



Article

Navigating Islam: The Hijab and the American Workplace

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Abstract: The United States Constitution allows individuals to practice any religion they choose. However, the austerity of this right is tested when an individual's belief is publicly displayed. For Muslim women wearing the hijab, or headscarf, the intersection between private religious practice and its social expression is explored on a daily basis. To fully understand the manifestation of public religious expression, this paper examines a series of interviews with 35 hijab-wearing Muslim women living in the United States. By exploring the lived experiences of Muslim-American women, this paper highlights the broader issues of the media's influence on perceptions of Muslim culture, the complex and often unclear legality of religious symbols in the workplace, and the barriers that exist for hijab-wearing women in the workplace. With the rise of Islamophobia, the participants found a stronger sense to exert their right to express their religious identities. Moreover, the women interviewed demonstrate their agency by continuing to embrace their religious practice despite intersecting forms of discrimination.

Keywords: hijab; Muslim-American women; identity; workplace discrimination; media

1. Introduction

The Muslim veil, also known as the hijab, has long been an issue of debate in modern society. Scholarship concerned with the hijab has primarily focused on women residing in Muslim-majority countries. Recently, however, the hijab has gained visibility in the West due to immigration and increasing rates of conversion to Islam. Even though various scholars have researched the hijab, the experiences of American Muslim women have received minimal attention. Furthermore, scholarship specifically focusing on hijab-wearing women in the workplace remains scant. Considering the lack of research in this area, my study explores and shares the experiences of 35 Muslim women working in the USA to help us move beyond generalizations about Muslim women. The personal experiences I discuss here provide insight into to the lives of Muslim-American women, and their experiences in the workplace. Specifically, exploring hijab and workplace interactions facilitates an understanding of the social implications of publically identifying as Muslim.

The participation of Muslim-American women in the labor force has received little attention. This research provides insight on the growing number of Muslim women in the American workplace. In the few studies that do focus on Muslim women, analysis of their workplace participation is often limited. This research is inclusive and offers an overview of Muslim-American women's experiences. It combines interview data with existing theories on identity to provide a more nuanced understanding of the women themselves. Accordingly, this study explores the intersecting elements that structure the lives of Muslim American women. It is important to look at how confronting intersecting forms of discrimination impacts individuals' sense of identity. For the women in my research study there is a constant need to challenge racism, sexism, and other forms of discrimination. Additionally, this paper hopes to contribute to new and existing theories on hijab in the American workplace.

2. Materials and Methods

The hijab is a complex symbol with religious and social significance. It also has personal value for women who wear it in American society. I provide accounts of employed Muslim women from various professions and age groups. My research is based on a series of one-hour long in person interviews. The interviews initially began with personal connections and as the research grew I recruited interviewees using the snowball technique. In order to preserve anonymity in my analysis, I use pseudonyms and do not expose personal details such as job location. In addition, the interviews include women born in the US and those that immigrated into the country. Their ages range from 20 to 46. The interviewees' occupations vary from professional jobs in the field of psychology to sales associates in retail stores. The majority of the women are pursuing college degrees or are college graduates. The style of veil the women wear is a personal choice and usually coordinates with an individual woman's clothing style. Ninety-five percent of the women interviewed wear a hijab in which the headscarf covers their hair and is, most commonly, tied at the nape of the neck. Women that preferred this style specifically indicated that this style of hijab was the most practical in the workplace because it was not in the way of any work obligations. However, a smaller percentage of 5 percent wore a hijab style that had more fabric and was drawn over their upper body. Additionally, these participants typically wore only loose-fitting dresses as clothing. The Arabic term "hijab" was used by Arabic and non-Arabic speaking participants to describe their head coverings. Eighty-one percent of participants defined the veil as a form of modesty. Given that this paper is meant to explore these women's lived experiences, using the term "hijab" throughout this paper will give a fair representation of the practice.

This paper is part of a larger study that intends to explore the complex lived experiences and identity negotiations of hijab wearing Muslim American women in the workplace. The research found in this paper particularly focuses on the personal implications for these women in regard to how they maintain their Islamic identity while taking part in the American workplace. The array of experiences I describe in this article will contribute to more diverse perspective of Muslim women's work experiences. In the pages below, I analyze veiled women's daily experiences in predominantly non-veiled work environments and inquire into the challenges they face. By sharing their experiences, I hope to convey a deeper understanding of the lives of Muslim women living in the United States, in the hope that we as a nation can move away from stereotypes of past generations and form a better understanding of Muslim women's lived experiences.

As a Muslim Arab American woman who wears the hijab, my status as an insider has lent a unique lens of analysis to the research. Having conducted research with women who share the experience of wearing hijab can be an advantage. The interviewees felt more comfortable sharing certain information or used specific terms in Arabic that are common in Muslim communities. However, I had to maintain an impersonal communication in order to conduct a balanced and unbiased interview.

2.1. Hijab in the Workplace

In recent years, Muslim women wearing the hijab have grown more prevalent in the American workplace. Their participation has brought forth numerous cases around the United States concerning the rights of hijab-wearing Muslim women. Oftentimes, the media highlights cases of discriminatory practices against Muslim women in the workplace. One of the most notable cases in this regard were complaints brought to the Supreme Court against the uniform policies of businesses like Abercrombie and Fitch [1]. In some circumstances, hijab-wearing women were hired and fired on their first day of work. This was the case for Riham Osman. She was interviewed and, subsequently, hired by Aerotek in the state of Virginia as a passenger service agent, but was later dismissed from training and fired for not complying with the dress code of Air France [2]. Furthermore, in sports, hijab-wearing athletes have challenged professional sports leagues for the right to wear religious attire. For instance, basketball player, Bilqis Abdul-Qaadir fought against the International Basketball Federation's (FIBA) hijab ban [3]. The outcomes of these cases demonstrate the shift in social perspective about the experiences of Muslim women wearing hijab in the public sphere.

The lack of positive attention given to Muslim American women's experiences contributes to the perpetuation of stereotypes about them in American society. The experience of hijab wearing women is particularly challenging because of their overt Islamic head covering. Exploring social perceptions of Islam and Muslim women, Yvonne Haddad's article "The Post 9/11Hijab as Icon", claims,

In an America traumatized by 9/11, many Americans began to identify the hijab as the standard of the enemy. No more a marker of pity and obedience to God, it came to be seen as an affront and the flaunting of an identity associated with those who have declared war on the United States. Muslim women who wore the hijab bore the consequences of blatant stereotyping. They became the objects of both harassment and pity.... The harassment restricted women's freedom and stripped them of their anonymity. Public catcalls of "I hate you", "Go home", "America is for Americans", and "Death to Muslims" had devastating effect [4].

While the disparagement of Muslims is not a current phenomenon, there was a significant rise in discrimination following the attacks on 11 September 2001and escalated again in 2015 and 2016 [5]. The media has effectively regulated how Muslims are viewed, and, consequently, created a sensationalistic view of Muslims resulting in a domino effect. Biased coverage left viewers with fears, which ultimately resulted in discontent towards Muslim Americans. Ghumman and L. Jackson's [6] study on hijab-wearing Muslim women's experiences in the workplace, note "individuals whose stigma is visible (i.e., Hijabis) experience more discrimination than individuals with concealable stigma. Although faith is a personal choice, its visibility is also a shared experience". The politicization of tragic events highlights Islam as the inherent enemy. Increasingly in the news, there are repeated images of Islam as a threat and Muslims are collectively left responsible. Many representations of Muslims in the media are created to send the public into panic, resulting in the distrust of Muslims. Within this framework, Muslim women are constantly challenging these misrepresentations by reconstructing the popular narrative of Muslims. According to my research, 46 percent of participants articulated the direct result of media on their workplace experience. For instance, Sarah (40-year-old college professor) described how the news impacted a co-worker's behavior towards her. She commented the influence of the media on the treatment she received at work:

A tragic event occurred at the college where I worked—a co-worker was hostile because of a world event. I answered, "There are extremists in every religion and this certainly does not speak for the whole religion". She replied, "No, I think deep down inside you guys are all taught not to show us that". I said, "That is really suspicious and not really a good way to look at humanity. Hopefully over the course of the year I can change your impression". She softened up a little bit. But people are constantly fed this negative news feed. So, i hurts us.

The hijab is not only misunderstood in the workplace, but it is also seen as inherently "un-American". This suggests that American and Islamic cultures cannot coexist. Islam poses a threat, and the hijab is perceived as an action of resistance to American culture. Although women who don the hijab may be native-born or identify as Americans, their Islamic garments automatically mark them as foreign. Constantly identified as the "other", this misrepresentation leaves women vulnerable to verbal attacks, or worse. Furthermore, 63 percent of the women I interviewed explained that micro-aggressions are a daily struggle. Samira (26-year-old chemist) shared an example of how micro-aggressions manifests at work. Samira describes, "I have a co-worker who would always talk about politics. If the media reports an incident with Muslim involved he would say, 'The Muslims are at it again.' He would even leave pork sandwiches on my desk, in an attempt to see how I will react". Samira's experiences are not unique. In addition, her experience demonstrate the challenges of encountering uncomfortable and many times discriminatory acts done on behalf of co-workers. As Williams and Vashi claim [7], "many Americans view any outward manifestations

of difference as inequality". The continuous depiction of the "other" is usually directed at one's physical appearance. Moreover, the hijab's visibility marks Muslim women as the unequal "other". For instance, Samah (26-year-old teacher) shedding tears as I questioned her work experience with hijab by saying, "I cannot stand that I need to prove myself over and over. Why cannot they perceive me as a normal person? Challenges such as Samira's and Samah's are reflective of a broader issue confronting hijab wearing Muslim American women. Furthermore, 34 percent of participants in this research were expected to prove their loyalty to the USA in the workplace. For example, Nora (42-year-old receptionist) a native of New York City, explained a recommendation by her employer to "Americanize" and, thereby, counteract her veil marking her as "other":

It is natural being exposed to the media and the way Islam is shown, fear is a common reaction. We are also very saddened and depressed about what happens. It is a little uneasy, I think, for most of us, but I guess this is like a test for us Muslims to see if we will continue to carry ourselves the way we always did. Not to change our names or the way we dress. My boss, the chiropractor, he said to me, "Why don't you get a pin of the American flag, wear it on your collar, to show support of Americans". So, I did. I wore it for a while then I took it off. We love America and happy to be part of this world here. I do not need a pin to show my allegiance.

Nora's employer believed customers might question her patriotism when they saw her hijab and outward expression of her Muslim identity, therefore, her wearing a pin of the flag would, as he suggested, possibly compensate for her religious headdress. Nora's decision to stop wearing the pin is not an indication that she was—or is—unpatriotic. However, she felt that she was equally as American as anyone else and did not need to provide evidence of her allegiance.

Religious symbols in the workplace are a highly contested issue. Even though the United States Constitution [8] and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act [9] prohibit discrimination based on religion, participants still experienced forms of inequality in the workplace. Dealing with co-workers, customers, clients, and patients is a fundamental element of the workplace. Thus, if those relationships are not formed, the workplace can potentially become a stressful environment. Hijab-wearing women may find a job position that they are comfortable with, but their interactions with others can interfere with their job performance. Twenty-nine percent of participants interviewed have articulated different instances where they were unable to fulfill job obligations due to acts of discrimination. Reema, a dental hygienist, explained the challenges she confronts when examining patients. On several occasions, she noted, patients told her that she was not allowed to touch them because she wore hijab, and directly told her to leave the room. The implications of this are strikingly similar to those analyzed in Droogsma's [10] study on implications of the hijab in the workplace, which argues, "visible Muslim identity brings difficulties with it as well. While [hijab-wearing] women appreciate being recognized as Muslim women, people too often associate negative and erroneous attributes with this identity and treat the women according to stereotype". Although Reema described these experiences as deeply painful, she firmly exerts her right as a Muslim American to continue wearing hijab.

2.2. Intersecting Identities

Haddad's study looks closely at the various perceptions of the hijab in the USA and claims that the hijab "frames the female body as an icon of the 'clash of civilizations' and has far-reaching political and social implications" [11]. Notably, it is the hijab that is the signifying factor of difference. Therefore, the "clash of civilizations", along with the "us" and "them" dichotomies that are formed around this assumed 'clash' are observed through the use of hijab, which also inadvertently make the hijab a marker of the political or the social.

For many of the women I interviewed, their lived experiences were shaped by the way others treated them. As many as 80 percent of participants mentioned how their introspection evolved as a result of meaningful—and sometimes negative—experiences with those around them. Different

elements such as gender, race, and/or religion make up an individual's identity. Occasionally, individuals are treated solely based on those characteristics. It is evident that American Muslim women who are "experiencing gender discrimination, now increasingly have to contend with religious and racial discrimination" as well [12]. As Killian states, "theorists of cultural and ethnic identity, and particularly feminist theorists on women of color . . . argue that identity is an ongoing process, one affected by multiple, intersecting forms of domination" [13]. Similarly, Patricia Hill Collins [14] coins the term "matrix of domination", to argues that experiences are formed by a both/and rather than an either/or dichotomy. Collins emphasizes the interconnectedness of a person's multiple characteristics as all a part of an individual's experience. A person's social experience concerning their race, gender, and religion is, therefore, constructed differently and generates a different result. Collins's analysis is particularly interesting in that it is consistent with my interviewees' descriptions of "interlocking systems of oppression" that shape each woman's experience. Collins elucidates to the elements of oppressions and its influence on a personal level arguing,

In addition to being structured along axes such as race, gender, and social class, the matrix of domination is structured on several levels. People experience and resist oppression on three levels: the level of personal biography; the group or community level of the cultural context created by race, class, and gender; and the systemic level of social institutions. [14]

Consequently, the construct of the "matrix of domination" is part of one's lived experience and defines one's self within the larger social structure. For instance, Ayesha (26-year-old auditor) articulated what it means to be a brown-skinned Muslim woman wearing hijab:

Sometimes when people say things to me I think, "Are they saying this because they think I am an oppressed Muslim woman?" Even though I should not think that way and I should not blame it on hijab or the fact I am Muslim, but I cannot help it. I do not know how much of the hijab or [my] Muslim [ness] or [my] brown [ness], for that matter, is affecting them or their impression of me. So, if someone is mean to me I think, "Are they saying this because [they think] I am oppressed and think I cannot answer back?" Many times people talk to me and are shocked that I do not have an accent: "You have no accent. Oh My God, where you from?" I am like, "You do not [have an accent], where you from?" You get to the point where you are defensive. You are like why does it shock that even though I have the hijab I do not have an accent or that I am brown, and I do not have an accent. It's the stereotypes.

Ayesha is aware of the ways in which others react to her and fully understands her position as a hijab-wearing Muslim woman of color. Although Ayesha is aware that stereotypes are the reasons that she might be misjudged, she occasionally becomes defensive to maintain her self-definition. Ayesha reflects how salient characteristics such as the color of her skin, religion, and hijab make her a target of different forms of discrimination. Every individual's dynamic characteristics can also demonstrate the intersection of self-definition and resistance. Consistent with Collins's analysis, the function of oppression and methods of resistance are complex and individually experienced.

2.3. Implications of Discrimination

Haleh Afshar's [15] study on the ways in which Muslim women's lives are affected by discrimination contends that, "The current climate of Islamophobia has burdened Muslim women who cover with additional problems in terms of their politics, their lived experiences and their life chances". According to particular participants in my research the uncertainty of how others perceived the hijab led them to reduce the appearance of their head covering. In order to avoid uncomfortable encounters, some of the women manipulated their style of hijab. Many of the participants explained that a traumatic discriminatory experience led them to rethink how they wore the hijab.

Some women felt compelled to change the way they wore hijab because of negative treatment they received. In this research, only two of the women interviewed had to pursue legal cases to

challenge workplace discrimination. Nonetheless, most of the women contend that micro-aggressions are a common a struggle. Twenty-nine percent of the participants expressed how they came to the conclusion that they needed to change their style of hijab. They continued to wear hijab but did not chose an obvious style of Islamic headdress. Although the mistreatments the women received were not at their place of employment, they felt pressure to assimilate more in the workplace because that was the one place they interacted mostly with non-Muslims. After changing the way they wore hijab, the women noticed differences in the ways others communicated with them. Evidently, the participants did not stop wearing hijab, but expressed that wearing certain styles of hijab prevented them from having productive relationships. Several of the women told me that they wear different styles of hijab depending on the social activity. For instance, they might wear a hat, or tie the hijab to look like a turban, instead of a more traditional hijab style. Najla (45 year-old teacher) explained her reason for changing her wardrobe as follows:

I used to work part-time in the public schools. Before September 11, I used to go to work wearing an *abaya* (long and loose-fitting dress), and a big hijab and it was normal. Everybody used to look at me like I was accepted. I was proud, because I was unique. People would see me wearing my hijab and say, "Wow" because it was different, and I liked it. After September 11, people started to give me bad looksI went to work and got unfriendly looks. I felt excluded. I started to dress like them, but in an Islamic way. I started to wear pants and shirts. I would wear a turtleneck and a hijab tied back, at the nape of my neck, so I can fit in. Not one hundred percent, but enough so that I would not get the bad looks.

Similarly, Layla (29-year-old sales representative), who had recently applied for a retail position, explained how she felt seeking a job with hijab. During my interview with Layla, she described an incident when she was harassed for wearing hijab while walking to her car. She, subsequently, contemplated different ways of wearing hijab in order to appear less Muslim while she was applying for jobs:

The last job I had was in Texas. After the whole harassment situation, I was a little insecure about my hijab so I went to my job interview with my hijab tied towards the back, hoping to conceal my identity, so I would not be discriminated against. However, the next day, I went to work with it properly worn, because I figured that this was part of me, and by hiding it, I would be only fooling myself.

Najla and Layla proclaim to have felt content when they were able to express their unique identities through their clothes. Najla was more easily accepted when she changed the way she dressed. Alternatively, despite experiences of discrimination, Layla regained the confidence to wear her hijab the way she felt most comfortable. For both women, this was not just a physical change, but also an emotional one as they realized that they no longer wanted to relive uncomfortable social situations. The participants' experiences reflect the ways they negotiate their Islamic identities within a secular environment.

2.4. Projecting Messages through Hijab

The non-verbal messages people convey through clothing function as a significant factor in public communication. Hoodfar indicates that clothing operates as a silent form of expression [16]. Particularly addressing the outward representation of the hijab, Hoodfar [16] states, "although clothing fulfills a basic need of human beings in most climates, it is also a significant social institution through which important ideological and non-verbal communication takes place". Clothing acts as an indication of the wearer's identity. As a result, an individual controls what they want interpreted through their clothes. While clothing can be used as a silent form of expression, it can also make powerful statements. For instance, the adoption of the hijab in the USA is both a piece of clothing and a declaration of religious faith. Articles of clothing that are distinguished as Islamic, like the hijab, might not be an

accepted form of dress, yet women continue to wear these religious markers daily, demonstrating a sense of conviction.

Wearing hijab in the USA also shows that these women are exercising their right as Americans, thus sending messages about their religious freedom in the United States. Hijab-wearing Muslim American women strive to maintain their religious identity while also taking part in American social life. The women interviewed stated that they want to enjoy the same privileges as other Americans, such as workplace opportunities. Noticeably, how a person self-identifies reflects in the way they represent themselves. Droogsma offers an explanation about identifying as Muslim in public:

The fact that the women all embrace their primary identity as Muslim, and welcome being identified as such despite the discrimination that accompanies this identity, suggests an appreciation of being able to exercise some control over how others perceive their primary identity [10].

The significance of hijab in a country that is unfriendly to Islamic practices makes a strong statement about the women's decisions to exercise their rights to be part of American social spaces. Many of the participants expressed a common motivation to change the image of Islam in the West. Since the dominant perceptions of Islam lack an understanding of the true diversity of experiences of Muslims, several of the participants took it upon themselves to change this image. Participating in a workplace environment helped them pursue this goal as they are in constant interactions with others. The participants articulated that they joined the workplace for personal advancements. However, the workplace offered numerous opportunities to impart on others a different perspective of Muslim women. This is particularly important within the current climate of misrepresentation of Muslims in the United States. According to a 2014 Pew Research Center survey [17], only 38 percent of Americans know someone who is Muslim. The same survey indicates that it is more probable that a person will have a positive image of a certain religious group if they know a member of that group. Additionally, participants in the survey who had negative images of Islam did not know any Muslims at the time of the survey. For Muslim women trying to resist dominant perceptions of Islam, this is particularly challenging. However, as the participants in my research demonstrate, they are invested in shaping a dynamic reflection of Muslims among their colleagues.

The interviewees empowered themselves by asserting a positive attitude with the intent to change the perception of Muslim American women. While many of the women expressed that wearing the hijab facilitates their growing piousness, it also strengthens their abilities to confront challenges posed to Muslim Americans. Emphasizing their Muslim identity can be interpreted as their battle against the stigmatization of Muslims. Moreover, the women demonstrate their agency by continuing to embrace their religious practice despite intersecting forms of discrimination.

Many of the participants in this research in prioritized their Muslim identity. For instance Mona (32-year-old teacher) claims:

I gained for Islamic identity in this country especially. I think I am proud to be a Muslim so it is important that people look at me knows that I am Muslim. If people look at me they could think that I am from anywhere, but when I wear my hijab people know that I am Muslim. Even if they say I am from a different part of the world they know that I am Muslim.

Although Mona immigrated to the United States from Pakistan when she was a child asserts that her Muslim identity is most significant. Likewise, interviewees such as Hoda (30-year-old respiratory therapist) reflected that wearing hijab emphasizes Muslim women personal empowerment by claiming that, "wearing hijab takes courage, strength, and determination while facing everyday discrimination and challenges". For the interviewees identifying as Muslim and wearing hijab, which is mostly perceived as a socially negative image, suggests a noteworthy sense of self-assurance.

Since social change is an on-going process, the women use their hijab to depict positive acts in an effort to transform Islam's misrepresentation and negative stereotypes. The participants act as

important contributors in creating a new, positive representation of Islam in the USA. Their actions, specifically their workplace interactions, will provide a more complete, complex picture of Islam. Through their statements, the interviewees share that Muslims are diverse. Therefore, the women do not represent Muslims as a homogenous entity but provide their version of what it means to practice Islam. They attempt to open a nuanced dialogue with outsiders about the character of Muslim women, and, simultaneously, empower themselves to produce structural change in the USA. The hijab is a form of agency, as it mediates Muslim women's actions in American society.

3. Discussion

This study of hijab-wearing Muslim women in the workplace has served to document intersecting elements that structure their lives. By closely examining their experiences in the workplace, I was able to discover the numerous ways in which Muslim women interact with others while wearing a symbol of their religious commitment. During their interviews, the women shared how they negotiate their Muslim identities within an American context. The women embrace their Muslim identities, even in times when it proves challenging.

It is important to note the general American perception of Muslims and the effect it has on the hijab wearing women attitudes. Prioritizing their Muslim identity does not signify an anti-American attitude, but represents a positive sense of being Muslim, and a strong sense of agency. Haddad's exploration of Muslim identity in the U.S. proves particularly relevant for many of the interviewees' experiences. The women's insistence on portraying their Muslim identities, via the hijab, exemplifies a powerful statement about their sense of belonging to the Muslim community. In addition, the participants asserted that their Muslim identities represent their autonomy and anticipated that wearing hijab while being publicly active would encourage a more positive perception of Muslims. Collins's argument applies to Muslim women in the workplace because the focus of this study demonstrates the way in which Muslim women are using their hijab as a transforming tool. It is important to look at how confronting intersecting forms of discrimination impacts an individual's sense of identity.

Each woman reflected on how she perceives herself within the structure of the workplace and how this self-perception influenced her interactions with others. I suggest that we collectively look at religious symbols in the workplace, such as the hijab, using a broader framework. More comprehensive research concentrating on the social experiences of hijab wearing Muslim women will provide further insight into their experiences, which can then be used to implement social change for this group and other minority groups. It is evident that the hijab in the USA serves to bring our attention to gender, cultural, and religious stereotypes and concerns in a secular society. Considering the marginalization of Muslim American women, this study provides a unique perspective in the study of the American workplace. It also highlights experiences of an under-represented group within the USA. We need to reflect on the contributions that Muslim American women have provided for the American workplace.

The findings in this research is an attempt to conceptualize a more broad and complex issue. Addressing the limitations of this research is imperative. More research needs to be done in distinguishing how the nature of work, such as white-collar versus blue-collar jobs, impacts workplace interactions. A more expanded research study, comparing and contrasting different types of occupations will provide a constructive understanding about employees' and employers,' as well as customers,' responses and reactions to religious attire in the workplace.

The interviewees and their shared experiences, along with the reactions of others with whom they interact, illustrate Hoodfar's argument about the silent expressions that clothing offers. Wearing the hijab is a communal experience, especially in the workplace; for employers, co-workers, and/or customers it is also challenging due to the misrepresentations of Islam. To facilitate a basis of understanding and to encourage changes in behavior and acceptance, it is valuable for scholars to consider how misrepresentations and negative stereotypes of Islam affect Muslim women's participation in the workplace.

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