards, 2009). The core goals of anti-bias education are centered on ensuring all children are proud of their cultural backgrounds, show respect for all forms of human diversity, recognize prejudice and bias, and speak out against inequality and injustice.

To better understand the development of prejudice and bias, it is important to understand how perceptions of certain groups of people can influence individuals' behaviors and attitudes towards those groups (Pickens, 2005). Attitudes and perceptions are especially important within education because they impact both teachers and students (Marzano & Pickering, 1997). Teachers' perceptions of diverse individuals have a profound influence on the educational strategies they implement within their classrooms, which can determine the success or failure of diverse learners (Campbell, 2015; Merryfield, 2004; Sanders et al., 2014; Sharma et al., 2011). From a very young age, children begin to use the direct and indirect messages in their

environments to develop perceptions and attitudes about themselves, as well as different groups of people (Derman-Sparks et al., 1980; Kirmani, 2007; Merryfield, 2002; Spooner-Lane et al., 2013). Students' learning can be enhanced if they develop positive perceptions and attitudes about themselves, but if they develop negative attitudes and perceptions about themselves their learning can be hindered (Marzano & Pickering, 1997).

Research has shown a link between the biases teachers have and student achievement and success (Bonefeld & Dickhäuser, 2018; Glock & Böhmer, 2018; Glock et al., 2019; Van den Bergh et al., 2010; Van Ewijk 2011). Teachers, like all people, carry with them conscious and unconscious biases and judgments about certain groups of people based on characteristics such as race, ethnicity, and religion (Godsil et al., 2014). These unconscious biases are known as an individual's implicit biases or associations (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). Oftentimes, an individual's conscious beliefs do not align with their subconscious values (Godsil et al., 2014), and so for that reason, compared to explicit biases, implicit biases tend to be better predictors of discriminatory behavior. Similarly, teachers may not be aware that they carry with them associations and judgments that may not align with their conscious beliefs (Staats, 2016). Teachers need to understand their implicit biases because the decisions and actions they take, which are most likely influenced by their biases, will impact students in some way. While the influence of teachers' implicit bias has been studied in relation to how teachers interact with and discipline racial and ethnic minority students (Bonefeld & Dickhäuser, 2018; Glock & Böhmer, 2018; Glock et al., 2019; Van den Bergh et al., 2010; Van Ewijk 2011), this has not been studied as extensively with religious minority students, specifically Muslim students at the early and elementary education levels.

The expectations teachers have of their students are greatly influenced by their previous experiences and knowledge, as well as their implicit bias. Regardless of how subtle those expectations are, teachers unknowingly communicate to students the positive and negative expectations they have of them (Garwood, 1976; Gershenson et al., 2016). The factors that influence teachers' expectations of students include stereotypes and prejudices related to students' race, socioeconomic class, and ethnicity (Gershenson et al., 2016; McKown & Weinstein, 2002; Papageorge et al., 2020; Rist, 1970; Warren, 2002), students' native language being a language other than English (Han, 2010; Marquerite & Dianne, 2000; Sirota & Bailey, 2009; Wedin, 2010), and teachers' self-efficacy (Bandura, 1993; Mojavezi & Tamiz, 2012; Shahzad & Naureen, 2017). All of these factors influence teachers' expectations of students, which then influence students' academic achievement, academic motivation, self-identity, and self-worth (Lee et al., 2015; Purkey, 1970; Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968; Shahzad & Naureen, 2017). The expectations teachers have of their students oftentimes develop into self-fulfilling prophecies (Jacobson, 1968). While positive teacher expectations contribute to students' higher academic achievement, motivation, and self-worth levels, negative teacher expectations have the opposite effect, resulting in lower levels of student academic achievement, motivation, and self-worth (McKown & Weinstein, 2002).

Researchers studying teachers' expectations of racial minority students have identified students' race-typed names as a common contributor to the expectations teachers have of students' behavior and achievement (Anderson-Clark, 2008; Conaway & Bethune, 2015; Erwin & Calev, 1984; Garwood, 1976; Harari & McDavid, 1973). This phenomenon, known as name stereotyping (Conaway & Bethune, 2015; Ellis & Beechley, 1954; Erwin & Calev, 1984; Harari & McDavid, 1973; King et al., 2006), has shown that teachers oftentimes hold stereotypes

related to unfamiliar, unique, racial or ethnic-sounding names. While teachers may be unaware of the stereotypes and negative perceptions they carry with them regarding diverse minority students, the circumstance remains that minority students are often discriminated against daily. Results from previous research studies have reported on the connection between students' names and the expectations teachers have of certain students, specifically racial minority students (Anderson-Clark, 2008; Conaway & Bethune, 2015; Erwin & Calev, 1984; Garwood, 1976; Harari & McDavid, 1973). Educational research in this area has focused on name stereotyping of Black students', and while discrimination influenced by an individual's Arab or Muslim-type name has been studied in the workplace (Deros et al. 2009; Deros et al., 2012), this area remains to be explored in educational settings, specifically within early childhood and elementary education. The experiences of religiously diverse students are important, therefore it is critical to explore the biases teachers have against students of religious minority backgrounds and whether those biases influence how teachers interact with students. Examining implicit bias against Islam and how it relates to interaction with Muslim students is especially relevant for teachers of Muslim students because this population of students remains largely misunderstood and misrepresented.

Religious diversity is oftentimes left out when schools promote students' diverse backgrounds by focusing only on racial, ethnic/cultural, and linguistic diversity (Guo, 2011; Nimmo et al., 2019). Disagreement and avoidance are common among teachers when it comes to addressing religious diversity in school, especially at the early education levels (Nimmo et al., 2019; Peyton & Jalongo, 2008; Subedi, 2006; Whittaker et al., 2009). Many public schools in the United States and other Western countries follow a more Christian curriculum that is created to accommodate the needs of Christians (Bertram-Troost, 2011; Faas et al., 2016; Guo, 2011;

Karmani, 2005; Liederman, 2000; Spinner-Halev, 2000; Subedi, 2006). This Eurocentric nature of public schools results in many religious minority parents feeling like they and their children are unsupported within the school system (Zine, 2001). Specifically, Muslims living in Euro-American countries do not always receive the support they need because they are religious minorities representing a religion that is frequently portrayed as inherently violent (Abu Sway, 2005; Guo, 2011; Jackson, 2010; Liederman, 2000; McQueeney, 2014; Richardson, 2007; Steinberg, 2010; Stonebanks, 2010; Subedi, 2006). While topics related to religion are often considered forbidden in education and children's questions about such topics are often ignored (Nimmo et al., 2019), it is nonetheless important for teachers to ensure they are supporting their religiously diverse students. This includes examining the attitudes and perceptions they hold of religious minorities, as well as being intentional in supporting all students in their understanding, interest, and respect for different religions and belief systems.

While the religion of Islam has become one of the fastest-growing religions of the world today, the Muslim population remains misunderstood and misrepresented within Western societies (Abu Sway, 2005; Alsayegh, 2016; Hossain, 2013; Mohamed, 2018). This includes adults, adolescents, and children. The continued growth of Islam within the United States and other Western countries has made way for the growth of Islamophobia; the irrational fear of and discrimination against Islam and Muslims emerging from the belief that Islam is the enemy and poses a threat to non-Muslims' way of life (Abu Sway, 2005; Husain, 2015; Johnston, 2016; Jung, 2012; King, 2005; Richardson, 2007; Richardson, 2009; Zunes, 2017). Lack of knowledge about Islam, coupled with the misconceptions of Islam and Muslims often leads to such beliefs. The media, as well as the popular culture as a whole, play an extremely large part in the development of these beliefs based on how Islam and Muslims are depicted to the public (Abu

Sway, 2005; Alsayegh, 2016; Aydin & Hammer, 2010; Ciftci, 2012; Jackson, 2010; McQueeney, 2014; Samaie & Malmir, 2017; Steinberg, 2010). Previous research studies that have examined the perceptions non-Muslims have of Islam and Muslims, discovered that large percentages of non-Muslims often tend to believe that Islam is a religion that encourages violence and threatens their democracy and that Muslims are extremists and are anti-American (Bronkhorst, 2016; Ciftci, 2012; Guo, 2011; Husain, 2015; Jung, 2012; Nagel, 2016; Richardson, 2009; Sensoy, 2014).

The growth of Islamophobia, especially after the events of 9/11, was not only evident in the media, politics, and mainstream American culture, it was also manifesting in schools across the nation (Aroian, 2012; Awan & Zempi, 2015; Hossain, 2017; Jackson, 2010; Ramarajan & Runell, 2007). The United States as a whole nation saw an increase of violent attacks aimed at Muslims and those who were mistaken as Muslims (Ciftci, 2012; Hanes & Machin, 2014; Husain, 2015; Sheridan, 2006; Singh, 2002; Wingfield & Karaman, 2002). While Muslim individuals became targets for hate crimes ranging from verbal attacks, physical assault, vandalism, death threats, and murder, Muslim students in schools across the United States found themselves also facing various types of harassment (Abu Sway, 2005; Alsayegh, 2016; Ciftci, 2012; Guo, 2011; Husain, 2015; McQueeney, 2014; Sheridan, 2006; Steinberg, 2010). As a result of the media condemning Muslims for the events of 9/11, many Muslim students, as well as non-Muslim students who were mistaken as Muslims, encountered harassment and hostility from their teachers and their peers (Aroian, 2012; Husain, 2015; Seikaly, 2001; Steinberg, 2010; Wingfield & Karaman, 2002).

Although Islamophobia increased after the events of 9/11, research has shown that it had existed at muted levels long before then (Abu Sway, 2005; Ciftci, 2012; Dunn et al., 2007; Love,



2009; McQueeney, 2012; Sheridan, 2006). While students spend days and weeks learning about different cultures around the world and their histories, it is hard to find a curriculum that offers an in-depth look at Middle Eastern and Islamic history and civilization (Guo, 2011; McQueeney, 2014; Sabry & Bruna, 2007; Steinberg, 2010; Stonebanks, 2010). Traditionally, textbooks and other resources tended to either ignore Islam as an educational topic or present Islam with a Eurocentric perspective. Instead of focusing on the multitude of similarities between Muslims, Jews, and Christians, textbooks often linked Islam to violence and intolerance and used photographs that aided in the reinforcement of certain stereotypes (Guo, 2011; King, 2005; Lee, 2012; Richardson, 2009; Rissanen et al., 2016; Sabry & Bruna, 2007). For students to develop knowledge about and an appreciation for the experiences and cultural backgrounds of others, educators must be active and intentional about countering the negative messages found in students' surrounding environments regarding the various aspects of human diversity.

Muslim students are often faced with stereotyping and discrimination, leading to hurtful experiences that shape their development and achievement in school (Agirdag et al., 2012; Aroian, 2012; Awan & Zempi, 2015; Guo, 2011; Jackson, 2010; Richardson, 2007; Sabry & Bruna, 2007; Steinberg, 2010; Wingfield & Karaman, 2002). For Muslim students, at all grade levels, school is a place where they often feel left out, forgotten, discouraged, and misunderstood because they are faced with teachers and peers who hold negative views of them (Agirdag et al., 2012; Ahmad & Szpara, 2003; Aroian, 2012; Jackson, 2010; Richardson, 2007; Steinberg, 2010; Van Ewijk, 2011). As Muslim students are often viewed as "others", the development of prejudices against Islam continues to rise in teachers, as well as other students. Children are capable of developing negative attitudes towards people who are different from them from a very young age (Brown et al., 2017; Hossain, 2013; Over & McCall, 2018). Teachers of children must

understand that their attitudes, as well as their understanding of equity in education, are crucial because they transfer into the classroom and influence how they model behaviors and interactions with their diverse students. As the religion of Islam continues to grow, yet remains a highly controversial and misrepresented faith, early childhood education can act as a starting point for promoting a better understanding of Islam (Bronkhorst, 2016; Lintner, 2005). Schools that counter the negative messages about Islam by demonstrating respect towards Muslims, pave the way for teachers and students to better recognize discrimination, prejudice, and bias, develop an understanding and respect for Muslims, and acquire the skills needed to stand up to injustice against all people.

### **Theoretical Framework**

One of the theoretical frameworks for this study is based on Vygotsky's theory of the importance of social interaction and individuals' communities, as they play foundational roles in the development of children's cognition and the process of making meaning of one's self and surroundings (Vygotsky, 1980). Since learning occurs within a cultural context and involves social interactions which influence the information that is made available to children and how that information influences their life experiences (Ahmad et al., 2019; Mutekwe, 2018; Shabani, 2016), grounding the current research in Vygotsky's sociocultural theory provides the researcher with a rationale for examining teachers' implicit bias regarding Muslims and their responses to a Muslim student in a classroom vignette. The foundation for an inclusive and just society can begin with the education of young children as anti-bias educational approaches are utilized to uplift student diversity to attain educational equity for all. To further examine the relationship between teachers' implicit bias regarding Muslims and their responses to a Muslim student in a classroom-setting scenario, the current study also utilizes critical consciousness theory (Freire,

1973) to identify and understand the educational inequalities and oppression of Muslim students. Adopting this additional framework allows the researcher to distinguish how Muslim students may be affected by the cultural perceptions non-Muslim teachers have of Islam and Muslims.

### **Statement of Problem**

Previous research on early childhood and elementary teachers' attitudes and perceptions of diverse learners has not completely extended to religiously diverse learners in the United States. While previous studies have explored how teachers' explicit and implicit bias, expectations, and perceptions of racially and ethnically diverse students impact the ways teachers teach and interact with these students, the same cannot be said for religiously diverse student populations, specifically Muslims. Exploring teachers' implicit bias and attitudes towards Islam may help clarify how teachers interact with and respond to Muslim students in the classroom. By first exploring teachers' attitudes towards Islam in relation to how they respond to a Muslim student, future studies can build on this research and examine the influence of teachers' attitudes and expectations on Muslim students' success and achievement, as well as provide a more nuanced understanding of the general experiences of Muslim students in early and elementary education settings.

### **Purpose of Research**

The existing literature demonstrates the importance of anti-bias education curricula within early childhood and elementary education concerning the impact of teachers' implicit bias, expectations, and stereotypes on diverse minority students. With anti-bias education, teachers actively address the negative direct and indirect messages about human differences that are found in students' surrounding environments. This provides students with many opportunities that support their identity development, increased confidence, as well as improved knowledge

and positive attitudes that respect diversity and social justice for all. However, research has shown that without the implementation of curricula that actively challenge prejudice, stereotyping, and bias to attain social justice within education, teachers are oftentimes influenced by their unconscious or implicit biases. Additionally, teachers' explicit values are often incongruent with their implicit values, meaning their implicit attitudes provide better judgment of how they view certain individuals. Regardless of whether or not teachers are aware of their individual implicit biases, those biases are transmitted to students in the classroom through subtle teacher behavior, impacting students' development and achievement.

The purpose of this study was to understand the relationship between teachers' implicit attitudes regarding Islam and their responses to a Muslim student in a classroom vignette. This study first examined teachers' implicit attitudes against Islam compared to Christianity and identified the extent to which teachers displayed implicit bias against Islam. The study also examined teachers' responses to a Muslim student's negative and disruptive behavior compared to a non-Muslim student's negative and disruptive behavior in a classroom vignette and assessed the overall differences between how teachers respond to a student with a Muslim-type name compared to a student with a non-Muslim-type name. The researcher tested the relationship between teachers' level of implicit bias against Islam and their responses to the Muslim or non-Muslim student with disruptive classroom behavior. The study also asked teachers to report the extent of their experiences with and knowledge of Muslims. The results of this experimental study expand the literature on how implicit bias influences teachers' expectations and interactions with Muslim students in early childhood and elementary education and informs future studies in this area.

## **Significance of Research**

This research is significant because it expands the literature on teachers' implicit bias, specifically regarding Muslims, as well as how their implicit bias is related to how they interact and respond to Muslim students in the classroom. While previous research in this area has focused on other minority groups of students, this particular study focused on Muslim students as a religious minority in the United States. Since there has not been much research on teachers' implicit attitudes regarding religiously diverse students, specifically Muslims and especially in early childhood and elementary education settings, this current study increases the understanding of the level of implicit bias teachers' have towards Islam and how that level of bias impacts teachers' response to Muslim students. The results of this study can help improve teachers' understanding of the implicit biases they carry with them and how those biases impact their interactions with religiously diverse students, as well as help increase the understanding of Muslim students' experiences in early childhood and elementary school levels.

## **Research Questions**

This study examined the following questions:

1. Does implicit bias against Islam exist among teachers?
2. How do teachers respond to a Muslim student's behavior compared to a non-Muslim student's behavior in a classroom vignette?
3. Is there a relationship between teachers' implicit bias against Islam and how they respond to a Muslim student's behavior?
4. What are teachers' experiences and knowledge regarding Muslims?

## **Research Hypotheses**

This study examined the following hypotheses:

1. Teachers would exhibit implicit bias against Islam.
2. Teachers would respond to the Muslim student less favorably and less appropriately compared to the non-Muslim student.
3. Teacher implicit bias level would impact response to the Muslim student.
  - 3a. Teachers that have strong bias against Islam, would respond to the Muslim student significantly less favorably compared to teachers with slight and moderate bias.
  - 3b. Teachers that have moderate bias against Islam, would respond to the Muslim student significantly less favorably compared to teachers with slight bias.
  - 3c. Teachers that have slight bias against Islam, would respond to the Muslim student significantly more favorably compared to teachers with strong and moderate bias.
  - 3d. Teachers without bias against Islam would show no significant difference between response to the Muslim student and the non-Muslim student.
4. Teachers would report they either have low experience and knowledge, or high experience and knowledge regarding Muslims.

### **Definitions of Terms**

Provided below are definitions of key terms used throughout this dissertation:

**Anti-Bias Education:** the practice of building communities that support human diversity by actively challenging bias, stereotypes, and prejudice.

**Attitudes:** A combination of an individual's personality, beliefs, values, behaviors, and motivations that influence decisions and behaviors.

**Discrimination:** The experience of unfair treatment due to an individual's belonging to certain minority groups.

**Diverse Learners/ Students:** Children who come from racially, ethnically, culturally, linguistically, and religiously diverse backgrounds.

**Implicit Bias:** The unconscious associations and judgments regarding certain groups of people that individuals carry with them and affect their social behavior.

**Internalized Islamophobia:** The absorption of problematic notions of Islam by Muslims themselves.

**Islam:** One of the three monotheistic Abrahamic religions, after Judaism and Christianity, revealed to Prophet Mohammad (PBUH), the final messenger in a long line of prophets, by Allah (SWT).

**Islamophobia:** the irrational fear of and discrimination against Muslims emerging from the belief that Islam is the enemy and poses a threat to non-Muslims' way of life

**Muslim:** A follower or believer of Islam.

**Name stereotypes:** Teachers' stereotypical perceptions of students based on their first names.

**Perceptions:** An individual's observations of environmental stimuli that can influence the development of attitudes.

## CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

### Theoretical Framework

Rapidly changing demographics of students in schools across the United States has inspired the development of many different educational strategies and resources, such as multicultural and anti-bias education, to assist educators in creating meaningful and equitable educational opportunities for all students (Derman-Sparks & Edwards, 2010; Fruja Amthor & Roxas, 2016; Childs, 2017; Gay, 2018; Lee, 2012; Grigorenko & Takanishi, 2009; Headden, 2014; Morey & Kitano, 1997). Intentional educators and administrators constantly aim to achieve the educational goals that multicultural and anti-bias education advocate for. While educational approaches such as multicultural and anti-bias education exist, it is not enough for teachers to simply implement educational strategies related to such approaches. Teachers, like all humans, carry attitudes and perceptions about groups of people different from them (Godsil et al., 2014; Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Staats, 2016). The development of an individual's attitudes and perceptions begin from a very young age and continues throughout their life (Brown et al., 2017; Derman-Sparks et al., 1980; Hossain, 2013; Over & McCall, 2018). For teachers, the implicit or unconscious biases, prejudices, stereotypes, and assumptions they carry with them about others impact their views of those people and influence their actions and expectations of their diverse students (Marzano & Pickering, 1997; Pickens, 2005). Students that are negatively impacted by teachers' implicit associations and discriminatory actions tend to be racial and ethnic minority students (Conaway & Bethune, 2015; Harari & McDavid, 1973; Rist, 1970; Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968; Roux, 2001; Warren, 2002). The present study aims to explore teachers' implicit bias regarding religiously diverse minority students, specifically Muslims in the United States. In order to examine teachers' implicit bias against Islam and Muslims and



assess teacher responses to Muslim student behavior in the classroom, the current research is grounded in Vygotsky's sociocultural theory and critical consciousness theory (CC).

According to Lev Vygotsky (1980), human learning is a social process and human intelligence originates from the surrounding culture or society. In his sociocultural theory, he describes the importance of social interaction as it plays a foundational role in the development of children's cognition, and that an individual's community plays a central role in the process of making meaning of one's self and surroundings. Vygotsky's general genetic law of cultural development declares that all functions children experience in their cultural development, such as the formation of concepts and memory, appear twice. They first appear on the social level between people, which Vygotsky refers to as the interpsychological domain, and they appear again on the individual level inside the child, which Vygotsky refers to as the intrapsychological (Vygotsky, 1980). "Human learning presupposes a specific social nature and a process by which children grow into the intellectual life of those around them" (Vygotsky, 1980, p. 88). Since social interaction plays a critical role in how children form perceptions of others and how others should be treated, children will begin to form those perceptions based on the adults around them and how those adults might exhibit their implicit biases in their presence. Viewed this way, it is understood that children learn and develop their critical thinking skills through the interactions they have with their teachers and their peers within the classroom setting.

In adopting Vygotsky's sociocultural theory, researchers and educators can understand that all learning occurs within a cultural context and involves social interactions. This theory can be applied to different educational settings and levels to help researchers understand how an individual's cognitive development is influenced by their social interactions and surrounding culture (Ahmad et al., 2019; Mutekwe, 2018; Shabani, 2016). According to Vygotsky (1980), "It

is through others that we become ourselves”, suggesting the society in which children grow up will ultimately influence how they think, what they think about, how they relate to the information that is made available to them, and how that information influences their life experiences (Polly et al., 2018; Vygotsky, 1980). Based on this, and the view that schools are essential parts of society, it is crucial that anti-bias education approaches are adopted and administered to achieve educational equity for all. Efforts to create an inclusive and just society must begin with the education of young children.

In advocating for anti-bias education, critical consciousness theory (Freire, 1973), an educational pedagogy for the oppressed, can be used to understand and identify educational inequalities, structural racism, and oppression of minority groups. As described by the developer Paulo Freire, a Brazilian educator, the theory of critical consciousness (CC) intertwines critical theory, educational philosophy, pedagogy, and social change into accepting that oppression and injustice are a reality all over the world that must be removed (Freire, 1973; Watts et al., 2011). Critical consciousness refers to a developmental process in which individuals move from being naïve and unaware of social injustice to being critically conscious and ready to change such issues (Freire, 1973; Smith, 1976). By adopting a CC framework, educators and researchers attempt to understand and raise awareness of how individuals are oppressed by social, economic, and political systems to foster a critical analysis of society (Diemer et al., 2015; Gibson, 1999; Jemal, 2017; Watts et al. 2011). The aim of CC is not only awareness but also social justice and change for the oppressive systems found within society. Specifically, critical consciousness theory offers educators tools to help them critically examine educational opportunities, school climates, representation, and pedagogy at all levels of education, to better understand the experiences of historically marginalized and underrepresented communities (Diemer et al., 2016;

Goulet, 1998; Jemal, 2017; Wasson & Jackson, 2002). The significance of CC is further justified in that it challenges accepted justifications for occurrences that have been established as normal in daily life, but which make the lives of some people more challenging and unfair. In embedding their work in critical consciousness, educators and researchers are able to focus on issues related to educational equity for all students. The following literature reviews the shift from multicultural education to anti-bias multicultural education at the early education levels, discusses the formation of attitudes and perceptions, describes what implicit bias looks like within the classroom, examines the impact of teachers' expectations on student achievement, specifically the consequences of name stereotypes, outlines the importance of recognizing religion as a form of diversity with a specific focus on the religion of Islam, the development of Islamophobia in schools, and the influence this has on Muslim students' school experiences.

### **Teaching for Diversity, Equity, and Social Justice**

Rapidly changing communities across the United States have increased the importance of learning about, understanding, and empowering human diversity. Within education, diversity and social justice are often promoted through the use of various approaches and strategies that stem from multicultural education. The roots of multicultural education can be traced back to the civil rights movements of numerous historically oppressed groups that targeted educational institutions and demanded curricular reform (Gorski, 1999). The concerns and the struggles of these historically marginalized groups in regard to the inequalities of the education system, compelled educational institutions, K-12 schools and universities alike, to develop programs, practices, and policies that would later be considered the emergence of multicultural education. Prior to these movements, a monocultural perspective to education was widely accepted and valued as the norm in the American education system. A monocultural approach to education

defines a setting in which the school policies, curricula, instructional resources, and educational approaches are mainly representative of the dominant culture (Nieto, 1994). Today, in many schools across the United States, monocultural education can still be found and defined as “just the way things are”. Monoculturalism, which is viewed as the belief that there is only one “right” culture, invalidates the cultural experiences and worldviews of some by overvaluing the cultural beliefs and practices of others (Jackson, 2006). In contrast, multiculturalism recognizes and values diversity by bringing focus to the societal contributions of diverse individuals (Nieto, 1994). Multicultural education aims to create equitable educational opportunities for all students, regardless of background, by changing school and classroom environments to reduce prejudice, adequately reflect the diverse individuals and cultures within a society, and build an empowering school culture that supports all students.

While multicultural education was originally developed as a response to the growing needs of diverse populations, especially those marginalized by mainstream education, many misunderstood the goal of this movement. Specifically, within early childhood education, many teachers incorrectly believed they were adopting a multicultural approach to their teaching. Such teachers tended to focus on student differences as a way of teaching diversity and using a “cultural tourism” approach to implement culture into the classroom (Guo et al., 2009; Kirmani, 2007; Merryfield, 2004; Sharma et al., 2011; Vandebroek, 2007). This typically consisted of hosting a culture week that focuses mainly on people’s different ways of dressing, eating, and living, and is criticized for being extremely restrictive and emphasizing exotic differences rather than focusing on situations from daily life (Derman-Sparks & Edwards, 2010; Vandebroek, 2007). Additionally, research has shown that many teachers believe young children do not see racial and cultural differences in others and therefore are unable to understand and engage in

critical conversations about these differences (Aboud, 2005; Derman-Sparks et al., 1980; Murray, 2012; Rissanen et al., 2016; Vittrup, 2016). This however is untrue and previous research has demonstrated that young children are indeed racially conscious and are capable of displaying negative attitudes towards people from different racial or ethnic backgrounds (Derman-Sparks et al., 1980; Guo et al., 2009; Murray, 2012).

The misunderstandings of the purpose of multicultural education have emphasized the need for a more active/activist approach that focuses strongly on social justice within education to challenge prejudice, stereotyping, and bias (Schoorman & Bogotch, 2010). Thus, the anti-bias education movement was born with the explicit purpose of addressing social inequalities within the early childhood education system.

### **Anti-Bias Education**

People are constantly aware of the visible differences of others around them. This includes differences in skin color, gender, language, and physical ability. Children are no different; in fact, they become aware of these differences from a very young age (Derman-Sparks et al., 1980; Guo et al., 2009; Murray, 2012). From an early age, children begin to observe the differences and similarities among people and they begin to gather the verbal and nonverbal messages transmitted around them regarding those differences. The early years in children's lives are greatly important in regard to learning about human diversity and developing respect for others from different backgrounds (Derman-Sparks et al., 1980; Guo et al., 2009; Kirmani, 2007; Merryfield, 2002; Spooner-Lane et al., 2013). This issue is only increasing in importance as communities continue to grow in diversity and young children are surrounded by racial and cultural differences and biases. Oftentimes, children are in need of guidance to make sense of their thinking and the things they see and hear from the people around them, whether accurate or

biased (Lee, 2012). Children require safe spaces where they feel comfortable to discuss topics they may not fully comprehend on their own. Teachers of children have the opportunity to guide their students' thinking about diversity and educate them on issues related to social justice (Guo et al., 2009; Merryfield, 2004; Vittrup, 2016). Therefore, the purpose of anti-bias education is to prevent the various biases and negative stereotypes about human diversity from damaging children's development by equipping them with skills to effectively interact with the people of the world (Hohensee & Derman-Sparks, 1992). In order for teachers to embrace anti-bias work and education, they must truly value human diversity and believe in the fair treatment of all people.

### *A System with built-in bias*

Early childhood and elementary educators are constantly striving to ensure all of their students learn and succeed. Hence, children are treated in ways that remind them they are special, intelligent, powerful, competent, and compassionate. However, the philosophies of these educators are often in conflict with the larger system. Certain societal constructs have made way for advantages and disadvantages to be built into the systems and institutions within society. While these advantages and disadvantages have been well established throughout history (Gorski, 1999), they continue to affect individuals' access to fair education, as well as health care and security. Therefore, regardless of the personal values teachers may have regarding the education of their students, the larger system greatly affects early childhood education as a whole (Derman-Sparks & Edwards, 2009; Lloyd, 2012). Derman-Sparks and Edwards, pioneers of the anti-bias curriculum, emphasize that human differences and diversity do not damage children's development, but instead, it is the unjust and unkind treatment of individuals based on these differences that harm children's development (2009).

The advantages and disadvantages that are built into systems within a society affect early childhood education in many ways. A common example is the inclusion or exclusion of certain cultures and people in an educational program (Derman-Sparks & Edwards, 2009; Merryfield, 2004; Wardle, 2003). Many of the early childhood resources that are selected for programs and classrooms tend to display common stereotypes of White, middle-class, American culture as if other student cultures do not exist (Brinson, 2012; Derman-Sparks & Edwards, 2009). This includes authentic and respectful books, toys, songs, pictures, and classroom decorations. The inclusion or exclusion of students' backgrounds and cultures within the physical classroom environment can communicate to certain students that they are especially worthy while undermining the development of other students' positive sense of self and self-worth.

***Actively challenging prejudices and injustices to empower students***

Teachers who embrace anti-bias education are intentional in the decisions and actions they take. When negative messages about certain students are made, regardless of whether they were made by other students or adults, anti-bias education teachers intervene with direct, follow-up anti-bias activities to counter the harmful effects of such negative messages (Derman-Sparks & Edwards, 2009). In anti-bias education classrooms, children can be expected to learn about themselves, be proud of their backgrounds and their families, respect human diversity and the differences of others, recognize prejudice and bias, speak out against inequality and injustice, and stand up for what is right.

The work of anti-bias education is centered around four core goals that interact with and build upon each other. These goals are identity, diversity, justice, and activism (Derman-Sparks et al., 2015; Derman-Sparks & Edwards, 2009; Derman-Sparks & Edwards, 2019). The purpose of the first goal, identity, is to ensure all children develop and are able to demonstrate self-

awareness, self-confidence, pride in their family and background, and positive social identities. This first and basic goal not only allows the careful nurturing of every child's personal identity but also emphasizes the importance of nurturing children's social identities. With this, anti-bias educators are able to strengthen children's cognitive, social, and emotional development (Derman-Sparks & Edwards, 2009). The purpose of the second goal, diversity, is to ensure all children are able to express comfort and happiness with human diversity. This goal encourages children to learn about both, how they are similar and different from other children. Human differences do not create the problem of prejudice and bias. Instead, children learn prejudice and bias from the lack of knowledge about human diversity. This goal guarantees that children learn how to treat all people in a compassionate and fair manner in order to develop genuine human connections (Derman-Sparks & Edwards, 2009). The purpose of the third goal, justice, is to ensure all children are capable of recognizing injustice, develop the language they need to define and describe injustice, and understand that injustices hurt people. This goal not only helps children develop their critical thinking skills but also helps reinforce their sense of self as they learn how to form authentic relationships with others (Derman-Sparks & Edwards, 2009). The purpose of the final and fourth goal of anti-bias education, activism, is to ensure all children are capable of demonstrating empowerment and developing the skills they need to counteract actions of prejudice and discrimination. Children's development on this final goal will improve their progress on the other three goals. Together, these goals build upon each other to ensure an effective anti-bias education for children of all backgrounds.

### **Formation of Attitudes and Perceptions**

Understanding attitudes and perceptions is important because it raises awareness of how individual perceptions of groups of people can influence individuals' behaviors toward those



groups (Pickens, 2005). Attitudes and perceptions are especially important in education because they influence both teaching and student learning. If students' attitudes and perceptions are positive, their learning is enhanced, whereas if their attitudes and perceptions are negative, their learning is hindered (Marzano & Pickering, 1997). Teachers have some influence over the attitudes and perceptions their students develop about themselves and other groups of people. Thus, teachers have the power to help students maintain positive attitudes and perceptions, as well as change negative or harmful attitudes and perceptions.

### ***Attitudes***

Attitude typically refers to an individual's behavior. Humans have tendencies to act in specific ways that are a direct result of both their temperament and experiences. Attitudes are complex as they are a combination of an individual's personality, beliefs, values, behaviors, and motivations (Allport, 1933). Individuals' attitudes help them define how they view situations, as well as how they respond to objects or behave in situations. For example, teachers' attitudes offer internal opinions and thoughts about their students, therefore causing them to behave in particular ways toward their students. Learning, modeling others, and direct experiences with people and situations are all ways in which attitudes are formed (Pickens, 2005). After formation, these attitudes begin to consciously and unconsciously influence individuals' decisions, guide their behavior, and affect what they selectively remember.

### ***Perceptions***

While perceptions and attitudes are closely connected, the two terms are not the same. The association between the two terms is that perceptions are individuals' observations of stimuli that can then influence their attitudes. Perception is a cognitive and psychological process of taking in, categorizing, and understanding information. This process allows individuals the

ability to construct meaningful experiences of their interactions with the world (Lindsay & Norman, 2013). This process affects the way in which individuals observe people and objects around them, therefore impacting the interaction and communication individuals have with others. When people are presented with new stimuli or situations, the way in which they interpret the new information depends on their past experiences (Pickens, 2005). Nevertheless, the things people interpret or perceive may at times be significantly different from the actual reality of the situation.

Within education, it is important to understand that social perceptions, the process of how an individual views others and how others perceive an individual, impact both teachers and students. Multiple psychological phenomena have been identified to aid in the understanding of the ways in which individuals perceive and are perceived. The phenomena directly related to this current research include stereotyping and the Pygmalion effect (Picken, 2005). Stereotyping is the judgment others make about individuals based on what they perceive about the group to which those individuals belong. For example, teachers will grade the same exact essay or assignment of two students significantly different, depending on the students' race or name (Conaway & Bethune, 2015; Harari & McDavid, 1973; Roux, 2001). The Pygmalion effect, also known as self-fulfilling prophecy, is when an individual's behavior becomes consistent with another person's perception, regardless of whether or not that perception is accurate. For example, when teachers expect certain students to display greater intellectual development, those students do in fact display greater intellectual development, the opposite effect is also true (Rist, 1970; Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968; Warren, 2002). These psychological phenomena related to social perceptions are important to understand within educational contexts because the

perceptions teachers have of students will ultimately impact the behavioral development and academic achievement of those students.

### ***Teachers' perceptions of diverse learners***

Teachers' perceptions and behaviors have profound implications and can influence the success or the failure of many anti-bias multicultural education policies, which can then determine the success or the failure of diverse students (Campbell, 2015; Merryfield, 2004; Sanders et al., 2014; Sharma et al., 2011). The lack of understanding of diverse cultural patterns, coupled with uninformed or stereotypical perceptions of diverse students can result in teachers inadvertently harming their students' academic achievement and progress (Ambe, 2006; Taylor et al., 2016; Yurtseven & Altun, 2015).

Oftentimes, if English is not the students' native language, teachers feel it is their responsibility to find ways to better immerse the students into the dominant culture (Derman-Sparks & Edwards, 2010; Fredricks & Warriner, 2016; Guo, 2012; Rissanen et al., 2016; Wasonga, 2005). Teachers who tend to hold positive attitudes towards discussions of social justice and cultural diversity in the classroom understand that anti-bias multicultural education approaches to teaching depend on the acknowledgment of and respect for the diversity that is found within the classroom (Buchori & Dobinson, 2015). However, many of those same teachers tend to use a 'one-size-fits-all' approach to teaching, despite their apparent understanding that cultural differences need to be honored in the classroom. Many times, educators use their own beliefs about the popular culture to determine what belongs and what does not belong, without taking into account students' preexisting background and experiences that are tied to their racial, ethnic, and religious identities (Buchori & Dobinson,

2015; Derman-Sparks & Edwards, 2010). This also causes some teachers to view their students' cultural backgrounds as burdens that they would rather ignore (Guo, 2012).

For these reasons, teachers must move beyond just simply acknowledging or tolerating (Aminy & Neophytos-Richardson, 2002; Spooner-Lane et al., 2013) the diverse students and families they interact with. Instead, when working with diverse students and their families, teachers must make a conscious effort to lower their defensiveness and should be willing to adopt reflexive thinking, as well as make an effort to accept alternate perspectives that may or may not differ from their own (Guo, 2012; Merryfield, 2002; Rissanen et al., 2016; Sanders et al., 2014; Sharma et al., 2011; Spooner-Lane et al., 2013). Teachers may be required to set their own beliefs to the side so that they can take the time to truly see the points of view, beliefs, and cultures that are different from their own. With the aim of building a more inclusive culture in schools, teachers must ensure they are prepared, educated, and confident enough to be able to question and reflect on their own personal attitudes and perceptions, as well as reflect on the ways in which those attitudes and perceptions impact their teaching.

### **Implicit Bias in Education**

In 1995, two psychologists coined the term implicit bias, which explores the ways in which humans' social behavior is largely influenced by the unconscious associations and judgments they carry with them (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995), specifically the automatic associations of attitudes and stereotypes individuals may hold regarding particular groups of people. For example, the beliefs and thoughts individuals have about other groups of people based on characteristics such as race, ethnicity, and religion that operate outside of the viewer's conscious control (Godsil et al., 2014). Prior to this, most social psychologists had assumed that individuals' attitudes and stereotypes operate on a conscious level. Research on the science of

implicit bias has revealed that oftentimes an individual's conscious beliefs do not align with their subconscious, implicit biases (Godsil et al., 2014). Therefore, people's unconscious, implicit biases tend to be better predictors of discriminatory behavior, as opposed to their conscious, explicit attitudes and beliefs.

### ***Origins of teachers' implicit associations***

People's implicit associations and attitudes begin to form early on in life as a result of the direct and indirect messages received about different groups of people (Godsil et al., 2014; Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). Individuals develop these attitudes, whether positive or negative, towards diverse groups of people without realizing they have developed such attitudes and biases. In this case, teachers are no different and they carry with them associations and judgments that they may not be aware of. Since implicit attitudes and biases develop outside of conscious awareness, teachers' associations and judgments may not necessarily align with their conscious beliefs, principles, and professional teaching philosophies (Staats, 2016). Regardless, teachers' decisions and actions are oftentimes influenced by their implicit biases.

A common example of teachers' decisions and actions being influenced by their implicit biases is the assigning of certain consequences to student behavior. While schools try to outline some consequences for bad behavior, the fact remains that there are no standardized ways of assessing the infractions for which students are disciplined (Staats, 2016). Consequences for behaviors such as disruptive behavior, disrespect, excessive noise, and disobedience, are left up to teachers' subjectivity. Therefore, teachers' experiences, automatic unconscious associations, including implicit attitudes towards specific minority groups, may unconsciously influence their disciplinary decisions and actions (Godsil et al., 2014; Neitzel, 2018). As a result, discipline disparities based on varying student characteristics exist. Studies have reported teacher implicit

bias based on students' race and ethnicity does in fact exist (Glock & Böhmer, 2018; Glock et al., 2019; Van den Bergh et al., 2010), even with children as young as preschool (Gilliam et al., 2016). Other studies have reported on teachers' implicit bias against students based on their race-type or ethnic-type name (Bonefeld & Dickhäuser, 2018; Van Ewijk 2011) and that those implicit biases affect student achievement. However, this phenomenon remains to be studied in relation to religiously diverse minority students, such as Muslims, within early and elementary education settings.

### ***Implicit bias resulting in deficit thinking***

Teachers and administrators' implicit, as well as explicit, bias can contribute to deficit thinking, which allows for oppression and inequality in education to continue to exist (Palmer & Witanapatirana, 2020). The idea of deficit thinking refers to the racist notion that students, specifically minority and low-income students, fail in school because of the internal defects that they possess, which are believed to obstruct the learning process (Hambacher & Thompson, 2015; Sanders et al., 2014; Valencia, 2012). This way of thinking blames the student for falling behind due to his or her difficult and oftentimes uncontrollable situation, instead of the policies and practices that sustain the oppressive and inequitable systems that are put into place (Davis & Museus, 2019; Valencia, 2012). The notion of deficit thinking comes from the influential, social, historical, political, and economic powers that have shaped societies within the United States in ways that carry out inequalities that ensure certain groups remain dominant, while other groups remain inferior (Ambe, 2006). As a result of this, deficit thinking is likely often to be found embedded in the foundation of White teachers' classrooms, even when they think that they are practicing equity pedagogy (Brandon, 2003).

The National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) reports that the full-time and part-time public elementary and secondary school teachers in the United States are made up of approximately 3.5 million teachers, and approximately 79% are White (NCES, 2020). The NCES also reports that within higher education, the full-time faculty and instructional staff in the field of education in the United States are made up of approximately 51,000 educators, and approximately 80.5% are White, and part-time faculty and instructional staff are made up of approximately 64,000 educators, and approximately 85.1% are White (NCES, 2003). Despite the large amounts of research on the importance of anti-bias and multicultural education at all levels of education (Arifin & Hermino, 2017; Derman-Sparks et al., 1980; Gay, 2004; Taylor et al., 2016; Valentín, 2006), predominately White college professors teaching predominately White teacher candidates carry with them ideas of deficit thinking that infiltrate pedagogies and curricula to ensure certain children cannot learn and succeed in schools in the United States (Brandon, 2003). Such notions are then passed on to potential teacher candidates who then carry them into their vastly diverse classrooms (Guo et al., 2009; Sanders et al., 2014; Nelson & Guerra, 2014). Therefore, it is critical that teachers of all students examine their own beliefs, biases, and assumptions, as well as the impact of their interactions with diverse students. As teachers reflect upon and challenge their own assumptions, they begin to take down the barriers to their students' success and build up their sense of self-worth and belonging.

### **Teacher Expectations**

As teachers work with their students throughout the school year, they begin to form new or strengthen previously established expectations about the success of their students. These expectations, whether positive or negative, are then communicated to the students in numerous ways, most commonly through subtle teacher behavior (Garwood, 1976; Gershenson et al.,

2016). The expectations teachers have regarding the success or failure of their students may stem from the perceptions they have developed about certain students or groups of people, their own personal beliefs and attitudes, any information they have interpreted that supports certain existing beliefs, and their past experiences.

### ***Influencing factors***

When discussing the development of teachers' expectations, it is important to recognize and understand the various factors that can influence a teacher's expectations of a student. One common factor has been identified as stereotypes. Whether consciously or subconsciously, teachers often transport the stereotypes and prejudices that are embedded within society into the classroom (Anderson-Clark et al., 2008). Many teachers may be unaware that they themselves carry any number of these subtle and complex stereotypes and prejudices with them, and therefore unintentionally carry them into the classroom (Wolfe & Spencer, 1996). This consists of both positive and negative stereotypes that are associated with particular racial, social, ethnic, or religious groups. For example, teachers tend to have higher expectations for students who identify as Asian or Anglo/White, as well as students from middle or high socioeconomic status. In contrast, teachers tend to have lower expectations for students who identify as Hispanic or African/Black, as well as students from low socioeconomic status (Gershenson et al., 2016; McKown & Weinstein, 2002; Papageorge et al., 2020; Rist, 1970; Warren, 2002).

Similar to the way in which stereotypes and prejudices related to race, class, and ethnicity could influence teacher expectations, language is an additional influencing factor. A student's native language can often influence the expectations a teacher has for that student. Teachers frequently have lower expectations for non-native English-speaking students compared to native English-speaking students (Han, 2010; Marquerite & Dianne, 2000; Sirota & Bailey, 2009;



Wedin, 2010). Students learning English as a second language are often expected by teachers to understand lessons and learn new concepts at a much slower pace. This ultimately results in teachers having much lower expectations for these students' overall academic achievement.

Yet another factor that may influence teachers' expectations of a student's ability to succeed in school is teacher self-efficacy. According to Bandura (1993), self-efficacy is understood as an individual's set of beliefs related to their ability to succeed in specific situations. These beliefs are responsible for how individuals think, act, feel, and encourage themselves. Teachers' self-efficacy can be thought of as their belief in their ability to effectively aid in their students' learning, development, and achievement (Warren, 2002). Previous research (Bandura, 1993; Mojavezi & Tamiz, 2012; Shahzad & Naureen, 2017) has established that there is a relationship between teacher self-efficacy and student achievement. Teachers with high self-efficacy are those who are fairly confident in their skills and ability to successfully work with all students, regardless of any perceived barriers. These are teachers who believe that success is possible for all of their students and they are able to provide valuable learning experiences that support each student's development (Bandura, 1993; Rubie-Davies, 2007). By contrast, teachers with low self-efficacy are those who are not as confident in their professional skills and ability to reach all students and guide them in their learning. Instead, these are teachers who identify certain student characteristics as barriers that prevent them from successfully teaching, and are the reason for students' academic failure (Rubie-Davies, 2007). These characteristics include students' race, ethnicity, native language, socioeconomic status, and lack of parental involvement (Warren, 2002). Teachers who believe that a student's identity is the reason for low achievement in school often lack the self-efficacy needed to ensure the use of effective and appropriate instructional strategies within the classroom.

### *Effect on students*

It is important for educators to be aware of the expectations they have of their students and how those expectations impact their behavior because the behavior that teachers display is likely to influence students' academic achievement, academic motivation, and identity or self-concept (Lee et al., 2015; Purkey, 1970; Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968; Shahzad & Naureen, 2017). Teacher expectations, and therefore behavior, can impact students in both negative and positive ways (McKown & Weinstein, 2002). Positive or high teacher expectations that are communicated to students through subtle teacher behaviors and certain interactions will most likely contribute to higher academic achievement, motivation, behavior, and self-concept levels. On the other hand, negative or low teacher expectations that are also relayed to students through certain teacher behaviors will most likely have the opposite effect, resulting in lower student academic achievement, motivation, behavior, and self-concept levels. Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) explained that a teacher's expectations of a student's behavior or academic achievement might come to serve as a self-fulfilling prophecy.

While the notion of a self-fulfilling prophecy originated in ancient Greek mythology, the impact of this idea from an educational standpoint has been examined within classrooms across the United States for many years (Brophy, 1983; Francis et al., 2020; Rist, 1970; Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968). Similar to teacher expectations, self-fulfilling prophecies can also have positive and negative effects on student achievement, as well as teacher expectations. For example, teachers that have higher expectations of students tend to use instructional strategies that provide a more challenging curriculum (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968), while teachers that have lower expectations for students use different approaches to working with those students. This includes implementing an uninspiring curriculum and accepting lower quality effort and products from

students who are expected to perform poorly while implementing a challenging curriculum and demanding higher quality effort and products from students who are expected to excel (Brophy, 1983). In situations where teachers held higher expectations for their students in regard to intellectual development, those students did in fact display higher levels of intellectual development, while other students displayed lower levels of intellectual development when teachers held low expectations for them (Francis et al., 2020; Rist, 1970; Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968; Wedin, 2010).

While examining teacher expectations at all grade levels is important, the expectations that early childhood and elementary education teachers have of their students are especially critical. Young children attending school for the first time may have certain assumptions regarding their first day of school experience that may differ from the understanding of initial school experiences of family members and teachers (Laverick, 2008). While many children are typically eager to start school and are motivated to learn new things and make new friends, others may be apprehensive about this new experience. As a result of this, it is important that teachers make an effort to ensure a positive experience for all students (Laverick, 2008). In doing so, teachers can be intentional in helping students develop positive experiences that translate to positive impressions regarding school. Similar to the way in which children's first impressions of starting school can be lasting, the expectations that teachers have of young students can also be lasting, even when those impressions are relayed to students through subtle teacher behavior (Francis et al., 2020; Garwood, 1976; Lee, 2015; Papageorge et al., 2020; Rist, 1970; Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968). This is a continuous cycle where outcomes correspond with the false approximation of a student's abilities (McKown & Weinstein, 2002). Therefore, teachers must

be aware of and manage the expectations they have of students' achievement, regardless of students' native language, race, ethnicity, gender, or religion.

### **Name Stereotypes**

For many decades now, researchers have investigated the relationship between first names and popular stereotypes (Conaway & Bethune, 2015; Ellis & Beechley, 1954; Erwin & Calev, 1984; Harari & McDavid, 1973; King et al., 2006). The phenomenon known as name stereotyping can result in both positive and negative consequences. These consequences have been studied extensively in the workplace and many educational settings, such as schools and classrooms. This includes in-person or face-to-face work and school settings, as well as virtual settings.

Research on this phenomenon as it relates to workplace discrimination has been investigated by examining the influence of race-typed names on employers' evaluation of applicants' resumes (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; King et al., 2006). Researchers found that Black applicants who applied for high-status jobs were evaluated negatively, even with strong credentials and a high-quality resume, compared to White, Hispanic, and Asian American applicants applying for the same job with the same credentials and resume. Similarly, research on name stereotypes within the classroom has been studied by exploring the influence of race-typed names on teachers' evaluation of students (Anderson-Clark, 2008; Conaway & Bethune, 2015; Erwin & Calev, 1984; Garwood, 1976; Harari & McDavid, 1973). This includes teachers' evaluation of students' current academic and behavioral expectations, as well as expectations related to students' future academic and social success. In regard to academic evaluation, researchers have asked experienced teachers to grade children's essays, where students were identified by either a "desirable" or "undesirable" first name. Results from previous research

showed that teachers graded essays that were authored by students with “desirable” first names significantly higher than the same essays authored by students with “undesirable” first names (Harari & McDavid, 1973). These stereotypes exist as a result of the perceptions teachers and employers hold in relation to unfamiliar, unique, and racial or ethnic-sounding names.

Aside from asking teachers to grade students’ academic work, researchers have also examined the effect of a student’s name on how teachers rate certain positive and negative behaviors exhibited by students (Anderson-Clark et al., 2008; Conaway & Bethune, 2015; Foster, 2008; Garwood, 1976). Interestingly, when teachers were given the race of the student in the scenario, either White or Black, there was no significant difference in the way the students were rated, based on race. However, the results showed significant differences in teachers’ rating based on students’ names (Anderson-Clark et al., 2008), where teachers tended to associate negative attributes with the student with a common African American sounding name while associating positive attributes with the student with a common Anglo American sounding name.

Name stereotyping is evident not only in traditional educational environments like classrooms where teachers and students meet face-to-face but also in online educational environments. Students enrolled in online education may not expect to experience any discrimination based on their race, ethnicity, gender, or religious identity. While teachers in traditional, face-to-face environments use obvious visual or verbal indications to possibly identify students’ racial, ethnic, and religious identities, and therefore use them as barriers to avoid the application of bias, it is not the same for online education (Conaway & Bethune, 2015). In online educational settings, the indicators that help teachers identify students’ identities are not as easily accessible, resulting in the removal of the barriers that teachers typically use to self-monitor their biases. Without those barriers, teachers’ behavior can often be guided by their

internal or implicit attitudes and biases. Consequently, students whose race, ethnicity, or religion is identifiable by their names are prone to be targets of teachers' implicit bias (Conaway & Bethune, 2015). Researchers have studied the influence of online communication on individuals and found that online comments and interactions can directly influence an individual's expression of conscious and unconscious prejudice (Hsueh et al., 2015). When individuals are exposed to discriminatory comments online, they are more likely to be influenced to engage in prejudice or post prejudiced comments online, compared to individuals who are exposed to anti-prejudice online interactions and comments (Hsueh et al., 2015). This has implications for educators who teach their classes online and who may be unaware of the biases that influence their behavior and interactions with students. Any biased attitudes or behaviors they may subtly display online in their classroom are likely to influence other students' own prejudicial attitudes and behaviors.

Teachers are oftentimes unaware of the prejudices they carry with them into their classrooms. As shown in previous studies (Anderson-Clark et al., 2008; Foster, 2008), teachers do not tend to hold overt negative perceptions that they can explicitly attribute to ethnicity or race. Rather, they carry with them covert stereotypes and prejudices linked to race that influence the negative associations with students' race-typed names (Conaway & Bethune, 2015). Although many teachers may be unaware of the unconscious stereotypical perceptions and behaviors they exhibit as a result of students' unique or uncommon names, the reality of this issue remains that this is a form of discrimination that certain students face daily in the classroom. While the effect of name stereotypes has been studied with racial and ethnic minority students, it remains to be studied with religious minority students in early and elementary education. Muslim students in the United States typically have unique names that are easily

identifiable. Since name stereotypes have been studied with Muslims in the workplace (Derous et al., 2009; Derous et al., 2012), it is important to study this phenomenon with Muslims in education. Especially since evidence from previous studies (Anderson-Clark et al., 2008; Bonefeld & Dickhäuser, 2018; Conaway & Bethune, 2015; Foster, 2008) points to a connection between students' names and teachers' interactions and expectations of those students.

### **Making Space for Religious Diversity in Schools**

The increased demographic changes across communities within the United States have profound implications for American school systems. While there are many ways in which schools promote and recognize students' diversity, this appears to be limited to racial, ethnic/cultural, and linguistic diversity. Religion and religious diversity are oftentimes left out (Guo, 2011; Nimmo et al., 2019). While the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) states that learning about the religions of the world is an essential part of the core social studies curriculum (NCSS, 2014), many public schools in the United States, as well as other Western countries, continue to follow a more Christian curriculum, which is clear from the way school calendars are set up to accommodate the needs of Christians (Bertram-Troost, 2011; Faas et al., 2016; Guo, 2011; Karmani, 2005; Liederman, 2000; Spinner-Halev, 2000; Subedi, 2006). As a result of this Eurocentric nature of public schools, many religious minority parents are left with no choice but to persistently advocate for their children (Zine, 2001). Although this is difficult for all religious minority parents, there are some religious minority groups that struggle more due to their unique experiences as religious minorities. For example, Muslims living in Euro-American countries do not always receive the support they need because they are a religious minority of a religion that is frequently portrayed as inherently violent (Abu Sway, 2005; Guo, 2011; Jackson, 2010; Liederman, 2000; McQueeney, 2014; Richardson, 2007; Steinberg,

2010; Stonebanks, 2010; Subedi, 2006). A prevalent phenomenon in some of these countries is the idea that conforming to the majority is the only way that an individual can be successful (Giæver & Jones, 2017). Educators who tend to accentuate the things that they have in common with their diverse students while completely disregarding the ways in which they differ, give way to thinking that equality is conformity (Guo, 2012). In order to empower religiously diverse minority students so that they experience success in school, teachers must transform the perceptions and instructional patterns that allow equality to simply be a matter of assimilation (Giæver & Jones, 2017). Unchanged, these instructional patterns, along with teachers' perceptions, can become extremely detrimental to all students.

There continues to be some disagreement and avoidance when it comes to addressing religious diversity in school, especially at the early education levels (Nimmo et al., 2019; Peyton & Jalongo, 2008; Subedi, 2006; Whittaker et al., 2009). Before children even reach school age, they begin to form ideas about human differences, and some children even begin to express bias at as young as age three (Aboud, 2005; Derman-Sparks et al., 1980; Guo et al., 2009; Lee, 2012; Over & McCall, 2018). Children are almost always surrounded by people of the same race and ethnicity, so they may not come into contact with those who are different from they are until they enter school. According to a position statement published by the National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC) on developmentally appropriate practices, all children deserve an early childhood education that is responsive to who they are as individuals, their families, their communities, and their racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds (NAEYC, 2009). It is also important for teachers to understand their attitudes and perceptions towards religiously diverse students, and how they influence teachers' interactions and expectations of those students. As a religious minority within the United States, Muslim students deserve an



early education that is responsive and respectful to their backgrounds, but this group of students is often overlooked due to the misunderstandings and misrepresentations of the Islamic faith and culture.

### **Background and Beliefs of Islam**

Islam is one of the fastest-growing religions of our world today (Lipka & Hackett, 2017). A global faith with 1.8 billion adherents, which makes up approximately 24.1% of the world's population, makes it the world's second-largest religion (Husain, 2015; Lipka & Hackett, 2017). The word "Islam" is an Arabic word, which means "submission", and in the religious context, it means "the absolute submission of will to God" (Chambers, 2008; Hoot et al., 2003). The followers of Islam are referred to as Muslims and they are guided by the teachings of the Prophet Mohammad, peace be upon him (PBUH), and The Holy Quran, which is believed to be the written record of God's word that was revealed to the Prophet (PBUH) by the angel of revelation, Jibril (Gabriel), in the seventh century A.D.

Religious scholars have pointed out the multitude of similarities that Islam shares with Christianity and Judaism (Hoot et al., 2003; Hossain, 2013; Jung, 2012). Among the similarities are the basic fundamental truths that include, the belief in one God who is the owner and creator of all things, an individual's responsibility to help those less fortunate and in need, and the requirement to constantly strive for personal improvement in order to be a better human being (Hoot et al., 2003). In fact, based on the teachings of the Quran, Muslims believe that Allah (subhanahu wa ta'ala [SWT]; meaning glorious and exalted is He; Allah: is the Arabic word for God) had appointed a long line of prophets before Prophet Mohammad (PBUH), each with their own mission to enlighten and guide the people of their time (Mirza & Bakali, 2010). Muslims not only believe in all the prophets before Prophet Mohammad (PBUH), but they also do not

distinguish between them. As stated in the Quran in multiple verses, “Say, [O believers], “We have believed in Allah and what has been revealed to us and what has been revealed to Abraham and Ishmael and Isaac and Jacob and the Descendants and what was given to Moses and Jesus and what was given to the prophets from their Lord. We make no distinction between any of them, and we are Muslims [in submission] to Him”” (The Quran, 2:136, 2:285, 3:84).

While Muslims are spread out all over the world, they continue to be universally united by the foundational and unwavering belief in one God, Allah (SWT), and the messenger of his final message, the Prophet Mohammad, peace be upon him. As they continue to seek salvation, Muslims are required to follow the Five Pillars of Islam, which are the core beliefs and practices of Islam (Chambers, 2008; Hoot et al., 2003; Mirza & Bakali, 2010): The Pillars of Islam are as follows: 1. Shahadah (Testimony), which is the declaration of faith in one God and his final prophet, Mohammad (PBUH), 2. Salah (Prayer), which is praying five times daily to one God, facing the direction of Mecca in unity with all other Muslims around the world, 3. Zakat (Alms Giving), which is regularly giving alms to charity, 4. Siyam (Fasting), which is fasting from food, drink, and bad actions, from sunrise to sunset during the holy month of Ramadan, the ninth month of the Islamic lunar calendar, and lastly, 5. Hajj (Pilgrimage), which is making the pilgrimage to Mecca, at least once in a lifetime, during the eleventh month of the Islamic lunar calendar, health and financial ability permitting (Chambers, 2008; Hoot et al., 2003; Mirza & Bakali, 2010). The Five Pillars of Islam are universally followed among Muslims all over the world. In the short span of 23 years as the Prophet of Islam, Mohammad (PBUH) transformed more than just a small community of Arabs. He transformed the world as a whole and is considered to be among the most influential figures of world history today (Hart, 1978; Mirza & Bakali, 2010). The message of Islam spread to various

parts of the world and now has a population of almost two billion Muslims who come from diverse cultures and political systems. This diversity may at times result in different interpretations of certain Islamic laws and interpretations will differ from culture to culture, as well as from person to person within different cultures. Nonetheless, as Muslims continue to grow and make up a large percentage of the world's population, greater efforts need to be made to better understand Islam and the experiences of the people who have embraced it, including Muslim students enrolled in Western schools.

### **Islam in the West**

Many individuals around the world claim religion has a significant impact on how they live their daily lives. The United States is among the most religiously diverse countries in the world, and within this religiously diverse population are approximately 3.45 million Muslims (Alsayegh, 2016; Husain, 2015; Mohamed, 2018). Over the past few decades, Islam has become the third largest religion in the U.S., and the fastest-growing religion in the world. Recent projections from The Pew Research Center suggest that the U.S. Muslim population will continue to grow at a much faster rate than Judaism, the second-largest religion in the United States, after Christianity (Mohamed, 2018).

### ***Islamophobia***

With the growth of Islam, particularly in the West, also comes the growth of the phenomenon known as “Islamophobia” (Abu Sway, 2005; Husain, 2015; Johnston, 2016; Jung, 2012; King, 2005; Richardson, 2007; Richardson, 2009; Zunes, 2017). To comprehend the concept of Islamophobia, breaking the term into two root words, “Islam” and “phobia”, shows the term simply describes a fear or dislike of Islam. This simplification is helpful in understanding the meaning of Islamophobia, but the actual meaning is much more

complicated (Bleich, 2011; Ciftci, 2012; Love, 2009; Sensoy, 2014). Islamophobia, or the intolerance and hostile attitude towards Islam and Muslims, is based on the understanding that Islam is the enemy and poses a threat to non-Muslims' way of life (Bronkhorst, 2016; Ciftci, 2012; Guo, 2011; Husain, 2015; Jung, 2012; Nagel, 2016; Richardson, 2009; Sensoy, 2014). In the United States, the usage of the term Islamophobia continues to rise due to lack of knowledge and common misconceptions of Islam, largely as a result of how the media portrays the religion and its followers to the American public (Abu Sway, 2005; Alsayegh, 2016; Aydin & Hammer, 2010; Ciftci, 2012; Cohen, 2016; Jackson, 2010; Love, 2009; McQueeney, 2014; Richardson, 2009; Samaie & Malmir, 2017; Sensoy, 2014; Sheridan, 2006; Steinberg, 2010; Wingfield & Karaman, 2002). The misrepresentation of Islam and Muslims in the media results in the creation of negative stereotypes that forces Muslims to face experiences of prejudice and discrimination in their daily lives.

A survey conducted in 2017 by The Pew Research Center asked non-Muslim American adults to reflect and report on how they view Islam and Muslims using a “feeling thermometer” that ranges from 0, the coldest and most negative, to 100, the warmest and most positive (Lipka, 2017). Results of this study, as well as other similar studies, have shown that individuals who typically have the most reservations about Muslims tend to be Republicans, White Evangelicals, and individuals with lower levels of education (Ciftci, 2012; Jung, 2012; Lipka, 2017). Common views of such individuals include perceiving Islam as separate and incompatible with mainstream American society, thinking a natural conflict exists between Islam and democracy, regarding Islam as a religion that encourages violence more than other faiths, believing that there is a great deal of extremism among U.S. Muslims, and judging many U.S. Muslims as anti-American (Lipka, 2017). Research has also revealed that non-Muslim Americans tend to view

Jews, Catholics, Protestants, Evangelical Christians, Buddhists, Hindus, and Mormons more positively than how they view Muslims (Lipka, 2017). These results give a clear indication of how Islam as a whole religion has been distorted and misrepresented by Western media and how effective this negative portrayal of Islam has been on not only the experiences of Muslims but also non-Muslim Americans who may have never met or interacted with a Muslim individual before.

While an extremely small percentage of individuals who claim to be Muslim engage in extreme acts of violence, the entire religion of Islam, with its 1.8 billion followers continue to be blamed and are asked to answer for the crimes of such individuals (Alsayegh, 2016; Ciftci, 2012; Johnston, 2016; McQueeney, 2014; Richardson, 2007; Sheridan, 2006; Steinberg, 2010; Wingfield & Karaman, 2002). These negative attitudes and discriminatory actions are seldom based on actual exposure to Islam or interaction with Muslims. A large majority of Westerners have never consciously interacted with a Muslim, meaning that if they had interacted with a Muslim, they probably never realized they were doing so (Jackson, 2010; van Driel, 2005). This same majority has also never informed itself about Islam as a major world religion or the teachings of the Quran. Due to this, agenda-setters such as the mainstream media and politicians can have a disproportionate influence on the opinions of the general public (van Driel, 2005). Although there may be some silence from Muslims when it comes to condemning tragic attacks such as 9/11, for a wide range of reasons, the reality is that there is a large number of Muslims who do voice their objection to such acts. In fact, thousands of imams (title for religious leaders in Islam) across the United States have issued fatwas (a formal ruling given by a recognized authority to clarify a possibly unclear aspect of Islamic law) condemning acts of violence and terrorism (Alsayegh, 2016; Johnston, 2016; Richardson, 2007). However, when Muslims tend to

speak out against violent acts of terrorism, it is hardly considered worthy enough for media coverage, so silence is what the American public hears as they continue to demand answers from the Muslim community.

### ***Media representation***

Though they are the largest influencers of how Islam is depicted, politics and news reports are not the only channels that are dedicated to misrepresenting Islam. Mainstream American culture, including movies, television shows, music, magazines, and books, etc., are all prime examples of the ways in which the stereotyping and discrimination of Muslims has become so common that it is not questioned, and oftentimes is expected (Jackson, 2010; McQueeney; Seikaly, 2001; Steinberg, 2010; Wingfield & Karaman, 2002). For example, the representation of Muslims in popular movies often portrays Muslim women as harem girls, sexual seductresses, or belly dancers, and Muslim men as barbaric and violent terrorists, oil tycoons, or thieving tribesmen who kidnap Western women as they shout to each other in some language that is meant to resemble Arabic (McQueeney, 2014; Ramarajan & Runell, 2007; Seikaly, 2001; Sensoy, 2014; Wingfield & Karaman, 2002). Within the United States, this entire culture and religion are constantly reduced to an overly simplistic and offensive portrayal, which opens up doors for stereotyping, discrimination, and “othering” (Ciftci, 2012; Jahedi et al., 2014; McQueeney, 2014; Nagel, 2016; Nurullah, 2010; Sensoy, 2014; VanDeusen, 2019). When people do not actually know what Islam is, due to reasons that include not knowing any Muslim people or never having studied Islam or issues related to it, they may not have an opinion about Islam or Muslims. But the repetition and consistent manner (Jackson, 2010; Jung, 2012; Sensoy, 2014) in which mainstream media and popular culture represent Islam is what becomes familiar and thus must be the truth.

After the September 11 attacks of 2001, the United States Department of Justice, the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) in Washington D.C., and many other organizations and studies reported an increase of violent incidents against Muslims, as well as against individuals who were mistaken as Muslim (Ciftci, 2012; Hanes & Machin, 2014; Husain, 2015; Sheridan, 2006; Singh, 2002; Wingfield & Karaman, 2002). Muslims, as well as non-Muslims who were mistaken for Muslims, became the targets of hate crimes ranging from verbal attacks, physical assault, shootings, bomb threats, death threats, murder, arson, and the vandalism of homes, businesses, and mosques (places of worship) (Abu Sway, 2005; Alsayegh, 2016; Ciftci, 2012; Guo, 2011; Husain, 2015; McQueeney, 2014; Sheridan, 2006; Steinberg, 2010). Once again, the Muslim American community was expected to answer for the crimes that were committed (McQueeney, 2014; Seikaly, 2001). After 9/11, several surveys documented that the rise of anti-Muslim incidents was affecting students in schools across the United States (Aroian, 2012; Awan & Zempi, 2015; Hossain, 2017; Jackson, 2010). In 2007, about 7% of the reported anti-Muslim incidents involved students in school, spanning across all grade levels (Ramarajan & Runell, 2007). However, it is possible this percentage was much higher than the reported 7% due to the tendency that incidents such as these tend to at times go unreported.

### **Islamophobia Within Schools**

After the events of 9/11, due to the shock of the attack and the reports from the media that condemned Muslims for the attack, educators with Muslim students in their classrooms were forced to take a stand. The national outcry against Muslims led educators to either remain supportive of their Muslim students or join the majority as they demanded all Muslims answer for the crimes committed that day (Wingfield & Karaman, 2002). Many students experienced

their teachers falling to the widespread anger that non-Muslim Americans had towards Muslims when they began letting that anger trickle into their classrooms. Arab-Americans, Muslims, Sikhs, and South Asian students, as well as Hispanics and other minority students who were mistaken for Muslim, across the United States, encountered harassment and hostility (Husain, 2015; Seikaly, 2001; Steinberg, 2010; Wingfield & Karaman, 2002). Teachers questioned their students about the attacks and did not intervene when other students harassed them (Aroian, 2012; Wingfield & Karaman, 2002). Students were commonly discriminated against when many teachers resorted to making fun of students' religious/ethnic names. A name is a simple, yet unique part of every individual's identity (Kirmani, 2007). As children grow up, they begin to learn and understand what a name is, what their name is, and why their name is unique to who they are. But when teachers carelessly mispronounce a name without making an effort to pronounce it accurately or even understand its meaning, they disrespect a student's culture and heritage in a manner that attacks their identity (King, 2005). Other forms of harassment were aimed at Muslim girls who practiced Islam by wearing a hijab (traditional head covering worn as a symbol of modesty). Girls who wore a hijab in school were teased and had their hijab pulled off by students and adults alike (Awan & Zempi, 2015; Seikaly, 2001; Wingfield & Karaman, 2002). Muslim students faced many experiences where they were continuously blamed for the terrorist acts and their parents received threatening phone calls and letters demanding they go back to their own country because they were not welcome in the United States (Awan & Zempi, 2015; McQueeney, 2014; Wingfield & Karaman, 2002).

A great deal of the misunderstanding and confusion that many educators and others displayed stemmed from the mixed messages the United States federal government sent out about the Muslim community in the United States and in other nations around the world (Abu



Sway, 2005; King, 2005). Teachers in many communities allowed politics to impact their teaching, which in turn impacted their students' lives (VanDeusen, 2019). After 9/11, while the government claimed that the "war on terrorism" or "war on terror", is not against Islam as a religion, they identified Islam as a threat when Congress passed the Patriot Act of 2002, a law that became hindering to Muslims in nearly all aspects of their lives (Hoot et al., 2003; Husain, 2015; King, 2005; Love, 2009; Singh, 2002). United States administrators wanted the help of American Muslims everywhere to help root terrorism out, but the result of this caused Muslim communities within the United States and around the world to be viewed as suspicious and alarming (King, 2005; Love, 2009). U.S. officials and citizens alike became hyper-focused and set on stopping the next terrorist attack by second-guessing the intentions and actions of every Muslim individual that crossed their path (Love, 2009).

### ***Lack of appropriate representation***

When examining education in the United States, it is hard to find a curriculum that offers an in-depth look at Middle Eastern and Islamic history and civilization, outside of those created and integrated by Muslim or Middle Eastern educators (Guo, 2011; McQueeney, 2014; Sabry & Bruna, 2007; Steinberg, 2010; Stonebanks, 2010). In many schools across the United States, students will spend days learning about different cultures and religions that not only help them gain an understanding of those cultures and religions but also an appreciation for the lives and cultural backgrounds of those who are different from them (Guo, 2011; Lee, 2012; Richardson, 2009; Rissanen et al., 2016; Sabry & Bruna, 2007). Muslim students usually do not expect their teachers and peers to have a meaningful understanding of Islam and of the Muslims living in the United States (Ahmad & Szpara, 2003; Sabry & Bruna, 2007). Instead, they typically expect teachers and peers to have negative and stereotypical views about Muslims (Ahmad & Szpara,

2003; Awan & Zempi, 2015). As a result of educators not shouldering the responsibility and taking the time to counteract the harmful influences mainstream culture has on Muslims, non-Muslims often begin to develop views about this group of people that aligns with how Muslims are portrayed in the media and mainstream culture (King, 2005; Jackson, 2010; McQueeney, 2014; Ramarajan & Runell, 2007; Richardson, 2009; Sensoy, 2014; Wingfield & Karaman, 2002). Although there has always been a debate concerning the presence of religion in American public schools, courts have continued to rule it legal for public schools to teach children about different religions, from an educational perspective (Guo, 2011; Ramarajan & Runell, 2007). In fact, in their 2014 position statement on the “Study About Religions in the Social Studies Curriculum”, the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) asserts that studying religions should be an indispensable part of the core social studies curriculum and that children must acquire knowledge about different religions so that they may be well equipped to participate in a diverse world (NCSS, 2014).

Over the past decade, there have been improvements regarding the textbook presentation of Islam, but before these improvements were made, American school textbooks often presented Islam with a Eurocentric perspective, if Islam was presented as an educational topic at all (Guo, 2011; King, 2005; Sabry & Bruna, 2007). It was common for textbooks to link Islam to violence and intolerance, and use photographs that reinforced negative stereotypes such as all Middle Easterners are nomads who ride camels somewhere in a desert (Hoot et al., 2003; Seikaly, 2001; Sensoy, 2014). It was easy for publishers of these textbooks to ignore the multitude of similarities that Islam shares with Christianity and Judaism, the other two major world religions (Hossain, 2013; Jung, 2012; Lintner, 2005). For example, Muslims, like Jews and Christians believe in one God, the creator of everything. Yahweh, God the Father, and Allah (SWT) can be

considered as the same God, but textbooks often regard Allah (SWT) as a foreign god compared to the God that Jews and Christians worship (Wingfield & Karaman, 2002). To counter the incorrect portrayal of Muslims as an uncivilized, violent, and dictatorial population (Abu Sway, 2005; Guo, 2011; Jackson, 2010; King, 2005; McQueeney, 2014; Richardson, 2007; Steinberg, 2010; Stonebanks, 2010), educators must understand that like all populations of people in the world, Muslims are diverse and dynamic people who share a common humanity and a desire for peace around the world.

The approach most educators seem to take in teaching their students about timely and relevant issues regarding Islam is very similar to how textbooks were introducing Islam (Bronkhorst, 2016; McQueeney, 2014; Richardson, 2009; Sabry & Bruna, 2007; Sensoy, 2014; Steinberg, 2010; Stonebanks, 2010). Unless the educators were Muslim themselves, the common approach was to either present the religion of Islam and the region of the Middle East in a stereotypical manner, or completely ignore that this population and part of the world exists (Bronkhorst, 2016; Stonebanks, 2010). The incorrect and stereotypical exposure of the Middle East and Islam through education is just as damaging to all students as is the lack of exposure (McQueeney, 2014; Richardson, 2009; Sabry & Bruna, 2007; Sensoy, 2014; Steinberg, 2010). For example, teachers attempting to integrate a “learning about Islam/the Middle East” curriculum without making sure it is authentic are just as damaging as teachers who completely ignore their students’ heritage (King, 2005). Although the intentions may be positive, the unintended consequences leave students with incorrect, negative, and stereotypical opinions about Muslims and Islam (Guo, 2011; King, 2005; Ramarajan & Runell, 2007; Sabry & Bruna, 2007; Stonebanks, 2010). Teachers who personally view Islam as a rigid and backward organization, should not assume the responsibility of forcing their Muslim students to go against

their lifestyle and beliefs in the name of fixing what they perceive is wrong by pressuring their students into conforming to the popular culture (Abu Sway, 2005; Giæver & Jones, 2017; Guo, 2011; Rissanen et al., 2016; Sabry & Bruna, 2007; Sensoy, 2014; VanDeusen, 2019). Instead, they must actively work to stop unintentionally facilitating Islamophobia, aim to dismantle it, and recognize the very subtle prejudice and discrimination that takes place within educational settings.

### **Experiences of Muslim Students**

Muslim students across the United States grow up surrounded by a culture that does not recognize their religious and ethnic identity and is constantly driving the message that their religion, their identity, and who they are as people, is entirely un-American (Aroian, 2012; Wingfield & Karaman, 2002). Muslim students are often faced with stereotyping and discrimination, which leads to hurtful experiences that shape their development and achievement (Agirdag et al., 2012; Aroian, 2012; Awan & Zempi, 2015; Guo, 2011; Jackson, 2010; Richardson, 2007; Sabry & Bruna, 2007; Steinberg, 2010; Wingfield & Karaman, 2002). Previous studies have shown that the most dangerous incidents of anti-Islam hostility tend to flare up during moments of American crisis, such as with the September 11 attacks of 2001 and also during the illegal invasion of and the war on Iraq that was not sanctioned by the United Nations, known as the Gulf War (Love, 2009; Merryfield, 1993). At the start of the Gulf War in 1990, communities and schools across the United States were swept with patriotic passion. Teachers' abilities to encourage critical thinking among their students about news reports and official statements released were sabotaged by the patriotic symbols that were displayed by the United States military. During this time, simply being a Muslim or a minority student in a classroom in America was dangerous (Knowles, 1993; Love, 2009; Merryfield, 1993). Schools

were, and remain to this day, a place where Muslim students are often left feeling forgotten, discouraged, frightened, and misunderstood.

Students should not have to face peers and teachers who hold negative attitudes towards them, especially when these attitudes are based on false information and widespread misrepresentation. Muslim students are constantly viewed as “others” who favor violence and a backward lifestyle, which leads to their mistreatment in schools by those around them (Alsayegh, 2016; Brown et al., 2017; Jackson, 2010; Lintner, 2005; McQueeney, 2014; Sensoy, 2014; VanDeusen, 2019). Without an accurate understanding of the diverse cultures and religions around the world, teachers and other adults are not the only individuals who will develop negative perceptions and prejudices of certain communities and cultures. From an early age, young children can begin developing negative attitudes about people who are different from them (Brown et al., 2017; Derman-Sparks & Edwards, 2010; Hossain, 2013; Over & McCall, 2018). Previous studies have found that teachers who have negative attitudes towards Muslim students tend to be males, older, less educated, and Christian or nonreligious teachers, while the characteristics of teachers with more positive attitudes include females, younger, Muslim, and teachers who hold at least a four-year college degree (Agirdag et al., 2012; Dunn et al., 2007; Fetzer & Soper, 2003). Teachers’ attitudes and understanding of equity in education are extremely important because they transfer into the classroom and dictate how they model behaviors and interact with students. Like all students, especially minorities, Muslim students have the right to feel safe and supported within the walls of their schools and classrooms.

### ***Internalized Islamophobia***

Similar to Muslim adults living in the West, Muslim children and youth are forced to take on defensive positions in order to push back the negative messages surrounding them about

Islam (Alsayegh, 2016; Johnston, 2016; Sheridan, 2006; Steinberg, 2010; Suleiman, 2017). The Islamophobic rhetoric that is found within various systems in the United States is extremely damaging to children's religious identity. Many Muslim youths in Western countries struggle to maintain their traditional Islamic lifestyle as they are faced with the pressure and stress of conforming to the dominant culture (Zine, 2001). Research has found that political trauma related to identity and belonging is prevalent among Muslim American students (Abu El-Haj, 2010). Besides being on the receiving end of negative messages and stereotyping, the typical experiences of Muslim students in the West include constantly correcting misconceptions held by their non-Muslim peers, expectations to take on the role of an expert in class if Islam is part of the curriculum, feeling stigmatized for their Muslim identities, and living within a society that frames their Muslim identities as conflicting with American or Western identity (Abu El-Haj, 2010; Keegan, 2019; Merchant, 2016; Yoder, 2020). Muslim students have these experiences in school and outside of school.

The concept of internalized Islamophobia refers to the absorption of problematic perceptions of Islam by Muslims themselves, specifically younger Muslims who experience attacks against their religion (Suleiman, 2017). When the dominant culture continues to portray and frame Islam in a negative and stereotypical fashion (Hossain, 2017), young Muslims internalize and believe these messages. These messages, along with the struggles Muslims experience, are typically subconsciously internalized, meaning without realizing it, they begin to convince themselves into accepting the stereotypes the dominant culture has created for their religious and ethnic groups (Suleiman, 2017; Yoder, 2020). For educators of Muslim students, it is important to understand the experiences of Muslims living as minorities in the United States

and provide support for young students as they attempt to construct their identities and strengthen their confidence.

### ***Providing support***

As Muslim students continue to see themselves and their communities represented in stereotypical and negative portrayals in movies, on television, and even within the classroom in curriculum materials (King, 2005; Jackson, 2010; McQueeney, 2014; Ramarajan & Runell, 2007; Sabry & Bruna, 2007; Sensoy, 2014; Steinberg, 2010; Wingfield & Karaman, 2002), they begin to suffer psychologically and socially as they internalize feelings of confusion, shame, and inferiority (Rissanen et al., 2016). When students begin to suffer in such a way, their learning and development also suffer (Ahmad & Szpara, 2003; Van Ewijk, 2011). As soon as these students start viewing themselves as less than, they give in to thinking they are not enough and that trying their best will never lead them to success (Abu El-Haj, 2007; Isik-Ercan, 2012). These negative stereotypes and portrayals will be difficult to counter with positive and correct information (Schlein & Chan, 2010), but educators must take the time to go beyond the headlines and make sure the curriculum being used includes correct information about Islam's history and the Muslim people's contributions to the world's history (Hossain, 2013; Mirza & Bakali, 2010; Sabry & Bruna, 2007). Teachers must also be very intentional about the ways in which they counter the negative messages about Muslims from the media and the school or classroom environment (Derman-Sparks & Edwards, 2009). Once the effort is made, teachers can find many resources that can assist them in creating an atmosphere of acceptance and understanding for learning about and respecting the various values, beliefs, and traditions of diverse individuals (Lee, 2012; Mirza & Bakali, 2010; Ross-Sheriff, 2017; Schlein & Chan, 2010).

Since the United States is one of the most religiously diverse countries in the world (Alsayegh, 2016; Hossain, 2013; Husain, 2015; Mohamed, 2018) and Islam remains a highly controversial and misrepresented faith, early childhood education can be a starting ground for promoting a better understanding of Islam (Bronkhorst, 2016; Lintner, 2005). If children are taught early in their young lives about Muslims and Islam, schools can begin to be a place where individuals develop a more accurate understanding and appreciation for Muslims (Hossain, 2013). Muslim students can also begin to develop positive school experiences and relationships once the curriculum adequately represents their history (Ahmad & Szpara, 2003; VanDeusen, 2019). This requires teachers to reflect on attitudes, prior experiences, and worldviews (Guo, 2012; Ross-Sheriff, 2017), as well as adjust their thinking and perceptions to better understand the experiences of Muslim students in Western school contexts for the purpose of creating classroom environments that equally support, promote, and celebrate all students.

Previous research has shown evidence that supports the integration of anti-bias curricula within early childhood and elementary school settings, for the purpose of guiding children as they learn about themselves and others, demonstrate pride in their backgrounds, respect human diversity, recognize prejudice and bias, and speak out against inequality and injustice (Brown et al., 2017; Derman-Sparks & Edwards, 2009; Sulastri, 2018). In order to understand the significance of adequately embracing anti-bias teaching practices, previous research studies have explored the relationship between teachers' perceptions, attitudes, and prior experiences in relation to how they teach and interact with diverse minority students (Francis et al., 2020; Gershenson et al., 2016; Han, 2010; Lee et al., 2015; Marquerite & Dianne, 2000; McKown & Weinstein, 2002; Rist, 1970; Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968; Shahzad & Naureen, 2017; Warren, 2002; Wedin, 2010). Similar studies have also considered the unconscious or implicit biases that



teachers carry with them regarding students' diverse identifying characteristics, such as unique first names, regardless of how much teachers believe they do not hold or are not displaying such biases, and the effect those biases have on students' development and achievement (Anderson-Clark, 2008; Bonefeld & Dickhäuser, 2018; Conaway & Bethune, 2015; Ellis & Beechley, 1954; Erwin & Calev, 1984; Garwood, 1976; Glock & Böhmer, 2018; Glock et al., 2019; Harari & McDavid, 1973; King et al., 2006; Van den Bergh et al., 2010; Van Ewijk 2011). Despite the already available research on the effect of name stereotypes of racial and ethnic minority students, there remains a lack of research on early childhood and elementary teachers' implicit bias against Islam and the ways in which that bias, along with students' Muslim names, impacts their interaction with Muslim students in the classroom. Due to this gap in the literature, and the overall negative portrayal of Islam and Muslims (Samaie & Malmir, 2017; von Sikorski et al., 2017), research is needed to explore educators' unconscious attitudes towards this group of students and the effect that these attitudes have on their response to Muslim students' behavior. This study aims to address this gap by exploring teachers' implicit biases and associations regarding Islam compared to Christianity, in relation to their expectations and responses to a Muslim student's behavior compared to a non-Muslim student's behavior in a classroom-setting scenario.

## **CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY**

While research on teachers' implicit bias in relation to working with diverse student populations exists, these studies have focused on specific minority groups, such as racial/ethnic minorities, and gender and sexual minorities. No research yet exists that focuses on religious minority student populations in the United States, specifically on Islam and Muslims in early and elementary education. This study aimed to explore the relationship between teachers' implicit bias regarding Islam and their response to a Muslim student in a classroom-setting scenario. The following chapter outlines the present study's research questions and hypotheses, the participants, the measurements that were used, the procedures of the study, and the analytic strategies used to analyze the collected data.

### **Research Questions**

This study examined the following questions:

1. Does implicit bias against Islam exist among teachers?
2. How do teachers respond to a Muslim student's behavior compared to a non-Muslim student's behavior in a classroom vignette?
3. Is there a relationship between teachers' implicit bias against Islam and how they respond to a Muslim student's behavior?
4. What are teachers' experiences and knowledge regarding Muslims?

### **Research Hypotheses**

This study examined the following hypotheses:

1. Teachers would exhibit implicit bias against Islam.
2. Teachers would respond to the Muslim student less favorably and less appropriately compared to the non-Muslim student.

3. Teacher implicit bias level would impact response to the Muslim student.
  - 3a. Teachers that have strong bias against Islam, would respond to the Muslim student significantly less favorably compared to teachers with slight and moderate bias.
  - 3b. Teachers that have moderate bias against Islam, would respond to the Muslim student significantly less favorably compared to teachers with slight bias.
  - 3c. Teachers that have slight bias against Islam, would respond to the Muslim student significantly more favorably compared to teachers with strong and moderate bias.
  - 3d. Teachers with little to no bias against Islam would show no significant difference between response to the Muslim student and the non-Muslim student.
4. Teachers would report they either have low experience and knowledge, or high experience and knowledge regarding Muslims.

### **Research Design**

The present study utilized an experimental design to explore the relationship between teachers' implicit bias regarding Islam and their response to a Muslim student in a classroom-setting scenario. For this quantitative study, data was collected through an online survey sent out to active early childhood and elementary school teachers in the United States. The purpose of the study was to explore (a) teachers' implicit bias regarding Islam, (b) whether teachers' response to student behavior differs based on the student's religious-type name and implied religious background, and (c) to what extent teachers' implicit bias can predict their responses to student behavior. This study also assesses teachers' experiences with and knowledge of Muslims.

## **Participants**

### ***Sample Size***

Previous studies exploring the relationship between teachers' implicit bias and interaction with diverse students have reported different sample sizes, ranging from 30 to 200 participants. To run the proposed analyses, the projected sample size required for the current study was 180 participants. Since a multivariate analyses was used to examine the relationship between teachers' level of implicit bias against Islam and their response to a Muslim student in a classroom setting-scenario, there needed to be approximately 15 participants for each of the 12 dependent variables in Research Question 3.

While a total of 472 teachers were recruited from a national sample of early childhood and elementary educators, approximately half ended their participation before completing the study in its entirety, therefore the actual sample size of the current study was 261 teachers. The teachers recruited represented a geographically diverse sample of teachers in the United States. At the time of participation 64 teachers were teaching in the Northeastern region, 57 were teaching in the Midwestern region, 44 were teaching in the Western region, and 96 were teaching in the Southern region of the United States (Table 3). Of the 261 participants, 215 identified as female, 216 identified as White, Caucasian, or European American, and 155 identified as Christian (Table 1). The majority of teachers held either a Bachelor's degree or a Master's degree (Table 3), the mean age was approximately 35 years old (Table 2), and the mean number of years of teaching experience was approximately 10.9 years (Table 4).

### ***Inclusion & Exclusion Criteria***

Since this study focused on implicit bias and classroom response of early childhood and elementary school teachers, participants were limited to individuals who were currently

employed in an early childhood or elementary teaching position. Participants were required to be at least 18 years old and current early childhood or elementary school teachers in the United States.

### ***Sampling Method***

In order to ensure a diverse sample, participants were recruited from various sources including social media platforms and Internet forums, as well as Prolific, which is a secure website that allows researchers to post their studies to reach a wide range of participants. On Prolific, participants join for free and elect to take various studies, for which they are compensated based on the amount of time they spend on the study.

The justification for using Prolific was to reach as many eligible users as possible. Eligible participants received a notification via Prolific's messaging system that a new study was available for them. After reading a description about the purpose, participants were able to select whether they would like to participate in the study. Upon completion and researcher approval, participants were compensated for their participation (\$2.00).

Participants were also solicited from social media platforms and Internet forums in order to reach teachers without Prolific accounts. Participants were able to access the survey from the study advertisement, which was posted to various early childhood and elementary education/teacher groups and forums. Snowball sampling was employed to reach such participants, with the study being posted to numerous social media networks and groups. Study advertisements were reposted multiple times to ensure teachers were aware that responses were still being collected, should they choose to participate.

## **Measures**

### ***Inclusion Criteria Questionnaire (Appendix A)***

Individuals who were interested in participating in the study were asked to provide information regarding their age, current employment, and country of residence. Those who were at least 18 years of age, current teachers at early childhood or elementary education levels, and living/teaching in the United States were able to proceed to the survey and participate in the study. However, individuals who did not meet at least one of the following inclusion criteria were redirected to the end of the survey. Before beginning the survey, participants were required to state that they voluntarily consent to taking the survey and participating in the study.

### ***Demographics Questionnaire (Appendix E)***

The Demographics Questionnaire, along with the Information Letter (Appendix B), was created for use in this study. The demographics measure was used to collect relevant background information about each participant such as age, gender, religious identity, ethnic/racial background, political affiliation, highest level of education, number years of teaching experience, city/state where they currently teach, grade they currently teach, and the types of training received on anti-bias education.

### ***Vignette with Questions (Appendix C)***

Vignettes were used to examine teachers' response to students within the context of a classroom by providing a nonthreatening way to explore potentially sensitive issues. The researcher created two vignettes, both describing a student's negative/distributive behavior. The vignettes were exactly the same; the only difference between the two was the first and last name of the student presented in each. One vignette depicted a Muslim student with disruptive behavior, identifiable only by a common Muslim name, and the other vignette depicted a non-

Muslim student with disruptive behavior. The Muslim student's name was chosen in order to trigger teachers' implicit attitudes about religious minorities, specifically Muslims. The students in the vignette were designed to provoke teachers' assumptions based on student name without explicitly stating the students' religion. This measure required participants to answer questions regarding discipline, referral, parents/home, and teacher expectations/student success in relation to how they would respond to behaviors presented. Participants answered 12 questions on multiple 6-point Likert-type scales (comfortable/uncomfortable; agree/disagree; likely/unlikely).

Since the vignettes used for this study are not published instruments and were created by the researcher for the current study, an initial pilot study was launched to critically assess and test the vignettes with a subset of the intended population. The pilot was sent to 25 elementary pre-service teachers enrolled at a Predominately White Institution in the United States. Out of the 25 who were recruited to participate, only two pre-service teachers completed their participation. As a result, the researcher was unable to ascertain how the intended population of early childhood and elementary teachers experienced and understood the vignettes and related questions.

### ***Implicit Associations Test (Appendix F)***

The Implicit Associations Test (IAT), created by Greenwald, McGee, and Schwartz (1998), is a computerized test that is used to measure unconscious stereotypes that are not easily accessible to individuals' conscious awareness and/or control. An IAT measures the strength of associations between a concept and evaluations. This study employed the use of the Religions Implicit Associations Test to measure the strength of associations between a concept (Religion of Islam/Muslim people; Religion of Christianity/Christian people) and evaluations (good/bad; pleasant/unpleasant). The main idea of the IAT is that making a response is easier when closely

related items have the same response key. For example, a participant has a preference for Muslim people or the religion of Islam relative to Christian people or the religion of Christianity if they are faster to complete the task when Islam + Good / Christianity + Bad are paired together compared to when Christianity + Good / Islam + Bad are paired together. A participant would receive feedback stating they have an implicit preference for Islam compared to Christianity if they respond faster when Islam + Good / Christianity + Bad are paired together compared to when Christianity + Good / Islam + Bad are paired together. Participants' IAT scores were labeled 'little to no bias', 'slight bias', 'moderate bias', or 'strong bias'. These labels reflect the strength of the implicit bias based on how much faster the participant responded to Christianity + Good / Islam+ Bad versus Islam + Good / Christianity + Bad.

A confirmatory factor analysis established the measure's internal consistency and displayed significant predictive validity, compared to explicit measures. The IAT has been shown to be a valid and reliable measure of implicit biases (Greenwald et al., 2003; Greenwald & Krieger, 2006). Previous research has supported the use of the IAT as a viable instrument to measure individuals' implicit bias regarding specific target groups (Barnhardt & Geraci, 2008; Fazio & Olson, 2003; Monteith et al., 2001).

#### ***Experiences and Knowledge Questionnaire (Appendix D)***

The researcher created a questionnaire that includes questions related to teachers' experiences with and knowledge of Muslims, to achieve a richer description and understanding of participants' experiences related to Muslims. The questionnaire consisted of several multiple-choice questions, as well as other questions that were answered in a Likert-type scale and formed the Comfort and Openness to Muslims Scale. This scale is not a validated measure and it was designed to gain a better understanding of how comfortable and open teachers are to Muslims.



Teachers were asked to report on a six-point scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree) their comfort, interest, and openness to Muslims. Total scores were reported out of 24, with higher scores indicating more openness and comfort towards Muslims and lower scores indicating less openness and comfort towards Muslims.

## **Procedures**

Upon approval from the Auburn University Institutional Review Board (IRB), the study survey, which includes the questionnaires and the two measures, was uploaded to Prolific and social media/online forums. Participants recruited via Prolific had to choose to participate in this study from a list of open and available research studies that have been posted to Prolific. Participants were only able to view research studies to participate in if they meet the inclusion criteria (e.g., individuals who are not teachers did not see this current study listed in the available studies to participate in on Prolific). Participants solicited via snowball sampling were contacted through Facebook, Instagram, and Reddit, and sent an invitation to participate in the study by completing the survey online. Participants were also asked to share the invitation for participation with other individuals who may have been interested and met the inclusion criteria.

Individuals that chose to participate accessed the study by clicking on the survey link that was posted to Prolific, social media, and various teacher/education online forums. The survey provided the Information Letter, which included necessary information for informed consent to participate in the study, as well as the limited risk associated with this study. Participants provided their consent to participate in the study by clicking the continue button. Participants were not able to move forward in the study until they provided their consent.

After providing their consent to participate in the study, participants were directed to complete the Inclusion Criteria Questionnaire, where they were asked to provide information

regarding their current age, their current teaching status, and current country of residence. Based on the answers reported, individuals who do not qualify to participate in this research study were redirected to the end of the survey page, while individuals who did qualify were directed to complete the Vignette with Questions. Afterwards, participants were asked to complete the two questionnaires specifically created for this study: the Experiences and Knowledge Questionnaire and the Demographics Questionnaire. Lastly, participants were directed to the Religions Implicit Associations Test, where they were instructed on how to complete the final task of the study.

### ***Ethical Considerations***

In order to minimize the risk associated with breach of confidentiality, precautions were taken before the recruitment letter and survey link were sent out. To maintain participants' confidentiality, the research data was all collected anonymously through the online survey platform Qualtrics, which was provided by Auburn University and had been evaluated by the university's Institutional Review Board (IRB) as a secure software program for data collection. The survey did not record any personal identifying information that could link an individual to their responses, including the participant's name, email address, and IP address.

Deception was utilized for this research study to ensure participants were not primed into answering questions favorably. At the start of the survey, participants were told that they were participating in a study assessing their responses to student classroom behavior, as opposed to participants given a description that detailed the full purpose of the study. In doing so, participants were unaware of the condition they were assigned (Muslim or non-Muslim student vignette), and they answered the questions without priming. Participants were debriefed about the full purpose of the study after completing the survey (Appendix G).

### ***Positionality Statement***

Research is not entirely objective and an individual's background provides a particular lens through which they view the world. The same information presented to one person could have a different meaning for another person of a different identity or background (Holmes, 2020). Since the identity of researchers may impact the research process, it is important for the researcher of this study to share the context of her positionality.

Bidoor Ridha is a Muslim woman born in the United States, where she attended public elementary school, middle school, high school, and university. Ridha experienced considerable discrimination and prejudice as a result of her religious identity, which began from a young age and has continued throughout adulthood. She was driven to conduct this research because she has continued to see the discrimination and harassment of Muslim students in schools across the United States, many of which similar to her experiences as a young girl wearing hijab in an American school.

As an insider to the Muslim community in the United States, Ridha conducted this study with the intent of encouraging teachers to reflect on their interactions with Muslim students, and how those interactions may be influenced by their bias against Islam and Muslims. The researcher understands that the biases teachers have are complex and is interested in helping teachers reflect on their biases to improve their interactions with the Muslim students they teach.

Ridha's research interests are a direct reflection of her personal and professional experiences. The researcher hopes that the results of this study illuminate the problems that exist in educational contexts within the United States concerning the Muslim-American community. The researcher conducted the data analyses in this study and recognized that her personal experiences should be clear on the forefront. Additionally, Ridha practiced reflexivity throughout

the process to better recognize if and when the data began to represent her personal views rather than those of the participants.

### **Analytical Strategies**

Upon completion of the data collection phase, the gathered raw data was downloaded from Qualtrics and inserted directly into the IBM Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), which was also provided by Auburn University. The researcher was then able to complete the appropriate statistical analyses required to answer the research questions and present the results of the study.

### ***Sampling Characteristics***

Descriptive statistics were computed to identify participant characteristics. Mean age, as well as percentages of participants' gender, religious identity, race/ethnicity, political affiliation, level of education, years of teaching experience, city/state of current teaching position, grade currently teaching, and the types of training received on anti-bias education were completed.

### ***Evaluating teacher implicit bias regarding Islam***

To evaluate teachers' implicit bias regarding Islam, participants' scores on the IAT were reported using frequencies and percentage, in order to determine if there were differences in bias as represented by the four possible levels of bias (little to no bias, slight bias, moderate bias, and strong bias).

### ***Evaluating teacher response to student behavior***

To evaluate teachers' response to the student behavior outlined in the vignettes, Multiple Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) were used to separately analyze the 12 dependent variables. This analysis also allowed the researcher to determine if there was a significant difference in teacher response based on the student name in the vignette.

### ***Testing the relationship between implicit bias and teacher response***

To test the relationship between implicit bias and teacher response to student behavior, follow-up Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) tests were conducted. Of the 12 response items from the vignette, items that were identified as significant from the MANOVA were further analyzed using ANOVAs in relation to participants' IAT score. These analyses allowed the researcher to determine whether implicit bias is related to teacher responses to student behavior in a classroom vignette, and whether there are differences based on student name.

### ***Reporting teachers' experiences and knowledge regarding Muslims***

Descriptive statistics were computed to identify teachers' experiences with and knowledge of Muslims. Frequencies and percentages were used to report the number of Muslim students teachers have taught, teachers' interactions with Muslims, the sources that influence teachers' knowledge about Muslims, and the training teachers received that has addressed religion as a form of diversity. Percentages and mean scores were also used to report participants' scores on a Comfort and Openness to Muslims scale.

## CHAPTER IV: RESULTS

The purpose of this research study was to explore the relationship between teachers' implicit bias regarding Islam and their response to a Muslim student in a classroom-setting scenario. This chapter reports and describes participant demographics, preliminary analyses used to prepare the data, analyses used to test the hypotheses, and a summary of the results.

### **Descriptive Statistics**

Descriptive statistics including means and standard deviations were examined for all measures used in this study. Participant characteristics including demographics (Table 1), mean age (Table 2), teaching background (Table 3), teaching experience (Table 4), and training received on Anti-Bias Education (Table 5), along with teacher response to student behavior (Table 7), experience and knowledge regarding Muslims (Tables 9-12), and comfort and openness to Muslims (Table 13) are reported.

### **Analyses of Research Questions and Hypotheses**

#### ***Analysis of teacher implicit bias regarding Islam (Question 1)***

The first hypothesis proposed that implicit bias against Islam exists among teachers, and that teachers would exhibit a certain level of implicit bias. A Religions Implicit Associations Test (IAT) was used to assess participants' automatic evaluations of two world religions, Christianity and Islam. An IAT measures the degree to which one concept is associated with another concept, and the IAT used for the current study measured the degree to which participants associate Islam with bad words such as hurt, horrible, angry, and evil, compared to good words such as joy, wonderful, love, and peace. For example, participants may associate bad words with Islam more than Christianity for a variety of reasons, and this type of association reflects a stereotype. Participants' IAT scores are used to identify either an automatic preference

for Christianity, which indicates implicit bias against Islam, or an automatic preference for Islam, which indicates implicit bias against Christianity (Greenwald et al., 2003).

Overall, teachers' IAT scores indicated a positive mean difference score suggesting teachers have stronger pleasant associations with the Christianity stimuli compared to the Islam stimuli. Results from the IAT (Table 6) showed that 73.6% of participants have a preference for Christianity over Islam, 16.9% have little to no preference, and 9.6% have a preference for Islam over Christianity. In other words, 73.6% of the participants have some implicit bias against Islam, 16.9% have little to no implicit bias, and 9.6% have some implicit bias against Christianity.

Frequencies and percentages were used to describe the participant sample placement within the different levels of bias (Table 6). Of the 73.6% participants who displayed bias against Islam, 32.6% have strong bias against Islam, 26.1% have moderate bias against Islam, and 14.9% have slight bias against Islam. Of the 9.6% participants who displayed bias against Christianity, 2.3% have strong bias, 1.9% have moderate bias, and 5.4% have slight bias. The remaining 16.9% of participants displayed little to no bias against Islam or Christianity. The results from the IAT clearly indicate that implicit bias against Islam, when compared to Christianity, does in fact exist among teachers in the United States. The results from this study are consistent with the results collected by Project Implicit using the Religion IAT available on their website. The results from data collected between March 2017 and December 2017 included 23,818 participants' scores on the Christianity vs. Islam IAT and showed that most people (72% of the sample size) implicitly prefer Christianity to Islam, therefore having some implicit bias against Islam (Project Implicit, 2017).

### *Analysis of teacher response to student behavior (Question 2)*

The second hypothesis proposed that teachers would respond differently to a Muslim student's behavior compared to a non-Muslim student's behavior in a classroom vignette, and more specifically, that teachers would respond more unfavorably to the Muslim student compared to the non-Muslim student. Participants were randomly assigned to one of two vignettes, both describing the same classroom behavior. Of the total 261 participants, 128 participants were assigned to the Muslim student name vignette, Mohammed Abdullah, and 133 participants were assigned to the non-Muslim student name vignette, Matthew Alexander.

A multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was used to examine the difference between the vectors of means between the Muslim name and non-Muslim name condition across all the dependent variables assessing discipline, referral, parents and home, and teacher expectations and student success, using a .05 significance level ( $\alpha = .05$ ). Since questions from the vignette did not form a scale, they were analyzed as separate items using a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA). For that reason, a sufficient sample size of at least 180 participants was required to absorb the potential error inflation and avoid the probability of making a Type II Error and coming to a false conclusion.

The results from the MANOVA (Table 7) indicated that there was no significant multivariate effect between the two student groups on ten of the twelve dependent variables. Teachers had similar responses for both students when asked to what extent they feel comfortable or uncomfortable in contacting the student's parents and working with them in order to develop behavior modification strategies ( $F_{(1, 260)} = 2.41, p = .12$ ), to what extent they agree or disagree that changes need to be made in the student's home for his behavior to improve ( $F_{(1, 260)} = 0.00, p = .98$ ), to what extent they agree or disagree that the student should sit in isolation or



“time-out” as a method of correcting his behavior ( $F_{(1, 260)} = 0.53, p = .47$ ), to what extent they agree or disagree that the student should be sent to the principal’s office ( $F_{(1, 260)} = 0.04, p = .84$ ), how likely or unlikely they are to work one-on-one with the student in ways that would build his trust ( $F_{(1, 260)} = 0.98, p = .32$ ), to what extent they agree or disagree that the student should experience a loss of classroom privileges to help motivate him from repeating the behavior ( $F_{(1, 260)} = 0.86, p = .35$ ), to what extent they agree or disagree that the student should receive some form of suspension if the behavior continues ( $F_{(1, 260)} = 1.14, p = .29$ ), how likely or unlikely they are to think the student’s behavior can be effectively changed in their general education classroom with some basic behavior modification strategies ( $F_{(1, 260)} = 0.15, p = .70$ ), how likely or unlikely they are to think the student will be academically successful in school ( $F_{(1, 260)} = 0.09, p = .77$ ), and how likely or unlikely they are to think the student will be successful in making friends in school ( $F_{(1, 260)} = 2.16, p = .14$ ).

Teachers did exhibit significantly different responses to the two students’ behavior when asked how likely or unlikely they are to give the student responsibility of completing tasks to build his confidence and encourage accountability ( $F_{(1, 260)} = 4.77, p = .03$ ). In examining the differences among the means, teachers had a more favorable response for Matthew compared to Mohammed, meaning they are more likely to be willing to give Matthew the responsibility of completing tasks to build confidence and encourage accountability. Teachers also exhibited significantly different responses to the students’ behavior when asked how likely or unlikely they are to refer the student for special education services if the behavior persisted ( $F_{(1, 260)} = 5.27, p = .02$ ). In examining the differences among the means, teachers had a more favorable response for Mohammed compared to Matthew, meaning they are more likely to refer Matthew for special education services.

The final vignette question, which was open-ended, asked teacher participants to identify and explain any other approaches they believe are appropriate to use with the student in the given vignette. Out of the 261 teachers who participated in the study, 230 responded to the open-ended question; 112 responded for Mohammed and 118 responded for Matthew. The first step in analyzing the data this question yielded was to code the data, which is the process of identifying themes and attaching labels to catalog them (Ryan & Bernard, 2003). The themes that are then found as a result of the coding process are pieces of participants' answers that characterize certain perceptions that are relevant to the research question. Fragments of participants' answers were identified as themes after a phrase was expressed more than seven times throughout the data set. As a result of this analysis, eight major themes emerged related to approaches teachers believe are appropriate to use with Matthew and eleven major themes emerged related to approaches teachers believe are appropriate to use with Mohammed (Table 8). These themes are listed below:

**Table 8. Open-ended Response Themes**

<i>Major themes for Matthew:</i>	<i>Major themes for Mohammed:</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Build a trusting relationship by allowing Matthew to spend one-on-one time with the teacher or other adult mentors/support staff to review the behavior, reinforce expectations, and suggest strategies to Matthew to help reduce the behavior.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Build a trusting relationship by spending one-on-one time with Mohammed to review the behavior, model appropriate behaviors, and suggest strategies to Mohammed to help reduce the behavior.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Maintain patience and monitor and record problematic behavior to understand when it occurs and why Antecedent, Behavior, and Consequence (ABC data).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Monitor behavior to identify any possible cultural barriers.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Make modifications to the classroom by creating a calming space for Matthew, as well as assign classroom jobs/responsibilities that interest him.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Isolate Mohammed by seating him away from peers and closer to the teacher until the problematic behavior changes.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Refer Matthew for special education evaluation.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Help Mohammed build responsibility by giving him jobs/tasks that interest him.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Assign a peer mentor to support Matthew and model appropriate behaviors.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Refer Mohammed for special education evaluation.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Communicate with Matthew’s parents to understand home life, also discuss behavior to develop a plan that can be implemented in the classroom and at home.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Refer Mohammed to other professionals, such as social worker, medical professional for medication, and therapist for psychological counseling/therapy.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Focus on Matthew’s strengths with positive behavior reinforcements, create an individualized behavior modification plan, and other positive behavioral interventions and supports (PBIS) strategies.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Assign a peer mentor to model appropriate behaviors.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Model behavior for Matthew while using conscious discipline strategies that teach self-control and self-regulation.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hold a parent teacher conference to discuss Mohammed’s behavior.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reinforce positive behavior by using individualized behavior charts and classroom reward systems.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Take away Mohammed’s classroom privileges and remove him from specials classes to discuss behavior.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Changes must be made at home because problematic behavior stems from parental neglect.</li> </ul>

### ***Analysis of the relationship between implicit bias and teacher response (Question 3)***

The third hypothesis proposed that there is a relationship between teachers' implicit bias against Islam and how they respond to a Muslim student's behavior, and so the level of implicit bias would be related to the overall teacher response to the Muslim student.

Several one-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVAs) were used to test whether a relationship existed. The results showed that teachers' scores from the IAT were not correlated with any of the significant responses to the student classroom behavior, meaning the relationship between teacher implicit bias and response to student behavior was not found to be significant within this sample.

### ***Reporting teachers' experiences and knowledge regarding Muslims (Question 4)***

The fourth hypothesis proposed that teachers would report either low or high experience and knowledge regarding Muslims. Frequencies and percentages were used to report the number of Muslim students teachers have taught over the course of their career (Table 9), the previous interactions teachers have had with Muslim individuals (Table 10), the sources that influence teachers' knowledge about Muslims and Islam (Table 11), and any teacher training they have received that has addressed religion as a form of diversity (Table 12).

Participants were also rated on a Comfort and Openness to Muslims scale and descriptive statistics, frequencies, percentages, means, and standard deviations were used to examine total scores (Table 13). Participants were required to rate their comfort level on multiple items such as teaching Muslim students, making Muslim friends, and learning more about Muslims. Based on their responses, participants were given a total score out of 24, with higher scores indicating higher/more openness and comfort towards Muslims and lower scores indicating lower/less openness and comfort towards Muslims. The results of the analysis showed participants' scores

ranged from 4 to 23, with 88.1% having a score ranging from 4-10, 11.2% having a score ranging from 11-15, and 0.8% having a score ranging from 16-23 (Table 14). In other words, teachers within the United States tend to have lower comfort and openness towards Muslims, as indicated by the 88.1% of participants of this sample.

## CHAPTER V: DISCUSSION

### Summary of the Study

Previous research has revealed how teachers respond and interact with diverse students differs from how they respond and interact with White, Anglo-European students (Bonefeld & Dickhäuser, 2018; Glock & Böhmer, 2018; Glock et al., 2019; Van den Bergh et al., 2010; Van Ewijk 2011). However, the majority of this research has focused on racial and ethnic minority students with limited research on how teachers respond to religious minority students, specifically Muslims in early and elementary education. In order to address this gap in the literature, this study was conducted to gain insight into how teachers within the United States respond to a Muslim student in a classroom-setting scenario. The aim of the current study was to explore (a) teachers' implicit bias level regarding Islam, (b) whether teachers' response to a student's negative and disruptive behavior differs based on the student's religious-type name and implied religious background, (c) to what extent teachers' implicit bias against Islam can predict responses to a Muslim student's behavior, and (d) teachers' overall knowledge and experiences regarding Muslims.

A series of questionnaires and tasks (Appendix A, Appendix B, Appendix D, Appendix E) were administered to 261 early childhood and elementary school teachers across all four geographical regions of the United States. Participants accessed and participated in the study online, responses were collected and recorded via Qualtrics, and data were analyzed using IBM Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). The following discussion aims to explain the findings of the present study within the context of relevant literature, as well as explore the implications for improved educational practices. Recommendations for future research will also be discussed, along with the limitations of the current study.

## **Discussion of the Findings and Implications**

### ***Implicit bias***

The first research question of the study was “Does implicit bias against Islam exist among teachers?” The hypothesis stated that teachers would exhibit slight, moderate, or strong implicit bias against Islam. Implicit bias is understood as the unconscious stereotypes and attitudes individuals carry with them about particular groups of people (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). Although an individual’s implicit bias may not always align with their conscious beliefs, or in the case of teachers their teaching philosophies, (Godsil, 2014; Staats, 2016), the implicit biases they carry oftentimes influence their decisions and behaviors (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Neitzel, 2018; Staats, 2016). While implicit bias against Islam and Muslims has not been examined specifically in early childhood and elementary education teachers, incidents of anti-Muslim bias and bullying, as well as Islamophobia are prominent in schools across the United States (Aroian, 2012; Awan & Zempi, 2015; Husain, 2015; Seikaly, 2001; Steinberg, 2010; Wingfield & Karaman, 2002). According to a 2020 survey conducted by the Institute for Social Policy and Understanding (ISPU), 50% of Muslim parents with children in K-12 schools reported that their children have experienced discrimination and bullying as a result of their religion, and 30% reported that teachers or other school staff members were the sources of the harassment (Mogahed & Ikramullah, 2020).

Findings from the current study indicate that approximately 73.6% of teachers have implicit bias against Islam, 16.9% have little to no bias against Islam, and 9.6% have implicit bias against Christianity (Table 6). Of the 73.6% of participants, 32.6% have strong implicit bias against Islam, 26.1% have moderate implicit bias against Islam, and 14.9% have slight bias against Islam (Figure 1). Teachers with implicit bias against Islam were female, older (between

mid-30s to early 60s), White, Christian, teaching in the Southern region of the United States, and have taught fewer Muslims compared to teachers who showed little to no bias against Islam. These results are consistent with results from previous studies that asked non-Muslim American adults to report their views on Islam and Muslims. Findings from such studies indicated that individuals who typically have the most reservations about Muslims tend to be Republicans, White Evangelicals, and individuals with lower levels of education (Ciftci, 2012; Jung, 2012; Lipka, 2017).

While the Implicit Association Test such as the one used in the current study cannot predict teachers' future behavior from one test, the IAT is used by researchers to predict discrimination in education, among other areas such as healthcare, hiring, and law enforcement (Barnhardt & Geraci, 2008; Fazio & Olson, 2003; Greenwald et al., 2003; Monteith et al., 2001). Consequently, the IAT should not be used as a decision-making tool for hiring teachers, but instead could be used more appropriately to teach teachers about implicit bias, considering how research has shown that the IAT is a tool that can be effective in raising awareness about implicit bias (Casad et al., 2021; Clark & Zygmunt, 2014; Crutchfield et al., 2021; Devine et al., 2012; Hillard et al., 2013; Nadan, 2016). This is specifically important to teachers' implicit bias against Muslims and Islam since this area has not been explored within the early childhood and elementary education context. Exploring teachers' implicit bias, and possibly explicit bias against Muslims can potentially help researchers elucidate the negative school experiences of Muslim students in the United States, as well as help teachers gain a greater understanding of the biases they carry with them and how those biases can be harmful to their Muslim students, families, and colleagues.



It is possible that teachers who take the IAT, even for educational and training purposes, may not like the results they receive which may cause defensiveness and negative emotions to arise, especially if their implicit attitudes are aligned more with societal bias than are their explicit attitudes (Hillard et al., 2013; Howell et al., 2015; Howell et al., 2017; Vitriol & Moskowitz, 2021). Regardless of how uncomfortable they may be, it is important for teachers to explore and understand the unconscious biases they may have because their biases could lead to the unjust treatment of particular students, families, and colleagues. Since humans are social learners who construct knowledge and understanding about the world from their surroundings, the interactions children have with their teachers and peers at school will ultimately influence their self-view and world-view (Polly et al., 2018; Vygotsky, 1980). Those interactions also play a critical role in how children form perceptions of others and how others should be treated based on implicit and explicit biases adults exhibit around them. Teachers must reflect upon and understand the biases they carry with them into the classroom for the sake of all of their students, Muslims and non-Muslims alike.

The National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC) Code of Ethical Conduct, which proposes a common basis for settling the primary ethical dilemmas professionals face in early childhood education, implores teachers to understand their responsibilities to the children they educate and the families and colleagues they interact with (Feeney & Freeman, 2018; NAEYC, 2011). In order to adequately and appropriately fulfill their role in supporting children's healthy growth and development, teachers should consider the ways in which race and ethnicity, culture, religion, gender, socioeconomic status, and differing abilities impact their perceptions of and interactions with children, as well as their ability to treat all children and families equitably (Feeney & Freeman, 2018). When teachers are faced with

making decisions about what is right and just, they should consider and reflect on the biases they carry with them and how those biases may be influencing their decisions, which could potentially have a negative impact on the children involved (Bonefeld & Dickhäuser, 2018; Feeney & Freeman, 2018; Glock & Böhmer, 2018; Glock et al., 2019; Van den Bergh et al., 2010; Van Ewijk 2011).

### ***Response to student behavior***

The second research question was “How do teachers respond to a Muslim student’s behavior compared to a non-Muslim student’s behavior in a classroom vignette?” The hypothesis stated that teachers would respond to the Muslim student in less favorable and less appropriate ways compared to the non-Muslim student. Although there is a lack of research on early childhood and elementary education teachers’ response and interaction with religiously diverse students such as Muslims, there is a great deal of research on teachers’ response and interactions with racially and ethnically diverse student minorities. As demonstrated by previous studies, bias regarding race and ethnicity exists among teachers and can influence their actions and interactions with diverse students (Glock & Böhmer, 2018; Glock et al., 2019; Van den Bergh et al., 2010). It is not uncommon for teachers to be influenced by a student’s race-type or ethnic-type name when allocating consequences to certain behaviors (Bonefeld & Dickhäuser, 2018; Godsil et al., 2014; Neitzel, 2018; Van Ewijk 2011). Studies similar to the current one have found that teachers often do not rate and respond to students differently when the race of the student is clearly stated in a scenario, but there are significant differences in the way they respond to students based on the student name when student race is not included (Anderson-Clark et al., 2008; Conaway & Bethune, 2015; Foster, 2008; Garwood, 1976; Harari & McDavid, 1973). This indicated that teachers are more likely to associate negative attributes with the

African American-sounding name compared to the Anglo American-sounding name, which was a result of giving significantly lower achievement scores to students in scenarios with an African American-sounding name.

Findings from the current study did partially align with the researcher's hypothesis. While the results of the study indicated that there was no significant difference between how teachers responded to the Muslim student, Mohammed, and the non-Muslim student, Matthew, on ten of the twelve dependent variables, significant differences in rating were found, however, in the remaining two dependent variables. Since there were no significant differences between the rating for Mohammed and Matthew for ten of the dependent variables, ratings for each item will be discussed using the overall mean from both students, except for the two variables that showed significant differences.

Teachers from this study somewhat agree that changes need to be made in both Mohammed and Matthew's home for the behavior to improve and they feel comfortable contacting both Mohammed and Matthew's parents in order to work with them and develop behavior modification strategies that can improve the student's behavior. Teachers indicated they are very likely to work one-on-one with both Mohammed and Matthew in ways that would build their trust and disagreed that both students should be sent to the principal's office or that they should receive some form of suspension (in-school or out-of-school) if the behavior continues. Additionally, teachers somewhat disagreed that both Mohammed and Matthew should sit in isolation or "time-out" and experience a loss of classroom privileges as a method of correcting the behavior or as motivation to keep them from repeating the behavior. Teachers believed both Mohammed and Matthew's behavior was likely to be effectively changed in the general education classroom with some basic behavior modification or support strategies. Teachers also

believed that both Mohammed and Matthew were likely to be academically successful in school and somewhat likely to be successful in making friends in school.

The results from the MANOVA indicate that compared to Matthew, teachers are less likely to give Mohammed the responsibility of completing small tasks around the classroom to build his confidence and encourage accountability. Interestingly, the results from the MANOVA also indicate that teachers are less likely to refer Mohammed for special education services and more likely to refer Matthew for special education services if the behavior persisted.

This portion of the findings does not fully align with the hypothesis that teachers would respond to the Muslim student's behavior in less favorable and appropriate ways compared to the non-Muslim student. While there were differences in the ratings for the two students, those differences were not significant for all but two items. There are a few possible interpretations as to why these findings were not significant. First, response bias or survey bias is common among participants who participate in self-report studies, such as the current study (Lavrakas, 2011). This occurs when participants do not answer the questions on a survey truthfully for fear of providing answers that are socially or professionally unacceptable, or even for fear of being judged by researchers. Another possible interpretation is that participants were somehow primed before responding to the items for the vignette. This includes the possibility of being primed by the student's Muslim name in the vignette or the possibility that they had previously participated in a similar study. A third possibility is participants who would have answered in ways that might have yielded significant differences in teacher response may not have participated in the study all the way through to the end and therefore, their partial responses were not included in the analysis. A total of 472 early childhood and elementary education teachers accessed the

study, but only approximately half completed the study in its entirety, meaning 211 teachers disconnected from the study prior to completion.

As for the two items on the vignette task that did yield significant differences in teacher response, item six and item nine, only the results from item six aligned with the hypothesis. In fact, responses for item nine indicated that teachers responded to the non-Muslim student less favorably compared to the Muslim student. A possible interpretation of this result is the student's non-religious or religious-type name did not affect the way teachers responded to the student, instead, the way teachers respond could be an indicator of teacher education in general and the usage of appropriate or inappropriate practices. Another possibility to consider is that while referral to special education services was presented as a less favorable response to the behavior, teachers may have interpreted it as a more favorable response. Therefore, teachers may have been more inclined to consider a broader range of possibilities as to why the non-Muslim student was displaying disruptive behaviors. In other words, rather than thinking the disruptive behavior was a result of the student's character, home life, or cultural/religious background, teachers may have believed that the non-Muslim student needed some help and thus were more likely to refer him for special education services. Teachers may not have been willing to think about or explore similar reasons that might exist for the Muslim student's disruptive behavior.

Nonetheless, differences were found in the open-ended portion of the vignette task. Teachers were asked to identify and explain any other approaches they believe are appropriate to use with the student they were assigned. After participants' responses were analyzed, eight major themes were identified on approaches teachers believe are appropriate to use with Matthew, and eleven were identified for Mohammed (Table 8). The themes were categorized into one of four categories: similar themes that were identified for both Mohammed and Matthew, themes that

shared some similarities for both students but also contained differences, themes that were identified for Matthew but not Mohammed, and themes that were identified for Mohammed but not Matthew.

In the first category, four similar themes were identified for both Mohammed and Matthew, this includes (1) building a trusting relationship with the student by spending one-on-one time to review the negative behavior and suggest strategies, (2) assigning classroom jobs that interest the student to build responsibility, (3) assigning a peer mentor for support and modeling, and (4) referring the student for special education evaluation.

In the second category, there were three themes that shared similar qualities but also had differences, this includes (1) monitoring the behavior, but for Matthew it was to understand when the problematic behavior occurs while for Mohammed it was to identify possibly cultural barriers, (2) holding a parent-teacher conference to discuss the behavior, but for Matthew it further includes communicating with his parents to better understand home life, and (3) reinforcing positive behavior and creating individualized behavior plans, but for Matthew it includes using positive behavioral interventions and support strategies while for Mohammed it includes implementing classroom reward systems such as sticker charts and token systems.

In the third category, there were two themes that were identified for Matthew but not Mohammed, this includes (1) creating a calming space in the classroom for Matthew to access as needed, and (2) using conscious discipline strategies that teach self-control and self-regulation.

In the fourth category, there were four themes that were identified for Mohammed but not Matthew, this includes (1) isolating Mohammed by seating him away from his peers and closer to the teacher until the problematic behavior changes, (2) taking away Mohammed's classroom privileges and removing him from specials classes to discuss his behavior, (3) referring

Mohammed to other professionals, such as social workers, medical professionals for medication, and therapists for psychological counseling/therapy, and (4) changes need to be made in Mohammed's home because the problematic behavior stems from parental neglect.

The findings from the open-ended portion of the vignette task align with the hypothesis since teachers did have different responses to the Muslim student compared to the non-Muslim student. While the overall response to both students was similar and aligned with appropriate educational practices (Gartrell, 2021; Gillespie, 2015; Hancock & Carter, 2016; Isik-Ercan, 2017), there were additional responses that were only identified for Mohammed and not Matthew. These responses were more negative in nature and did not align with appropriate educational practices. To demonstrate approaches and actions teachers believed are appropriate for Mohammed's behavior, sample responses are outlined and discussed below:

***“I think the problem stems from parental neglect” and “He likely isn’t receiving the attention and love and home that he craves.”***

These teachers concluded that Mohammed's behavior is a result of neglect, which may or may not be the case, especially since the vignette did not include any information about the students' home life, but the issue here is responses such as these were not identified to Matthew, who displayed the exact same behaviors as Mohammed.

***“I’d get to know the problem and understand if there are any cultural barriers.”***

This teacher pondered if Mohammed's behavior was a result of barriers between his culture and the classroom/school culture or even possibly popular culture. It is interesting that the teacher would think there is a possibility of cultural barriers since teachers assigned to Matthew

responded with wanting to monitor Matthew's behavior to identify what triggers him. Matthew's culture was not questioned.

***“I think in this case, parental punishment will be more effective than punishment coming from the teacher.”***

This teacher believed that punishment would be the appropriate response to Mohammed's behavior and explained that teacher punishment would not be effective, so it would have to come from Mohammed's parents. Again, such responses suggesting punishment as an appropriate approach were not prescribed to Matthew.

***“I recommend therapy” and “Consult with the school's social worker.”***

These teachers made recommendations they believed are appropriate for handling Mohammed's behavior, and they might be, but once again these suggestions were only specified for Mohammed and not Matthew.

***“I feel that seeking a counselor or medical professional would benefit Mohammed as these sound like Autism or un-medicated ADHD symptoms.”***

This teacher suspects that Mohammed's behavior may be curable with some counseling or medication, which once again may or may not be the case, but such specific suspicions and recommendations were not made for Matthew.

***“I would probably have him sit in a desk alone until he can earn back his right to be with his friends” and “A one-on-one meeting with him during specials.”***

These teachers concluded the appropriate response to Mohammed's behavior is to take away the things he enjoys, like sitting with friends and going to specials classes (e.g., music, art, physical



education, technology) so that they could discuss the behavior with him or until he was able to improve his behavior.

These findings indicate that the student's Muslim name in the vignette played a role in the way teachers responded to the student. While it is noteworthy that such responses were only submitted to Mohammed and not Matthew, these findings are consistent with results from similar studies on teacher bias and response to students with race-type names (Anderson-Clark et al., 2008; Conaway & Bethune, 2015; Foster, 2008; Garwood, 1976; Harari & McDavid, 1973). These findings can help teachers reflect on what attitudes and biases make them respond to a Muslim student differently than a non-Muslim student and begin to critically examine the school and classroom climates that Muslim students experience. While teacher responses such as the ones discussed may go unquestioned, teachers must be responsible and intentional in challenging such occurrences, especially since they can make the lives of Muslim students difficult and unpleasant (Diemer et al., 2016; Freire, 1973; Goulet, 1998; Jemal, 2017).

### ***Relationship between implicit bias and teacher response***

The third research question was "Is there a relationship between teachers' implicit bias against Islam and how they respond to a Muslim student's behavior?" The hypothesis stated that teacher implicit bias level would be related to teacher response to the Muslim student, specifically teachers that have strong bias against Islam would respond to the Muslim student significantly less favorably compared to teachers with slight and moderate bias, teachers that have moderate bias against Islam would respond to the Muslim student significantly less favorably compared to teachers with slight bias, teachers that have slight bias would respond to the Muslim student significantly more favorably compared to teachers with strong and moderate

bias, and teachers with little to no bias against Islam would show no significant difference between responses to the Muslim and the non-Muslim students' behavior. Results from studies examining the relationship between teacher implicit bias and response to students with race-type names have suggested that a relationship between the two exists (Anderson-Clark, 2008; Bonefeld & Dickhäuser, 2018; Conaway & Bethune, 2015; Erwin & Caley, 1984; Foster, 2008; Garwood, 1976; Harari & McDavid, 1973). Since the ways in which teachers interact and respond to minority students is impacted by the attitudes and judgments teachers carry with them about certain groups of people (Gilliam et al., 2016; Godsil et al., 2014; Glock & Böhmer, 2018; Glock et al., 2019; Neitzel, 2018; Van den Bergh et al., 2010), the current study hypothesis included that teachers' bias against Islam would be related to the way they respond to a Muslim student with a religious-type name.

Findings from the current study reveal that teachers' implicit bias against Islam was not correlated with any of their responses to the Muslim student's classroom behavior. This indicates that if a relationship did exist between teachers' implicit bias against Islam and their response to the Muslim student, that relationship was not found in this study. There are a few possible interpretations as to why these findings do not align with the hypothesis of the current study, as well as results from similar previous studies. First, the current study has established that bias against Islam does exist in teachers but it is possible that this bias does not show up in how teachers respond to student behavior, and instead, bias might show up in other ways such as grading of student work or overall expectations of students. Research has shown that when teacher bias is prevalent, it can show up as lower expectations and more negative beliefs regarding certain diverse populations, which may emerge from perceived deficits in the students'

home background such as lack of parental support and education, and criminal tendencies (Black et al., 2016).

Another possibility is that although there is a long line of research that shows teachers historically have bias and that bias equates to a difference in treatment of certain students (Bonefeld & Dickhäuser, 2018; Glock & Böhmer, 2018; Glock et al., 2019; Godsil et al., 2014; Neitzel, 2018; Van den Bergh et al., 2010; Van Ewijk 2011), is it possible that there is now a shift and that teachers are more aware of their biases and have made a conscious commitment to change their attitudes. While it may not be possible for teachers to avoid the automatic prejudices they have towards Muslims, it is possible for them to consciously reform them (Clark & Zygmunt, 2014; Cohn-Vargas, 2015). Regardless of the results from the Implicit Association Test that revealed teachers do have bias against Islam, it is possible that teachers are aware of their biases and therefore are putting in the work to be intentional about the way they interact with students and the judgments they make (Fracassini, 2018), meaning they have reflected on the biases they carry with them and it may not show up in their teaching because they are able to keep those biases in check as they interact with all students in an appropriate, professional, and respectful manner. It is important for teachers to be intentional in reflecting and understanding the layers of bias they have so the actions and decisions they make are beneficial to all their students. Being aware of their own biases also allows teachers to uncover the social injustices their students face by adopting a critical consciousness pedagogy (Freire, 1973) that encourages the critical examination of educational opportunities, school climates, representation, and educational practices to better understand the experiences of Muslim students in the United States.

### *Experiences and knowledge of Muslims*

The final research question of the study was “What are teachers’ experiences and knowledge regarding Muslims?” The hypothesis stated that teachers would report they either have low experience and knowledge, or high experience and knowledge regarding Muslims. Teachers were asked to report their previous involvement with Muslims, as well as the sources that influence their knowledge about Muslims for the purpose of achieving a richer description and understanding of teachers’ experiences related to Muslims.

In regard to teachers’ involvement with Muslims, the findings indicate that approximately 22% of teachers reported they have not taught any Muslims over the course of their career, whereas approximately 78% of teachers reported they have taught at least 1 Muslim student at some point during their career (Table 9). Interestingly, only about 9% of teachers have not interacted with any Muslim individuals, compared to about 91% of teachers who have interacted with a variety of Muslims including business owners, colleagues, students and parents, friends, and neighbors (Table 10). This is noteworthy since previous research has shown that non-Muslim Americans who have bias against Muslims usually have not consciously interacted with any Muslims (Jackson, 2010; Lipka, 2017; van Driel, 2005). Results from the current study reveal that majority of teachers have bias against Islam despite their interactions with Muslims (Figure 1). Since the current study did not ask participants to elaborate on their interactions, it is possible that some teachers had bad interactions with Muslims, meaning the interactions they experienced would not change their views and biases, but might instead support their attitudes towards Muslims.

Findings from the current study further indicate the most common source of information that influences teachers’ knowledge about Muslims is the news and media (Figure 3). This aligns

with previous research on non-Muslim Americans' views of Muslims in which participants with bias against Muslims reported the main source that influences their knowledge about Islam and Muslims is mainstream news and media (Abu Sway, 2005; Alsayegh, 2016; Aydin & Hammer, 2010; Ciftci, 2012; Cohen, 2016; Jackson, 2010; McQueeney, 2014; Samaie & Malmir, 2017). Other sources of knowledge include Muslim family and friends, books and personal research, movies and television shows, non-Muslim friends and family, and social media.

Compared to training on Anti-Bias Education, teachers reported they received less training on how religion is a form of diversity and how to support religiously diverse students (Figure 2). Roughly 13% of teachers reported they received no Anti-Bias Education training, whereas 30.7% reported they received no training on religious diversity at all; not from college courses, professional developments, workshops, or conferences. While these findings are important considering the number of religiously diverse minority students enrolled in schools throughout the United States (Marshall, 2008; Mohamed, 2018), they are predictable bearing in mind the numerous topics and sub-topics that teacher education courses are required to cover over a limited period of time. Due to this, some areas of diversity, such as religious diversity, are oftentimes overlooked (Guo, 2011; Nimmo et al., 2019).

In an effort to gain an enhanced understanding of how comfortable and open teachers are to Muslims in general, participants were asked to express their comfort level in teaching Muslim students, their comfort level in making Muslim friends, their openness in learning more about Islam and Muslims, and how necessary they believe it is to learn about cultures and religions different from their own. The scale created specifically for this study, ranging from 0-24 (0-very low comfort and openness, 24-very high comfort and openness), was used to rate teachers' responses. While participants' scores ranged from 4-23, the overall mean score was 7.13,

indicating that teachers in this study generally have low comfort and openness towards Muslims (Figure 4). This is notable since the Muslim student population in the United States has grown over the past years, along with manifestations of intolerance and discrimination against Muslims in schools (Aroian, 2012; Awan & Zempi, 2015; Husain, 2015; McQueeney, 2014; Seikaly, 2001; Steinberg, 2010; Wingfield & Karaman, 2002). The discrimination, harassment, and Islamophobia that Muslim students face in school impact not only the individual Muslim student but also the larger Muslim community. Schools are required and expected to be safe places where students are nurtured and given the space and opportunity to develop their knowledge, skills, and personalities. However, schools often fail to protect their students from harassment, bullying, and discrimination that are brought forth in response to a student's race, culture, gender identity, ability, or religion. Studies have reported that minority students who find themselves in such circumstances are at risk of developing low self-esteem, self-segregation, internalized oppression, disengagement from school activities, unfulfilled potential, attraction to violent ideologies, dropping out of school, health problems, depression, and suicidal thoughts (Aroian, 2012; Awan & Zempi, 2015; Brody et al., 2006; Fisher et al., 2000; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009; Sabry & Bruna, 2007; Sanders-Phillips et al., 2009; Schmitt et al., 2014; Verkuyten et al., 2019). Moreover, children develop their critical thinking skills in social environments such as classrooms and in interactions with teachers and peers (Polly et al., 2018; Vygotsky, 1980), so what they observe from others' interactions with Muslims will ultimately influence the attitudes they develop towards Muslims. It is the responsibility of teachers to reflect on their biases and how those biases impact their teaching and interaction with Muslim students, parents, and colleagues. It is also their responsibility to be intentional in countering the discrimination and Islamophobia that Muslim students encounter.

## **Limitations**

As with all studies, careful consideration should be given to the limitations when interpreting the findings. First, this study relied heavily on the method of self-report to collect data from teachers across the United States. A common issue with this method of data collection is that participants may exaggerate or omit the truth from their responses. It is possible that teachers may provide answers on how they would respond to a hypothetical situation that aligns with educational theory and appropriate anti-bias education practices, but in reality, they would respond differently. There was no way for the current study to compare teachers' self-reported responses to actual classroom behaviors. However, it is important to note that a strength of this study was the open-ended question on the vignette task in which teachers may have been more honest to their actual perspectives and responses to the student's behavior compared to the multiple-choice questions. Another limitation to consider is that due to the insufficient sample size for the initial pilot study, the researcher was unable to validate the vignettes used to measure teacher response to student behavior in the current study.

Another limiting factor of this study is the lack of certain diversity in this sample of participants. The current sample was diverse geographically but there was less diversity in other areas, such as participants' reported political affiliations. Since the majority of participants identified as Democrat (n=143) compared to Republican (n=58), having a more conservative sample of teacher participants may yield different results, particularly regarding the relationship between implicit bias and response to Muslim student behavior. Considering the drop-off in respondents over the duration of the study administration, it is possible that participants who would have answered in ways that yield significant differences in teacher response ended their participation before reaching the end of the study. In total, 472 respondents agreed to the terms

of the study and began participation, however, only 261 completed all required portions and were included in the analyses. This may have been due to a few potential factors. First, participants who disconnected may have reached a point in the study where the full purpose of the research became clear, such as the IAT or the Experiences and Knowledge of Muslims Questionnaire, and so they did not feel comfortable continuing. Second, teachers are extremely busy and are usually limited on time, so participants may have started the survey with the intention of continuing through but then failed to complete it or accidentally closed the browser.

### **Recommendations for Future Research**

Results of this study indicate that bias against Islam exists among early childhood and elementary education teachers in the United States, as represented in this sample. Although implicit bias was not predictive of teachers' response to the Muslim student's classroom behavior, there were differences in some responses to the Muslim student compared to the non-Muslim student. These differences were found in answers to the open-ended portion of the study that asked teachers to identify appropriate approaches they would use with the student in the vignette. Although teachers assigned to both students mostly identified favorable and appropriate responses that align with good guidance and educational practices, all unfavorable and inappropriate teacher responses were submitted only for the Muslim student. A recommendation for future research is to consider utilizing observational methods with a smaller sample of teachers who have Muslim students in their classrooms. This can help evaluate the consistency between responses on a survey and actual responses to the negative and disruptive classroom behavior of Muslim students.

Another recommendation for future research is to obtain a more conservative sample of early childhood and elementary education teachers to determine if results align with previous



research that has shown individuals with most reservations and negative views of Muslims tend to be non-Muslim American adults who are more politically conservative (Ciftci, 2012; Jung, 2012; Lipka, 2017). The exploration of a more politically conservative sample may yield results that indicate a significant difference between teachers' responses to Muslim students' disruptive behavior, compared to non-Muslim students.

Further research is also recommended to explore the experiences of Muslim students in early and elementary education in the United States. Exploring Muslim students' perceptions of teacher interaction, perceived expectations, and response to behaviors due to their religion can help provide a deeper understanding of young Muslim students' experiences in schools in the United States, as well as reduce the gap in the current literature.

## **Conclusion**

The purpose of this study was to examine teachers' implicit bias against Islam and explore the role of implicit bias on teachers' responses to a Muslim student in a classroom vignette. While data did not support the hypothesis that implicit bias against Islam was related to how teachers responded to the Muslim student, the data showed that implicit bias against Islam does exist among teachers in the United States, and teachers do respond differently to a Muslim student with disruptive behavior, compared to a non-Muslim student with the same behaviors. Since early childhood and elementary educators work with children at critical periods in their development, their actions must reflect the best interests of the students they serve (Feeney & Freeman, 2018). Teachers have an ethical and moral obligation to ensure all students, regardless of their ethnic, cultural, or religious background, have developmentally appropriate educational opportunities that satisfy their unique learning needs and equip them to successfully participate in a diverse world. Therefore, by revealing teachers' implicit bias against Islam and their

responses to a Muslim student's disruptive classroom behavior, this study aims to encourage further research on teachers' interactions with Muslim students, as well as how those interactions impact students' achievement and engagement in school. This can help reduce the gap in research that often overlooks Muslim students due to misrepresentations and misunderstandings of Muslim people and the Islamic faith.

*“All mankind is from Adam and Eve, an Arab has no superiority over a non-Arab nor a non-Arab has any superiority over an Arab; also a white has no superiority over a black nor a black has any superiority over a white; except by piety and good action.”*

— Prophet Mohammad (PBUH), Farewell Sermon

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## LIST OF FIGURES

*Figure 1. Teacher Implicit Bias*

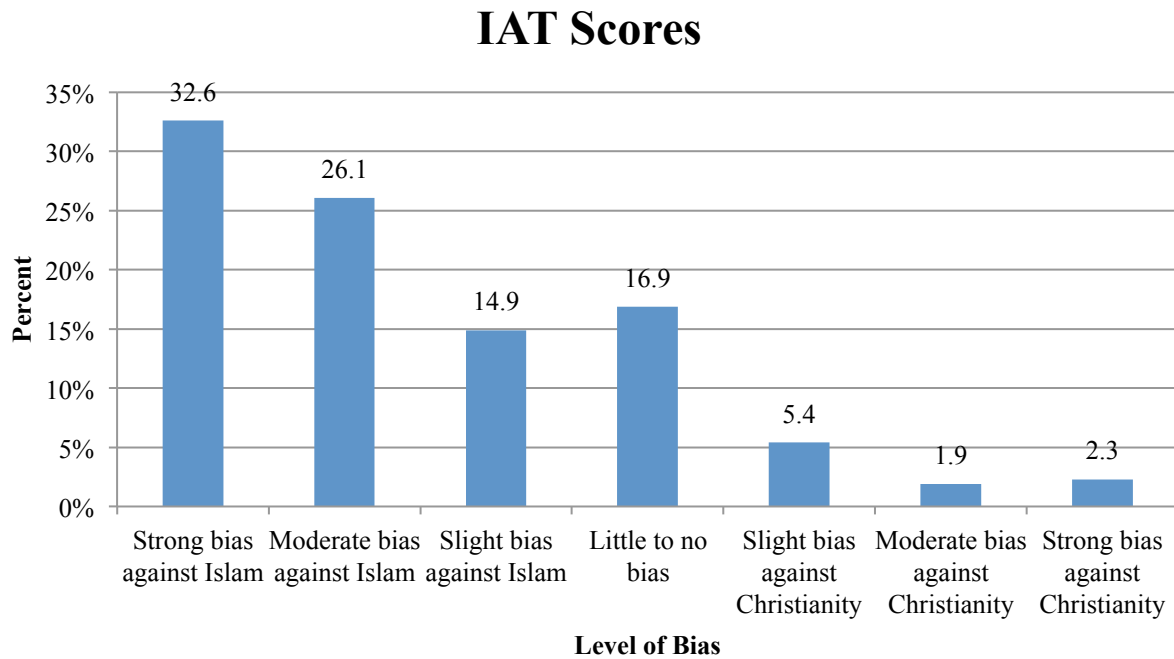
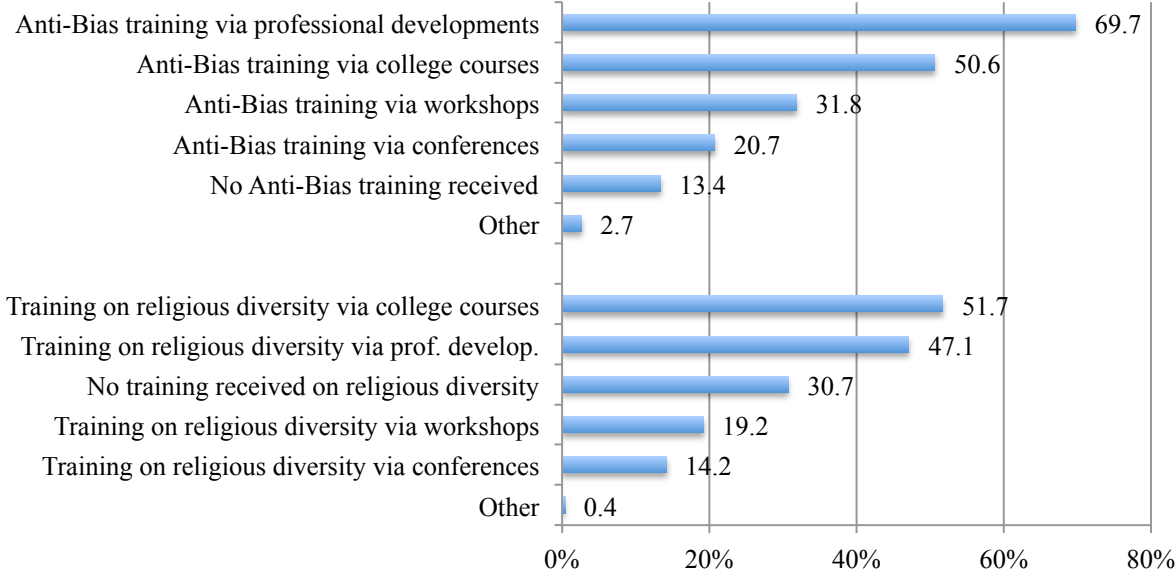


Figure 2. Anti-Bias and Religious Diversity Training Received

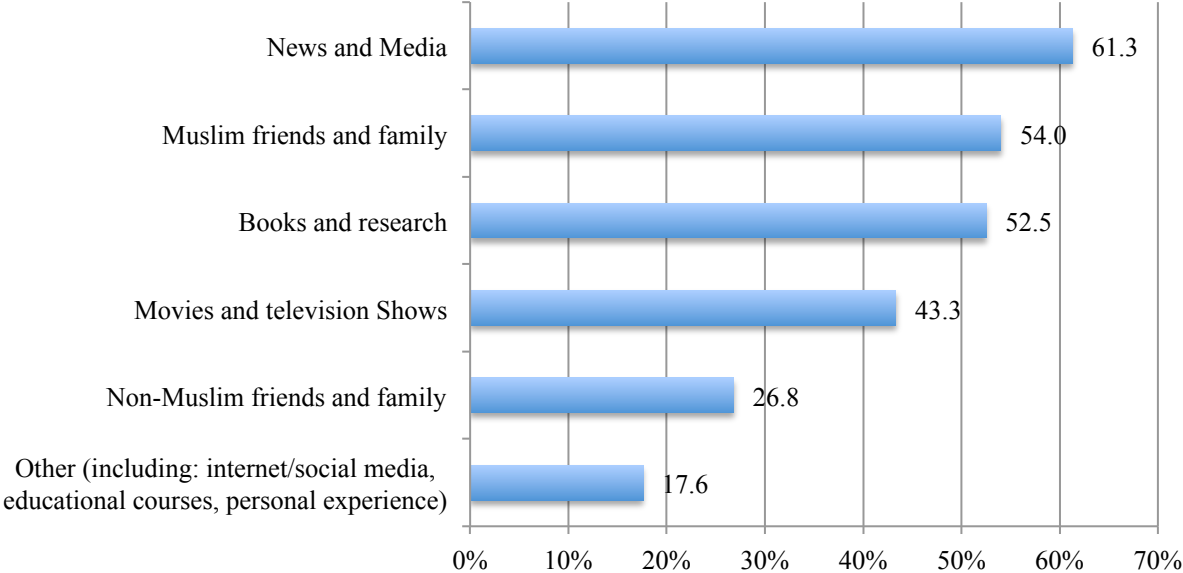
### Teacher Training



Note. Percentages may not sum to 100% due to participants' ability to choose more than one option.

Figure 3. Sources that Influence Teacher Knowledge About Muslims

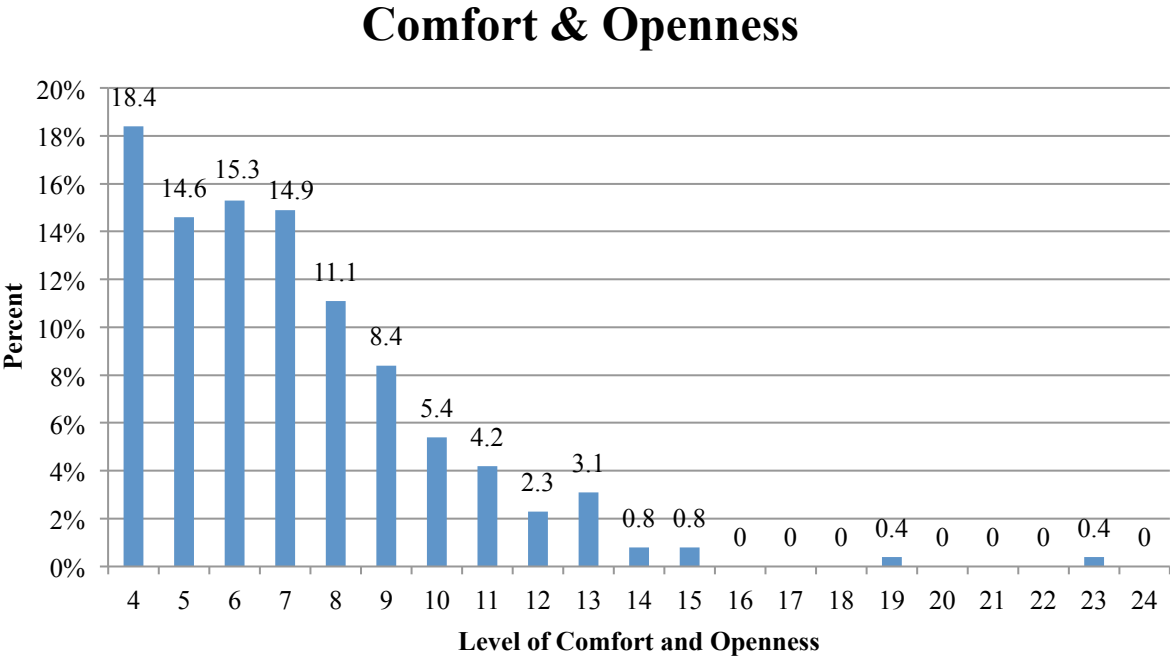
### Sources of Knowledge



Note. Percentages may not sum to 100% due to participants' ability to choose more than one option.



Figure 4. Comfort and Openness to Muslims



Note. Total scores are reported out of 24, with higher scores indicating more openness and comfort towards Muslims and lower score indicating less openness and comfort towards Muslims.

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***Table 1. Demographics***

<i>Variable</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
Gender		
Male	41	15.7
Female	215	82.4
Other	5	1.9
Racial/Ethnic Background		
Black or African American	11	4.2
Biracial or Multiracial	11	4.2
East Asian or Asian American	5	1.9
Hispanic/Latinx	15	5.7
Middle Eastern or Arab American	1	0.4
Native American or American Indian	2	0.8
White, Caucasian, or European American	216	82.8
Religious Identity		
Atheist	32	12.3
Buddhist	1	0.4
Christian	155	59.4
Jewish	9	3.4
Muslim	3	1.1
Non-Religious	51	19.5
Other	10	3.8
Political Affiliation		
Democrat	143	54.8
Republican	58	22.2
Independent	21	8.0
Other	39	14.9

***Table 2. Age***

<i>Variable</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Min.</i>	<i>Max.</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Deviation</i>
Age	261	19	63	34.70	9.114

**Table 3. Teaching Background**

<i>Variable</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
<b>Highest Degree Completed</b>		
High school graduate or GED	3	1.1
Some college credit, no degree	6	2.3
Associate's degree (2-year degree)	18	6.9
Bachelor's degree (4-year degree)	102	39.1
Master's degree	124	47.5
Doctoral degree	6	2.3
Other	2	0.8
<b>Grade Currently Teaching</b>		
Preschool	88	33.7
Kindergarten	36	13.8
1st grade	20	7.7
2nd grade	19	7.3
3rd grade	28	10.7
4th grade	20	7.7
5th grade	24	9.2
6th grade	26	10.0
<b>Region of U.S. Currently Teaching</b>		
Northeast	64	24.5
Midwest	57	21.8
West	44	16.9
South	96	36.8

**Table 4. Teaching Experience**

<i>Variable</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Min.</i>	<i>Max.</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Deviation</i>
Years of Teaching Experience	261	1	37	10.88	7.488

**Table 5. Anti-Bias Training Received**

<i>Variable</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
None	35	13.4
College Courses	132	50.6
Conferences	54	20.7
Professional Developments	182	69.7
Workshops	82	31.8
Other	7	2.7

*Note.* Percentages may not sum to 100% due to participants' ability to choose more than one option.

**Table 6. Teacher IAT Scores**

<i>Variable</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
Strong [preference for Christianity/bias against Islam]	85	32.6
Moderate [preference for Christianity/bias against Islam]	68	26.1
Slight [preference for Christianity/bias against Islam]	39	14.9
Little to no [preference/bias]	44	16.9
Slight [preference for Islam/bias against Christianity]	14	5.4
Moderate [preference for Islam/bias against Christianity]	5	1.9
Strong [preference for Islam/bias against Christianity]	6	2.3

**Table 7. Teacher Response to Student Behavior**

<i>Dependent Variable</i>	<i>Student Name</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Deviation</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Sig. (p)</i>	<i>n</i>
1. To what extent would you feel comfortable contacting the student's parents to work with them in order to develop behavior modification strategies for the student behavior?	Mohammed	4.95	0.921	–	–	128
	Matthew	5.12	0.817	–	–	133
	OVERALL	5.04	0.872	2.41	0.12	261
2. To what extent would you agree that changes need to be made in the student's home for his behavior to improve?	Mohammed	2.73	1.077	–	–	128
	Matthew	2.73	1.136	–	–	133
	OVERALL	2.73	1.105	0.00	0.98	261
3. To what extent would you agree that the student should sit in isolation or “time-out”, as a method of correcting his behavior?	Mohammed	4.60	1.282	–	–	128
	Matthew	4.71	1.216	–	–	133
	OVERALL	4.66	1.248	0.53	0.47	261
4. To what extent would you agree that the student should be sent to the principal's office?	Mohammed	4.82	1.219	–	–	128
	Matthew	4.85	1.131	–	–	133
	OVERALL	4.84	1.173	0.04	0.84	261
5. How likely would you be to work one-on-one with the student in ways that would build his trust?	Mohammed	5.57	0.781	–	–	128
	Matthew	5.65	0.578	–	–	133
	OVERALL	5.61	0.685	0.98	0.32	261

6. How likely would you be to give the student the responsibility of completing small tasks around the classroom to build his confidence and encourage accountability?	Mohammed	5.48	0.699	–	–	128
	Matthew	5.65	0.551	–	–	133
	OVERALL	5.57	0.632	4.77	0.03	261

7. To what extent would you agree that the student should experience loss of classroom privileges to help motivate him from repeating this behavior?	Mohammed	3.59	1.519	–	–	128
	Matthew	3.75	1.367	–	–	133
	OVERALL	3.67	1.443	0.86	0.35	261

8. To what extent would you agree that the student should receive some form of suspension (in-school or out-of-school) if this behavior continues?	Mohammed	5.13	1.242	–	–	128
	Matthew	5.28	1.076	–	–	133
	OVERALL	5.20	1.161	1.14	0.29	261

9. How likely would you be to refer the student for special education services if this behavior persisted?	Mohammed	3.57	1.379	–	–	128
	Matthew	3.17	1.417	–	–	133
	OVERALL	3.37	1.410	5.27	0.02	261

10. How likely would you think it is that the student's behavior can be effectively changed in your general education classroom with some basic behavior modification or support strategies?	Mohammed	5.11	0.898	–	–	128
	Matthew	5.07	0.863	–	–	133
	OVERALL	5.09	0.879	0.15	0.70	261

11. How likely would you think it is the student will be academically successful in school?

Mohammed	4.71	1.005	–	–	128
Matthew	4.68	0.892	–	–	133
OVERALL	4.69	0.948	0.09	0.77	261

12. How likely would you think it is that the student will be successful in making friends in school?

Mohammed	4.30	1.030	–	–	128
Matthew	4.11	1.075	–	–	133
OVERALL	4.20	1.055	2.16	0.14	261

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*Note.* After reading the vignette, teachers were asked to rate on a scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree/very unlikely) to 6 (strongly agree/very likely) the use of given strategies to respond to the student.



**Table 8. Open-Ended Response Themes**

<i>Major themes for Matthew:</i>	<i>Major themes for Mohammed:</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Build a trusting relationship by allowing Matthew to spend one-on-one time with the teacher or other adult mentors/support staff to review the behavior, reinforce expectations, and suggest strategies to Matthew to help reduce the behavior.</li><li>• Maintain patience and monitor and record problematic behavior to understand when it occurs and why Antecedent, Behavior, and Consequence (ABC data).</li><li>• Make modifications to the classroom by creating a calming space for Matthew, as well as assign classroom jobs/responsibilities that interest him.</li><li>• Refer Matthew for special education evaluation.</li><li>• Assign a peer mentor to support Matthew and model appropriate behaviors.</li><li>• Communicate with Matthew’s parents to understand home life, also discuss behavior to develop a plan that can be implemented in the classroom and at home.</li><li>• Focus on Matthew’s strengths with positive behavior reinforcements, create an individualized behavior modification plan, and other positive behavioral interventions and supports (PBIS) strategies.</li><li>• Model behavior for Matthew while using conscious discipline strategies that teach self-control and self-regulation.</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Build a trusting relationship by spending one-on-one time with Mohammed to review the behavior, model appropriate behaviors, and suggest strategies to Mohammed to help reduce the behavior.</li><li>• Monitor behavior to identify any possible cultural barriers.</li><li>• Isolate Mohammed by seating him away from peers and closer to the teacher until the problematic behavior changes.</li><li>• Help Mohammed build responsibility by giving him jobs/tasks that interest him.</li><li>• Refer Mohammed for special education evaluation.</li><li>• Refer Mohammed to other professionals, such as social worker, medical professional for medication, and therapist for psychological counseling/therapy.</li><li>• Assign a peer mentor to model appropriate behaviors.</li><li>• Hold a parent teacher conference to discuss Mohammed’s behavior.</li><li>• Reinforce positive behavior by using individualized behavior charts and classroom reward systems.</li><li>• Take away Mohammed’s classroom privileges and remove him from specials classes to discuss behavior.</li><li>• Changes must be made at home because problematic behavior stems from parental neglect.</li></ul>

**Table 9. Muslim Students Taught**

<i>Number of Muslims Taught</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
None	58	22.2
Less than 5	82	31.4
5-10	48	18.4
11-20	32	12.3
21-30	21	8.0
31-50	5	1.9
Over 50	15	5.7

**Table 10. Teacher Interactions with Muslims**

<i>Variable</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
None	24	9.2
Business Owners	123	47.1
Colleagues	128	49.0
Friends	112	42.9
Students & Parents	178	68.2
Neighbors	70	26.8
Other	16	6.1

*Note.* Percentages may not sum to 100% due to participants' ability to choose more than one option.

***Table 11. Sources that Influence Teacher Knowledge About Muslims***

<i>Variable</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
Books	137	52.5
Movies	113	43.3
News	160	61.3
Muslim Friends & Family	141	54.0
Non-Muslim Friends & Family	70	26.8
Other	46	17.6

*Note.* Percentages may not sum to 100% due to participants' ability to choose more than one option.

**Table 12. Religious Diversity Training Received**

<i>Variable</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
None	80	30.7
College Courses	135	51.7
Conferences	37	14.2
Professional Developments	123	47.1
Workshops	50	19.2
Other	1	0.4

*Note.* Percentages may not sum to 100% due to participants' ability to choose more than one option.

**Table 13. Summary of Comfort and Openness to Muslims**

	<i>n</i>	<i>Min.</i>	<i>Max.</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Deviation</i>
Comfort & Openness	261	4	23	7.13	2.844

**Table 14. Comfort and Openness to Muslims**

<i>Total Score</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
4	48	18.4
5	38	14.6
6	40	15.3
7	39	14.9
8	29	11.1
9	22	8.4
10	14	5.4
11	11	4.2
12	6	2.3
13	8	3.1
14	2	0.8
15	2	0.8
19	1	0.4
23	1	0.4

*Note.* Total scores are reported out of 24, with higher scores indicating more openness and comfort towards Muslims and lower score indicating less openness and comfort towards Muslims.

## APPENDIX A

### Inclusion Criteria Questionnaire

What is your age?

- a. Under 18 years old
- b. 18 years or older

Are you a currently practicing early childhood or elementary school teacher (Pre-K–6th grade)?

- a. Yes
- b. No

Are you currently living and teaching in the United States?

- a. Yes
- b. No

\*If no is selected for any of the questions, participant is redirected to the end of the survey.

## APPENDIX B

### Information Letter [Social Media]

For Research Study entitled “Assessing Teacher Response to Student Classroom Behavior”

**You are invited to participate in a research study** that explores early childhood and elementary school teachers’ response to student classroom behavior. This study is being conducted by Bidoor Ridha, M.Ed. under the direction of Professor Angela Love, Ph.D. at Auburn University’s Department of Curriculum and Teaching. You are eligible to participate in this study because you are at least 18 years old, are currently working as an early childhood or elementary school teacher, and are currently living and teaching in the United States.

**What will be involved if you participate?** Your participation is completely voluntary. If you consent to participate in this study, you will be asked to answer demographic questions about yourself. Additionally, you will be asked to read a short vignette and respond to questions about student behavior, as well as questions relating to specific knowledge and experiences. You will also be asked to complete a task that requires you to pair specific concepts and evaluations. The questionnaire will take approximately 15-20 minutes to complete. Your survey responses will be anonymous and information from this research will be reported only in the total.

**Are there any risks or discomfort?** Upon completion of the survey, you should close your web browser. You may decide to discontinue participation at any point by simply closing your web browser. There is no risk to participating in this study, beyond the normal risk of daily life. Although we have designed this study so that we cannot link your responses back to you, there is some chance that others around you may view your responses if you do not complete the survey in a private place. Therefore, we encourage you to complete the study in a place where others cannot observe your responses.

**Are there any benefits to yourself or others?** There are no direct benefits to you from participating in this study. Information learned during the study will contribute to understanding teachers’ responses to student classroom behavior.

**Will you receive payment for participating in this study?** To thank you for your time, you can choose to be in a drawing for one of four \$20 Visa e-gift cards by opening the link provided at the end of the study to a separate survey and entering your email address.

**Are there any costs?** There are no costs to you for participating in this study.

**If you change your mind about participating,** you can withdraw at any time during the study. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. Your decision about whether or not to withdraw or not to participate or to stop participating will not risk your further relations with Auburn University, the Department of Curriculum and Teaching, Bidoor Ridha, M.Ed., or Angela Love, Ph.D.

**Your privacy will be protected.** Any information obtained in connection with this study will remain anonymous and private. Information obtained through your participation may be



published in a professional journal and presented at a professional conference. To best ensure anonymity and privacy, please be sure to close your browser when finished.

**If you have questions or concerns about this study**, please contact Bidoor Ridha at bzc0028@auburn.edu. As a result of this survey being completed electronically, we suggest you print a copy of this consent form for your records.

**If you have questions about your rights as a research participant**, you may contact the Auburn University Office of Research Compliance or the Institutional Review Board by phone (334)-844-5966 or e-mail at IRBadmin@auburn.edu or IRBChair@auburn.edu.

HAVING READ THE INFORMATION PROVIDED, YOU MUST DECIDE IF YOU WANT TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS RESEARCH PROJECT. IF YOU DECIDE TO PARTICIPATE, THE DATA YOU PROVIDE WILL SERVE AS YOUR AGREEMENT TO DO SO.

**IF YOU ARE TAKING THIS SURVEY ON A MOBILE DEVICE, PLEASE SCREENSHOT THIS LETTER FOR YOUR RECORDS.**

**IF YOU ARE TAKING THIS SURVEY ON A COMPUTER, PLEASE PRESS "CTRL+P" TO PRINT A COPY OF THIS LETTER FOR YOUR RECORDS.**

The Auburn University Institutional Review Board has approved this document for use from 03/01/2021 to \_\_\_\_\_. Protocol #21-108 EX 2103

## Information Letter [Prolific]

For Research Study entitled “Assessing Teacher Response to Student Classroom Behavior”

**You are invited to participate in a research study** that explores early childhood and elementary school teachers’ response to student classroom behavior. This study is being conducted by Bidoor Ridha, M.Ed. under the direction of Professor Angela Love, Ph.D. at Auburn University’s Department of Curriculum and Teaching. You are eligible to participate in this study because you are at least 18 years old, are currently working as an early childhood or elementary school teacher, and are currently living and teaching in the United States.

**What will be involved if you participate?** Your participation is completely voluntary. If you consent to participate in this study, you will be asked to answer demographic questions about yourself. Additionally, you will be asked to read a short vignette and respond to questions about student behavior, as well as questions relating to specific knowledge and experiences. You will also be asked to complete a task that requires you to pair specific concepts and evaluations. The questionnaire will take approximately 15-20 minutes to complete. After participation is complete, you will be linked to a separate survey where you will receive a completion code. Your survey responses will be anonymous and information from this research will be reported only in the total.

**Are there any risks or discomfort?** Upon completion of the survey, you should close your web browser. You may decide to discontinue participation at any point by simply closing your web browser. There is no risk to participating in this study, beyond the normal risk of daily life. Although we have designed this study so that we cannot link your responses back to you, there is some chance that others around you may view your responses if you do not complete the survey in a private place. Therefore, we encourage you to complete the study in a place where others cannot observe your responses.

**Are there any benefits to yourself or others?** There are no direct benefits to you from participating in this study. Information learned during the study will contribute to understanding teachers’ responses to student classroom behavior.

**Will you receive payment for participating in this study?** To thank you for your time, you will be compensated for the amount of \$2.00 USD.

**Are there any costs?** There are no costs to you for participating in this study.

**If you change your mind about participating,** you can withdraw at any time during the study. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. Your decision about whether or not to withdraw or not to participate or to stop participating will not risk your further relations with Auburn University, the Department of Curriculum and Teaching, Bidoor Ridha, M.Ed., or Angela Love, Ph.D.

**Your privacy will be protected.** Any information obtained in connection with this study will remain anonymous and private. Information obtained through your participation may be

published in a professional journal and presented at a professional conference. To best ensure anonymity and privacy, please be sure to close your browser when finished.

**If you have questions or concerns about this study**, please contact Bidoor Ridha at bzc0028@auburn.edu. As a result of this survey being completed electronically, we suggest you print a copy of this consent form for your records.

**If you have questions about your rights as a research participant**, you may contact the Auburn University Office of Research Compliance or the Institutional Review Board by phone (334)-844-5966 or e-mail at IRBadmin@auburn.edu or IRBChair@auburn.edu.

HAVING READ THE INFORMATION PROVIDED, YOU MUST DECIDE IF YOU WANT TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS RESEARCH PROJECT. IF YOU DECIDE TO PARTICIPATE, THE DATA YOU PROVIDE WILL SERVE AS YOUR AGREEMENT TO DO SO.

**IF YOU ARE TAKING THIS SURVEY ON A MOBILE DEVICE, PLEASE SCREENSHOT THIS LETTER FOR YOUR RECORDS.**

**IF YOU ARE TAKING THIS SURVEY ON A COMPUTER, PLEASE PRESS "CTRL+P" TO PRINT A COPY OF THIS LETTER FOR YOUR RECORDS.**

The Auburn University Institutional Review Board has approved this document for use from 03/01/2021 to \_\_\_\_\_. Protocol #21-108 EX 2103

## APPENDIX C

### Vignette with Questions

#### [Randomly Assigned to Muslim Student]

**Instructions:** Imagine that you are a 2<sup>nd</sup> grade teacher with 21 students in your classroom. Keep this mind as you read the following vignette about one of the students in your imagined classroom. After reading it, please answer the following questions as honestly as possible.

#### Vignette

In your 2<sup>nd</sup> grade classroom, you are experiencing some difficulty with a new student, Mohammed Abdullah, who recently transferred to your school at the beginning of the school year. Mohammed often wants to be first, especially when lining up for class, and will shout and cry if he cannot be first. Mohammed also exhibits these same reactions when he is playing a game and feels that it is unfair when he is “out”. During lessons, it is difficult to get Mohammed to focus on the lesson. Instead, he tends to disrupt other working students by talking to them, closing their workbooks, and blowing pencils and papers off their desks. Often when Mohammed gets excited, he has trouble containing his excitement and tends to speak very loudly. When working in small groups with other students, Mohammed struggles with waiting for his turn to speak; instead he tends to talk over his peers to control the conversation.

#### Questions

1. To what extent would you feel comfortable contacting Mohammed’s parents to work with them in order to develop behavior modification strategies for Mohammed’s behavior?

Very comfortable   Comfortable   Somewhat comfortable   Somewhat uncomfortable   Uncomfortable   Very uncomfortable

2. To what extent would you agree that changes need to be made in Mohammed’s home for his behavior to improve?

Strongly agree   Agree   Somewhat agree   Somewhat disagree   Disagree   Strongly disagree

3. To what extent would you agree that Mohammed should sit in isolation or “time-out”, as a method of correcting his behavior?

Strongly agree   Agree   Somewhat agree   Somewhat disagree   Disagree   Strongly disagree

4. To what extent would you agree that Mohammed should be sent to the principal’s office?

Strongly agree   Agree   Somewhat agree   Somewhat disagree   Disagree   Strongly disagree

5. How likely would you be to work one-on-one with Mohammed in ways that would build his trust?

Very Likely   Likely   Somewhat likely   Somewhat unlikely   Unlikely   Very unlikely

6. How likely would you be to give Mohammed the responsibility of completing small tasks around the classroom to build his confidence and encourage accountability?

Very Likely   Likely   Somewhat likely   Somewhat unlikely   Unlikely   Very unlikely

7. To what extent would you agree that Mohammed should experience loss of classroom privileges to help motivate him from repeating this behavior?  
Strongly agree   Agree   Somewhat agree   Somewhat disagree   Disagree   Strongly disagree
  8. To what extent would you agree that Mohammed should receive some form of suspension (in-school or out-of-school) if this behavior continues?  
Strongly agree   Agree   Somewhat agree   Somewhat disagree   Disagree   Strongly disagree
  9. How likely would you be to refer Mohammed for special education services if this behavior persisted?  
Very Likely   Likely   Somewhat likely   Somewhat unlikely   Unlikely   Very unlikely
  10. How likely would you think it is that Mohammed's behavior can be effectively changed in your general education classroom with some basic behavior modification or support strategies?  
Very Likely   Likely   Somewhat likely   Somewhat unlikely   Unlikely   Very unlikely
  11. How likely would you think it is Mohammed will be academically successful in school?  
Very Likely   Likely   Somewhat likely   Somewhat unlikely   Unlikely   Very unlikely
  12. How likely would you think it is that Mohammed will be successful in making friends in school?  
Very Likely   Likely   Somewhat likely   Somewhat unlikely   Unlikely   Very unlikely
- Please identify and explain any other approaches you believe are appropriate to use with Mohammed in this situation. (Text box)

**[Randomly Assigned to Non-Muslim Student]**

**Instructions:** Imagine that you are a 2<sup>nd</sup> grade teacher with 21 students in your classroom. Keep this mind as you read the following vignette about one of the students in your imagined classroom. After reading it, please answer the following questions as honestly as possible.

**Vignette**

In your 2<sup>nd</sup> grade classroom, you are experiencing some difficulty with a new student, Matthew Alexander, who recently transferred to your school at the beginning of the school year. Matthew often wants to be first, especially when lining up for class, and will shout and cry if he cannot be first. Matthew also exhibits these same reactions when he is playing a game and feels that it is unfair when he is “out”. During lessons, it is difficult to get Matthew to focus on the lesson. Instead, he tends to disrupt other working students by talking to them, closing their workbooks, and blowing pencils and papers off their desks. Often when Matthew gets excited, he has trouble containing his excitement and tends to speak very loudly. When working in small groups with other students, Matthew struggles with waiting for his turn to speak; instead he tends to talk over his peers to control the conversation.

**Questions**

1. To what extent would you feel comfortable contacting Matthew’s parents to work with them in order to develop behavior modification strategies for Matthew’s behavior?

Very comfortable    Comfortable    Somewhat comfortable    Somewhat uncomfortable    Uncomfortable  
Very uncomfortable

2. To what extent would you agree that changes need to be made in Matthew’s home for his behavior to improve?

Strongly agree    Agree    Somewhat agree    Somewhat disagree    Disagree    Strongly disagree

3. To what extent would you agree that Matthew should sit in isolation or “time-out”, as a method of correcting his behavior?

Strongly agree    Agree    Somewhat agree    Somewhat disagree    Disagree    Strongly disagree

4. To what extent would you agree that Matthew should be sent to the principal’s office?

Strongly agree    Agree    Somewhat agree    Somewhat disagree    Disagree    Strongly disagree

5. How likely would you be to work one-on-one with Matthew in ways that would build his trust?

Very Likely    Likely    Somewhat likely    Somewhat unlikely    Unlikely    Very unlikely

6. How likely would you be to give Matthew the responsibility of completing small tasks around the classroom to build his confidence and encourage accountability?

Very Likely    Likely    Somewhat likely    Somewhat unlikely    Unlikely    Very unlikely

7. To what extent would you agree that Matthew should experience loss of classroom privileges to help motivate him from repeating this behavior?

Strongly agree    Agree    Somewhat agree    Somewhat disagree    Disagree    Strongly disagree

8. To what extent would you agree that Matthew should receive some form of suspension (in-school or out-of-school) if this behavior continues?  
Strongly agree   Agree   Somewhat agree   Somewhat disagree   Disagree   Strongly disagree
9. How likely would you be to refer Matthew for special education services if this behavior persisted?  
Very Likely   Likely   Somewhat likely   Somewhat unlikely   Unlikely   Very unlikely
10. How likely would you think it is that Matthew's behavior can be effectively changed in your general education classroom with some basic behavior modification or support strategies?  
Very Likely   Likely   Somewhat likely   Somewhat unlikely   Unlikely   Very unlikely
11. How likely would you think it is that Matthew will be academically successful in school?  
Very Likely   Likely   Somewhat likely   Somewhat unlikely   Unlikely   Very unlikely
12. How likely would you think it is that Matthew will be successful in making friends in school?  
Very Likely   Likely   Somewhat likely   Somewhat unlikely   Unlikely   Very unlikely
- Please identify and explain any other approaches you believe are appropriate to use with Matthew in this situation. (Text box)

## APPENDIX D

### Experiences and Knowledge Questionnaire

**Instructions:** Please answer the questions below about your experiences with and knowledge of Muslims.

1. Approximately how many Muslim students have you taught over the course of your career?
  - a. None
  - b. Less than 5
  - c. 5-10
  - d. 11-20
  - e. 21-30
  - f. 31-50
  - g. Over 50
  
2. Please indicate the Muslims you have interacted with on multiple occasions (select all that apply).
  - a. None
  - b. Business owners
  - c. Colleagues
  - d. Friends
  - e. Students and parents
  - f. Neighbors
  - g. Other/Not listed (text box)
  
3. Please indicate the sources that influence your knowledge about Muslims (select all that apply).
  - a. Books
  - b. Movies
  - c. News
  - d. Muslim friends/family
  - e. Non-Muslim friends/family
  - f. Other/Not listed (text box)
  
4. Please indicate any training you have received that addressed religion as a form of diversity (select all that apply)
  - a. None
  - b. College course(s)
  - c. Conference(s)
  - d. Professional Development(s)
  - e. Workshop(s)
  - f. Other/Not listed (text box)



5. Comfort and Openness to Muslims Scale: Please read each of the following statements. Using the scale provided, select the response that best describes the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement.

Strongly agree   Agree   Somewhat agree   Somewhat disagree   Disagree   Strongly disagree

- a. I am comfortable teaching Muslim students.
- b. I am comfortable making Muslim friends.
- c. I am interested in learning more about Islam and Muslims.
- d. I think it is unnecessary to learn about cultures and religions different from my own.

## APPENDIX E

### Demographics Questionnaire

1. Please indicate your gender.
  - a. Female
  - b. Male
  - c. Other
  
2. Please indicate your age. (Text box)
  
3. Please indicate your racial/ethnic background.
  - a. Black or African American
  - b. Biracial or Multiracial
  - c. East Asian or Asian American
  - d. Hispanic/Latinx
  - e. Middle Eastern or Arab American
  - f. Native American or American Indian
  - g. Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
  - h. White, Caucasian, or European American
  - i. Other/Not listed (text box)
  
4. Please indicate your religious identity.
  - a. Atheist
  - b. Buddhist
  - c. Christian
  - d. Hindu
  - e. Jewish
  - f. Muslim
  - g. Non-religious
  - h. Other/Not listed (text box)
  
5. Please indicate your political affiliation.
  - a. Democrat
  - b. Republican
  - c. Independent
  - d. Other/Not Listed (text box)
  
6. Please indicate the highest degree or level of school you have completed.
  - a. Less than high school
  - b. High school graduate or GED
  - c. Some college credit, no degree
  - d. Associate's degree (2-year degree)
  - e. Bachelor's degree (4-year degree)
  - f. Master's degree
  - g. Doctoral degree
  - h. Other/Not listed (text box)

7. Please indicate the location of the institution where you earned your highest degree (City, State).  
(Text box)
8. Please indicate the number of years of teaching experience you currently have.  
(Drop down begins at 'less than 1 year')
9. Please indicate the location where you currently teach (City, State).  
(Text box)
10. Please indicate the grade you are currently teaching.
  - a. Preschool
  - b. Kindergarten
  - c. 1st grade
  - d. 2nd grade
  - e. 3rd grade
  - f. 4th grade
  - g. 5th grade
  - h. 6th grade
11. Please indicate training you have received on Anti-Bias Education (select all that apply).
  - a. None
  - b. College course(s)
  - c. Conference(s)
  - d. Professional Development(s)
  - e. Workshop(s)
  - f. Other/Not listed (text box)

# APPENDIX F

## Implicit Association Test





You have been redirected.

This is the final part of this experiment and should take about a few minutes to complete. Thank you for your continued participation.

### Implicit Association Test

Next, you will use the 'E' and 'I' computer keys to categorize items into groups as fast as you can. These are the four groups and the items that belong to each:

Category	Items
Good	Joy, Love, Peace, Wonderful, Pleasure, Excellent, Laughter, Happy
Bad	Angry, Terrible, Horrible, Nasty, Evil, Awful, Failure, Hurt
Islam	 Mosque, Quran, Muslim, Islam
Christianity	 Church, Bible, Christian, Christianity

There are seven parts. The instructions change for each part. Pay attention!

[Continue](#)

· Project Implicit ·

## APPENDIX G

### Debriefing Letter

#### [Social Media Debrief]

Thank you for participating in this study! Your participation is extremely valuable and greatly appreciated.

There is a bit more to this study than what was initially described to you. When you began the study, you were told that the purpose of this study was to assess early childhood/elementary education teachers' responses to student classroom behavior. However, we left out a few details. What this means is that the study was actually different than what was explained in the information letter at the beginning of the survey. Some studies in education and psychology involve deception – that is, participants are led to believe the study is about one thing when it is actually about something else. This is one of those studies.

We would now like to tell you about the exact purpose of this study. We told you that we were trying to find out how teachers respond to student classroom behaviors. While this is true, we were in fact interested in exploring the relationship between implicit associations teachers have regarding Muslims and their responses to a Muslim student's classroom behavior compared to a non-Muslim student's classroom behavior. Previous research studies have examined teachers' implicit bias regarding racial and ethnic minorities and how they respond to racial and ethnic minority students within the classroom. For this study, participants were randomly assigned to one of two groups. Some participants were asked to read a vignette about a Muslim student and answer questions regarding how they would respond to the student's behavior, while other participants were asked to read a vignette about a non-Muslim student and answer the same questions regarding how they would respond to the behavior. The two vignettes detailing the students' behaviors were exactly the same, the only difference being the students' name. You were also asked to complete an Implicit Associations Test to examine the level of implicit bias regarding Islam compared to Christianity. This level of bias will be examined in relation to the responses regarding student behavior. If significant, the results of this study will add to the literature on implicit associations teachers have, as well as the experiences of Muslim students in school.

We apologize for not sharing the full purpose of the study initially. The reason that we needed to use deception in this study was because we needed participants' responses to the questions asked and the tasks involved to be as natural as possible. Thus, we could not give participants complete information before their involvement in the study because it may have influenced participants' responses in a way that would make the investigation of the research question invalid. If participants knew the objectives of the study beforehand, their responses may have been influenced by this knowledge.

Since this is an ongoing study and many other teachers may participate, we ask that you do not discuss the study and its true purpose that was just revealed to you with others. The reason we ask this is because if someone you discuss this study with decides to participate, their responses would not be as natural when they are aware of the full purpose of the study. For this reason, we

kindly ask that you do not discuss this study with more information than what you were provided with at the beginning of the study, before learning about the true purpose.

We hope you found your experience participating in this study to be interesting. If you have any concerns or questions about this study, you may contact:

Principal Investigator Contact: Bidoor Ridha, M.Ed. at [bzr0028@auburn.edu](mailto:bzr0028@auburn.edu)

Faculty Advisor Contact: Angela Love, Ph.D. at [azl0009@auburn.edu](mailto:azl0009@auburn.edu)

Thank you again for taking part in this study!

If you are interested in being entered into a drawing for one of four \$20 Visa e-gift cards, please click the arrow to proceed to a separate survey.

If you are not interested in the drawing, please close your browser.

### **[Prolific Debrief]**

Thank you for participating in this study! Your participation is extremely valuable and greatly appreciated.

There is a bit more to this study than what was initially described to you. When you began the study, you were told that the purpose of this study was to assess early childhood/elementary education teachers' responses to student classroom behavior. However, we left out a few details. What this means is that the study was actually different than what was explained in the information letter at the beginning of the survey. Some studies in education and psychology involve deception – that is, participants are led to believe the study is about one thing when it is actually about something else. This is one of those studies.

We would now like to tell you about the exact purpose of this study. We told you that we were trying to find out how teachers respond to student classroom behaviors. While this is true, we were in fact interested in exploring the relationship between implicit associations teachers have regarding Muslims and their responses to a Muslim student's classroom behavior compared to a non-Muslim student's classroom behavior. Previous research studies have examined teachers' implicit bias regarding racial and ethnic minorities and how they respond to racial and ethnic minority students within the classroom. For this study, participants were randomly assigned to one of two groups. Some participants were asked to read a vignette about a Muslim student and answer questions regarding how they would respond to the student's behavior, while other participants were asked to read a vignette about a non-Muslim student and answer the same questions regarding how they would respond to the behavior. The two vignettes detailing the students' behaviors were exactly the same, the only difference being the students' name. You were also asked to complete an Implicit Associations Test to examine the level of implicit bias regarding Islam compared to Christianity. This level of bias will be examined in relation to the responses regarding student behavior. If significant, the results of this study will add to the literature on implicit associations teachers have, as well as the experiences of Muslim students in school.

We apologize for not sharing the full purpose of the study initially. The reason that we needed to use deception in this study was because we needed participants' responses to the questions asked and the tasks involved to be as natural as possible. Thus, we could not give participants complete information before their involvement in the study because it may have influenced participants' responses in a way that would make the investigation of the research question invalid. If participants knew the objectives of the study beforehand, their responses may have been influenced by this knowledge.

Since this is an ongoing study and many other teachers may participate, we ask that you do not discuss the study and its true purpose that was just revealed to you with others. The reason we ask this is because if someone you discuss this study with decides to participate, their responses would not be as natural when they are aware of the full purpose of the study. For this reason, we kindly ask that you do not discuss this study with more information than what you were provided with at the beginning of the study, before learning about the true purpose.

We hope you found your experience participating in this study to be interesting. If you have any concerns or questions about this study, you may contact:

Principal Investigator Contact: Bidoor Ridha, M.Ed. at [bzr0028@auburn.edu](mailto:bzr0028@auburn.edu)

Faculty Advisor Contact: Angela Love, Ph.D. at [azl0009@auburn.edu](mailto:azl0009@auburn.edu)

Thank you again for taking part in this study!

To receive compensation, please click the arrow below where you will be redirected to Prolific, receive your completion code, and record your study as complete.