

# Graduate Student SYMPOSIUM

Selected Papers\*

Vol. 11 2016-2017

## Schooling experiences of Arab immigrant students in Canadian high schools

Nesreen Elkord

University of Windsor

(pp. 14-40)

Queen's University  
Faculty of Education



Heather Braund, Andrew Coombs, Britney Lester, Stephen MacGregor  
and Eleftherios Soleas

Co-Editors

Liyong Cheng  
Managing Editor

**\*From the 2016 Rosa Bruno-Jofré Symposium in Education (RBJSE)**

Please scroll down to view the document.

## **Schooling experiences of Arab immigrant students in Canadian high schools**

**Nesreen Elkord**

University of Windsor

**Abstract:** *This article sheds light on the schooling experiences of Arab immigrant and refugee high school students in the context of Canada's cultural diversity. Canada's diversity was described by Justin Trudeau upon his election as the nation's Prime Minister: "We believe in our hearts that this country's unique diversity is a blessing bestowed upon us by previous generations of Canadians, Canadians who stared down prejudice and fought discrimination in all its forms" (Justin Trudeau: For the Record, 2015, para. 28). Trudeau's further claim that Canada's "enviable, inclusive society didn't happen by accident and won't continue without effort" (para. 28) certainly pertains to the country's educational system, most notably with the ongoing influx of Syrian refugees since 2015. Towards this end, the article reviews and adds to the literature that seeks to bridge cultural/educational values between school communities and new immigrants from the Arab world.*

**Keywords:** Arab immigrant students, Arab refugee students, engagement, high school students, inclusive education integration

In light of this paper's focus on Arab immigrant and refugee students, some background information about the Arab community in Canada is helpful. I begin by defining who Arabs are and then provide a brief history of Arab immigration to Canada.

### **Who Are Arabs?**

In general, the word "Arab" is used throughout popular and so-called official media—such as Wikipedia's entry for "Arab World" (2016) and Statistics Canada's (2007) *The Arab Community in Canada*—to refer to persons from the 22 North African and Middle Eastern member states of the Arab League. While most Arabs are followers of three major faiths (Islam, Christianity, and Judaism) the majority—"well in excess of 90%" (Hayani, 2014, Religious Affiliation and Diversity section, para. 1)—are Muslims. According to Statistics Canada (2007), in 2001, 44% of Canadians of Arab origins indicated that they

were Muslim, while 44% reported that they belonged to a Christian faith group. Wingfield (2006) also introduces an interesting description of Arabs:

Arabs, like Hispanics, are a linguistic and cultural community, not a racial or religious group. Arabs are those who speak Arabic as their primary language and share in the culture and history of the Arab world, which stretches from Morocco to the Arabian Peninsula. (p. 254)

In short, although it would be difficult (and somewhat inaccurate) to say that Arabs have a singular overarching tradition or share a commonly held belief, it is easier to identify some of the more popular beliefs and values among Arabs of different faiths. Al-Hazza and Bucher (2010) begin by defining the word “Arab” and classifying Arabs into their geographic demographics; however, they note that within the Pan-Arabic culture, the common identity of being Arab holds All Arabs together, despite their rich array of traditions and diversity of customs.

### **History of Arab Immigration to Canada**

Immigration to Canada from the Arab world began in the late-18th century (Aboud, 2000; Abu-Laban, 1980; Hayani, 2014). Aboud’s (2000) study suggests that Arabs immigrated to Canada largely due to economic reasons, whether to gain status as workers or as investors. Abu-Laban (1991) further explains that postwar Arab immigration brought to Canada a broader mixture of Christian, Muslim, and Druze groups who had the desire to seek favourable social, economic, and political conditions. El-Najjar’s (2001) detailed analysis of the post-Gulf War period in Kuwait, on the other hand, and of what he called “The terror campaign against Palestinians” (Chapter 10, para. 2) links such immigration patterns to homeland-based strife; in the latter case, Palestinians were placed under tremendous pressure to leave Kuwait and find countries to host them. Abraham’s (1994) study of Arab immigration provided a more comprehensive survey:

The third wave [after 1980] included many professionals, entrepreneurs, and unskilled and semi-skilled laborers. These immigrants often fled political instability and wars engulfing their home countries. They included Lebanese Shiites from southern Lebanon, Palestinians from the Israeli-occupied West Bank, and Iraqis of all political persuasions. But many professionals from these and other countries like Syria, Egypt, and Jordan, and unskilled workers from Yemen also emigrated in search of better economic opportunities. Had conditions been more hospitable in their

home countries, it is doubtful that many of these immigrants would have left their native countries. (p. 1)

Arab immigration to Canada has risen significantly in the last 25 years. As the Canadian Arab Institute (2013) reports, high numbers of Arab immigrants marked the 1990-1993 period, with a heavy influx of immigrants fleeing the war in Lebanon, augmented by large numbers fleeing Somalia following the collapse of the government in 1991 (close to 6,000 Somalis arrived in 1992). In 1990 Arab immigration represented over 10% of total immigration to Canada (24,160) (para. 5)

Despite a slight drop reported in 2011, it is predicted that Arab immigration and refugee rates will increase again over the next few years. According to Statistics Canada's (2010) *Projections of the Diversity of the Canadian Population* study, "By 2031 ... between 25% and 28% of the population could be foreign-born" (paras. 2-3), while "Arab and West Asian groups could more than triple, the fastest growth among all groups" (Visible Minorities section, para. 5).

According to Paterson and Hakim-Larson (2012), Arab youth comprise a significant percentage of the immigrant youth population in Canada, while a December 2015 news report indicates there could be as many as 50,000 Syrian refugees in Canada in 2016 ("Syrian Refugees," 2015). Still, despite such data, Arabs in Canada are considered to be a visible minority: The *Employment Equity Act* defines visible minorities as "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour." Categories in the visible minority variable include South Asian, Chinese, Black, Filipino, Latin American, Arab, Southeast Asian, West Asian, Korean, Japanese, visible minority, n.i.e. ("n.i.e." means "not included elsewhere"), Multiple visible minorities, and Not a visible minority. (Statistics Canada, 2015, Definitions and Concepts section, para. 2)

### **Why Arabs Choose to Migrate to Canada**

Although this paper focuses on Arab immigrant and refugee students, it also is worth looking at reasons that may influence Arab immigrant parents' decisions to choose Canada as their destination over other countries. In addition to the reasons cited earlier in this paper, Canada attracts immigrants from different parts of the world due to other factors such as educational opportunities and the fact that Canadian laws embrace multiculturalism, human rights, and diversity as fundamental values, as expressed by the Ontario Ministry of Education (OME, 2011). In fact, Canada is one of very few countries with an official multicultural policy (established in 1971 and ratified in 1988) that intended to promote all cultures, religions, and languages equally (Parekh, 2000), and such multiculturalism represents an essential element in the country's educational system. According to Ford and Grantham (1996), multicultural education is a philosophy positing

that all people must be respected, regardless of age, race, ethnicity, gender, socioeconomic status, religion, physical ability, sexuality identity, and mental ability. Banks and McGee Banks (2007) in turn define multicultural education as an idea, a reform movement in educational institutions that aims to ensure that all students have equal opportunities to achieve academically regardless of their social identity.

Research on immigrants of various ethnic groups indicates that educational success is one of the main goals many immigrant parents seek for their children when coming to Canada (e.g., Zhong & Zhou, 2011). Berry, Phinney, Sam, and Vedder (2006) indicate that immigrant parents often encourage their children to hold values consistent with their inherited culture, and as Lavenda (2011) found, "Arab parents ... value education as a key component for future success, therefore making more efforts to promote the younger generation's education" (p. 933). Abu-Saad (1999), Ajrouch (2000), and Simmons and Simmons (1994) similarly found that education is highly valued in Arab culture for both genders and that its value is derived from its significance in ensuring economic success for families and individuals, as well as enhancing the transmission of religious knowledge. Al-Khatib (1999) also emphasizes that for Muslims, the Qu'ran (Holy Scripture) strongly stresses the importance of education.

Empirical data corresponding to Arab immigrants' views on education emphasize its importance in the Arab community. Statistics Canada (2007) data show that

Canadians of Arab origin are twice as likely as other Canadians to have a university degree. In 2001, 30% of Canadians of Arab origin ... had either a bachelor's or post-graduate degree, compared with 15% of the overall adult population. Canadian adults of Arab origin are also more than twice as likely as their counterparts in the overall population to have a post-graduate degree. ("Education," para. 1)

Similarly, Statistics Canada (2007) also reports that

Young people of Arab origin are also considerably more likely than other young Canadians to be attending school. In 2001, 74% of young people of Arab origin aged 15 to 24 were enrolled in a full-time educational program, compared with 57% of all Canadians in this age group. ("Education," para. 3)

Such data underscore the value that Arabs place on education for the general success of one's life, and this may also explain why many Arabs choose to immigrate to Canada in particular. In terms of educational opportunities in Canada, Borzykowski (2009) found that, proportionally, more Canadians have a university education than do citizens in any other developed nation, which may be one of the influencing factors that encourage some

families to choose Canada over other countries; indeed, Canada ranks among the top countries worldwide in terms of percentage of high school graduates.

### **Immigrant and Refugee Students of Arab Origins in Canadian Schools**

#### **Challenges for Arab Immigrant and Refugee Students**

According to Eid (2007), Isik-Ercan (2015), Khouri (2016), and Zine (2000), students of Arab descent face challenges similar to those amongst immigrant students of different ethnic minorities as they enroll in host country schools. According to the literature on the education of immigrant children of different ethnic backgrounds, the process of educating children of immigrant families in Canadian schools (as well as those in other host countries) has faced many challenges, including immigrant students' emotional problems, lower socioeconomic status, and lack of English language skills and its consequences, all of which can be aggravated by school climate and curriculum-related issues. For instance, Gollnick and Chinn's (2009) *Multicultural Education in a Pluralistic Society*, which addresses social and educational issues of the multicultural education classroom and provides an overview of the diversity of students in the United States, highlights the fact that immigrant students tend to be unnoticed by their teachers and other officials, particularly in high schools. Gollnick and Chinn note that teachers' inability to perceive the common challenges facing new immigrant students can hinder students' and teachers' success alike.

Similarly, Kaufman and Payne (1994) compared self-esteem in immigrant female high school students to that of their mainstream female peers in U.S. schools and found that many immigrant students tend to associate their self-image with the judgments and impressions their peers hold about them. Ruck and Wortley (2002) in turn examined perceptions of differential treatment relating to school disciplinary practices in a racially and ethnically diverse sample of high school students. They found that racial/ethnic minority students are much more likely to perceive discrimination with respect to teacher treatment and school suspension than their White peers. Ruck and Wortley emphasize that "Some of the negative outcomes associated with schooling which minority children face ... include lower test scores, poor grades, low attendance, grade retention, and early school leaving" (2002, p. 185).

Cummins's (1980, 1991, 2001, 2008, 2011, 2012) extensive research on second language acquisition amongst second language learners within mainstream schools demonstrates that immigrant students' academic success is more likely when their languages and cultures are incorporated into school programs. According to Cummins (1991) and Gollnick and Chin (2009), academic success can be attained if students feel included within their educational communities, and this can happen when their languages and

cultures are incorporated into schools' programs.

Manavathu and Zhou's (2012) study on the impacts of differentiated instructional materials on second language learners' task comprehension found that immigrant students may need added attention and professional help from teachers to better enable them to succeed academically, though any such additional assistance should be offered judiciously in a way that does not expose the students to further "disenfranchisement, embarrassment, loneliness, rejection, fear, and stigmatization" (p. 339). Joshi's (2006) research examining the experiences of Indian American students found that immigrant students face many challenges when they first join their schools, including discrimination and alienation, that can be exacerbated by language, cultural, and educational differences, stereotyping, invisibility, distortion, isolation, and internalized oppression. Midobuche's (1999) reflections on her experiences as a Mexican-American career educator in U.S. classrooms at different grade levels noted similar challenges amongst second language learners.

While the above-mentioned sample of the literature can aid in understanding the challenges experienced by newcomer immigrant and refugee high school students, some of the challenges facing Arab immigrant and refugee students are uniquely linked to their cultures and identities, such as: identity-related dress code challenges, racism and discrimination due to negative stereotypes, and home versus school conflicts (Khouri, 2016; Zine, 2000, 2006). The following sections provide further details on such challenges as discussed in the literature.

### **Identity-related Dress Codes**

Following much research in the field of immigrant students' education, equity and multicultural policies have been implemented in Canadian schools in an effort to provide equity and better opportunities for all students (OME, 2012). Still, Arab students continue to face certain challenges which may be alleviated if understood more clearly through learning about their experiences (Al-Hazza & Bucher, 2010; Shaheen, 2001; Zine, 2006). Often, self-expression takes the form of clothing and symbols, or moral values and beliefs that students may not, or must not, be able to separate from their educational experiences due to their religious or cultural beliefs. This could include different forms of religious or cultural identity clothing such as turbans, hijabs, yarmakahs, kirpans, and niqabs (Mansouri & Trembath, 2005).

Identity-related dress codes have caused a great deal of controversy in previous years in some regions of Canada for Arab students. In 1994, a Montreal school's refusal to allow a teenage Muslim girl (Emilie Ouimet) to attend school while wearing a hijab sparked some of that controversy (Khan, 2013, para. 3). Although the Quebec Human

Rights Commission ruled that Quebec schools did not have the right to prohibit any student from wearing religious attire (be it a Sikh turban, a Jewish yarmulke, a Christian cross, or Islamic hijab), the case was revisited two months later when another Muslim Arab girl (Dania Baali) was told she would have to transfer to another school if she wanted to observe hijab (Todd, 1998). Zine (2000) noted later incidents in which school officials refused to abide by board policies to prevent racism, such as when a principal declined to provide a prayer room or space for Muslim students to perform mandatory prayer on school grounds. More recently, Guo (2015) recounts a similar story in which a school principal in Calgary, Alberta refused to permit students to perform their mandatory noon-time prayer during school hours, claiming that school is not a place of worship.

Despite policy changes made to improve racial tolerance and acceptance, similar incidents continue to take place. For instance in 2007, an “Ottawa-area soccer team pulled out of a Laval tournament when one of its players, 11-year-old Asmahan Mansour, was asked to remove her scarf” (Fedio, 2012, para. 5). In the same year, a martial arts team of Muslim girls were barred from taking part in a tournament with their hijabs (CBC news, 2007). Five years later, the controversy was again ignited when a 9-year-old Arab girl in Quebec was also pulled from a soccer tournament for wearing a hijab; following the latter incident, the International Football Association Board agreed to unanimously approve and lift the ban on the wearing of headscarves in soccer tournaments (Fedio, 2012). Recently, an Arab student was barred from writing an exam in a Montreal college after refusing to remove her head-covering hijab when asked to do so by a male instructor (Canadian Press, 2016). As noted in the next section, such challenges encountered by Arab immigrant students may be due partly to misrepresentation in the media.

### **Portrayal of Arab Immigrant and Refugee Students as Outsiders**

For many years until the early 1990s, teachers in North American schools were poorly informed, if not altogether unaware, of Arabic cultures and traditions (Kumar, Warnke, & Karabenick, 2014; Naber, 2000; Nieto, 1992). Shaheen (2000, 2001) and Naber (2008) report that prior to the recent rise of Islamic extremism and the 9/11 terrorist events, most teachers had likely only a vague idea regarding Arabs, who more often than not were associated with camels in deserts, men wearing turbans (all probably involved in the oil trade), and veiled women dressed in black—attributes all largely based on so-called Hollywood movie representations of Middle Easterners. As a newly immigrated student in a Canadian public high school in the early 1990s, I myself along my other school friends of Arab origins were frequently asked rather banal and somewhat ignorant questions by students, teachers, and the general public regarding Arabs’ social customs



and traditions which demonstrated a lack of intercultural competence. We were repeatedly asked questions like: Where is the country you came from on the map? Do you guys ride on camels for transportation in your home country? Are all Arab men married to four women? Do Arab ladies sleep with their veils on? Are all Arabs rich, and have servants in their homes? But as Wingfield (2006), Sirin and Fine (2008), Naber (2008), and Khouri (2016) argue, after the surge of post-9/11 characterizations in the Western media, Arabs' identities soon were linked to terrorism and radical ideologies by many North Americans, including educators. Such xenophobia not only can impede Arab immigrant and refugee students' well-being but also their educational success (Gollnick & Chinn, 2009; Isik-Ercan, 2015; Kumar et al., 2014; Zine, 2006).

### **Stereotyping of Arabs in the Media and its Effects on Arab Students.**

The educational experiences of immigrant students in schools are highly influenced by images of people from the same or similar culture portrayed in the media (such as those noted in the previous section) and in their school environments. According to Joshi (2006) and Isik-Ercan (2015), Arab students—who are often mistakenly associated with the Islamic religion despite the fact that not all Arabs are Muslims—are often bullied and teased by other students and classmates. Such bullying is exacerbated by the stereotypes of belonging to a “radical” culture since the word “Arab” and “Muslim” have often been used interchangeably and the politics and tactics of terrorist movements and incidents are repeatedly described as “Islamic” by the popular media.

As Shaheen (1984, 2001), Ibish (2003), and Wray-Lake, Syvertsen, and Flanagan (2008) explain, politicians' diatribes, coverage by the news media, and the caricatures that are filmmakers' stock-in-trade all led to the common assumption that Muslims and Arabs are the enemy of the Western world. Most notably, numerous high-profile (i.e., Hollywood-type) films have presented Arabs and Muslims as menacing, violent figures; however, any violence perpetrated against Arabs and Muslim that followed the rise of such portrayals was inadequately reported, and Arabs and Muslims were almost never seen as “normal” people afterwards (Shaheen, 2001). Dahya and Jenson's (2015) recent study of Muslim girls in Toronto documents how participants pointed to incidents in which peers and teachers made discriminatory remarks or actions towards them in ways that demonstrate erroneous and often ignorant understanding about the religion and cultural practices due to common stereotypes. As Joshi (2006) succinctly states, “The popular media association of [Arabs] with terrorism is similar to the mindset that led to the internment of Japanese Americans during the Second World War” (p. 179). Joshi also argues that people who do not automatically fit within the norm of mainstream groups

tend to suffer different forms of discrimination, including threats of violence, stereotyping, invisibility, distortion, isolation, bullying, and internalized oppression.

Among studies that investigated issues related to the education of Arab and other immigrant and refugee students in schools in different countries, Mansouri and Trembath's (2005) investigation of multicultural education and racism in Australia indicates that media had contributed greatly to the negative stereotyping of Arab students which in turn affected the latter's schooling experiences. As Petrozza (2012) notes elsewhere, "Media is a major contributor to the propagation of racism, sexism and stereotypes in our pluralistic society" (para. 7). In Mansouri and Trembath's study, Arab student participants "frequently attributed their own disengagement from school and the processes of learning to: (a) perceptions of teacher disinterest in them as individuals, and as young Arab- and Muslim-Australians; (b) perceptions of teacher racism; and (c) low teacher expectations of their schooling achievements" (p. 523).

### **Racism and Discrimination**

Al-Hazza and Bucher (2010) note that as Arab immigrants relocate to their new countries of citizenship, they are not always able to free themselves completely from all forms of oppression and sociopolitical instability, because they may encounter inhospitable conditions in their host countries. Racism directed at Arabs in Canada has increased dramatically in the past two decades, due in part to the Canadian military involvement in Arab countries as well as the (post)traumatic events of 9/11 (Shaheen, 2000, 2001). Consequently, researchers in the field (e.g., Dahya & Jenson, 2015; Isik-Ercan, 2015; Mujahid, 2003) report that children of Arab immigrants and refugees have increasingly become targets of misunderstandings, racism, and discrimination. As Gollnick and Chinn (2009) argue, these children often experience racial and social tensions upon entering the school system due to their identities, and this has definite implications for their academic and social experiences both in school and in life.

Aroian, Templin, Hough, Ramaswamy, and Katz's (2011) study of 240 Arab high school students in the United States found strong relationships among perceived discrimination, acculturative stress, and the mental health of Arab American adolescents. Aroian et al. (2011) concluded that adolescents in Arab Muslim immigrant families may be at risk for developing "anxiety, depression, hostility, delinquency, and other manifestations of internalizing and externalizing behavior problems . . . the result of the disparity between Euro-American values and Arab values and discrimination and bigotry against Arabs" (p. 996). The following sections provide further details on how Arab values can also add to the schooling challenges of Arab immigrant children.

### **Home and School Conflicting Values**

Research indicates that parental support plays an important role in immigrant students' academic and social integration (e.g., Bang, 2011; Vaden-Kiernan & McManus, 2005). The success of Arab students at school, like those students of all other ethnic groups, is similarly affected by their parents' involvement with their schooling (Guo, 2015; Zine, 2000). Nonetheless, the conflict between values emphasized by parents of Arab immigrant and refugee students and those promoted at school can cause adverse effects; as Khouri (2016) suggests, struggles at school and lack of home support create hassles and microstressors for Arab immigrant children.

### **Family Loyalty Versus Individual Competency**

On the same issue, Al-Hazza and Bucher (2010) identify some difficulties that Arab children face as part of their educational experience, including the conflict between family loyalty and the Western emphasis on individual competency, as well as curriculum that fails to validate their heritage and culture in any meaningful way. Khouri (2016) stresses that the disparity between the family's cultural norms and that of the outside world creates stress at home and interpersonal difficulties between parents and children. To understand how family loyalty in Arab families may cause conflicting pressures on Arab-Canadian students, it is important to mention more about the family structure in Arab traditions.

One of the predominant social goals of Arab immigrant and refugee youth is gaining family approval; Arab youth are socialized to follow their families' guidance and seek their acceptance, and they are more interconnected with their families than their non-Arab counterparts (Aroian et al., 2011; Berry, 2006; Paterson & Hakim-Larson, 2012; Rasmi, Chuang, & Safdar, 2012). Dwairy (2004) notes that Arab parents tend to be authoritarian, expecting complete obedience from their children in almost all life matters and adherence to family rules and traditions. In Aroian, Templin, and Hough's (2014) study, Arab high school students reported experiencing daily microstressors from their parents and school, all of which contribute to behavioural problems and depression. Children in Arab families are expected to show responsibility towards their family members (Dwairy, 2004), whether in terms of social responsibility—such as taking care of their younger siblings, looking after their elders, and protecting and defending other family members—or in terms of financial responsibility in case of financial crisis. As discussed by a number of scholars (e.g., Bornstein & Cote, 2006; Rosenthal, 1987), relationships in Arab families have a predominant position in individuals' lives: parents' expectations of their children tend to be high, and family ties are expected to be strong and everlasting. Male youth are also thought of as protectors and providers (Kumar et al.,

2014; Naber, 2008). Mackey (1991) also notes that it is customary for Arab men to contribute money to their extended family, regardless of where they live, even after they immigrate to other countries. Such is the case with many transnational immigrant families of other ethnic backgrounds today, who try to maintain transnational ties, building social networks that “link together their country of origin and their country of settlement” (as cited in Kivisto, 2001, p. 552).

An example of why this relates to our topic here is illustrated by Conger et al.’s (1992) finding that family financial challenges were linked to higher levels of adjustment difficulties and thus greater behavioural problems among immigrant male youth, which in turn was linked back to tense parent–child relations caused by ineffective parenting styles. Arab immigrant and refugee parents experiencing financial hardships have to deal with such issues, in addition to other immigration and relocation challenges, which may deprive them of sufficient energy needed for more effective parenting methods.

Ultimately, the schooling experiences of immigrant and refugee students of Arab origins is gaining special interest and importance to some Canadian educational researchers, and to me as well, because there is evidence in the literature (e.g., Abdul-Razzaq, 2008; Dakroury, 2006; Faragallah, Schumm, & Webb, 1997; Hamdan, 2007; Naff, 1983; Tavakoliyazdi, 1981) that suggests the majority of Arab immigrants and their children may have greater difficulty than other immigrants in acculturating to life in the United States, Canada, and other host countries.

### **Proactive Policy Efforts to Promote Equity and Inclusion of Arab Immigrant Students**

Gollnick and Chinn (2009) argue that educational equity and success can only be attained if students feel welcomed and safe within their educational environments. In this regard, the OME’s (2012) Curriculum Council focuses on issues that considers “the integration of equity and inclusive education principles and bullying prevention across the curriculum” (para. 3). With an influx in student populations from Arab countries with diverse abilities and diverse needs, Canadian education systems have a dire need for more resources to help prepare teachers and schools to address inclusion and integration issues of these students (Brown, 2015). According to the literature, equity connotes high achievement for all learners and seeks to make achievement gaps smaller and less visible (Cohen & Lotan, 1997) and to redistribute time and attention to students in need, making available different support mechanisms to ensure equitable outcomes (Haycock, 2001). To this end, Andrea Berg, an executive officer of the Alberta Teachers’ Association’s (ATA’s) Diversity, Equity and Human Rights Committee, notes “Teachers are really appealing for any kind of resources to help them understand the different cultural backgrounds of their [newcomer Syrian refugee] students” (as cited in Hare, 2016, para. 4).

Consequently, in an effort to aid teachers in the process of assisting newcomer Arab students, teachers' associations and ministries of education in a number of provinces proactively demonstrated leadership in ensuring the inclusion of Arab newcomers within their policy guides and implementations. For example, the ATA has taken the lead in familiarizing education stakeholders with the backgrounds, belief systems, and practices of its increasing populations of Arab origins. Indeed it has published and distributed among its schools a booklet in 2016, entitled *Promoting Success With Arab Immigrant Students* which "provides background information on the beliefs and practices of Arab and Muslim people, outlines some myths and misconceptions, and provides suggestions for teachers and administrators" (Hare, 2016, para. 2).

In addition, the British Columbia Ministry of Education produced a guide for teachers and schools in October 2009, entitled *Students from Refugee Backgrounds*. The guide, which was revised in 2015 upon receiving the incoming waves of Syrian refugees, was designed to help educators welcome and support students and families from refugee backgrounds (British Columbia Ministry of Education, 2015).

Similarly, in breaching responsive teaching practices, the OME (2016) issued a framework for the successful integration of refugee students, a large percentage of whom come from Arab countries. The framework suggests that teachers and school staff become "Trauma informed" by learning about the three phases in the lives of their newcomer refugee students: pre-migration, trans-migration, and post-migration. It dictates that "Educators should make every effort to get to know their students so that they can make suggestions about specific programs and courses as well as co-curricular activities and additional community involvement, based on strengths, aspirations and experiences" (OME, 2016, Focus for Responsive Practice #6 section, para. 2).

In the same vein, I hope that further research in this area can help inform teachers and school administrators in Ontario and build bridges. Similarly, teachers might also consider Al-Hazza and Bucher's (2010) brief synopsis of Arabic culture, which provides teachers in the United States with a glimpse of who Arabs are, in an effort to bridge a cultural divide (one that could easily be applied to a Canadian context). Moreover, learning about the political systems and the international relations of the Middle Eastern region outlined by Najem (2001, 2003, 2011), Najem, Soderlund, Briggs, and Cipkar, (2016), and other scholars in the field of Middle Eastern political science can also aid in understanding the backgrounds of some Arab immigrant high school students.

### **Approaches for Schooling Immigrant Students in Ontario, Canada**

Because almost 50% of newcomers to Canada settle in Ontario (People for Education, 2008); I find it necessary to give a brief overview of some of what Ontario has

done up to date in terms of ensuring the integration and success of immigrant students in general.

Over the past two decades, Ontario has witnessed a huge shift towards adopting better educational opportunities for its immigrant students. In the late 20th century, there continued to be inequities in terms of potential academic achievement for minority students (Roscigno & Ainsworth-Darnell, 1999). Seeking to eliminate discriminatory circumstances and to provide equitable achievement opportunities, the TDSB (2000) claimed that:

The Board recognizes however, that certain groups in our society are treated inequitably because of individual and systemic biases related to race, colour, culture, ethnicity, linguistic origin, disability, socio-economic class, age, ancestry, nationality, place of origin, religion, faith, sex, gender, sexual orientation, family status, and marital status. Similar biases have also impacted on Canada's aboriginal population. We also acknowledge that such biases exist within our school system. (para. 2)

On the same issue, Cummins (2001) notes that the linguistic, cultural, and racial diversity in Canadian schools had been treated as a problem and a challenge rather than a benefit or a resource. In fact, according to some critics (e.g., Gutmann, 2003; Miller, 1996; Van den Berghe, 2002), diversity historically has been considered a threat to democratic societies, although in recent years, calls for equitable and inclusive education have caused a change in the mindset of most educational policy makers. For example, Frisken and Wallace (2000) describe how the City of Toronto has adopted an overall strategy to provide services to immigrants in general. Many programs have been implemented by the city's Access and Equity Centre that address issues such as employment equity, human rights, anti-harassment, and anti-hate policies, and such programs helped city agencies establish training, translation, and interpretation programs. All such programs may have positively influenced the quality of the educational experiences of Arab immigrant youth, and those of different ethnic backgrounds in one way or another.

Similarly, the OME (2005) had strongly encouraged school staff and personnel to take serious measures to actively support newcomer students of all backgrounds in adjusting to their new schooling lives in Canadian schools. The OME (2005) also emphasized the positive effects of the success of such students for all:

Creating a welcoming and inclusive school environment for English language learners and their families is a whole-school activity requiring the commitment of the principal and vice-principal, teachers, support staff, and

other leaders within the school community. The reward for this committed effort is a dynamic and vibrant school environment that celebrates diversity as an asset and enriches the learning experience for all students. (p. 36)

Ontario, in fact, is continuously taking important steps forward to reduce discrimination and embrace diversity in its schools to improve overall student achievement and reduce achievement gaps (OME, 2009). In 2009, the OME launched *Ontario's Equity and Inclusive Education Strategy* that aimed to help the education community identify and remove discriminatory biases and systemic barriers in order to support the achievement and well-being of all students. The strategy built on successful ministry, school board, and school policies and practices, and set out a phased-in implementation plan.

In addition, the OME's (2010) *Education Amendment Act (Keeping Our Kids Safe at School Act)* came into effect in 2010. The OME (2009) also noted in its *Equity and Inclusive Education Strategy* that

An equitable and inclusive education system is fundamental to achieving high levels of student achievement. It is recognized internationally as critical to delivering a high-quality education for all learners (UNESCO, 2008). Equitable, inclusive education is also central to creating a cohesive society and a strong economy that will secure Ontario's future prosperity. (p. 1)

Moreover, the Ontario Human Rights Commission (2008) stated that "Organizations [including educational institutions] have a responsibility to take proactive steps to make sure that they are not taking part in, condoning or allowing racial discrimination or harassment to occur" ("Identifying and Addressing Racial Discrimination," para. 1). Consequently, the OME's (2011) *Equity and Inclusive Education Strategy's* vision was stated as:

To achieve an equitable and inclusive school climate, school boards and schools will strive to ensure that all members of the school community feel safe, comfortable, and accepted. We want all staff and students to value diversity and to demonstrate respect for others and a commitment to establishing a just, caring society. ("Vision," para. 2)

Furthermore, the OME's (2014) *Equity and Inclusive Education in Ontario Schools: Guidelines for Policy Development and Implementation* underscored the fact that the ministry "believe[s] that Ontario's diversity can be its greatest asset" (p. 6). Therefore, tremendous efforts have been made to enhance the learning and achievement of immigrant students,

including Arab immigrant high school students. Similarly, through this research I hope to provide insights for policy makers on the effectiveness of such efforts by shedding some light on the perspectives of Arab immigrant high school students themselves and through learning about their first-hand experiences with available programs.

### **Joining the Discussion**

Research on immigrants and refugees, and their acculturation-related issues is extensive and thorough. A well-developed body of literature has expanded interpretations and understandings of some of the most common challenges facing immigrant and refugee students of varied cultural and ethnical backgrounds as they try to integrate within school society in their new countries. While many studies have explored different schooling issues of such students—like Olsen’s (1988, 1994, 1997, 2000, 2010; Olsen & Mullen, 1990) extensive work on ethnic minorities in U.S. schools—others have focused on particular ethnic immigrant student groups. For example, much research has been undertaken on Chinese immigrant educational issues, including: Sung’s study (1987) of Chinese immigrant children’s schooling in New York City; Zhou and Kim’s (2006) exploration of education in Chinese and Korean immigrant communities; Xu ’s (2006) study of the cross-cultural schooling experiences of Chinese newcomers; and Zhong and Zhou’s (2011) investigation of Chinese immigrant parents’ involvement in their children’s schooling.

Other studies have focused on minority students of various other international backgrounds. Mendez, Bauman, and Guillory (2012) examined Mexican immigrant students’ experience with bullying, while Tapia (2000) focused on such students’ schooling and learning. Additionally, Valdés (1996, 2001) has written a book focusing on Mexican American family life, parental attitudes toward school, and efforts to increase student achievement, and another on the experience of Latino children in learning the English language. Renzaho, McCabe, and Swinburn (2012) studied schooling issues of immigrants of African descent, as did Dlamini, Wolfe, Anucha, and Yan (2009) who examined the lives of immigrant youth of African descent and ways they formulate friendships. In addition, Alidou (2000) explored the emotional, linguistic and cultural issues facing new immigrants from Africa, and Ogbu (2003) studied reasons behind the academic disengagement of Black American students.

Numerous studies conducted in the United States and other countries have considered the experiences of Arab and Muslim immigrant families and their children, particularly after the events of 9/11. Examples include: Samhan’s (1999) examination of race classification policy and its impact on the Arab American experience; Moosa, Karabenick, and Adams’s (2001) study exploring teachers’ perceptions of Arab parent involvement in elementary schools in the U. S.; Sarroub’s (2002) study of the high



schooling experiences of Yemeni American girls in the U.S.; Sabry and Bruna's (2007) study of the challenges faced by Muslim youth in U.S. schools; Abu El-Haj's (2007) study on how Palestinian American high school youth understand themselves as members of the U.S. community; Audi's (2008) study focusing on challenges facing the Arab American community from a legal perspective; Majumdar's (2010) case study examining how the competing discourses of family, religion, and language impact the identities of Arab Muslim adolescent English language learners; Kumar et al.'s (2014) study examining how male adolescents of Arab descent relate to the current contexts of negative fallout from recent ethnicity-related political events; Isik-Ercan's (2015) study examining religious identities of Turkish-Muslim children in American schools; and Khouro's (2016) work with male students from Arab descent illustrating the stressors this population faces.

Although such studies have been informative and can be applied in a Canadian context, Canada is to a large extent a much more multicultural country, having the largest foreign-born population (20.6%) among G8 countries in 2010, second only to Australia (Statistics Canada, 2013). Such data underscore the need for a more in-depth look at the Canadian educational system and issues related to groups of Arab immigrant and refugee students. Only a few studies in Canada have looked into issues particularly pertaining to Arab students in Canadian schools in recent years. Collet (2007) has discussed the complex identities of Somali Muslim youth in Canada, while Zine (2000, 2006) has examined issues and forms of resistance shown by Arab and Muslim students toward dominating norms and values of secular education in Canadian schools, notably in relation to Muslim girls' experiences and challenges wearing the hijab.

Still, in comparison to immigrants from other geopolitical regions, limited research has been undertaken that investigates how Arab immigrant and refugee high school students' experiences may act as possible informing tools and venues for their general success as citizens of Canada. In fact, literature suggests that more research needs to be done to inform educators of Arab immigrant and refugee student challenges (Eid, 2007; Isik-Ercan, 2015; Khouri, 2016) as adolescents of Arab descent have not been the target of research or public policy efforts, because the majority do not often face failure in schools (Tabbah, Halselliranda, & Wheaton, 2012).

In this light, I encourage researchers in the education field to join in the discussion by focusing on the high schooling experiences of Arab students in Canadian high schools, affiliated with different religious faiths. In this paper, I have explained my rationale for focusing on Arab immigrant and refugee high school students' schooling experiences. The paper provided a brief description of who Arabs are, as defined in the literature, followed by a brief history of their immigration to Canada, their reasons for choosing Canada as

their new home, and a literature overview of the challenges that Arab immigrant children continue to face in Canadian schools. The paper highlighted a brief summary of the Ontario Ministry of Education's efforts to address the needs of immigrant students in general.

### References

- Abdul-Razzaq, D. (2008). *Discourses of citizenship and community: Arab immigrant women and their narratives of home and belonging in Halifax, NS* (AMC working paper no. 13). Retrieved from [http://community.smu.ca/atlantic/documents/WP13Abdul-Razzaq\\_PUBLISHABLE\\_COPY\\_JULY23.08\\_001.pdf](http://community.smu.ca/atlantic/documents/WP13Abdul-Razzaq_PUBLISHABLE_COPY_JULY23.08_001.pdf)
- Aboud, B. (2000). Re-reading Arab World–New World immigration history: Beyond the prewar/postwar divide. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 26, 653-673. doi:10.1080/713680503
- Abraham, N. (1994). Anti-Arab racism and violence in the United States. In E. McCarus (Ed.), *The development of Arab-American identity* (pp. 155-214). Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Abu El-Haj, T. R. (2007). "I was born here, but my home, it is not here": Educating for democratic citizenship in an era of transnational migration and global conflict." *Harvard Educational Review*, 77, 285-316. doi:10.17763/haer.77.3.41217m737q114h5m
- Abu-Laban, B. (1980). *An olive branch on the family tree: The Arabs in Canada*. Toronto, Canada: McClelland & Stewart.
- Abu-Laban, S. (1991). Family and religion among Muslim immigrants and their descendants. In E. Waugh, S. Abu-Laban, & R. Qureshi (Eds.), *Muslim families in North America* (pp. 6-32). Edmonton, Canada: University of Alberta Press.
- Abu-Saad, I. (1999). Self-esteem among Arab adolescents in Israel. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 139, 479-487.
- Ajrouch, K. J. (2000). Place, age, and culture: Community living and ethnic identity among Lebanese American adolescents. *Small Group Research*, 31, 447-469. doi:10.1177/104649640003100404
- Al-Hazza, T. C., & Bucher, K. T. (2010). Bridging a cultural divide with literature about Arabs and Arab Americans. *Middle School Journal*, 41(3), 4-11.
- Alidou, H. (2000). Preparing teachers for the education of new immigrant students from Africa. *Action in Teacher Education*, 22(2A), 101-108. doi:10.1080/01626620.2000.10463044
- Al-Khatib, A. (1999). In search of equity for Arab-American students in public schools of the United States. *Education*, 120, 254-267.
- Arab world. (2016). In *Wikipedia*. Retrieved from [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arab\\_world](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arab_world)
- Aroian, K. J., Templin T. N., & Hough E. S. (2014). Longitudinal study of daily hassles in adolescents in Arab Muslim immigrant families. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health*, 16(5), 831-838. doi:10.1007/s10903-013-9795-7
- Aroian, K. J., Templin, T. N., Hough, E. E., Ramaswamy, V., & Katz, A. (2011). A longitudinal family-level model of Arab Muslim adolescent behavior problems. *Journal of Youth Adolescence*, 40, 996-1011. doi:10.1007/s10964-010-9615-5

- Audi, G. Q. (2008). Challenges facing the Arab American community from a legal perspective. *American Studies Journal*, 52, 1-5.
- Bang, H. J. (2011). Newcomer immigrant students' perspectives on what affects their homework experiences. *Journal of Educational Research*, 104, 408-419. doi:10.1080/00220671.2010.499139
- Banks, J. A., & McGee Banks, C. A. (Eds.). (2007). *Multicultural education: Issues and perspectives* (6th ed.). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Berry, J. W. (2006). Mutual attitudes among immigrants and ethno-cultural groups in Canada. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 30, 719-734. doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2006.06.004
- Berry, J. W., Phinney, J. S., Sam, D. L., & Vedder, P. (Eds.). (2006). *Immigrant youth in cultural transition: Acculturation, identity, and adaptation across national contexts*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Bornstein, M., & Cote, L. R. (Eds.). (2006). *Acculturation and parent-child relationships: Measurement and development*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Borzykowski, B. (2009). Education: The kids who fall between the cracks. *Canadian Business*, 82(18), 107-108.
- British Columbia Ministry of Education. (2015). *Students from refugee backgrounds: A guide for schools and teachers*. Retrieved from <http://www2.gov.bc.ca/assets/gov/education/administration/kindergarten-to-grade-12/diverse-student-needs/students-from-refugee-backgrounds-guide.pdf>
- Brown, L. (2015, November 18). Schools key to helping Syrian refugee children settle in. *Toronto Star*. Retrieved from <https://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2015/11/18/schools-key-to-helping-syrian-refugee-children-settle-in.html>
- Canadian Arab Institute. (2013, March). *Arab immigration to Canada hits record high*. Retrieved from <http://www.canadianarabinstitute.org/publications/reports/arab-immigration-canada-hits-record-high/>
- Canadian Press. (2016, October 3). Montreal student with hijab barred from taking exam for refusing to show ears. *Toronto Star*. Retrieved from <https://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2016/10/03/montreal-student-with-hijab-barred-from-taking-exam-for-refusing-to-show-ears.html>
- CBC News. (2007, February 25). Muslim girl ejected from tournament for wearing hijab. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/muslim-girl-ejected-from-tournament-for-wearing-hijab-1.632268>
- Cohen, E. G., & Lotan, R. A. (Eds.). (1997). *Working for equity in heterogeneous classrooms: Sociological theory in practice*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Collet, B. A. (2007). Islam, national identity and public secondary education: Perspectives from the Somali diaspora in Toronto, Canada. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 10(2), 131-153. doi:10.1080/13613320701330668

- Conger, R. D., Conger, K. J., Elder, G. H., Lorenz, F. O., Simons, R. L., & Whitbeck, L. B. (1992). A family process model of economic hardship and adjustment in early adolescent boys. *Child Development, 63*, 525-541.
- Cummins, J. (1980). Psychological assessment of immigrant children: Logic or intuition? *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 1*, 97-111. doi:10.1080/01434632.1980.9994005
- Cummins, J. (1991). *Empowering culturally and linguistically diverse students with learning problems*. Reston, VA: ERIC Clearinghouse on Handicapped and Gifted Children.
- Cummins, J. (2001). *Bilingual children's mother tongue: Why is it important for education?* Retrieved from <http://www.fiplv.org/Issues/CumminsENG.pdf>
- Cummins, J. (2008). BICS and CALP: Empirical and theoretical status of the distinction. In B. Street & N. H. Hornberger (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of language and education: Vol. 2. Literacy* (2nd ed., pp. 71-83). New York, NY: Springer.
- Cummins, J. (2011). Literacy engagement: Fueling academic growth for English learners. *The Reading Teacher, 65*, 142-146. doi:10.2307/41331588
- Cummins, J. (2012). The intersection of cognitive and sociocultural factors in the development of reading comprehension among immigrant students. *Reading and Writing, 25*, 1973-1990. doi:10.1007/s11145-010-9290-7
- Dahya, N., & Jenson, J. (2015). Mis/representations in school-based digital media production: An ethnographic exploration with Muslim girls. *Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education, 9*(2), 108-123. doi:10.1080/15595692.2015.1013209
- Dakroury, A. (2006). The Arab-Canadian consumption of diasporic media. *Journal of International Communication, 12*(2), 35-51. doi:10.1080/13216597.2006.9752012
- Dlamini, N., Wolfe, B., Anucha, U., & Yan, M. (2010). Engaging the Canadian diaspora: Youth social identities in a Canadian border city. *McGill Journal of Education / Revue des sciences de l'éducation de McGill, 44*(3). Retrieved from <http://mje.mcgill.ca/article/view/1054>
- Dwairy, M. (2004). Parenting styles and mental health of Arab gifted adolescents. *Gifted Child Quarterly, 48*, 275-286. doi:10.1177/001698620404800403
- Eid, P. (2007). *Being Arab: Ethnic and religious identity building among second generation youth in Montreal*. Montreal, QC: McGill-Queens University Press.
- El-Najjar, H. (2001). *The Gulf war: Overreaction & excessiveness*. Dalton, GA: Amazone Press.
- Faragallah, M., Schumm, W., & Webb, F. (1997). Acculturation of Arab-American immigrants: An exploratory study. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 28*, 182-203.
- Fedio, C. (2012, July 10). Nine-year-old Quebec girl pulled from soccer tournament for wearing hijab. *National Post*. Retrieved from <http://news.nationalpost.com/2012/07/10/nine-year-old-quebec-girl-pulled-from-soccer-tournament-for-wearing-hijab/>
- Ford, D., & Grantham, T. (1996). Multicultural gifted education: A wakeup call to the profession. *Roepers Review, 19*, 72-78. doi:10.1080/02783199609553794

- Friskén, F., & Wallace, M. (2000). *The response of the municipal public service sector to the challenge of immigrant settlement*. Retrieved from [http://www.settlement.org/downloads/municipal\\_sector.pdf](http://www.settlement.org/downloads/municipal_sector.pdf)
- Gollnick, D. M., & Chinn, P. C. (2009). *Multicultural education in a pluralistic society*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall.
- Guo, Y. (2015). Pre-service teachers and Muslim parents: Exploring religious diversity in Canadian public schools. *Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education, 9*, 189-204. doi:10.1080/15595692.2015.1014033
- Gutmann, A. (2003). *Identity in democracy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Hamdan, A. (2007). Arab Muslim women in Canada: The untold narratives. *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs, 27*, 133-154. doi:10.1080/13602000701308921
- Hare, C. (2016, May 10). Booklet promotes understanding of Arab and Muslim cultures. *ATA News*. Retrieved from <https://www.teachers.ab.ca/Publications/ATA%20News/Volume%2050%202015-16/Number-17/Pages/Booklet-promotes-understanding.aspx>
- Hayani, I. (2014, November 24). Arabs in Canada. *Global Research*. Retrieved from <http://www.globalresearch.ca/arabs-in-canada/5415869>
- Haycock, K. (2001). Closing the achievement gap. *Educational Leadership, 58*(6), 6-11.
- Ibish, I. (Ed.). (2003). *Report on hate crimes and discrimination against Arab Americans: The post-September 11 backlash, September 11, 2001–October 11, 2002*. Washington, DC: American–Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee. Retrieved from [http://www.mbda.gov/sites/default/files/September\\_11\\_Backlash.pdf](http://www.mbda.gov/sites/default/files/September_11_Backlash.pdf)
- Isik-Ercan, Z. (2015). Being Muslim and American: Turkish-American children negotiating their religious identities in school settings. *Race Ethnicity and Education, 18*, 225-250. doi:10.1080/13613324.2014.911162
- Joshi, K. Y. (2006). The racialization of Hinduism, Islam, and Sikhism in the United States. *Equity & Excellence in Education, 39*, 211-226. doi:10.1080/1066568060079010
- Justin Trudeau, for the record: “We beat fear with hope.” (2015, October 20). *Macleans*. Retrieved from <http://www.macleans.ca/politics/ottawa/justin-trudeau-for-the-record-we-beat-fear-with-hope/>
- Kaufman, E. L., & Payne, K. H. (1994). *Self-esteem in the ESL female adolescent as compared to self-esteem in the non-ESL female adolescent*. Retrieved from ERIC database. (ED377710)
- Khan, S. (2013, September 26). Why does a head scarf have us tied up in knots? *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/why-does-a-head-scarf-have-us-tied-up-in-knots/article772678/>
- Khoury, L. Z. (2016). On belonging: The American adolescent of Arab descent. *Journal of Clinical Psychology, 72*, 818-826. doi:10.1002/jclp.22363
- Kivisto, P. (2001). Theorizing transnational immigration: A critical review of current efforts. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 24*, 549-577. doi:10.1080/01419870120049789

- Kumar, R., Warnke, J. H., & Karabenick, S. A. (2014). Arab-American male identity negotiations: Caught in the crossroads of ethnicity, religion, nationality and current contexts. *Social Identities*, 20(1), 22-41. doi:10.1080/13504630.2013.864464
- Lavenda, O. (2011). Parental involvement in school: A test of Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler's model among Jewish and Arab parents in Israel. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 33, 927-935. doi:10.1016/j.childyouth.2010.12.016
- Majumdar, S. (2010). *The quest for belonging: Arab Muslim ESOL students' (re)-construction of linguistic and cultural identities* (Doctoral dissertation). University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, AL.
- Manavathu, M. & Zhou, G. (2012). The impact of differentiated instructional materials on English Language Learner (ELL) students' comprehension of science laboratory tasks. *Canadian Journal of Science, Mathematics and Technology Education*, 12, 334-349. doi:10.1080/14926156.2012.732255
- Mansouri, F., & Trembath, A. (2005). Multicultural education and racism: The case of Arab-Australian students in contemporary Australia. *International Education Journal*, 6, 516-529.
- Mendez, J., Bauman, S., & Guillory, R. (2012). Bullying of Mexican immigrant students by Mexican American students: An examination of intracultural bullying. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 34, 279-304. doi:10.1177/0739986311435970
- Midobuche, E. (1999). Respect in the classroom: Reflections of a Mexican-American educator. *Educational Leadership*, 56, 80-82.
- Miller, D. (1996). *On nationality*. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.
- Moosa, S., Karabenick, S., & Adams, L. (2001). Teacher perceptions of Arab parent involvement in elementary schools. *School Community Journal*, 11(2), 4-26.
- Mujahid, A. M. (2003). In a virtual internment camp: Muslim Americans since 9/11. In *SoundVision.com*. Retrieved from <http://www.soundvision.com/info/muslims/internment.asp>
- Naber, N. (2000). Ambiguous insiders: An investigation of Arab American invisibility. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 23(1), 37-61. doi:10.1080/014198700329123
- Naber, N. (2008). "Look, Mohammed the terrorist is coming!" Cultural racism, nation-based racism, and the intersectionality of oppressions after 9/11. In A. Jamal & N. Naber (Eds.), *Race and Arab Americans before and after 9/11: From invisible citizens to visible subjects* (pp. 276-304). Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
- Naff, A. (1983). Arabs in America: A historical overview. In S. Abraham & N. Abraham (Eds.), *Arabs in the new world: Studies on Arab-American communities* (pp. 8-29). Detroit, MI: Wayne State University.
- Najem, T. P. (2001). Privatization and the state in Morocco: Nominal objectives and problematic realities. *Mediterranean Politics*, 6(2), 51-67. doi:10.1080/13629395.2001.9620051

- Najem, T. P. (2003). Lebanon and Europe: The foreign policy of a penetrated state. *Review of International Affairs*, 3, 209-231.
- Najem, T. (2011). Review of the book *In the shadow of sectarianism: Law, Shi'ism and the making of modern Lebanon*, by M. Weiss. *Insight Turkey*, 13, 212-214.
- Najem, T. P., Soderlund, W. C., Briggs, E. D., & Cipkar, S. (2016). Was R2P a viable option for Syria? Opinion content in the Globe and Mail and the National Post, 2011-2013. *International Journal*, 71, 433-449. doi:10.1177/0020702016662796
- Nieto, S. (1992). *Affirming diversity: The sociopolitical context of multicultural education*. New York, NY: Longman.
- Ogbu, J. U. (2003). *Black American students in an affluent suburb: A study of academic disengagement*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Olsen, L. (1988). *Crossing the schoolhouse border: Immigrant students and the California public schools. A California Tomorrow policy research report*. San Francisco, CA: California Tomorrow.
- Olsen, L. (1994). *The unfinished journey: Restructuring schools in a diverse society. A California Tomorrow research and policy report from the Education for a Diverse Society Project*. San Francisco, CA: California Tomorrow.
- Olsen, L. (1997). *Made in America: Immigrant students in our public schools*. New York, NY: The New Press.
- Olsen, L. (2000). Learning English and learning America: Immigrants in the center of a storm. *Theory Into Practice*, 39(4), 196-202. doi:10.1207/s15430421tip3904\_2
- Olsen, L. (2010). *Reparable harm: Fulfilling the unkept promise of educational opportunity for California's long-term English learners*. Long Beach, CA: Californians Together.
- Olsen, L., & Mullen, N. A. (1990). *Embracing diversity: Teachers' voices from California's classrooms*. San Francisco, CA: California Tomorrow.
- Ontario Human Rights Commission. (2008). *Racism & racial discrimination: Your rights and responsibilities*. Retrieved from <http://www.ohrc.on.ca/en/issues/racism>
- Ontario Ministry of Education. (2005). *Many roots, many voices: Supporting English language learners in every classroom—A practical guide for Ontario educators*. Toronto, ON: Queen's Printer for Ontario. Retrieved from <https://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/document/manyroots/manyroots.pdf>
- Ontario Ministry of Education. (2009). *Realizing the promise of diversity: Ontario's equity and inclusive education strategy*. Toronto, ON: Queen's Printer for Ontario. Retrieved from <http://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/policyfunding/equity.pdf>
- Ontario Ministry of Education. (2010). *Education Amendment Act (Keeping Our Kids Safe at School Act)*. Retrieved from [http://www.e-laws.gov.on.ca/html/source/statutes/english/2009/elaws\\_src\\_s09017\\_e.htm](http://www.e-laws.gov.on.ca/html/source/statutes/english/2009/elaws_src_s09017_e.htm)
- Ontario Ministry of Education. (2011). *Quick facts: Ontario's equity and inclusive education strategy*. Toronto, ON: Queen's Printer for Ontario. Retrieved from <http://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/policyfunding/EquityQuickFacts.pdf>



- Ontario Ministry of Education. (2012). *Curriculum council*. Retrieved from <http://www.edu.gov.on.ca/curriculumcouncil/index.html>
- Ontario Ministry of Education. (2014). *Equity and inclusive education in Ontario schools: Guidelines for policy development and implementation*. Retrieved from [www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/policyfunding/inclusiveguide.pdf](http://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/policyfunding/inclusiveguide.pdf)
- Ontario Ministry of Education. (2016). *Capacity building K-12 — Supporting students with refugee backgrounds: A framework for responsive practice*. Retrieved from [http://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/literacynumeracy/inspire/research/cbs\\_refugees.html](http://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/literacynumeracy/inspire/research/cbs_refugees.html)
- Parekh, B. (2000). *Rethinking multiculturalism: Cultural diversity and political theory*. Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan.
- Paterson, A. D., & Hakim-Larson, J. (2012). Arab youth in Canada: Acculturation, enculturation, social support, and life satisfaction. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 40*, 206-215. doi:10.1002/j.2161-1912.2012.00018.x
- Petrozza, J. (2012). Critical multicultural education and the media. In *Critical multicultural pavilion*. Retrieved from <http://www.edchange.org/multicultural/papers/media.html>
- Rasmi, S., Chuang, S.S., & Safdar, S. (2012). The relationship between perceived parental rejection and adjustment for Arab, Canadian, and Arab Canadian youth. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 43*, 84-90. doi:10.1177/0022022111428172
- Renzaho, A., McCabe, M., & Swinburn, B. (2012). Intergenerational differences in food, physical activity, and body size perceptions among African migrants. *Qualitative Health Research, 22*, 740-754. doi:10.1177/1049732311425051
- Rosenthal, D. (1987). Ethnic identity development in adolescents. In J. Phinney & M. Rotherham (Eds.), *Children's ethnic socialization: Pluralism and development* (pp. 156-179). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Roscigno, V., & Ainsworth-Darnell, J. (1999). Race, cultural capital, and educational resources: Persistent inequalities and achievement returns. *Sociology of Education, 72*, 158-178. doi:10.2307/2673227
- Ruck, M. D., & Wortley, S. (2002). Racial and ethnic minority high school students' perceptions of school disciplinary practices: A look at some Canadian findings. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 31*, 185-195. doi:10.1023/A:1015081102189
- Sabry, N. S., & Bruna, K. R. (2007). Learning from the experience of Muslim students in American schools: Towards a proactive model of school-community cooperation. *Multicultural Perspectives, 9*(3), 44-50. doi:10.1080/15210960701443730
- Samhan, H. H. (1999). Not quite white: Race classification and the Arab American experience. In M. Suliman (Ed.), *Arabs in America: Building a new future* (pp. 209-226). Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Sarroub, L. K. (2002). In-betweenness: Religion and conflicting visions of literacy. *Reading Research Quarterly, 37*, 130-148. doi:10.1598/RRQ.37.2.2
- Shaheen, J. G. (1984). *The TV Arab*. Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press.

- Shaheen, J. G. (2000). Hollywood's Muslim Arabs. *Muslim World*, 90(1/2), 22-42. doi:10.1111/j.1478-1913.2000.tb03680.x
- Shaheen, J. G. (2001). *Reel bad Arabs: How Hollywood vilifies a people*. New York, NY: Olive Branch Press.
- Simmons, C., & Simmons, C. (1994). English, Israeli-Arab, and Saudi Arabian adolescent values. *Educational Studies*, 20(1), 69-87. doi:10.1080/0305569940200106
- Sirin, S. R., & Fine, M. (2008). *Muslim American youth: Understanding hyphenated identities through multiple methods*. New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Statistics Canada. (2007). *The Arab community in Canada*. Retrieved from <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/89-621-x/89-621-x2007009-eng.htm>
- Statistics Canada. (2010). *Study: Projections of the diversity of the Canadian population*. Retrieved from <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/daily-quotidien/100309/dq100309a-eng.htm>
- Statistics Canada. (2013). 2011 National household survey: Immigration, place of birth, citizenship, ethnic origin, visible minorities, language and religion. Retrieved from <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/daily-quotidien/130508/dq130508b-eng.htm>
- Statistics Canada. (2015). Visible minority and population group reference guide, national household survey, 2011. Retrieved from <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/ref/guides/99-010-x/99-010-x2011009-eng.cfm>
- Sung, B. L. (1987). *The adjustment experience of Chinese immigrant children in New York City*. New York, NY: Center for Migration Studies.
- Syrian refugees in Canada could hit 50,000 next year, says McCallum. (2015, December 21). *CBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/world/canada-syrian-refugees-2016-1.3374069>
- Tabbah, R., Halselliranda, A., & Wheaton, J. E. (2012). Self-concept in Arab American adolescents: Implications of social support and experiences in the schools. *Psychology in the Schools*, 49, 817-827. doi:10.1002/pits.21640
- Tapia, J. (2000). Schooling and learning in U.S.-Mexican families: A case study of households. *Urban Review*, 32, 25-44. doi:10.1023/A:1005138717565
- Tavakoliyazdi, M. (1981). *Assimilation and status attainment of Middle Eastern immigrants in the United States* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN.
- Todd, S. (1998, Fall). Veiling the "other," unveiling our "selves": Reading media images of the hijab psychoanalytically to move beyond tolerance. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 23, 438-451.
- Toronto District School Board. (2000). *Equity foundation statement & commitments to equity policy implementation*. Retrieved from [http://www.tdsb.on.ca/\\_site/ViewItem.asp?siteid=15&menuid=682&pageid=546](http://www.tdsb.on.ca/_site/ViewItem.asp?siteid=15&menuid=682&pageid=546)
- Vaden-Kiernan, N., & McManus, J. (2005). *Parent and family involvement in education: 2002-03* (NCES publication no. 2005043). Retrieved from <http://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2005043>

- Valdés, G. (1996). *Con respeto: Bridging the distances between culturally diverse families and schools*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Valdés, G. (2001). *Learning and not learning English: Latino students in American schools*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Van den Berghe, P. L. (2002). Multicultural democracy: Can it work? *Nations and Nationalism*, 8, 433-450.
- Wingfield, M. (2006). Arab Americans: Into the multicultural mainstream. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, 39, 253-266. doi:10.1080/10665680600788453
- Wray-Lake, L., Syvertsen, A. K., & Flanagan, C. A. (2008). Contested citizenship and social exclusion: Adolescent Arab American immigrants' views of the social contract. *Applied Developmental Science*, 12, 84-92. doi:10.1080/10888690801997085
- Xu, S. (2006). *In search of home on landscapes in transition: Narratives of newcomer families' cross-cultural schooling experience* (Doctoral dissertation). Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto.
- Zhong, L., & Zhou, G. (2011), Chinese immigrant parents' involvement in their children's school education: High interest but low action. *Brock Education Journal*, 20(2), 4-21.
- Zhou, M., & Kim, S. S. (2006, Spring). Community forces, social capital, and educational achievement: The case of supplementary education in the Chinese and Korean immigrant communities. *Harvard Educational Review*, 76, 1-29.
- Zine, J. (2000). Redefining resistance: Towards an Islamic subculture in schools. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 3, 293-314. doi:10.1080/713693042
- Zine, J. (2006). Unveiled sentiments: Gendered Islamophobia and experiences of veiling among Muslim girls in a Canadian Islamic school. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, 39, 239-252. doi:10.1080/10665680600788503