Honors Projects   Religion

4-2005

Building a Viable Muslim Community in Central Illinois: The Development and Implementation of Acculturation Strategies at the Islamic Center of Bloomington-Normal

Daniel Glade '05
Illinois Wesleyan University

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcommons.iwu.edu/religion_honproj

Part of the Religion Commons

Building a Viable Muslim Community in Central Illinois:

The Development and Implementation of Acculturation Strategies at the Islamic Center of Bloomington-Normal

April 2005

Daniel Glade
Honors Research Thesis
Dr. Carole Myscofski, Primary Project Advisor
Illinois Wesleyan University

Introduction

Developments in the American Muslim community over the last thirty years reveal a

notable shift from individualist responses towards the exigencies of survival in a hostile foreign

environment to a more community-based attempt to build a viable and lively Islamic

environment in the United States. This shift was made possible by three factors including the

expansion of Western Islam through immigration and conversion in recent years, changing

American popular attitudes towards Muslims, and developments abroad—particularly in the

native countries of immigrant communities. Although responses to changing conditions vary

both geographically and situationally, most Muslim communities have responded with some

form of planned community building supplemented by a pluralistically guided approach to

acculturation and recourse to communal defense structures.

The Bloomington-Normal Muslim community provides an interesting opportunity to

increase our knowledge of Muslims in the United States more generally because it captures a

unique and less examined moment in the development of American Islam. Demographics such

as the size and age of the Islamic population as well as its ethnic, socioeconomic, and

geographical diversity distinguish the community from many larger urban centers that have

received extensive academic attention. It is this contextual difference that makes the Muslims of

Bloomington-Normal interesting—while they confront many of the same issues that affect larger

urban Muslim populations, they do so from the perspective of a smaller community with more

limited human and financial resources. If we are to construct an accurate understanding of

Muslim responses to the demands of life in the United States, then we must examine the

experiences of Muslim communities located away from major urban centers—where practical

realities can diverge from popularly accepted notions of Islamic life. This examination of the

Muslim population of Bloomington-Normal aids the larger project to understand American

Muslims first by challenging accepted ideas about Islamic community building, acculturation,

and communal defense and secondly by presenting an opportunity to view Muslims through the

interpretive lens of small town America.

The Bloomington-Normal metropolitan area lies at the intersection of the major North-

South I-55 and East-West I-74 interstate corridors and is composed of two major municipalities

and nineteen smaller satellite communities with combined total population of around 150,000

residents. Nearly two thirds of this population resides in single family households, and the

average family size rests at slightly over three people. More than sixty percent of local adults

hold a college degree or possess some college-level education and almost eighty percent of area

jobs classify as either white collar or service professions. The median household income for the

Bloomington-Normal area is $41,680. Like most smaller Mid-western towns, the local

population is overwhelmingly white and native born with African American, Hispanic, and

Asian individuals comprising about seven percent, two and a half percent, and two percent of the

total population respectively. Foreign-born residents make up about three and a half percent of

the population and over half of this number originates from Asia. With the possible exception of

a slightly greater educational attainment, the demographic characteristics of the Bloomington-

Normal population are thus comparable to other small- and mid-sized Illinois cities like

Springfield, Peoria, Urbana-Champaign, Rockford, and the Quad Cities[1].

---

[1] Data in this section is taken from the *2000 U.S. Census Report* published by the United States Census Bureau and the *2004 Demographic Profile* published by the Economic Development Council of the Bloomington-Normal Area.

Dan Glade

I began exploring this topic during the summer of 2004 while researching religious pluralism in the Quad Cities metropolitan area for the Pluralism Project at Harvard University. Throughout the fall of 2004, I continued this research and began a new project explicitly comparing theoretical acculturation models of Jewish, Muslim, and Hindu communities in the United States. However, after reading over seventy books and articles on Muslim acculturation and spending several months researching minority religions in America for both of these projects, I was disappointed by the lack of material devoted to Muslim communities located away from major metropolitan areas.

In order to address this problem, I decided to study developments in the Islamic Center of Bloomington-Normal (ICBN) to compare how they relate to established theories of Muslim acculturation. Over the next two months, I visited the ICBN a total of eight times to gain information about the center. Three of these visits were to Friday group prayers, two were to the Sunday Islamic School, and one was to Saturday *da'wa* and new member classes. During each visit, I observed the general atmosphere of the mosque and spoke with some of the community's most longstanding and knowledgeable members about the development of Islam in Bloomington-Normal.

Because most leaders advised against conducting a survey, I rely most heavily upon interview data in my analysis. During visits to the mosque, I conducted seven interviews of various lengths with both male and female members of different ages. Questions ranged from demographic issues and the difficulty of maintaining traditional Islamic lifestyles in Bloomington-Normal to children's education and the struggle to maintain a healthy and vibrant religious community despite internal mosque diversity[2]. Each interview and visit provided a

---

[2] See Appendix A for a copy of questions asked during interviews at the ICBN.

different context for observing life at the ICBN as different groups attended each mosque

function.

I supplemented this interview data with personal observations from my attendance at

mosque events to try to create as detailed a picture of Muslim life at the ICBN as possible.

Because of the small sampling of interviews used in this project, emphasis was placed on

maintaining a balance between learning the opinions of knowledgeable mosque leaders and

obtaining a representative cross-section of the religious community. The use of such data

collection methods throughout the study ultimately resulted in the fair and representative picture

of Muslim life at the ICBN presented in this paper.

This particular exploration of Muslim life in Bloomington-Normal will focus on the

masjid or mosque as its primary unit of analysis. The advent of the mosque in the American

religious landscape has provided an important context for observing Muslim responses to

Western societal demands. Mosques in the United States developed from rudimentary facilities

where small groups of Muslims periodically met for group prayer to purpose built structures

featuring distinctively Islamic architecture and spacious prayer rooms. In the process, American

mosques implemented a series of survival strategies designed to help their members maintain

religious authenticity in a non-Muslim society. Many mosques now offer Islamic schooling,

pastoral-style counseling, marriage and funeral services, after-school activities, evening social

gatherings, and ethnic events. These services provide a valuable sense of community for

American Muslims. Meanwhile, regional and national associations provide logistical support for

mosques and organize communal defense programs when necessary.

The application of such survival strategies requires extensive organizational abilities and

resources and varies widely across the United States. Because the ICBN lacks the financial and

human resources to provide the broad range of services listed above, the types and character of

the ICBN services that do exist reveal much about the values of community members and their

unique beliefs about Islam in America. By comparing trends observed at the ICBN with national

strategies for Islamic preservation, this paper contributes valuable information to the study of

Muslim community survival practices in the United States and revises some accepted theories of

Islamic acculturation to reflect the experience of Muslims living in smaller municipalities[3].

Four theoretical models created to describe developments in the Islamic world are

particularly helpful in understanding the American Muslim experience but may require

adjustment in the Bloomington-Normal context. First, the concept of the distinctive American

umma as developed by Darrow, Khan, Noor, and McCloud helps describe how compromise has

affected religious practice in many American mosques. The term *umma* as most commonly used

simply refers to the Muslim community of believers (Denny, 1994: 396). In its broadest sense

this may include the entire Muslim world, but the word can also denote specific ethnic or

linguistic groupings of Muslims. This means that schools of Islamic law, cultural practices, and

modern political boundaries often divide Muslims along geographical lines.

While the term still carries some of its original meaning and Muslims around the world

ultimately subscribe to a common Islamic faith, ambiguity exists between the worldwide *umma*

and smaller ethnolinguistic groupings of Muslims such as Indopakistanis or Saudi Arabians.

This creates a difficult situation in the immigrant mosques of America, where arriving Muslims

must often learn to compromise their culturally specific Islamic interpretations in favor of

broadly inclusive religious practices. Some scholars have heralded this process of compromise

as the development of a new American *umma*, since innovative solutions to problems caused by

---

[3] Analysis of two Muslim communities located in Bettendorf, IA and Moline, IL may be found in "Mapping the Multi-religious Diversity of the Quad Cities: A case study in Asian religions outside major metropolitan areas." by Daniel Glade in association with the Pluralism Project at Harvard University and Columbia University Press.

ethnic and linguistic diversity often work to produce a uniquely American brand of Islam

(Darrow, 1987; Khan, 2003: 180-182; McCloud, 2003: 164-165; Noor, 2003).

Two possible approaches to the question of the American *umma* seem particularly

relevant to Muslim developments in the United States. First, Robinson's notion of the

"protestantization of religious thought" refers to the increasing focus on personal religious

interpretation in Western mosques as a way of confronting religious diversity within the

American Muslim population (Robinson, 2005). This approach solves the problem of conflicting

religious customs by encouraging the compartmentalization of divergent individual Islamic

interpretations in private life. In other words, Muslims advocating different legalistic or cultural

brands of Islam will maintain traditional belief patterns at home but will also compromise with

other community members to create more generic forms of public Islam. In this way,

Indopakistani, Arab, African-American, and South and East Asian Muslims can share a mosque

while retaining more culturally-specific Islamic permutations.

Waugh and Smith contribute the idea of the "denominalization" of Islamic practice and

the formation of explicitly ethnic mosques in Western Islam as a possible alternative to broad

religious compromise (Waugh, 1991: 88-91; Smith, 1999: 180-182). "Denominalization"

represents an opposing approach to expanding diversity in the American *umma* by avoiding

religious compromise and advocating the formation of more ethnolinguistic-centered mosques.

In many cities with large Muslim populations this process is already taking place through the

formation of new ethnic or nationalistic mosques that attempt to replicate specific cultural

versions of Islam. Such mosques avoid many of the problems associated with Muslim American

diversity by catering to select Muslim sub-populations.

Progressive Islam as discussed by Haines, Hussain, and others represents a final theory of

American Muslim thought and offers a compromise between traditional Islam and liberal

Western secularism. Muslim experiences in the West have created increasingly progressive

forms of Islam in the American religious landscape. Many mosques in the United States now

actively pursue interfaith dialogue and inter-religious cooperation in matters of social and

political justice (Haines, 1991; Eck, 2001; Hussain, 2003; Moussalli, 2003). Others have reacted

to Western criticisms of the position of women in Islam by offering new ideas about feminism

and gender in the faith (McCloud, 1991; Hermansen, 1991; Kugle, 2003; Shaikh, 2003;

Simmons, 2003). While such transformations are not inherently assimilationist, they do indicate

a genuine concern within the Muslim community to find a home in the American religious

landscape. The development of progressive Islam in the United States has also influenced the

relationship between American Muslims and the rest of the Islamic world. Tensions are most

visible in the Islamic education programs where parents must balance the desire to propagate

their own culturally specific view of Islam with broader versions of the faith that are often more

viable in the American context.

The four theoretical models described above offer unique insights and conclusions about

the future of Islam in the United States and will be revisited near the close of this paper.

Furthermore, the models will continue to be useful from a comparative perspective in subsequent

sections of this text as they are questioned in light of observations about Islamic acculturation at

the ICBN. The first section provides a historical overview of Muslim community organization in

the United States by examining the various survival strategies of three immigrant cohorts. Next,

contemporary movements in Islamic survival are examined to facilitate comparison between the

Bloomington-Normal community and larger national trends. Following this description, the

historical development and contemporary outlook for Islam in Bloomington-Normal itself is

outlined. The final two sections of this paper deal with the mosque as the most visible

manifestation of Islamic presence in the United States and compare a general portrait of

American mosques with developments in the Islamic Center of Bloomington-Normal.

Islamic Development in America

Muslim experiences in Bloomington-Normal are best understood in the broader context

of American Islamic development. Patterns in Muslim immigration, early efforts at community

organization, and current trends in American Islamic life represent three areas requiring careful

consideration since an understanding of such broad trends in American Islam increases the

comparative prospects of this study and more accurately portrays Muslim life in Bloomington-

Normal. The diversity of Muslim life in the United States makes generalization about a single

American Islamic experience difficult; however some general community patterns are visible

and necessitate further elaboration.

Although Islam in America dates back to colonial times when many Muslims were

brought to North America through the East African slave trade, the obvious constraints of

slavery precluded extensive community organization and development. Most scholars therefore

date the advent of true Islamic presence in the United States to the late nineteenth and early

twentieth centuries when ethnic sojourners from across the Muslim world began arriving and

settling in small numbers (Denny, 1994: 356). Beginning near the turn of the century, Abu-

Laban identifies "pioneer," "transitional," and "differentiated" cohorts as three groups of

immigrant Muslims holding distinctive approaches to Islamic life in America (1991: 12-26). The

"pioneer cohort" consisted primarily of young, working-class, and predominantly male

immigrants who often lacked the skills and resources to organize into viable Islamic

communities in their new home. As a result, Muslims arriving in the first half of the twentieth

century often adopted assimilationist stances toward American culture, and "Muslim identity

began to be something of the past rather than the present and the future as new generations of

young people struggled to be part of the culture of their current homeland rather than of their

heritage" (Smith 1999: 55-56).

Between the end of the Second World War and the 1965 revision of immigration policy,

a second group of young Muslim students began to appear on university campuses across the

United States. Members of this "transitional cohort" often exhibited a strong Muslim identity

and a desire to maintain regular religious practice throughout their college careers. These efforts

resulted in the creation of a web of Muslim campus groups that would ultimately become the

Muslim Student Association—one of the first national Islamic organizations in the United States[4]

(Ahmed, 1991: 14-15). Although some of these Muslims returned home following graduation,

many former students settled in America, filled technical and professional positions, and started

families. Strong emphasis on preserving Islam while seeking Western employment and adopting

many American cultural practices has led some scholars to credit this group for laying the

institutional foundations of contemporary American Islam (Abu-Laban, 1991: 12-26).

The third wave of Muslim immigration to the United States that began after 1965 and

continues to the present day forms the basis of the "differentiated cohort". Unlike earlier

generations of immigrants, many of these Muslims arrived with their families and quickly sought

permanent residence. This group benefits from the organizational accomplishments of previous

waves of immigrant Muslims that laid the groundwork for an American Islamic community.

Most are well-educated and upwardly mobile professionals who possess the skills and resources

needed to build a vibrant Muslim community. The growing prevalence of Islamic families in the

United States has also transformed how Muslims approach their religion. Parents now strive to

---

[4] The first chapter of the Muslim Student Association was founded at the University of Southern California in 1963.
See below.

transmit traditional Islamic lifestyles to future generations by creating institutions where children

can learn and socialize in culturally and religiously appropriate settings. These developments

distinguish this group from others in Muslim American history and serve as "evidence of

Muslims feeling the need for their own space, where community formation and sustenance can

occur" (Denny, 1994: 357).

Developments in community organization indicate the different emphases of the three

immigrant cohorts. Reflecting the social status of their working class constituency, the first

American mosques met irregularly and were often located in old churches or rented buildings.

Many of these mosques served more as ethnic social clubs than religious structures, and within a

generation, most fell into misuse and disrepair. In her examination of early Muslim American

communities, Gutbi Mahdi Ahmed lamented about the loss of religious values in "pioneer

cohort" mosques (1991: 12). Within a generation of their foundation, most of these mosques

experienced financial turmoil as members married outside the Muslim faith and assimilated into

mainstream American culture.

The "transitional cohort" of Muslim students proved better suited to maintaining an

Islamic lifestyle in the face of American assimilationist pressures than preceding immigrant

generations. The strong sense of Muslim identity held by many of these students inspired them

to organize informal campus mosques and schedule various cultural activities. This led to the

creation of the first Muslim Student Association at the University of Southern California in 1963

as a coalition of Islamic groups from campuses around the United States and Canada articulating

the needs of the growing North American Muslim population. The formation of the MSA

represents perhaps the greatest contribution made by the "transitional cohort" to the development

of American Islam. MSA projects and campaigns helped institutionalize Islam in America

through campus activities, educational programs, construction of mosques, and the distribution

of Islamic literature. Ultimately the legacy of this institutionalization would form the basis of

Islamic organization in America.

When Muslim families began immigrating to America in larger numbers, they often

gravitated towards the MSA for cultural and religious leadership. This situation continued until,

by the mid-1970s, the MSA was recognized by the majority of recent Muslim immigrants as "the

strongest and most Islamically committed organization" in the United States (Ahmed, 1991: 15).

Yet, the campus-based, student-organized nature of the MSA could not accommodate the

demands of new career and family-oriented Muslims. Increasing numbers of third wave

immigrants arriving in the United States throughout the 1970s made these shortcomings apparent

and led to a fundamental shift in Muslim organization from student to family and community-

based structures. The building of new mosques and formation of the Islamic Society of North

America (ISNA) represent two practical results of this shift. New mosques were often located

away from college campuses and offered an array of new services focused around the Islamic

family. Similarly, ISNA was created as a national supervisory organization to promote the

interests of more permanently situated Muslim Americans.

Just as immigrant approaches to community building have varied widely through time,

communal survival strategies and immigrant attitudes toward acculturation can also be classified

by immigrant cohort. In particular, attitudes regarding education, diet, and ethnic organization

seem important as three issues for Islamic survival in the United States. By examining how each

immigrant cohort approaches these issues, one may gain a better understanding of the historical

challenges to Islamic survival in the United States and likewise come to appreciate how

contemporary American Muslims preserve traditional religious values despite strong

assimilationist pressures.

The survival strategies of the early Muslim American community reflected its

demographic characteristics as well as its limited size and resources. Because the majority of

early immigrants were single men, youth education was less of an issue for the Islamic

community in the first half of the twentieth century. The limited availability of Muslim women

at this time meant that many immigrants looked outside the Islamic faith for wives. Children of

these marriages subsequently became highly assimilated into mainstream American culture

through public schooling and socialization with non-Muslim relatives. Even under ideal

conditions, most of the working-class immigrants lacked the religious knowledge to create viable

Muslim communities in their new home. As a result, Muslim faith and practices moved into

rapid decline in the immigrant communities of the early twentieth century.

Increasing numbers of middle- and upper-class Muslim students arriving in the 1950s and

1960s led to more opportunities for Islamic education. In general, these students claimed a

broader grasp of the Islamic faith and were more able to recreate authentic religious traditions

than early immigrant generations; however, youth education was still not a priority for these

predominantly young and male Muslims. As a result, some scholars look to the Nation of Islam

(NOI) as a source of the first serious attempts at Islamic education in the United States (Rashid,

1992: 178-179). Some caution must be used in making this claim, however, since NOI ideology

diverges from mainstream Islam in many important ways. Nevertheless, the system of private

schools established by the NOI throughout the 1950s and 1960s did ultimately become more

mainstream after the NOI decline of the 1970s and 1980s. These schools may now be

acknowledged as one of the first attempts at establishing a viable alternative school system for

Muslim youth in America.

Muslim attitudes towards a *halal*[5] diet are harder to track chronologically. The first

waves of Muslim immigrants to the United States as represented by the "pioneer cohort"

followed general prohibitions against alcohol and pork but faced extreme difficulties in obtaining

specialties such as *zibiha*[6] meat. However, the rapid assimilation of this group led to less

scrupulous dietary practices in subsequent generations. One third-generation immigrant

interviewed by Abu-Laban expressed surprise at learning that alcohol was prohibited in the

Muslim faith (1991: 17), and Denny remarks that, in general, "the pioneer cohort, which

continues to reproduce itself, is not receptive to the more traditionalist, non-assimilated ways of

Muslim immigrants who have arrived more recently" (1994: 356).

The student Muslims of the mid-twentieth century responded much differently to the

challenge of following Islamic dietary restrictions in America. The superior educational and

organizational resources of this group allowed them to promote the importance of *halal* food for

proper Muslim observance and campaign for *halal* options in university cafeterias. MSA

activities proved instrumental to these goals by helping to organize and articulate Muslim

interests to fellow students and university administration. By influencing such institutions, the

MSA created a more hospitable environment for Muslims living across the United States—

making the efforts of early Islamic students invaluable to future generations of American

Muslims.

Relations with countries of origin and ethnic organization reflect two final aspects of

early attempts at Muslim community building in America. On this topic, MacDonald and

---

[5] Literally "permissible" or "lawful," in this case used to denote Islamically permissible foods.
[6] *Zibiha* designates meat that has been slaughtered according to the ritual injunctions of Islamic law.

14

MacDonald note that through the phenomenon of "chain migration...prospective migrants

[learned] of opportunities, [were] provided with transportation, and...initial accommodation and

employment...by means of primary social relationships with previous migrants" (1964: 82).

These patterns of immigration and the fact that early Muslim communities in the United States

often functioned more as social centers than as religious structures meant that many pre-World

War II immigrants initially maintained strong ethnically-based communities. However, the

general assimilationist stance of this group discouraged continuing relations with immigrants'

home countries. In her account of the initial formations of the Muslim community in America,

Aminah Beverly McCloud notes that most Arab Muslims "tended to...deemphasize to whatever

extent possible the fact that they were members of a 'non-American' religion...to the point of

changing their Arab names to sound more like those of other Americans" (2003: 161). This

general approach to Muslim living in the United States eventually led to the destruction of overt

ethnic and nationalistic identifications in favor of more assimilated approaches to the Muslim

faith.

Later generations of student immigrants studying in the United States during the 1950s

and 1960s once again proved more able to maintain ethnic and nationalistic identities despite

assimilationist pressures. Largely because of the concentrated nature of these communities on

university campuses, Muslim students were able to form ethnic and cultural organizations to

maintain foreign identities. Many of these students ascribed to a psychological position that

social scientists term the "myth of return," whereby migrants view their tenure in America as

temporary and resist assimilationist pressures through their visitor status (Heisler, 1986: 79-80).

The majority those who did remain in the United States after completing their education

combined their intellectual and organizational skills with a thorough knowledge of American life

gained during their years at university to establish ethnic associations and maintain ties with their

home countries.

Contemporary Islam in America

The patterns in Muslim immigration, efforts at community organization, and trends in

American Islamic life discussed in the previous section provide a valuable portrait of the

historical development of Islam in America. However, the situation for Islam in the United

States changed dramatically after the Civil Rights Movement inspired immigration law revisions

in 1965. These changes allowed greater numbers of non-European immigrants to flow into the

country, and created a special opportunity for growth in the American Muslim community.

Muslims arriving in the United States after 1965 form Abu-Laban's "differentiated cohort" and

have influenced American Islam tremendously (1991: 12-26). From mosque construction and

the creation of extensive national Islamic organizations to the development of distinctive

approaches toward acculturation and communal defense programs, this group largely dictates the

character of the contemporary American Muslim community. The unique conditions and

contributions of this group reveal much about current and future prospects for Islam in the

United States.

In general, members of the third immigration cohort possess distinct political and

economic advantages over earlier generations of Muslim immigrants. Aminah Beverly McCloud

notes that the 1965 legislation created

> three avenues...for immigrant Muslims: 1) The United States began recruiting
> persons [in skilled professions]; 2) students were able to obtain visas for study,
> especially in the sciences; and 3) special programs for minorities provided seed
> monies for businesses that enabled those immigrants without professional training
> to have both the opportunity for and the realization of employment.[7] (2003: 165)

---

[7] Most Muslim immigrants are classified as minorities under Civil Rights legislation—qualifying them for
affirmative action government assistance programs.

17

Such programs soon made immigrants arriving after 1965 the largest proportion of the American

Muslim population, and the accompanying shift from an MSA and student-dominated Muslim

community to a more professional and family-oriented one led to fundamental changes in

Islamic organization.

One of the first and most noticeable changes accompanying these demographic

transformations can be seen in the proliferation of mosques on the suburban landscape. Mosques

began moving away from university campuses in the 1970s and into new purpose-built structures

that reflected members' upwardly mobile status. These mosques especially accommodate the

needs of young Muslim families, who require children's educational programs, youth social

functions, pastoral-style counseling, and a range of other services designed to ease the transition

to life in the United States. Such services move far beyond the efforts of previous immigrant

groups and suggest a new approach to Muslim religious survival in the American context.

Developments within national Islamic organizations during this time also reflect changes

in the American Muslim community. By the late-1970s, increasing numbers of professionally

oriented immigrants left the MSA ill-equipped to meet the challenges of Muslim American life.

The traditional MSA approach was designed to benefit a more temporary student population and

often neglected the needs of permanently settled families. For this reason, the Muslim

Community Association (MCA) formed under the leadership of the Islamic Society of North

America (ISNA)—a new national umbrella organization designed to coordinate the efforts of

various Muslim constituencies in the United States. Other organizations such as the Islamic

Circle of North America (ICNA) also formed and expanded during this period in order to fill the

need for national associations to coordinate structured approaches to Muslim life in America.

The increasingly comprehensive attitude towards national planning taken by American Muslims

in the 1970s and 1980s reflects greater diversity within the community and suggests a growing desire to meet the needs of a wider range of constituents.

Acculturation strategies adopted by Muslim immigrants in the latter half of the twentieth century also reflect a new outlook on the possibilities for maintaining an Islamic worldview in the United States. The advent of extensive Islamic youth and educational programs in the last thirty years illustrates a "defensive response" to assimilationist pressures through which "Islamic centers and their activities kept the adults in touch with their beliefs and their heritage, and Islamic schools taught Islamic values and inculcated Islamic practices among the young" (Khan, 2003: 185). Most mosques now feature Islamic schooling programs aimed at educating children about the Muslim faith and its relationship with other American religions. Many larger mosques even offer full-time Islamic primary schools where young children can learn both secular and religious subjects in an Islamic setting regulated by community leaders. Muslim secondary and post-secondary institutions remain rare in the United States but are present in some of the largest mosques and represent a growing trend in Islamic education. Overall, the Muslim approach to schooling mirrors earlier attempts by Catholic and Jewish Americans to exert control over the education and socialization of their youth and is representative of larger trends in minority religious survival in the United States (Sarna, 1998: 1).

Today's Muslim immigrants are also more concerned with the strict observation of Islamic dietary restrictions than preceding generations. By building upon MSA efforts to establish *halal* cafeterias on university campuses, "differentiated cohort" immigrants have worked to increase public awareness of the Muslim diet and expand the availability of *halal* options in both institutional and private settings. As a result, *halal* and *zibiha* grocers now operate in most major American cities—allowing for strict dietary observance at home.

Institutional cafeterias have caught on more slowly, but several Supreme Court cases involving

the Muslim prisoners' rights to *halal* food indicate a push toward greater public recognition of

Islamic dietary needs (Moore, 1991: 144-145). Despite these advances, observance of Islamic

food laws in the United States remains a highly personal choice with some Muslims clinging to

strict pre-immigration patterns of observance and others favoring compromise in the American

setting.

The increasing number of Muslim immigrants arriving in the United States over the last

twenty years has allowed for greater ethnic division within mosques[8]. Many cities with large

Muslim populations now feature mosques catering to specific ethnolinguistic groups, legal

traditions, or regional forms of Islam. Distinctively African American, Arab, Shi'ite, South

Asian and East Asian mosques represent a small portion of the ever-increasing variety of Islamic

centers common in cities like New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, and Detroit. By splitting into

various factions advocating different schools of Islamic thought, larger Muslim communities are

able to avoid problems related to the ever increasing diversity of the American Muslim

population (Denny, 1994: 358). However, the challenges of maintaining a Muslim lifestyle in

the United States help create a common sense of Islamic destiny that encourages the community

to prevail against national institutional inequalities and discourages full-scale denominalization

as experienced by other American immigrant religions. Ultimately, the development of ethnic

mosques on the American religious landscape recalls the important social support these centers

provide for newly arrived immigrants more than it signifies any fundamental splintering of the

Islamic faith.

---

[8] Estimating the actual number of Muslims in the United States is a difficult task since census and immigration data is not collected by religious affiliation. However, Eck uses mosque construction as a rough proxy for this measure and notes that in 2001, eighty percent of the 1,400 mosques in the United States had been founded in the past twenty-five years (2001: 264).

Developments over the last twenty years also reveal important changes in the relationship

between immigrant Muslims and their countries-of-origin. During the peak of Muslim student

activity beginning in the early-1950s and lasting until the mid-1970s, the American Islamic

community received large amounts of financial and logistical support from Middle Eastern

Muslim countries. Despite the Arab control this support gave over campus Islamic

organizations, it was welcomed since most students lacked financial stability and maintained

strong ties with their home countries. More recent demographic shifts in the Islamic community

have reversed this trend as Muslim Americans increasingly resent foreign control over

community functions and decline offers of outside assistance (Smith, 1999: 180-181). Now,

increased financial resources and a growing consensus that community insiders are best equipped

to negotiate the challenges of Islamic living in the United States have left Muslim Americans in

control of their own communal destiny.

Recently developed strategies for communal defense compose a final but essential aspect

of this destiny. Events of the late 1980s such as the Rushdie affair in Britain and *hijab* scandals

in French schools increased Muslim American awareness of their precarious social position and

prompted the organization of national communal defense associations. Islamic defense groups

such as the American Muslim Council (AMC), Muslim Political Action Committee (MPAC),

Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), American Muslim Alliance (AMA), and

American Muslims for Jerusalem (AMJ) now operate to protect Islamic interests both in the

United States and throughout the Muslim world. In his analysis of the contemporary Muslim

Community, M.A. Muqtedar Khan notes:

> The explicit purpose of these organizations is the political mobilization of
> American Muslims to accumulate power that can be used to affect change in the
> Muslim world. These organizations are involved in educating American Muslims
> in the nuances of democracy, pluralism, and interest-group politics. They are

> mobilizing them to participate in American politics at every level, from voting in
> elections to running for office...[and] lobbying Congress and the president to
> change American foreign policy toward Palestine, Iraq, Pakistan, and Kashmir in
> particular and the rest of the Muslim world in general. (Khan, 2003:187)

Such organizations are essential to public recognition of Muslims as a substantial and growing

force in American political life. Since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, these groups

have become increasingly necessary as they attempt to protect Muslim domestic interests from

growing public and institutional prejudice and work for reconciliation between America and the

Islamic world.

Islam in Bloomington-Normal

Islamic development in Bloomington-Normal mirrors national trends in many ways. From changing immigration patterns over the last century to the broad domestic effects of today's "war on terror," national and local Muslim futures seem inextricably linked. Yet, Bloomington-Normal also presents a somewhat unique and under-examined context for Muslim community development. The size of the local Muslim population, its history, and demographic concerns all contribute to distinguish the Bloomington-Normal Islamic community in its approach to organization, acculturation, communal defense, and community building. Examining the Bloomington-Normal community provides valuable insights on Islam in America and facilitates a broader understanding of the Muslim American experience.

The Bloomington-Normal Muslim community is younger than many of its Midwestern counterparts that date back to the turn of the century. For this reason, the "pioneer cohort" is absent from the local Muslim population and the community is dominated by "transitional" and "differentiated cohort" members. Islam first arrived in the area in the 1950s and 1960s when members of the student-based "transitional cohort" began attending Illinois State University (ISU) in Normal, IL. After graduation, a small percentage of these students remained in the area to find work and start families. Local corporations like State Farm Insurance as well as institutions of higher learning such as Illinois Wesleyan University (IWU) and ISU also attracted Muslim academics for work during this time. However, the early Muslim community of Bloomington-Normal remained largely unorganized throughout these years until the arrival of third wave immigrants in the 1970s and 1980s.

The third wave of Muslim immigrants in Bloomington-Normal resembles the second in

its growth through skilled and academic positions. An influx of Muslim doctors to the area

combined with active recruiting policies in the Middle East and South Asia by local corporations

has fueled steady growth in the Bloomington-Normal Muslim community. Although most area

Muslims are first generation immigrants and hold strong Muslim identities, the diversity of belief

and transient nature of the population precluded organized activities for many years. Until the

Bloomington mosque was founded in late 2000, most area Muslims traveled to mosques in

Peoria or Champaign-Urbana on holidays and for regular youth education programs and social

events.

Daily prayers in the early Bloomington-Normal Muslim community were held in small

groups whenever breaks at school or work were possible. Because the group lacked a formal

meeting place, local Muslim activities became heavily focused around student efforts at ISU.

Students and professors from ISU and IWU formed Islamic study and prayer groups that

provided much of the community's structure during these early years, and *Jamu'a* prayers[9] were

periodically held on the ISU campus beginning in 1974. This situation proved sufficient while

student Muslims continued to outnumber professional and family-oriented immigrants. In 1995,

an MSA chapter was finally chartered at ISU; however, by this time increasing numbers of

"differentiated cohort" immigrants created the need for more permanent Islamic structures in the

Bloomington-Normal community. This growing need directly influenced the creation of clearly

defined communal acculturation and defense strategies.

The growth of such clearly defined acculturation strategies within the Bloomington-

Normal Muslim community with the advent of the ICBN is most evident in the development of

communal approaches towards education, diet, ethnic organization, and relation to individual

---

[9] A weekly gathering of the Islamic community on Fridays for a sermon-like *kutba* and group prayer.

countries of origin. Without the spiritual guidance and practical support of a permanent mosque,

the character of the Bloomington-Normal Islamic community was largely dictated by family-

level decisions. Although campus organizations like the MSA at ISU periodically organized

prayer and social activities, the difficulty of maintaining and transmitting traditional patterns of

Islamic piety without a full-scale and family-oriented facility left the community fragmented in

the local religious landscape.

In response to this increased and changing need for a more permanent Islamic center, the

ISU Muslims began offering regularly scheduled prayers on the ISU campus in the early 1990s.

The organization also facilitated joint activities to promote better relations with the non-student

community. Capitalizing on this momentum, some permanent residents drafted and distributed a

survey in 2000 to determine wider community interest in an off-campus mosque. The results of

this survey revealed an interest in pursuing the idea, and within months, organizers drafted by-

laws and elected an executive board to guide the newly formed Islamic Center of Bloomington-

Normal. The community came to occupy its current site later the same year and has transformed

the religious situation for local Muslims by providing a context in which the development of

innovative and sustainable acculturation and communal defense strategies is both feasible and

encouraged.

The physical characteristics of the ICBN building reveal much about the place of the

mosque and its members in the wider Bloomington-Normal population. The mosque currently

occupies a rented storefront location in an industrial strip mall complex located on Gill Street

near Airport Road. The positioning of the mosque in such a rapidly expanding upper-middle

class section of Normal reflects the social position of most of its members. Inside, the mosque is

divided into several smaller rooms that are used as classrooms, men's and women's group prayer

rooms, and cooking and dining facilities. Throughout the mosque floor plan, emphasis is placed on versatility and functionality as the building must accommodate a diverse array of community activities. Group leaders even highlighted the decision to rent building space rather than buy property and construct a mosque since the community remains in a period of rapid growth and development. The outward appearance of the ICBN building thus reveals much about the center's intended contribution to Muslim development in Bloomington-Normal.

One practical contribution of the ICBN to the local Islamic community is reflected by the increased availability of educational opportunities for Muslim children. Before the ICBN was founded, most children received the majority of their religious education privately from parents possessing varying levels of religious knowledge. These lessons were often supplemented by weekend trips to Islamic schools associated with mosques in either Peoria or Champaign. Distance and the inconvenience of traveling to these centers precluded the possibility of full-time Islamic school or after school education programs. Now, children benefit from an organized weekly Islamic school featuring knowledgeable and trained teachers offering courses on subjects ranging from the Five Pillars of Islam to introductory Arabic, *hadith,* and Qur'an recitation. Children typically begin these classes before pre-school and graduate in early high school with a broad knowledge of the Islamic faith. Aside from the obvious benefits this educational program provides for individual children and families, the Islamic school also helps articulate a standardized version of Islam within the ICBN. Many of the broad Islamic principles taught to children at the mosque serve as prototypes for the non-sectarian and culturally unbiased forms of worship necessary for promoting Muslim unity in an ethnically and ideologically diverse community.

The growth and organization of the Bloomington-Normal Muslim community also made observance of Islamic dietary restrictions easier. Although adherence to *halal* and *zibiha* food laws represents a highly personalized area of Islamic observance that varies widely within the local Muslim community, interviews with community members reveal that the availability of Islamic food products has greatly increased over the past ten years. Before the 1990s, individual families wishing to observe Islamic food laws traveled to Chicago to buy bulk quantities of *zibiha* meat that could be stored in large freezers for months at a time. Better organization and mobilization of the MSA on the ISU campus in the 1990s meant families began cooperating in their search for *halal* food products. In order to cut food costs, individuals began taking community-wide orders and buying large quantities of meat several times each year. Since this time, area grocers have made periodic attempts to supply the local Muslim population with a *halal* food department, but the low demand for such services and relatively high cost of *zibiha* meats make sustaining such a department difficult. Although local Muslims still encounter greater difficulties in observing Islamic dietary requirements than their urban-dwelling counterparts, increased organization within the Islamic population has translated into a greater availability of *halal* food in the Bloomington-Normal area.

Ethnicity has become a major issue in the Bloomington-Normal Islamic community over the past twenty years. High levels of cultural identification within the "transitional" and "differentiated" cohorts that dominate the area immigrant community mean that most members of the local Muslim population arrive with and wish to maintain ethnic patterns of religious thought and practice. This diversity meant little before the organization of a cohesive Islamic community but now poses a constant threat to local Muslim solidarity as ICBN leaders consistently attempt to distinguish culturally specific religious interpretations from universal

Islamic practice. With members from over thirteen different ethnicities approaching Islam

through distinctive and sometimes conflicting cultural traditions, this task requires extensive

efforts at continuing education and the careful maintenance of a general atmosphere of tolerance

and respect. Despite these challenges, interviews with community leaders reveal that many

ICBN members view this situation as ultimately beneficial to the future of Islam in the United

States. They argue that ethnic and cultural compromise over practical issues of Muslim faith

creates a community that is more responsive to the needs of its members and better suited to the

exigencies of life in America.

The relationship between immigrant Muslims and their individual countries of origin

represents a final aspect of Islamic acculturation that has changed significantly in the

Bloomington-Normal community in recent decades. Before the mid-1980s, the student

dominated nature of the local Islamic community meant most area Muslims maintained strong

ties of family and social support in their home countries. Following broad national

generalizations about the late "transitional" and early "differentiated" cohorts, many local

Muslims even looked forward to a prosperous and triumphal return to their native lands in the

distant future—a phenomenon that scholars have termed the "myth of return" (Heisler, 1986: 79-

80). As this myth faded in group memory and the Bloomington-Normal Muslim population

became an increasingly permanent fixture of the local religious landscape, attitudes towards

individual countries of origin changed as well. Families with permanent economic and social

ties to the Bloomington-Normal area now dominate the local Muslim community. Tensions

between highly acculturated second-generation immigrant children attending local public schools

and their more traditional ethnically identifying parents have assisted this process by

necessitating an intensive re-evaluation of the relevance of long-held cultural traditions in the

American context. As a result, the social and economic independence of the local Islamic

community continues to grow and ethnically identifying Muslim immigrants increasingly pursue

symbolic rather than practical relationships with their individual countries of origin.

In addition to the development of clearly defined acculturation strategies, the growth and

organization of the Bloomington-Normal Islamic community facilitated greater opportunities for

the preemptive implementation of communal defense strategies. Because the relationship

between area Muslims and other portions of the local population is generally amicable,

communal defense efforts have centered on mainstream community education and inter-faith

dialogue. MSA and ICBN leaders take an active part in this project by maintaining open

relations with area churches and organizing lectures explaining the central teachings of Islam and

its relationship to other Abrahamic traditions. Demand for such forms of religious dialogue only

increased after the 9/11 terrorist attacks as area residents looked to the local Muslim community

to dispel sensationalistic reports in the national news media. All of these activities act to

strengthen the relationship between the ICBN and the mainstream population of Bloomington-

Normal and help build a tolerant and welcoming religious community where recourse to more

overt methods of communal defense remains unnecessary.

As this account of community building and communal defense in the Bloomington-

Normal Islamic population suggests, group size and resources have been most important to the

development and implementation of clear and effective Muslim acculturation strategies. Group

strategies for maintaining a traditional Islamic cultural and religious outlook through education,

diet, ethnicity, and relationship with immigrant countries of origin largely reflect established

theoretical patterns. However, the small size of the Bloomington-Normal Islamic community

prevents the "denominalization" observed in many other American cities with larger Muslim

populations. This affects group acculturation strategies by promoting a more generic brand of

Islam that can better serve the diverse local Islamic community and project a unified Muslim

image in the Bloomington-Normal religious landscape. This is most clearly seen by comparing

theoretical observations about mosques across the country with a detailed examination of

religious and social life in the Islamic Center of Bloomington-Normal.

Dan Glade

Illinois Wesleyan University
Honors Thesis

Mosques in America

Life in the United States presents a multitude of new problems for immigrant Muslims and their families. Often, services taken for granted in Muslim majority countries become central to the maintenance of Islamic identity in America. Without family and traditional social support structures helping to preserve daily Muslim life and deal with emergency situations in the American context, immigrant Muslims increasingly turn to mosques as their sole provider of Islamic support. This situation has acted to transform both internal mosque dynamics and Muslim relations with the American religious mainstream as Islamic communities dramatically expand the traditional prayer-centered role of mosques to include services like counseling, youth and continuing education, entertainment, marriage ceremonies, and funerals. Examining how the expansion of community services in these four areas has affected Muslim communities in America reveals much about the changing purpose of mosques in the Western context.

Before discussing how mosques have changed in the United States, it is important to note the continuing centrality of prayer in American Islamic centers. Mosques traditionally provide a location where the five daily prayers described in the Qur'an and established by the Pillars of Islam can be properly observed. American mosques also preserve the important tradition of community-wide weekly gatherings for *Jamu'a* prayers and the *kutba* or sermon held each Friday afternoon. The proper maintenance of such vital ritual activity represents the most significant function of mosques in the United States and forms a central component of American Islamic identity in relation to the worldwide Muslim *umma*. Although the function of American

mosques is undoubtedly undergoing a process of rapid transformation, this important aspect of

Islamic life must be recognized for its continuity.

The expanded role of the *imam* or prayer leader represents perhaps the most dramatic

institutional transformation in American Islam. Because religious communities often form social

support networks for Muslim immigrants without family or friends already in the United States,

imams are expected to fill pastoral and leadership roles that they are seldom trained for.

Immigrant Muslims recognize Jewish and Christian efforts to serve community members

through pastoral and social counseling networks and expect similar services through local

mosques. In her analysis of this situation, Smith notes that *imams* "must often...provide pastoral

care and counseling for congregants with particular needs, visit the sick and elderly, [and]

organize the community in cleaning up neighborhoods from drugs and other illicit activities"

(Smith, 1999: 157). Larger mosques with full-time *imams* often include such duties in the job

description of religious leaders. These developments are indicative of general trends in

American Islam as mosques increasingly mimic church efforts at social and cultural

programming (Smith, 1999: 157).

In addition to serving as counselor, American *imams* are often expected to oversee both

youth and continuing education programs. Because of the secularized nature of American public

education, most community leaders quickly recognize the value of supplementary Islamic

instruction to instilling traditional Islamic values in youth. Islamic youth education programs

range from simple weekly classes to large day-schools where certified instructors teach both

religious and secular subjects. Recent trends in Islamic education highlight the importance of

Islamic alternatives to public schooling, and large mosques with extensive resources often run

full-time primary and secondary schools for community youth (Smith, 1999: 127-128).

Continuing religious instruction for adult Muslims comprises a secondary priority for

many Islamic centers. In these programs, practical application of the Islamic lifestyle in the

American context is often stressed. Community leaders run lectures on topics ranging from

Qur'an recitation and *da'wa*[10] to political involvement and Islamic investment. Such programs

aid individual immigrant Muslims in maintaining an Islamic lifestyle in the American setting and

increase communal solidarity on fine issues of Muslim practice.

The role of mosques as social centers arguably pre-dates their religious use in the United

States. When non-English speaking Muslims first began immigrating to America in the early

twentieth century, they often built social centers where community members could gather for

both religious ritual and entertainment. Even after the religious component of these buildings

was neglected, they continued to serve as entertainment and meeting centers for the local

community (Denny, 1994: 356). Today, mosques are undeniably religious in both organization

and function; however, their social contribution to Muslim life in America remains significant.

On Muslim holidays when the entire Islamic community attends festival services, non-English

speaking immigrants and women use mosques as outlets for much needed social interaction that

is often impossible in other areas of life. Muslim friendships are encouraged among mosque

children and older youth may look to the local Islamic community for suitable marriage partners

(Smith, 1999: 122-123). Men enjoy the opportunity to discuss politics or business from an

Islamic perspective and cement new social relationships outside the workplace. All of these

social interactions combine to improve the quality of life for individual Muslim immigrant

families and ultimately contribute to strengthening the cultural and religious identity of the

mosque community.

---

[10] The Arabic term *da'wa* refers to the Muslim commitment to share the Islamic faith with non-believers.

The practice of holding marriages and funeral services at mosques also represents an expansion of services offered by American Muslim centers. In Islamic countries, both these services are traditionally performed outside the mosque by Muslim government or social agencies. However, many Muslims in America have turned to their local mosques to fill these needed roles in the absence such institutions. Muslim communities throughout the United States have responded to the marriage problem by encouraging *imams* to gain the legal authority to grant marriage licenses. McCloud even cites one Chicago mosque that "has recently increased its classes to include counseling for married couples" (McCloud, 2003: 171). Mosques have similarly responded to demands for funeral services by purchasing land for Islamic cemeteries and training *imams* to perform burial rites. Although federal law prohibits some traditional burial practices, mosque leaders work to ensure that the deceased are interred following Islamic regulations as closely as possible. The addition of marriage and funeral rites in Islamic centers in the United States signals an expanded view of the purpose of mosques in the American religious context, and without acceptable Islamic alternatives to provide services for important life events, the responsibility and significance of mosques to American Muslim life will continue to grow.

The affect of such extended services on internal mosque dynamics also represents an interesting topic worthy of some examination. In particular, control over the implementation of community services can contribute to mosque-wide ethnic, political, and gender tensions. Ethnic tensions most often arise when sectarian and culturally specific versions of Islam are implemented in prayer services or educational programs. Use of specific languages or Islamic schools of thought, for example, often serves to propagate pre-existent ethnic divisions in mosques. Political preference can also become an issue for mosques with large and diverse

Muslim populations. This is because many immigrants disagree over basic issues like whether it

is *haram* or forbidden to participate in American politics. Beyond such questions, American

Muslims hold a diverse array of political views—from the generally liberal African-American

community to socially conservative Arab-Americans. As a result of this diversity, it is difficult

to maintain broad political alignment, and many Islamic communities favor non-partisan issue-

oriented political participation (Saeed 2002: 49-51).

Gender debates compose a final area of internal mosque conflict as Muslim communities

strive to negotiate a place for Islamic ideology in relation to Western feminist discourse. While

many conservative mosques continue to define women's roles in terms of "gender

complementarity"[11] (Palmer, 1994: 10), other more progressive Muslims are striving to redefine

feminism as a tradition that "[navigates] the terrain between being critical of sexist

interpretations of Islam and patriarchy in...religious communities while simultaneously

criticizing neo-colonial feminist discourses on Islam" (Shaikh, 2003: 154). Although debates

over ethnic, political, and gender related topics represent just three contested areas in American

mosques, they provide insight into the types of internal debate helping to define contemporary

Islam in the United States and reveal how the shortsighted implementation services can produce

fissures in Muslim community life.

Efforts to build an independent and autonomous Islamic community also affect the

relationship between mosques and mainstream religious America. Especially since the 9/11

terrorist attacks, mosque leaders have become increasingly conscious of anti-Muslim sentiment

and the importance of positive community reception to the successful development of American

Islam. Reflecting this concern, community leaders often speak of the importance of community

---

[11] According to Palmer's analysis of women's roles in new religious movements, sex complementarity argues for sexual equality by asserting that men and women perform different but equal and interdependent social and religious roles.

service and right action as forms of *da'wa*. According to such an understanding, all Muslims

share equal responsibility for combating anti-Muslim sentiment through proper living, interfaith

action, and religious cooperation (Voll, 1991: 212-213). Responses to this charge vary widely

by context, but in general, Muslims in the United States have been astoundingly active in their

community relations efforts over recent years. Many hope that continued efforts will eventually

yield a permanent place for Islam in the mainstream American religious landscape.

Contemporary developments in American mosques ultimately reflect Muslim attempts to

negotiate life in the United States as a religious minority. One way that many Islamic

communities have reacted to a shortage of appropriate Muslim institutions is by expanding the

role of mosques to offer services such as counseling, youth and continuing education,

entertainment, marriage ceremonies, and funerals. This expansion affects internal mosque

dynamics as members struggle to define mosque services in terms of ethnicity, politics, and

gender. Finally, external community relations contribute to these identity debates as American

Muslims turn to *da'wa* and community service to secure a positive place for Islam in the

American religious milieu. Comparing these broad observations about American mosques to

developments in the ICBN will help facilitate a more specific understanding of how

institutionalized Islam develops in smaller communities by clarifying the relationship between

such small scale institutions and scholarly assumptions about mosques in the United States.

The Islamic Center of Bloomington-Normal

Muslims living in Bloomington-Normal confront challenges similar to those faced by Islamic communities in other parts of the United States. Like other Islamic centers, the ICBN has expanded its programming far beyond traditional mosque roles in response to popular complaints regarding the difficulty of obtaining Islamic services in the Bloomington-Normal area. However, the small size and relatively limited resources of the Bloomington-Normal Muslim population means that mosque-sponsored services are inherently limited. Exploring Muslim attitudes toward six mosque roles including prayer, counseling, education, entertainment, marriage ceremonies, and funeral rites helps create an accurate picture of how the ICBN functions. Further, the implementation of these services affects important internal and external community dynamics that deserve brief attention. The analysis of Muslim attitudes regarding each of these topics reveals much about Islam in the Bloomington-Normal context and facilitates comparison between local and national Islamic trends.

As in other mosques located across the United States, ritual prayer remains a central and defining characteristic of the ICBN. Small groups of members regularly meet at the mosque to observe the each of the five daily prayers required by Muslim law. In addition to these small gatherings, Friday services attract between sixty and eighty members each week to pray and listen to the *imam* deliver his *kutba*. Such gatherings reinforce the communal identity of members and help project a Muslim presence on the local religious landscape. As an institution founded under the auspices of submission and service to God, the religious function of prayer should not be overlooked as the most essential component of Muslim life at the ICBN.

The small size of the ICBN limits its ability to fulfill emergency assistance and counseling roles for members. Unlike large mosques with greater financial resources and full-time staff, the ICBN employs a part-time *imam* who presides at official community functions. Because this *imam* must also maintain a day job, the mosque is unable to provide pastoral style counseling services. Instead, the small and intimate nature of the local Muslim population fulfills some of these needs by creating a community dynamic where members can look after one another in times of need. Emergency support and advice provided through these informal networks helps sustain community members and produce a closely woven family atmosphere at the mosque.

ICBN members have been more successful in their efforts to create viable Islamic education programs. Currently, the ICBN runs an Islamic Sunday school where children of various ages study basic Islamic subjects to gain a comprehensive background in the Muslim faith. The mosque also offers weekly new-member classes on Saturday afternoons and continuing education sessions on Sunday nights for adult members wishing to learn more about their religion. Because many members feel that weekly youth classes are insufficient for proper religious education, Muslim instruction is supplemented and reinforced at home by individual families. Some members favor the implementation of a daily after-school program, but current mosque resources preclude such an option. Aside from the financial impossibility of creating a full-time Muslim day school, many ICBN members question the quality of education received in private Islamic schools and prefer the superior resources offered by public schooling. Thus, financial constraints and a popular confidence in public education combine in the Bloomington-Normal Muslim population to create a unique educational position that contradicts scholarly descriptions of national attitudes toward full-time Islamic day schools.

Although the primary function of the ICBN is always religious, the mosque also serves as an important venue for Muslim entertainment and socialization. Friday services bring together men and women from across the Bloomington-Normal area who spend considerable time socializing both before and after group prayer. Children find their own opportunities to socialize with their Muslim peers during Sunday Islamic school, and gatherings throughout the month of Ramadan and during Islamic holidays provide frequent opportunities for Muslim socialization. During Ramadan, small groups meet at the ICBN around sunset to break the daily fast in fellowship according to Muslim tradition. Major holidays motivate hundreds of Muslims from Bloomington-Normal and surrounding communities to gather for feasting and celebration. Such events attempt to recreate the social atmosphere of religious celebrations in Muslim majority countries and provide important opportunities for entertainment and socialization in an Islamic context.

Marriages and funerals represent two final areas where the ICBN is attempting to expand services. The ICBN's current *imam* is not properly qualified to perform wedding ceremonies, and there seems to be little need for such services in the community at present. However, as a sort of extended family, the mosque community is often invited to receptions and wedding celebrations. Mosque leaders attempted to ascertain community interest in Islamic burial services in a recent general survey by asking members to contribute to the purchase of a group burial plot. Although low ICBN membership figures and the expense of buying a burial plot may limit the success of such an endeavor, the fact that community leadership is actively pursuing Muslim burial services indicates a growing effort to support all aspects of Islamic life at the ICBN.

Internal community dynamics at the ICBN are generally quite peaceful, but members

occasionally differ in opinion about the availability and implementation of mosque services.

Education provides a context where ethnic differences translate into disagreements over

curricular policy. This trend is visible when Arab and South Asian members of the mosque

community disagree about the importance of Arabic language instruction in youth education.

Currently, English instruction offers the most efficient way to teach second generation children

learning in the United States, but individual families often supplement Islamic school classes

with language and cultural lessons in order to preserve specific ethnic versions of Islam. This

approach reflects a compromise between the various cultures represented at the mosque;

however, the effectiveness of such a strategy at the ICBN will not be clear for many years.

Leaders at the ICBN strive to create a community atmosphere that is acceptable and

welcoming to members holding diverse political and social views. By approaching social and

political questions from an otherworldly religious approach, mosque services are kept as

apolitical as possible. The ICBN disavows group identification with any one political party but

instead advocates an issues-based outlook that encourages independent political thought. Such

an approach ultimately helps keep prayer at the center of mosque life and Islamic identification

in Bloomington-Normal. The ICBN takes a similarly moderate approach to Muslim women's

roles in the community. Women take an active part in the ICBN leadership by serving on the

mosque board, teaching youth education classes, organizing community gatherings, and guiding

efforts expand mosque services. Beyond the mosque, some women pursue professional careers

while others fill more traditional domestic roles. Such diversity is outwardly displayed by the

way women members dress—with some arriving for prayer in elaborate *burkas* and others

donning business suits with loosely tied *hijabs*[12]. Overall, women's roles in the ICBN are directed more by individual family and cultural traditions than by Islamic law—a situation that is reinforced by leadership efforts to produce a generic multi-ethnic form of Islam that can accommodate diverse social and political backgrounds.

As the ICBN continues to grow and offer more services, it forms an increasingly large imprint in the religious landscape of Bloomington-Normal. Interfaith dialogue with area churches and *da'wa* inspired community service efforts form a major part of mosque activities and greatly improve local Christian-Muslim relations. This became most evident after the 9/11 terrorist attacks when local Christians wrote newspapers in defense of area Muslims and helped secure the ICBN building against vandal attacks[13]. Active efforts at interfaith understanding by both Churches and the ICBN have yielded a positive reception for Muslims living in Bloomington-Normal—even as sensational reports condemning Arab violence increase in the national media. The ongoing challenge of maintaining a positive relationship with non-Muslim Bloomington-Normal residents as the ICBN continues to grow will test the resources of the local Muslim population. However, current ICBN efforts indicate that positive community relations are a mosque priority as area Muslims struggle to secure an enduring place for themselves in the local religious landscape.

Expansion of services in the ICBN mirrors broad national trends in some ways while diverging from them in others. Community approaches toward prayer, counseling, education, entertainment, marriage ceremonies, and funeral rites indicate a need for greater availability of Islamic services in the United States, but these approaches are often tempered by limited

---

[12] The *burka* and *hijab* are two traditional but contested forms of female Islamic dress. *Burkas* are loosely fitting robes that completely cover the body and conceal the face and hair. *Hijabs* are scarves that cover the hair or hair and face.

[13] In the month following the September 11th terrorist attacks, twenty articles defending the ICBN specifically or American Muslims generally appeared in Bloomington-Normal's main newspaper, the *Pantagraph*.

community resources and ideological concerns regarding the appropriateness of such services in

the mosque setting. Limited resources and the lack of a full-time *imam* preclude the

establishment professional pastoral style counseling and marriage services while general

community satisfaction with local public education renders efforts to create a full-time Islamic

school unnecessary. Meanwhile the ICBN has followed national trends more closely in its

approach to prayer and entertainment and its project to offer Muslim funeral services.

Altogether, trends in the local Muslim community reveal that theoretical conclusions about

mosques in the American context are only partially useful to understanding developments in the

ICBN.

Conclusions

By alternating between describing patterns of minority religious survival prevalent in

American Muslim communities and those used by the ICBN, this study attempts to

comparatively evaluate the usefulness of established theoretical models in describing smaller

Muslim populations. Four theoretical models evaluated include the American *umma*,

"protestantization of religious thought," "denominalization" of Islamic practice, and progressive

Islam. Each is indirectly observed through historical accounts of the development of American

Islam and Islam in Bloomington-Normal. This is followed by a comparison between

developments within American mosques generally and the ICBN specifically. The results of

such analysis reveal certain inconsistencies between broad theories describing Islamic

acculturation and actual experiences in the ICBN. Although scholarly assumptions about the

American *umma* and progressive Islam seem accurate, inconsistencies involving issues of the

"protestantization of religious thought" and the "denominalization" of Islamic practice may point

to fundamental differences between Islamic acculturation in small and large Muslim

communities.

Traditional theories describing "protestantization" and "denominalization" place the two

terms on opposite ends of a continuum of acculturation attitudes. At one end, "protestantization"

depicts Muslim communities abandoning established legalistic schools of Islamic thought in

favor of individualized and contextualized Islamic interpretations. Conversely, theorists favoring

"denominalization" predict a cultural splintering within the American Muslim community as a

growing Islamic population and increasing community resources facilitate the creation of

ethnically defined mosques. Although both these phenomena are occurring elsewhere in the

United States, the Bloomington-Normal community has resisted classification in either of these

two acculturation models. Instead, ICBN members attempt to negotiate a middle path where

culturally specific Islamic interpretations are valued alongside a broad interest in maintaining

communal solidarity.

This middle path is represented by a new inclusivist theory of mosque development.

Similar to efforts to accommodate diversity in many American Hindu temples where leaders

advocate the inclusion of different religious and ritual forms in a single community, Muslims

following the inclusivist model strive to recognize diverse forms of Islamic thought in a single

mosque. This type of religious inclusion differs from "denominalization" because no one type of

Islam is favored over any other. Mosque leaders actively work to acknowledge the divergent

cultural, legal, and ethnic traditions present within the community by highlighting them in

services and explaining them to rest of the group. Similarly, the inclusivist model differs from

"protestantization" because it advocates the public maintenance of diverse religious beliefs.

Mosque leaders working under this model attempt to create a generic base of Islamic belief that

allows diverse individual religious interpretations to be publicly maintained and recognized.

Instead of encouraging the compartmentalization of culturally or regionally specific religious

forms, the inclusivist model encourages their public co-existence within a single mosque.

The limited human and financial resources of the ICBN encourage inclusivism by

discouraging internal ethnic disputes and producing an intimate family atmosphere within the

mosque. New members entering the ICBN quickly recognize the importance of emphasizing

Islamic solidarity while maintaining cultural and ethnic diversity. Perhaps more importantly, the

ICBN leaders I interviewed worried that "denominalization" and "protestantization" actually

weakened the American Muslim community by preventing inter-ethnic dialogue and

understanding. The inclusivist model ultimately allows the ICBN to defend internal diversity

while promoting Islamic unity on both local and national levels. Further, because mosques in

small to moderate sized towns across America operate under similar conditions, the example of

the Bloomington-Normal Muslim community may indicate the importance of the inclusivist

model as an alternative to the currently polarized notions of "protestantization" and

"denominalization."

The small size of the Bloomington-Normal Muslim population and relatively recent

creation of the ICBN as an organized religious institution make the conclusions of this paper

somewhat tentative. Because collecting a mosque-wide survey was not advised by ICBN

leadership, observations in this paper reflect the individual testimonies of longtime community

members and religious leaders. Consequently, the data is somewhat skewed away from new

members who may hold different perspectives concerning future mosque developments. The

ICBN is also a relatively young institution that is still working to find its niche in both the local

religious landscape and American Islam; therefore, revision of the conclusions of this paper may

become necessary as the community continues to grow and change.

Because the ICBN represents a vibrant and continually transforming religious center,

opportunities for further study of the community are abundant. More in depth analysis on topics

like gender roles and socioeconomic positioning could facilitate a greater understanding of

internal mosque dynamics at the ICBN. Also, surveys centered on communal defense strategies

and interfaith activity would help create a more accurate picture of the relationship between the

ICBN and mainstream religion in Bloomington-Normal. However, prolonged studies with

sustained data collection are most needed to help observe more subtle trends in the development

of this relatively new religious center.

Despite the need for further scholarly analysis, this study is useful for its preliminary

conclusions about the development of Islam in Bloomington-Normal in relation to broader

national level theories of American Muslim acculturation. The distinctive development of

smaller Muslim communities like the ICBN represents a significant yet under-examined aspect

of Islam in the United States. By exploring the acculturation experiences of such communities,

scholars can build more inclusive religious acculturation theories and better understand the how

minority religions struggle to survive in the midst of American assimilationist pressures.

Appendix A: Interview Questions

Demographics
1. What is your nationality?

2. What is your age?

3. What is your profession

4. How many years have you been a member of this mosque?

5. What other mosques have you belonged to?

Lifestyle
1. Is it difficult to follow an Islamic lifestyle in Bloomington-Normal?

2. How often do you attend mosque?

3. How often do you perform the *rikat*?

4. Do you follow *halal* food restrictions?

5. What is the availability of *halal* food in the area?

6. Do you attend functions where alcohol is served?

7. Are people generally aware of Islamic food restrictions?

8. Do you follow laws regarding the *zakat*?

9. How do you practice *da'wa*?

10. Have you been on the *haaj*?

11. Do you wear distinctively Islamic dress in public? If so, what has been its reception?

12. Has your ability to lead an Islamic lifestyle changed since 9/11?

Education
1. Do you have children?

2. Do your children attend public schools?

3. Has Islam or ethnicity ever caused problems for your children in public schools?

4. Do the Bloomington-Normal schools ever teach Islamic subjects?

5. How do you feel about mixed gender classrooms?

6. How do your children learn about Islamic religious laws and customs?

7. Do your children participate in educational programs at the ICBN?

8. Do your children speak any languages other than English?

9. Has the mosque ever sponsored cultural or religious fieldtrips or camps?

10. Does your child have many Islamic friends?

11. What developments in education would you like to see at the ICBN in the future?

Holidays

1. Do you celebrate secular Christmas?

2. How do you address public treatments of the Christmas season?

3. What do you do for the *Eid* celebrations?

4. What does the ICBN do for *Eid* celebrations?

5. How do your children feel about the Muslim holidays?

Mosque Dynamics

1. What is the ethnic composition of the ICBN?

2. How is the difference between Islamic law and ethnic customs mediated at the ICBN?

3. Do many converts belong to the ICBN?

4. How do converts fit into the general atmosphere of the ICBN?

5. Has your conception of Islam changed since coming to America?

6. Has your conception of religion changed since coming to America?

7. What sorts of developments do you foresee in American Islam in the next 20 years?

8. Has American life affected your children's conception of Islam?

9. What sort of Islam would you like to transmit to your children?

10. Has the ICBN been helpful in transmitting Islam to your children?

11. What could the ICBN do to facilitate this process better?

Bibliography

Abu-Laban, Sharon McIrvin. (1991). "Family and Religion Among Muslim Immigrants and their Descendants." In Earle H Waugh, Sharon McIrvin Abu-Laban, and Regula Burchkhardt Qureshi (Eds.), *Muslim Families in North America* (pp. 12-26). Edmonton: University of Alberta Press.

Ahmed, Gutbi Mahdi. (1991). "Muslim Organizations in the United States." In Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad (Ed.), *The Muslims of America* (pp. 11-24). New York: Oxford University Press.

Al-Shingiety, Abubaker Y. (1991). "The Muslim as the 'Other': Representation and Self-Image of the Muslims of North America." In Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad (Ed.), *The Muslims of America* (pp. 53-64). New York: Oxford University Press.

Badr, Hoda. (2000). "Al-Noor Mosque: Strength Through Unity." In Helen Rose Ebaugh and Janet Saltzman Chafetz (Eds.), *Religion and the New Immigrants: Continuities and Adaptations in Immigrant Congregations* (pp. 193-228). Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Barazangi, Nimat Hafex. (1991). "Islamic Education in the United States and Canada: Conception and Practice of the Islamic Belief System." In Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad (Ed.), *The Muslims of America* (pp. 157-176). New York: Oxford University Press.

Cesari, Jocelyne. (2002). "Islam in France: The Shaping of a Religious Minority." In Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad (Ed.), *Muslims in the West: From Sojourners to Citizens* (pp. 36-51). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dannin, Robert M. (2002). "The Greatest Migration?" In Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad and Jane I. Smith (Eds.), *Muslim Minorities in the West: Visible and Invisible* (pp. 59-76). Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Darrow, William R. (1987). "Ummah." In Mircea Eliade (Ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (pp. 123-125). New York: Macmillan Publishing Company.

David, Gary and Kenneth K. Ayouby. (2002). "Being Arab and Becoming Americanized: Forms of Mediated Assimilation in Metropolitan Detroit." In Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad and Jane I. Smith (Eds.), *Muslim Minorities in the West: Visible and Invisible* (pp. 125-144). Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Denny, Frederick Mathewson. (1994). *An Introduction to Islam.* New York: Macmillan Publishing Co.

Diouf, Sylviane. (2002). "Invisible Muslims: The Sahelians in France." In Yvonne Yazbeck
     Haddad and Jane I. Smith (Eds.), *Muslim Minorities in the West: Visible and Invisible* (pp.
     145-160). Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Ebaugh, Helen Rose and Janet Saltzman Chafetz. (2000). "Part III: Thematic Issues." In Helen
     Rose Ebaugh and Janet Saltzman Chafetz (Eds.), *Religion and the New Immigrants:
     Continuities and Adaptations in Immigrant Congregations* (pp. 325-464). Walnut Creek,
     CA: AltaMira Press.

Eck, Diana L. (2001). *A New Religious America: How a "Christian Country" Has Now
     Become the World's MostReligiously Diverse Nation.* San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco.

Economic Development Council of the Bloomington-Normal Area. (2004). *2004 Demographic
     Profile.* Bloomington, IL: Economic Development Council of the Bloomington-Normal
     Area.

Esack, Farid. (2003). "In Search of Progressive Islam Beyond 9/11." In Omid Safi (Ed.),
     Progressive Muslims: On Justice, Gender, and Pluralism (pp. 78-97). Oxford: One World
     Publications.

Esposito, John L. and John O. Voll. (2001). *Makers of Contemporary Islam.* Oxford: Oxford
     University Press.

Fandy, Mamoun. (2002). "Interface Between Community and State: U.S. Policy Toward the
     Islamists." In Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad (Ed.), *Muslims in the West: From Sojourners to
     Citizens* (pp. 205-217). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Griggs, Khalid Fattah. (2002). "Islamic Party in North America: A Quiet Storm of Political
     Activism." In Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad and Jane I. Smith (Eds.), *Muslim Minorities in the
     West: Visible and Invisible* (pp. 77-106). Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Haddad, Yvonne Yazbeck. (2000). "At Home in the *Hijra*: South Asian Muslims in the United
     States." In Harold Coward, John R. Hinnells, and Raymond Brady Williams (Eds.), *The
     South Asian Religious Diaspora inBritain, Canada, and the United States* (pp. 239-258).
     Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Haddad, Yvonne Yazbeck and Jane Idleman Smith. (1993). *Mission to America: Five Islamic
     Sectarian Communities in North America.* Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida.

Hasan, Asma Gull. (2000). *American Muslims: The New Generation.* New York: Continuum.

Heisler, Barbara Schmitter. (1986). "Transnational Migration and the Emergence of New
     Minorities." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 485, (pp.
     76-86).

Hermansen, Marcia. (1991). "Two-Way Acculturation: Muslim Women in American Between Individual Choice (Liminality) and Community Affiliation (Communitas)." In Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad (Ed.), *The Muslims of America* (pp. 188-204). New York: Oxford University Press.

——————. (2003). "How to Put the Genie Back in the Bottle? 'Identity' Islam and Muslim Youth Cultures in America." In Omid Safi (Ed.), *Progressive Muslims: On Justice, Gender, and Pluralism* (pp.306-319). Oxford: One World Publications.

Hussain, Amir. (2003). "Muslims, Pluralism, and Interfaith Dialogue." In Omid Safi (Ed.), *Progressive Muslims: On Justice, Gender, and Pluralism* (pp. 251-269). Oxford: One World Publications.

Inayatullah, Sohail and Gail Boxwell. (2003). "Introduction: The *Other* Futurist." In Sohail Inayatullah and Gail Boxwell (Eds.), *Islam Postmodernism and Other Futures: A Ziauddin Sardar Reader* (pp. 1-26). London: Pluto Press.

Jasso, Guillermina, Douglas S. Massey, Mark R. Rosenzweig, and James P. Smith. (2003). "Exploring the Religious Preferences of Recent Immigrants to the United States: Evidence from the New Immigrant Survey Pilot." In Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, Jane I. Smith, and John L. Esposito (Eds.), *Religion and Immigration: Christian, Jewish, and Muslim Experiences in the United States* (pp. 217-254). Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Karim, Karim H. (2002). "Crescent Dawn in the Great White North: Muslim Participation in the Canadian Public Sphere." In Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad (Ed.), *Muslims in the West: From Sojourners to Citizens* (pp. 262-277). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Khan, M.A. Muqtedar. (2003). "Constructing the American Muslim Community." In Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, Jane I. Smith, and John L. Esposito (Eds.), *Religion and Immigration: Christian, Jewish, and Muslim Experiences in the United States* (pp. 175-198). Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Kramer, Michael P. (2000). "Beyond Ambivalence: (Re)imagining Jewish American Culture; Or "Isn't that the way the old assimilated story goes?" *American Jewish History*, 88, (pp. 407-415).

Kraut, Benny. (1998). "Jewish Survival in Protestant America." In Jonathan D. Sarna (Ed.), *Minority Faiths and the American Protestant Mainstream* (pp. 15-60). Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Kugle, Scott Siraj al-Haqq. (2003). "Sexuality, Diversity and Ethics in the Agenda of Progressive Muslims." In Omid Safi (Ed.), *Progressive Muslims: On Justice, Gender, and Pluralism* (pp. 190-234). Oxford: One World Publications.

Leonard, Karen. (2002). "South Asian Leadership of American Muslims." In Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad (Ed.), *Muslims in the West: From Sojourners to Citizens* (pp. 233-249). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lewis, Philip. (1996). "Being Muslim and Being British: The Dynamics of Islamic construction in Bradford." In Roger Ballard (Ed.), *Desh Pardesh: The South Asian Presence in Britain* (pp. 58-87). New Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corp.

——————. (2002) *Islamic Britain: Religion, Politics and Identity Among British Muslims: Bradford in the 1980s.* London: I.B. Tauris and Company, Ltd.

Lofti, Abdul Hamid. (2002). "Spreading the Word: Communicating Islam in America." Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad and Jane I. Smith (Eds.), *Muslim Minorities in the West: Visible and Invisible* (pp. 3-24). Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

MacDonald, John S. and Leatrice D. MacDonald. (1964). "Chain Migration, Ethnic Neighborhood Formation and Social Networks." *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, 42, (pp. 82-97).

Mattson, Ingrid. (2003). "How Muslims Use Islamic Paradigms to Define America." In Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, Jane I. Smith, and John L. Esposito (Eds.), *Religion and Immigration: Christian, Jewish, and Muslim Experiences in the United States* (pp. 199-216). Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

McCloud, (Aminah Beverly/Beverly Thomas). (1991). "African-American Muslim Women." In Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad (Ed.), *The Muslims of America* (pp. 177-187). New York: Oxford University Press.

——————. (2003). "Islam in America: The Mosaic." In Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, Jane I. Smith, and John L. Esposito (Eds.), *Religion and Immigration: Christian, Jewish, and Muslim Experiences in the United States* (pp. 159-174). Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

McDonough, Sheila. (2000). "The Muslims of Canada." In Harold Coward, John R. Hinnells, and Raymond Brady Williams (Eds.), *The South Asian Religious Diaspora in Britain, Canada, and the United States* (pp. 173-190). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Moussalli, Ahmad S. (2003). "Islamic Democracy and Pluralism." In Omid Safi (Ed.), *Progressive Muslims: On Justice, Gender, and Pluralism* (pp. 286-305). Oxford: One World Publications.

Moore, Kathleen. (1991). "Muslims in Prison: Claims to Constitutional Protection of Religious Liberty." In Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad (Ed.), *The Muslims of America* (pp. 136-156). New York: Oxford University Press.

—————————. (2002). "The Politics of Transfiguration: Constitutive Aspects of the International Religious Freedom Act of 1998." In Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad and Jane I. Smith (Eds.), *Muslim Minorities in the West: Visible and Invisible* (pp. 25-38). Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

—————————. (2002). "Representation of Islam in the Language of Law: Some Recent U.S. Cases." In Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad (Ed.), *Muslims in the West: From Sojourners to Citizens* (pp. 187-204). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Moore, R. Laurence. (1986). *Religious Outsiders and the making of Americans*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Nielsen, Jørgen S. (1992). *Muslims in Western Europe*. Edinburgh, U.K.: Edinburgh University Press.

—————————. (2000). "Muslims in Britain: Ethnic Minorities, Community, or Ummah?" In Harold Coward, John R. Hinnells, and Raymond Brady Williams (Eds.), *The South Asian Religious Diaspora in Britain, Canada, and the United States* (pp. 109-126). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Nimer, Mohamed. (2002). "Muslims in American Public Life." In Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad (Ed.), *Muslims in the West: From Sojourners to Citizens* (pp. 169-186). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Noor, Farish A. (2003). "What is the Victory of Islam? Towards a Different Understanding of the *Ummah* and Politcal Success in the Contemporary World." In Omid Safi (Ed.), *Progressive Muslims: On Justice, Gender, and Pluralism* (pp. 320-332). Oxford: One World Publications.

Nyang, Sulayman S. (2002). "Continental African Muslim Immigrants in the United States: A Historical and Sociological Perspective." In Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad (Ed.), *Muslims in the West: From Sojourners to Citizens* (pp. 250-261). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Palmer, Susan Jean. (1994). *Moon Sisters, Krishna Mothers, Rajneesh Lovers: Women's Roles in New Religions*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Prothero, Stephen. (2003). *American Jesus: How the Son of God Became a National Icon*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Ramadan, Tariq. (1999). *Muslims in France: The Way Towards Coexistence*. Leicester, U.K.: The Islamic Foundation.

—————————. (1999). *To be a European Muslim: A Study of Islamic Sources in the European Context*. Leicester, U.K.: The Islamic Foundation.

——————. (2002). "Islam and Muslims in Europe: A Silent Revolution Toward Rediscovery." In Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad (Ed.), *Muslims in the West: From Sojourners to Citizens* (pp. 158-168). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

——————. (2004). *Western Muslims and the Future of Islam*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rashid, Hakim M. and Zakayyah Muhammad. (1992). "The Sister Clara Muhammad Schools: Pioneers in the Development of Islamic Education in America." *Journal of Negro Education*, 61, (pp. 178-185).

Robinson, Francis. (2005). "Other-Worldly and This-Worldly Piety and the Islamic Revival." Presented in the Center for Advanced Study/Millercomm Lecture Series at University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign. Urbana, IL. January 31, 4:00 pm.

Roy, Olivier. (2004). *Globalized Islam: The Search for a New Ummah*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Saeed, Agha. (2002). "The American Muslim Paradox." In Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad and Jane I. Smith (Eds.), *Muslim Minorities in the West: Visible and Invisible* (pp. 39-58). Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Sardar, Ziauddin. (2003). Selected Readings. In Sohail Inayatullah and Gail Boxwell (Eds.), *Islam Postmodernism and Other Futures: A Ziauddin Sardar Reader* (pp. 27-349). London: Pluto Press.

Sarna, Jonathan D. (1998). "Introduction." In Jonathan D. Sarna (Ed.), *Minority Faiths and the American Protestant Mainstream* (pp. 1-14). Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Schmidt, Garbi. (2002). "The Complexity of Belonging: Sunni Muslims Immigrants in Chicago." In Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad and Jane I. Smith (Eds.), *Muslim Minorities in the West: Visible and Invisible* (pp. 107-124). Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Shaikh, Sa'diyya. (2003). "Transforming feminism: Islam, Women and Gender Justice." In Omid Safi (Ed.), *Progressive Muslims: On Justice, Gender, and Pluralism* (pp. 147-162). Oxford: One World Publications.

Shaw, Alison. (1996). "The Pakistani Community in Oxford." In Roger Ballard (Ed.), *Desh Pardesh: The South Asian Presence in Britain* (pp 35-57). New Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corp.

Sklare, Marshall. (1955). *Conservative Judaism*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Simmons, Gwendolyn Zoharah. (2003). "Are we up to the Challenge? The Need for a Radical Re-ordering of the Islamic Discourse on Women." In Omid Safi (Ed.), *Progressive Muslims: On Justice, Gender, and Pluralism* (pp. 235-250). Oxford: One World Publications.

Smith, Jane I. (1999). *Islam in America.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Stone, Carol L. (1991). "Estimate of Muslims Living in America." In Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad (Ed.), *The Muslims of America* (pp. 25-38). New York: Oxford University Press.

Takim, Liyakat. (2002). "Multiple Identities in a Pluralistic World: Shi'ism in America." In Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad (Ed.), *Muslims in the West: From Sojourners to Citizens* (pp. 218-232). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tibi, Bassam. (2001). *Islam: Between Culture and Politics.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan Ltd.

United States Census Bureau. (2005). *Your Gateway to the 2000 Census.* Retrieved April 20, 2005 from <<http://www.census.gov/main/www/cen2000.html>>.

Velcamp, Theresa Alfaro. (2002). "Mexican Muslims in the Twentieth Century: Challenging Stereotypes and Negotiating Space." In Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad (Ed.), *Muslims in the West: From Sojourners to Citizens* (pp. 278-292). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Vertovec, Steven. (2002). "Islamophobia and Muslim Recognition in Britain." In Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad (Ed.), *Muslims in the West: From Sojourners to Citizens* (pp. 19-35). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Voll, John O. (1991). "Islamic Issues for Muslims in the United States." In Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad (Ed.), *The Muslims of America* (pp. 205-216). New York: Oxford University Press.

————————. (2002). "Muslims in the Caribbean: Ethnic Sojourners and Citizens." In Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad and Jane I. Smith (Eds.), *Muslim Minorities in the West: Visible and Invisible* (pp. 265-278). Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Wadud, Amina. (2003). "American Muslim Identity: Race and Ethnicity in Progressive Islam." In Omid Safi (Ed.), *Progressive Muslims: On Justice, Gender, and Pluralism* (pp. 270-285). Oxford: One World Publications.

Waugh, Earl H. (1991). "North America and the Adaptation of the Muslim Tradition: Religion, Ethnicity, and the Family." In Earle H. Waugh, Sharon McIrvin Abu-Laban, and Regula Burckhardt Qureshi (Eds.), *Muslim Families in North America* (pp. 68-100). Edmonton, Alberta: The University of Alberta Press.

Wheeler, Brannon M. (1996). *Applying the Canon in Islam: The Authorization and Maintenance of Interpretive Reasoning in Hanafi Scholarship.* Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.