What Is Islamophobia? Interpersonal vs. Structural Discrimination

By Alison Kysia

Islamophobia has been escalating steadily over the past decade. Anti-Muslim hate groups grew from five in 2010 to 114 in 2017. Anti-Muslim assaults rose significantly between 2015 and 2016, exceeding the number of assaults reported in the year after the 9/11 attacks, effecting non-Muslims too, such as Sikhs. Muslim children are more likely to be bullied in school than children of other faiths. Media representations of Muslims are overwhelmingly negative, and the voices of people, like Black Muslims, who can better contextualize Islamophobia within the history of the United States, are consistently disregarded.

Islamophobia: A people’s history teaching guide addresses gaps in teaching resources on Muslims, Islam, and Islamophobia. The lessons in the guide do not focus on Islamic texts, beliefs, and rituals — our goal is not to increase religious literacy. Instead, the lessons frame Islamophobia as a form of racism, an ideology that justifies the stealing of land, resources, and labor. The list of beneficiaries of Islamophobia is lengthy, fueling a lucrative media industry and policy that encourage vigilante attacks on Muslims as well as escalations in foreign wars that are already the longest in U.S. history. The lessons in the Islamophobia: A people’s history teaching guide provide some of the analytical building blocks needed to make the connection between Islamophobia and empire. In order to make those connections, participants need to learn about the relationship between interpersonal and structural discrimination.

This lesson asks participants to construct a definition of Islamophobia using a variety of evidence, including poetry, media images, news clips, and research data. The lesson also challenges a common pattern in representations of bigotry and discrimination that frames hate speech and hate attacks as nothing more than rogue individuals who lose their tempers after reading fake news. While hearing stories of interpersonal violence can increase compassion and empathy, we want to challenge the typical media coverage of racism, which, according to Race Forward:
... reinforces the common misconception that racism is simply a personal problem that should be resolved by shaming, punishing, or re-educating the individual offender. [It] often leads to long, inconclusive debates about what is in a person’s ‘heart,’ and whether or not they intended to be hurtful or discriminatory. [It] perpetuates false notions of individual agency in our national consciousness. (p. 20)

After constructing a definition of Islamophobia, participants learn the difference between interpersonal and structural discrimination, classify Islamophobia examples, and brainstorm solutions.

Objectives: Participants will . . .

• Use evidence to construct a definition of Islamophobia.
• Learn about examples of Islamophobia across a variety of contexts and describe examples to their classmates in a jigsaw activity.
• Differentiate between interpersonal and structural forms of discrimination by sorting examples of Islamophobia.

Materials

• Printed handouts (or enough devices and an adequate internet connection for participants to view and stream the contents online).
  » Handout: “Why Are Muslims So . . . ”
  » Handout: Media Representations of Muslims
  » Handout: Jigsaw Worksheet
  » Handout: Interpersonal vs. Structural Discrimination
• Six folders, each with enough copies of the folder worksheet for each group member
• Chart paper to hang on the walls.

Time required: 4-5 hours

Part I: Spoken Word Poem and Media Representations

Suggested procedure

1.) Explain: We want to define Islamophobia and think about the impact it is having. In this lesson we will hear a variety of voices and view different kinds of evidence — poetry, testimonials, news reports, data — to create our definition. I want you to take out a piece of paper, pair up with a partner, and discuss for one minute: What is Islamophobia? What does Islamophobia mean? Write down any words or phrases that come to mind.

2.) Ask participants to share out with the whole group and write responses on chart paper. (Keep the chart paper; the class will continue to revise the definition of Islamophobia throughout the lesson.)

Note: Participants may offer words they associate with Islam and Muslims in addition to Islamophobia. Help participants differentiate these examples and focus on creating an initial definition of Islamophobia. Teachers can use the following definition as a guide, remembering that the point of this exercise is for participants to construct their own definitions of Islamophobia during the lesson based on the evidence they examine.

Islamophobia is a fear, hatred, and hostility toward Islam and Muslims that is perpetuated by government-sponsored policies coupled with dehumanizing rhetoric and degrading representations of Muslims and Islam that result in bias, discrimination, violence, and the marginalization and exclusion of Muslims from social, political, and civic life.

3.) Explain: We are going to watch a short video of two Muslim youth, Sakila Islam and Hawa Rahman, reciting “Why Are Muslims So . . . “, their poem about Islamophobia. Sakila and Hawa, the Detroit Team, presented their poem at the 18th Annual Brave New Voices International Youth Poetry Slam Festival Finals in 2015. While you
watch and listen, think about how they define Islamophobia. Play the video: youtube.com/watch?v=3_i7wELTVi0

4.) After the video, ask participants: What is Islamophobia, according to these two young women? Give them a couple of minutes to unpack what they heard.

5.) Give each participant a copy of the “Why Are Muslims So . . .” handout. The poem can elicit a range of emotions from students and this is an opportunity for reflection. Ask participants to read the poem quietly. After they read it, ask them to highlight the five most potent lines: Which lines got your attention? Which statements made you react? Then, on the back of the paper or in the sidebar, explain why you chose each line. Sitting in pairs, share examples one at a time, explaining why you chose the lines you did. Give participants a few minutes to share, as long as is productive.

6.) Share out as a large group. Refer back to the class definition of Islamophobia. Ask participants: What did you learn that we should add to this definition? Record their answers on the chart paper (or additional sheets as needed). Ask participants to hold on to the poem and their notes because they will use this information in Part III.

7.) Distribute the Media Representations of Muslims handout. Ask participants to answer the questions in pairs (about five minutes). Review as a large group. Ask participants: How are Muslims represented in the media? How do you think these media images affect the way non-Muslims view Muslims? How do you think these images affect Muslims and those targeted as Muslim?

8.) Refer back to the class definition of Islamophobia. Ask participants: What did you learn that we could add to this definition? What is Islamophobia? Record their answers on the chart paper (or additional sheets as needed). Ask participants to hold on to the handout and their answers because they will use this information in Part III.

Part II: Sharing More Examples of Islamophobia

Suggested procedure

1.) Group participants in six small groups. Explain: I am giving each group a folder that contains information about Islamophobia. There is a worksheet in the folder for each group member. Read the whole worksheet before you get started, so you know what you are doing. (Note: If possible, make the websites accessible on computers or other devices before you begin the activity.) Give the small groups 15-20 minutes to complete the activity.

2.) Ask participants to break off into new groups with one representative of each folder in the new group (count off into six new groups). Once jigsaw groups are formed, give participants the Jigsaw Worksheet handout, which will guide their listening. Each person has two minutes to tell the other group members what they learned about and allow for questions (use a timer to stay on track).

3.) Come back together as a large group. Ask: What did you learn? Have participants share some examples. Write the examples on a piece of chart paper (so participants can visualize and use in Part III). Refer back to the class definition of Islamophobia. Ask participants: What did you learn that we should add to this definition? What is Islamophobia? Record their answers on the chart paper (or additional sheets as needed).

Part III: Differentiating Interpersonal vs. Structural Discrimination

Suggested procedure

1.) Explain to participants: Now that we have learned about a variety of examples of Islamophobia, what do we do with this information? One thing we can do is learn
vocabulary that helps us better understand how discrimination works. When we learn about discrimination in the media and in history textbooks, we are often taught to think about it as an interpersonal phenomenon, something that happens between two people or small groups of people. Illustrate the point using Huffington Post’s “385 Anti-Muslim Acts in 2016”: testkitchen, huffingtonpost.com/islamophobia/. Open up a few of the articles, explaining how these articles report news.

Explain: The reporters writing the stories don’t ask us to connect these crimes to global affairs, like war or other acts of government. We want to think critically about the causes and consequences of bias and discrimination by differentiating between interpersonal/private discrimination and structural/systemic discrimination. Write the terms on the board. Ask participants to volunteer possible definitions or examples.

2.) What is the relationship between the actions of our government and the kinds of discrimination, like hate crimes, that are increasing in our streets? Explain: We are going to watch a short video to hear more about the definitions of interpersonal and structural discrimination and collect some examples. This is Khaled Beydoun, a law professor who wrote the book American Islamophobia. I am going to play the video straight through so you can just listen. Then we will go back and piece together what he said. Play from the beginning to 1:28 one time (youtube.com/watch?v=DVLiPAB6kOw). Then, start and stop the video after each definition and set of examples, asking participants to repeat what they heard.

3.) Give each participant a copy of the Interpersonal vs. Structural Discrimination handout. Ask them to complete Part 1 with a partner. Explain that the transcript of the video clip is on the worksheet; they can mine it for words or phrases to come up with definitions and examples of private/interpersonal and structural/systemic discrimination. After partners have finished the handout, debrief as a whole group to make sure participants understand the concepts.

4.) Explain: I want you to classify some examples of Islamophobia we learned about earlier in this lesson and decide if they are examples of private/interpersonal or structural/systemic discrimination. Use the poem “Why Are Muslims So . . . ” from Part I of this lesson to work through a few examples together. Ask participants to look at the following lines and discuss with a partner whether they would categorize them as private/interpersonal or structural/systemic:

a. “the woman on the poster whose face you spray painted” (private/interpersonal)

b. “you who plays call of duty to practice being a soldier, so the life of the enemy is laid upon the buttons of your controller” (Ask them: What is this line referring to beyond playing video games? War or, specifically, drone warfare, is an example of structural discrimination because it an act of the government.)

c. “you who takes your daughter’s hand and crosses the street when you see a bearded man about to pass you” (private/interpersonal)

5.) Ask participants to look back at all of the examples they collected so far: the poem, the media images they analyzed, folder content, and jigsaw descriptions. Ask them to use this information to classify examples of Islamophobia in the graphic organizer.

6.) Debrief the activity as a large group: Ask students to list interpersonal examples and then structural ones. Record responses on a whiteboard or chart paper.

7.) In the final discussion, ask participants: What is the difference between interpersonal and structural discrimination? Why is it important to decipher these terms? If you wanted to reduce discrimination, which strategies could you use to reduce interpersonal discrimination? Which strategies could you use to reduce structural discrimination? How do these strategies overlap? How are they different?
Ask students to finalize their definition of Islamophobia. Hang the chart paper used in Part I (#2, 6, and 8) and Part II (#3) for their reference.

Additional resources


Hilal, Maha. Institute for Policy Studies. See Maha Hilal’s reporting on structural Islamophobia on this website: ips-dc.org/ips-authors/maha-hilal/


“Why are Muslims So . . .”

Directions: Read the poem quietly. After you read it, highlight the five most potent lines: Which lines got your attention? Which statements made you react? On the back of the paper or in the sidebar, explain why you chose each line. Then, with a partner, share examples one at a time, explaining why you chose the lines you did.

Why are Muslims So . . .
By Sakila Islam and Hawa Rahman

Assalamualaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh
May peace be upon you
Who goes home and kisses your mother on her cheek and tucks your little sister into bed
Who probably doesn’t know that the woman whose face you spray painted “go home” over is also a daughter, a sister, a human
Who refuses to believe that even though she was born and raised in this country, her modesty and ideology make her foreign, alien, dangerous, a threat to freedom
The very freedom you’re stripping her of

May peace be upon you
Who plays Call of Duty to practice being a soldier
So the life of the enemy is laid upon the buttons of your controller
Because you don’t wanna see what happens to little Mohammed once he grows older
So you’re practicing for the day you can finally get some closure
And just because some Muslims threatened you, you give us all the cold shoulder
Knocking us all out like we’re the pins and you’re the bowler

May peace be upon you
Who takes your daughter’s hand and crosses the street when you see a bearded man about to pass you
A man who’s just returned from the mosque, where he knelt to the ground and cried as he prayed for his father’s health
But in your eyes, he’s probably a rapist, scum of the earth, evil to the point where just sharing the sidewalk with him will taint your child’s milky white innocence

May peace be upon you
Who let that hijabi girl sit alone during lunchtime
All she got was stares like she’s a suspect of some crime
She was innocent but they would always whine
That the hijab on her head was an ISIS sign
She was the butt of every joke, at the end of every punchline
Yet you didn’t talk to her once, couldn’t save her, not one time
May peace be upon you
Who can spend hours on Tumblr ranting about how we shouldn’t be in this country but can’t take five minutes to see from our point of view
Can’t even look up the difference between Arab and Muslim on Wikipedia
You say you’re fighting terrorists from behind your computer screen but can’t see that you’re the one terrorizing me

May peace be upon you
Who stopped that innocent dad from seeing his child
Because of his beard, his name, and his clothing style
He can’t wear a khufi without you assuming that he’s so vile
He just hasn’t seen his own daughter for a long while
When he tried to board an airplane, he was accused of being hostile
Because of you who prejudge based on a profile

You know when we were doing research for this poem, we Googled “why are Muslims so” and here are the top ten results:
Why are muslims so crazy those aladdins
Why are muslims so violent those ninjas
Why are muslims so angry those towelheads
So stupid those sand monkeys
So shallow those ragheads
So strict those sand kissers
So barbaric those bin Ladens
So fanatic you ayrabs
So intolerant you sand niggers
So extreme terrorists

Ughhhhhhh, it’s just so stupid, because listen
Those words mean nothing to me because they don’t define me
No graffiti artist is gonna tell me to go home
No Call of Duty player is gonna threaten me
No overprotective bigot of a mother is gonna ruin my day
No ignorant bystander is gonna leave me feeling left out
No Tumblr post is gonna scare me away
No biased border patrol is gonna stop me from seeing my family
Because today is one of the holiest days of the year and instead of spending time with my family,
I’m up on stage, defending my family
Because when society makes plans, they don’t think about us
I wonder if an international youth poetry slam in the cultural mecca of the South would be held during Christmas?
Easter?
But it had to be on Eid.
And because it’s Eid
We’re up here to say
MAY PEACE BE UPON YOU, BNV
WALAIKUM AS-SALAAM WA RAHMATULLAH
EID MUBARAK, EVERYBODY.
Media Representations of Muslims

Directions: In pairs, view each image and answer the questions that follow.

Image 1

Credit: Screenshot from Homeland: Season 4 on the Showtime website (sho.com/homeland).

a. Whose face can we see in the photo?
b. Whose faces can’t we see in the photo?
c. If you were to name a country where this photo might have been taken, which country would you pick? Why did you pick that country?
d. How would you racially and ethnically identify the person in the red scarf? What about the people wearing black?
e. What does this image tell you about the gender of the person in the red scarf? What words would you use to describe this person?
f. What does this image tell you about the gender of the people wearing black? What words would you use to describe them?
g. What emotions are being communicated in the photo?
h. What does the name of the show refer to?
i. What does this image tell you about Muslims?

Image 2


a. Who is portrayed in the photos? Where do you think they are from?
b. What values and beliefs do you think the people in the photos hold?
c. When looking at these photos, what comes to mind when you think of Muslims and Islam?
d. What are the main ideas being communicated in these photos?
Image 3

a. Who are the two people in this picture?
b. Describe the man’s clothing. Where does his outfit come from?
c. What is the woman wearing? What does it say about her?
d. Where is the American flag?
e. There is a painting on the wall above the fireplace. Who is that?
f. What messages are being communicated in this picture?

Credit: Screenshot from The New Yorker archive, July 21, 2008 (archives.newyorker.com/?i=2008-07-21#folio=C1).

Image 4

a. Describe what you see in the picture.
b. How do you think her face was injured?
c. What assumptions do you make about the woman in the photo?
d. Where is she from? What do you think is her ethnicity?
e. What does this photo tell you about gender?
f. What does this photo tell you about Muslims and Islam?
g. After looking at this picture, how do you think you are supposed to answer the question “What happens if we leave Afghanistan?”

Credit: Screenshot taken from Time magazine’s archive, August 9, 2010 (content.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20100809,00.html).
Folder 1

1.) Using the internet, search for the ACLU’s Nationwide Anti-Mosque Activity page: aclu.org/issues/national-security/discriminatory-profiling/nationwide-anti-mosque-activity

If you are using a laptop, click on the “Show Map Data” link below the map. If you are viewing on a phone, you can skip this step.

   a.) Spend at least five minutes scrolling through the document, reading the headlines, and skimming some of the articles. Describe your initial reaction to this information.

   b.) The website describes data covering which years?

   c.) Were you aware of so many anti-mosque incidents? Explain why or why not.

   d.) How many incidents do you think are listed in this document?

   e.) Look up the state where you live. How many incidents have there been? Describe three of them. (If there are not three incidents listed for your state, read the information about a bordering state.)

2.) What did you learn by reading this information?
Folder 2

1.) Using the internet, search for “Huffington Post’s Anti-Muslims Acts in 2016”:
   testkitchen.huffingtonpost.com/islamophobia/

   Spend a minute scrolling through the page, reading the headlines, and looking at the pictures.

   a.) How many anti-Muslim acts were there in 2016?

   b.) Choose one story that describes an act of aggression and summarize it in your own words.

   c.) Choose one story that describes a policy and summarize it in your own words.

   d.) Choose one story that describes rhetoric and summarize it in your own words.

   e.) Choose one story that describes an act of bigotry and summarize it in your own words.
2.) Read this graphic:

![Graphic showing Anti-Muslim Rhetoric](image-url)

a.) Summarize the main ideas in your own words. What does this information tell you about hate crimes against Muslims?

3.) What did you learn from the material in this folder?
Folder 3

1.) Watch the video “Black Muslims Look Back at Civil Rights Movement” (search this title + YouTube): [youtu.be/Ejl0whua9xs](https://youtu.be/Ejl0whua9xs)

   a.) What did you learn in this video?

   b.) How do the speakers connect Islamophobia and anti-Black racism?


   a.) List three things you heard in this video.

   b.) How does the speaker connect Islamophobia to Black Lives Matter?

3.) Watch the video “Black and Muslim: A Complicated Identity” (Newsy): [youtu.be/X2sly9nF8O4](https://youtu.be/X2sly9nF8O4)

   a.) How do the speakers in this video describe their experiences as Black Muslims?

   b.) What do you think this quote means: “Muslims in America are diverse but Black Muslims are largely left out of the conversation”?

4.) After viewing these sources, how might different Muslims experience Islamophobia differently? What does that tell you about Islamophobia?
Folder 4

1.) Watch the first four minutes of the video “Fear Inc.: The NYPD’s Secret Muslim Surveillance Plan”: youtube.com/watch?v=vf_HmuOC-P8

   a. With your group members, describe what you heard about the NYPD’s surveillance of Muslims, including as many details as possible.

   b. How does the NYPD use informants in their surveillance program?

2.) Using the internet, search for “Factsheet: The NYPD Muslim Surveillance Program”: aclu.org/other/factsheet-nypd-muslim-surveillance-program

   a. What year did the surveillance program begin? How long ago was that?

   b. What are five consequences of the NYPD spying program on Muslims?

3.) What does the information in this folder tell you about Islamophobia?
1.) On your phone or computer, search “Sikhs in America: A History of Hate”: propublica.org/article/sikhs-in-america-hate-crime-victims-and-bias

Read the article and watch the embedded videos.

   a. When were the Bellingham Riots? Where were they? What happened?

   b. What is Sikhism? Are Sikhs Muslim?

   c. Why are Sikhs a frequent target of hate?

   d. Describe three of the attacks you learned about in this article.

2.) What does this information tell you about Islamophobia? Does Islamophobia only affect Muslims?
Folder 6

1.) On your phone or computer, search “How Obama Made It Easier for Trump to Abuse Drones”: ips-dc.org/obama-made-easier-trump-abuse-drones

   a. Scroll down to the video. Watch the first 58 seconds. Explain what you heard in your own words.

   b. Look at the chart at 2:30 minutes. What does it say?

2.) Now, search for “The Bureau of Investigative Journalism Drone Warfare”: thebureauinvestigates.com/projects/drone-war

   a. What are the current statistics on drone warfare (in the red box)?

   b. Look at the titles of some of the articles listed under the heading “Latest from the Investigation.” What are the concerns being investigated by this organization?

3.) In the article “Why They Hate Us (II): How Many Muslims Has the U.S. Killed in the Last 30 Years,” author Stephen M. Walt, a professor of international relations at Harvard University, writes:

   How many Muslims has the United States killed in the past thirty years, and how many Americans have been killed by Muslims? Coming up with a precise answer to this question is probably impossible, but it is also not necessary, because the rough numbers are so clearly lopsided.

   I have deliberately selected “low-end” estimates for Muslim fatalities, so these figures present the “best case” for the United States. Even so, the United States has killed nearly 30 Muslims for every American lost. The real ratio is probably much higher, and a reasonable upper bound for Muslim fatalities (based mostly on higher estimates of “excess deaths” in Iraq due to the sanctions regime and the post-2003 occupation) is well over one million, equivalent to over 100 Muslim fatalities for every American lost.
Figures like these should be used with caution, of course, and several obvious caveats apply. To begin with, the United States is not solely responsible for some of those fatalities, most notably in the case of the “excess deaths” attributable to the U.N. sanctions regime against Iraq. Saddam Hussein clearly deserves much of the blame for these “excess deaths,” insofar as he could have complied with Security Council resolutions and gotten the sanctions lifted or used the “oil for food” program properly. Nonetheless, the fact remains that the United States (and the other Security Council members) knew that keeping the sanctions in place would cause tens of thousands of innocent people to die and we went ahead anyway.

Yet if you really want to know “why they hate us,” the numbers presented above cannot be ignored. Even if we view these figures with skepticism and discount the numbers a lot, the fact remains that the United States has killed a very large number of Arab or Muslim individuals over the past three decades. Even though we had just cause and the right intentions in some cases (as in the first Gulf War), our actions were indefensible (maybe even criminal) in others.

It is also striking to observe that virtually all of the Muslim deaths were the direct or indirect consequence of official U.S. government policy. By contrast, most of the Americans killed by Muslims were the victims of non-state terrorist groups such as al Qaeda or the insurgents in Iraq and Afghanistan.

a. In your own words, explain what the author is saying.

4.) After reviewing the information in this folder, what is the connection between drone strikes and Islamophobia? What is the connection between U.S. military interventions and the demonization of Muslims in the United States? Who benefits from demonizing Muslims?
Jigsaw Worksheet

The speaker’s name is:

What did the speaker tell you about?

Provide three important details or main ideas.

Write one question you have about this information and ask the speaker.

What does this information tell you about Islamophobia?

The speaker’s name is:

What did the speaker tell you about?

Provide three important details or main ideas.

Write one question you have about this information and ask the speaker.

What does this information tell you about Islamophobia?
The speaker’s name is:

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Provide three important details or main ideas.

Write one question you have about this information and ask the speaker.

What does this information tell you about Islamophobia?
Interpersonal vs. Systemic Discrimination

Part I

Directions: With a partner, answer the following questions. The transcript of the Khaled Beydoun video clip is included below. You can use words or phrases from the transcript to come up with definitions and examples.

What is private or interpersonal Islamophobia?

Give an example.

What is structural Islamophobia?

Give an example.

What is the Islamophobia Industry?

Give an example.
Transcript: “Understanding Islamophobia in America,” Khaled Beydoun

It’s critical to understand that Islamophobia is a very comprehensive and nuanced phenomenon. You have private Islamophobia. Private Islamophobia is inflicted by individuals, private individuals. One example is Craig Hicks who killed three Muslim American students at the University of North Carolina. Then we have structural Islamophobia. Structural Islamophobia is law, policy, and programming that is enacted by the state. We see structural Islamophobia as the most robust form after the 9/11 terror attacks with the enactment of the Patriot Act by the Bush administration and NSEERS, the National Security Entry Registration System, which was the Muslim registry that was also enacted by the Bush administration. Under the Obama administration we have the enactment of counter radicalization policing, which is a mode of surveillance that actually intensifies the degree of monitoring within Muslim American communities. And then finally, obviously under Trump we have very vivid structural Islamophobic policy being enacted, the most vivid examples obviously are the three travel bans or the Muslim Ban.

We also have Islamophobia functioning as an industry, and by an industry I mean that we have think tanks, we have pundits, we have lobby groups, a whole range of institutions that are not directly tied to the state but committed to perpetuating and propagating these negative misrepresentations. It’s a multi-million dollar if not a billion-dollar industry that is effectively funded by a range of very influential private interests.
# Interpersonal vs. Systemic Discrimination

## Part II

**Directions:** With a partner, look at the examples of Islamophobia you collected in this lesson: the media images, folder content, and jigsaw descriptions. Use those examples to fill out the graphic organizer, deciding whether each is an example of interpersonal or structural discrimination, and then explaining why.

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