

Arabs' Stereotypes Revisited: The Need for A Literary Solution

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Abstract

In the past few decades, there has been a steady growth of interest in studying the representations of Arabs in media as shown by the increasing number of journal articles. Scholars have talked abundantly about the ugly images of Arabs that have been shown in American media for over a century. However, research lacks explanation and sufficient solutions to ameliorate such images. Therefore, this paper is an attempt to facilitate the understanding of Arabs' stereotypes drawing on the bulk of the theorizing and empirical data in cognitive science, and explain how literature can help undo the mischiefs of stereotypes. Moreover, this paper explores the ways in which the teaching and the promotion of Arabic literature can help dismantle the stereotyping of Arabs in the American media. Particularly, it demonstrates how Ghassan Kanafani's *Men in the Sun* can be used to correct faulty representations of Arabs that appeared in media for a long time.

Keywords: Arabs-Stereotypes-Literature-Empathy-Media-Representation-Attitude-Emotion

1. Introduction

Arabs have suffered from negative media coverage and stereotyping in the United States for over 100 years, but most notably within the last few decades. This has resulted in many Americans seeing Arabic people as dangerous and Arabs being shaped as outcasts. Critics have attempted to expose the stereotypes, show their persistence, and offer solutions. However, little attention has been given to advance the explanation of such representations—how, when, and why are stereotypes formed? And how do they affect us? Moreover, scholars' solutions to alleviate negative stereotypes of Arabs do not suffice, as Arabs' stereotypes have continued in abundance. Because literature has the potential to change our perceptions of others, this paper endeavors to show that Arabic literature can reduce the negative stereotypes of Arabs presented in the American media. This paper attempts to: (1) explore the psychology of Arabs stereotyping—what cognitive structures and processes are involved, and how they affect people's perceptions, judgments, emotions, and actions regarding Arabs, drawing on cognitive science (2) investigate the negative representations of Arabs, more specifically in ("Stan of Arabia" 2005), and finally (3) illustrate how teaching Ghassan Kanafani's *Men in the Sun* can be used to correct faulty representations of Arabic people in American society.

2. Understanding Stereotyping

2.1 The Formation of Stereotyping: the Concept of Categorization

As a working definition for this paper, Haslam provides a concise and inclusive description of stereotypes: "...sets of beliefs about the characteristics of groups of people."ⁱ Since stereotypes are beliefs about groups of people, these beliefs are not idiosyncratic creations of one's thinking. They are the outcome of individual cognitive functioning. The most important process in this cognitive functioning is categorization. Schneider explains, "Before stereotyping can take place, an individual must be seen as a member of one or more categories to which stereotypes may apply."ⁱⁱ As we categorize objects into different types—for example, apple into the fruit category—so we categorize people according to their group memberships (e.g., Blacks, doctors, Arabs, Catholics). The outcome of categorization, as embodied in the distortion of perception or exaggeration of individual's true characteristics, influences our interactions with people identified as members of a particular group. When categorizing a group of people (Arabs), we draw inferences about them that take either positive or negative connotations. The inferences we draw do not come from nothing. They are derived from prior knowledge or experiences, as Schneider points out, "there are no naked experiences."ⁱⁱⁱ This prior-knowledge is called *schema*.

2.2 The Importance of Schemas

Schemas play a key role in our understanding of Arabs' stereotypes and eventually how they can be alleviated. Schemas are constantly activated as we meet people in our everyday life. Bracher writes, "Schemas are essential to our functioning in the world; they are what enable us to quickly identify and appropriately respond to people, objects, and events."^{iv} Moreover, Schneider states, "[schemas] function as frameworks for understanding what we see and hear."^v Schemas constitute a mechanism through which we can not only acquire new knowledge, but also modify or change old knowledge. In order to see how schemas can be used to help enhance our understanding of Arabs, we have to look at

the ways in which information is processed. Schneider identifies four stages for this process: (1) attention, (2) labeling and interpretation, (3) memory, and (4) inferences.^{vi}

Suppose a non-Arab individual (lets call him John) first develops a schema for Arab men, i.e., they are rich, dangerous, greedy, etc. Now, when John encounters an Arab man for the first time (lets call him Hani), John's attention, which is driven by prior experiences, is directed to Hani. Once the attention has been directed, John might initially label Hani (putting Hani in one or several categories) and interpret Hani's behavior accordingly. For example, if Hani holds a bag and looks lost, John might see that as a sign of danger. Then, the schemas John uses in his interpretations affect his memory for Hani. John wouldn't remember all the information about Arabs (that they are rich, for instance) but only recalls what is consistent with the schemas used (here as being dangerous). Finally, the knowledge John has about Hani (existing schemas) makes John draw inferences about Hani. The whole information process here depends entirely on the kinds of schemas John uses. If he perceives Hani positively, his interpretations of Hani will be positive. Once John is told that his existing schemas are faulty, he will develop new correct ones. This paper argues that through literature, one's existing faulty schemas can be modified and new knowledge can be acquired.

3. Arabs' Stereotypes

3.1 How Did They All Start?

Having explained how stereotypes are formed, one can propose a simple a question: where exactly do they come from? Brown provides a simple answer: "they are embedded in the culture in which we are raised and live, and that they are conveyed and reproduced in all the usual socio-cultural ways."^{vii} The "socio-cultural" ways include school (through reinforcing some individuals and ignoring others,) parents (through forbidding their children to play with specific other children,) and more importantly, media (through the representations of ethnic groups). These are the potent sources of stereotypes. However, the fact that stereotypes derive from different records of culture does not necessarily mean that the media cannot be held accountable for the massive spreading and perpetuating, or even creating stereotypes. While it is easy to create stereotypes, it is important to remark that changing stereotypes can be very hard.^{viii} That does not mean we give up, but rather we need to understand that it is going to be a difficult job. However, many stereotypes have changed over the past few decades. For example, gender stereotypes have been lessened, stereotypes of African Americans have become more positive, and attitudes towards people with mental illness have improved.^{ix} Therefore, it is fair to declare that these examples and many others give a reason for optimism.

It is important to assert that Arabs' stereotypes have been around for centuries. The media, however, have helped intensify and circulate most of these old images, as well as create, and spread new ones. To understand the ways in which the images of Arabs have evolved, one must look at Edward Said's revolutionary work, *Orientalism* (1978). But first we need to establish a clear distinction between Arabs and Muslims. Frequently Muslim and Arabs get intertwined and mistakenly equated as belonging to each other's group. Because the Arab region is the cradle of Islam, often people assume Arabs and Muslims are the same. There are over nearly 1.5 billion people following Islam and Arabs constitute only one-fifth of Muslims.^x Arabs are an ethnic group whose defining characteristic is the language.^{xi} The Arab world is comprised of different countries, with diverse cultures, beliefs and a variety of religions. There are millions of Arabs who are not Muslims—they be Christians, Jews, and even atheists.

In Said's *Orientalism*, the terms "Arabs" and "Muslims" have been into an intertwined representation. Through Orientalism's lenses, we see how the representations of Arabs have been ingrained in the West conceptualization since the Middle Ages. Said states that Orientalism emerged first as an academic discipline.^{xii} Then the term Orient was equated with Islam, as Islam appeared to Europe in the early Middle Ages.^{xiii} Said claims that after Islam grew colossally, i.e., after the conquest of Persia, Syria, North Africa, and Egypt, Islam came to represent "terror, devastation, the demonic, hordes of hated barbarians."^{xiv} Attributing prejudiced beliefs to the Orient created the whole idea of a divided world by using the concept of "our" and "theirs".

At the turn of the 20th century, after the Arab Revolt, the domination of Europe over the Orient became less firm, which caused changes in the symbolic structures of Orientalism—the Orient appeared to be a challenge as fears emerged that the Orient would get an upper hand over Europe.^{xv} As a result, racist propaganda increased, such as "that the Orientals' bodies are lazy, that the Orient has no conception of history, of the nation...that the Orient is essentially mystical—and so on."^{xvi} Later Orientalists had immense influence in the American popular culture, academia and politics, which led to cultural stereotypes of Arabs. In the twentieth century, America borrowed a system of ideas about Arabs and Islam, which have made Arabs among the most stereotyped groups in modern life. The biased values, which Europe had assigned to the Orient, have been promoted through a discourse that helped to justify them. Douglas Little shows that what has become "American Orientalism" in the twentieth century maintains the popular stereotypes of Arabs as "backward," sexually depraved, and congenitally violent people.^{xvii} The idea of Arabs being "other" or "enemy" has strengthened in the American media in the twentieth century, most notably in films and TV programs.

3.2 Representations of Arabs in Media

Media have come as the primary source of information about Arabs.^{xviii} Images of Arabs are seen everywhere across media and the prominent ones are negative, as observed in newspapers (Nacos & Torres-Reyna 2007; Semmerling 2008), TV (Shaheen 1984; Alsultany 2012), movies (Shaheen 2001; 2008); children literature (Schmidt 2006); and video games (Sisler 2008). The negative images of Arabs are omnipresent and continue to appear. Lester writes, "television, movie, and news images of Arabs as villains and terrorists continue in abundance."^{xix} Having examined 1000+ movies, Shaheen contends, "a consistent pattern of dehumanization emerges here."^{xx} The deleterious

representations of Arabs in media are not new. They started in film at the beginning of the twentieth century and since then, they have spread widely to other forms of media. One of the first degrading portrayals of Arabs appears in E. M. Hull's *The Sheik* (1919) that tells the story of a Western woman who gets abducted and raped by an Arab. *The Sheik* shows how Arabs are not only brutal, but also lascivious and greedy.^{xxi} Since then, the images of Arabs (as being racially inferior) have become staple of the American popular culture.^{xxii}

Similarly, in his examination of six particular Hollywood movies, Semmerling reveals the negative representations have been created in relation to US ideologies at different historical moments from the post-Vietnam War period to 9/11. For example, in his analysis of the movies *Rollover* (1977) and *Black Sunday* (1981), Semmerling argues that the distortion of the images of Arabs in these movies helped stabilizing Americans' feelings of superiority and control that started to shiver in the aftermath of the 1973 oil embargo. Semmerling studies one reason behind this ethnic profiling, which is how Arabs are depicted as attacking American ideological myths.^{xxiii}

On TV, the representations of Arabs have not diverged from those in the mainstream movies. After eight years of television viewing, Shaheen contends that TV has provided the audience with tons of images of Arabs as bombers, belly dancers, and villains.^{xxiv} But after 9/11, a new trend in the representations of Arabs has emerged on TV. Alsultany examines a sampling of TV dramas such as *24* and *Sleeper Cell*, to display how these dramas in relation to its narrative context reveal a greater meaning about Arabs. She explains that while Arabs in these dramas are depicted as threats to U.S. national security, and because of popular awareness of ethnic stereotyping, the story lines had to be modified by the shows' writers so crude stereotyping can be evaded.^{xxv} Alsultany posits how a new kind of racism appeared, one that explicitly promotes antiracism and multiculturalism but covertly attempts to justify racial representations and racist practices towards Arabs and Muslims.^{xxvi}

Positive stereotypes of Arabs have appeared in media after 9/11. These are the ones that have showed decent Arabs, as victims of prejudice and have not dehumanized them.^{xxvii} But the number of Hollywood films presenting a less biased portrayal of Arabs is very slim. Arabs remain one of the most stereotyped groups in modern life. The repetitious projection of Arabs as villains is evident in the many post-9/11 features. This paper looks at a post-9/11 feature from TV, "Stan of Arabia" to reveal that not only how these features encompass a seemingly endless supply of demeaning images of Arabs, but also how Arabs remain as the exotic and inferior Other in Western visual and cultural productions as Said's *Orientalism* posits.

3.3 The Representation of Arabs in "Stan of Arabia"

One might say that animated TV shows like *South Park*, *Family Guy*, and *American Dad* are meant to be just for fun. It is true, but they, however, can perpetuate negative images of groups. One of the worst representations of Arabs in general, as this paper contends, appeared in the show *American Dad* when the series aired a two-episode takedown of Saudi Arabia, titled "Stan of Arabia". The TV series *American Dad* centers on a CIA agent, Stan Smith, who is always on the alert for terrorist activity. Stan is married to a blonde housewife (Francine) and has two kids: a feminist teenage daughter (Hayley) and a goofy son (Steve). The Smith family owns two strange nonhumans, Roger, a space alien who loves alcohol, and Klaus, a German-speaking goldfish; the results of a CIA experiment gone completely wrong.^{xxviii}

In "Stan of Arabia", Stan and his associates plan a surprise 25th anniversary for his boss, Bullock. At the party, Stan accidentally kills the TV host Jay Leno after the latter implied that Francine is the man in the relationship. Stan performs a roast that goes horribly wrong and he is thrown out. The next day, Bullock relocates Stan and his family to Saudi Arabia as a punishment for what happened at the party. As the family adjusts to the new culture, they experience so many things that they find excruciating. Saudi Arabia is supplied with the worst stereotypes. The creators of "Stan of Arabia" repeated over and over, in scene after scene, insidious images of the Saudis that would contribute to the persistence of the defamation of Arabs that has been going on for over decades.

From the very beginning, Saudi Arabia is presented in a very negative context, as being "punishment" for Stan's horrible deed. The first clip after the Smiths arrive in Saudi Arabia is a clichéd image of the Arab land, i.e., imagery of sand and desert, of course. The Smith family engages in a series of actions. Hayley asks her brother to accompany her to the bazaar because, apparently as a woman, she cannot leave the house unaccompanied by a man. Steve is thrilled to know that in this culture he is considered a man. Steve sells Roger to a man who thinks Roger is a woman. Later Stan is informed by the CIA that he can have his old job back, but Stan refuses and he burns his passport saying that he likes Saudi Arabia because in this culture the man has final say on everything. Later, Francine gets arrested for her indecent exposure and Stan visits her in jail. He is frightened when he learns that her cellmate has been in jail for 23 years for stealing a candy bar. At her trial, Francine is sentenced to death by stoning. Stan tells her that he will die with her; he does this by pretending to be a homosexual. At the stoning, the judge gets a call to let the family go. The Smith family gets back to America and Stan kisses the American soil.

The negative portrayal of Saudi Arabia is in lavishness. The positive aspects and attitudes of the Saudi culture are absent in the display. "Stan of Arabia" has many ugly images of Arabs, but they mainly center on two issues: women's rights and terrorism. Saudi women are oppressed and treated as second-citizens. Men appear to have their final words on everything and women do obey every word the men say. Stan's wife wants to assimilate to the Saudi culture, but later she admits that the culture is "insane". She tries as hard as she can to leave the country saying, "I'm dying". Even women can be bought. Wearing a burka, Roger is mistakenly sold to a man after he lustfully asks "How much for the woman?"^{xxix} In many of the family's statements, women are totally subjugated, for example: (1) "Women can't drive or ride bicycles", (2) "The man has final say on everything", (3) "Daddy makes decision Mommy makes a sandwich", and

(4) “If you are a girl, it's the worst place in the world.” Not only are women oppressed in Saudi Arabia, they are considered properties. Stan forbids his wife to leave the house. When she ignores him and leaves, no more than two seconds until two men with large knives bring her back saying: “This belong to you?” and Stan responds, “Thanks. Just, uh- Just put her anywhere.”

The defining stereotype of Saudi Arabia however is terrorism. The family is terrified from the beginning just by being in the country. The first scene shows how Saudi Arabia is nothing but a place filled with terrorists: “Cover your mouths! That's how they enter your body to lay their eggs.” To Stan, Saudis lurk in the shadow waiting for their next victim. Even when Stan declares his willing to understand the culture, he is interrupted by the sound of an explosion. Repeatedly, “Stan of Arabia” shows Saudi Arabia in the context of terrorism. Stan installs extra locks on the doors and the windows and says, “So you won't get beheaded while I'm out!” Even Saudi children are violent. When Steve meets his neighbor, he is shocked to see him own a real gun.

But even life in Saudi Arabia is dull and despicable. The Smiths ridicule almost everything, for example: (1) “Not like here, with the sand and the heat”, (2) “Your country's foreign policy is despicable”, and (3) “Your culture is crude, and your gluttony and greed make me sick”. Even the food can be unsafe. When the family wants to eat, Stan instantly shouts, “Are you insane? We're not stopping for their food!” Francine feels suffocated in the culture. Writers of the “Stan of Arabia” could easily offer viewers a balanced portrayal by presenting decent characters, but they choose to ignore any positive images and present as many offensive stereotypes as they could. The character and personality of Saudi women is absent. They stay home waiting for their master to arrive so they can serve him by any means possible. And Saudi men, of course, tell non-Saudis about the inferior status of their women. Stan complains about his wife to some Saudis who interrupt him after hearing him say that his wife said “no” to him. They immediately ask, “what do you mean you asked your wife and she said no? You mean you told her and she obeyed.”

“Stan of Arabia” provides so many false beliefs about Saudi Arabia. Almost every Saudi Arabian rides camels and owns a gun. Anyone who does not follow the country's strict moral codes is stoned. The stoning happens in a big stadium filled with people watching and even the stoning is aired on TV. The bazaar sells guns and R-rated movies. Before 9/11, Saudi Arabia was seen as a big desert with small houses and some camels and it was quite known for oil, if nothing else. There was not so much interest in exploring the culture of the country. Only few articles explored some aspects of the Saudi's life. For example, Delinda Hanley narrates her trip to Saudi Arabia since she left it in 1985. Hanley was astonished by the many changes occurred in the country. She met and interviewed many highly knowledgeable Saudi women who accomplished a lot in many fields. The article presents a balanced view towards Saudi Arabia. It discusses Saudi women and how they play an important role in their country. Hanley notes, “The single women had filled every moment with work, social activities with friends or travel with their extended families. The married women were juggling everyone's needs and careers. The divorced women seemed to be less affected by the financial devastation of divorce than women in the West.”^{xxx}

Suppose a young American (John), has never heard of Saudi Arabia and has little knowledge about the Arab world, sees “Stan of Arabia.” John now would develop a schema for Saudi Arabia, i.e., that their women are oppressed and men are villains who could do dastardly things. John's perception of Arabs is very negative, as scenes after scenes contain gratuitous slurs demeaning Saudis. As discussed earlier in the subject of schemas, when John encounters a Saudi for the first time, whether a man or a woman, John's attention—which is now driven by the representations appeared in “Stan of Arabia”—is directed to them. John learns, for instance, that a Saudi woman cannot leave the house unless a man accompanies her while the fact is the opposite. John's perception of Saudi women becomes faulty because the show has not based its images on true knowledge, such as that discussed in Hanley's article, but rather ascribed to the same old school of defiling Arabs.

Little notes that the belief in the racial inferiority of Arabs and the superiority of the America has been fundamental in the American popular culture.^{xxxii} The problem with “Stan of Arabia” is what has always been—the cultural “other”. Through “Stan of Arabia's” distorted lenses, Saudis or Arabs appear culturally different in ways the West is not able to bear. The last few minutes in “Stan of Arabia” send a strong message to its viewers. At the stoning, Stan dreams about President Bush coming to save them, bringing democracy, Bibles, and jeans to Saudi Arabia. Then, once Stan is saved and reaches America, he kisses American soil. In the context of “Stan of Arabia,” Arabs, with the awful culture, is seen in divergence to America, the country of freedom. A divergence that would make Americans realizes how great their country is. Obviously, as Said's theory on Orientalism posits, the creators of “Stan of Arabia” did not make all the stereotypes but they inherited some of them, e.g., exotic, threatening, desolate deserts, from Europe that already established these images centuries ago. Said argues that the truth about the Orient has been constructed and does not necessarily reflect how the real Orient is.^{xxxiii} The images, however, are magnified in “Stan of Arabia” to the extent that even children are intimidating. By exposing the seemingly endless supply of negative images in “Stan of Arabia,” this paper attempts to show how the stereotypes of Arabs are deeply ingrained in Hollywood, projected along racial and religious lines.

By discussing “Stan of Arabia,” this paper brings light and offers fresh thoughts in the representations of Arabs. Only this time the stereotypes' impact is more significant as TV viewers have skyrocketed in numbers. The first part of “Stan of Arabia” was watched by 7.30 million people in the United States in 2005 and the second was viewed by 7.74 millions, not to count the millions who have watched it since.^{xxxiii} Those who do not know anything about Arabs, what are the chances they are going to research Arabs, their culture and beliefs after watching “Stan of Arabia”? When a feature draws such large numbers of viewers offering them distorted perceptions of Arabs and casting Arabs as the

‘Other,’ a need for a solution seems a necessity more than ever, needless to say that the more the media constantly shows negative stereotypes of Arabs, the stronger they become. Therefore, this paper attempts to resolve the problem drawing from research on cognitive science on stereotypes reduction and from current studies on the role of fictional narratives.

4. The Need for A Literary Solution

4.1 Shaheen’s Resolutions

Shaheen states, “The time is long overdue for Hollywood’s to end its undeclared war on Arabs, and to cease misrepresenting and maligning them.”^{xxxiv} While it is difficult to put an end to Hollywood’s egregious smearing of Arabs, one cannot remain discouraged from attempting to alleviate such defiling representations. Apart from Shaheen’s research, there has been little attention paid to offering solutions to Hollywood’s defamation of Arabs. Most scholars have only attempted to expose the representations of Arabs and show their consistency. This paper argues that literature, incorporating research on stereotypes reduction found on cognitive science, illuminates the ways in which stereotypes can be lessened.

After his dissection of a disparaging history of Hollywood’s stereotypes of Arabs, Shaheen explains what may be done to change this terrible state of affairs. First, Shaheen pleads to Hollywood to be “even-handed, to project Arabs as they do other people – no better, no worse.”^{xxxv} Shaheen calls for a decent projection of Arabs—inserting positive and ordinary Arabs. However, the solution suggests that Hollywood’s denigration of Arabs is mainly the result of unawareness of the positive Arab characters. As recalled earlier, many negative stereotypes are promoted because Arabs are somehow seen as posing a threat to US policies. If so, then the solution cannot be simply asking Hollywood to provide better images of Arabs. Furthermore, media, as industry, aim at gaining profits even if they manufacture what might distress some people. Lester writes, “media are essentially businesses, and as economics teach us, business is an amoral enterprise committed to the singular purpose of maximizing profits.”^{xxxvi} Moreover, Schneider states that media cannot be thought of as an effective tool by which audience insert what they desire to see because media people would only consider what they are willing to support.^{xxxvii}

Second, Shaheen states that Arabs should hunt the stereotypes down and destroy them like other groups—women, Italians, gays, etc.—have done it. Shaheen claims that voices from those groups spoke out challenging demeaning stereotypes, and organizations acted forcefully against discriminatory images resulting in having Hollywood get rid of many racial stereotypes.^{xxxviii} But Shaheen fails to mention that many Arabic voices have been for a long time contesting the stereotypes that depicts Arabs in a negative manner. Scholars such Edward Said, Evelyin Alsultani, Ella Shohat, and himself have exposed those stereotypes and talked about their harm abundantly. Moreover, organizations such the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), and the Reclaiming Identity: Dismantling Arab Stereotypes have been “hunting” the stereotypes and advocating a better understanding of Arabs and Muslims. Arab organizations have already been engaging in talks with Hollywood’s officials in order to lessen the stereotypes. CAIR’s research team, for example, follows the representations of Arabs in media and addresses them immediately.^{xxxix} Notwithstanding this, the negative images of Arabs still continue to appear. Then Shaheen’s call for exposing the stereotypes of Arabs and talking to Hollywood’s officials does not suffice.

Finally, Shaheen encourages people of influence—teachers, civil rights activists, diplomats, scholars, etc.—to speak up about the stereotypes and discuss positive Arab images.^{xl} Speaking about Arabs and their contribution to the world is a good starting point for stereotypes change, but the problem with this solution is that these talks may be selectively able to present counterstereotypic exemplars, i.e., those people of influence cannot present a full range of behaviors characteristics of Arabs. What they can bestow is simply information about the accomplishments of Arabs—that they created algebra, mapped the world, and advanced medicine, etc.—leaving out other characteristics such as being committed, loyal team member, good listener, patient, dependable, and mores. Furthermore, research has shown that we cannot depend on such methods to undo the damages of stereotypes. Schneider affirms that such methods are likely to go past the very people we must want to change.^{xli} An anti-Arab would not want to attend conferences that discuss Arabs’ accomplishments.

4.2 The Power of Literature

Scholars have been tracking the influence of literature on people’s lives—how its impact extends beyond providing pleasure. But until recently, the attention has shifted from the general understanding the role of fiction to the specific understanding of empathetic reading. In her groundbreaking book, *Empathy and The Novel*, Suzanne Keen scrutinizes the relationship between reading literature and empathy induction. Keen elucidates the meaning of empathy in reading when she writes, “empathy, a vicarious, spontaneous sharing of affect, can be provoked by witnessing another’s emotional state, by hearing about another’s condition, or even by reading.”^{xlii} A stimulus elicits empathy in us whether by watching or listening or reading. Because this paper is concerned with reading literature, the focus will be on empathetic reading. Mar and Oatley assert that literature offers an opportunity for empathetic growth.^{xliii} Literature trains us to understand people’s beliefs, empathize with individuals with whom we have no personal experience, and eventually reduce bias against outgroup members. Because literature has the power to foster this emotion recognition, this paper asserts that through the pedagogy of carefully-crafted Arabic fictions, readers are more likely to exhibit less bias toward Arabs. The idea that teaching a literary work can promote transformative possibilities for changing our mental structures—creating new schemas that readers will use—is not new. Research shows that literary study can have powerful implications for social justice. Bracher argues that teaching Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* can promote social

justice through exposing false cultural representations of Others.^{xliv} The central element to social justice, as Bracher stresses, is emotion.^{xlv}

The belief that literature has the capacity to induce empathy with outgroups members and eventually change attitudes is empirically established. Studies have shown that children's attitudes toward African-Americans exhibit less bias and prejudice after being exposed to African-American characters in their readings.^{xlvi} Another study has revealed that empathy induction reduces stereotypes.^{xlvii} A third study has disclosed that not only does feeling empathy improve attitudes toward stigmatized groups, but also it increases understanding and eventually helps the group in question.^{xlviii} Research on the role of literature in reducing prejudice toward Arabs is fairly scarce. However, there is evidence to suggest that literature has power to prompt empathy and reduce implicit and explicit prejudice against Arabs. In their study, "Reading Narrative Fiction Reduces Arab-Muslim Prejudice and Offers a Safe Haven From Intergroup Anxiety," Johnson et al validate this paper's claim that Arabic literature can elicit empathy and reduce prejudice and negative stereotypes of Arabs. Results demonstrate that literature reduces prejudice and that effects it generates empathetic responses toward Arab-Muslims.^{xlix}

We have seen so far that literature's important function is that it serves as a vehicle for empathic growth, which leads to the reduction of stereotypes and prejudice. And we have seen that empirical investigation of these ideas on Arabs—Johnson et al.—support this paper's major argument that teaching Arabic literature serves as a mechanism by which the negative representations of Arabs in American media can be alleviated. In lieu of this belief, what follows is a thorough discussion on one selected Arabic narrative to reveal how Arabic literature can replace faulty representations of Arabs.

5. A Close Reading of Ghassan Kanafani's *Men in the Sun*

Hailed as "a canonical work in the Palestinian oeuvre," *Men in the Sun* reflects not only the Palestinians' pursuit for freedom, but also the hope that overshadowed a lot of displaced Arab families.¹ Kilpatrick notes that *Men in the Sun* "express[es] the essence of the Palestinian problem in remarkably forthright terms."^{li} The destitution and struggle experienced by the three male protagonists—Abu Qais, Assad, and Marwan—serve to symbolize the plight of thousands of Palestinians who attempt to pursue a better life, and show pain and suffering under which Palestinians go through. *Men in the Sun* was published originally in Arabic in 1962. Kanafani tells the story beautifully in seven short chapters that revolve on the harsh conditions of the protagonists' lives. Each of the first three chapters introduces a protagonist—consecutively, Abu Qais, Assad and Marwan.^{lii} The remaining chapters display the journey of these three Palestinians that end tragically. In their attempt to smuggle into Kuwait inside a lorry's water tank led by the driver, Abul Khaizuran, who is delayed at the frontier by security men, Abu Qais, Assad and Marwan suffocate to death inside the closed and empty water tank in a hot day.^{liii} About their death Bowder writes, "Their individual experiences up to the point of setting out on their last fateful journey mirror the pain, humiliation and degradation felt by thousands of Palestinians in their daily lives." (120). This kind of portrayal is absent in Hollywood's representations of Palestinians. Shaheen states, "Many Americans are ignorant about the history and plight of the Palestinian people."^{liv}

But literature, as embedded here in *Men in the Sun*, offers another kind of Palestinians' portrayal, even if it's a harrowing one. Kanafani portrays two axes of meaning: one is centered on the silence of the world toward the Palestinians' suffering and second is whether there is a future for the Palestinian identity. The point of view of *Men in the Sun* is third person and omniscient. The story of the three Palestinians is a story of pain and suffering—a story that provides a mechanism by which readers' empathy may be elicited and eventually lead to attitude change. Because of space limits, this paper will deal only with the sufferings of Abu Qais, Assad, Marwan, and Abul, but several other stories depicted in the novella lend themselves to similar treatments.

5.1 Abu Qais

The first protagonist introduced is Abu Qais. Through his reminiscence of the past; we learn that he is the father of a young boy (Qais) and a baby girl (Hosna) who died because she was extremely emaciated. Moreover, we learn of his close relationship with the departed Ustaz Selim.^{lv} The way Abu Qais remembers Selim draws a desolate picture of how life is before Abu Qais embarks on his quest: "The mercy of God be upon you, Ustaz Selim, the mercy be God be upon you. God was certainly good to you when he made you die one night before the wretched village fell into the hands of the Jew. One night only. O God, is there any divine favor greater than that?... You saved yourself humiliation and wretchedness, and you preserved your old age from shame..."^{lvi} The prevalence of death in *Men in the Sun* is the most obvious indicator that life of Palestinians in that period has gone terribly wrong. Abu Qais's reminiscence about Ustaz Selim embodies the disastrous effects of the Israeli settlements that drove many to poverty. Abu Qais is torn as he is between the past's honor and stability and present's "humiliation" and "wretchedness". He is in extreme distress as evidenced by his glorification of his teacher's death. Clearly, Abu Qais fears being plunged further into poverty as he has already lost his main source of income, his olive trees. The theme of poverty appears throughout *Men in the Sun*, but most notably in Abu Qais's story. The interesting thing about Kanafani's approach to poverty is that he employs it first in Abu Qais's story in order to reveal the damage the economic status has had on families. Here we see an old man, a family man, who lost a baby due to her abnormal thinness, whose wife is pregnant, and whose family is to be starving to death unless he manages to get money.

The chapter of Abu Qais's then ends with him discussing the trip's arrangement with a man—only referred to as "the fat man"—who will smuggle him to Kuwait. Abu Qais tries to lower the price down, but the smuggler refuses and states that the price is fixed. Helpless he is, Abu Qais agrees. Displaying smuggling as profitable business, the author shows the pervasiveness of displacement in Palestinians' lives during that period. There is nothing in Abu Qais's mind but his

homeland. The author shows in the last few sentences of this chapter the passion Abu Qais feels for his beloved country, “He felt that his whole head had filled with tears, welling up from inside, so he turned and went out into streets. There human beings began to swim behind a mist of tears, the horizon of the river and the sky came together, and everything around him became simply an endless white glow.”^{lvii} These lines portray strong feelings of agony that has escalated out of dispossession and poverty, none of which are confined to Abu Qais. Abu Qais’s inability to see people clearly reflects his traumatic episode of his life that has been entwined with the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

5.2 Assad

Assad is a young man—probably in his twenties—who attempts for the second time to reach Kuwait. Assad recalls his first failed attempt to travel to Kuwait. The guide tricked him by making him get out of the lorry telling him that he had to walk round one of pumping stations on the Iraqi pipeline. Even though Assad has had a traumatic experience the first time, he appears hopeless, doomed to try again. Kanafani describes masterfully Assad’s first experience after getting out of the lorry: “The sun was pouring flame down on his head, and as he climbed the yellow slopes, he felt he was alone in the whole world. He dragged his feet over the sand as though he were walking on the seashore after pulling up a heavy boat that had drained the firmness from his legs. He crossed hard patches of brown rocks like splinters, climbed low hills with flattened tops of soft yellow earth like flour.”^{lviii} Through these lines, the author shows the desperate measures one is willing to take to escape the hardship in his homeland. While Abu Qais vacillates between staying with his family and leaving his beloved homeland, Assad sees the journey inevitable. Assad’s persistence to go to Kuwait and take the same journey— crossing a hot and dangerous desert—shows that Assad’s life cannot be any worse that it is now. Kanafani, through the story of Assad, attempts to reveal a deeper meaning that younger generation sees no future in Palestine—that forlorn of hope is left and leaving is the only decent option in their lives. How would that a person, who has been left to die in a blistering desert chose to take the same course of actions? But the voice of reason does not play role when one is in extreme suffering.

5.3 Marwan

Marwan is the youngest of the three who wants to support his mother and siblings. Marwan’s parents are divorced and his father left his four children and married another woman. Marwan does not like the fact that his mother has remained silent about his father’s leaving. In a letter he sends to his mother, he tells his mother that when his family stopped hearing from his brother, Zakaria, the situation in the family changed. Zakaria used to send money from Kuwait to support his family, but once he stopped, the father’s financial stability got shaken. Marwan’s father felt he could neither support his family nor himself. Marwan explains that the hopes his father had had for his family collapsed just because his lost only source of income. The story of Marwan’s reveals complex and tragic past. Marwan’s torn family and the need for money motivates him to seek work in Kuwait.

5.4 The Journey

After the author introduces Abu Qais, Assad, and Marwan, he invites readers to see the journey the three take over the course of the actions in the remaining four chapters. Now the three men appear to be linked through the smuggler Abul who agrees to transport them to Kuwait for a cheaper price. Abul drives a lorry, owned by a wealthy man, which is licensed to cross borders. Because the owner is well known, the lorry doesn’t wait long at the frontier or get searched. Abul tells the three men that his plan is to put them inside the water tank in his lorry five minutes from the frontier and when he crosses the Iraqi frontier fifty meters beyond, they get out. Then they will do the same thing at the Kuwaiti frontier. The three men are not satisfied with this plan, but Abul persuades them to agree with it.

The next day the four men set out on their journey. At first, the riding seems comfortable despite “the sun [is] pouring its inferno down on them without any respite.”^{lix} However, because of the lorry’s speed, the breeze reduces the intensity of the heat. While driving, Abul draws an analogy between the path on which he is driving and *Siraat*. He says, “Just imagine! In my own mind I compare these hundred and fifty kilometers to the path of God in the Quran promised his creatures they must cross before being directed either to Paradise or to Hell. If anyone falls he goes to Hell, and if anyone crosses safely he reaches Paradise. Here the angels are the frontier guards.”^{lx} Abul’s analogy is an interesting one. In these lines we observe the first indication of an upcoming change of events in the story. Intelligently, the author shows that while Kuwait is the paradise, which those men seek to enter, the road they are crossing, however, may lead to their demise.

Noticing how happy Abul has been the whole time, Assad is curious to know the story behind his happiness so he asks about his life. However, Assad’s question unleashes Abul’s sad feelings. It seems that Abul has traumatic past, hidden behind his mask of happiness. While fighting for his country in the past, Abul was captured by the enemy that physically emasculated him. It has been ten years now, but this haunting incident has made him the person he is now—helping his fellow Palestinians escape the cruel conditions of their home in order to seek a better life for themselves so they can help their families. Abul regrets staying and fighting for his country as that has given him nothing in return but the loss of his manhood. The author writes about this:

he had lived that humiliation day after day and hour after hour. He had swallowed it with his pride, and examined it every moment of those ten years. And still he hadn’t yet got used to it, he hadn’t accepted it. For ten long years he had been trying to accept the situation? But what situation? To confess quite simply that he lost his manhood while fighting for his country? And what good had it done? He had lost his manhood and his country, and damn everything in this bloody world.^{lxi}

Abul sees now that fighting for Palestine is a lost cause. The trauma haunts him as his internal monologue reveals. Therefore, in order to compensate for his lost self-worth, he tries as best as he can to help the three men as well as others. This offers Abul another sort of manhood. In Abul's eyes, Palestinians should not engage in fighting for a lost cause, and that escaping home is for the best. How can a man accept and live with this humiliation for the rest of his life? Abul appears that he can't accept this life. Whenever someone asks him, "Why haven't you got married?" he has a flashback of his traumatic experience. In order to show the intensity of his trauma, Abul literary feels the pain. The author writes "the same feelings of pain plunging between his thighs came back to him, as though he were still lying under the bright round light with his legs suspended in the air."^{lxii} Thus, no one will understand this pain but himself. Zalman believes that Abul impotence signifies the Arab armies that are "militarily impotent."^{lxiii} This allegory describes the weakness of the Arab militaries in comparison to Israel.

Before approaching the frontier, Abul opens the tank's door for the three men to get inside. He explains that the heat inside the tank will make them sweat as if they were in an oven. The three get scared. Assad puts his head down into the tank for a few seconds and brings it out saying "This is hell. It's on fire."^{lxiv} Marwan looks very terrified and disgusted after poking his head through the tank's opening. But the real terror appears when Abu Qais gets into the tank and his feet touch the bottom shouting, "It's a cursed well."^{lxv} But as agonizing as this plan sounds, the three men seem so desperate to tolerate this "hell" and "cursed well." Abul hits the road, arrives at the security compound, finishes his paperwork quickly, and sets off again. When Abul stops to let the men out, the three men look worn-out. The author describes how Abul is viewing them by writing "His gaze wandered over their faces, which seemed to him yellow and mummified. If Marwan's chest had not been rising and falling and Abu Qais's breathing an audible whistle, he would have thought they were dead."^{lxvi}

Traveling again under the blazing sun, the three men seem frustrated that they would have to be inside the tank again. Each one of the three sits silently and deeply thinks about his life, as if they were having a near-death experience. The men's streams of thoughts are interrupted when Abul stops the engine. The three men hesitate at first, but they go inside the tank eventually. The moment Abul closes the tank's cover turning its handle, readers of *Men in the Sun* come to witness one of the most tragic incidents in modern Arabic literature. Abul reaches the frontier after only ninety seconds of driving. He hurriedly enters the post and pushes his papers in front of one of the officials there. The officials seem bored and think that Abul's presence during this time of the day would amuse them. Apparently, there is a rumor going on that Abul has an intimate relationship with a dancer from Basra. In order to leave, Abul says the rumors are true and agrees to introduce the "imaginary dancer" later to the officials. Abul looks at his watch and sees that fifteen minutes have elapsed since the three men went into the tank. Abul quickly goes to his lorry and starts the engine. He needs less than two minutes to stop again in order for the men to get out so he drives at his top speed. Abul knows that something must have gone terribly wrong now. He stops the lorry and in haste, he climbs to the roof of the tank. He yells "Assad" but he hears no response so he decides to slide down inside the tank only to find that Abu Qais, Assad, and Marwan have died tragically of suffocation and heat exhaustion.

Abul drives his lorry away into the desert with nothing in his mind but what to do with the bodies. He sees the municipality's rubbish piled up and thinks that if he throws the corpses there, they would be found out and buried by others. Even though the smell of putrefaction is pungent, Abul believes that this is the best option he has. He dumps the three cold corpses onto the end of the road. Abul drives away, but he returns to the corpses only to steal their money and watches. When he leaves, a final thought spins inside Abul's mind. He asks himself, "Why didn't you knock on the sides of the tank?"^{lxvii} The author ends this tragic story with Abul's question to engulf the readers' mind with rational answers.

5.5 The Trauma

Even though Abul Khaizuran failed to smuggle the three men, he had little compunction about the fate of the three men, as the smuggling business was dangerous after all. But why didn't the three men knock? We do not know actually whether they knocked or not. There are two possible scenarios here. First, they might have knocked, but as exhausted, as they would definitely be, no one was able to hear their knocks. Second one is that they would have thought that if they knocked, they would be captured by the guards and eventually killed. If they chose to remain silent, this shows the strong faith the men had in Abul. The second scenario is more likely to be the answer. The three men knew that if they knocked, it would be the end of not only their dream to seek a better life, but also the dream of every other Palestinian who pursue to escape the "frying pan" in search of new opportunity. The knock epitomizes the constant struggle between Palestinians and the Jews. Ferris notes, "If the Palestinians knock, things are only going to become much worse. The louder and harder they knock, the more blood they will shed."^{lxviii}

Douglas Magrath points out that *Men in the Sun* is concerned with the "Palestinian people's search for identity in a hostile world that has denied them their existence. The work expresses the disaster that has resulted from ineffective leadership, false hope and cruel circumstances."^{lxix} The drama of the three men represents the dramas of thousands who constantly endure hell-like desert, just to have a better life. But this is not the story of Abu Qais, Assad, and Marwan; it is the story of the struggle in the Palestinians' lives. The struggle is a major theme in *Men in the Sun* through which the author accentuates the humiliations and brutality of life that the Palestinians tackle. In his reading of *Men in the Sun*, the famous Arabic critic, Elias Khoury, notes, "[the] symbols are clear and evident. The Palestinian people die every day in the tank without crying out; it falls upon the land to cry out now."^{lxx}

Not only does *Men in the Sun* offer insights on the characters' struggle, but also it signifies many elements throughout the novella. For instance, the road the protagonists take plays an important role in symbolizing their route to freedom.

However, this route is dangerous as death is always factored in the men's journey. As the three men travels through the road, ugly images come to surface of patrons abandoned by smugglers. Moreover, Barakat states that security officials who have delayed Abul Khaizuran at the frontier may represent Arab rulers.^{lxxi} The security officials engage in trivialities while Palestinians are suffering. The idea that Arab rulers have contributed to the Palestinian problem is widespread not only in Palestinian narratives but in politics.^{lxxii} Another major element, that is rich in symbolism, is the desert. In *Men in the Sun*, the desert is factored everywhere resembling "the level of reality, as the hostile and potentially fatal expanse which the Palestinians have to cross to reach their eventual haven."^{lxxiii}

6. Conclusion

This paper contends that *Men in the Sun* works as a significant tool that can be used to reduce the negative images of Palestinians that have appeared in American media in the past decades. The trauma explored in this chapter establishes a move from the media's negative portrayals that dehumanize Arabs and therefore offers a more complex and human representation of them through their own stories, tragedies, and mores. As recalled earlier, the ugly representations of Palestinians in media constitute one's cognitive schema. For example, if our man (John) acquires his knowledge of Palestinians, i.e., creates a cognitive schema, from film and TV shows—for example, as being terrorists, villains, and mores—his attitudes toward them will be at most negative. The faulty knowledge John may have about Palestinians is embedded in the negative stereotypes he acquired from media. Hence, whenever John encounters or thinks of Palestinians, his cognitive schemas, which contain negative knowledge, are activated. But John's schemas can be altered through employing correct knowledge found in literature. *Men in the Sun* is a good example of how literature can change faulty schemas.

Because research has shown that people's attitude can be changed through empathy, readers of *Men in the Sun*, can change their attitudes toward Palestinians through empathizing with the characters: Abu Qais, Assad, Marwan, and Abul. To induce the readers' empathy, research shows that three appraisals are needed: (1) understanding the significant suffering of the Others, (2) understanding that the Others' suffering is beyond their control, and (3) recognizing the Others' common humanity.^{lxxiv} The traumas of the protagonists in *Men in the Sun* can serve as a mechanism by which readers' empathy may be elicited. Moreover taking the perspectives of Others is another useful strategy in eliciting the readers' empathy. Bracher notes that by doing so, readers "produce visual stimuli for ...[themselves] that are similar to the experiences by Other."^{lxxv} In other words, readers of *Men in the Sun* can imagine themselves in Abu Qais, Assad, or Marwan or Abul's situation so their empathetic responses can be triggered.

In summation, the absence of positive portrayal of Palestinians (the Others) has been conceptualized in discourse. Bhabha notes, "An important feature of colonial discourse is its dependence on the concept of 'fixity' in the ideological construction of otherness."^{lxxvi} The American media—in their ideological affinity with Israel—has given demeaning and fixed images of Palestinians. Bhabha claims that colonial discourse—in this sense the American cultural colonialism—creates the colonized as "a social reality which is at once an 'other' and yet entirely knowable and visible."^{lxxvii} This discourse employs, in its representational modes, a form of realism that appears to constitute the Others (Palestinians). This explains the Orientalist's power, as Said's analysis affirms, that has emerged to designate the Orient world as a geographically, politically, and culturally fixed reality.^{lxxviii} The lenses through which Palestinians have been observed are ought to be replaced by new ones that will eventually shape the perception of the encounter between the East and the West. It is in this context that this project wants to assert that the plight of Palestinians described in *Men in the Sun* has the potentiality of constructing a form of reality, which blends concepts from literary study and methods from cognitive science.

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Notes

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- ⁱ Haslam (1997), p. 119.
- ⁱⁱ Schneider (2004), p. 64
- ⁱⁱⁱ Schneider (2004), p. 120
- ^{iv} Bracher (2012), p. 89.
- ^v Schneider (2004), p. 120.
- ^{vi} Schneider (2004), p. 123
- ^{vii} Brown (2010), p. 69.
- ^{viii} Schneider (2004), p. 379
- ^{ix} Schneider (2004), p.380
- ^x Shaheen (2008), p.XI.
- ^{xi} I chose not to say, "who live in the Arab region" in defining Arabs, because this would exclude an important part of the Arab world-- Arab Diasporas.
- ^{xii} Said (1979), p. 49.
- ^{xiii} Said (1979), p. 59.
- ^{xiv} Said (1979), p. 59.
- ^{xv} Said (1979), p. 248.
- ^{xvi} Said (1979), p. 253.
- ^{xvii} Little (2002), p.17.
- ^{xviii} See Nisbet, Ostman, & Shanahan (1994).
- ^{xix} Lester (1996), p.62.
- ^{xx} Shaheen (2008), p.25.
- ^{xxi} Shaheen (2001), p.15.
- ^{xxii} See Little (2002), pp.17-42.
- ^{xxiii} See Semmerling (2008)
- ^{xxiv} See Shaheen (1984) pp. 4-8.
- ^{xxv} Alsultany (2012), p. 20.
- ^{xxvi} Alsultany (2012), p. 16.
- ^{xxvii} Larry Michalak—a Middle East specialist—has identified several positive films such as *Kingdom of Heaven* (2005), *Babel* (2006), and *The Kingdom* (2007). See "Images of Arabs and Muslims in American cinema" (2010).
- ^{xxviii} Information about the show is retrieved from "American Dad Wikia."
- ^{xxix} *Burka* is one-piece veil that covers the face.
- ^{xxx} See Hanley (2001).
- ^{xxxi} Little (2002), p.17.
- ^{xxxii} Said (1979), p. 67.
- ^{xxxiii} See "ABC Medianet" (2014).
- ^{xxxiv} Shaheen (2001), p.34.
- ^{xxxv} Shaheen (2001), p.35.
- ^{xxxvi} Lester (1996), p.15.
- ^{xxxvii} Schneider (2004), p.416.
- ^{xxxviii} Shaheen (2008), p.55.
- ^{xxxix} Recently CAIR has asked reviewers to address stereotyping of Arab and Muslim culture in the new TV show "Tyrant" and requested for a meeting with network officials to discuss potential stereotypes in the series. See CAIR (2014).

- ^{xl} Shaheen (2008), p.69.
- ^{xli} Schneider (2004), p.416.
- ^{xlii} Keen (2007), p. 4.
- ^{xliii} Mar & Oatley (2008), p.181.
- ^{xliv} See Bracher (2009), pp. 359-84.
- ^{xliv} Bracher (2009), p. 364.
- ^{xlvi} See Litcher & Johnson (1969) pp. 148-52; Zalk & Katz. (1978), pp. 447-461
- ^{xlvi} See Batson, Polycarpou, Harmon-Jones, Imhoff, & Et al (1997), pp.105-18.
- ^{xlvi} See Batson, Chang, Orr, & Rowland (2002).
- ^{xlix} For insightful analysis and descriptive statistics for the study, see Johnson, Jasper, Griffin, & Huffman (2013), pp. 578-98.
- ⁱ Suleiman (1996), p. 50.
- ⁱⁱ Kilpatrick (1976), p.16.
- ⁱⁱⁱ The word *Abu* means father in Arabic.
- ⁱⁱⁱ From now on, I will use (*Abul*) as a shortened name of *Abul Khaizuran*.
- ^{liii} Shaheen (2003), p. 186.
- ^{lv} *Ustaz* is Arabic for “teacher.”
- ^{lvi} Kanafani & Kilpatrick (1999), pp. 23-24.
- ^{lvii} Kanafani & Kilpatrick (1999), p. 28
- ^{lviii} Kanafani & Kilpatrick (1999), p. 31
- ^{lix} Kanafani & Kilpatrick (1999), p. 52.
- ^{lx} Kanafani & Kilpatrick (1999), p. 52.
- ^{lxi} Kanafani & Kilpatrick (1999), p. 53.
- ^{lxii} Kanafani & Kilpatrick (1999), p. 54.
- ^{lxiii} Suleiman (1996), p. 22.
- ^{lxiv} Kanafani & Kilpatrick (1999), p. 57.
- ^{lxv} Kanafani & Kilpatrick (1999), p. 58.
- ^{lxvi} Kanafani & Kilpatrick (1999), p. 61.
- ^{lxvii} Kanafani & Kilpatrick (1999), p. 74.
- ^{lxviii} See Ferris (2002).
- ^{lxix} Magrath (1997), p. 95.
- ^{lxx} See Khoury (1972), p. 174.
- ^{lxxi} See Barakat (1980), p. 501.
- ^{lxxii} The former Palestinian leader, Yassir Arafat, once said that what had caused the Palestinian problem was that “Our Arab brothers betrayed us” For more discussion on this subject, see Rubinstein (2014).
- ^{lxxiii} See Kilpatrick (1976), p. 58.
- ^{lxxiv} Bracher (2009), pp. 366-67.
- ^{lxxv} Bracher (2009), p. 378.
- ^{lxxvi} Bhabha (1994), p. 94.
- ^{lxxvii} Bhabha (1994), p. 101.
- ^{lxxviii} Said (1979), p. 70.