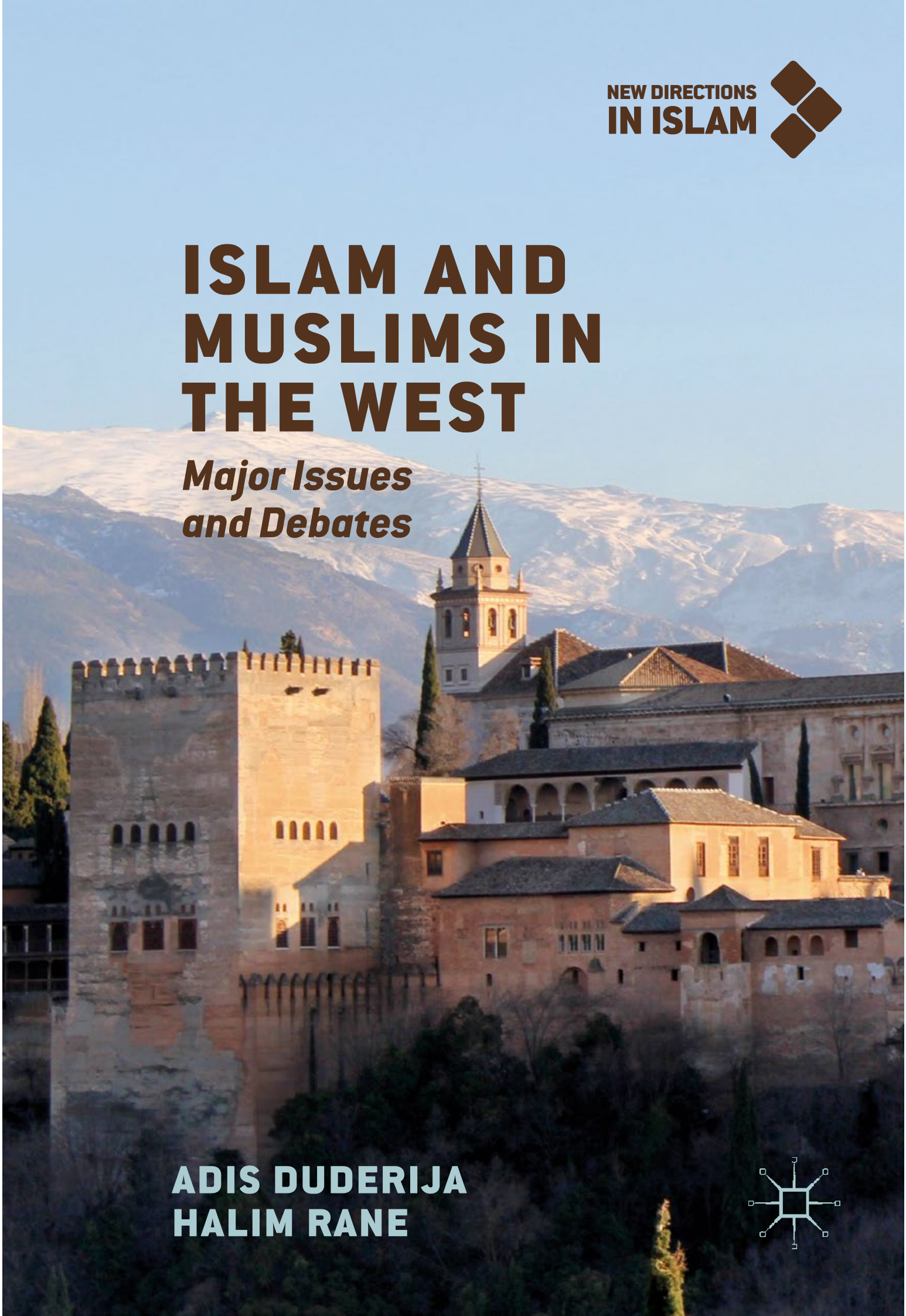
NEW DIRECTIONS IN ISLAM

ISLAM AND MUSLIMS IN THE WEST

Major Issues and Debates



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New Directions in Islam

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Islam is recognized as the world's fastest growing religion and is predicted to become the world's largest well before the end of this century. Key to the global growth of Islam has been its adaptation to local contexts; scholarship, however, has yet to catch up with these developments, especially outside the Middle East. The Palgrave New Directions in Islam series will promote creative ways of conceptualizing the practice of Islam in new, challenging contexts and will promote innovative and provocative interdisciplinary studies examining new intellectual, political, legal, economic, and demographic trajectories within Islam – very often based on these new local contexts. Islam is growing rapidly, but many Muslims now live in secular societies where Islam is a minority religion and where there is considerable social conflict between Muslim communities and the wider society. Therefore it is vital to engage with the multitude of ways by which Muslims are adapting as social and cultural minorities. How are they developing their faith in line with local and national customs? How are converts and subsequent generations adapting in these challenging contexts? While preparing to grapple with these problems from the perspective of different disciplines, this series at the theoretical level moves beyond dichotomies about radicalism, citizenship, and loyalty which limit the realm of contemporary inquiry. For this reason the series will move beyond the proliferation of descriptive and repetitive studies of Islamophobia and Orientalism which have become both negative and predictable. Rather, contrary to the perception of Muslims as victims of secular modernity, we are interested in 'success stories' of Muslims adapting in and contributing as citizens to society at local and national levels, such as the case of Muslim middle classes in Canada, the United States, South Africa, and Argentina. The series indeed will move beyond the geographic boundaries of the Middle East to examine Islam from a global perspective in vastly different contexts from Brazil to Vietnam and Austria to Papua New Guinea.

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Note on Transliteration

Given the non-specialist nature of the book and its intended readership, the Arabic and other foreign language terminology has only been placed in italics but not transliterated. The frequently used terms such as Qur'an and hadith have not been placed in italics.

Contents

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

This book examines the major issues and debates concerning Islam and Muslim communities in the West. Its focus is not confined to *Muslim communities* but extends to the manifestations of *Islam* in Western Muslim-minority contexts of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Our intention is to provide the reader with insights into the development of Islam as part of the lived experiences of Muslims in the West in response to developments in the broader Muslim world as well as the challenges and opportunities associated with various Western societies. The topics we address in this book reflect the major issues and debates in the extant scholarly literature on Islam and Muslims in the West, encompassing studies from Australia, Europe, and North America.

The story of Islam in the West could begin with the experiences of Muslims who, in some cases, arrived over a century ago and much earlier. These could include African Muslims brought to the USA as slaves or Afghans who were brought to Australia to work as cameleers. However, Muslim *communities* in the West tend to be established in the latter half of the twentieth century when many Western countries relaxed previous immigration restrictions allowing the migration of people from Muslim-majority countries. While there are a few studies that compare the experiences of early Muslim migrants in the USA (Howell 2014) and Australia (Rane et al. 2015), for instance, most scholarly research on Muslims in the West tends to focus on communities established from around the 1970s

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and later. The arrival of large numbers of Muslims at this time coincided with a shift towards more inclusive multicultural policies that extended the rights and freedoms enjoyed by established religious communities to newly emerging Muslim communities and others. Immigration and immigrant incorporation policies, particularly multiculturalism, resulted in a more visible presence of Islam in the West, which has since become a matter of public debate in many Western societies.

Significant social and political change in latter half of the twentieth century influenced both the role of Islam in Muslim societies and its perception in the West. Among the post-colonial generations of Muslims were those who sought to reclaim what they perceived to be an erosion of Islamic identity. They advocated for a more public and assertive role for Islam in society and politics. Governments across the Muslim world tended to respond to the wave of Islamic resurgence with a range of measures from symbolic gestures to the adoption of policies and laws demanded by Islamist groups and parties, which resulted in the propagation of neo-traditional/neo-classical interpretations of Islam that tended to be conservative, anti-Western, and politicised. Other means by which such interpretations of Islam were spread included the state-sponsored initiatives of countries such as Saudi Arabia to fund the building of mosques and schools, train imams, patronise Islamic organisations, and disseminate large volumes of literature aligned with the religious ideology of the state. Such manifestations of Islam as Saudi Wahhabism and Salafism more generally struck many Western observers as being antithetical to Western, liberal, secular, democratic models of governance and social organisation. To the extent that Muslims in the West have been associated with such an image of Islam, their acceptance in Western societies has been threatened.

The Islam(s) that came to be established in the West in the 1960s, 1970s, and after was/were influenced by the trends taking place in the broader Muslim world. Approaches to or manifestations of Islam more indigenous to Western societies are still emerging and compete with the more foreign-influenced Islam(s) that tend to be more established in the West and control key Islamic community institutions and infrastructure such as mosques and Islamic schools and organisations. The challenges Muslims face in the West are not restricted to relations with the state and wider society. Just as important are those taking place within Muslim communities between Muslims of various cultures, ideologies, and generations

concerning the appropriate understanding, place, and manifestation of Islam.

This book captures a key period in the still-unfolding story of Islam and Muslim communities in the West. The issues and debates examined in this book address the tensions and controversies that have arisen in the context of Western governments' policies concerning immigration and immigrant incorporation, the rights and freedoms of Western, liberal, secular democracies, and the challenges these present to and presented by late-twentieth/early twenty-first-century Islam and Muslim communities. Many of the issues and debates addressed in this book arose in the aftermath of the events of 11 September 2001 and subsequent terrorist attacks committed around the world under the banner of Islam. An association of Islam with violence and terrorism has shaped many of these issues and debates and influenced the perception of Muslim communities in the West and Muslim relations with wider society. Responses have ranged from highly constructive interfaith dialogue, critical reflection, and reform initiatives to the opposite, manifested in reactive religiosity and radicalisation among segments of Muslim communities to Islamophobia and support for right-wing, anti-Islam populism among segments of wider society.

Chapter 2 provides an introduction to the history of Islam in the West and an overview of current demographics of Muslim communities in various Western countries. It sets the scene for the subject matter of this book through a discussion of the nature and the socio-historical context of interactions between Arabo-Islamic and Western-Christian civilisations. This chapter contests the highly influential perspectives of Bernard Lewis and Samuel Huntington regarding an inevitable clash of civilisations between Islam and the West and expresses broad agreement with the views of Richard Bulliet that Islamic and Christian civilisations are far more complementary than they are contradictory both in historic and contemporary contexts. However, the challenge that segments of Islam, specifically those that espouse an Islamist agenda, pose to the realisation of co-existence between Islam and the West are addressed in subsequent chapters.

Chapter 3 presents an overview of the major contemporary social and discursive orientations among Western Muslims and major transnational Muslim organisations operating in the West. This chapter highlights the diversity of these organisations along with an examination of their ideological underpinnings. While it makes reference to a number of studies that have constructed various typologies of contemporary Islamic trends

from both discursive and sociological, theoretical, and methodological vantage points, this chapter offers a detailed examination of two influential organisations, the Hizmet Movement (HM) and the European Council for Fatwa and Research (ECFR), that represent different types of organisations on the Islamic spectrum. These case studies provide insights into two organisations that can be contrasted by their respective emphasis on a bottom-up approach to social relations and cohesion within the Western context versus a more top-down focus on the Western Muslim adherence to jurisprudential and theologically oriented norms. They also showcase the different approaches to Islam in the West that emerge as a result of different external/foreign influences and agendas.

Chapter 4 examines the processes by which Muslim migration to the West has occurred since the latter half of the twentieth century and discusses the issue of Muslim identity as new migrants belonging to a minority religious group. In this context, it explores the question of identity change from the majority to minority context. This chapter highlights the role of scriptural hermeneutics and gender considerations, especially representations of Muslim women in the West, in understanding the dynamics behind Western Muslims' identity construction. It considers the experiences of immigrant Muslim communities, which are neither the first nor the only minority religious group to have established a new home in the West, and discusses the many parallels between the experiences and identity dynamics.

Chapter 5 addresses the topic of immigrant incorporation with a specific focus on multiculturalism. It highlights that although multiculturalism has been a defining characteristic of many Western societies since, at least, the last third of the twentieth century, it has faced considerable opposition over the past couple of decades on account of terrorism committed in the name of Islam, perceptions of Muslim-minority communities as resistant to integration and of Islam as incompatible with Western society. The chapter discusses the claimed failure of multiculturalism due to Islam and Muslims and the retreat from it observed in many Western societies. It argues that the perception of Islam as a central contributor to the failure of and retreat from multiculturalism in the West is misplaced and proposes that closer attention needs to be paid to the role of the post-colonial, anti-Western ideology of Islamism in undermining multiculturalism in the West. The chapter contends that a failure to distinguish Islam from Islamism, not only among Western governments, media, and publics but within Muslim communities as well, has significantly contributed to

unfavourable views of Islam in the West, perceptions of Muslims as undesirable citizens, and claims that multiculturalism has left Western societies vulnerable to unwelcome social change and threats to national security.

Chapter 6 examines the institutionalisation of Islam in the West with a focus on religious, legal, and educational institutions. Islamic institutions tend to represent the public interface of Islam with the state and society and as such their nature, orientation, and activities are a reflection of the faith in society. The chapter traces the evolution of this institutionalisation beginning with the provision of services to enable Muslims to fulfil religious requirements such as the right to build mosques and recognition of Muslim marriage and burial rites to those that cater to a more Islamist agenda of institutionalising *shariah* through Muslim Arbitration Tribunals, sharia councils, and courts as well as concessions for the incorporation of aspects of Islamist ideology into existing institutions under the guise of religion. It highlights that in many cases what is attempted to be institutionalised by Muslims is not religion per se but Islamist ideology. The chapter offers a cautionary note that supporting certain institutions in the name of equal citizenship, non-discrimination, and freedom of religion may in some cases be contributing to outcomes that undermine these values and principles.

Chapter 7 discusses the issue of female religious authority within Western Muslim communities in light of the growing gender consciousness in the West over the past several decades and the influence of Western liberal democracies and exposure to intellectual feminist currents on Muslim thought. It highlights that Western Muslim communities are becoming increasingly sensitive to the idea that (neo-)traditionalist approaches to Islam were/are exhibiting a lack of interpretational awareness and self-reflexivity. This chapter presents an overview of the main actors and issues with respect to female religious authority among Western Muslims. It focuses on the work of Western Muslim scholars and activists such as Amina Wadud, Asma Barlas, Irshad Manji, and Asra Nomani who have been at the forefront of the debates surrounding female religious authority within Western Muslim communities. The chapter recognises that while the majority of the Islamic organisations and mosques are still firmly in the hands of men, signs of change are evident in the establishment of women-only, women-led, and gender-inclusive mosques as well as the inclusion of women in leadership positions in some major Islamic organisations.

Chapter 8 discusses Western converts to Islam. Particularly since the turn of the century, when so much focus on Islam has been in the context of violence and terrorism, the embracing of Islam by Westerners has become a perplexing phenomenon. On the one hand, segments of Western society express disapproval of converts to Islam, but on the other hand, converts continue a long tradition of cultural exchange and may potentially contribute to the development of Islam(s) in the West that is (are) indigenous rather than imported. This chapter provides insights into the experiences of people in the West who have converted to Islam, their motivations and the particular types or interpretations of Islam embraced by converts. In this context, we discuss the issue of radicalization among converts and their overrepresentation in jihadist groups. This chapter also considers the important question of the relationship of converts to their non-Muslim family and friends, Muslim communities and wider society and the potential role of converts in shaping Islam in the West.

Chapter 9 addressed the relatively recent phenomenon of Islamist militants and home-grown terrorism perpetrated by Muslims in the West. Although Muslims have resided in Western countries for centuries, with large communities having established since the 1960s and 1970s, home-grown Islamist terrorism is a very new phenomenon that emerged in the first decade of the twenty-first century. Following the provision of some key definitions of terrorism, home-grown terrorism, radicalisation, Islamism, and jihadism, this chapter identifies some of the major Islamist terrorist attacks in the West and several perspectives that attempt to explain the phenomenon. It discusses several models of radicalisation and research pertaining to its relationship with Muslim integration. This chapter examines some reoccurring characteristics of home-grown jihadists, including age, gender, and education. The social component of home-grown terrorism is also discussed, including how prisons and the Internet facilitate the radicalisation process. The chapter examines the roles of ideology and religion and discusses the most commonly used methods in countering radicalisation.

Chapter 10 examines the various scholarly perspectives concerning definitions, manifestations, extent, causes, and critiques of Islamophobia in the West. Since the turn of the century, Islamophobia has been widely discussed in regards to Muslims in the West and has attracted considerable concern from governments in the Muslim world and the West as well as transnational organisations. The concept has attracted a large amount of academic research, particularly in respect to the manifestations and impacts

of Islamophobia. It has also attracted criticism from those who claim that the use of the term inhibits legitimate criticism of "Islam". The chapter argues that what tends to be classified as Islamophobia includes prejudice and discrimination of Muslims but also that the underlying fear and concern is generally not the religion per se but political Islam that developed in the mid-twentieth century in the broader Muslim world and began to make its mark on Muslim communities in the West since the 1980s and 1990s.

Chapter 11 addresses the scholarly discourse concerning Islamic jurisprudence for Muslim minorities in the West, also known as *fiqh al aqaliyyat* or minority *fiqh* for short. It examines the broader context, origins, theory, and criticisms of this juristic discourse, which has gained considerable scholarly attention among Muslims in the West around the turn of the century. The chapter highlights that minority *fiqh* does not have immediate relevance to all or even the majority of Muslims in the West who are for the most part ignorant of or indifferent to the kind of arguments and responses the discourse generates and juristic questions and methodologies which underpin them. It explains that even those Muslims in the West who do take these discussions more seriously tend to adopt and select certain views over others on a basis of several considerations and factors not all of which can be traced back to particular methodological or normative commitments. In this regard, the chapter puts into perspective notions that Muslims in the West are actively seeking the implementation of Islamic law or even that most seek to live their lives according to a formal Islamic jurisprudential framework.

Chapter 12 examines the extent to which and prospects for the emergence of a Western Islam. This chapter draws on the work of a number of scholars, primarily based in Europe, who have discussed the concept of a Western or more precisely "Euro/European-Islam", and/or American Islam, the theoretical underpinnings of the idea of Western Islam, and the factors that facilitate its indigenisation. The chapter first addresses the question of what is meant by Western Islam and considers such factors as geography, politico-legal and social contexts, intellectual and cultural affinity, identity, values, principles, philosophical assumptions, and worldview, and a sense of belonging. It examines the emergence of Western Islam by focusing on such factors, agents, and discourses which could be identified as facilitating the emergence of Western Islam primarily defined in terms of its cultural, religio-philosophical, and socio-political dimensions. This translates into the idea that Western Islam is based on a

comprehensive yet reasonable doctrine that embraces values of modernity and legitimises them both theologically and politically.

Finally, a brief explanation on the employment of the concept of "the West" in this book is in order. In general, the term "the West" in this book is used to designate Western liberal democracies found in the Global North. However, as discussed in the first chapter of the book in particular, we as authors are very much conscious of the fact that concepts such as the "West" (and other major concepts that have not been explicitly defined and occur in this book such as *shariah*) have a particular historical and intellectual genealogy and have been constructed and appropriated for various purposes by various agents in various contexts. We ask our readers to keep this firmly in mind throughout the reading of this book.

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CHAPTER 2

Islam and Muslims in the West: History and Current Demographics

1 Introduction

In this chapter the history of Islam in the West is discussed. The main focus of the chapter is to provide a brief overview of the history of the *nature* and the socio-historical *context*, in which interactions between Arabo-Islamic and Western-Christian civilisations took place, for the purposes of gaining a better understanding of the dynamics surrounding Western Muslim identities in the contemporary context explored in more detail in subsequent chapters. The chapter concludes with a brief examination of the current and future Muslim demographics in the West.

The overall approach adopted in this chapter is in agreement with the thesis expounded by Richard Bulliet in his influential book *The Case for Islamo-Christian Civilisation* published in 2004 (Bulliet 2004). The main argument of this book is that (Arabo-)Islamic civilisation should be considered in many ways constitutive of that of a Latin/Western-Christian civilisation, because of the numerous, robust, and mutually defining cross-cultural interactions that have been taking place over a period spanning nearly a millennium and a half between the two civilisations. For Bulliet these linkages are historical, scientific, cultural, philosophical, doctrinal, and scriptural in nature (Bulliet 2004, 6, 45).

The aforementioned book by Bulliet is in many ways a critique of the widely debated and highly contested *Clash of Civilisation* thesis coined by Princeton University professor of history and oriental studies Bernard

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Lewis (1990) and developed further by the Harvard political scientist Samuel Huntington in the post-Cold War geo-political climate of the early 1990s (Huntington 1993). Lewis contends in his article "The Roots of Muslim Rage" that "This is no less than a clash of civilizations—the perhaps irrational but surely historic reaction of an ancient rival against our Judeo-Christian heritage, our secular present, and the worldwide expansion of both" (Lewis 1990, n.p.). For Lewis, the struggle of Islamists, whom he refers to as fundamentalists, is against the dual enemies of secularism and modernism. However, it was Huntington's theory of post-Cold War relations that resonated with academia and policymakers until today. One of the major postulates behind Huntington's thesis that directly concerns us for the purpose of this chapter is his assertion that the future conflicts in the world, including the military, will predominantly take place at the level of civilisations rather than nation-states as was the case in the twentieth century. Among others, Huntington singles out the Judeo-Christian and Islamic civilisations as potentially at the opposite sides of this future conflict. Huntington's thesis was heavily criticised by many scholars both from the West and from the Muslim majority world (Muzaffar 1994; Mottahedeh 1996; Robinson 2002; Osborn 2005). One of these criticisms pertains to Huntington's understanding of the nature of the concept of civilisation, especially the viability of the very concept of a unified Judeo-Christian civilisation that can be conceptually and analytically delineated from that of the (Arabo-)Islamic civilisation. Bulliet demonstrates that such a heuristic is both conceptually and historically untenable and argues that:

> The past and future of the West cannot be fully comprehended without appreciation of the twinned relationship it has had with Islam over some fourteen centuries. The same is true of the Islamic world. (Bulliet 2006, 45)

Furthermore, Bulliet opines that there are stronger arguments for the conceptual viability of idea of an Islamo-Christian civilisation rather than that of a Judeo-Christian one. The latter is nowadays taken largely as self-evident and unproblematic, although for a very long time this was not the case (Ibid., 5–6). Bulliet uses this shift in consciousness to further argue that historical *legacies*, such as long-standing periods of antagonisms between the Christian West and the Arabo-Islamic civilisations that will be outlined below in some length, must not be considered as being tantamount to historical *destinies*.

As noted briefly above, in addition to having strong scriptural and doctrinal commonalities the Islamic and Christian civilisations have had a long history of civilisational cross-pollination without which our present (post-) modern would not have been possible. In Bulliet's (Ibid., 6) own words:

> Common scriptural roots, shared theological concerns, continuous interaction at a societal level, and mutual contributions to what in modern times has become a common pool of thought and feeling give the Euro-American Christian and Jewish communities solid grounds for declaring their civilizational solidarity. Yet the scriptural and doctrinal linkages between Judaism and Christianity are no closer than those between Judaism and Islam, or between Christianity and Islam; and historians are well aware of the enormous contributions of Muslim thinkers to the pool of late medieval philosophical and scientific thought that European Christians and Jews later drew upon to create the modern West.

One such remarkable indicator of this intertwining nature between the Islamic and Christian civilisations is that around one-third of the contemporary European countries were at some point in history under the Muslim political rule for at least a century (Ibid., 6–7). We will, later in this chapter, briefly discuss this aspect of Islam's Western legacy in the context of Muslim Spain (Al-Andalus).

2 Broad Outlines of Interactions Between Arabo-Islamic and Western-Christian Civilisations

Before we briefly catalogue the nature of civilisational cross-pollination between the pre-modern Islamic and Christian civilisations (first Eastern Byzantine and later the Latin), and the socio-historical context in which they took place, it is important to provide an overview of the nature of these interactions and the socio-historical context in which they took place. Many scholars argue[1] that this socio-historical context was characterised by geo-political and military adversarialism and that this situation played an important role in which the members of these respective civilisations thought of and imaged the civilisational Other. Moreover, this historical excursus is also necessary for understanding aspects of contemporary Western Muslim identities that will be dealt with in subsequent chapters of

[1] See references in the sections below.

this book. Namely, a number of scholars have highlighted the importance of historicity of religion and reinterpretations of the past in the present in the construction of contemporary Muslim identities, especially in the public sphere (Ismail 2004, 630; Leonard 2003, 51; Brodeur 2004, 188; Lapidus 2001, 48; Ameli 2002, 89).

2.1 Period from the End of the Seventh to the Beginning of the Ninth Century

We will start our brief historical overview at the end of the seventh century until the beginning of the ninth century, a time period which approximately coincides with the rise of the first Muslim Dynasty, the Umayyads (661–750 CE). Although internal conflicts and discussions about what it means to be a Muslim from a doctrinal viewpoint continued well into the eleventh century, this era saw a growing religious and political consciousness of the Muslim community and its distinct identity formation (Donner 2010; Waardenburg 2003, Friedmann 2003).

From the end of the seventh century until the decline of the Ottoman Empire in the seventeenth century, the relationship and the nature of civilisational interactions between Arabo-Islamic and Christian civilisations[2] can be seen in the context of two political and military *colossi* engaged in, more or less, permanent political conflict and warfare, both firmly suspended in an unflinching grip of their respective religious dogmas (Waardenburg 2003, 133–137).

Subsequently, the images and imaginations of the Other and the Self were increasingly constructed in terms of ideological and religious conflict (Ibid.). Islam was seen as Christian heresy by both Christians in Muslim and non-Muslim lands and an outright threat to the "true" religion of Christianity. Additionally, Byzantine Christianity's socio-political, cultural, and religious pressure on Islam was a trademark of this period and further facilitated the religious distinctiveness of Islam vis-à-vis Christianity. Both religious communities highlighted "their own distinctive character by indicating the unique spirit of their own religious truth and its historical continuity" (Ibid., 58), and constructed the identity of the Religious Other in purely religiously exclusivist terms (Ibid., 481). Therefore, the basic tone and framework of the Muslim-Christian relations, both at

[2] First Byzantine East and then the Latin West.

political/military and doctrinal levels, was formulated as early as in this Umayyad period (Ibid., 136).

2.2 Beginning of the Ninth Until the Eleventh Century

The fall of Umayyad (750 CE), and the subsequent rise of the Abbasid Dynasty, witnessed an increased assertiveness of Muslim religious consciousness and general "Islamisation" of society. There were pragmatic and political reasons why this process occurred. Namely, the Abbasid's "need to demonstrate superiority of Islam vis-à-vis the non-Muslim majority and assert the originality of Islam" was not only used to justify their own coming to power but also to "prevent its [Islam's] dilution by already existing religions, especially Christianity" (Zebiri 1997, 45).[3] Resultantly, the presence of Islam as a religious and socio-political force became increasingly felt.

Despite the existence of wide areas of peaceful interaction, the entire polemical corpus of literature written in both Byzantine Christian and Muslim territories (mainly Arab and Persian) at that time took place against a background of war and strong political tensions. These found expressions linguistically in the use of terminology, such as *Christian/Heathen* (from a Christian point of view) or *Dar-ul-Islam /Dar-ul-Harb* (from a Muslim's point of view), which were reflective of the dichotomous and binary division of the world of those employing them. As a general trend, the demarcation of the Other at both the individual and civilisational level was increasingly conceived in purely religious terms (Hofert and Salvatore 2000, 21) rather than just political, cultural, or economic. Furthermore, Qur'anic commentators and jurists of this period increasingly considered Christians as polytheists or unbelievers, choosing to uphold more austere interpretations of the Qur'an and Sunnah (Zebiri 1997, 22).

2.3 From the End of the Eleventh to the Fifteenth Century

Until the eleventh century, encounters between Muslim and Christian civilisations were, apart from what is commonly referred to as Muslim

[3] Here we need to keep in mind that Islam spread across a vast geographical area very swiftly and Muslims remained demographically at the margins for several centuries after the original conquests.

Spain (Al-Andalus), almost exclusively limited to the Byzantine East. From the eleventh century onwards, as the attitude of Byzantium translated into that of a defensive war another, trans-culturally more dominant and more influential civilisation was developing, namely the Latin Christian West. The Muslims had had little interest in Western Europe prior to this time period, largely considering Christian inhabitants of the Latin West as not much more than uneducated barbarians (Zebiri 1997, 22).

However, from the eleventh century onwards and in tune with the ups and downs of the Crusading drive, Europe, and its Latin West headed by the Pope, were seen by Muslims as an increasing threat to the "civilised" world of Islam (Ibid.). The view of the Muslim Other in the eyes of the Crusaders is thought to have, as Sardar (2002, 2) puts it vividly, "both initiated and perpetuated the representation of Muslims as evil and depraved, licentious and barbaric, ignorant and stupid, unclean and inferior, monstrous and ugly, fanatical and violent". Throughout this period Latin Christianity viewed the Muslim *religion* as the arch-antagonist describing it in one instance as "*doctrina falsa et diabolica*" (Hofert 2000, 45). As Mastnak (2003, 206) asserts, Christians:

> Made [the Muslims] the quintessential, normative enemy of Christianity and Christendom, the Muslims now represented infidelity itself. They were regarded as the fundamental enemy, the personification of the very religion of Antichrist. The Muslim world became no less than the antithetical system.

The Christian knowledge of Islam during this period was "confined to ecclesiastic groups and was both scanty and stereotypic" (Malik 2004, 68). The stereotypes about Muslims inherited from Byzantine Christianity were largely passed on to the Latin West. According to Zebiri (1997, 26), during the period 1250–1400, "Western images of Islam [were] highly imaginative and contained elements of pure invention/fabrication". The derogatory terminology used for Muslims during this era included terms such as Moors (Spanish Muslims in Muslim Spain)/Mohammedans/Mahometans and Turks (Malik 2004, 70) and Saracens (Tolan et al. 2013, 14). The persona and the character of the Prophet of Islam were targeted in particular and was given "most violent epithets [such as] the pseudo-prophet, the hypocrite, the liar, and the adulterer" (Meyendorff 2004, 222). According to Tolan, "even those elements of Islam that resemble Christianity (such as reverence of Jesus and his virgin mother) were

deformed and blackened, so as to prevent Christians from admiring anything about the Muslim other" (2002, 93).

Polemics were further exacerbated with the rise of the powerful Ottoman Empire, especially after its conquest of Constantinople in 1453 which was the spiritual and military centre of (Eastern) Christianity at the time. In Christian circles this gave rise to the "Turkish Threat" phenomenon which was to dominate Christian-Islamic civilisational interactions and attitudes for the next two and a half centuries. Importantly, the rise of the Ottoman Empire also facilitated the creation of the image of *unitas christiana* among various Christian sects (Hofert 2000, 47). In this respect Mastnak (2003, 207) points out that the Western Christians "were able to draw on the existing hostility toward the Muslims to invoke a sense of unity and community" which later on developed into the formation of a new Western unity.

During this period communities making up the respective civilisations were astutely aware of the total opposition between causes held and defended by the "Self" and the "Other". Moreover, within each civilisation communities were organised along *religious* lines thereby further consolidating a strong link between national and religious belonging, projecting the religion of the Other as the ideological antagonist (Ibid.). The political elite took advantage of these circumstances for the purposes of political legitimisation and re-enforcement (Waardenburg 2003, 157).

Interpretations of the religion of the Other were replete with misunderstandings and were characterised by "structural intolerance towards [other] religious groups with no attempt to reformulate own claims of absolute truth in light of the claims of the religious other" (Ibid.). This resulted in the development of a "religiocentric, centripetal and nearly solipsistic, religiously fixed worldview of both civilisations" (Ibid., 158). The adherents of the respective civilisations, to use Waardenburg (2003) apt analogy, were "blinded by their own light". Importantly, both civilisations were too caught up in conflict in order to exercise a necessary degree of introspection so that "in broader circles people deeply felt the two religions as mutually exclusive due to the deep loyalties towards [their] own respective communities" (Ibid., 159).

2.4 The Period Between the Fifteenth and the Seventeenth Centuries

On the one hand, the period between the fifteenth and the seventeenth centuries saw the rise of the European states' military and political power that lasted until the end of the Second World War. On the other hand, at the beginning of the seventeenth century the Ottoman Empire was past its golden age that occurred under the Suleiman the Magnificent (d. 1566).

During the pre-Enlightenment period of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a process of profound *epistemological* change took place. However, the essentialist approach to Islam and Christianity inherited from the Medieval Ages continued so that the "dichotomy of Christian/Turk became the most powerful and important tool of Otherisation of the period" (Hofert 2000, 48), replacing the medieval Christian/Heathen binary. The concept of *religion* was, however, no longer seen in its medieval form as being restricted to "the semantic field of religious practice [but of] religion as a generic concept" in general (Ibid., 56). The main Christian writers of the time, such as Luther, Shakespeare, Locke, and Calvin, used the word *infidels* when referring to Turks/Muslims (Malik 2004, 74). A similar attitude prevailed among Muslim writers on Christianity (Zebiri 1997, 26). Religion, therefore, was still considered the centrally distinguishing civilisational criterion.

Throughout this period, it can be safely asserted that, from the Christian perspective, these images of Islam and Muslims played a crucial role in the creation of the very image of Europe (or the West more generally). In the words of Zebiri:

> the negative and stereotypical images of Islam provided the anti-thesis to Europe's own self-image, thus serving to bolster Europe's own identity in face of perceived external threat and, on a more popular level, satisfied demands for imaginative stimulation. (Ibid.)

Fundamentally, the same arguments apply for the manner in which the Christian West was constructed by the Islamic civilisation for the purposes of self-definition (Ibid.).

It is worth noting that throughout the periods described so far, identities of individuals, and communities comprised of them, operated within the socio-cultural structures entrapped in a traditional worldview. At this juncture (the next section deals with the modern period) it would be

useful for the purposes of what follows to briefly explore the meaning of traditional identities. This, however, begs the question as to how do we conceptualise and characterise traditional identities?

According to Ameli (2002, 91–92), in a traditional worldview, identities are taken for granted, are stable and predictable. They are based on the "guiding tradition" within which people belong to a circle of social life within clearly demarcated and stable social and cultural settings. Therefore, these identities were not able to be transformed in a *fundamental* way, nor were they constructed as a result of a conscious choice at either individual or collective level. Rather they were based on past history. Religious identities, in particular, were integrated, continuous, and solid. This nature of traditional religious identity is, in turn, to be traced to the very nature of traditional *societies* and the worldview in which they were embedded. Traditional societies were governed by limited social intercourse and their focus was primarily on internal cultural relations. The means of transport and communication were very restricted. Meaningful change took place very slowly (if at all). As a result, throughout the period considered thus far, social norms and mores as well as understandings of the religious tradition did not alter significantly. This state of affairs was also, not in a small measure, a result of maintenance of consistency in social stratification, cultural roles, psychological motives, as well as the rewards and incentives present in respective civilisations (Ibid.).

2.5 The Period from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century

The beginning of this period marks the advent of what (in the West) is commonly known as modernity. This era also signals the transition towards the development of modern societies and modern identities. The period from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century in the Christian West was characterised by a number of momentous events, which had a decisive effect on the nature of contemporary Western civilisation (and by default its dynamic/relationship with Muslim civilisation). The rise of secular nation-states and scientific and industrial revolutions further strengthened the military and political superiority of the Western civilisation. These developments, in addition to the general decline in institutional or traditional religiosity in the West, also underscored its distinctiveness from the Muslim civilisation which largely remained in its pre-modern form/s.

Significantly, this era witnessed dissemination of more informed views about the Other in both camps, as the advent of modernity distorted the

concept of self-identity in a myriad of ways (Ameli 2002, 74). The period saw, for example, polarisation between liberal and conservative Christians in their respective attitudes towards Islam, which was more detached from inherited perceptions (Zebiri 1997, 27). However, in many ways, the body of knowledge generated by the Christian-Western civilisation during the Enlightenment period can be considered as the "cradle of *methodological* essentialism" based on a view of Islam as the "Other" (Hofert and Salvatore 2000, 23). It was during this epoch in particular, via a series of civilisational distinctions with respect to Islam, that Europe shaped the Self-image of a civilisation based on a unique model of rationality and objective knowledge, the unique site and source of modernity (Ibid.).

This methodological essentialism only added to the existing stigmatisation which, during the closing centuries of the Ottoman Empire, in particular, turned into a virile form of Islamophobia helping the modern West define its very own identity (Malik 2004, 79). This conceptual and methodological framework was, of course, embodied and manifested to perfection in the rise of the Orientalist discourse in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Saeed 1978).

2.6 The Colonial–Post-colonial Period

All of the encounters between the two civilisations as described so far had a very strong element of power in them, be that military, political, economic, demographic, or legal. The difference in the power balance between the two civilisations reached its peak in the nineteenth century. During this time period the majority of Muslim lands came under the military, economic, political, and cultural dominion of Western (i.e. European) powers. Therefore, the West was conceived by colonised Muslims primarily, but not exclusively, in terms of a foreign aggressor and coloniser and a destructive military and political force. However, modernist scholars from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries such as Syed Ahmed Khan (d. 1898) and Muhammad Abduh (d. 1905) appreciated some aspects of modernity introduced to the Muslim world through the colonising European powers, especially those pertaining to education, status, and role of women in society and government administration. Indeed, these scholars considered these aspects of modernity as a blueprint for Muslim societies to adopt (Kurzman 2002).

Parallel to the period of expanding European colonialism, Christian missionary activity in the Muslim majority world was taking place. This is

particularly the case among the Spanish, Portuguese, and French colonial powers. Both of these civilisational forces came to be characterised in similar terms by the subjugated Muslim societies. Missionaries were considered to be serving Western civilisational interests characterised by "liberal secularism, imperialistic tendencies, dehumanisation, domination and meaninglessness" (Sardar 1991, 2). These perceptions became, in turn, firmly embedded in the collective Muslim consciousness contributing to fierce anti-Western rhetoric that was constantly "renewed by manifestation of neo-colonialism in the present" (Zebiri 1997, 30, 32).

As alluded to above, the essentialist constructions of the Other, embedded in the epistemological frameworks of the Enlightenment period, gave rise to the phenomenon of Orientalism which by and large remained faithful to the earlier essentialist images of the Self on the basis of the stereotypical Other. Its effects were far-reaching. For example, Piterberg (2000, 72–73) argue that the real importance and the historical uniqueness of the Orientalist discourse lies in:

> its universality and its power to determine what should be considered objectively scientific and valid knowledge, and thus the power to shape the identity, culture and history, not only of its subjects, but also of its object. In other words, the historical uniqueness of Orientalism does not merely lie in the fact of 'Otherisation', but in the result of this 'Otherisation': the designated Other, the Orientalised Oriental, has come to accept his Otherisation as his true and scientifically valid Self.

Some colonial versions of Orientalism, and the rise of Islamic religious extremism in its neo-fundamentalist versions in the second half of the twentieth century, can in fact in many ways be conceived as the accumulative product of the history of mutual essentialist civilisational identity construction between Muslim and Christian-Western civilisations that was outlined above. These essentialist approaches are built on a number of building blocks that Said (1985, 89) describes in following terms:

> representation of other cultures, societies, histories; a [particular] relationship between power and knowledge; the [particular] role of the intellectual and [particular] methodological questions that have to do with the relationship between different kinds of texts, between text and context, between text and history.

Unfortunately, these forces, agents, and discourses are still with us today.

2.7 The Post-colonial Period to Present

With the arrival of the largely unskilled immigrant labour into Western countries, and the technology and communication revolution, the period under discussion has witnessed the formation of multiple, largely expended trans-cultural *public* spheres, thus increasing the civilisational and personal interaction between Islamic and Christian-Western civilisations. Although occurring in earlier times, albeit on a much smaller scale, a diversification of the civilisational experience of the Other began to take place at a more significant level. As a result, at the conceptual level, perhaps for the first time we can talk about the different sub-sections of the respective civilisations (as well as individuals) experiencing or construing considerably different views of the Other. In the context of Muslims, we differentiate between several Muslim attitudes towards the West and the construction of the Other.

Waardenburg points out that during the period under consideration, different Wests were experienced and perceived by different Muslim individuals and groups. He categorises the current Muslim socio-political and cultural discourses on the West as follows:

- the Orient-Occident/East-West mutually exclusive, essentialist interpretation,
- the West as a political concept and political adversary,
- the West linked to modernity and modern society (use of reason, scholarly knowledge, economic development, technological progress),
- the West as associated with a particular way of life (with little concern for lasting values, religion and tradition),
- for "neo-fundamentalists", the West is seen as the embodiment of modern *jahiliyah*[4] and a danger to the Muslim way of life due to its obsession with materialism; a place where secularity dominates; a society in which people are bereft of any higher spiritual truths, norms, and values; a society in which people easily fall victim to desire, vice, and lust; a Godless society with human-made idols (Waardenburg 2003, 48–49).

[4] Jahiliyya is the term commonly used to describe the times of "ignorance" the Arabs lived under prior to the revelation of the Qur'an.

In its more radical form this "neo-fundamentalist version of the Islamists" (based on the ideologies represented/embodied by, e.g., Maududi and Qutb) conceptualises the West in terms of an aggressive, self-imposing political, economic, and cultural enemy trying to permeate, Westernise, and secularise the Arab-Muslim East to a point at which Muslim identity and authenticity is entirely lost (Ibid., 251). Furthermore, the Islamists' view of own Self, argues Waardenburg, is based on:

- renewed affirmation of Islamic identity and a rejection of Western criticism of Islam or of particular situations in Muslim countries,
- continuous emphasis on the ideological historical conflict-ridden process between the two civilisations,
- development of a self-defence mechanism against perceived encroachment of the West and its fending off by the development of an idealised superior alternative model of the Islamisation of the world and knowledge,
- the emphasis of the ideology of secularism as stemming from the West and it being the real enemy of Islam,
- highly critical claims of Western modernity, colonialism and neo-imperialism, and of the process of "Westernisation" of Muslims societies and Islam, and
- development of an Islamic epistemology distinct from that of Western scholarship (Ibid., 251–254).

Thus, these "neo-fundamentalist Islamists", to use Waardenburg terminology, envisage as normative the relationship that emphasises distinctiveness and mutual exclusion between Western and Muslim identities and their respective civilisations.

In a more "sympathetic" view of the West and with an apologetic approach to its own tradition, the West is conceived in terms of technological and scientific progress, a rational modern (in opposition to traditionally based) society based on the principals of the rule of law (Ibid.). As such these principles are worthy of imitation and are considered "Islamic". However, the West's perceived lack of spiritual, moral, ethical, and religious dimensions are heavily criticised by those who have this approach to or understanding of the West. The West is considered a threat not only to itself but to Muslim societies considered to be increasingly coming under its influence (Ibid.).

In its "secular"[5] version, Muslim discourse on the West is considered the only source of modernity leading towards progress and (material) well-being. The West embodies the ultimate expression and the very pinnacle of political, economic, societal, and cultural development, and is to be largely blindly and uncritically imitated and/or followed (Ibid.).

From the progressive Muslim viewpoint,[6] the socio-political and cultural processes, which have brought about epistemological and ontological changes in the Western worldview and resulted in the advent of modernity, are considered a result of a dynamic process of civilisational interaction and mutual construction through trans-cultural, trans-political, and trans-social processes. Muslims within this school of thought advocate for an Islam that is informed by a modern episteme along with a critical and serious engagement with the inherited Islamic tradition. Additionally, this approach argues that this modern episteme could also be applied within the framework of the socio-cultural context of Muslim majority societies, resulting in the genesis of another distinct type of modernity (Duderija 2011, 2017).

Importantly, for most Westerners, argues Waardenburg (2003, 6–7), the advent of (post-)modernity has radically altered the way people identified/identify with religion and how they place and integrate their religious identity into their overall identity. Religious identity, if existent at all, is considered as just one alongside many others and is juxtaposed horizontally next to them without any evident hierarchical order (Ibid.). In the majority of Muslim countries, however, especially at the time when the first Muslim immigrants after the Second World War were arriving in various Western countries, the traditional ethico-religious and socio-cultural worldview still largely prevailed.[7] In these traditionally based societies with traditionalist *worldview*, religious identity acts as the base and a foundation on top of which overall identity rests.

Today, this disparate view of religion and its place/function in society is a major point of departure and contention between many Muslims (regardless of whether they live in a Muslim minority or majority context) and many Westerners.[8]

[5] See Chap. 3 for the definition of secular Muslims.

[6] See Chap. 3.

[7] This is perhaps best reflected in strong resistance to changes in Muslim Family Laws in countries which otherwise have "modernised" other aspect of their nation-state, including other aspects of their legal systems.

[8] http://www.pewglobal.org/2008/09/17/chapter-2-religiosity/

2.8 Contemporary Western Muslim Communities' Identity Construction in the West

The presence of a significant number of Muslim communities, and the way members of those communities construct their religious identity, in Western societies needs to be evaluated against the above briefly outlined context of the historically mutually constructed Self-Other (religious) identity. In today's Western societies, both Western Christian and Muslim identities have become more personalised and to some extent have detached themselves from the historically dominating civilisation-based identity construction (Waardenburg 2003, 247).[9] Consequently, the religious identities have taken on a broader spectrum of meanings (Ibid.). As Ameli (2002, 109) demonstrates, the process of secularisation and globalisation, most forcefully evident in the West, brought about multifaceted processes of social change through which religious thinking, practice, and institutions lost much of their socio-political significance and appeal.

However, as detailed in the subsequent chapter, the context and experience of immigration have re-affirmed among certain segments of Western Muslims antagonistic and exclusivist construction of the Self and the Other. This situation is further exacerbated by the rise of right-wing ethno-nationalism in some Western liberal democracies over the recent decade or so (Wodak et al. 2013).

3 A Brief History of Muslim Presence in Europe, North America, and Australia

In terms of periodisation of history of established Muslim presence in the West as adopted in this book, it is by and large borrowed from the work of Otterbeck and Nielsen (2015, 1–7) who divide this presence into the following periods:

- First period: Islamic Spain (Al-Andalus) and Muslim rule in Sicily and southern Italy. This period approximately lasted from the beginning of the eighth century to the eleventh century, in case of Sicily, and the end of the fifteenth century in Al-Andalus.

[9] See our discussion in the next chapter for more details on this aspect of Western Muslim identity.

- Second period: Covers primarily the area north of the Caspian and Black seas, the Caucasus and Crimea.
- Third period: Conquering of the Balkans and central Europe by the Ottomans, including present-day Bulgaria, Romania, Greece, Albania, and former Yugoslavia.
- Fourth period: Post-Second World War during which Muslim communities established a permanent presence in Western Europe.

Our brief discussion of the pre-modern period will focus on the Muslim presence in the Iberian Peninsula (Al-Andalus), and the Balkan/Southeast and central Europe region, as these are the most significant and relevant to the overall aim of this chapter.

The beginning of the Arab conquest of the Iberian Peninsula began in the second decade of the eighth century. Over the next couple of centuries, the Arab presence expanded over a large segment of the peninsula. Al-Andalus initially became an emirate of the Umayyad Caliphate (661–750 CE). However, with the fall of the Umayyad Caliphate in Damascus, the leaders (*emir*) of the Umayyad emirates increasingly started proclaiming themselves as caliphs in their own right (e.g. Abd al-Rahman III, 912–961). The region over time became very prosperous and one of the most powerful centres of Islamic rule, as well as an important centre for education and learning. With the conquests a process of Arabisation took place, gradually giving rise to a sense of cultural unity among its people (including non-Muslims) whose lynchpins were the Arabic language and the Arabo-Islamic culture. Non-Muslims were given the status of *dhimmis* (protected minorities) as per classical Islamic law and hence enjoyed a degree of religious tolerance. These non-Muslims played an important role in contributing to the cultural and economic aspects of Al-Andalus. The Umayyad rule ended in 1031, but a number of volatile Islamic kingdoms (*reinos de taifa* in Spanish) continued to exist until the fall of the Kingdom of Granada in 1492 (Vanoli in Tottoli 2015, 21). The memory of, and the admiration for, Al-Andalus and its fall from Muslim rule played an important part in the religious and literary *imaginare* of subsequent generations of Muslims, including the contemporary Western Muslims. Vanoli (Ibid., 34) describes the constellation of ideas surrounding this *imaginare* as follows:

> al-Andalus was a place of high civilization that nurtured crude medieval Christianity; but it was crushed by a Crusade, which in turn is an expression

> of the violent and prevaricating Christian imperialism. In this sense, al-Andalus is an integral part of this system of decoding history and interpreting reality: it is the Garden of Eden of the peaceful coexistence of the people of the Book under the protection of Islam. (Ibid., 34)

In keeping with the overall argument presented in the introductory segment of this chapter that embraces the concept of an Islamo-Christian civilisation it is important to make mention, even if briefly, of Muslim Spain as a significant site of some major sources of influence of the Islamic civilisation on contemporary Western civilisation.

Al-Andalus' significance for understanding contemporary Islam/Muslim-West relations is in its status of being a major site of cross-cultural fertilisation and transfer of ideas. These, in many ways, serve as a cornerstone of what Bulliet has referred to as Islamo-Christian civilisation. During the time of the Muslim rule of Spain, a variety of intellectual, scientific, cultural, artistic, and technological know-how from Muslim lands is said to have "transformed many aspects of European life: philosophy (commentaries on Aristotle), theology (Averroism), mathematics (Arabic numerals), chemistry (gunpowder), medicine (surgical technique), music (lute-playing, troubadour songs), literature (tales that show up in Italian works), manufacturing (glass, paper, woodblock printing), cuisine (pasta, sugar), and the enjoyment of everyday life" (Bulliet 2004, 31). Furthermore, Bulliet highlights that this influence was not necessarily restricted to the geographical areas of Southern Europe only, but that it extended to the intellectual circles of northern Europe too (Ibid.).

The enduring presence of Islam and Muslims in Europe (in this case in the Balkans) goes back to the mid-fourteenth century as the result of the expansion of the Ottoman Empire (1259–1924) in that region. The conquests were a mixture of military raids (*ghazwa*) launched by Muslim soldiers situated at the frontiers, as well as a result of alliances with local Christian landlords (Nef in Tottoli 2015, 71). Most conquered territories remained part of the Ottoman Empire for half a millennium or so. The gradual process of Islamisation of the region took various forms. One of these was by means of settlement policies which were part of a deliberate plan of demographic restructuring. Another was a result of conversions of the local populace. As in the case of the legacy of Al-Andalus, the nature of the process of Islamisation of the Balkans is debated among the scholarly (and non-scholarly) community. In the least, it can be safely argued that the social, economic, political, and cultural policies of Ottoman

Empire favoured conversion to Islam (Ibid., 73). With the ensuing mayhem associated with the creation of the Balkan states, the collapse of the Ottoman Caliphate, and the rise of Western European powers in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, the composition and the overall socio-political and demographic situation of the Balkan Muslims changed considerably. Today a number of countries in the region have either significant Muslim majorities or minorities (see discussion below).

The pre-modern Islamic presence in the Americas started in the sixteenth century. It is linked to the slave trade "of early modern imperial and commercial rivalries and encounters that shaped the Atlantic world" (GhaneaBassiri, in Tottoli 2015, 110). Muslims from North and Western Africa were part of these encounters and some of them were enslaved as a result. It is estimated that tens of thousands of African Muslims settled in what eventually became the United States of America (Ibid.).

The earliest contacts between Muslims and the Australian continent date back to the seventeenth century (Kabir 2004, 30) and therefore predate white colonial settlement. Macassar fishermen from Sulawesi (contemporary Indonesia) would on an annual basis come to the northern coastline of Australia on their fishing expeditions, where they met with the Aboriginal people. The nature of these encounters was generally peaceful and (semi-)enduring as based on evidence of inter-marriages, Macassarese graveyards and mutual linguistic influences (Ibid.). These expeditions lasted a couple of centuries and came to an end with the introduction of the "Immigration Restriction Act 1901" (Saeed 2003, 3–10). Another major source of more permanent Muslim presence in Australia started in the nineteenth century when the so-called Afghan Cameleers were brought into Australia to help with transport and exploration of the Australian outback. The Afghans were in control of the camel transport business in most parts of Australia by the end of the nineteenth century. They lived in small towns called Ghan towns. At the start of the twentieth century, some 600 camel drivers worked and resided in Australia. They were primarily single men who did not envisage a permanent life in Australia. Some returned but some, for various reasons, decided to stay permanently and married local Aboriginal women (Ibid.).

Turning to the contemporary period, a major trend in the post-Second World War period shows that the number of Muslims in the West has been on the increase steadily, especially over the last three decades or so.[10] In the context of Western Europe, Cesari (2004, 11–16) identifies three

[10] http://www.pewforum.org/2010/09/15/muslim-networks-and-movements-in-Western-europe/

waves of migration of Muslims into Europe. The first spans a period of time from the end of World War II to the early 1970s, during which Muslim men from various parts of the Third World and Eastern Europe were imported, on what was conceived as a temporary arrangement, as much needed sources of unskilled labour to take part in the reconstruction of the European economy. In the second part of the 1970s and throughout the 1980s *en masse* unskilled migrant labour programmes were for all purposes discontinued. The second phase of immigration was in large a result of reunion of immigrants' families which ushered in a realisation of a new consciousness, among both Muslims and non-Muslims, of Muslim immigrants' *permanent* presence in Europe. With the turmoil's occurring in many parts of the Muslim majority world in the 1980s and the early 1990s, significant numbers of Muslim refugees and asylum-seekers arrived in Western Europe (and in West more generally).

Although it is difficult to establish the exact number of Muslims living in Western societies, estimates indicate that as of 2016 some 25 million are living in the major countries of the European Union,[11] around 3.5 million Muslims are living in the USA[12] and around 1 million in Canada.[13] Recent Australian (2016) and New Zealand (2013) Bureau of Statistics data indicate that over 600,000 Muslims are living in Australia (2.6%)[14] and close to 50,000 in New Zealand.[15]

The number of Muslims in Canada and the USA is expected to nearly triple in the next 20 years (based on 2010 data) largely due to immigration and higher-than-average fertility among Muslims. However, percentage wise these figures are very low and will in the context of the USA constitute less than 2%, whereas in Canada the percentage will be 6.6% of the total population.[16]

The Muslim population in Europe in general (rather than Western Europe in particular) is also expected to increase by around 30% for the 2010–2030 period. This amounts to an increase from 6% to 8%, or from

[11] http://www.pewforum.org/2017/11/29/europes-growing-muslim-population/

[12] http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/01/03/new-estimates-show-u-s-muslim-population-continues-to-grow/

[13] http://www.pewforum.org/2011/01/27/the-future-of-the-global-muslim-population/

[14] http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/mediareleasesbyReleaseDate/7E65A144540551D7CA258148000E2B85?OpenDocument

[15] http://archive.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/quickstats-culture-identity/religion.aspx

[16] http://www.pewforum.org/2011/01/27/the-future-of-the-global-muslim-population/#the-americas

44.1 million in 2010 to 58.2 million in 2030, primarily due to continued migration. Most of this increase will be in Western and northern European countries. In some of these countries the Muslim population will be approaching the 10% mark, such as the UK (8.2% of the population in 2030, up from an estimated 4.6% today); Austria (from 5.7% to 9.3%); Sweden (from 4.9 to 9.9%); Belgium (from 6% to 10.2%); and France (10.3% from 7.5%).[17]

Importantly, another demographic trend the above figures should be interpreted in conjunction with is that the overall *rate* of growth among Muslims has been on the decrease, which is likely to continue to over the next 20 years, especially in Europe.[18]

4 Conclusion

This chapter provided a general overview of the history of Islam in the West, focusing on providing an outline of the history of the *nature* and the socio-historical *context* in which interactions between Arabo-Islamic and Western-Christian civilisations took place. Additionally, some basic information on the present and future demographics of Muslims in the West was outlined. This summary was presented with a view to enable the reader to gain a better understanding of the dynamics surrounding Western Muslim identity construction in the contemporary context that will be the subject matter explored in more detail in subsequent chapters.

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[17] http://www.pewforum.org/2011/01/27/the-future-of-the-global-muslim-population/#the-americas

[18] http://www.pewforum.org/2011/01/27/the-future-of-the-global-muslim-population/

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CHAPTER 3

Contemporary Islamic Orientations and Transnational Muslim Organisations in the West

1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to offer an overview of the major contemporary social and discursive orientations among Western Muslims and major transnational Muslim organisations operating in the West, with the view of bringing about the diversity of its major proponents and ideologies underpinning them. In relation to the former we make reference to a number of studies which have offered broad typologies of contemporary Islamic trends from both discursive and sociological, theoretical, and methodological vantage points. In relation to the latter we discuss the Hizmet Movement (HM) and the European Council for Fatwa and Research (ECFR), respectively.

2 Discursive- Versus Sociological-Based Approaches to Typologies of Western Muslims

Ways of conceptualising diversity in Western Muslim identities, their formulations, representations, and classifications have been approached on the basis of two theoretical and methodological paradigms. These paradigms, generally speaking, can be described as being discursive and/or sociological in nature (Barzegar 2011). While this chapter will be informed by the relevant findings coming from both of these, it is important to,

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even if briefly, discuss what constitutes these approaches in the context of the main aims of this chapter and what the differences between the two are.

A discourse-centred approach to the question of what is "Islamic" is ultimately traced to the work of Talal Asad (1986, 14–15) and "focuses upon patterns of language, rhetoric and practice that underlie the many ways in which Islam is constituted" (Barzegar 2011, 524). As such it seeks to "prioritize Islamic discourses over the various sociological categories of Muslim groups as a way to better understand the complex dynamics of Islam" (Ibid., 512). In other words, this approach recognises that religious traditions are constantly negotiated, (re-)appropriated, and contested by various actors who consider themselves as belonging to its communities of interpretation (Duderija 2011, 2017). Furthermore, discursive-based approaches are premised on the idea that when conceptualising identity formulations among (Western) Muslims, it is important to integrate Muslim opinions and attitudes with their perceptions of Islam itself and what Islam means to them. Therefore, discursive-based typologies, unlike those premised on purely sociological frameworks and methodologies, take seriously into account issues pertaining to Islamic hermeneutics (in the broadest sense of the term) as important facets of representations of Muslim identity (re-)formulations, including the questions pertaining to what these Muslims consider to be "Islamic" attitudes, practices, and values (Duderija 2008).

2.1 Discursive-Based Classifications/Orientations

One of the most systematic typologies of contemporary Islamic orientations can be found in the writings of Saeed (2007), whose terminology will be used as a reference point in this chapter. The nature of the classification system, that while not consciously grounded in a discursive-based theory, is such that it falls under this category since it typologies Islamic orientations on the basis of discursive-related criteria. These include Islamic law, theological purity, violence, politics, separation of religion and state, Islamic practice, modernity, and ijtihad. Saeed identifies eight categories exemplifying what he terms "broad orientations" or, elsewhere, "trends" among Muslims (Ibid., 396).

The first trend is referred to as the Legalist Traditionalists (Ibid., 397). One of the main delineating features of this orientation is their strict adherence to classical schools of Islamic law (*madhahib*) and rejection of

any modernist reform, on the basis of a strict adherence to the legal theories inherent to classical Islamic law and the methodologies that underpin them. These legal theories are referred to in the specialist literature as *taqlid*. Examples of this orientation include Deobani and Berlewi mosques and associations in the UK.[1] Ramadan (2005, 25), who employs the label "scholastic traditionalism" as the equivalent for legal traditionalism, describes them in following terms:

> Scholastic traditionalism movements are present in the West, notably in the United States and Great Britain among Indo-Pakistani groups and in Germany among the Turks. Small communities of this type are also found scattered in other countries. They are concerned mostly with religious practice and in the West do not envisage social, civil, or political involvement. Their reading of the Texts and the priority they give to the protection of strict traditional practice makes them uninterested in and even rejecting of any connection with the Western social milieu, in which they simply cannot conceive that they have any way of participating.

The proponents of the second orientation are termed by Saeed (2007) as "political Islamists". Although it does reject the apolitical and quietist nature of legal traditionalist approaches to modern-day politics that is rooted in their strict adherence to the principle of *taqlid*, this trend is not so much rooted in a particular interpretational methodology *per se*. It is a project interested in erecting a distinctly Islamic socio-political order that rejects what are considered to be "Western" values and ideologies, such as nationalism and secularism. These are, in turn, considered to have infiltrated Muslim masses and are reflected in the current socio-political *status quo* in many Muslim majority nation-states. While this orientation is predominant in Muslim majority contexts, its proponents also operate in the West. They would include organisations such as Milli Görüş in Germany, or some similarly oriented organisations associated with the International Institute of Islamic Thought in Virginia (USA), as well as Jama't Islami and Muslim Brotherhood loosely affiliated associations in Europe such as Union des Organisations Islamiques de France (Union of French Islamic Organizations, est. 1983), the Islamische Gemeinschaft in Deutschland (Islamic Community in Germany, est. 1982), the Muslim Association of Britain (est. 1997), the Ligue Islamique Interculturelle de Belgique

[1] http://www.wifaqululama.co.uk/

(Intercultural Islamic League of Belgium, est. 1997),[2] and members associated with ECFR discussed below in some detail. It is important to note that these political Islamists have evolved over time, have various agendas, and range from more reformist-minded to conservative ones whose social values are not dissimilar to those of legal traditionalists.

Saeed identifies "secular Muslims" as another trend among contemporary Western Muslims. These Muslims view Islam as primarily, if not exclusively, a private faith regulated through a personal relationship between God and the individual. Any role of Islam in the arena of law and/or politics is rejected outright (Saeed 2007, 400). The major tone adopted by these groups in the West revolves around integration, or at times assimilation, of Muslims in the West (Ramadan 2005, 27). It includes organisations such as British Muslims for Secular Democracy[3] and Liberal-Islamischer Bund e.V in Germany.[4]

Arguably a sub-branch of this approach are what Saeed terms "cultural nominalists" (Saeed 2007, 401), whose "Muslim" identity is framed through a cultural lens rather than religious. They are largely non-practising Muslims (according to the traditionalist criteria) whose Islamic practices/beliefs are restricted to major life passages and major religious and/or cultural celebrations. This way of being a Muslim organises itself primarily through cultural/ethnic-based organisations rather than those explicitly rooted in Islam.

Theological puritans are an additional orientation identified by Saeed. He describes proponents of this orientation as being primarily focused on theological matters such as questions pertaining to "correct belief", as well as removal of what are considered to be heretical or innovated (*bida'a*) beliefs and practices. These "heretical" ideas and practices most often include reverence for saints and "saint-worship", and practising of "magic" (*sihr*), but also intellectual and philosophical approaches to Islam (Duderija 2011). The centre of gravity for this school of thought are the ideas stemming from major Saudi Arabia-based scholars such as Bin Baz (d. 1999), Al-Uthaymin (d. 2001), S. Al-Fawzan (b. 1933), Al-Albani (d. 1999), and their students. Their approach to interpretation is heavily textualist and is

[2] http://www.pewforum.org/2010/09/15/muslim-networks-and-movements-in-Western-europe-muslim-brotherhood-and-jamaat-i-islami/

[3] http://bmsd.org.uk/

[4] https://lib-ev.jimdo.com/

a continuation of anti-intellectual trends, associated with the so-called *ahl al-hadith* movements that existed throughout Islamic intellectual history (Duderija 2011). This trend, as discussed in Chap. 11, has a very strong proselytisation component on the basis of which the very religiously justified presence of Muslims in the West is primarily rationalised (Shavit 2015). In Western contexts this trend includes groups that are associated with Saudi-funded Muslim World League and World Assembly of Muslim Youth that have offices in major European countries such as France, Germany, and the UK, as well as across the USA (Nielsen and Otterbeck 2016, 154–155). Organisations and centres such as Qur'an–Sunna Society of North America[5] and Salafimanhaj[6] in the UK would fall into this category. Ramadan (2005, 25), who terms these Muslims as *salafi* literalists, describes their worldview and social orientation towards the broader society in following terms:

> The doctrinal position of the *salafi* literalists and their groups in the West, which are in constant communication with scholars based primarily in Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Egypt, or Syria (mostly through former students of their respective educational institutions), refuses any kind of involvement in a space that is considered non-Islamic. The concepts of *dar al-kufr* and *dar al-harb* are still operational and continue to explain the relationship of the *salafis* with the social environment, which is characterized primarily by isolation and by a literally applied religious practice protected from Western cultural influences.

Similarly, Nielsen and Otterbeck (2016, 157) argue that this orientation, while not participating in electoral politics of the nation-state in which they reside, promotes a kind of "lifestyle politics", the basis of which is a rejection and resistance to values governing the broader society and adherence to what they consider to be the "true values of Islam". A number of empirical studies among Muslims in the West have detected this type of Western Muslim identity. For example, Gardner's study of the Bangladesh community in the East End of London indicates that transnational migration processes and practices can lead to puritanism, increased religious zeal, and what she terms "orthodoxy" based on scripturalism (Gardner 1993). This particular type of religious-based identity "attempts to purify Islam of cultural influences and redefine it along purely religious lines"

[5] http://www.qss.org/aboutus.html
[6] http://salafimanhaj.com/

(Roy 2004, 121). Eid refers to this type of religious identity, existent among American Muslim university students, as a "nonsymbolic" or "ultra-orthodox" identity which "develops parallel alternatives to mainstream institutions and cultural systems shielded from Western influences" (2002, 51).

According to Hermansen (2003, 310), many aspects of this version of Islamic identity are based on:

> A mindless and rigid rejection of "The Other" and the creation of decultured, rule-based space where one asserts Muslim "difference" based on gender segregation, romantic recreations of madrasa experiences and the most blatantly apologetic articulations of Islam. It replaces spirituality with arrogance and a smug pride in one's superior manifestation of visible symbols of identity.

Furthermore, studies suggest that this type of affirmation of "pure culture-free religious identity" by alienated, marginalised, and disempowered Muslim youth is most frequently associated with global, militant Islam (Roy 2004, 232–287).

Another orientation identified by Saeed are the contemporary militant extremists and/or radical Islamist movements. These were largely born in the crucible of conflicts in Afghanistan in the 1980s, Bosnia and Gulf Wars in the 1990s, and Afghanistan and Iraq in the early 2000s. It includes organisations such as Al-Qaeda and most recently ISIS/ISIL. Ideologically they are a product of a hybrid model that combines the theological and interpretational elements of puritan theologians with the political vision of conservative political Islamists. Their primary motivations seem to be revolving around the idea of Muslims' eternal and deep subjugation and humiliation at the hands of the West in a variety of different forms including economic, military, political, and cultural, as well as the loss of what is considered to be the Golden age of Islamic civilisation when Muslims enjoyed military, political, economic, and cultural advantage over the West. This Muslim orientation emphasises strongly the idea of a global Muslim community (*umma*) united politically under a global caliphate. In many cases they believe that means justify the ends and therefore justify terrorist acts as legitimate tools of war (Gerges 2016).

This "neo-fundamentalist" orientation among Western-born generations of Muslims (Roy 2004, 232–287) is exhibited by engaging in what Noor (2003) terms the "rhetoric of oppositional dialectics", in which the

question of Islamic identity is primarily approached on the basis of "…the trope of the negative Other which manifests itself in a number of forms: secularism, the West, international Jewry/Zionism, capitalism etc.". Labelling it orthodox, Cesari identifies this type of religious identity as operating within a binary view of the world in which Islam is the positive and the West is the negative (Cesari 2003, 251–269). It employs medieval epistemological terminology such as *Dar al Harb* (adobe of war) and *Dar as Salam* (adobe of peace) to describe the normative contemporary relationship between the Self and the "Other" (Duderija 2011).

According to Pew Research from 2010 "by most accounts, support for radical extremist groups is relatively low among Muslims in Europe", however, these groups have occupied the centre of public discussions on Islam and Muslims in the West. Radical extremists who do not engage in terrorism would include organisations such as Hizb ul Tahrir and Al-Muhajirun who also have a presence in the West, notably in countries such as Australia,[7] the UK,[8] and Denmark[9] where they are still allowed to operate. Ramadan (2005, 27) describes this trend among Western Muslims as subscribing to the discourse that is "trenchant, politicized, radical, and opposed to any idea of involvement or collaboration with Western societies, which is seen as akin to open treason".

Saeed identifies progressive ijtihadis as another trend. He (cf. Duderija 2011, 2017) considers this orientation, in some ways, as intellectual successors of classical modernist scholars such as Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, Muhammad Abduh, and Sayyid Ahmad Khan. The intellectual cum discursive bridge, between classical modernist scholars and the progressive ijtihadis, is arguably the most important twentieth-century modernist scholar of Islam, Fazrul Rahman (d. 1988). Saeed (2007; cf. Duderija 2013) argues that progressive ijtihadis have very diverse cultural backgrounds and intellectual orientations (many of whom are based in the Western academia but also have traditionalist training) including Muslim feminists and reformist traditionalists. Duderija (2011, 2017) has identified a number of delineating features behind the worldview of this orientation that is characterised by its commitment to:

[7] http://www.hizb-australia.org/
[8] http://www.hizb.org.uk/
[9] http://www.hizb-ut-tahrir.dk/

- creative, critical, and innovative thought based on epistemological openness and methodological fluidity;
- Islamic liberation theology;
- social and gender justice;
- a human rights-based approach to Islamic tradition;
- rationalist and contextualist approaches to Islamic theology and ethics; and
- affirmation of religious pluralism.

Ramadan argues that this school of thought (that he terms as *Salafi* reformists), while staying faithful to the original reformist ideals of the Qur'an and Sunna, is not bound by any structure or authority as a frame of reference. Furthermore, its primary aim, in the Western context, is to "protect the Muslim identity and religious practice, to recognise the Western constitutional structure, to become involved as a citizen at the social level, and to live with true loyalty to the country to which one belongs" (Ibid., 27). Organisations such as Muslims for Progressive Values[10] and Alliance of Inclusive Muslims[11] are the most representative grass-roots organisational groups behind this movement that operates in countries such as the USA, the Netherlands, and Australia.

A number of empirical studies on Western Muslims have detected this type of trend among Western Muslims. One study describes it as an Islamic *worldview* characterised by an appreciation of Western democratic institutions and a Muslim identity that is comfortable with fluid and plural identities. For this type, a Muslim identity which genuinely engages with mainstream Western society and yet remains genuinely Muslim is not seen as contradictory (Duderija 2010, 150–151). Mandaville (2002, 220) also make notes of this type of Western Muslim identity when stating as follows:

> there are observant Muslims who view Western norms, popular culture, and lifestyles as mostly compatible with Islam. They do not see inherent conflict in their dual identities as Muslims and Europeans.

Gilliat (1994, 236) refers to this type of Muslim orientation in this manner:

[10] http://www.mpvusa.org/
[11] https://aim.ngo/

> There is an important minority of young Muslims in Britain who are not only devoted Muslims, but also fully participating in the wider society when it comes to general social life…. [T]hey appear to be confident in their religious identity, and they do not rely on outward signs of this identity to bolster their inner sense of being Muslim. As a consequence they can mix freely with non-Muslims in the wider society, without feeling threatened, or compromising their Islam. They are perhaps the ones who most aspire to being recognised as "British Muslims."

Niebuhr describes this type of Western Muslim identity as "those who have a firm religious identity that is not threatened by active participation in the wider society. It is an identity that does not have to be 'proved' to others by outward appearances" (as cited in Ibid., 249). Cesari (2003, 174) points to the existence of similar reformist trends (in Islam) that she considers emerging due to the freedom of expression that Muslims have in the West and due to cultural globalisation. Cesari terms it a cosmopolitan Muslim identity that is "characterized not only by inclusiveness but also by hybridization with cultures in different contexts". She also argues that this type of Muslim identity has the "mindset and ability to navigate between supposedly incompatible worlds and cultures" (Cesari 2017, 85). In the existing literature this type of Muslim is variously described as reformist, modernist, rationalist liberal, and as enlightened rationalist (Cesari 2004, 80–93; Gilliat 1994, 186; Waardenburg 2000, 61; Marechal et al. 2003, 14). Importantly, progressive Muslims consider their religious identity to be traditionally authentic and derived from a particular interpretation of the normative sources of Islam, namely the Qur'an and Sunna (Duderija 2010).

The final orientation is that of Sufi orders or Sufism. While Saeed omits this group in his classification, it is important for this group to be included in this survey as it has a strong presence among Muslim communities in the West. Sufism is, in actual fact, deeply embedded in the cultures of many Muslim communities in the West, such as the Tijani and Muridi orders among France's West and North African communities, or the Barelwis, Chistis, Qadiris, and Naqshbandis found among the UK's South Asian Muslim community.[12]

[12] http://www.pewforum.org/2010/09/15/muslim-networks-and-movements-in-Western-europe-sufi-orders/

Not all Sufi orders in the West attract mono-ethnic practitioners. This is especially true of the Naqshbandis, one of the most prominent orders in the West, who have strong representation from a number of ethnically diverse Muslim communities in Europe. Today, the Naqshbandis are one of the most prominent orders in the UK. Its spiritual head, until his death in 2014, was *shaykh*, Nazim al-Qubrusi. Al-Qubrusi, also known as Al-Haqqani, was based in Cyprus but made annual visits to Britain, where he over time "developed a diverse following of Turks, South Asians and white or Afro-Caribbean converts in London and Sheffield, as well as a group of South Asian followers in Birmingham".[13]

The Pew Research Forum found that "In Germany, for example, up to 15% of Turkish immigrants and 20% of German-born Turks are thought to be active members of Sufi-based organisations, such as the Sulaymançis".[14] A good number of these Sufi orders "have been particularly successful at adapting to European cultures and societies". An example of this are the Qadiri orders in France, which successfully market "Moroccan Sufism through numerous cultural events and festivals, some of which are broadcast on French television" and thereby make Sufism "attractive to an urban, modern-educated, middle- and upper-class" European audience.[15] In the context of the USA, probably the most prominent example of a Sufi-based group would include the Zaytuna Institute in San Francisco and its director, Hamza Yusuf, who has a very large following among young Western Muslims.[16]

2.2 Sociological-Based Approaches

A number of scholars have attempted to develop typologies of Muslims residing in Western liberal democracies, on the basis of purely sociological theoretical frameworks, with the focus on understanding their societal orientations towards the broader society. Here we describe three representative studies.

[13] http://www.pewforum.org/2010/09/15/muslim-networks-and-movements-in-Western-europe-sufi-orders/

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

[16] https://www.zaytuna.edu/

For example, Ameli, in the context of examining the effect of globalisation on the main elements of British Muslim identity, developed a typology of British Muslims concerned with religious orientations and tested them empirically. Ameli's typology included the following types of Muslim identity: *traditionalist* (which is characterised by social conservatism, ritual centredness, and political indifference); *islamist* (characterised by their emphasis on Islamic politics and movements, and the comprehensiveness of the Islamic way of life); *modernist* (characterised by a "combination of modernisation and Islamic ideology", their desire to achieve social reformation through modernisation and reformation of religious thinking in accordance with modern modes of thought); *secularist* (characterised by rejection of politicisation of Islam and its traditional aspects, but unlike traditionalists, an active participation in secular politics and social activity, a lack of religious observance, and involvement within social institutions); *nationalist* (characterised by those who identify themselves primarily with the culture of the parents' homelands as an expression of patriotism); *anglicised* (no serious inclination towards original culture, inability to re-assimilate into it, absorption of attitudes, values, and norms governing British culture to the point that it is indistinguishable from "native" counterparts, involvement in multiplex secular social relationships with non-Muslims, and comparatively less religious orientation); *hybrid* (characterised by no firm orientation towards the original culture as well as not giving primacy for the new British culture); and *undetermined* (characterised by the rejection of diverse cultures one is confronted with, confusion about religious belief and sense of hopelessness and rootlessness) (Ameli 2002, 134–139; 227–272).

Dassetto's study on the construction of European Islam as a social given focuses on how "being a Muslim" is socially constructed, and in that way it functions. By analysing strategies and interactions between the various Muslim groups and the broader socio-political context in which they live, he developed models of ideal types of social orientations of present-day Muslims in Europe. They include *orientations of participation in Europe* (such as de-Islamisation, where Islam as a reference is lost; assimilation, where Islam is restricted to the private sphere; institutional integration, whereby institutionalisation of Islam takes place; and Muslim minority self-definition in contrast to the non-Muslim majority), *orientations that distance themselves from Europe* (such as European Muslims perceiving themselves as living on the periphery of the Muslim world or as a

diaspora community), *orientations that are intermediary between the above two* (such as external integration in Europe, but inner loyalty to Islamic causes or authorities outside Europe; desire to live in Europe in a fully Islamic way as a ghetto community), and *missionary orientations in Europe* (according to which Muslims are obliged to convert Europeans to Islam) (Dassetto 1996).

Finally, Klinkhammer's study of second-generation Turkish Muslim women living in Germany investigated modern forms of Islamic "ways of living" (*Lebensfuehrung*) and aimed to develop a descriptive typology of religiosity among her sample. She identified three types as follows:

(i) Traditional Islamic *Lebensfuehrung* as the basis for religiosity which is taken for granted, is culture-based, non-confrontationalist vis-à-vis the broader society, and rooted in the broader worldview based on a clear distinction between non-religious and religious spheres in life.
(ii) The exclusivist Islamic *Lebensfuehrung* which is based on individualisation and Islamisation of self that Dassetto emphasises, including the break with the tradition of the parents, and a focus on the "true, high" Islam (der wahre, Hochislam) based on the Qur'an and Sunnah which are interpreted anew (especially in relation to emancipation of women). It represents a religiosity based on an all-comprehensive view of the religious sphere which exists in a confrontational relationship vis-à-vis the broader society and indeed cannot reconcile with the aims and values of modernity.
(iii) The universalised Islamic *Lebensfuehrung* based on the search for "truth" and meaning which is primarily ethico-spiritual in nature, based on a clear delinking between religious and ethnic identities and is non-confrontational towards the broader society (Klinkhammer 2000).

The above discursive- and sociological-based studies to typologies of Western Muslims, it is hoped, sufficiently demonstrate the diversity of Western Muslims' identities and social orientations and the kind of discursive worldviews that underpin them. The remainder of the chapter is dedicated to the discussion of transnational Muslim organisations in the West as theoretical vista that will further enrich our understanding of the breadth and diversity of ways of being a Muslim in the West.

3 Major Transnational Organisations

As noted above, a number of major transnational Muslim networks and organisations exist in the West. These include the Tablighi Jama'at, the Muslim Brotherhood, the Muslim World League (and its affiliated organisation the World Assembly of Muslim Youth), ECFR, and the Hizmet Movement (HM) (Nielsen and Otterbeck 2016, 133–169).[17] Due to space constraints, it is only possible for us to focus on one example of a major transnational network and one major institution operating in Europe. Respectively these are the HM and ECFR. The rationale behind this choice is that ECFR has roots in the Muslim Brotherhood and hence is to some extent representative of the ideas underpinning this important transnational network. The HM's approach does not fit neatly into any of the categorisations discussed above and therefore deserves its own treatment, especially given its strong presence in the West.

3.1 The Hizmet Movement (HM)

This section provides a brief discussion on the movement's history, philosophy/ideology, transnational activities in general, and some of its activities and presence in the West in particular.

The HM (also known as Gülen Movement) is a global, socio-religious and, for some, a political movement (Fitzgerald 2017, 2) whose origins can be traced back to the life and activism of its pioneering figure, Fethullah Gülen. Gülen was born near Erzurum, a rural city in Turkey, in 1938. He comes from a traditionally religious family; his father was a local imam and Gülen himself memorised the Qur'an at the very early age of five. Having obtained the necessary qualifications of an imam himself, he preached in a number of places prior to coming to Izmir in 1966, where he was appointed as the director of a Qur'an course. In Izmir he reached his intellectual maturity. This is where the first contours of his HM vision started to emerge. Given the Kemalist legacy of Turkey, and its strong influence at the time, one of the most forceful ideas behind his initial project was the bridging of what Gülen considered to be a gap between religion and the Turkish society, by means of educating young generations of Turks/Muslims in order to reconnect them with their religious heritage. This was

[17] Cf. http://www.pewforum.org/2010/09/15/muslim-networks-and-movements-in-Western-europe/

to be done primarily by building a network of privately run schools that combine the best of modern education with Islamic ethical values. The first of such schools opened in Izmir in the early 1980s and many others followed over the decade. While the 1990s witnessed a diversification of the HM's activities. In addition to continued expansion in the educational sector during this decade, the opening of hospitals, financial corporations such as non-interest-based banks, insurance companies, TV and Radio channels, and other types of companies took place. In 1996, its first co-educational institution of higher learning, *Fatih University*, was opened, that (until its closure in 2016) had 70 different departments offering a wide range of degrees across all major branches of knowledge (Incetas 2014, 18–25). These developments paved way to the HM's increasingly transnational character that continues to the present day as discussed further below. The spectacular growth of the HM is noted by Fitzgerald (2017, 2) as follows:

> What began as a small group of like-minded individuals discussing Islamic faith in practice has now evolved into a $25 billion business with a global reach that includes charter and private schools and a media empire of newspapers, book publishing, and TV stations.

Ebaugh estimates that the HM has founded in excess of 1000 schools across five continents, in addition to hundreds of student dormitories (Ebaugh 2010, 4). The funding of the HM activities is sourced from its nearly ten million large global membership by means of tithing (Ibid.). Tithing refers to the common practice among the employees of the HM to donate around 10% of their income to religious causes from which the HM network benefits (Hendrick 2013).

HM's philosophy finds its roots in the teachings of Said Nursi (1878–1960) and is embedded in the humanistic Sufi ethico-moral philosophy that characterised Anatolia's Ottoman-Islamic way of life for centuries. In many ways the HM is a continuation of the ideas articulated by Nursi, especially his emphasis on the doctrine of Pan-Islamism, but one that is compatible with modernity including political modernity (Bilici 2006). A Pew report on Muslim Networks and Movements in Western Europe from 2010 describes this approach as follows:

> Like Nursi, Gülen argues that a better understanding of the secular world deepens religious faith. Moreover, he believes that promoting Islam using

> traditional religious institutions, such as mosques and *madrasas* (religious schools), is unlikely to work in a modern world in which success and social mobility are tied to the mastery of scientific and technical skills. Instead, he calls for an educational program that combines the rigorous study of modern, secular subjects with an extracurricular focus on spirituality and conservative religious values. (Pewforum 2010, 4)

The central element in which the HM differs from the ideas of Nursi is that it places more emphasis on grass-roots social activism and service for the sake of God, which is the actual meaning of the word *hizmet*. Members of the HM subscribe to traditional Islamic piety and the practices that characterise it, such as regular performance of daily prayers, fasting and charity, and subscription to traditional gender roles and norms (Keskin 2009, 90–92). Many aspects of HM's philosophy can be considered as a form of Islamic humanism because the movement prides itself on promoting love, peace, and tolerance among all humans regardless of their belief system, race, and ethnicity. This manifests itself in the idea that while Muslims are brothers and sisters in religion, all Muslims and non-Muslims are brothers and sisters in humanity. In this regard HM has been described as a movement that embraces the West and the East by being a "loose entity that transcends cultures, ethnicities and even religion over several countries" (Krause 2012, 56). As noted by one scholar, HM philosophy is based on principles such as societal welfare and common good "that emphasizes the universality of values, spirituality and principles of justice" (Ibid.).

HM's approach to Islam has been described as decidedly apolitical, that interpretationally distances itself from the central concepts governing classical Islamic political theory and worldview, namely *Dar al-Islam* (the land of Islam) and *Dar al-Harb* (the land of war, non-Islamic states). In actual fact, Gülen coined a new concept, namely *Dar al-Hizmet*[18] (abode of service), as the modern alternative that should govern the relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims. *Dar al-Hizmet* covers the entire globe, and its scope and application are not limited to any belief system as it regards serving *all* of humanity as its paramount priority (Weller 2012, 19). In actual fact, Gülen has come out in support of Turkey's candidacy to the European Union and its integration into the international political

[18] https://www.hizmetstudies.org/commentary/dar-al-hizmet-abode-of-service-in-a-globalized-world/

system (Keskin 2009, 115). Furthermore, he has consistently spoken against radical interpretations of Islam.[19] Despite this, and especially in the light of the events surrounding the recent failed coup d'etat in Turkey in 2016, the political nature, ambitions, or objectives of the HM, especially in Turkey, continue to draw contrasting interpretations.

As noted briefly above, HM's activities in the 1990s became increasingly transnational in character. The first school outside Turkey opened in 1992 and then spread across countries such as Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. The next decade witnessed a further expansion of HM's educational institutions, including universities and interfaith organisations, across nearly all continents. The success and the global presence of the movement is perhaps nowhere better exemplified than in the Turkish Olympiad initiative organised by the movement which first took place in 2003. In 2012 it attracted students from more than 130 countries including from Europe, Asia, South America, and North America. This is a testament to the fact that, as one scholar puts it, "the religious discourse of Gülen has become global and adapted to local circumstances" (Weller and Yilmaz 2012, xxiii). Over the last two decades in particular, primarily driven by the legions of passionate volunteers, the HM has become a global network of people and has strong financial, economic, and cultural presence globally, including in Western liberal democracies (Keskin 2009, 92).

The HM has been very aggressive in its efforts to expand its network of private schools globally. According to some estimates, more than 1000 Gülen inspired schools and centres in more than 100 countries around the world exist.[20] The first Gülen school in Western Europe was established in Stuttgart, Germany, in 1995. By 2009, there were more than 50 such schools in Europe. Germany, largely due to its sizeable Turkish population, is the European country with the strongest Gülen presence (alongside the Netherlands), where HM operates in excess of a dozen of its schools in addition to 150 smaller educational and cultural centres (Ibid.).

Going beyond schools, in the USA context, for example, HM members manage the Turkish Cultural Centre in New York, the Institute of Interfaith Dialogue in Houston, the Atlas foundation in Los Angeles, the

[19] https://www.turkishminute.com/2017/06/08/fethullah-gulen-writes-for-politico-europe-muslims-have-a-unique-responsibility-in-fighting-terror/

[20] http://www.pewforum.org/2010/09/15/muslim-networks-and-movements-in-Western-europe-gulen-movement/

Ebru TV channel, the Rumi Forum in Washington, DC, and *Today's Zaman* newspaper. There is also a special European edition of *Zaman* newspaper that caters to the Turkish diaspora in Europe and provides a platform for disseminating information regarding details of activities and events sponsored by Gülen-affiliated organisations (Keskin 2009, 93). HM also organises intercultural, interfaith, and academic activities which take place under the sponsorships of intercultural foundations affiliated with the movement, such as the Dialogue Society in London, the Forum Für Interkulturellen Dialog (Forum for Intercultural Dialogue) in Berlin, and Queensland Intercultural Society in Brisbane, Australia. This is a conscientious effort on part of the followers of the HM in Western liberal democracies to build partnerships with the non-Muslim sector of the society (Pewforum 2010, 4). Finally, it is important to note that the HM movement tends not to enter into formal relationships with other Muslim organisations in the West as this, in their view, might have negative consequences on Muslim's ability to engage meaningfully with the majority society (Ibid.).

3.2 The European Council for Fatwa and Research (ECFR)

In this section, we briefly discuss the history of ECFR, its aims, and its major actors/members, as an example of a transnational Muslim organisation operating in the West. The European Council for Fatwa and Research (ECFR) was first established in London in March 1997 by the leaders of the Federation of Islamic Organizations in Europe (FIOE). Shortly after, its headquarters were moved to Dublin as its elected secretary-general, Hussein Halawa, was/is based there. Since then the members of the ECFR have been meeting regularly on an at least annual basis in various places in Europe, including cities such as Köln, London, Paris, Sarajevo, Stockholm, and Valencia. It is important to note that the ECFR's initial financial backing came from the UAE (Caeiro 2011, 82–84; Shavit 2015, 84).

The reception of ECFR among Muslims in the West has been of both a positive and negative nature. The latter mainly comes from the ultra-conservative groups, we termed in this chapter as "theological puritans", who consider the methodology (*manhaj*) of ECFR scholars as "misguided".[21] The ECFR's activities have caught the media attention of both the Muslim majority world as well as mainstream Western media

[21] This will be discussed in more details in Chap. 11.

such as the BBC, *The Guardian*, *Le Monde*, and *The Wall Street Journal* (Caeiro 2011, 82–84). In many ways, the activities of ECFR were building upon the existing efforts of the Fiqh Council of North America, and the scholars associated with the International Institute of Islamic Thought such as T. Al-Alwani (d. 2016). While the ECFR was conceived of and initiated by European-based Muslims (i.e. FIOE), as well as structurally controlled by them (two-thirds of the Council's members were based in Europe), in terms of its leadership the situation is rather different. Its very first president (as well as its current one) is a Qatar-based Y. Al-Qaradawi. Its vice-president was a Lebanese Islamist, Faysal al-Mawlawi, until his death in 2011 (Shavit and Zahalka 2015, 84–86).

In terms of its operational processes, membership in the Council is possible to be gained only through the recommendation of an existing member and the approval of the majority of the current members, after which the membership lasts for a lifetime. In order for one to qualify as an ECFR *fatwa*-issuing scholar, the following criteria need to be met: possession of appropriate university-level sharia qualifications or similar; a sufficient command of the Arabic language; a commitment to the ethical and religious teachings underpinning Sharia; residence in Europe[22]; knowledge of Islamic jurisprudence, as well as contextual knowledge of the situation in which Western Muslims find themselves in (Caeiro 2011, 85). The ECFR meetings take place over a number of days, and some of this time is dedicated to discussion of questions posed by Muslims in the West through a number of different media. Decisions reached are established by absolute majority and no one, including the president, has a power of a veto (Shavit in Tottoli 2015, 367). It should be noted that the ECFR is more than just a *fatwa*-issuing body, and its activities also include presentation and discussion of research papers, and *fatwa* crafting on issues outside of the purview of Western Muslims' context (Caeiro 2011, 91–92).

Since the activities of ECFR are intimately linked with the project of *fiqh al aqaliyyat* (minority *fiqh*), the bulk of the discussion of the ECFR scholars *fiqh* methodology and its aims will be presented in the context of discussions of the jurisprudence for minorities discussed in Chap. 11. Generally speaking, the existing literature on the aims of the ECFR suggests that they include preservation of religious identity of Muslims in the West in the face of manifold challenges these Muslims face as religious minorities (Shavit and Zahalka in Tottoli 2015, 366), meeting of their unique needs and solving of their special problems, and the promotion of

[22] There are exceptions to this rule as evident from the membership of the ECFR.

uniform *fatwas* wherever possible, especially on issues of great significance (Caeiro 2011, 410–411; Shavit and Zahalka in Tottoli 2015, 367).

Finally, a few words regarding the council's members and ideological leanings are in order, beyond those presented above. Scholars who have studied this aspect of ECFR have described the ideological leanings of main actors as belonging to the so-called *wasati* or "moderate" approach, as opposed to what in this chapter were described as theological puritans (Shavit 2015), and have noted its "Muslim Brotherhood" intellectual pedigree and ethos (Caeiro 2011, 87). Hence, these scholars would by and large be classified as political Islamists, based on our classification adopted from Saeed, as discussed in the previous section. Currently 34 scholars are members of the ECFR, some of which have doctoral qualifications.[23] According to its internal policies, the four Sunni schools of jurisprudence and the size of the Muslim populations of European countries are to be proportionally represented in the Council. Hence, France and Britain have the largest representation on the Council. However, as noted by Caeiro (2011, 87), ECFR:

> remains exclusively male and Sunni, overwhelmingly Arab in ethnicity, and close to the "middle-ground" (*wasatiyya*) ethos of Yusuf al-Qaradawi and the Muslim Brotherhood.

This is not to imply that the Council is entirely homogenous. In terms of the diversity of backgrounds of the ECFR scholars, Caeiro (Ibid., 89) *also* notes as follows:

> Although the external image of the ECFR is often a monolithic one, there are [therefore] several factors which contribute to internally differentiate its members, including age, charisma, mother language, country of residence, disciplinary training, formal membership in other Muslim organizations, and hermeneutical approaches.

For example, as documented by Caeiro (Ibid., 87), ECFR's members include faculty deans and professors of sharia based in the rich Gulf states; Ministers of Justice or Religious Affairs in the Arab World; "Islamists" of various stripes, as well as low profile imams and "religious entrepreneurs" who reside in the West with no financial backing; scholars and muftis with various levels of cyber literacy; and those who are single minded about a

[23] The names of the current members can be found here: https://www.e-cfr.org/ من نحن

singular madhhab approach (*taqlid*) versus those who are willing to engage in cross-madhhab hermeneutics (*talfiq*). Most, if not all, of the ECFR's scholars would, however, fall under the category of orthodox Islam (Ibid., 87).

The scholars' expertise is inevitably in the field of Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), which is considered to be the most relevant branch of knowledge to meet the aims of ECFR. Finally, it is important to note that many of the members of ECFR have a global following and a global agenda and regularly participate in a number of major global Islamic field fora. Most members of the ECFR take part in regular activities organised by most renowned Sunni "orthodox" institutions such as the Muslim World League, the Kuwaiti Ministry of Religious Endowments, and international *fiqh* councils based in Saudi Arabia. They also have a strong presence in Islamic financial institutions, such as serving on sharia boards of Islamic banks. Some high-profile members such as Qaradawi and Bin Bayyah have extensive media networks and regularly appear on satellite TV channels (e.g. Qatar-based Al-Jazeera), have their own personal websites, and are advisers on major *fatwa*-issuing websites such as www.IslamOnLine.net (Ibid., 87–88). Hence, the transnational nature of the ECFR.

4 Conclusion

This chapter identified and briefly discussed the main contemporary social and discursive orientations among Western Muslims and the major transnational Muslim organisations operating in the West. The central rationale behind this approach was to draw attention to the diversity of schools of thought currently informing the contemporary approaches to and understanding of Islam among Western Muslims, as well as to understand that there are transnational influences that operate behind some of the major Muslim organisations in the West as the case of the HM and ECFR demonstrate.

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CHAPTER 4

Immigration and Western Muslims' Identity

1 Introduction

In this chapter, Western Muslims' identity dynamics are examined in the context of them belonging to a new immigrant, minority religion community in the West. We start by examining the relationship between migration to the West and identity changes in new immigrant religious minority communities in general followed by Muslim communities in particular. We also highlight the role of scriptural hermeneutics and gender considerations, especially representations of Muslim women in the West, in understanding the dynamics behind Western Muslims' identity construction.

2 Migration and Identity Changes in New Immigrant, Religious Minority Communities in the West

To fully understand the identity dynamics of immigrant Muslim communities in the West, the dialectic between immigration and identity changes in new immigrant religious minority communities residing in the West in general requires some elaboration. This is because immigrant Muslim communities in the West are neither the first nor the only minority religion group who have found their new home there. As shall be documented

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below there are many parallels in the kind of the experiences and identity dynamics Western Muslims immigrants have been undergoing to those of new immigrant communities in the West who belong to religious minorities. Hence, the relevant research on new immigrant minority religion communities in the West, in general, can shed useful light in understanding identity dynamics among Western Muslim communities.

The impact of immigration on identity in new immigrant communities has only recently been awarded attention, although, for a number of economic, social, and political reasons, the size and the number of immigrant communities from very diverse religious backgrounds have significantly increased in the West over the last 40 years and the last 25 years in particular (Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000, 13–14; Warner and Wittner 1998, 4–8).

The change from forming a religious majority to having a religious minority status is an important factor in understanding the construction of new immigrants' religious and ethnic identities, many of whom are of a Muslim background. The reason for this is that the change in context in which new immigrant communities undergo a transition from a more homogenous majority socio-cultural setting of their country of birth to that of a secular, pluralist, and minority one in the West results in significant identity modifications (Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000, 401; Arjouch and Kusow 2007, 72–94; Yang and Ebaugh 2001, 269–288). Ammerman, for example, maintains that "circumstances and demands in a new culture inevitably shape the beliefs and practices that were taken for granted in a home country" (Ammerman 2003, 208). One reason for this is the fact that, in the majority context, religious community and society stand in a complementary relationship whilst in the minority context they stand in opposition to each other (Schiffauer 1990, 151). Hashmi (2000, 163–173) notes this change in identity as a result of the migration experience by saying that in itself, immigrant identity is a particular one since it involves the re-evaluation of oneself and one's identity when being situated in a strange environment and surrounded by different customs, traditions, and language to which the immigrant is expected to adjust. The identity modifications experienced by new immigrants belonging to minority religions are most evident in the changing nature of the relationship between their ethnic and religious identity. The dynamic between the two differs greatly depending upon the group and varies in the extent to which immigrants emphasise their religious or ethnic identity (Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000, 401).

Numerous sociological studies on religion and new immigrants highlight the central role religion plays in ethnic identity and the difficulty of separating the two (Haddad and Lummis 1987; Kurien 1998, 37–71; Numrich 1996). Indeed, at the centre of classical sociological studies of immigration and religion is the notion of the centrality of religion for immigrants, especially if they belong to a minority religious group (Herberg 1960; Mirdal 2000, 39–40). Mirdal, for example, maintains that "religious and ethnic identity especially play an important role for persons belonging to minority groups, often to the point that they predominate above all other aspects of identity" (Mirdal 2000, 39–40). Smith, furthermore, argues that the process of immigration itself is often a "theologizing experience" (Smith 2000, 1155–185), and according to Williams, immigrants become more religious in their new homes because religion is one of the important identity markers that help preserve individual self-awareness and cohesion in the group (Williams 1998, 29). Smith echoes this view by asserting that "the process of uprooting, migration and resettlement produce intensification of religious commitment on the part of immigrants" (Smith as cited in Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000, 401). Furthermore, Yang and Rose argue that the "internal" and "external religious pluralism" in Western liberal democracies "encourages institutional and theological transformations that energize and revitalize religions [of immigrants]" (Yang and Ebaugh 2001, 269–288). Alba notices the same trend in Western European societies, where religion for immigrants becomes a key institutional site for the demarcation of native-immigrant boundaries (Alba 2005, 20–49). Gilliat, writing in the context of examining identity changes in British Muslims, notes that the process of (im) migration can lead to "an invigoration of old traditions, and thus a strengthening of identity" (Gilliat 1994, 26). Waardenburg makes a similar observation by asserting that "in migrant or minority situations religion may play an important role in reaffirming and integrating identity on a communal level" (Waardenburg 2003, 485). Smith's study of religion and ethnicity in America indicates that, in the immigrant context, ethnicity is determined frequently by identification with a particular religious tradition more than any other factor, such as language or feelings of nationalism. He further maintains that traditional religious beliefs "have been decisive determinants of ethnic affiliation in America" and that the religious factor in ethnic identity is strengthened by the migration experience (Smith as cited in Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000, 401). Studies by Greeley have also alluded to the interdependence of religion and identity among

new immigrants and indicate that "religion plays an ethnic function in American society and [that] ethnicity ha[d] powerful religious overtones" (Greeley 1971, 42). Gilliat notices the same trend among British Muslims, by stating that for them the crucial dimension of their ethnic identity is religious identity (Gilliat 1994, 20–21; Cf. Baumann 2003, 279–285). For many immigrant religious minority groups, the religious component of their identity in particular, therefore, seems to be highly salient (Voas and Fleischmann 2012, 528–529).

What are the implications of these processes on the second and subsequent generations of immigrants who were born/raised in the West? It is important to note that parent immigrants, when passing their cultural heritage onto their children, consider religion to be the key to cultural reproduction (Warner and Wittner 1998, 16). However, Eid and Waardenburg argue that immigrant children focus on identity strategies which move away from both the host society and their parents' pre-fabricated boundaries (Eid 2002, 25; Voas and Fleischmann 2012; Waardenburg 2000, 49–69). Ammerman, furthermore, asserts that a "clash of cultures" takes place across generations of immigrants, resulting in the second and third generations arriving at their own relationships between ethnic and religious traditions (Ammerman 2003, 208). Although most first-generation immigrants continue to cling to their distinctive ethnic identities and practices, Ebaugh and Chafetz maintain that the "second and subsequent generation-dominated religious institutions will likely be more pan-religious and/or more pan-ethnic in their practices, identities, and memberships" (Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000, 406; Voas and Fleischmann 2012; Cf. Gilliat 1994, 242–243). That this is already the case among Western-born generations of Muslims will be discussed below.

3 Migration and Identity Changes in New Muslim Immigrant Communities in the West

Over the last three decades, greater popular support for multiculturalism and pluralism in contemporary Western liberal democracies, along with forces of economic globalisation and the changing international political climate, has fostered Western Muslims' socio-cultural embeddedness in Western societies to such an extent that "Islam is no longer [considered] an immigrant religion but a religion that has found its place in the social fabric of contemporary Western societies" (Malik 2004b, 70–84). For the

first generation of Muslim immigrants who grew up in Muslim majority societies, their Islamic identity, as a socio-historical phenomenon, was organically linked with a dominant socio-cultural/ethnic milieu. Having migrated to the West, "being a Muslim" means operating within a markedly different context, that of a minority culture surrounded by the dominant to some self-imposing even culturally aggressive Western culture/civilisation. As a result of the migration process, in which a majority culture/religion becomes a minority one, the process of de-ethnicisation and de-territorialisation of inherited ethno-religious identity occurs. That is, decoupling takes place of a particular religion from a particular culture/society, ethnicity, and territory. In the context of being a religious minority, Western Muslims, therefore, experience Islam only as a religion not as a dominant socio-cultural force (Roy 2004, 26–29, 148, 263). Thus, Cesari notes, "identities that are integrated in Muslim countries are [upon immigration] automatically deconstructed into religious, social, and ethnic components in the West" (Cesari 2004, 86).

As argued earlier, this change of context for new immigrant religious communities changes the way in which their immigrant identity, including its religious dimension, is constructed. This is because, as Gilliat reminds us, there is an "implicit relationship between the cohesion of social institutions and the individual's subjective cohesiveness of values, Weltanschauung, and beliefs" (Gilliat-Ray 1998, 349). Indeed, according to Cesari, having minority religion status becomes a decisive element in the transformation of Muslim practices and their relationship to Islam (Cesari 2004, 83). This is because, for new immigrant Muslim communities, the common defining factor is the mere reference to Islam as a religion, not Islam as a dominant socio-cultural force, as they share, in their totality, no common cultural or linguistic heritage. Hashmi also notes this change in identity as a result of the migration experience by saying that:

> In itself, immigrant identity is a particular one since it involves the re-evaluation of oneself and one's identity when being situated in a strange environment and surrounded by different customs, traditions, and language to which the immigrant is expected to adjust. (Hashmi 2000, 163–73)

In the context of American Muslim immigrants, Booth similarly asserts that "in a Muslim country one is naturally a Muslim, whether or not one takes seriously the practice of Islam. In North America, Islam becomes a conscious element in the sense of identity" (Booth 1998, 729).

The above processes are also responsible for intergenerational variation in which members of immigrant Muslim communities construct their identity, especially in the way Islam is understood (Hashmi 2003, 258; Kaplan 2005, 119; Gilliat-Ray 1998, 345–355; 425–438; Warner and Wittner 1998, 17. Cf. Ebaugh and Chafetz 2001, 431–447; Marechal et al. 2003, 12). For example, Marechal et al. observe that:

> The Islamic expression of the immigrant generations was closely integrated with the cultural frameworks and practices of the regions of origin, usually rural rather than urban. The new generation is actively, both consciously and unconsciously, separating the culturally specific from the "universally" Islamic in a process which is re-clothing the latter in a new cultural dress which is oriented to the European environment and replacing or, at least, significantly re-interpreting the cultural dress carried over from the parents' regions of origin. (Marechal et al. 2003, 534)

Therefore, the Western-born generations of Muslims did not inherit a set of well-defined Islamic social and cultural values and symbols, and thus are unable to reproduce the ethno-religious identity of their parents but have to reconstruct their own, thereby re-evaluating Islam in the new socio-cultural context (Pepicelli 2017, 62; Cesari 2004, 170). Echoing this view, Eid asserts that "second generations of Muslims re-assign new meanings and roles to Islam as an ethnic identity marker [in order] to re-appropriate and transform 'ready-made' ethno-religious identity originating in the [immigrant] community" (Eid 2002, 45–46; cf. Ebaugh and Chafetz 2001, 402–404). Gilliat describes this process as follows: "religious identity may be relativised and thrown into question by the plurality around which its construction has taken place or by which it finds itself surrounded" (Gilliat-Ray 1998, 347–354). In other words, Islamic identity for many Western-born/raised Muslims is based upon a conscious choice of religious identity reconstruction and not merely on the basis of reproduction of an inherited aspect of their ethnic heritage or tradition. Peek refers to this type of Muslim identity as "chosen identity" (Peek 2005, 215–242; Cf. Schmitt 2004, 34; also, Marechal et al. 2003, 12). Gilliat's observation that "Religion has come out as a foundation upon which [British] Muslims themselves wish to build their identity" (Gilliat-Ray 1998, 254) echoes this view.

The literature on new immigrant communities examined in the first section indicates that an emphasis on the religious component of immigrant

members' identity in immigrant minority communities generally takes on added significance. Several studies specific to Muslim immigrant communities are in line with these findings. Jacobson's and McGown's studies on identity construction among Western Muslim youth lead to Zine's assertion that the "saliency of religious identification in diasporic settings is a means to mediate the dissonance and challenge of living in environments that are laced with conflicting cultural values and practices", and "that religious identification serves as an 'anchor' amidst the contradictions and disjuncture faced by youth belonging to minority religions as they negotiate their identities within a multiethnic/multiracial society" (Zine 2001, 401–402). A number of studies of Western-born Muslim youth residing in Australia, Italy, the UK, and North America confirm this finding (Pepicelli 2017; McMichael 2002, 171–188; Gilliat-Ray 1998; Alvi et al. 2003; Ahmed 2003; Azmi 1997, 153–156; Gibb 1998, 247–267; Peek 2005; Kaplan 2005, 111–112). Hashmi (2003) comes to the same conclusion in her investigation of identities among young Muslims in Britain and France, as do Roald and Jacobsen in relation to Swedish and Norwegian Muslims respectively (Roald 2004, 179–190; Jacobsen 2005). Mohammad supports the same opinion in her research on identity construction with specific reference to gender (Mohammad 1999, 221–240). Waardenburg, furthermore, asserts that "in migrant or minority situations religion may play an important role in reaffirming and integrating identity on a communal level" (Waardenburg 2003, 485). Therefore, a considerable body of evidence suggests that the religious component of immigrant identity takes on added significance when divorced from its original/inherited environment, and that it acts as an anchor in identity resistance, maintenance, and consolidation (Pepicelli 2017; Ameli 2002, 76–80; McMichael 2002, 177–188), especially if the surrounding environment is perceived as discriminatory and/or exclusive in its orientation. Eid, in particular, summarises the literature on the links between prejudice and discrimination and the strengthening of ethnicity and religion in second-generation Muslims living in the West (Eid 2002, 50–54; cf. Cesari 2004, 170; Hashmi 2003, 66; Marechal et al. 2003, 14; Gilliat 1994, 197–200; Vertovec and Rogers 1998, 1–27). The international political climate in the post-9/11 world has, as demonstrated, among others, by Peek's study, further contributed to the religious-based identity construction among Western(–born) Muslims (Peek 2005).

Roy observes that for Western Muslim immigrants, tensions between four levels of identities exist, namely, identity based on geography and/or

kingship; the larger ethnic or national identity based on common language and culture; Muslim identity exclusively based on religious patterns with no specific reference to language or culture; and identity based on acculturation along Western patterns (Roy 2004, 17–55). Based on our discussion above, immigration to the West and the associated transition from a majority to minority religion/cultural setting conforms to the last two of the four levels of identity described above. This is especially the case for Western-born Muslims whose common defining factor is the mere reference to Islam as a religion, as Western Muslims in their totality cannot claim common cultural or linguistic heritage. The shift away from ethnic- to religious-based identity, which occurs in many Western-born/raised generations of new immigrants in the West, is also evident in some of the Western-born generation(s) of Muslims (Hashmi 2003, 168, 258–259; Roy 2004, 156; Knott and Khokher 1993, 593–610; Schmitt 2004, 32–34; Cesari 2004, 85–86; Leman 1999, 217–231). Western-born Muslims' desire to affirm their identity in a different, more open, and assertive manner to that of their parents is not only related to the phenomenon of preserving their cultural and religious continuity but, as Roy and LeVine point out, is part of the wider process of shifting identity constructions in immigrant communities as well as processes of globalisation (Roy 2004; LeVine 2003, 78–127; Malik 2004a, 93; Hashmi 2003, 166–167; Ameli 2002). As a result of this, new forms of religiosity develop (Cesari 2003, 259; Gilliat 1994, 11). Roald, for example, asserts that "[r]eligion nurtured in one cultural context and transplanted into another is bound to be subject to different forms of expression in the new environment" (Roald 2004, 183). Leman agrees that we can speak of a specific, immigration-related form of religiosity (Leman 1999, 222). In this context, Cesari highlights as follows:

> Their status as members of a post-migration religious minority affects the ways in which contemporary Muslim youth identify with religion. "First generation Islam", hampered by an uprooted sense of national identity and a weak organizational structure, is increasingly giving way to new forms of religiosity. (Cesari 2003, 259)

These new forms of religiosity among Western(–born) Muslims are constructed along variant lines and do not necessarily imply a decline in religious practice (Mandaville 2002, 219–231; Voas and Fleischmann 2012, 535). Both secularisation of Muslim identity, and the construction of

Muslim identities embedded in the pre-modern Islamic worldview, form part of these new modes of religiosity in the West. In the words of Cesari:

> The affirmation of one's "Muslimness" is naturally extremely diverse in terms of religious involvement, ranging from strict orthopraxis to more ethically-oriented forms of religious participation. (Cesari and McLoughlin 2005, 5)

Secularisation-based religiosity manifests itself in its symbolic or non-symbolic modes whilst the pre-modern-based religiosity is apparent in its revivalist or traditionalist types. Importantly, some of these modes encourage openness and dialogue with the "host" society whilst others reject the secularised or non-Muslim environment (Ibid., 5–6).

One major feature of this new religiosity in the immigrant context, especially among the young Western-born generations, is the process variously described as individualisation, privatisation, or Protestisation of Islamic faith and practice (Cesari and McLoughlin 2005, 5; Fadil 2005, 143–155; Roy 2004). This understanding of the nature and function of religion considers that one's religious identity and its manifestation is to be constrained to the private sphere only. As such, it has its parallels with the post-Reformation Protestant Christian tradition. According to this form of Western Muslim religiosity, the social functions embedded in the pre-modern Islamic religious traditions and its various modern modified manifestations are largely shunned. Furthermore, individualisation manifests itself in terms of certain other trends, such as a decline in the adherence to the traditional religious authorities, an eclecticism of religious practice based upon the principle of the individual's choice in matters pertaining to religious belief and practice, and the "relativisation" of religion and religious truth (Fadil 2005, 143). Importantly, the process of individualisation in relation to identity (re)construction performs two significant functions. Firstly, it often provides emancipation from cultural, ethnic, and patriarchal constraints, and is therefore used to disassociate individuals from established ethno-national communities. Secondly, individualisation also contests established ethno-national communities' understanding of the religious tradition itself (Ibid.; Jacobsen 2005, 155–169). However, as Jacobsen demonstrated in her study of religious identities and practices among young Norwegian Muslims, the process of individualisation ought not to be viewed simply in terms of liberation of autonomous individuals from religious tradition and "Protestisation of Islam",

but as a product of a particular kind of (post-)modern subjects. This production of modern subjects is related to how the broader forces of migration, globalisation, and modernisation transform religious identities and practices in relation to the "reproduction of Islamic normativity and authority" and the transmission of Islamic knowledge (Jacobsen 2005, 32; cf. Peter 2006). In other words, new forms of Western Muslim religiosity are linked to new understandings of Islam and who has the authority to speak on its behalf.

By contrast, another form of new immigrant religiosity among young Western-born Muslims is often characterised by religious affiliation and emphasis on "collective identities" that often seeks to "purify" Islam from the inherited ethno-cultural elements of their parents. An essential feature of this form of religiosity is, as Waardenburg, Cesari, Gilliat, Mandaville, and Jacobsen observe, an increased emphasis on the search for a "true, normative Islam" (Voas and Fleischmann 2012; Waardenburg 2000, 55; Gilliat 1994, 166, 175; Jacobsen 2005, Cesari 2004, 93–101). In the words of Schmidt, "whenever young Muslims claim their religious identity in a Western context, the proof of a profound knowledge of Islam is described as crucial" (Schmitt 2004, 36). The importance of the collective based identities based on the imagery of a global Muslim *ummah*, is a means of engendering a secure identity where experiences of being the "Other" can be shared. Noticing the above identity shift away from ethnicity towards a pan-religious, *ummah* community in Western-born Muslim youth, Cesari maintains that:

> Whilst previous generations accepted the primacy of ethnic and national ties in the practice of their religion, Muslims in Europe today often feel that these networks conflict with the universal bond of Islam…Islamic ties for these young Muslims, refers exclusively to the concept of umma, or community of believers. They express their transnational Islamic identity not just through espousal of an orthodox Islam, free from the "taint" of national or ethnic traditions, but also through their sense of solidarity with their "brothers" abroad. (Cesari 2003, 257)

Ebaugh and Chafetz similarly note that some members of the second and third generations of Muslims are especially committed to the practice of a purer, "accultural" form of Islam (Ebaugh and Chafetz 2001, 403–404). Leonard notes a similar trend among "many young American Muslims" who are on what she terms an "Islamic roots trip". The same dynamic is

also noted in the work of Gilliat and Nielsen (Leonard 2005, 121; Gilliat 1994, 186–188, 198; Nielsen 1997, 138). Naber's study of young, second-generation Arab men and women in San Francisco identified a group of accultured Muslim youth whose religious identity overrode their ethnic affiliation (Naber 2005). Meshal's study on veiling in Muslim women in Canada is also in line with these findings. It especially applies to those women who wear a hijab (Meshal 2003, 95–96). Roy also observes the emergence of this de-cultured, global, religious-based Muslim identity (Roy 2004, 105–106, 120). Schmidt, in her study of 15–30-year-old Western-born/raised, well-educated Muslims living in Denmark, Sweden, and the USA, argues that the migration process itself added to the "purification" of Islam and its acculturation (Schmidt 2004, 37). Significantly Hussein, Peek, Cesari, Roy, Wiktorowicz, and Fukuyama note that the processes of de-territorialisation, immigration and the context of secular, plural Western societies, alongside the experience of racism, socio-economic exclusion, and an international political climate which has resulted in the politicisation of the Muslim identity, foster the development of accultural forms of Islam that are often linked to radical Islamism and a highly politicised, defiant identity (Hussein 2004; Peek 2005; Cesari 2003, 264–265; 2004, 53–54, 95–109; Roy 2004, 232–290; Wiktorowicz 2005; Fukuyama 2006, 5–21; Voas and Fleischmann 2012). However, other forms of non-symbolic religious-based identity have also been acknowledged, one of which, the progressive Muslim identity, we discussed in the previous chapter.

Importantly, among some members of Western-born Muslims, this religious-based identity is not constructed along identical points of reference (Voas and Fleischmann 2012, 535) and its meaning is often contested. Indeed, Waardenburg and Cesari observe that Europe, and Western societies in general, is an arena in which different versions and traditions of Islam compete with each other and there exist different ways of being a Muslim (Waardenburg 2000, 59; Cesari 2004, 91).

4 The Role of Scriptural Hermeneutics in Western Muslims' Identity Construction

According to Ammerman, religious tradition forms a type of a powerful "meta-narrative", a religious narrative. A religious narrative is a narrative in which "religious actors, ideas, institutions, and experiences play a role

in construction of identities" (Ammerman 2003, 16). Religious narratives, in fact, act as the "building blocks of individual and collective religious identities" (Ibid.) which are also affected by a particular understanding (or interpretation) of the religious tradition itself, that is, its primary, normative sources (Wadud in Webb 2000, 3–21). As shown above, scholars argue that in the context of Muslim immigrant descendants, the normative sources and the search for true, normative Islam are particularly important (cf. Pepicelli 2017, 66–67; Waardenburg 2000, 55–56; Wadud in Webb 2000, 3–21). Sardar's pronouncements in this regard are quite pertinent:

> One must contemplate the nature of Muslim identity. The Muslim is the adherent of Islam, whose basis is the Qur'an, the Word Of God, and the Sunnah, the life of the Prophet Muhammad. The whole of the Qur'an and Sunnah as exhortation, principles and prescriptions are the fundamental building blocks of what it means to be a Muslim. The nature and content of these original sources are the ultimate definition of Muslim identity, and will remain valid for all time. (as cited in Duderija 2008, 391)

Furthermore, as discussed above, the (radical) change in the context from a homogenous majority religion/culture to that of a heterogeneous minority religion/culture brings into the foreground and facilitates the changes in interpretation of sources of faith and, to borrow Vroom's term, the "interpretative schema" (Vroom 2007, 230)[1] which become central to their identity dynamics (Vroom 2007, 230). Speaking in the context of Muslims in Europe, Waardenburg asserts that what he refers to as the normative character of Islam for Muslims is a social fact and that normative Islam based on literature, on Islamic law, and its theory (*usul al-fiqh*) has "obtained a new relevance for Muslims living in Western societies", that it is of "utmost importance" and that it has "practical relevance" (Waardenburg 2000, 55–56). This view is confirmed by several other empirical studies conducted, for example, by Noekel (2002), Boos-Nuenning et al. (2005), and Pepicelli (2017).

Therefore, any attempt to understand the religious identity (construction) among Western-born generations of Muslims needs to take this important element into account (Pepicelli 2017, 67). Duderija (2008)

[1] By which he means the "entirety of the explicit and informal rules for explaining and applying the sacred text" (Vroom 2007, 230).

terms this the scriptural-hermeneutical factor in religious identity construction.

This phrase, scriptural-hermeneutical, refers to a particular approach to the interpretation of primary sources of the Islamic worldview, namely the Qur'an and the Sunna. However, as it has been shown elsewhere (Duderija 2011), religious tradition and its sources are subject to various interpretations. These interpretational differences, argues Wadud, in the case of Islamic tradition are crucial in constructing of variant religious identities (Wadud in Webb 2000, 3) including the variant concepts of normative female Muslim identity (Arjouch and Kusow 2007, 72–94), a point we discuss in the next section of this chapter.

5 Immigrant Muslim Women and Western Muslims' Identity Construction

Hashmi maintains that in the transplanted context of immigration religion for immigrants becomes a powerful vehicle of difference, distinctiveness, and categorisation between the Self and the Other (Hashmi 2003). Certain religious identity markers, such as a particular way of dressing, communicating/interacting, or the adoption of certain religious symbols, act as means of creating and maintaining difference, categorisation, and distinction. For example, Benn and Jawad, in the context of discussing the experiences of Muslim women in Europe, argue that "visual indicators are highly significant in issues of cross-cultural integration" (2003, xiii). This is especially so in the case of the veil worn by some Muslim women in the West (Mohammad 1999; Meshal 2003). For example, Meshal (2003, 93), in the context of investigating the dynamics surrounding the Muslim minority in Canada, argues that women who wear the veil, amid social climate controversies over immigration and multiculturalism, are identified by Canadians of established stock as the "Other", clearly impacting on how these Muslims women construct their identity as members of new minority religion community. Given the above, gender-related issues, especially those pertaining to representations of Muslim women, are also an important factor in understanding Western Muslims' identity constriction and require further elaboration.

Before we examine the gender-related aspect of Western Muslim identity construction in more detail, a few remarks regarding the representations of Muslim women in the broader context of "culture wars" between

the West and Muslim majority societies in general and in Western Muslim contexts are in order.

Representations of Muslim women are central to political debates on cultural identity, relationships between Muslim societies and the West, tradition and authenticity, and cultural specificity and globalism (Elsadda 2001; Zine 2004). Furthermore, women in Islamic discourses play a vital role in the (re-)construction of Muslim religio-cultural identity (Ahmed 2012; Afary 1997) and even more so in the context of an immigrant minority group (Mohammad 1999). Women, moreover, on the basis of the traditional interpretation of religious precepts, are considered as cultural carriers, transmitters, and bearers of identity in second-generation immigrants across different, and not just Muslim, cultures (Arjouch 2004, 387). Mohammad notes this centrality of women in Muslim communities in terms of identity reconstruction and preservation and argues that this centrality takes form in intensifying:

> …collective interest in the regulation of women's bodies and sexualities through measures, which focus on both the body and the psyche, visually, spatially and temporally. It is also expressed in Islamic concepts of family life, which are construed as pivotal in the maintenance of social order and in the resolution of wider socio-economic problems. (Mohammad 1999, 225)

Moreover, young Muslim women living in Western societies are usually represented in terms of the conflict between "traditional" (i.e. "authentic") and "Western" (i.e. foreign/alien) values (Pepicelli 2017; Mohammad 1999, 226–227). Further re-enforcing this is the presence of the racist environment evident in some spheres of Western societies, which generate stereotypical biases about Muslims which are reinforced within Orientalist discourses (Mohammad 1999). Moreover, the Orientalist and Islamist rhetoric put pressure on the Muslim woman to become a symbol of Islamic authenticity and as such a signifier of the exterior/interior space, the "them/us" dichotomy (Ibid.). Furthermore, these similarities in Orientalist and Islamist discourses of knowledge construction are also indicative of how dominant Western stereotypes and Islamist visions of authority intersect (Khan 1995).

Relevant literature points to a link between an increased attractiveness of the Islamist vision of the "Muslim woman" construct based on the emphasis of difference and distinction through adoption of certain practices, such as veiling and the context of immigrant minority cultures in

multicultural societies of the West. This applies also to some professionally educated Muslim women living in the West (Ahmed 2012; Khan 1995; Mohammad 1999; Maumoon 1999). Additionally, studies suggest that the context of living in a plural, Western liberal democracy as a member of an immigrant minority religion can also contribute to the strengthening of the Islamist "Muslim woman" construct (Ahmed 2012; Afshar 1989; Mohammad 1999; Pepicelli 2017). For example, Mohammad's study of working-class Pakistani Muslims in southern England demonstrates how the fears of the West's seduction and moral degradation pose a challenge to (Muslim) groups' honour, morality and identity, "which lead to renewed efforts to protect 'cultural authenticity' by redrawing the group's boundaries, for example by imposing greater socio-spatial restrictions on young women" (Mohammad 1999, 230; Pepicelli 2017, 67). Similarly, Afshar's empirical studies of Pakistani Muslim women in Yorkshire also underscored the relevance of Islamic discourse in relation to group identity construction. She argues that the assertion of a Pakistani Muslim identity is understood in opposition to "the West" and positions women as both the "guardians and the guarded", in a manner that shares much in common with the constraints on their movements and dress experienced by women in Iran (Afshar 1989).

Mohammad (1999) identified four factors which are responsible for what she refers to as "socio-spatial regulation of Muslim women" which, in turn, create a sense of "separation" between Muslims and non-Muslims in the Western context. Additionally, they are also used as distinct markers of Muslim woman's identity by some members of Western Muslim communities. These factors can also be seen to contribute towards the sense of distinction and differentiation between the Muslim and non-Muslim members of the Western societies.

The first factor Mohammad identifies is in the field of education. For example, the demand for mushrooming Muslim schools and, in their absence, single-sex schools for girls amongst the Pakistani Muslim community in southern Britain reached its peak after the Salman Rushdie affair and continues to expand to this very day (Ibid., 225). Education in public colleges and universities is discouraged by the predominantly, if not exclusively, male community leaders due to the possibility of gender intermingling and possible illegitimate sexual encounters beyond the watchful eyes of the family/community (Ibid.). In some cases, educational institutions are seen as spaces of nurturing dissent and radical thought, especially in the form of the feminist theory of knowledge which is seen as antithetical

to "Islamic" concepts of the role and status of a woman or family life (Hiro 1992).

The labour market is another socio-spatial regulatory mechanism identified by Mohammad (Mohammad 1999, 233–234). It is conceived as being even more threatening than education since it "increases the capacity for women to undermine and destabilize the traditional family within which the head is always male" (Ibid., 233).

Sexual regulation through early marriage is another significant socio-spatial regulatory practice identified by Mohammad. It is "a key means through which both group identity and women's position within the group are preserved and consolidated" (Ibid., 234). The emphasis on early marriage in particular, argues Mohammad further, fulfils two functions in relationship to female gender identity construction and strengthening group cohesion. According to Mohammad, it "places girls in their future roles as wives and mothers at a time in their lives when they generally lack the maturity to have fully developed ideas about their own wishes and about what they want to resist", and "enables parents to transfer the responsibility of daughters and their sexualities" to "more able young men" (Ibid.; cf. Afshar 1989, 228–247).

Dress is the final socio-spatial regulatory practice identified by Mohammad (1999, 235–236). Dress, argues Dwyer, "has become an over-determined signifier for the identity of young British Muslim women" (Dwyer 2000, 475–486). Similarly, Hoodfar writing in the context of function of the veil in North America maintains that dress has significant social and political functions "serving as a non-verbal medium of ideological communication" (Meshal in Alvi et al. 2003, 3). Benn and Jawad (2003, xiii) echo this sentiment by stating that visual markers such as the hijab are highly significant in issues of cross-cultural integration. The role of dress, especially the veil, argues Dwyer, is seen as a primary signifier of a distinct oppositional Muslim religious identity vis-à-vis Western identity for Muslims and non-Muslims alike (1999, 5–26). Indeed, Meshal argues that "it is impossible to separate the issue of hijab in the Canadian context from larger questions of gender and cultural identity, assimilation and discrimination" (Meshal in Alvi et al. 2003, 102). The practice of veiling, furthermore, ensures that "essentialised and oppositional identities are straightforwardly read from appearances" (Mohammad 1999, 225). Similarly, Todd (1998) points out that veiling "is a powerful symbol, which can reveal a host of meanings, linked to the self-definitions of two [Muslim and non-Muslim] communities". The veil, therefore, in the

minority culture context of Western Muslims is often seen as a marker of foreignness, and for those Western Muslim women who adopt it, wearing it can have detrimental consequences in terms of their social acceptance. According to Zine, this situation, in turn, gives rise to the emergence of "a specific discourse of Foreignness and Otherness", framing the way in which Muslims see their identities as "being socially evaluated and ultimately rejected" (Zine 2004, 233). Meshal's (2003, 100–101) study on the hijab in Canada confirms this by indicating that integration and the wearing of veil exist in an inverse relationship. In her study of young British Muslim women, Dwyer echoes this sentiment by asserting that the (Muslim) Asian versus West dichotomy is often reinforced through choice of dress, re-inscribing or strategically fixing essentialised identities (Dwyer 1999). These types of dynamics in turn "cause[s] insularity with respect to Muslim interactions with others" (Zine 2004, 233). Therefore, a pursuit of a distinct Muslim female religious identity in the context of an immigrant minority religion, with the emphasis on the veil's function as "forming a cultural context for expression of social, political and religious meanings" (Ibid., 220; Ahmed 2012, 209–211), can be seen to facilitate or further re-enforce the antagonistic and exclusivist group identity construction between Western Muslim and non-Muslim communities, thus affecting the Muslims' social orientation. Meshal's (2003) study, as mentioned previously, confirms this view. Indeed, it is pertinent to point out that, according to Hoodfar (2003, 39), the negative portrayal of Islam and Muslims in the West proved to be a motivating factor for some women to take up the veil. Hence it is a two-way process of what could be termed an exclusivist Self-Other identity construction.

There is also mounting evidence from many minority communities indicating that young Western-born Muslim women are increasingly adopting a more explicitly "Islamic" dress including the hijab (Ahmed 2012; Maumoon 1999, 270; Ali 2005; Leonard 2003, 121–122; Gibb 1998, 262; Rozarioa 1999, 653; McMichael 2002, 181). Furthermore, Dwyer (1999) and Meshal (2003, 98) argue that for some young, Western-born Muslim women, wearing a veil seems to play a decisive role in the construction of new Western Muslim identities. It ought to be noted here that the rationales for donning of the veil are complex since "multiple meanings [are] associated [with] veiling which vary historically, culturally and politically" (Zine 2004, 27; cf. Alvi et al. 2003). Indeed, argues Zine, "…as a form of social communication and bearer of cultural and gendered norms, the Muslim veil is one of the most provocative and

evocative forms of dress eliciting as many diverse and conflicting reactions as there are reasons ascribed to its adaptation as a distinctive dress code for women" (Zine 2004, 220). The increased practice of veiling amongst Muslim women in Western societies has, therefore, to be seen in the "broader context of modernity, globalization and social change", and, apart from being a symbol of alienation from mainstream society and a marker of Otherness, the practice is a result of "complex personal, religio-political, class or local affiliations" (Dwyer 1999, 6). In this form, the veil's original or historical scripture-based meaning, which has been linked to a legacy of patriarchy embedded in scriptural tradition (Ahmed 1992; Barlas 2002), has been replaced by a host of diverse meanings. These range from those of opposition to inherited ethnic culture and racialised discourses of exclusion to a symbol of political protest/resistance (usually in the form of political Islam), from a sign of moral purity and to that of strong commitment to religious identity or a tool of security in unfamiliar, potentially threatening environments as well as many others (Pepicelli 2017, 70; Dwyer 1999, 6–9; Maumoon 1999, 271–272; Todd 1998; Zine 2004, 221–225).

6 Conclusion

As outlined above a number of factors and forces that shape Western Muslims' identity dynamics are shared with other new immigrant religious minority communities. This is an important consideration to take into account in order not to fall into the trap of considering Western Muslim communities to be somehow exceptional in their (in)ability to integrate or relate to the broader societies in which they reside. However, there are also Western Muslim specific factors which influence Western Muslims' identity dynamics that we highlighted in this chapter, namely the role of scriptural hermeneutics and the role of gender, and especially that of the category of what could be termed a normative "Muslim woman" construct in this process. As Voas and Fleischmann (2012) remind us the research on Western Muslim identity is still too underdeveloped to allow us to draw any definite conclusions with respect to many pertinent questions this chapter addresses. Hence, what this chapter did do was to only highlight some of major concepts, process, and factors that could assist us in understanding these dynamics better.

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CHAPTER 5

Multiculturalism

1 Introduction

Multiculturalism has been a defining characteristic of many Western societies since at least the last third of the twentieth century but has faced considerable opposition over the past couple of decades. Much of this opposition has arisen in the context of terrorism committed in the name of Islam, perceptions of Muslim-minority communities as resistant to integration and of Islam as incompatible with Western society. Multiculturalism refers to "a theory of political identity and a derivative set of policies" designed to both support the expression of minority cultures and facilitate their incorporation into the majority society (Wright et al. 2017, 103). Most multicultural societies in the West are the product of immigration policies that have facilitated the settlement of people with diverse ethnicities, languages, and religions. Multiculturalism is often contrasted with assimilation, by which the expectation is for migrants to adopt the host society's culture and language as well as other markers of national identity such as values and attitudes. Capturing the divergent positions in the debate over multiculturalism, a recent study states:

> Proponents of these policies argue that they facilitate the integration of culturally diverse immigrants and help bind them to their new country. Critics argue that entrenching cultural differences undermines national unity and social cohesion and that group-differentiated rights are fundamentally incompatible with liberal principles of equal treatment of individuals. (Wright et al. 2017, 103)

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Islam and Muslims have become central to the claimed failure of multiculturalism (Farrar 2012) and retreat from it in many Western societies (Joppke 2004). This chapter examines competing scholarly perspectives and current poll data concerning Muslim communities in the West in relation to multiculturalism. It argues that the perception of Islam as a central contributor to the failure of and retreat from multiculturalism in the West is misplaced and proposes that closer attention needs to be paid to the role of the post-colonial, anti-Western ideology of Islamism in undermining multiculturalism in the West. This chapter concludes by reaffirming the importance of multiculturalism in promoting an appreciation for the benefits of cultural diversity and the integration of Muslims into Western societies.

2 Background

A number of multicultural countries, including Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the USA, were established as settler colonies that displaced, subjugated, and/or attempted to eradicate their indigenous populations. They also maintained long periods of immigration restrictions in order to encourage racial homogeneity and dominance of White settler populations. In the latter half of the twentieth century, these countries replaced their immigration restrictions and assimilationist policies with multiculturalism, in part due to an ideological shift, humanitarian concerns, and also out of pragmatic interests to address labour needs. Different approaches to immigrant incorporation have been applied in Western societies during the post-WWII era, and they have continued to evolve in recent years as conflicts in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) have driven record numbers of migrants into neighbouring countries and into the West, particularly Western European countries.

In some European countries, such as Germany, the multicultural character of society came about not through a conscious, ideological embracing of cultural diversity but a consequence of importing migrant workers to fill labour shortages. This guest worker model has been an ongoing challenge for the immigrant incorporation process, particularly with respect to issues concerning rights and citizenship. Most migrant-receiving states in the West have adopted some form of immigrant incorporation. At one end of the spectrum, countries such as Australia, Canada, the Netherlands, Sweden, and the UK have actively sought to incorporate migrant populations through multicultural policies, encouraging and supporting migrants to maintain their religious and cultural identities with a

view to creating societies built on the strengths and benefits of diversity. At the other end of the spectrum, countries such as France (and the Netherlands since the 1990s) have pursued an assimilationist model of incorporating immigrants based on more assertive expectations in relation to the adoption of national culture and identity.

Joppke and Modood, two leading, most often-cited authorities on multiculturalism, hold opposing views on its implications in Western societies. Joppke is critical of multiculturalism, emphasising the limitations of the doctrine and advocating for civic integration. While Modood acknowledges some of these limitations, he advocates for a reaffirmation of multiculturalism with some adjustments. Modood (2005) defines multiculturalism as a two-way process but one that accepts multiple templates of integration and "recognizes the social reality of groups", which encourages "new forms of belonging to citizenship and country" and generates "the formation of hyphenated identities" such as Jewish-Americans, Turkish-Germans, and Muslim-Australians as part of the process of incorporating minorities (p. 3). Noting the evolving and contested nature of such hyphenated identities, Modood (2005) argues that such constructs function as "a legitimate basis for political mobilisation and lobbying" (p. 3), but the outcomes of which may vary in different social contexts.

Modood (2005) highlights that a successful multiculturalism needs to be complemented by a confident national identity in which minorities are to be incorporated. By contrast, assimilation is a one-way process whereby newcomers make the least possible disruption to the status quo and requires the least change from the majority (Modood 2005, p. 3). While the USA is regarded as a melting pot of diverse ethnicities and cultures, its incorporation of immigrants is seen as exemplifying assimilationist rather than multicultural policies. Jews, for instance, are considered to have successfully assimilated, but as Modood (2005) notes, "the use of this term includes awareness that they have also changed the American society and culture they have become part of" (Modood 2005, p. 2). Since the turn of the century, integration has gained considerable ground in the West vis-à-vis multiculturalism as the preferred approach to immigrant incorporation. Integration is more of a two-way process for both minorities and majorities than assimilation. However, Modood (2005) contends that when politicians in Britain and especially continental Europe speak of integration, often what they have in mind is "assimilation" (p. 2), hence a retreat from multiculturalism.

3 Retreat from Multiculturalism

The retreat from multiculturalism has been attributed to a number of factors. Joppke (2004) considers this phenomenon in Australia, Britain, and the Netherlands and identifies three key factors: (1) a lack of public support for multicultural policies, (2) deficits and failures of multicultural policies in relation to socio-economic indicators, and (3) a new assertiveness of the liberal state to impose liberal principles (p. 237). He documents concerns in relation to Muslims and the capacity for multiculturalism to facilitate the establishment of Islamic institutions that may be contrary to Western liberal values and principles.

Modood (2005) highlights a number of arguments put forth in the wake of the London 7/7/05 bombings that attribute the attacks to a failed policy of multiculturalism. These included assertions that the bombers were "a consequence of a misguided and catastrophic pursuit of multiculturalism" and "the children of Britain's own multicultural society" (p. 1). He also points out that prior to the bombings, concerns with multiculturalism were expressed in the contexts of "cultural separatism and self-segregation of Muslim migrants" which "represented a challenge to Britishness, and that a 'politically-correct' multiculturalism had fostered fragmentation rather than integration" (p. 2). Modood highlights a prevailing sentiment of multiculturalism as out-of-date and incapable of producing minorities that embrace the national identity. He defends multiculturalism as a worthwhile political project but concedes that it needs to be complemented with integration.

Opponents of multiculturalism point to the demands of Muslims on the state for concessions, exemptions, and accommodation of various cultural and/or religious claims, which are seen as a challenge to "a unified, un-differentiated citizenship" (Statham et al. 2005, p. 428). Statham et al. (2005) examine the relationship between migrants' group demands and liberal states' policies for politically accommodating cultural and religious difference, focusing particularly on Islam. They compare migrants' claim-making for group demands in Britain, France, and the Netherlands, which have different traditions for granting recognition to migrants' cultural differences. The authors note that "while some migrants' group demands are for 'parity' of treatment with other religious and ethnic groups, others go further, requesting special or 'exceptional' treatment relative to other groups in society" (p. 431). It is the latter that is often associated with Muslims.

In more than half of the migrant group demands studied by Statham, Koopmans, Giugni, and Passy (2005), demands were made using religious forms of identification. Such was the case for a majority in France (53%), six-tenths in the Netherlands (60%), and two-thirds in Britain (66%). Moreover, the vast majority of group demands were made by Muslim migrants (France 51%, the Netherlands 47%, and Britain 61%). The authors found this surprisingly high given the prominence of cultural or ethnic rather than religious markers of identity afforded by the states respectively. They contend that "it is the public nature of the Islamic religion, and the demands that it makes on the way that followers conduct their public lives, which makes Islam an especially resilient type of identity, and which results in claims-making for group demands" (p. 441). The qualitative analysis reveals problematic relationships between Islam and the state, "in the overly multicultural Dutch approach, within British race relations, and French civic universalism" (Statham et al. 2005, p. 427).

A number of studies have identified the public manifestation of contemporary Islam in the West as a key factor in its negative public perception, particularly in relation to multiculturalism. For instance, Australian discourse about the "resistance" of Muslims to modernity and Australian values of individualisation and secularisation is grounded in a "fear of political Islam" (Humphrey 2001, 34). Furthermore, a recent study of Australia's anti-Islam groups' social media content concludes that "concerns about terrorism and perceived political threat from Islam are paramount" (Miller 2017, 383). This more public, politicised version of Islam is discussed below in relation to the umbrella concept of Islamism. Islamism's emphasis on public and political manifestations of religion made Muslims stand out and put them at odds with Western values of individualisation and secularisation (Peter 2006; Humphrey 2001) at a time when the West was about to be confronted by the threat of Islamist terrorism, notably the attacks on 9/11 in the USA, followed by 7/7 in Britain and more recent attacks claimed by ISIS in Belgium, France, Turkey, the USA, and Australia. Akbarzadeh and Roose (2011) note that even moderate Muslims are accused of disloyalty and complicity: "The extreme right view moderate Muslims as a 'Trojan horse' for a more radical Islamic agenda" (p. 319).

It has also been argued that in the fight against violent extremism Western governments have, perhaps inadvertently, negatively impacted on non-Muslim perceptions of Islam and Muslims. Dunn, Atie, and Mapedzahama (2016, 282) contend that government policies and initia-

tives intended to promote social cohesion and harmony and counter violent extremism have stigmatised Muslims in general by "an overriding emphasis upon Muslim vulnerability to extremism". The authors assert that "the unfortunate effect of this mission is that a militant threat is officially confirmed, and, moreover, this reinforces many of the core stereotypes of Islam in the West: militancy, fanaticism, intolerance, fundamentalism, misogyny and alienness" (Ibid.). While 54% of US adults say there is little or no support for extremism among Muslim Americans, 35% say there is at least a "fair amount" of backing for extremism among US Muslims, including 11% who think there is a "great deal". As has been argued elsewhere, Western media organisations have contributed to such perception through both the selection and framing of stories concerning Islam and Muslims, but such reporting reinforces and is reinforced by political discourses (Rane et al. 2014). The result of which is that Islam and Muslims are viewed with suspicion by Westerners.

Statham et al. (2005) suggest "there is no easy blueprint for politically accommodating Islam, whose public and religious nature makes it resilient to political adaption" (p. 427). This conclusion arises in part from the notion that Islam cannot simply be confined to privatised religious faith, but advances into the realm of politics where the state's authority and civic citizenship reign supreme. However, as will be discussed below, what is often termed "Islam" refers to Islamism. Modood (2005) cautions that Islamist ideology is "inimical to multiculturalism" as it seeks to "divide people into two (Muslims and non-Muslims)" and tends to promote a singular identity (p. 6). Before proceeding to discuss Islamism in relation to multiculturalism and Muslims in the West, we will first consider the most recent quantitative data concerning the perceptions of Islam and Muslims in Western societies.

4 Western Public and Muslim Community Perspectives

Particularly on the political right, there is extensive scepticism over Muslim integration. Norris and Inglehart (2012), however, compared the social values and attitudes concerning religiosity, sexual liberalisation, gender equality, and democracy of Muslim migrants with those of their country of origin and destination and found they fall roughly midway between the two. They conclude that Muslim migrants "gradually absorb the much of

the host culture" but not at the same rate of change occurring among Western populations (p. 228). However, perceptions seem to play a more important role in shaping Western attitudes towards Muslims and Islam.

A recent study by the Pew Research Center (2017) found that many Americans have "reservations about the role of Islam in society" (Pew 2017). A plurality of US adults (50%) say they do not see Islam as part of mainstream American society and only three-in-ten US Muslims say the American people see Islam as mainstream. Also, one-quarter of US adults (25%) think half or more of Muslims in the USA are "anti-American", while an additional 24% say they think "some" Muslims are anti-American. More Americans say Islam is not a part of "mainstream American society" (50%) than say that it is (43%).

Majorities across Europe think Muslims in their country want to be distinct and do not want to adopt the country's way of life. This ranges from 78% in Greece, 76% in Hungary, 68% in Spain, 61% in Italy and Germany, to 54% in the UK, 53% in the Netherlands, 52% in France, 50% in Sweden, and 45% in Poland with a median score of 58% across the ten countries. These scores are much higher among those on the political right, including 80% of UKIP and 76% of National Front supporters, compared with 40% of Labour and 42% of Socialist Party voters in Britain and France respectively (Pew 2016).

In Australia and the USA, views on whether Muslims want to be distinct or adopt the country's way of life are divided with 46% in Australia and 43% in the USA saying Muslims want to be distinct and 42% in Australia and 43% in the USA saying they want to adopt the country's way of life. Half of the Australian respondents, 45% of Americans and 48% of Europeans agreed that it is important for minorities to share the customs and traditions of the country in relation to the national identity. Additionally, speaking the national language is considered very important by 77% of Europeans, 70% of Americans, and 69% of Australians (Pew 2017). It is noteworthy, however, that 80% of Muslims in Australia speak English well, very well or are native speakers (Hassan 2015).

Views on the integration of Muslims have changed over time in some countries. Compared with responses given in 2005 when the question was first asked, there has been an increase of 23 percentage points in Germany, 12% in the UK, 11% in the Netherlands, and 7% in France who say Muslims want to adopt national customs. Still, there remain significant minorities that say most or many Muslims support ISIS: Italy (46%), Hungary (37%), Poland (35%), Greece (30%), Spain (25%), France (19%), the UK (17%),

Sweden (16%), the Netherlands (16%), and Germany (12%). In no country polled does a majority say that very few Muslims support ISIS, although a number of countries come close: the UK (48%), Germany (48%), Sweden (46%), and France (44%). In spite of certain apprehensions with Muslims, the Pew (2016) study finds that 56% of Americans and 49% of Australians say that growing cultural diversity makes their country a better place to live, however, a median response to this question among Europeans is only 22% across ten European countries surveyed.

A recent study by the Brooking Institution examined whether Americans differentiate between Islam and Muslims and found more unfavourable views of the former than the latter (Telhami 2015). This is attributed to what the report describes as "strong anti-discrimination norms—to express dislike of an abstract idea rather than to appear prejudiced toward people". Views of Islam worsened in the months after 9/11, with unfavourable views of Muslims rising from 39% three weeks after 9/11 to 61% a decade later in 2011 where it remained at the time of the poll in 2015. During this time, favourable views of Muslims dropped from 47% in 2001 to 33% in 2011, but in 2015 reached 53%.

A majority (57%) of Americans say most people in the West and the Islamic world have similar needs and wants, while a minority (39%) say Western and Islamic religious and social traditions are incompatible (Telhami 2015). The report also finds youth, higher education, and interaction with Muslims to positively correlate with more favourable views of Islam and Muslims and a rejection of a clash of civilisation thesis. The relationship of these demographic factors to perceptions of Muslims has been identified in earlier studies elsewhere (Rane 2010a). However, the report finds that these findings do not hold in the case of Islam:

> …knowing some Muslims, even well, does not influence American views of Islam as much. While those who know Muslims have slightly improved views of Islam, still, majorities of Republicans and Independents retain an unfavorable view of the Muslim religion. And even Americans who say they know some Muslims very well are divided down the middle in their attitudes toward the Muslim religion. (Telhami 2015)

In part, this relates to a perception of Islam as intolerant. A Gallup (2012) study found that one in five Americans say "Muslims around the world do not want peace and are not accepting of other religions and of people of races other than their own" and that unfavourable views of Islam are

expressed by 36% of respondents who reported no personal prejudice towards Muslims. Unfavourable views of Islam were expressed by 91% of those who indicated a great deal of prejudice towards Muslims.

Recent poll data also suggests that another key factor in the retreat from multiculturalism could be the perception of and actual relationship Muslims have with democracy, given that democracy is a defining characteristic of Western countries. According to Pew (2017), 44% of US respondents think there is a natural conflict between Islam and democracy, while 46% say there is not. Perhaps more importantly, two-thirds of American Muslims (65%) say they do not think there is a natural conflict between the teachings of Islam and democracy, but three-in-ten say there is an inherent conflict between Islam and democracy. Additionally, in response to the statement "democracy is a Western form of government and is not compatible with Islam", a study of Muslim Australians found that over one-quarter of respondents agreed, with 14% totally agreed and another 12% expressed that they think that "most aspects of Islam are not compatible with democracy" (Rane et al. 2011). To what extent does such thinking reflect established Islamic dogma or a more recent Islamist influence among Muslim?

Akbarzadeh and Roose (2011) assert that "Islamist groups view the Western model of government and the policy of multiculturalism as detrimental to Muslim identity and Islam" (p. 313). They highlight that groups such as Hizbut Tahrir (HT) see "democracy and multiculturalism as a ploy to weaken the faith, remove Muslims from the truth and subdue them" (Akbarzadeh and Roose 2011, 314). For those who adopt violent extremist interpretations of Islam, democracy is viewed as a form is *shirk* (idolatry). For instance, the Al-Qaeda leader Ayman al-Zawahiri considers democracy a false religion that must be destroyed because God is the only source of legislation, not human beings. From his perspective, democracy allows human beings to legislate and thereby set themselves in the place of God. At the time he emerged from prison in 1984, al-Zawahiri condemned the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood as *kuffar* (infidels) for their attempts to participate in the political process of the country, an act he regarded as "sacrificing Allah's authority by accepting the notion that the people are the ultimate source of authority" (Rabasa and Benard 2015, p. 27).

This thinking does not originate in the Qur'an, formative years of Islam or even in classical or early modern Islam (Rane 2010b). Muslim intellectuals dating back to the 1800s have advocated democracy and argued for

its compatibility with Islam. Azzam Tamimi (1997) documents that as early as the 1830s, Rifa'a Tahtawi (d. 1873) was among the first Arab-Muslim scholars to praise democracy and explain its compatibility with *shariah*. Other notable Muslim advocates of democracy include Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani (d. 1897) who framed his arguments in respect to the need for justice, consultation and adherence to a constitution in Muslim countries in order to combat despotism and ensure rulers are accountable to the public (Tamimi 1997). By the latter half of the twentieth century, however, a number of influential Muslim leaders opposed democracy and advocated alternatives based on the concept of an Islamic state.

The idea of an Islamic state characterised by the implementation of *shariah* is a modern phenomenon championed by Abul A'la Maududi (d. 1979) in the context of British colonial rule and the identity politics of the Indian subcontinent in the years preceding partition. In response to Muslim League calls for a Muslim state of Pakistan, Hindu calls for a secular India, and communist calls for a socialist state, Maududi perceived a threat to the Islamic identity and called for the establishment of "Allah's government", *hukumat-e-ilahiya* or an Islamic state (Ahmad 2009). Central to Maududi's opposition to democracy was his conception of *tawhid* (Islamic monotheism) by which he interpreted sovereignty as belonging exclusively to God, precluding the legitimacy of any legislation other than what he considered to be of divine origin (Maududi 1976). This perspective denies that *shariah* is a human interpretation of the Qur'an and the prophetic traditions that occurred over hundreds of years following the death of the Prophet Muhammad (Kamali 2008). Maududi (1976) considered Islam to be "the very antithesis of secular Western democracy" as "the philosophical foundation of Western democracy is the sovereignty of the people" (p. 264). Maududi's concept of an Islamic state found support among other influential Islamist thinkers and leaders of the time. It is noteworthy that Maududi played a prominent advisory role at the Islamic University of Medina in Saudi Arabia, an institution that has been at the forefront of disseminating Islamist ideology underpinned by Salafist, particularly Wahhabist Islam (Farquhar 2017). The extent of Saudi proselytising of Islamism, Salafism, and particularly Wahhabism among Western Muslim communities Laurence (2012, 54) describes as follows:

> The boom in Saudi proselytism around the world—through the construction of grand mosques, the circulation of millions of free Wahhabi prayer books, and the dispatching of missionaries and imams—was funded by pet-

> rodollars at an estimated expense of more than $85 billion between 1975 and 2005, reflecting a determined effort to establish spiritual and political hegemony over Muslim practice. King Fahd (1982–2005) personally financed the building of 210 Islamic centres and supported more than 1,500 mosques and 202 colleges and almost 2,000 schools for educating Muslim children in non-Islamic countries.

A few studies of Muslims in the West allow for differentiation of attitudes, religiosity, and values in relation to affiliation with mosques and Islamic organisations. While not an intended focus of their study of Muslims in Australia, Atie, Dunn, and Ozalp (2015) have identified a significant difference between responses of Muslims interviewed face-to-face at mosques or Islamic spaces and those interviewed via telephone. To the question of mixing with non-Muslims in the workplace, socially and in educational settings, those who responded face-to-face at mosques or Islamic spaces that they did so very often or often were significantly less likely than Muslims interviewed via telephone (workplace 82:88, socially 60:76, and education 71:87). Differences were also apparent among those who responded that they never or hardly ever mixed with non-Muslims (workplace 8:3, socially 11:4, educational settings 12:8).

Additionally, drawing on the same dataset, Dunn, Atie, and Mapedzahama (2016) made similar findings. To the question of whether Islam is consistent with Australian norms and society, 64% of mosque respondents versus 83% of telephone respondents strongly agreed or agreed. Concerning whether relations between Muslims and non-Muslims in Australia are friendly, 45% of mosque respondents versus 86% of telephone respondents strongly agreed or agreed. Forty-seven percent of mosque respondents versus 83% of telephone respondents strongly agreed or agreed that Muslims are well integrated into Australian society. To the questions of feeling Australian, 74% of mosque respondents versus 98% of telephone respondents strongly agreed or agreed. Concerning whether it is important that one's children are/would be fully accepted as Australians, 84% of mosque respondents versus 98% of telephone respondents strongly agreed or agreed.

Such disparity indicates that those most closely associated with mosques and Muslim community organisations perceive Islam to be less consistent with Australian norms and society, and relations with non-Muslims to be less friendly. They also consider Muslims to be less well integrated, and identify less as Australians, than those who are potentially less associated

with Muslim communities. Among those interviewed via telephone through random selection may be a higher representation of Muslims who are less associated with Muslim community groups and organisations and for this reason may differ in their identity, views, and experiences in relation to non-Muslims and Australian society. This disparity could be attributed, at least in part, to the understanding and practice of Islam among Muslims most closely associated with the mosques and Muslim community today, through which Salafism and Islamist ideology more generally have been propagated since the latter decades of the twentieth century (Laurence 2012).

Laurence (2012) documents that an Islamist subculture has been established by Political-Islam federations through the provision of Islamic prayer spaces, imams, lecturers, and social activities. He notes that "although such organizations may represent a relatively small membership base in terms of the local Muslim population (usually only 2–4 percent), they often control a sizable proportion of the registered Muslim religious associations and prayer spaces—sometimes as many as one out of three—where mosque-going Muslims congregate to socialize and pray" (Laurence 2012, 41).

Many Muslims in the West are motivated to relocate to areas close to a mosque and where their children will be able to attend Islamic schools in order to protect their Islamic identity (Bouma 1994; Tinker and Smart 2012; McCreery et al. 2007). According to the 2011 Australian census data, approximately one-third (32%) of the Muslims in Australia live in one of about 80 suburbs in which the proportion of Muslims is at least five times higher than the percentage of the state's Muslim population in which these suburbs are respectively located. Moreover, the number of such suburbs with high concentrations of Muslims has increased over time as has the proportion of Muslims who reside in these suburbs.[1]

According to Humphrey, "for the migrants themselves the act of migration challenges both their sense of self-worth and the value of their cultural heritage", and through "the act of migration they are asked to

[1]The data analysed are from the Australian Bureau of Statistics 2001, 2006 and 2011 Census of Population and Housing and are based on the "Place of Usual Residence" and "Religious Affiliation" questions of the Census (questions 8 and 19 respectively). Data for 2006 and 2011 were accessed using the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) Table Builder programme and data from the 2001 Census were accessed from the QuickStats section of the ABS website.

judge the states, societies and cultures from which they emigrated by the opportunities and possibilities offered them in the developed world" (1990, 211). Humphrey (1990) has argued that the extent to which Muslim communities in the West are able to reside in relative isolation from the wider society, they are able to obtain the benefits of the developed world but maintain a sense of perceived loyalty to their home country, culture, and religion. While further research is needed as to the teachings that circulate under the guise of Islam in such Western Muslim communities, there is reason to be confident that those of a more public, politicised, isolationist and anti-Western nature derive from Islam much less so than they do from Islamism. It is to this issue that this chapter will now turn.

5 Islamism

Islamism is a term that was used by European scholars of Islam since the end of the seventeenth century in reference to the religion of Muslims. By the 1970s, Western scholars of Islam began to use a multitude of terms to capture the religiously inspired political movements and developments in the Muslim world, most notably those associated with Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood and related movements, Saudi Arabia's spread of Wahhabism, and Iran's Islamic revolution (Zakariyya 2005). These terms, including Islamic fundamentalism, radical Islam, Islamic revival, and political Islam, attempted to reflect the political, sometimes violent, anti-Western, anti-democratic characteristics of the phenomenon (Esposito and John 1999). In the aftermath of the 9/11 terrorist attacks, Islamism became the most widely used term in reference to Shi'a and Sunni, including Wahhabi and Salafist groups,[2] that support the dominance of a totalitarian interpretation of Islam that sees the West as antithetical and for some groups justifies the use of violence to achieve national or global political goals (Mozaffari 2007).

Islam and Islamism are not the same thing. The former is a faith, while the latter is an ideology that borrows from the religion of Islam for its legitimacy:

[2] Wahhabism is an extremist, legalistic, puritanical interpretation of Islam developed and dominant in Saudi Arabia and exported around the world. It is a form of Salafism, which attempts to interpret Islam according to what is thought to be the understanding and practice of the first generations of Muslims.

> …there is a distinction between the faith of Islam and the religionized politics of Islamism, which employs religious symbols for political ends. Many will deny this distinction, including most prominent Islamists themselves. There is no doubt that many Islamists hold the sincere conviction that their Islamism is the true Islam. In fact, however, Islamism emanates from a political interpretation of Islam: it is based not on the religious faith of Islam but on an ideological use of religion within the political realm. (Tibi 2012, vii)

Mozaffari (2007, 21) defines Islamism as "a religious ideology with a holistic interpretation of Islam whose final aim is the conquest of the world by all means". He contends that "Islamism is more than merely a 'religion' in the narrow sense of theological belief, private prayer and ritual worship, but also serves as a total way of life with guidance for political, economic and social behavior" (2007, 22). Islamism selectively uses the teachings of Islam to form the sets of ideas that comprise the ideology, which it reproduces as legitimate religious obligations. Islamism is not a monolithic movement with a central leadership, nor is the use of violence among its constituent groups consistent or systematic (Mozaffari 2007).

Tibi (2012) refers to two broad groups that he calls institutional and jihadist Islamists. The former, often referred to as the moderates, have embraced procedural aspects of the democracy and are prepared to use the ballot box rather than violence to achieve their political goals. The latter, generally seen as the extremists or radicals, overtly use violence, irregular warfare, and terrorism for the same. Both, however, in Tibi's assessment "are two aspects of a single transnational movement" (Tibi 2012, 10).

Building on the earlier ideas of Pakistan's Jamaat-e-Islami founder Abul A'la Maududi (d. 1979) and Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood leader Sayyid Qutb (d. 1966), Islamism's central goals include the establishment of an Islamic state or caliphate based on the implementation of legal code called *shariah* (Rane 2010b). It should be noted, however, that the Islamists' characterisation of *shariah* as a legal code is inconsistent with the concept of a moral path used in the Qur'an (45:18) and in Islam's formative years by the Prophet Muhammad and his companions (Kamali 2008; Tibi 2012). The Islamist conception of *shariah* as a legal code also differs from its use in Islamic civilisation's classical era (eight–thirteenth centuries) when it operated as a jurists' law that reflected their individual judgements concerning *ibadat*/matters of worship (prayer, charity, fasting, pilgrimage,

etc.), *mu'amallat*/civil matters (marriage, divorce, inheritance, trade, commerce, etc.), and *hudud*/specific crimes and punishments (theft, adultery, defamation, etc.). During this period, matters of state, such as administration, taxation, warfare, and foreign relations, were in a separate category called *siyasa* (policy and administration) and were the prerogative of the caliph (Kamali 2008; Tibi 2012). *Siyasa* was not associated with *shariah* until the fourteenth century when Ibn Taymiyyah (d. 1328) did so in response to the destruction of the caliphate by the Mongols in 1258. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to elaborate but even the political institution of the caliphate is not found in the Qur'an or the hadith and thus its implementation cannot be considered a religious obligation as detailed in a study by an Al-Azhar scholar, Ali Abdel Razek, written in 1925 (Razek 2013).

The conception of *shariah* as a legal code is an invention of twentieth-century Islamists. Aside from an attempt by the Ottomans at codifying in the late nineteenth century, there is no precedent in Islamic history for its implementation as a legal code of an Islamic state:

> This is an entirely new phenomenon within Islam, and the claim that it restores some historical institution is precisely an invention of tradition: an effort to inculcate certain behavioral values and norms by asserting continuity with imagined past practices. But it is a necessary invention. The claim to derive its laws not from human deliberation but from the will of God is central to Islamist ideology. (Tibi 2012, 25)

Over time, the Islamist movement has been increasingly dominated by Salafism, which was imported by Muslims who found work in the booming Gulf oil economies, exported through petro-dollars that funded the building of mosques, publication of religious literature, training of imams, and establishment of a global network of organisations (Prokop 2003; Blanchard and Prados 2007; Laurence 2012) and more recently has found expression in the narratives, laws and school textbooks of ISIS (Shane 2016). Western countries were not insulated from the ideological war being waged in the Muslim world but are an important battleground (Laurence 2012).

The conflating of Islam and Islamism exists not only in the minds of Muslims and non-Muslim publics but extends to government, media, and even academia:

> In the field of Islamic studies, the difference between Islamism and Islam is largely ignored or even dismissed. But…the distinction is crucial to any belief that Muslims can live in peace with non-Muslims. The religious faith of Islam is not an obstacle to peace or a threat to the non-Muslim other. Islamism, on the other hand, creates deep civilizational rifts between Muslims and non-Muslims. (Tibi 2012, vii)

Tibi (2012) contends that the conflating of Islam and Islamism, by Muslims and non-Muslims drives intra-Muslim conflict as well as religiously sanctioned animosity towards non-Muslims as well as Muslims who do not accept the Islamist agenda as a true expression of Islam. Based on a review of religious treatises and *fatwā*s published mainly since the 1980s, and interviews conducted with imams and attendees of numerous prominent mosques and Islamic organisations in West countries, Shavit (2014) argues that Salafis promote an understanding of "*al-walā' wa-al-barā'*" (loyalty and disavowal) that requires Muslims to refrain from befriending or loving non-Muslims or imitating their beliefs and customs. He defines Salafis in relation to this concept as follows:

> …in the contemporary sense of the word, those who represent the dogmatic elements in the Saudi religious establishment as well as non-Saudis inspired by them, and who advocate a strict, literalist understanding of the Qur'an and the Prophetic traditions and conservative social views—apply this concept to argue that God and His Prophet commanded the believers to reserve their love and friendship for Muslims and to disassociate themselves from infidels, despise them and avoid imitating their beliefs and customs. The concept has evolved to become a pillar of the salafī approach, justifying its call to minimize Muslim interactions with non-Muslims as well as to curtail the integration of Western norms into Muslim societies. (Shavit 2014, 67)

He also finds that "Since the 1990s, salafī treatises and fatwās on 'loyalty and disavowal' have proliferated in Western mosques and on internet portals, promoting an anti-integration agenda" (Shavit 2014, 68). These *fatwas,* he says, "manifest distaste for modern practices (in particular those associated with Western culture or values), rejection of indulgence in leisure activities that distract believers from devoting their lives to worshiping God, and emphasis on the need to strictly segregate women from the public sphere" (Shavit 2014, 70). Moreover, Salafis have invoked loyalty and disavowal to argue that "friendly personal interrelations between

Muslims and non-Muslims are prohibited and that Muslims should not resemble infidels or imitate them" (Shavit 2014, 72). Shavit argues that "the concept was developed and promoted to the core of contemporary salafi writings because it enhanced two of their main ideological objectives: totalistic devotion in faith and practice and a minimization of the impacts of Western culture on society" (2014, 72). He contends that it "reduces the potential for Muslim integration into Western societies" although "salafis in the West interpret and apply these texts in various ways, some uncompromising, some more flexible" (Shavit 2014, 83). In any case, the influence of the *salafi* doctrine of *al-walāʾ wa-al-barāʾ* can be seen in poll data on Muslim–non-Muslim relations:

> About one-in-three US Muslims say all (5%) or most (31%) of their close friends are Muslim. About half (47%) say some of their friends are Muslim, and roughly one-in-six say hardly any of their friends are Muslim (15%) or that they have no Muslim friends (1%). A smaller share of Muslims today say that all or most of their friends are Muslim compared with 2011 or 2007, when about half of U.S. Muslims said this. Muslims who say religion is very important to them are much more likely to say that all or most of their friends are Muslim than are those who say religion is less important. (Pew 2017)

Multiculturalism in Europe and elsewhere has given mixed signals to Muslim migrants concerning cultural expectations (Humphrey 2001), and for some observers, its indiscriminate honouring of cultural difference has facilitated Islamism (Laurence 2012). Until the major Islamist terror attacks of the early 2000s, Islamists were allowed to operate openly without obstruction from authorities in many Western countries, especially in the UK (Tibi 2012). Among the socially marginalised Muslims of Europe, including the poor ethnic underclass as well as the more privileged middle class, who face the brunt of a culture they find practices "exclusionary racism" in spite of multiculturalism, are those who find expression of their resentment in "Islamist identity politics" (Laurence 2012, 82).

Moreover, there has been extensive cooperation between European and the Muslims governments of the diaspora communities whereby Islam in the West has been influenced by foreign approaches, methods, and interpretations rather than local experiences and expressions more likely to produce indigenous forms of Islam in the West that are more conducive to local contexts:

> Both the European governments and Muslim states purposely worked against integration for decades by promoting native language retention and the maintenance of distinct cultural and religious identities that did not mingle with the majority society—the very traits that would later be cited as evidence of failure to integrate. (Laurence 2012, 56)

Mirroring the issues addressed in a study by Wright et al. (2017) of multiculturalism and Muslim accommodation, Laurence documents that Islamists' morality campaigns, most aggressive in areas related to co-education and the defence of Islam's presence in the public sphere, drive concern about Islam and Muslims as "many of the most infamous nonviolent confrontations between 'Islam' and 'the West' between 1990 and 2010 can be traced to the presence of Political-Islam networks in Europe" (2012, 41), who he finds "have demonstrated an unmistakable propensity toward censorship" (2012, 87). He explains:

> Their success has reinforced fears that they will encourage native-born European Muslim generations to disregard the rule of law in favor of a higher calling: "al-Qur'an dusturna" (the Qur'an is our constitution). Islamist spokesmen objected to images of the Prophet Mohammad in British novels, Italian frescoes, and Danish caricatures, or in operas in Geneva and Berlin. They encourage "modesty" among young women, and push for their right to wear headscarves and skip physical education class. To some observers, they are pursuing the creeping Islamization of Europe. (Laurence 2012, 41)

Laurence adds that "Since 1989, the networks created by Islamist prayer federations have come to pose the strongest challenge to the "secular" rule of law in Europe" (2012, 87) and that "When critics of Islam suggest the religion is in need of Reformation, or accuse Muslim leadership of a "double discourse"—preaching conciliation and dialogue in European tongues, while exhorting religious fervour in their native languages—it is Islamist leaders whom they have in mind" (2012, 88). Within scholarly circles there is a view that "if the Islamic religion tends to fuse religion and politics…any official recognition of Islam or establishment of policies that benefit Muslims' religious claims-making will inevitably weaken the foundations of liberal democracy" (Laurence 2012, 123). Consequently, "some theorists have stressed the need to differentiate between society's support for 'pluralism' and the capitulation of 'multiculturalism'" (Laurence 2012, 123). Such discourses remain outside of political correct-

ness in many Western societies in large part because of the conflation of Islam with Islamism and that the latter remains under-recognised and examined in the context of Islam and Muslim communities in the West.

This chapter has not addressed claims that discourses attributing the failure of multiculturalism to Islam constitute Islamophobia. Tibi (2012) contends that Islamists have not only used the claim of Islamophobia to deflect legitimate criticism of the ideology but invented it for this purpose:

> As well as contributing to polarization between Muslims and the non-Muslim other, Islamism also generates ferocious infighting within the community of Islam. In its jihad against "enemies of Islam," Islamism seeks to excommunicate even liberal Muslims from the *umma*—the worldwide Muslim community. To protect themselves against criticism, Islamists have invented the formula of "Islamophobia" to defame their critics. (2012, vii–viii)

These claims will be examined and discussed in Chap. 10 along with the implications of Islamists' use of Islamophobia to deflect criticism of Islamism and to some extent undermine the prevalence of more indigenous, de-politicised interpretations of Islam in the West.

6 Conclusion

Following the Second World War, many Western nations, among them former colonisers of Muslim-majority countries, lifted immigration restrictions allowing the settlement of what have become significant Muslim-minority populations in the West. Among many of these countries, particularly in Europe, multiculturalism constituted the ideology and policies for incorporating new migrants. However, the latter half of the twentieth century also witnessed the emergence of a new ideology in the Muslim world, Islamism that has selectively drawn on the religion of Islam in pursuit of its political agenda. A failure to distinguish Islam from Islamism, not only among Western governments, media, and publics but within Muslim communities as well, has significantly contributed to unfavourable views of Islam in the West, perceptions of Muslims as undesirable citizens, and claims that multiculturalism has left Western societies vulnerable to unwelcome social change and threats to national security. A number of Western countries have retreated from multiculturalism due to such

concerns or the political exploitation of them by right-wing parties and groups. However, there continues to be widespread support for multiculturalism and recognition of the benefits of cultural diversity in the West. We contend that both would be strengthened to the benefit of Western societies and their Muslim-minority communities to the extent that Muslims and non-Muslims make a distinction between Islam and Islamism, recognising the former as a religion and the latter as a political ideology that Western multiculturalism should feel no compulsion to accommodate.

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CHAPTER 6

Institutionalisation of Islam

1 Introduction

The issue of Islam's institutionalisation in the West is significant for it is often Islamic institutions and organisations that are front of mind when considering the state and nature of Islam in the West. Although they may be constituted by and operate in the service of a minority of Western Muslims, they tend to represent the public interface of Islam with the state and society (Dassetto et al. 2007). The institutionalisation of Islam in the West has evolved over time, beginning with the provision of services to enable Muslims to fulfil religious requirements such as the right to build mosques and recognition of Muslim marriage and burial rites to those that cater to a more Islamist agenda of institutionalising *shariah* through Muslim Arbitration Tribunals, sharia councils and courts, as well as concessions for the incorporation of aspects of Islamist ideology into existing institutions under the guise of religion.

This chapter defines and describes the institutionalisation of Islam in the West, with a focus on the processes associated with establishing religious, legal, and educational institutions. While a number of researchers in this area make comparisons between Muslim and other religious communities in the West concerning the institutionalisation process, this chapter contends that in many cases, what is attempted to be institutionalised by Muslims is not religion per se but Islamist ideology. As such, Western governments should be cautious about such processes to the extent that

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supporting them in the name of equal citizenship, non-discrimination, and freedom of religion may in some cases be contributing to outcomes that undermine these values and principles (Silvestri 2010). On the one hand, the institutionalisation of Islam is seen as a means of promoting the integration of Muslim migrant communities in the West, but on the other hand, these processes run the risk of officially recognising and accommodating values, norms, and institutions that may be antithetical to Western societies and have no basis in Islam beyond what has propagated as such since the latter half of the twentieth century.

2 Overview

The institutionalisation of Islam in the West has been variously defined in relation to political, sociological, and/or legal processes (Ferrari and Bottoni 2014) to accommodate Islamic practices in Western societies (Maussen 2007), for the official recognition of Islam by state agencies (Maréchal 2003), and the official recognition of Muslim norms in various aspects of law (Rohe 2009). Ferrari and Bottoni define the institutionalisation of Islam in the West as:

> the whole set of processes and legal and political mechanisms aimed to structure Muslim communities at local, national, and/or transnational level, to grant them [Muslims] the right to exercise religion in worship places, and to allow the development of Muslim associations and the recognition of certain practices within the framework of existing political and legal systems (2014, 629).

Over the past decade, the scholarly literature on the institutionalisation of Islam in the West has grown considerably. The major forms of institutionalisation of Islam in the West that have been examined include the construction of places of worship (Cesari 2005; Maussen 2007); employment and training of *imams* and Muslim chaplains (Birt 2006; Limage 2000); establishment of Islamic schools and other institutions for religious education (Liederman 2000; Limage 2000; Soper and Fetzer 2007); legality of wearing headscarfs (and other religious symbols) in public institutions, particularly schools (Liederman 2000; Limage 2000; Soper and Fetzer 2007); production and consumption of *halal* products, particularly meats derived from Islamic ritual slaughter (Bergeaud-Blackler 2007); formation of Islamic associations and organisations (Limage 2000); and the

establishment of Islamic councils and tribunals (Coste 2013; Laurence 2012). Buijs and Rath (2006) have identified multiple, sometimes overlapping, spheres in the institutionalisation of Islam in the West, including:

- Religious: pertaining to the right of religious freedom of Muslims manifested in the recognition and accommodation of religious leaders, festivals, practices, and places of worship;
- Legal: recognition of religious practices and provisions in family law such as marriage, divorce, inheritance and custody, dispute resolution;
- Educational: Islamic schools, religious education in public schools, and training of religious leaders;
- Socio-economic: ritual slaughter and halal certification, financial institutions, and business associations;
- Socio-cultural: organisations and associations in the service of women, youth, elderly, sporting groups and clubs;
- Health and social care: spiritual assistance in hospitals, prisons, and military, as well as ritual procedures such as circumcision; and
- Political: political participation, creation of political organisations and parties.

Among the major debates concerning the institutionalisation of Islam in the West are secularism versus non-discriminatory freedom of religion and equality (Silvestri 2010), multiculturalism versus civic integration (Silvestri 2010; Birt 2006), and the incapacity of, mainly overseas trained, imams to provide culturally appropriate and relevant guidance and direction for Muslim institutions (Birt 2006; Limage 2000). Moreover, it is in Europe where the most significant developments in the institutionalisation of Islam and academic research on this phenomenon are occurring. Hence, most of the examples and discussion within this chapter will be derived from the European context. While Muslims constitute between 2% and 3% of the populations of Australia and North America, in many Western European nations their proportion of the population is significantly higher (Belgium 5.9%, France 7.5%, Germany 5.8%, the Netherlands 6%, and the UK 4.8%). As described by Laurence (2012), the Muslim presence in Europe has become "a nation-building challenge of historical significance" (p. 2).

3 Development

The institutionalisation of Islam in the West should be understood as a process in progress, one that is evolving differently in different Western countries according to shifting political and policy dynamics. This is unlikely to be a question that will be settled in the near future as Muslims are still to evolve from an immigrant religion to one that is part of the Western cultural and religious landscape. However, a number of recent studies highlight the existence of a more traditional, apolitical Islam that was practiced by early Muslim communities that had migrated to the West in the late 1800s and early 1900s prior to the large-scale migration of Muslims to the West since the 1970s (Dassetto et al. 2007; Howell 2014; Rane et al. 2015).

As a consequence of changes to previous immigration restrictions, in many cases to address labour shortages and in accordance with newly adopted policies of multiculturalism, the institutionalisation of Islam in the West has its origins in the 1970s when the numbers of Muslims migrants increased significantly. Although Muslims were present in the West prior to this time, the manifestation of their faith tended to be a private matter. Early Muslim migrants to Western Europe and other parts of the Western world did not emphasise Islam in their relations with the state and wider society (Dassetto et al. 2007; Howell 2014; Rane et al. 2015). Citing work from the formational decades of Muslim communities in the West, Dassetto, Ferrari, and Maréchal note the following:

> Even early direct immigrants from Muslim countries hardly emphasized Islam during the 1960s, and this continued through the mid-1970s. For example, consider the work of M. Catani [*Le journal de Mohamed,* 1973], one of the first French-language studies of the "experiences" of immigrants from Muslim countries. Not a word is said about Islam, other than a brief prayer for health and for a marriage partner. Islam was a very sketchy reference point, even a private one, for Muslims themselves as well as for the non-Muslims they were living beside. (2007, 3)

The demands for the institutionalisation of Islam changed in accordance with the broader Muslim world's more assertive Islamic identity that developed with the spread of Islamism since the 1970s and 1980s (Tibi 2012). With the support of Muslim majority countries including, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Morocco, Libya, and others, the establishment of mosques and other places for worship expanded to include additional Muslim

institutions and organisations. Dassetto, Ferrari, and Maréchal identify the mid-1970s as a significant turning point in the way ideological developments in the broader Muslim world would soon begin to impact on the growing Muslim populations in the West: "in Muslim-majority countries where, in response to a renewed demand for Islam from the people, a number of projects appeared that aimed at inserting Islam into a certain political and even geopolitical context" (2007, 3). For example, the number of prayer rooms and mosques in Western Europe increased from only a few dozen at the beginning of the 1970s to over 2000 by the mid-1980s (Dassetto and Bastenier 1988). By the beginning of the 1990s, the number had grown to about 3000 and then to 8000 at the turn of the century (Dassetto 2001; Maréchal 2003; Maréchal et al. 2003). Dassetto, Ferrari and Maréchal contend that the ideological drivers of initiatives to institutionalise Islam in the West comprise "multiple currents" of Muslim thought but "since the 1970s, literalist schools (and to a lesser extent institutionalists) have dominated the European scene, and indeed that of worldwide Islam" (2007, 26).

Accordingly, the institutionalisation of Islam has included processes of shariatisation. Tibi (2012, 24) explains this concept as "one of the key areas in which Islamism invents tradition in its call for a 'return' to 'shari'a law'", which was not part of the early Islamic tradition but developed in the Abbasid era (750–1258) and was further (re)invented in the second half of the twentieth century (Kamali 2008; Tibi 2012). The process of shariatisation refers not only to the Islamist agenda of institutionalising this reinvented conception of *shariah* but also "the claim to derive its laws not from human deliberation but from the will of God is central to Islamist ideology" (Tibi 2012, 25). Shariatisation is a manifestation of religious fundamentalism and "a major issue in the distinction between Islamism and Islam" (Tibi 2012, 161). Based on this perspective, to facilitate the institutionalisation of *shariah* through, for instance, establishing Islamic courts, councils, or arbitration tribunals in the West, is not upholding principles of equality, respecting religious freedom, or adhering to policies of multiculturalism but contributing to the conflation of Islam and Islamism and facilitating the dominance of the latter over the former within Muslim communities in the West. To the extent that this point is ignored or neglected by Western governments, the institutionalisation of Islam in the West poses a risk to the integrity of Western values and principles as well as the long-term success of Muslims as productive, respected, and accepted fellow citizens of Western states.

4 Processes

The institutionalisation of Islam in the West refers to two interrelated processes. The most common one is bottom-up, initiated by Muslim communities, such as the formation of religious, representative, educational, and other organisations with which the state can engage and interact. The other is a top-down process of state recognition and the affording of some legal status to Muslim organisations (Ferrari and Bottoni 2014). These processes arise out of the Western model of separation of state and religion. They tend to follow a pattern of religion-state relations based on the state's accommodation of Christian institutions in the formative stage of nation-building, followed by recognition of subsequent religious groups, most prominently Jewish communities. On this basis and based on the principle of equal citizenship regardless of gender, ethnicity, or religious affiliation, Muslims have been able to achieve similar recognition and institutionalisation of "Islam". Ferrari and Bottoni explain as follows:

> …the distinction between politics and religion goes hand in hand with the cooperation between political and religious authorities. It implies that the religious communities are to organize themselves in a way that makes possible their dialogue with state authorities. This requirement is the link that connects the cultural context…to the legal one. (2014, 621)

Due to the diversity of Muslims in the West as well as the multiplicity of laws and policies of Western states concerning state-religion relations, there is no single model concerning the institutionalisation of Islam in the West. However, three principles can be identified—religious freedom, autonomy of religious communities, and cooperation between State and religious communities—as a "common core" that facilitate such processes (Dassetto et al. 2007, iv). Numerous studies confirm that the degree and nature of the institutionalisation of Islam is mostly determined by the extent to which the state allows such processes (Kaya 2010; Koenig 2007; Rath et al. 2001).

A range of factors impact on these processes, including the history of the state's relations with Muslims, particularly former Muslim colonies (Ferrari and Bottoni 2014; Maussen 2007); religion-state relations as determined by the state's constitution (Maussen 2012; Soper and Fetzer 2007); precedents set by the state's dealing with other religious communities (Limage 2000); the socio-economic conditions of Muslim

communities (Ferrari and Bottoni 2014); the ethnic composition of Muslim communities and support provided by foreign governments (Laurence 2012; Citak 2013); as well as considerations pertaining to matters of social integration and national security (Loobuyck et al. 2013). The following provides some further discussion of three of these: colonial experiences, constitutional arrangements, precedents established in relation to other religious communities, and considerations of social integration and national security.

4.1 Colonial Experiences

Almost all Muslim-majority countries were either directly colonised or under the influence of European powers during the first half of the twentieth century. During the second half of the twentieth century, most of the Muslims who migrated to various European countries came from these countries' former colonies. While Muslim relations with the Western states in which they now reside have been shaped by immigration policies, in European countries particularly, experiences of colonisation have had a significant influence on Islam's institutionalisation (Ferrari and Bottoni 2014).

In the post-colonial era, France, for instance, became a major destination for Muslims from former French colonies in Africa, particularly Algeria and Morocco. Maussen (2007) argues that although *laicite* has shaped practices and policies towards Muslims in France, it cannot account for many of the ways the French state and society have dealt with Islam. During colonial times, the French colonial state aligned itself with selected religious leaders and paid the salaries of *imams* and the maintenance of mosques in the overseas territories. In Europe, Islamic symbols such as mosques were displayed at colonial expositions and a monumental mosque was built in the centre of Paris between 1922 and 1926 (Maussen 2007). Maussen (2007) explains the motive behind keeping Islam under French control was the fear that Islamic reformist movements constituted an inspiration for resistance against Western rule. Moreover, he suggests the French wanted to develop a "modern Islam" based on "French ideas", which would be an alternative to Arab "fanaticism". France was also supportive of Muslim religious practice among colonial workers and later as transient migrant workers (Maussen 2007).

Maussen (2007) notes that, until the 1980s, Islamic practice was largely hidden from view because it was practiced in prayer rooms located in the

cellars of apartment blocks where most of the migrant workers lived, but as it became apparent that Muslims were settling in France, issues such as equal treatment, visibility, and religious freedom became matters of public debate. The state also engaged with the idea of developing an "Islam of France", which would be fully compatible with French secularism and modern values and function as a counterweight to "fundamentalism". Between the 1980s and 1990s, "Cathedral Mosques" established in several French cities showcased a place for Islam in French society and the potential for the emergence of a "French Islam" (Maussen 2007). This was rivalled, however, by the new urban reality of "neighbourhood Islam" characterised by private, middle-sized Islamic centres, which raised fears of further segregation and self-imposed isolation of Muslim communities in France. According to Maussen, "one can also argue that Muslims communities in France, which establish their own religious infrastructure seek to liberate themselves from tutelage of French public authorities and foreign governments" and that "it remains to be seen whether France is willing to make a place for an Islam which is not under the control of the French state" (2007, 999).

4.2 Constitutional Arrangements

The history of religion-state relations predates issues of Islam's institutionalisation in the West. Constitutional arrangements of Western states have had to address relations with the Church as well as accommodate demands of other religious communities that obtained their citizenship prior to the waves of Muslim migrants in light of constitutional provisions. Soper and Fetzer (2007) argue this policy divergence is a result of the pre-existing Church-State practices in each country, as well as the history of country-specific arrangements that have been worked out over time between religious groups and the state. They contend that religion-state relations do not "determine" but "shape" accommodation policies. Their study finds that the differing responses of Britain, France, and Germany to Muslim demands are largely a consequence of variant institutional arrangements between Church and State in the three countries. Britain has been described as fairly open to accommodating the cultural and religious needs of Muslims in accordance with its policy of multiculturalism. In the context of education, for instance, Britain has allowed various religions, including Islam, to be taught in religious-education classes and has also allowed girls to wear the *hijab* in public schools. In France, by contrast, an

assimilationist policy has seen an absence of Islam from the curriculum, aside from what may be taught about the Muslim world in history and geography classes, as well as disapproval of *hijabs* to be worn in French schools. Closer to the British and in contrast to the French model, Germany has also shown more openness to accommodating the religious and cultural needs of Muslims, including allowing Muslim groups to write the curriculum on Islam for the required religion courses in state schools in certain cases (Soper and Fetzer 2007).

Established or institutionalised patterns, like principles and rights, such as freedom of religion, have been and continue to be re-interpreted and re-framed depending on competing discourses of incorporation, coalitions and power relations, and crucial events. Acts of terrorism by Islamist militants have been central to a rethinking of multicultural policies and constitutional provision in relation to religion-state relations. Joppke (2004) considers the question of a retreat from multiculturalism in Australia, Britain, and the Netherlands, documenting concerns in relation to Muslims and the capacity for multiculturalism to facilitate the establishment of Islamic institutions that may be contrary to Western liberal values and principles. Modood (2005) highlights a number of arguments put forth in the wake of the London 7/7/05 bombings that attribute the attacks to a failed policy of multiculturalism. These included assertions that the bombers were "a consequence of a misguided and catastrophic pursuit of multiculturalism" and "the children of Britain's own multicultural society" (p. 1). He also points out that prior to the bombings, concerns with multiculturalism were expressed in the contexts of "cultural separatism and self-segregation of Muslim migrants" which "represented a challenge to Britishness, and that a 'politically-correct' multiculturalism had fostered fragmentation rather than integration" (p. 2). He identifies a prevailing sentiment of multiculturalism as out-of-date and incapable of producing minorities that embrace the national identity.

4.3 Precedents of Other Religious Communities

Most Western governments had available precedents for dealing with religious demands, including those of non-Christian religious communities. Despite the controversy surrounding issues of institutionalisation of Islam in the West, such as building mosques and religious assistance in prisons, hospitals, and military service, matters that pertain to religious rites and rituals "do not pose new or particularly difficult legal problems" and can

be solved "by applying well-established rules which already apply to other religious communities" (Dassetto et al. 2007, iv). Other cases, such as ritual slaughtering, religious holidays, availability of separate sections in cemeteries, supply of religiously permitted food in the canteens of schools and prisons, require more caution to the extent that they create or enlarge exceptions within the law. However, while most of these issues have also been addressed with other religious communities (Dassetto et al. 2007), the accommodation of Islamic religious rites and rituals have become contentious due to Islamist terrorism and the intense scrutiny under which Muslims in the Western have been placed by media and governments post-9/11 (Rane et al. 2014).

A closer look at Western state relations with Muslim communities reveals concerns with political Islam, in response to which some Western states were constitutionally more able than other to restrain processes of institutionalisation. Limage (2000) also contends that many of the issues needed to be addressed by Western governments concerning Muslim institutional demands already had precedents with the Jewish community, including ritual animal slaughter and special food considerations, charitable organisations and activities, religious schools and recognition of holy days. However, from the late 1980s, Muslim demands for institutionalisation seem to present particular challenges on account of the politicisation of segments of Muslim communities and the nature of Islamisation in the broader Muslim world (Laurence 2012). Limage (2000) explains that, in the case of France, the role of the government and its capacity for dialogue with a responsible and responsive partner seemed all the more urgent after the *fatwa* was declared upon Salman Rushdie and the rise of the headscarf issue in French schools. Both of which, it has been argued, represent attempts to institutionalise aspects of Islamist ideology pertaining to challenges to freedom of expression in the Rushdie case (Tibi 2012) and Islamist identity and symbolism in the case of the *hijab* (El-Fadl 2016).

Issues concerning Muslim leadership and the training of *imams* highlight another shortcoming of reliance on precedents with other religious communities. As numerous studies have highlighted, *imams* have been influential amongst Muslim communities in the West and their relations with the state (Humphrey 1990; Limage 2000; Birt 2006). However, their training and experience have often been seen as lacking in terms of their ability to lead Muslim communities in the West (Birt 2006).

Limage (2000) asserts that the vast majority of *imams* in the West are trained abroad and most are ill-prepared to provide adequate advice, guidance, and direction to Muslim communities as they are generally insufficiently familiar with the conditions and realities of Western societies. They also rarely have training to undertake pastoral care and counselling responsibilities concerning issues within families, schools, prisons, and other institutions (Limage 2000), roles that in many cases they have assumed because of precedents set in relation to these roles being undertaken by priests and rabbis for their respective religious communities. One area of significant shortfall in terms of *imam* training has been within Islamic schools and their roles within as educators given the major role of such institutions in socialising the next generation of Muslims in the West (Dassetto et al. 2007). Attempts to train *imams* in the West continue to be a work in progress, however, as Western states try to balance issues with and within Muslim communities as well as constitutionally enshrined provisions for equality, freedom, and anti-discrimination with more recent concerns over Muslim integration and national security.

4.4 Social Integration and National Security

While the impact of 9/11 on Muslim communities in terms of an increase in negative media, political and public discourse as well as prejudice and discrimination has been widely discussed (Rane et al. 2014), the attacks also impacted on Western governments' approach to the institutionalisation of Islam. European states sought to mitigate feelings of discrimination, that were feared would lead to radicalisation, by reducing the gap between Muslims and other religious communities in terms of the institutionalisation process. While trying to avoid discrimination vis-à-vis other religious communities, Western governments have also sought a moderate Muslim leadership to be in charge of these institutions, but this has not necessarily been achieved. A rejection of violent ideology is not necessarily accompanied by ideals commensurate with Western, liberal, secular democracy (Ferrari and Bottoni 2014).

Institutionalisation implies that the institutions initiated by religious communities correspond to state institutions in terms of service provision. Examples might include primary and secondary schools that provide education or an arbitration tribunal that resolves family disputes. In part,

such institutions may be regarded as positive means of reducing the state's responsibility for the provision of such services and also as a demonstration of the state's commitment to respecting the principle of equal citizenship. However, tensions arise when institutions are identified as incongruent with the values and principles of the state and expectations of society. While these tensions can be mitigated to the extent that the state is authorised to exert control over the religious community institution, Ferrari and Bottoni contend that how Muslim communities have envisioned religion-state relations over time has also impacted on the process of institutionalisation:

> the institutionalization of Islam in Europe cannot be understood without examining, at the same time, the context in which it takes place: the presence of Muslim communities has changed the European system of relations between state and religion and the need to adjust to this system has changed the features of Muslim communities. The problem is further complicated by the fact that there is neither a single Islam nor a single system of religion–state relations in Europe. (2014, 626)

Comparing the cases of Belgium, France, Germany, and the UK, Loobuyck et al. note that the emergence of several Muslim councils in the different states was not primarily structured by pre-existing church-state arrangements. Despite the different political and institutional features of each country included in their study, they display parallel policy developments and followed remarkably similar pathways to governing Islamic organisations by creating official councils (Loobuyck et al. 2013). The authors observe a rising trend in the institutionalisation of Islam in Europe in relation to such factors such as acknowledgement of Islam, security and integration policy in response to political incidents and radicalisation, and the call for a "European Islam" to replace a variety of Islamic trends and traditional Muslim cultural practices in Europe (Loobuyck et al. 2013). A critical consideration in this context concerns which Islam is being institutionalised and its particular orientation towards the state and society. The next sections of this chapter discuss Islam councils and *shariah* institutions, which represent a more recent trend in the institutionalisation of Islam in the West as they, particularly in the case of the latter, demand more than the state's recognition of religious rites and rituals, extending towards quasi-governance institutions.

5 Islam Councils

Islam councils are the peak Muslim organisations in the West. Since the late twentieth century and during the first decade of the twenty-first century, they were established across the Western world. In some cases, they have followed a bottom-up process having been established by the Muslim communities as representative bodies for mosques and Muslim organisations, with which governments have been able to use as a mean of official engagement with Muslim communities. In other cases, Islam councils have been established as government initiatives. Within Western Europe, these councils include Islamische Glaubensgemeinschaft in Österreich (IGGÖ, Austria, est. 1979), Islamiska Samarbetsrádets (IS, Sweden, est. 1990), Comisión Islámica de España (CIE, Spain, est. 1992), Exécutif des musulmans de Belgique (EMB, Belgium, est. 1994), Conseil français du culte musulman (CFCM, France, est. 2003), Contactorgaan Moslims en Overheid (CMO, Netherlands, est. 2004), Consulta per l'Islam in Italia (CII, Italy, est. 2005), Deutsche Islam Konferenz (DIK, Germany, est. 2006), and the Mosques and Imams National Advisory Board (MINAB, UK, est. 2006). Islam councils outside of Europe in the West include the Australian Federation of Islamic Councils (AFIC, Australia, est. 1964 as the Australian Federations of Islamic Societies) and the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA, USA, est. 1963 as the Muslim Students Associations of the U.S. and Canada). In addition to these, it is noteworthy that many Western countries have multiple Muslim councils that represent different Muslim organisations and interests. To the above, we could add the Muslim Council of Britain (MCB, UK, est. 1997), the American Society of Muslims (ASM, USA, est. 1976 as the World Community of Islam in the West), and Australian National Imam's Council (ANIC, Australia, est. 2006), to name only a few.

In spite of significant cultural, constitutional and colonial experiences with Muslim populations, the European countries with the largest Muslim minorities, namely Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, and the UK, display remarkable similarities in respect to the time periods that mark the key stages in their relations with Muslim communities. Laurence (2012) identifies these stages as a first stage (1960–1990) "when European governments outsourced the management of Islam" and a second stage (1990–2010) "during which European countries pursued the incorporation of religious NGOs, Embassy Islam, and other Muslim

notables by way of the creation of an Islam Council" (Laurence 2012, 16). However, national processes are not identical. In Belgium, Germany, France, and Spain, for instance, Embassy Islam and foreign government representatives tend to be more influential. By contrast, in Italy and the UK, selected local civil society organisations are the major influence (Laurence 2012, 25) as is the case outside of Europe in countries such as Australia, Canada, and the USA.

In Europe, Laurence explains, Islam councils were created "to bring state-mosque relations out of the embassies and Foreign Affairs ministries, and into domestic political institutions" (2012, 14). He also explains the socialising influence such initiatives have had on Islamic institutions in Europe in terms of:

> bringing the groups indirectly associated with political Islam in Europe (e.g., Muslim Brotherhood, Millî Görüş, Jam'aat-i Islami) to accept the conditions of participation and join in council elections. The councils establish participants' citizenship bona fides, encourage the reconciliation of religious observance with the rule of law and the institutionalized expression of dissent, and meet the demand of Islamic religious associations for recognition and interest representation. The councils provide a channel of communication between religious groups and the state, which is necessary to establish a framework for Muslims' religious equality in European countries, but they have also proven useful in times of crisis or cultural tensions. (Laurence 2012, 14)

Islam Councils have been utilised by Western states to engage with Muslim community organisations across a range of issues including "appointing chaplains in prisons and the armies, the civic education of imams, mosque construction, faculty chairs, religion teacher training as well as symbolic roles like sitting on public broadcasting or overseeing halal slaughter rituals" (Laurence 2012, 155). Although their work is perhaps relevant to a majority of religiously observant Muslims, arguably Islam councils represent the interests of a minority of Muslims in the West. They tend to be exclusively Sunni, male-dominated, constituted by mosque organisations, and many reflect late-twentieth-century Islamism and shariatisation.

6 *Shariah* Institutions

Shariah institutions in the West have been established in some Western countries in the form of arbitration tribunals and *shariah* councils or courts. Most, however, operate outside of any official state recognition. The earliest, albeit failed, attempt to establish a *shariah* court was in Canada in 2003 when the Islamic Institute of Civil Justice announced plans for an arbitration service in Ontario to resolve family and business disputes within Muslim communities. Canada's former Attorney General Marion Boyd was commissioned to explore the proposal following strong opposition in relation to the potential for *shariah* courts to violate human and women's rights. Although the Boyd report determined that such an arbitration was legal and safe, the Family Statute Law Amendment Act was passed, which prohibited family law arbitration from using anything other than Ontario law as the basis for arbitration (Coste 2013). A survey conducted in 2008 by the Centre for Research and Information on Canada found that 63% opposed religious communities using faith-based arbitration in cases of divorce, custody, inheritance, and other family disputes (Coste 2013).

Of the various Western countries that host sizable Muslim populations, the UK has been the most receptive in regards to *shariah* courts. The Muslim Arbitration Tribunal (MAT) in the UK was established in 2007 under the remit of the Arbitration Act 1996. Decisions reached by the MAT can be legally enforced through existing means of enforcement in England and Wales. It currently operates in London, Birmingham, Bradford, and Manchester and functions as an alternative means of dispute resolution "in accordance with Islamic Sacred Law" (MAT 2008). The legal framework within which the MAT operates requires at least two members, one must be a scholar of Islamic sacred law and the other a solicitor or barrister registered to practice in England. The MAT has no appeal process, but judicial review can be sought from the High Court. The services offered by the MAT include matters pertaining to divorce and family disputes, forced marriages, commercial and civil arbitration, wills and inheritance, and mosque disputes. While the MAT is open to all Muslims, it is operated by Jamia Islamia, an organisation associated with the Barelvi minority within the Hanafi school of jurisprudence, originating in Bareilly, India.

The MAT is actively involved in addressing the problem of forced marriages within Muslim communities in the UK, particularly among British

Muslims originating from Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan. According to a report by the MAT, "Liberation from Forced Marriages", in 2008 there were "300 reported cases of forced marriages brought to the attention of the Police and other Government authorities" but that the number of cases reported "are only the tip of the iceberg". It further states that "over 70% of all marriages that take place, where the spouse is an English citizen and the other spouse is a foreign national from the Asian sub-continent, there is an element of force or coercion before the marriage takes place". The report proposed that the MAT facilitate a process of voluntary, oral deposition for British citizens that the marriage they intend to enter is neither forced nor coerced, following which an MAT judge, if satisfied, would issue a written declaration that the British citizen could use as part of the visa application of the foreign spouse intending to settle in the UK. Among the commonly heard cases of the Tribunal are those of women seeking divorce through a process known as *khula*, which generally involves a woman returning her dowry in exchange for the granting of a divorce from her husband in cases where he refuses to agree to divorce.

In addition to the Muslim Arbitration Tribunal are the Islamic Sharia Councils which are also involved in cases of dispute resolution. These councils are often referred to as *shariah* courts although their decisions are not legally enforceable and operate based on the authority afforded to them by the disputing parties rather than from within the British legal framework as in the case of the MAT. According to a recent report published in *The Guardian* newspaper, there are estimated to be between 30 and 80 *shariah* councils in the UK (Khaleeli 2017). Some date back to the 1980s, while others are more recently established. They also vary in terms of formality and may be located in mosques or private offices. The councils are not open to public scrutiny and their decisions are not made public (Coste 2013). There are widespread concerns that these councils subject women to discriminatory and even abusive treatment. In December 2016, the Casey Review into opportunity and integration in isolated and deprived communities included claims that "some Sharia Councils have been supporting the values of extremists, condoning wife-beating, ignoring marital rape and allowing forced marriage" (Casey 2016, 132–133). Khaleeli (2017) also cites claims of women's groups that the sharia councils "interfere with child custody and financial matters", ignore women's rights under Islamic and civil law, and pressure women to "return to abusive husbands" and that women are "told to endure marital rape and polygamy". While the Muslim Council in Britain has rejected the concerns

raised, a report by the Institute for the Study of Civil Society (Civitas) has added to calls from numerous British politicians for an end to the operations of the *shariah* councils (Coste 2013).

7 Alternate Initiatives

It is noteworthy that alternate Islamic institutions have developed in the West, which support the needs of women and other disadvantaged groups in society with government assistance. Moreover, such initiatives do not adhere to the Islamist pattern of shariatisation but undertake their work in accordance with Islamic values and principles. In the broader Muslim world, this approach has been identified among second-generation Islamic political parties that appeal to concepts such as *maqasid* or the higher objectives and principles of Islam (Rane 2010). An example of Islamic institutionalisation in the West based on Islamic values and principles is the Islamic Women's Association of Australia (IWAA). IWAA recently celebrated its 25th anniversary. Its work involves the provision of such services as aged-care, disability care, settlement services for new migrants and refugees, and community development including programmes on domestic violence, parenting skills, women's leadership, and capacity-building. These services are not restricted to Muslims but also extend to women and disadvantaged members of wider society, particularly those from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds.

Amath contends that Muslim community civil society organisations, including IWAA, reject literalist interpretations of the kind espoused in Islamist discourses and base their work on "universal concepts of benevolence, mercy, compassion, inclusivity, assisting others, environmental responsibility, justice and peaceful coexistence" (2015, 175). IWAA employs over 150 staff, women and men, Muslims and non-Muslims, with the support of government funding, as an extension of the government's commitment to the provision of such services. It operates independently of other Muslim organisations, including mosques as well as local and national Islamic councils. In fact, IWAA was established in response to the exclusion of women from the existing, patriarchal organisations that claim to represent Muslims in Australia. In recognition of this work, IWAA has received multiple awards from mainstream and Muslim sectors and is regularly consulted by government authorities on issues pertaining to Muslim communities and broader multicultural service provision.

8 Conclusion

As Muslim communities in the West have grown, so too has the institutionalisation of Islam. The process has been most prominent in Europe where states have long been involved with Islam and Muslims through their colonisation of Muslim lands. The institutionalisation of Islam in the West has also been influenced by other factors, particularly religion-state relations and the way states have responded to the demands of other religious groups. Early Muslim communities sought state approval to establish places of worship and recognition for basic religious rites and rituals. In the latter decades of the twentieth century, as Islamist ideology became influential among Muslim communities in the West, tensions with the state and society began to challenge the basis on which processes of institutionalisation had developed. Constitutionally enshrined provisions for equality, freedom, and anti-discrimination have been challenged by more recent concerns over Muslim integration and national security. While there is a growing realisation of the incongruence between Islamist ideology and Western ideals, much of the blame continues to be placed on Islam due to a lack of differentiation between Islam and Islamism. This chapter has highlighted that Islamist ideology has been unwittingly institutionalised through Islamic courts, councils, and schools out of a desire to uphold principles of equality, respect for religious freedom or adherence to policies of multiculturalism but has contributed to the conflation of Islam and Islamism and facilitated the dominance of the latter over the former within Muslim communities in the West. To the extent that this point is ignored or neglected by Western governments, the institutionalisation of Islam in the West poses a risk to the integrity of Western values and principles as well as the long-term success of Muslims as productive, respected, and accepted fellow citizens of Western states.

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CHAPTER 7

Female Religious Authority

1 Introduction

Muslim communities in the West have over the last three decades or so became increasingly gender conscious in the way they conceptualise and practice Islam or think of themselves as Muslims (Wadud 2006; Hammer 2012; Duderija 2014). The context of residing in Western liberal democracies and exposure to intellectual feminist currents therein seem to play a significant role in this process (Ali 2006; Wadud 2006; Hidayatullah in Aslan et al. 2013, 82; Amir-Moazami et al. 2011, 1–8; Marcotte 2010, 136). By this newly found gender consciousness we mean that Western Muslim communities are increasingly becoming sensitive to the idea that (neo-)traditionalist approaches to Islam were/are exhibiting lack of interpretational awareness and self-reflexivity, or resist the idea of the historical and socio-cultural variability of gender and how their conscious or unconscious understandings of gender roles and norms influenced, at times profoundly, their interpretation of Islam (Bauer 2008; Duderija 2017). One aspect of this heightened gender consciousness[1] focuses on the concept of female religious authority. The aim of this chapter is to present an overview

[1] Other aspects of increased gender consciousness include views on Western Muslims views on marriage, dating, domestic violence, dress and fashion, representation of Muslim women in the media to name but the most prominent few. These are outside of the scope of this chapter and a sizeable literature on these aspects already exists.

A. Duderija, H. Rane, *Islam and Muslims in the West*,
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of the main actors and issues with respect to female religious authority among Western Muslims as defined below. Since there is an organic relationship between the interpretive and communal leadership dimensions of female religious authority (Bano and Kalmbach 2012, 19), the concept of female religious authority, as discussed in this chapter, implies both the scholarly authority to engage in interpretation of normative texts as well as to the legitimacy of assuming religious leadership and representation of Muslim communities. The leadership and representative aspects of female religious authority include that of ritual/spiritual leadership as well as provision of religious advice. This approach to defining religious authority in relation to Western Muslim communities is in accordance with the most comprehensive studies on the subject matter such as those of Hammer (2012) and Bano and Kalmbach (2012).[2]

2 Muslim Women in Western Muslim Organisations and Mosques: A Brief Overview

The increasing demands for the recognition of Muslim women's religious authority among Western Muslim communities have taken place in the backdrop of the long history of Muslim women's exclusion and/or lack of representation in the major Western Muslim organisations and mosques. It is this situation that has triggered what Wadud (2006) terms "gender jihad" (discussed below). As shall be argued below, this gender jihad has already had a measure of success whereby a few major Western Muslim organisations like the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) have addressed the issue of female religious authority explicitly (see below) or as evident in the establishment of women-led or women-only/inclusive mosques in both Europe (Berlin, London, and Amsterdam) and North America (Oakland and Los Angeles).

One of the major Islamic institutions in Europe is the Federation of Islamic Organisations in Europe (FIOE), an umbrella organisation that is associated with the work of the ECFR (see Chap. 3). A cursory look at the leadership of these organisations reveals that all the presidents of FIOE so

[2] Bano and Kalmbach (2012, 280) argue the question of religious authority in relation to Muslim communities particularly in Europe has primarily been defined in the West, especially Europe, "as a relation to religious specialists and movements who mediate interpretations of scripture and thus authorize beliefs and practices".

far have been men.[3] The same is the case when it comes to the members of the ECFR.[4] If we examine the main Muslim organisations in Germany "Der Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland" the same is true.[5] Another major Muslim organisation in Germany, Türkisch-Islamische Union der Anstalt für Religion (DITIB), apart from having a female secretary, is also entirely male.[6]

In Britain the situation is not much different. The Muslim Council of Britain's (MCB) two highest positions, the General Secretary and Deputy General Secretary, are held by men. Furthermore, apart from the period from 2014 to 2016 when the MCB was headed by Dr. Shuja Shafi, all of MCB's general secretaries (i.e. since 1997) were men. In terms of its executive committee, only about 10% are represented by women.[7] In France, the current president and vice president of the Union of Islamic Organisations of France are both males, and out of its 20 management positions, only a couple are occupied by women.[8]

In North America, one of the major organisations is the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA). Its current executive leadership is entirely male. The board of directors is made up of ten individuals, three of which are women.[9] Looking at its recent history (from 2001 to 2010), ISNA did have female representation at the executive level. During this period, Dr. Ingrid Mattson, a convert to the faith, served as its vice-president and then as president. She was the first woman to serve in either position.[10] Moreover, ISNA is one of the very few, if not the only, mainstream Muslim organisation that has developed an explicit position on the inclusion of women in mosques, that was released in 2015. The statement promotes the idea that mosques should be welcoming to women, that women have the right to pray in the main section of the mosque without any barriers, and that women "should participate in the masjid [i.e. mosque]

[3] This is based on its Wikipedia page. During the time of the writing of this book, the website of FIOE was under maintenance.

[4] https://www.e-cfr.org/

[5] http://zentralrat.de/2593.php. No data available for the other major organisation in Germany Islamrat fur the Bundesrepublik Deutschland. https://www.islamrat.de/

[6] http://www.ditib.de/default1.php?id=5&sid=56&lang=de

[7] http://www.mcb.org.uk/about-mcb/leadership/

[8] http://www.uoif-online.com/equipe-de-direction/

[9] http://www.isna.net/board-of-directors/

[10] http://ingridmattson.org/about/

decision-making process" including in the governing bodies.[11] The statement, however, is silent on the issue of women-led (congregational) prayers. The statement was endorsed by a number of prominent Muslim scholars as well as the Fiqh Council of North America. The Fiqh Council of North America is an affiliate of ISNA. Its main purpose is to issue legal edicts (*fatwas*) for American Muslims, and in that regard, it mirrors the aims and objectives of the ECFR in Europe. Its current executive council, as well as its council members, is entirely male.[12] The Islamic Circle of North America is the second largest organisation in North America and is more conservative than ISNA. Its annual conferences are gender segregated. Although there is no data available on its governance structure it is expected that the levels of female representation would be minimal.[13]

The empirical studies on Muslim women exclusion and particularly on gender representativeness of mosque committees are sparse. Few existing studies confirm anecdotal evidence (see next section) of Muslim women's lack of access to and exclusion from mosques and the decision-making processes involved in running of mosques (Woodlock 2010a, b; Lewicki and O'Toole 2017). A study that focused specifically on the gender makeup of the governing boards of mosques in Bristol (Lewicki and O'Toole 2017, 166) confirms this trend by concluding as follows:

> The governing boards of the seventeen Bristol-based mosques where decisions about internal procedures, finances and events are made, have been exclusively male.… Research conducted with mosque leaders in Bristol indicated awareness among mosque committee members that women were demanding representation in mosque governance.

In some cases, this situation has led to the establishment of women-only or women-led/inclusive mosques. Here we briefly explore two such initiatives. One of these is the Ibn Rushd Mosque in Berlin that was officially inaugurated in 2017. It was founded by Seyran Ateş, a German lawyer and feminist of Kurdish-Turkish descent. The mosque welcomes Muslims from all denominations and aims to be gender inclusive (including to those from non-heterosexual orientation) in terms of its leadership and membership. Its religious foundation is described as secular-liberal and

[11] http://www.isna.net/isna-statement/
[12] http://www.fiqhcouncil.org/node/13
[13] http://www.icna.org/

one which is based on separation of religion from state. Its executive committee has six members, four of which are women.[14]

The first female-only mosque in North America is located in Los Angeles. It is named "Women's Mosque in America" and was officially opened in 2015. Its rationale is described as follows:

> The Women's Mosque of America seeks to uplift the Muslim community by empowering women and girls through more direct access to Islamic scholarship and leadership opportunities. The Women's Mosque of America provides a safe space for women to feel welcome, respected, and actively engaged within the Muslim Ummah. It complements existing mosques, offering opportunities for women to grow, learn, and gain inspiration to spread throughout their respective communities.[15]

Women-led Friday congregational prayers are held monthly at the mosque. In addition to these, the mosque leadership organises various activities open to both genders whose purpose is to "increase community access to female Muslim scholars and female perspectives on Islamic knowledge and spirituality".[16]

3 Female Religious Leadership as Gender Jihad in the West

While some examples of females leading prayers at the time of the Prophet Muhammad and other leadership roles played by women in early Islam have begun to circulate among Western Muslims in the context of contemporary debates over the rights and status of women in Islam and have been used for the purposes of legitimising female religious authority (Silvers and Alewa 2010), such efforts remain obscured by male dominance and patriarchy. Historically speaking the idea of female religious authority in Muslim contexts is not firmly rooted (Bano and Kalmbach 2012). Some openings began to emerge in the twentieth century as forces of modernisation started to take hold in places like the Middle East and Turkey. It is only over the last three decades or so that more forceful

[14] http://www.ibn-rushd-goethe-moschee.de/praeambel/
[15] http://womensmosque.com/about-2/
[16] http://womensmosque.com/about-2/

attempts at assertion of female religious authority emerged both in Muslim majority and minority contexts (Bano and Kalmbach 2012, ix).

As noted by Bano and Kalmbach (2012, 1), the contemporary calls for legitimacy of female religious authority are important in understanding the nature and evolution of Muslims communities, including those in the West, for a number of reasons. The process is, for example, symptomatic of the broader shifts in the architecture of Islamic authority in which not only men but also women are claiming access to religious spaces (e.g. mosques and madrasas) and the right to religious and community leadership. Importantly, increased assertions and demands for female religious authority are also "inherently linked to larger social, religious, and political changes that have impacted Muslim communities since the early twentieth century" such as modernisation and education (Ibid.). Hence, changes in religious authority structures provide us with a conceptual window through which we can observe and evaluate the nature of change in Muslim social and religious practices in general (Ibid.).

Increased gender consciousness and demands for gender justice among Muslim communities especially in the West is one significant development in understanding contemporary Muslim social and religious practices and the changes therein (Bano and Kalmbach 2012; Hammer 2012; Duderija 2014). As noted above, over the last decade or so, the claims to religious authority either in form of emergence of women-only mosques, leadership of large Muslim community organisations,[17] demands for women-friendly mosques (see discussion below), women imams[18] or in form of engagement in scholarly gender, just interpretations of Islam have been increasingly coming from Muslim women living in the West (Hammer 2012). Wadud (2006, 3) considers this phenomenon to constitute a kind of a variegated social movement whose aims she identifies in the following manner:

> gender empowerment, mainstreaming, and reform, including consciousness raising, increased levels of education, promotion and protection of the rights of girls and women, movements to protect and eradicate violence against women, affirmations of women's bodily integrity, policy reforms, political empowerment and presentation, religious authority, and personal spiritual wholeness.

[17] See footnote 6.

[18] Such as the female imam of the Mariam Mosque in Copenhagen where both males and female can worship apart from the Friday congregational prayers when the mosque is only opened to female worshipers. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/26/women-lead-friday-prayers-denmark-first-female-run-mosque-mariam

In some Western scholarly and activist circles, the attempts at widening and entrenching female religious authority were expressed in form of a "gender jihad". One of the main proponents and practitioners of this gender jihad is a scholar-activist Amina Wadud who famously led a controversial gender-mixed Muslim congregational prayer in a New York in 2005 in a Christian church. Wadud defines gender jihad as:

> a struggle to establish gender justice in Muslim thought and praxis. At its simplest level, gender justice is gender mainstreaming—the inclusion of women in *all* aspects of Muslim practice, performance, policy construction, and in both political and religious leadership. (Wadud 2006, 10)

Wadud, a long time African-American convert to Islam, describes herself as a "pro-faith, pro-feminist Muslim woman" (Ibid., 4). She traces the ideas and motivations behind contemporary gender jihad among Muslim women today as "heavily influenced by developments on women's rights and social justice" (Ibid., 8) that emerged in the wake of feminist waves in the West since the 1970s. However, she considers that the theoretical aspects of gender jihad, such as hers, are firmly rooted in the Islamic cosmology (Wadud 2006).

Wadud justifies the need for gender jihad on a number of different grounds. For example, she argues that it is imperative that Muslim women themselves appropriate the Islamic tradition for their own empowerment and as a means of widening the scope of legitimate interpretative authority, cementing their own Muslim identity and strengthening their claims to Islamic authenticity. For Wadud, this interpretive engagement with the scriptures will, in turn, enable Muslim women to build their own religious competence and minimise their reliance on Muslim men's expertise (Ibid., 8, 190). Another reason why Wadud considers gender jihad indispensable is for the purpose of affirming the full humanity and agency of women that patriarchal interpretations of Islam deny them (Ibid., 254–256). Gender jihad for Wadud is also about what she terms the process of applying and activating Islamic principles which, in her view, are affirmative of the full humanity and agency of women (Ibid., 258). Finally, Wadud ultimately wishes to "put down the weapons of [gender] jihad" in favour of "wholesome reconstruction" of Islamic thought (262). But this can only happen when there are spaces for women where they can freely "demonstrate both their self-identification as female and their full humanity" (262) and when women's capacity for democratic authority and leadership, including in the realm of religion, are affirmed and recognised.

The following excerpt by Hammer (2012, 21), although written in the context of American Muslim communities in particular, is a useful description of the broader dynamics that characterise issues pertaining to female religious authority among Western Muslim communities:

> The emergence of American Muslim women's religious and institutional leadership, [such as that of Ingrid Mattson], chaplaincy positions held by Muslim women in higher education, the army, and prison systems, the scholarly activist engagements with Qur'an, hadith, and Islamic law by Muslim feminist scholars located in the U.S., and finally the prescriptive roles which women take on in their capacities as teachers and administrators in local Islamic schools, are all roles that are indicative of shifting paradigms of religious leadership and authority across American Muslim communities. While they do not form a single movement, and certainly disagree on approaches to gender debates, the work of these women cannot be contextualized within a simplistic model of Americanization as assimilation or through discussions on how strict laws of Shari'a are incorporated in American Muslim life. Rather these women's engagements are at once American and Muslim expressions.

In other words, gender jihad among Western Muslims is a multidimensional and heterogeneous social movement that is, in many ways, a product of Western Muslims' contexts and experiences. It is also a movement that is increasingly affirmative of the idea of female religious authority, albeit in various forms (Bano and Kalmbach 2012) some more progressive (Duderija 2017) and some more traditionalist. In what follows, we will examine examples of both scholarly interpretive and more populist and activist-based aspects of gender jihad. The former will be exemplified by the works of Amina Wadud and Asma Barlas and the latter by Asra Nomani and Irshad Manji.

4 Populist–Activist-Based Gender Jihad: The Case of Asra Nomani and Irshad Manji[19]

One Western Muslim figure that perhaps best exemplifies Western Muslim women's activism in relation to mosque access and community leadership in the West is Asra Nomani. Nomani is an Indian-born American. Apart

[19] In this section we are interested only in describing those aspects of Nomani's and Manji's work that is relevant to the question of emergence of female religious authority among Western Muslim communities and not how their efforts have been received or how they are used for political purposes by a variety of actors both Muslims and non-Muslims.

from an accomplished career in journalism, she is also an author of two non-academic books on Islam and women-related issues. After her pilgrimage to Mecca where she experienced a gender non-segregated environment when performing various obligatory rituals including the daily prayers, Nomani demanded that her hometown mosque allowed her to pray in the main prayer hall usually reserved for men. Her demands were rejected, and she was excluded from the mosque, a decision taken by an all-male mosque board. Not dissuaded, in 2004 Nomani drafted an Islamic Bill of Rights for Women in Mosques with a group of "7 prominent progressive Muslim feminists".[20] The Bill of Rights lists ten rights Muslim women should be entitled to with respect to access to and leadership in mosques. The rights are as follows:

1. Women have an Islamic right to enter a mosque.
2. Women have an Islamic right to enter through the main door.
3. Women have an Islamic right to visual and auditory access to the *musalla* (main sanctuary).
4. Women have an Islamic right to pray in the *musalla* without being separated by a barrier, including in the front and in mixed-gender congregational lines.
5. Women have an Islamic right to address any and all members of the congregation.
6. Women have an Islamic right to hold leadership positions, including positions as prayer leaders, or imams, and as members of the board of directors and management committees.
7. Women have an Islamic right to be full participants in all congregational activities.
8. Women have an Islamic right to lead and participate in meetings, study sessions, and other community activities without being separated by a barrier.
9. Women have an Islamic right to be greeted and addressed cordially.
10. Women have an Islamic right to respectful treatment and exemption from gossip and slander. (Ibid.)

Nomani's activism did not stop there. Apart from various film and media-based initiatives, in 2005 Nomani created and embarked on a "Muslim Women's Freedom Tour" that involved travelling to many cities across America to encourage Muslim women to be more assertive in their rights

[20] http://peprimer.com/islam-women-rights.html

to mosque access and leadership in line with the Islamic Bill of Rights in Mosques outlined above. During the tour she often had little support from the Muslim communities she visited and, at times, experienced hostility and threats (Hammer 2012, 155). In the same year, Nomani organised Amina Wadud's mixed-gender congregational prayer in New York. Later in 2005 she performed a mixed-gender prayer herself on the campus of Brandies University (Ibid.).

4.1 Irshad Manji

Another prominent Western Muslim woman whose activism has focused on reforming Islamic discourses on women is Irshad Manji. Irshad Manji is a Muslim Canadian and has been described as "a faithful Muslim who openly advocates equality for women and minorities".[21] She is lesbian and considers herself a Muslim feminist. She is the founder of a "moral courage project" at New York University where she teaches courses on moral courage. Manji is currently expanding her project at the University of Southern California. She authored two non-academic books on Islamic reform written in 2004 and 2011 respectively. These books have been translated into over 30 languages and have been banned in some Muslim-majority countries. She appears regularly on mainstream media channels primarily in North America. In 2008 Manji created the Emmy-nominated PBS documentary, *Faith Without Fear*, which "chronicles her journey to convince fellow Muslims that questioning religious authorities is necessary—and possible".[22] Manji is currently also engaged in other efforts which aim to foster debate and reinterpretation of traditionalist mainstream interpretations of Islam, especially on gender-based issues (Ibid.).

In her first book *The Trouble with Islam: A Muslim's Call for Reform* (2004) that takes the form of an open letter addressed to both Muslims and non-Muslims alike, Manji calls for a revival of independent and critical thought (*ijtihad*) in Islam that aligns Islam with the ideas of individual freedom and ideas political libertarian democracy. She is particularly criti-

[21] https://communicationleadership.usc.edu/news/muslim-reformer-named-cclp-senior-fellow/

[22] https://communicationleadership.usc.edu/news/muslim-reformer-named-cclp-senior-fellow/

cal towards what she considers to be literalist, tribal, communitarian, misogynistic, and anti-Semitic interpretations of the Islamic tradition. Importantly, Manji also argues that these interpretations exist and are held by members of Western Muslim communities that must not be tolerated. Hence, Manji is also critical of forms of multiculturalism in Western liberal democracies which, in her view, tolerate the intolerance that exists among member of Western Muslim communities (2004, 199).

Her second book *Allah, Liberty and Love*: *The Courage to Reconcile Faith and Freedom* (2011) is in many ways a continuation of the issues discussed in her first book in which Manji emphasises the importance of *ijtihad*, dissent, critical thinking, non-conformity (Ibid., xiv) or what Manji calls moral courage. As a committed Muslim reformist, she is at pains to emphasise that "Embracing ijtihad isn't about leaving Islam, but about staying with integrity" (Ibid., 223). In the book she is highly critical of practices occurring in some Muslim contexts such as stoning to death, the killing of apostates, forced marriages, forced hijab-wearing, and honour killings and considers them as going against Islamic teachings. As in her first book she is also critical of those the proponents of multicultural relativism in Western liberal democracies who are silent on these human rights abuses. Manji also levels harsh criticism towards "moderate Muslims" in the West whom she considers as obstructing values and principles underpinning Western liberal democracies and tolerate a culture of violence and intolerance.

Allah, Liberty and Love, like her first book, has attracted a lot of media attention with both positive and negative reactions. As the example of the latter we can point to a review by Omar Sultan Haque published in the *New Republic*. Haque writes:

> Manji's God resembles an extremely affectionate and powerful high school guidance counselor: a loving person who looks over you and wants you to be your freest and most socially responsible self. This God gave humans powerful minds that they should cultivate. This God wants humans to use reason and empathy to reinterpret traditions in light of modern knowledge and ethical necessities. Manji claims that through the often overlooked Islamic tradition of *ijtihad* (i.e. independent, effortful, and educated reasoning on religious matters), Muslims can think for themselves, and overcome a fearful, passive, conformist religiosity. In its first centuries, over a hundred schools of Islamic interpretation flourished. Muslims can reclaim their right to use reason to dissent conscientiously from prevailing religious opinion, connect with God in a deeper manner through personalized faith, and avoid

> stagnation and backwardness by redefining and reinvigorating themselves and their communities based on modern needs.[23]

As an example of the former we can point to a review published in *The Commentator* by Ghaffar Hussain (2012) who praises her work as follows:

> Irshad isn't out to win a popularity contest; she is a woman on a mission to instigate nothing short of a cultural revolution in Islam. The fact that she remains a controversial voice even amongst moderate Muslims, in many ways validates her critique of contemporary Muslim practise and thought. Her egalitarian spirit, moral courage and taboo-busting approach make her an ideal candidate, in my mind, for dealing with a vexatious issue such as the link between faith and freedom.[24]

Hammer's (2012, 132) excerpt below is an excellent summary of the nature of and the rationale behind the activism of Muslim women like Nomani and Manji we briefly outlined above:

> To those American Muslim women who demanded equal access to their mosques the lack of space and visibility of women was symbolic of the exclusion of women from communities generally. Thus achieving connected, accessible, and non-segregated prayer spaces would, in their understanding, recognize their equal rights with men and provide women with equal access to community leadership. Space becomes a metaphor for rights, which need to be actualized through women's leadership. When Nomani entered her mosque through the main door in Ramadan 2003 and again when she marched with her supporters on the same mosque in June 2004 and then went to other mosques around North America, she actively demanded that women become leaders of American Muslim communities based on a discourse of equal rights. The issue of community leadership is discursively linked to ritual leadership as represented in Wadud leading the Friday prayer in 2005 and the concept of exegetical leadership as represented in women's interpretive activities in North America. These different forms of leadership need to be understood as contingent and as part of the same projects for gender justice and equality. While it is tempting to isolate religious or ritual

[23] https://newrepublic.com/article/101694/allah-liberty-love-irshad-manji, accessed 4 November 2017.

[24] http://www.thecommentator.com/article/1006/review_allah_liberty_and_love_the_courage_to_reconcile_faith_and_freedom

and exegetical leadership from other forms, they are intimately connected in the lives of the Muslim women who demand and assume them.

In what follows we turn our discussion to scholarly examples of gender jihad among Western Muslim women.

5 Scholarly Gender Jihad: The Case of Amina Wadud and Asma Barlas

The scholarly gender jihad is here exemplified in the works of two American Muslim women scholars, Amina Wadud and Asma Barlas, both of whom were/are professors in American Universities.[25] The main focus of their interpretive activity is to develop non-patriarchal interpretations of the Islamic tradition. Non-patriarchal interpretations of the Islamic tradition are defined as a body of scholarship that advocates for gender equality and women's full legal rights from *within* the Islamic framework by systematically deriving and justifying these rights on the basis of a particular conceptualisation and interpretation of the inherited Muslim traditions (*turath*), especially its primary fountainheads, the Qur'an and the Sunna.

5.1 Amina Wadud

Generally speaking, Wadud constructs her non-patriarchal interpretations of the Islamic tradition on the basis of what she considers to be gender-neutral or gender-inclusive concepts in the Qur'an, including *Islam* (defined as an act of voluntary "engaged surrender"), which is enabled through the concept of *khilafa* (moral agency) and *taqwa* (God consciousness) all of which operate under the umbrella of Qur'anic concept of *tawhid* (Divine Oneness), or what she terms the "tawhidic paradigm".

Let us start by discussing what Wadud (2006, 24) understands by the term tawhidic paradigm and see how she links it to other concepts such as *khilafa* and *taqwa*. The first thing we need to note in this context is that she does not consider *tawhid* to be a purely theological concept but also an ethical one with concrete socio-political implications and relevance. *Tawhid* for Wadud "is the operating principle of equilibrium and cosmic

[25] Wadud has had training in classical Islamic sciences in North Africa whereas Barlas' background is political and cultural studies.

harmony.... [*T*]*awhid* relates to relationships and developments within the social and political realms, emphasizing the unity of all human creatures beneath one Creator" (Ibid., 28). Citing Qur'an 49:13,[26] Wadud is adamant that the only legitimate distinction between people in the eyes of God is on the basis of *taqwa* and hence the primacy of social justice, with the objective of eradicating all barriers to discrimination, and here specifically, gender-based discrimination (Ibid., 185). Furthermore, she forms the view that if human beings are truly created to be God's trustees (*khilafa*) on earth (Q 2:30[27]), then the purpose of this human agency is to work in harmony with God's purposes of justice and equity. In her words, "Being *khalifah* is equivalent to fulfilling one's human destiny as moral agent, whose responsibility is to participate in upholding the harmony of the universe" (Ibid., 34). Importantly, the Qur'anic concept of *khalifa* in Wadud's thinking is not restricted to that of the male. It is a gender-inclusive concept and a means of acquiring *taqwa*, which, in turn, for Wadud by definition implies establishing human relationships predicated on equality, including in the context of marriage.

In arguing against patriarchy and patriarchal understandings of Islam, she furthermore asserts the following:

> To go beyond these attitudes and structures of inequality we have to move towards reforms that acknowledge the equal significance of women's creation, women's ways of thinking and being, and their equal responsibility in judgement. We can do this by establishing a system of social justice that practices muwada, relations of reciprocity, and equality between men and women. This system would acknowledge both men and women as competent contributors in both the private and public spheres of activity. Such a system would encourage women and men to excel in whatever that do and would not restrict them to one sphere over another. The basis of this reciprocity is central in islam under the rubric of tawhid. (Wadud 2009, 103–104)

[26] "People, We created you all from a single man and a single woman, and made you into races and tribes so that you should recognize one another. In God's eyes, the most honoured of you are the ones most mindful of Him: God is all knowing, all aware" (Abdel Haleem 2005, 339).

[27] "[Prophet], when your Lord told the angels, 'I am putting a successor on earth,'..." (Abdel Haleem 2005, 7).

Wadud uses the values of reciprocity and symmetry derived from Qur'an 33:35[28] and 30:21[29] as an additional tool for arguing in favour of gender-symmetrical relationships that are not based on domination[30] but on cooperation and partnership.

Finally, Wadud takes recourse to the theological meaning of God's *tawhid* to argue for equality of human relationships by arguing that *tawhid* implies that the only legitimate (ontologically) hierarchical relationship is that between the Creator and the creation. Therefore, any hierarchical relationships at the inter-human level, such as in the context of gender, would constitute a form of *shirk* (idolatry) that the Qur'an condemns in strongest terms possible (Ibid.). This reasoning of Wadud is exemplified in the following excerpt:

> Since God is the highest conceptual aspect of all, then no person can be greater than another person, especially for mere reasons of gender, race, class, nationality, etc. The *tawhidic* paradigm then acts as a basic theoretical principle for removing gender asymmetry, which is a kind of satanic logic or *shirk*, positing priority or superiority to men. Instead, women and men must occupy a relationship of horizontal reciprocity, maintaining the highest place for God in His/Her/Its uniqueness. (Wadud 2008, 437)

5.2 Asma Barlas

Another important influential addition to Muslim Qur'anic interpretation committed to gender justice is the work of Asma Barlas (2002). The book purports to restore what the author views as the Qur'anic basis of sexual equality in Islam by freeing the Qur'an from the patriarchal nature of its (neo-)classical exegesis. She does so systematically on both historical and interpretational grounds.

On historical grounds, Barlas argues that the strong association between patriarchy evident in the most classical commentaries of the Qur'anic exe-

[28] For men and women who are devoted to God—believing men and women, obedient men and women, truthful men and women, steadfast men and women, humble men and women, charitable men and women, fasting men and women, chaste men and women, men and women who remember God often–God has prepared forgiveness and a rich reward (Abdel Haleem 2005, 269).

[29] Another of His signs is that He created spouses from among yourselves for you to live with in tranquillity: He ordained love and kindness between you. There truly are signs in this for those who reflect (Abdel Haleem 2005, 258).

[30] As in the case of classical Muslim family laws and gender relations (Duderija 2014).

gesis and the Qur'an itself (in the eyes of those who find the Qur'an to be a patriarchal text) is a result of the manner in which Muslim history has unfolded. This process was "central in determining and defining religious epistemology and methodology, thus also to how Muslims came to read the Qur'an" (Ibid., 203) in a patriarchal mode. Barlas argues that the most crucial aspect of this process was the classical legal theory methodology of making the Qur'an depended on and dislodging its hermeneutical privilege vis-à-vis its own exegesis by that of the concept of Sunna which was later conceptually conflated with the canonical *ahadith* body of literature. This, in turn, resulted in restricting the scope of the Qur'an's "authentic" or authoritative exegesis as well as the methodologies that underlie it. Consequently, a certain type of inter-textual dynamics came into place which made the Qur'an and its interpretation heavily dependent upon the so-called four sources hierarchical theory of a medieval Muslim scholar Shafi'i (d. 204 AH) whose anchoring precept were the authentic *hadith*[31] with, as far as the status of women is concerned, largely legally/hermeneutically inconsequential variances between different schools of thought (*madhahib*). Hadith literature and, by extension, *hadith*-based Qur'an exegesis contain strong misogynist elements and are thus, according to Barlas, one of the main culprits as to why the Qur'an was interpreted in a patriarchal manner. This is not the entire story, however. Barlas argues further that extra-textual sources, meaning primarily the political state, were also responsible for ensuring that the patriarchal readings of the Qur'an quashed any egalitarian readings that might have emerged. In this context she asserts that:

> [T]he conservatism of Muslim tradition, method, and memory, I have suggested, can be ascribed to a specific configuration of political and sexual power that privileged the state over civil society, men over women, conservatism over egalitarianism, and some texts and methodologies over others. (Ibid., 87)

Barlas' non-patriarchal interpretations of the Islamic tradition are in several ways similar to that of Wadud, although some differences exist. Both focus on the nature of God and draw on concepts such as *taqwa* and *khilafa* to argue for non-patriarchal interpretations of the Qur'an. However, whereas Wadud's directs her attention primarily to demonstrate

[31] Reports attributed to Muhammad and his prominent followers.

that the Qur'an, "properly" or "correctly" interpreted, is advocating gender justice, Barlas' focus is on "liberating" the Qur'an from patriarchal readings although she recognises that patriarchal readings can also legitimate.

Contrary to the views expressed by some Muslim and non-Muslim scholars who consider the Qur'an as *irredeemably* patriarchal and claim that the only avenue of Muslim women emancipation can come by means of an epistemological rupture with the pre-modern Islamic tradition, Barlas develops a systematic "anti-patriarchal Qur'anic hermeneutic of liberation" to argue that the Qur'an:

1. can be read in a sexually non-patriarchal manner (in the sense that "the Qur'an considers sex as irrelevant to moral agency") and
2. is anti-patriarchal in nature.

In relation to the second point, Barlas argues that the Qur'anic God as manifest in God's self-disclosure in the Qur'an does not advocate any of the patriarchal dimensions. Moreover, on this account, Barlas argues that the Qur'an can be seen as anti-patriarchal because it insists on God's transcendence and sovereignty. This is important because the way humans conceptualise God has important implications for humanity's moral and social relationships. She asserts the following in this context:

> When sacred knowledge is used to engender or sexualize God (humanize or anthropomorphize God) as male, it also underwrites male privilege since men acquire power from "the fact that the source of ultimate value is often described in anthropomorphic images as Father or King." Indeed, feminists believe that it is the "exclusively masculine symbolism for God, for the notion of divine 'incarnation' in human nature, and for the human relationship to God" that reinforces sexual oppression. (Daly 1973, 4, as cited in Barlas 2002, 94)

As noted above Barlas employs the concept of *tawhid* to counter patriarchal interpretations of the Qur'an. In this respect, she maintains that "not only does Islamic monotheism [*tawhid*], properly understood, serve to liberate women from the tyranny of male rule, but, by privileging the rights of God, it dislocates rule by the father as well as theories of male sovereignty, which are at the roots of women's oppression" (Barlas 2002, 205). The importance of the Qur'anic concept of *tawhid* for non-hierarchical gender relationships is also highlighted in this passage:

> The single most essential aspect of God's Self-Disclosure in the Qur'an is that God is One, hence Indivisible; this principle of Divine Unity (Tawhid) extends to the idea that God is Incomparable, hence Unrepresentable. Both separately and together, these doctrines preclude associating forebears, partners, or progeny with God, or misrepresenting God as father, son, husband, or male. (Ibid., 95)

Similar to Wadud, Barlas considers that one important implication of this concept of *tawhid* is that gender-hierarchical relationships in patriarchal societies that have been absorbed by classical Islamic law and ethics and that have had a strong impact on societal level are tantamount to *shirk* (idolatry). This is so because they undermine the concept of *tawhid* by transferring the indivisible God's Sovereignty onto males.

Barlas also discusses the idea of *khilafa*, arguing that this concept, in the way it is employed in the Qur'an, is not contingent on sex and while being a relational term (human as representatives of God and acting as His trustees) it does not imply that certain humans are vice-regents over others or more specifically that males enjoy the status of *khilafa* over women (Ibid., 106). In this context, she remarks, "There is thus no reason to assume that only males are vice-regents on earth, much less vice-regents over women" (Ibid., 107). She concludes by saying that on the basis of Qur'anic concepts of *tawhid* and *khilafa* it is possible to reject patriarchal interpretations of Islam and develop interpretations of Islamic tradition founded on the complete equality of women and men (Ibid., 108). Importantly, Barlas considers that while the Qur'an recognises biological differences, it does not advocate a theory of sex/gender differentiation (also known as gender dualism) that would a priori privilege experiences and qualities of any sex/gender as in the case of patriarchy and patriarchal interpretations of Islam. She avers as follows (Ibid., 204):

> I argued that missing from Qur'ānic discourses is the idea of gender dualisms because missing from the Qur'ān is the idea of sexual differentiation and "thought by sexual analogy"; that is, the tendency to decipher all phenomena in terms of the organization of sexual difference(s). Not only does the Qur'ān not employ the concept of sexual differences (or sameness) to discriminate against women, but it affirms the principle of the ontic equality of the sexes. This is why I believe that we can theorize radical sexual equality from the Qur'ān's teachings.

To demonstrate this, Barlas first develops a comprehensive definition of patriarchy as "a continuum at one end of which are misrepresentations of God as Father, and of fathers as rulers over wives and children, and at the other hand, the notion of sexual differentiation that is used to privilege males while otherizing women" (Ibid., 204).

From methodological perspective Barlas takes recourse to a number of interpretational mechanisms in order to demonstrate that the Qur'an is anti-patriarchal. Central to this is a theological argument/postulate derived from the Qur'an which Barlas terms "God's self-disclosure" that encompasses principles of Divine Unity, Justice, and Incomparability/Unrepresentativeness as the hermeneutically privileged site from which to read the Qur'an's anti-patriarchal nature. Here Barlas argues that Qur'anic God as manifest in God's self-disclosure does not advocate any of the patriarchal dimensions as found in her definition provided above. Moreover, on this account, Barlas argues that the Qur'an can be seen as anti-patriarchal because it insists on God's sovereignty and transcendence. In this context, she maintains that "not only does Islamic monotheism, properly understood, serve to liberate women from the tyranny of male rule, but, by privileging the rights of God, it dislocates rule by the father as well as theories of male sovereignty, which are at the roots of women's oppression" (Ibid., 205).

Another methodological principle employed by Barlas to read the Qur'an for "liberation" is her subscription to the view of the polysemic nature of the Qur'anic text, which she uses to argue that the Qur'an may be read in a number of different contextually legitimate ways, patriarchal as well as liberatory modes. Barlas also utilises the intra-Qur'anic hermeneutical principle of reading for best meanings and textual holism to argue that the interpretations of the Qur'an that advocate *zulm* (injustice) against women as in the case of patriarchal interpretations of Islam cannot be legitimate and thus operate outside its contextually legitimate readings/interpretations. Another methodological principle she employs can be described as "comprehensive contextualization" or a historical approach to Qur'anic interpretation. This interpretational strategy, which can be traced to the works of Fazlur Rahman (d. 1988), consists of two elements, as identified by Barlas: reading behind the text, that is, reconstructing the historical context from which the text emerged, and reading in front of the text, that is, re-contextualising the text in light of present needs (Barlas 2002, 22–23). On the basis of this methodological principle, Barlas views the Qur'anic injunctions pertaining to women to be liberatory in nature.

6 Conclusion

The question of female religious authority has emerged as one of the most significant aspects of the increased gender consciousness among Western Muslim communities over the last two to three decades. Efforts aiming to include women in places of religious authority and decision-making processes in Islamic organisations and mosques in the West have taken place in the background of the long history of Muslim women's exclusion in these contexts. As outlined in this chapter, some Western Muslim scholars and activists such as Wadud, Barlas, Manji, and Nomani have engaged in both scholarly as well as activist-based gender jihad that aims to facilitate the emergence and broader acceptance of the idea of female religious authority among Western Muslim communities in particular. While the majority of the Islamic organisations and mosques are still firmly in the hands of men, signs of change are already visible as evident in the establishment of women only or women-led/inclusive mosques and the inclusion of women in leadership positions in major Islamic organisations as in the case of Dr. Matteson and ISNA.

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CHAPTER 8

Converts

1 Introduction

Since its advent, conversion has been central to the survival and spread of Islam. The faith has attracted people of diverse cultures stretching westward from the Middle East across North Africa and into Europe through Spain and eastward through Central Asia and India into China and throughout South East Asia. Conversion to Islam among people in the West has grown with the migration of Muslims to the West since the 1900s. Particularly since the turn of the century, when so much focus on Islam has been in the context of violence and terrorism, the embracing of Islam by Westerners has become a perplexing phenomenon. On the one hand, segments of Western society are disapproving of converts to Islam, but on the other hand, converts continue a long tradition of cultural exchange and may potentially contribute to the development of Islam(s) in the West that is (are) indigenous rather than imported.

Lewis Rambo, a widely cited expert on the topic, defines religious conversion as "a process of religious change that takes place in a dynamic force field of people, events, ideologies, institutions, expectations and orientations" (1993, 5). This process is not uniform, nor are religious converts a heterogeneous group. He elaborates that "there is no one cause of conversion, no one process, and no one simple consequence of that process" (1993, 5). Other researchers, such as Halama, concur, asserting that "there is agreement that no standard way of conversion

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exists and that there are significant differences in the ways that people convert" (2015, 186).

Converting in the current climate of fear and animosity towards Islam and Muslims presents converts with significant social obstacles and personal challenges. First, there is the challenge of differentiating between an array of, often competing and contradictory, cultural, sectarian, ideological, theological, doctrinal, and jurisprudential perspectives. While navigating these perspectives, which are often uncritically equated by Muslims with "Islam", a convert's journey involves identifying the most meaningful and suitable based on one's convictions as well as personal, familial, and social contexts. Many converts face difficulties incorporating their new faith into their existing lives and encounter varying levels of rejection and hostility, including the breakdown of existing personal relationships and social networks, as well as difficulties integrating with Muslim communities (Mitchell and Rane 2018; King 2017; Brice 2010).

This chapter provides insights into the experiences of people in the West who have converted to Islam. It begins with an overview of the available data on the numbers of people who have converted, the main reasons they have embraced Islam, and what is currently known about the particular types or interpretations of Islam embraced by converts. In this context, we discuss the issue of radicalisation among converts and their overrepresentation in jihadist groups. This chapter also considers the important question of the relationship of converts to their non-Muslim family and friends, Muslim communities and wider society, and the potential role of converts in shaping Islam in the West.

2 Numbers of Converts?

Over the past several years, converts to Islam have attracted considerable media attention, mainly in the context of Islamist violence and terrorism. They have been the focus of news reports concerning the radicalisation of Western Muslims and recruitment by groups such as ISIS. We will discuss the overrepresentation of converts among jihadist groups later in this chapter. Here our focus is on the overall number of Muslims in the West who have converted to Islam.

In general, estimates suggest that converts comprise a small proportion of Muslims in the West, but the USA is an exception in this regard. Based on data compiled from multiple sources, Schuurman, Grol, and Flower (2016) estimate the number of converts to Islam in Europe to be

215,000 in France, 215,000 in Germany, 100,000 in the UK, 56,000 in Belgium, 50,000 in Spain, 17,000 in the Netherlands, 6000 in Sweden, and 2800 in Denmark. By these estimates, converts comprise a small minority of between 1% and 5% of the Muslim populations in these countries. Due to a lack of reliable data on religious affiliation in general and conversion in particular, estimates can vary. For instance, security forces in France and Germany estimate the number of converts in their countries to be between 30,000–50,000 and 20,000–30,000, respectively.

Schuurman, Grol, and Flower's (2016) figure of approximately 100,000 Muslim converts in the UK is based on an estimate by Brice (2010) who relied on statistics from the 2001 Scottish census to the overall population of the UK and other data. Anecdotal evidence suggests that the number of converts to Islam in the West has increased since 2001 (Brice 2010). Based on information provided by a small sample of mosques in the UK, Brice (2010) calculated that over 5000 British had converted to Islam in a 12-month period prior to his study. He also notes that this figure coheres with estimates from France and Germany of approximately 4000 conversions per year in each country. In other Western countries such as Australia, no quantitative research has thus far been conducted on conversion to Islam. While it has been suggested that converts account for approximately 10% of the nation's overall Muslim population, which would equate to approximately 50,000 individuals (Zammit 2011, 13), this figure is speculative.

According to the latest Pew (2017) study, an estimated 21% of Muslim Americans are converts to Islam. Less than 5% of American converts to Islam are immigrants. Most are born in the USA and two-thirds of American-born black Muslims say they have not always been Muslim, suggesting they "converted" or "reverted" (Pew 2017). In the UK, research suggests that over 70% of converts are White British (56%) or "Other" White (16%), while almost 30% are non-Whites (Brice 2010). In Australia, the number of Indigenous people who identify as Muslim almost doubled to over 1000 individuals between 2001 and 2011. However, this represents a small fraction of the population of Indigenous Australians, which is approximately 700,000 or 3% of the total population of Australia (Stephenson 2011).

3 Which Islam?

Research suggests that most Western converts adopt "mainstream" ideological positions, often within the Sunni tradition (Zebiri 2008, 46). It should be noted that Sunnis constitute approximately 87–90% of the world's Muslim population, while Shias comprise only 10–13%. Muslim communities in the West are also majority Sunni. In the USA, for instance, 55% of Muslims say they are Sunni and 16% identify as Shiite, but a significant minority of 29% do not identify with either sect and many of whom identify themselves as simply "Muslim" (Pew 2017).

Before further addressing the question of which Islam converts embrace, it is worth considering why Islam in the first place. Research suggests that converts usually take their time to investigate a number of different faiths. Once they have decided on Islam, their journey often continues with an exploration of the various interpretations of Islam that arise from the numerous cultural, sectarian, ideological, theological, doctrinal, and jurisprudential perspectives that comprise what Muslims refer to as "Islam" (Saeed 2006). This may include Sufism, Shiism, and Sunnism, as well as the various schools of jurisprudence (Maliki, Hanafi, Shafi'i, and Habali), which developed mainly during the era of the Abbasid caliphate (750–1258) and add further diversity and complexity to the interpretations and manifestations of Islam.

In the latest Pew study of Muslims in America, those who said they converted to Islam were asked to explain, in their own words, why they became Muslim. Respondents gave a variety of reasons for changing faiths. Almost one-quarter (24%) said they prefer the beliefs and teachings of Islam or find more meaning in Islam than in their previous faith. One-fifth of those who converted to Islam said reading religious texts and studying the faith were the main reasons for their conversion. Ten percent said they wanted to belong to a community, while a similar number was introduced to the faith by a friend or public leader (9%), converted due to marriage (9%) or other family reasons (8%), or said they were exploring their personal spirituality (8%) (Pew 2017).

In their study of male Australian converts, Mitchell and Rane (2018) found that eight out of ten respondents cited specific aspects of the faith that strongly resonated and played an important role in their decision to convert. These included a perception of Islam as "holistic", logical, and clear in terms of its tenets, as well as the Qur'an itself. Other researchers have also found that converts identify the Qur'an as central to their

embracing of Islam and for some it has enabled them to avoid sectarian and other divisions emanating from theological and jurisprudential disputes of born Muslims (King 2017). For many converts (and born Muslims), the appeal of the Qur'an is derived from a perception of it as being "unaltered" and retaining its original message, a point that some former Christians raise when comparing their understanding of the Bible and New Testament with the Qur'an (Mitchell and Rane 2018).

Over the past decade, a growing body of literature has sought to understand the phenomenon of conversion to Islam in the West, with a substantial proportion of the recent scholarship being focused on the experiences of female converts (Barlas 2002; Haddad 2006; McGinty 2006; Van Nieuwkerk 2006; Maslim and Bjorck 2009; Soutar 2010; Turner 2010; Woodlock 2010; King 2017). Such attention is arguably due to widespread perceptions of an inherent gender inequality within Islam and curiosity as to why a woman would choose to convert to a religion that seemingly subjugates women. Haddad (2006) identified three main groups of female converts, with the largest adopting a more conservative interpretation with rigid gender boundaries of the kind found within Salafism and Wahhabism. The other two smaller groups she identifies are inspired by Muslim feminist academics and intellectuals and another more Sufi-oriented groups. While gender is believed to be an important aspect of the conversion process, fewer studies have sought to explore this phenomenon from the perspective of male converts (Suleiman 2016; Mitchell and Rane 2018). It is also noteworthy that more females are thought to convert to Islam than males. In Brice's (2010) study of UK converts to Islam, one of the largest quantitative to be conducted (N = 122), 62% were female and 38% male. The author contests the notion that female conversion to Islam is mainly due to marriage. Although 55% of his female respondents did marry a born Muslim and another 12% married a convert, 16% were single and 8% married a non-Muslim.

Allievi (1998, cited in Van Nieuwkerk 2006) explains conversion to Islam as a process that involves both "rational" and "relational" factors. Conversion is influenced by a combination of positive personal encounters with practicing Muslims (relational factors) and a spiritual or intellectual attraction to the Islamic faith (rational factors). Despite the diversity of convert journeys to Islam, personal encounters with Muslims are a common factor, often crucial in determining which Islam is embraced (Haddad 2006; Mitchell and Rane 2018). Although the nature of these encounters varies, many would-be-converts enter a period of "learning" as they strive

to understand more about the Islamic faith, in which Muslim friends play an important role (King 2017).

In her study of female converts to Islam, King (2017) identifies five common motivations and experiences: (1) a prior belief in God, (2) being drawn to Islam after meeting Muslims, (3) engaging in a process of individual interpretation, reasoning, or investigation of Islam (*ijtihād*) before arriving one's own understanding of Islamic belief and practice, (4) reconciling their understanding of Islam's values, principles, and beliefs with their own prior convictions, and (5) experiencing challenges to their desire to become a Muslim, mostly from family, friends, lifestyle and the public sphere of everyday social interactions. Engagement in *ijtihad* or personal reasoning in order to arrive at the understanding of Islam that coheres best with the individual convert's experiences, convictions and circumstances has been noted by a number of researchers (Mitchell and Rane 2018; King 2017; McGinty 2007). This process involves a search for meaning within Islamic texts and discourses. In his study of British converts, Brice (2010) identified books, Muslim friends, and the Internet as the main sources of help or advice converts to Islam relied upon. His study further identifies that converts find non-Muslim friends, family, the mosque, and Islamic organisations to be least helpful. This underscores that converts are active rather than passive actors in the conversion process.

Unfortunately, current research on converts to Islam does not allow us to identify with any certainty the numbers of converts amongst the various categories of Muslims discussed earlier in this book. However, it is noteworthy that the numbers of Westerners converting to Islam appear to have increased since the turn of the century. In the UK, Brice (2010) found that 44% of his survey respondents converted before 2001, while 56% converted after this year. It is also noteworthy that since the 1970s, Salafist and Wahhabist versions of Islam have spread throughout the Muslim world as well as in the West. While a minority of Muslims directly identify with such versions of Islam, their influence extends through control of Muslim community infrastructure. Laurence contends that in Europe "although such [Islamist] organizations may represent a relatively small membership base in terms of the local Muslim population (usually only 2–4 percent), they often control a sizable proportion of the registered Muslim religious associations and prayer spaces—sometimes as many as one out of three—where mosque-going Muslims congregate to socialize and pray" (Laurence 2012, 41). Salafist and Wahhabist versions of Islam

underpin the beliefs and practices of Islamist militant groups such as ISIS, in which converts are found to be overrepresented. The next section will address this issue in more detail.

4 Identity

Converts often choose an approach to Islam that best fits with their views, ideals, and needs. The type of Islam a convert selects can often provide an indication of the convert's personal dispositions, life experiences, and worldview more so than in the case of born Muslims who have not had the opportunity to "choose" the version of Islam to which they adhere. However, there are also pragmatic considerations in the conversion process, such as the particular interpretation or orientation of the community or family which a convert has become part due to place of residence and/or marriage (Mitchell and Rane 2018).

In their study of Australian male converts to Islam, Mitchell and Rane (2018) found four in ten participants identified with specific branches of Islam, such as Sunni Islam or Sufism, while others avoided denominational labels, expressing concern that this led to divisiveness among the global Muslim community (*ummah*). One participant explained that while he had initially adopted the Sunni Hanafi *madhab* (school of jurisprudence) he had come to identify broadly with three of the four Sunni jurisprudential schools of thought, noting that the racial and ideological divisions he had witnessed within his local Muslim community had motivated him to explore other perspectives. He found that the Maliki and Shafi'i *madhahib* (*madhab*—singular; *madhahib*—plural) practiced by many African Muslims strongly resonated with him personally. Another participant in their study who had identified as a *Shafi'i* Muslim for about 40 years explained that after completing his Master's degree in Islamic Civilisation and working closely with *Hanafi* scholars, he embraced the teaching of the *Hanafi* school of thought as it more closely aligned with his own personal views and understanding of Islam. Some participants in their study identified as "mainstream Sunni" with no reference to a *madhab* or as "Sufi", while others preferred to identify simply as "Muslim" in order to transcend sectarian, particularly Sunni-Shiite, divisions. These examples highlight the often very personal nature of not only conversion but also the more specific identities assumed by converts over time.

Identity formation is a complex phenomenon. Over the past decade or so, concerns have been raised about the identity of young Muslims in the

West, particularly in terms of belonging, feelings of alienation, and vulnerability to radicalisation. The latter is a phenomenon most often related to young people. The link between youth and conversion to Islam may provide insights into understanding the overrepresentation of converts among Muslim militants. In one of the largest studies of Muslim converts, Pew (2017) found most respondents to be young when they embraced Islam. About one-quarter (26%) converted between the ages of 10 and 19, while almost half (49%) did so during their 20s. By contrast, only 18% converted in their 30s and just 4% did so at age 40 or older (Pew 2017). Similarly, Brice (2010) found that the average age of his respondents was 27.5 years at the time of conversion.

Rabasa and Benard (2015) contend that some young Europeans may be attracted to Islam (or versions of it) that offer a strict interpretation, sense of order, belonging, spirituality, and duty that they find lacking in liberal, secular Europe. This view coheres with that of Köse (1996) whose study found British converts to be critical of their childhood religion, what they described as British society's permissiveness and secularisation, and their own lifestyles prior to converting to Islam. It is also suggested that while "conversion through Sufism leads to a moderate dimension of Islam", "some convert directly to Salafism, within which numerous gateways to radicalisation can be found" (Rabasa and Benard 2015, 90). The combination of factors that have been identified in association with conversion to Salafist Islam and the adoption of an extremist worldview include a prior criminal record, poor education, and little knowledge of Islam (Rabasa and Benard 2015). Consistent with Brice's (2010) findings regarding the importance of the Internet as a key source of information about Islam for converts, Rabasa and Benard make the following observation:

> These converts generally lack a cultural context to be able to filter out extremist rhetoric; many become educated about Islam not only through the lens of the individuals they meet but also by surfing the Internet. The proliferation of Islamic extremist websites designed to attract new recruits helps guide these individuals into accepting a radical Salafist worldview (2015, 91).

A recent report by the International Centre for Counter-Terrorism (ICCT) in The Hague confirms many of the above-mentioned findings. The report states that 6–23% of foreign fighters who had travelled from

Western countries to Syria and Iraq were converts to Islam, supporting the notion that "converts are overrepresented in Islamist extremism and terrorism" (Schuurman et al. 2016, 9). While the authors were unable to identify a universal key factor in the radicalisation of converts, they did find that "most converts, radicalised or not, are disillusioned to some degree with modern or Western life" (Schuurman et al. 2016, 11). Additionally, Kleinmann's (2012) study concluded that "individual or internal forces, such as identity issues or cognitive function and style, play a much greater role in radicalizing converts than they do for those raised as Muslims" (cited in Schuurman et al. 2016, 12). Bartoszewicz (2013) argues that for some converts, particularly the radicals, their embracing of Islam is secondary to their rejection of the West and what it represents. The author contends that "a convert's likeliness for radicalisation is related to his or her pre-existing image of self and society" (cited in Schuurman et al. 2016, 12).

The time-space context of conversion is also significant with respect to identity. Mitchell and Rane (2018) found that country and community context influenced whether a convert would take on a "Muslim" name, wear "Islamic" attire, and/or adopt other markers of identity such as growing a beard in the case of male converts. Among female converts in the UK, Brice (2010) found that the vast majority changed their appearance after converting with most donning the *hijab* either immediately or sometime later. It is noteworthy that head scarf has become a modern symbol of Islamic identity and been promoted as a religious requirement since the 1970s (El-Fadl 2016).

Mitchell and Rane (2018) found that those who had converted since the turn of the century tended to incorporate certain ideological and identity-related thinking and behaviour into their approach to Islam, which often evoked negative reactions from family and friends, particularly those who hold strong anti-Muslim sentiments. By contrast, many who converted last century reported that their decision to embrace Islam was met with indifference. These contrasting experiences reflect the rise in negativity towards Islam in society overall since 9/11 but also suggest that for some the conversion process involves rejecting a previous identity as much as it is about embracing a new one. As Zebiri notes, "identity is not just about the individual, but also about the relationship between the individual and society" (2008, 89). The implications of conversion for relations with family and friends, Muslim communities and wider society are discussed in the following sections.

5 Social Relations

5.1 Family and Friends

Converts face a myriad of challenges in the process of becoming and being Muslim. A majority of converts (61%) find reactions from family and friends to be the most difficult aspect of conversion (Brice 2010). Both the time of conversion and type of Islam adopted by converts have an impact on pre-existing relationships. More widespread anti-Muslim sentiments since 9/11 have meant that more recent converts face challenges and opposition that many earlier converts did not experience. Contrasting the reactions experienced by twentieth- and twenty-first-century converts, Mitchell and Rane (2018) note that the former were often met with curiosity or indifference, while among the latter, the decision to convert evoked shock, anger, and feelings of betrayal among family and friends.

Brice (2010) found that 66% of his participants had experienced negative reactions from family members following conversion, while another 11% experienced positive reactions and for 12% reactions were described as neutral. While the attitudes of family members often improve over time, in some cases the decision to convert does lead to permanent alienation from loved ones (Brice 2010; Zebiri 2008). In Brice's (2010) study, of those who experienced negative reactions from family and friends, 43% reported that reactions turned positive over time, for 30% reactions became neutral, and for 28% they remained negative. Turner found that female converts in her study had remained "in the closet" for sustained periods of time following their adoption of Islam, due to a fear of negative reactions from family and friends (2010, 39–40).

Reactions from family and friends are also likely to be influenced by pre-existing cultural and religious contexts. For instance, in one case discussed by Mitchell and Rane (2018), opposition of family and friends related to their strong Catholic views of salvation only through the teachings of the Church. However, this and other cases in their study show that over time, family bonds often win over religious dogma with families eventually accepting the conversion. As noted by a number of converts, relations with family are often repaired once the initial shock of the conversion had subsided and time is allowed for positive behavioural changes to be observed (Mitchell and Rane 2018; King 2017).

5.2 Relations with Muslim Community

The difficulties converts face in relation to family and friends are closely followed by challenges of engaging with and gaining acceptance from Muslims. Brice (2010) asked converts about the various difficulties they faced and 50% said "acceptance within the local Muslim community", followed by "locating support networks for converts" (49%) and making Muslim friends (30%). Converts also struggle with religious and cultural aspects of Islam, including "learning Arabic" (66%), "attitudes to the opposite sex and mixing of sexes" (49%), "gaining authentic knowledge about Islam" (47%), "understanding the Quran" (40%), "finance and banking" (32%), "learning about acts of worship" (28%), "Islamic greetings and etiquette" (23%), and "dietary requirements" (17%) (Brice 2010). Other studies have also highlighted the challenges faced by converts in gaining acceptance within Muslim communities (Zebiri 2008; Mitchell and Rane 2018).

In terms of engagement with "born" Muslims, socialisation into this new religious community is considered to be a vital step in the conversion process (Köse 1996; King 2017). Converts not only encounter difficulties in being accepted by local Muslim communities but also experience disappointment with the behaviour of born Muslims, including that arising from sectarian, ideological, and cultural differences (Roald 2006; Brice 2010; Mitchell and Rane 2018). It is important to note, however, that such obstacles are not experienced by all converts, many of whom report acceptance from and positive engagement with local Muslim communities (Brice 2010).

In order to gain acceptance within Muslim communities, converts will often adopt a "Muslim" name as well as distinctive so-called Islamic appearance which often involves growing of a beard and distinctive forms of dress for men, and for women, attire that involves head-covering, and sometimes face-veiling, depending on the interpretation of Islam in question. Zebiri (2008) asserts that the adoption of a new "Muslim" name is a "highly symbolic act" for converts, which serves to strengthen their new identity and the sense of belonging in the Muslim community. Taking a new "Islamic" name following conversion is often strongly encouraged, although this is not something which all converts choose to do. The men interviewed for Mitchell and Rane's (2018) study reported varying attitudes towards taking on new names to reflect their new religious identities. While some men had legally changed their names following conversion,

others only used these names in certain social and religious contexts. Others still had resisted pressure to adopt a Muslim name, feeling that this was not a necessary step and that it did not fit into their own personal journey. Overall, seven of the ten men interviewed had adopted "Islamic" names in some capacity. Converts may have no choice but to adopt a Muslim name if they convert in a country where this is a legal requirement. However, while some converts continue to use their birth name or Muslim name exclusively, others use their Muslim name only in Muslim social contexts and continue to use their birth name in all other contexts. In quantitative terms, Brice (2010) found that of his UK survey participants, 32% did not change their name at all, 45% used a "Muslim" name in Muslim social contexts but their birth name when amongst non-Muslims, 8% had adopted a Muslim name without changing it officially, and 12% had officially changed their birth name to a "Muslim" name.

In an earlier study of British converts, Köse (1996) found that only a small number of male converts in his study (6%) had "changed their dress completely". However, a recent study by Mitchell and Rane (2018) found that most converts had adopted a so-called Islamic style of dress at some point in their conversion journey but most continued to do so only in Muslim social contexts. The adoption of traditional "Islamic" clothing and other changes to physical appearance can represent a means for converts to express their new identities as Muslims and/or create distance from their former selves. For male converts, the adoption of traditional forms of clothing and the growing of a beard can also represent a means of "emulating" the Prophet Muhammad. While such steps are encouraged within some Muslim community groups, this is not something which all converts choose to do. The degree to which interviewees in Mitchell and Rane's (2018) study adopted appearance-related aspects of "Islamic" identity as a perceived requirement of Islam's teachings seems to decline the longer one had been Muslim and whether their conversion was more recent. The authors note that those who had converted this century appear to be more exposed to ideological and identity issues than those who converted decades earlier. This suggests that the time period and social context of conversion have an influence on the type of Islam to which a convert adheres. It also suggests that the kind of Islam that is prevalent within Muslim communities and societies will influence the type of person who converts as well as the interpretations of Islam with which they identify.

5.3 Relations with Wider Society

Negative perceptions of Islam and Muslims among the wider public may also lead to societal barriers for converts at a broader social level. While those who converted to Islam in the decades of the 1900s tend to find less antagonism from within wider society than those who have converted this century, it seems the extent to which one is "visibly" Muslim is a stronger predictor of negativity from wider society (Suleiman 2016; Mitchell and Rane 2018). Exploring the relationship between conversion and national identity in Sweden, Jensen (2008) found that by adopting Islam, converts were viewed as "traitors" by segments of the Swedish population. Studies by Alam (2012), Moosavi (2015), and Galonnier (2015) have also explored processes of racialisation to which Caucasian converts are subjected following conversion. Alam asserts that "the act of conversion is one that racialises white Muslims, removing the privilege of racial invisibility" (2012, 124). The author found that visible markers of a convert's Muslim identity (such as traditional forms of clothing) superseded phenotypical attributes, imposing upon them a racial "foreignness" (Alam 2012). As a result, converts were subjected to "not just Islamophobic slurs but clearly racist slurs" (Alam 2012, 130). These findings were echoed in Moosavi's (2015) more recent study of British converts.

The interpretation of Islam adopted by converts can significantly impact on their social relations due, for instance, to the role they perceive Islam to require of them. In her study of female converts, King (2017) found that converts belonging to the same Muslim community had adopted contrasting views of Islam's teachings with some wearing the *niqab* (face covering), some the *hijab* (head scarf), and others choosing to not wear any such attire. Furthermore, their perceptions of Islam's prescribed gender roles led some to see a woman's primary place to be within the home and others advocating for active social and economic participation of women in society. Hence, depending on converts' understanding of Islam's teachings, some of the more dramatic aspects of the conversion process, particularly a change of identity that occurs through the adoption of a new name or appearance, can be mitigated as these are arguably cultural and social norms rather than Islamic religious requirements.

6 Potential Bridge and for Shaping Islam in the West?

Participants in a number of studies (Brice 2010; Soutar 2010) have expressed both a desire and willingness to contribute to intercultural and interfaith dialogue to improve understanding between these Muslims and Western society. This question is predicated on a view among converts that there is a problem between Muslims and the West to begin with. To the statement "There is a natural conflict between a devout Muslim and living in the UK", most respondents to Brice's (2010) study disagreed or strongly disagreed (64%), while 27% agreed or strongly agreed.

Over the past several years, there has been increasing academic attention on the prospects for bridge-building between Muslim communities and wider society. Some research has discussed the role of early and multigenerational Western Muslims in this regard (Rane et al. 2015), while others have focused on the potential of Muslim civil society organisations (Amath 2015). Additionally, some research has discussed the role of converts as "intercultural interlocutor" (Soutar 2010; Zebiri 2008) in bridging the gap between Muslims and non-Muslims in Western societies, which appears to be supported by many converts themselves (Brice 2010). According to this perspective, converts' grounding in both the Muslim and non-Muslim cultures make them sufficiently experienced to facilitate intercultural communication and contribute to social cohesion between Muslim communities and wider society.

A strong majority (84%) of converts who participated in Brice's (2010) study agreed that converts can act as a bridge between Muslim and non-Muslim communities. The study identified several contexts in which the experiences of converts could benefit Muslim communities and their relationship with wider society, including (1) differentiating between culture and religion, as many born Muslims are considered to confuse the two; (2) making mosques more community- and non-Muslim-friendly spaces where all people can freely approach to learn more about Islam; and (3) better representing Muslims (born and converts) in the media and amongst the general public so as to dispel stereotypes of both communities. Converts see their potential in better explaining Islam to non-Muslims so as to reduce the extent to which it is seen as "foreign" or "alien".

However, a small minority (7%) of Brice's (2010) study disagreed that converts could act as a bridge, noting that converts may not be best placed to play this role due to non-Muslim and Muslim perceptions of them as

another "other" and the narrow or extreme views of some converts. As noted above, converts are overrepresented among jihadist groups (Schuurman et al. 2016; Gambetta and Hertog 2016) and there is some indication that more fundamentalist interpretations of Islam, such as Salafism and Wahhabism, have found appeal among increasing numbers of converts since the turn of the century (Stemmann 2006). It should be noted that the issues about which Islam has become infamous in media, political and public discourses have more to do with political ideology than faith or religion, which is to say, they concern Islamism much more so than Islam. As such, most converts as well as born Muslims would struggle to explain complex issues pertaining to *shariah*, jihad, and the caliphate, for instance, without having been formally educated in Islamic Studies. Van Nieuwkerk's (2006) study found that, like most Muslims in general, most converts have a limited understanding of the development of Islamic thought, including its long history of intellectual debates. Indeed, one may argue that a lack of such formal education among Islamic leaders and lay Muslims has contributed to the current situation of confusion and conflation of Islam with various cultures and ideologies of the modern Muslim world. Given the extent to which many converts rely on born Muslims for assistance in navigating the labyrinth of Muslim social, cultural, and religious expectations or obligations, it should not come as a surprise that many converts have similarly become outsiders within their own societies.

7 Conclusion

Religious conversion is a deeply personal and often complex process for which there are multiple motivations and paths. While Western converts to Islam represent a small minority of Muslims in most Western countries, they comprise over one-fifth of the Muslim population in the USA. Research also suggests that converts tend to be young, most commonly in their 20s, when they embrace Islam. While we cannot say with precision which categories or versions of Islam are embraced by converts, current research suggests that most convert to one of the Sunni traditions. However, as among born Muslims, there is a counter-trend among converts to adopt a "Muslim" identity free of sectarian divisions. Although Sufism seems to have appeal among many converts, more rigid, fundamentalist interpretations of Islam such as Salafism and Wahhabism have become influential among born Muslims and converts since the latter part of the twentieth

century. For many converts, the path to Islam involved study and contemplation as well as personal relations with Muslims in search of answers and meaning with respect to questions of life and existence. However, for others becoming Muslim has more to do with rejecting Western society than embracing Islam. Since the turn of the century, an overrepresentation of converts has been found among radicalised and militant Muslims in the West, including significant numbers that have joined the ranks of jihadist groups abroad. The influence of Muslim cultures and ideologies can also be seen in the identity transformation of many converts, including change of name and appearance, which in some cases affords converts access and acceptance within Muslim communities but often put them at odds with their own family, friends, and wider society. In spite of the challenges they face with gaining acceptance, many converts consider their kind to be an appropriate and necessary bridge between Muslims and non-Muslims. However, the validity of this notion has been questioned by some who consider genuine expertise in the issues central to Islam-West relations to be a more relevant criterion than familiarity with Muslim and Western cultures alone.

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CHAPTER 9

Islamist Militants and Home-Grown Terrorism

1 Introduction

Acts of violence motivated by ideology, politics, or religion to threaten or intimidate a population or government have occurred in Western countries, particularly Europe and North America, for centuries. Concerning the former, such acts have been used by nationalist and separatist groups, and in the case of the latter, they include the targeting of indigenous populations and Black communities. Both could be rightly defined as terrorism, indeed "home-grown terrorism", as the perpetrators were born and raised in the country they inhabit with their victims. However, although Muslims have resided in Western countries for centuries, with large communities having been established since the 1960s and 1970s, home-grown Islamist terrorism is a very new phenomenon that emerged in the first decade of the twenty-first century. With such notable exceptions as the attacks on the World Trade Center in New York in 1993 and 2001, Islamist terrorism against the West tended to be carried out in Muslim-majority rather than Western countries, for instance, the US embassy bombings in Beirut in 1983 and 1984 carried out by Islamic Jihad and Hezbollah, respectively. Islamist attacks of this kind too are a relatively recent phenomenon, emerging towards the end of the twentieth century. Such tactics as suicide bombings, including those carried out by the Palestinian group Hamas, emerged in the context of foreign occupation (Rane 2009).

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This chapter is concerned with the even more recent phenomenon of home-grown Islamist terrorism. Following the provision of some key definitions of terrorism, home-grown terrorism, radicalisation, Islamism, and jihadism, we identify some of the major Islamist terrorist attacks in the West and several perspectives that attempt to explain the phenomenon. We also discuss several models of radicalisation and research pertaining to its relationship with Muslim integration. This chapter examines some reoccurring characteristics of home-grown jihadists, including age, gender, and education. The social component of home-grown terrorism will also be discussed, including how prisons and the Internet facilitate the radicalisation process. We will examine the roles of ideology and religion and discuss the most commonly used methods in countering radicalisation. However, from the outset it is important to be aware of the stagnation of terrorism research. At the end of the chapter, we provide a brief account of some of the key challenges of research on Islamist terrorism based on the work of Marc Sageman, one of the world's leading terrorism researchers. Indeed, we still do not know why people engage in such political violence:

> Despite over a decade of government funding and thousands of newcomers to the field of terrorist research, we are no closer to answering the simple question of "What leads a person to turn to political violence?" The state of stagnation with respect to this issue is partly due to the government strategy of funding research without sharing the necessary primary source information with academia, which has created an unbridgeable gap between academia and the intelligence community. This has led to an explosion of speculations with little empirical grounding in academia, which has the methodological skills but lacks data for a major breakthrough. Most of the advances in the field have come from historical archival research and analysis of a few field interviews. Nor has the intelligence community been able to achieve any breakthrough because of the structure and dynamic of this community and its lack of methodological rigor. This prevents creative analysis of terrorism protected from political concerns. The solution to this stagnation is to make non-sensitive data available to academia and to structure more effective discourse between the academic and intelligence communities in order to benefit from the complementary strengths in these two communities. (Sageman 2014, 565)

This chapter contends that while several sociological and psychological factors including relative socio-economic deprivation, lack of sense of

belonging, alienation, political grievances, and discrimination may, in some contexts, be relevant to the phenomenon of home-grown terrorism committed in the name of Islam, Islamist ideology plays a necessary, though not sufficient, role. Put another way, while most Islamists do not engage in terrorism or violence, the terrorism committed by Muslims tends to be expressed in relation to the Islamist ideology. A common thread among terrorist groups such as Al-Qaeda, Al-Shabab, Boko Haram, Jemaah Islamiyah, and ISIS, which have been responsible for or inspired home-grown terrorism, is their Islamist ideology rooted in the pursuit of a caliphate or Islamic state based on the implementation of a reimagined *shariah* as a legal code (Mahood and Rane 2017; Tibi 2012). It is beyond the scope of this chapter but noteworthy that the Islamist conceptions of *shariah* and Islamic state were developed in the twentieth century and, like the term caliph (or caliphate), do not share the same connotation with the terms used in the Qur'an and Sunnah (Kamali 2008; Tibi 2012). Highlighting the connection between Islamist terrorism and Islamist ideology, Sageman (2004) refers to the phenomenon as *salafi* jihad rather than the religion of Islam more generally as the more central component of the phenomenon. Recognising this distinction provides some critical insights regarding the manifestation of home-grown terrorism that may prove useful in mitigating the appeal and legitimacy of Islamism vis-à-vis Islam.

2 Key Concepts

In the aftermath of 9/11, and particularly since the London bombings of 7/7, the association of Islam and Muslims with terrorism, extremism, and radicalisation has intensified. Among Western governments, media, public and scholarly discourses, perceptions of the threats posed by radicalisation, extremism, and terrorism from Western Muslim populations have proliferated. This section will briefly define these key concepts.

2.1 Terrorism and Home-Grown Terrorism

Terrorism is defined in markedly different ways around the world. Many might understand terrorism as the use or threat of violence in order to intimidate a population. This could potentially include violence perpetrated by governments on their own or other people, which would be defined as state terrorism. In some authoritarian countries, such as Saudi

Arabia, the regime has applied a broad definition of terrorism to any perceived threats to the socio-political status quo, including non-violent political dissent and activism. In many Western countries, such as the USA, the definition of terrorism is qualified with provisions that the threat or use of violence is conducted by non-state actors and with an ideological, political, or religious motivation. Within the scholarly literature one finds such definitions of terrorism as "the use of illegal force, [by] subnational actors, [using] unconventional methods, [with] political motives, [conducting] attacks against civilian and passive military targets and acts aimed at purposefully affecting an audience" (Martin 2006, 47). Political motives are an important feature to highlight as the illegal use of violence by a non-state actor alone is not usually defined as terrorism. This differentiates politically motivated violence (terrorism) from, for example, homicide, hate crimes, and domestic violence.

Islamist terrorism refers to the above-described use of violence carried out by groups motivated by Islamism. As defined by Tibi (2012, vii), "Islamism emanates from a political interpretation of Islam: it is based not on the religious faith of Islam but on an ideological use of religion within the political realm". Similarly, Mozaffari (2007) contends that Islamism selectively uses the teachings of Islam to form the sets of ideas that comprise the ideology, which it reproduces as legitimate religious obligations. He states that Islamism is "is more than merely a 'religion' in the narrow sense of theological belief, private prayer and ritual worship, but also serves as a total way of life with guidance for political, economic and social behavior" (Mozaffari 2007, 22). Most importantly, particularly in the context of this book about Islam and Muslims in the West, while "the religious faith of Islam is not an obstacle to peace or a threat to the non-Muslim other", in Tibi's assessment, "Islamism, on the other hand, creates deep civilizational rifts between Muslims and non-Muslims" (Tibi 2012, vii).

The term "home-grown" terrorism is predicated on the fact that the individual or group engaging in political, religious, or ideologically motivated violence was born and/or raised in a Western state (Ali 2011). This type of violence may be carried out within the state in which the perpetrators were raised or by the export of attacks to other states. As opposed to individuals who may have been born in failed or failing states, or non-Western states, "home-grown" terrorists have had their "formative phase, upbringing and cultural influence take place in the Western world" (Precht 2007, 15). In the past several years, a growing body of scholarly literature

has emphasised the Islamist nature of home-grown terrorism committed by Western Muslims in the name of Islam (Laurence 2012; Tibi 2012; Mahood and Rane 2017).

Certain forms of terrorism, including suicide terrorism and lone-wolf terrorism, have proliferated in media, political and public discourse over the past several years. While the definitions may differ, Sageman (2014) questions whether there is a distinction between suicide terrorism, lone-wolf terrorism, and other forms, noting that "no one has shown that either of these forms is very different from other sorts of terrorism, nor offered any significant insights into what leads young people to turn to political violence" (p. 569). His comments highlight that while the organisation, tactics, and execution of terrorist acts have changed since the advent of Islamist terrorism, experts are yet to define its causes and solutions.

2.2 Radicalisation

Radicalisation refers to "an increase in and/or reinforcing of extremism in the thinking, sentiments, and/or behaviour of individuals and/or groups of individuals" (Mandel 2010, 111). It is not a root cause of terrorism. Some who might be considered radicalised do not always go on to engage in violence, terrorism-related or otherwise. Thus, sometimes the term "violent radicalisation" is used to differentiate. Mandel (2010) is hesitant to use the word "process" in his definition, instead emphasising the word "increase". As opposed to Bokhari (2009, 19) who defines radicalisation as "the process through which individuals and groups become increasingly more radical". This of course is problematic, particularly when radical is defined as *not* being related to violence. Radicalisation, in relation to Islamism or jihadism, involves instances where an individual has adopted or manifests an ideology and related behavioural outcomes. The individual may be radicalised to an Islamist worldview which may or may not advocate the use of violence. ISIS would be an example of the former and Hizbut Tahrir of the latter.

What are considered radical or extreme ideas, however, will differ according to different social, cultural, religious, and political contexts. Within the Western context, radicalisation may involve the rejection of key democratic values including human rights, gender equality, civil liberties, pluralism, non-sectarian sources of law and non-violent transitions of political power. Ideas commonly found among radicalised Muslims in the

West include justification of jihadist violence, support for the implementation of punitive *shariah* laws, intolerance of other social groups, and support for the establishment of a caliphate (Rabasa and Benard 2015).

According to Rabasa and Benard (2015), feelings of disaffection and a search for identity create an opening for radical ideas. Often answers are found within radical Salafism, which offers an alternative identity based on a sense of belonging to a global Muslim community (*ummah*). Central to the appeal of the Salafist ideology is the sense of grievance that is evoked in relation to the suffering of Muslims around the world due to policies of Western governments or Muslim rulers they support. This sense of grievance is generally not a consequence of personal experience but "fostered by the narratives of Muslim oppression" (Rabasa and Benard 2015, 192).

2.3 Islamism and Jihadism

The concept of jihadism relates closely to Islamism. A former Islamist, Maajid Nawaz, defines Islamism as an ideology that seeks to "impose any interpretation of Islam over society as law" (2015, 45). He defines *jihadism* as the "militant strand" of Islamism (Nawaz 2015, 46). Jihad is a concept found in the Qur'an used in the context of self-defence, repelling repression or aggression and for establishing a just peace (Rane 2009). After the death of the Prophet Muhammad (d. 632), various Muslim empires invoked jihad as a mean of mobilising forces for territorial expansion, while modern Muslims have used it to mobilise against European colonial rule (Rane 2010). However, in the hands of Islamists, jihad has evolved from its original and classical application to become jihadism: "an instrument in the process of a remaking of the world according to the tenets of a reinvented shari'a" (Tibi 2012, 23). It has employed tactics such as suicide bombings and terrorism that were unfamiliar to historic understandings of jihad (Rane 2009). Groups such as Al-Qaeda and ISIS are Islamist and jihadist as they use terrorism in the name of Islam to achieve their political goals. The home-grown terrorists they inspire may be similarly described. Sageman (2014, 567) asserts that "There is no doubt that ideology, including global neo-jihadi ideology, is an important part of any explanation in the turn to political violence, but we still don't understand how."

2.4 Home-Grown Islamist Terrorism

Home-grown Islamist terrorism is directed at the citizens and governments of Western nation-states but is ideologically linked to the Islamist movement in the broader Muslim world. Roy (2004) highlights the global orientation and appeal of contemporary Islamism and jihadism, underpinned by Salafism and Wahhabism, among young Western Muslims who find a sense of belonging in a global Muslim *ummah*. Whilst the events on 11 September 2001 occurred in the USA, the perpetrators were not "home-grown" but allegedly foreigners, mostly Saudi nationals. However, in response to 9/11, the war on terror, which began with the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan followed by Iraq, radicalised some young Muslims in the West and a few engaged in acts of terrorism. Home-grown terrorism developed in the aftermath of these invasions that were led by the USA and supported by a coalition of Western nations in spite of widespread protests by the citizens of these and other nations. The first of these major attacks were bombings carried out in Madrid on 11 March 2004, then in London on 7 July 2005, killing 192 and 53 people respectively. It should be noted that during the early 2000s, Islamists also conducted major attacks in other non-Western nations, including Egypt, India, Indonesia, Morocco, Philippines, Russia, Saudi Arabia, and Turkey, among others. Smaller attacks were also conducted against Western targets, including Glasgow (UK) in 2007 killing one, Stockholm (Sweden) in 2010 killing one, Frankfurt (Germany) in 2011 killing two, Toulouse and Montauban (France) in 2012 killing seven, and Boston (USA) in 2013 killing three. These attacks involved various tactics including bombings as well as more low-tech shootings and car rammings.

A resurgence of major home-grown terrorist attacks against the West re-emerged during 2015 with a series of attacks in France over the year that left over 150 dead. The most significant one occurred on 13 November when terrorists engaged in mass shootings and suicide bombings to execute what has been regarded as the worst attack on France since the Second World War. The coordinated attacks left 137 dead. In 2016, Belgium was attacked by suicide bombers who killed 35 people. These major attacks in France and Belgium were claimed by ISIS. Subsequent attacks in Florida (USA) in 2016, Nice (France) in 2016, London (UK) in 2017, and Barcelona (Spain) in 2017, resulting in the deaths of almost 200 people collectively, have also been linked to ISIS operatives or

would-be affiliates. The latter attacks have seen further use of vehicles to target innocents gathered in public spaces with increasing lethality.

2.5 Home-Grown Terrorists

In spite of extensive research to identify or construct a profile for home-grown Muslim terrorists, there is little more to show than a propensity to be young and male (Roose 2016). Criminologists have shown empirically that young men are more susceptible to crime in general, but youth has also been argued to be associated with extreme political views and radicalisation (Bokhari 2009; Stolzenberg and D'Alessio 2008; Watts 1999). It should be noted that the global Muslim population has a high proportion of young people. In 2010, 60% of the world's Muslim population was under the age of 30. In 1990, this figure was over 68% (Pew 2011). There is also, however, recent evidence of an overrepresentation among contemporary jihadists of males with engineering backgrounds involved in Islamism and right-wing extremism (Gambetta and Hertog 2016) or what is referred to as an "engineering mindset" (Rose 2015).

A crisis of identity has been shown to be as a precursor to home-grown jihadism. For example, Precht (2007) highlights a Muslim identity crisis, experience of discrimination, alienation and perceived injustices, living environment, neighbourhood, family (and) personal traumas. Also, Post (2010) argues that, rather than being crazed fanatics, terrorists are psychologically normal and for some, the primary motivation is to give power to the powerless or to gain a sense of significance. Meaning, significance, and forming one's identity are all salient factors; they are often triggered by personal trauma such as divorce, alcoholism, or death of a family member. This was evidenced in two Australian studies which found personal crisis or trauma as part of the radicalisation process in some cases (Aly and Striegher 2012; Porter and Kebbell 2011).

Of course, not all young men that experience traumas or an identity crisis will go on to join a jihadi group. However, these factors appear to play a role in some contexts where they are often expressed in connection to an Islamist worldview of punishing non-Muslims and Western governments to avenge the suffering of fellow Muslims. Moreover, soliciting personal and social *meaning* is also a reoccurring factor when examining home-grown terrorists; this is related to being young and searching for an identity or experiencing a crisis of identity. It is argued that feelings of failure, despair, guilt, grief and sometimes mental illness make some young

men more susceptible to the jihadist narrative: "often powerless and marginal, men, merely by subscribing to this narrative, become 'warriors' and meaningful social actors just by embracing jihadist notions" (Roose 2016, xiii).

Recent research has shown how in both Muslim-majority countries and the West there has been an overrepresentation of Islamists and jihadists that have been educated in the STEM fields (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics). Gambetta and Hertog (2016) note that of those with post-secondary school qualifications, engineers account for 45% of the membership of jihadist groups recruited from among Muslim-majority countries and 59% among Muslims from Western countries. Furthermore, Schwartz (2008) notes an overrepresentation and targeting of medical students in and by Islamist and jihadi groups. These data are quite alarming and contrast with the numbers of graduates from the humanities and social sciences, which are almost in "complete absence" (Rose 2015, 10). When we examine the profiles of home-grown Islamist and jihadists, we see a significant percentage showing a proclivity for STEM education, particularly engineering, and an absence of those educated in the humanities and social sciences where context, critical thinking, and debate are central. Instrumental in the radicalisation process is a failure of epistemic thinking. Rose (2015) refers to an "engineering mindset" in terms of a lack of critical thinking skills which tends to produce binary thinking that emphasises a black and white view of the world among Islamists and jihadists. Nawaz (2013) and Husain (2007) in their autobiographical accounts both describe how they adopted the ideology of Islamism, explaining how recruiters had an "answer to everything" and that black and white thinking was central to the ideology's allure. They lacked the capacity at this stage of their lives to think critically about the new information received.

3 Phases, Stages, and Models: A Process of Radicalisation?

Over the past decade or so, a number of scholars have attempted to explain the process of jihadist terrorism, including the home-grown kind, in relation to stages of radicalisation. For instance, in 2005, Wiktorowicz developed a four-component developmental model for radicalisation: "those who came to be radicalised first revealed an openness to new worldviews

(cognitive opening), then came to view religion as a path to find meaning (religious seeking), eventually found the group's narrative and ethos to "make sense" (frame alignment), and ultimately, through a process of socialization, became fully indoctrinated into the movement" (Wiktorowicz in Borum 2011, 18–19). In 2011, Borum (2011) drew on older theories that might help to support the study of radicalisation. The author refers to social movement theory, sub-disciplines within social psychology and conversion theory and draws on perspectives of radicalisation from the 1980s and 1990s to explicate the phenomenon of radicalisation as part of a longer history than what an isolated focus on Islamist radicalism and terrorism would allow.

A more detailed, four-phase model was developed by Precht (2007):

Phase 1: Pre-radicalisation: Pre-radicalisation describes the many general background factors that make individuals receptive to extremism just before the actual radicalisation process begins. A variety of factors apply such as: Muslim identity crisis, experience of discrimination, alienation and perceived injustices, personal traumas, neighbourhood, living conditions, family and relative absence of Muslim public debate on Islamist terrorism in the community.

Phase 2: Conversion and identification: The most significant pattern to observe in phase 2 is that individuals change their religious identity or behaviour. It is a transformation that can take three forms:

1. from no specific faith or religious observance to a religious identity;
2. from a normal religious observance to a more radical interpretation of religion; and
3. a shift from one faith to another (e.g. from Christianity to Islam).

Phase 3: Conviction and indoctrination: In the ensuing Phase 3 of the radicalisation process, potential extremists usually begin to isolate themselves from their former life (although not everyone) and identify even further with the cause of Islamism. Catalysts like group bonding, overseas travel and training camps (foreign and local) facilitate this process. In almost every one of the recent terrorist cases or plots at least one person has travelled to Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iraq or another European country.

Phase 4: *Action*: Phase 4 is the critical action phase where focus is on implementation, planning, target selection, surveillance, fabrication of

explosives or other means of terrorism and possibly carrying out a test run. (Precht 2007, 34–37)

One of the most cited models to explain the process of radicalisation was developed by the New York City Police Department entitled *Radicalization in the West: The Home Grown Threat* (Silber and Bhatt 2007). The purpose of this report was to assist policy-makers and law enforcement officials in their understanding of the threat posed by domestic terrorism in the name of Islam. It identifies the threat and drivers of home-grown terrorism in the West as follows:

> Jihadist or jihadi-Salafi ideology is the driver that motivates young men and women, born or living in the West, to carry out "autonomous jihad" via acts of terrorism against their host countries. It guides movements, identifies the issues, drives recruitment and is the basis for action.
>
> This ideology has served as the inspiration for numerous homegrown groups including the Madrid March 2004 bombers, Amsterdam's Hofstad Group, London's July 2005 bombers, the Australians arrested as part of Operation Pendennis in late 2005 and the Toronto 18 arrested in June 2006. (Silber and Bhatt 2007, 6)

Four stages of radicalisation presented in Silber and Bhatt's (2007) NYPD report are:

Stage 1: Pre-Radicalisation: describes an individual's world—his or her pedigree, lifestyle, religion, social status, neighbourhood, and education—just prior to the start of their journey down the path of radicalisation.

Stage 2: Self-Identification: largely influenced by both internal and external factors, marks the point where the individual begins to explore Salafi Islam, while slowly migrating away from their former identity—an identity that now is re-defined by Salafi philosophy, ideology, and values. The catalyst for this——religious seeking is often a cognitive event, or crisis, which challenges one's certitude in previously held beliefs, opening the individual's mind to a new perception or view of the world.

Stage 3: Indoctrination: an individual progressively intensifies his beliefs, wholly adopts jihadi-Salafi ideology and concludes, without question, that the conditions and circumstances exist where action is required to

support and further the Salafist cause. That action is militant jihad. A spiritual sanctioner plays a leading role in this phase of radicalisation.

Stage 4: *Jihadisation*: members of the cluster accept their individual duty to participate in jihad and self-designate themselves as holy warriors or mujahedeen. Ultimately, the group will begin operational planning for the jihad or a terrorist attack. These "acts in furtherance" will include planning, preparation and execution.

While the other phases of radicalisation may take place gradually, over two to three years, this jihadisation component can be a very rapid process, taking only a few months, or even weeks to run its course. (Silber and Bhatt 2007, 6–7)

However, Sageman has critiqued this model, stating "The NYPD postulated four stages of the process, but these were vague, simplistic, and did not stand up to close empirical scrutiny" (2014, 568).

4 Opportunities to Radicalise: Prison and the Internet

There are, of course, numerous ways one can access Islamist or jihadi ideology, including through family or friends, mosques, schools, prisons, and/or online. Precht (2007) calls this "*opportunity*" which involves the individual's exposure to the relevant ideas. It is instructive to examine some of the ways in which the socialisation aspect plays a role in the recruitment of home-grown terrorists in these contexts. Here we briefly discuss prisons and the Internet.

It is perhaps unsurprising that prisons have been responsible for the radicalisation of certain jihadists. For example, there is the "case is Jamal 'el Chino' Ahmidan who embraced jihadist principles while serving time and is the mastermind behind the 2004 Madrid train bombings. Richard Reid, known as the 'shoe bomber', who attempted to blow up an American Airline flight between Paris and Miami in 2001, also converted to Islam while serving time for a string of muggings" (Mulcahy et al. 2013, 7). When imprisoned it is "common for the individual to go through physical and emotional trauma that can make them more vulnerable to recruitment" (Mulcahy et al. 2013, 7).

However, while we are able to identify that numerous individuals involved in Islamist extremist or terrorist activity have criminal records, the evidence that prisons are a significant factor among Muslims who

are inclined to commit an act of terrorism is less convincing. It is noteworthy that the USA has the highest number of incarcerated individuals in the world, of which 350,000 are estimated to be Muslim and of those that convert to a religion while incarcerated, 80% convert to Islam (Downing 2011). However, in spite of the USA being the target of numerous Islamist terrorist attacks, a significant link is yet to be established between its former inmates and terrorism. There are only a small number of cases of jihadist recruitment in prison evolving into terrorism (Jones 2014).

Other researchers have focused on the more open environment of the Internet, which has become instrumental in promoting extremist content and recruitment propaganda (Aly et al. 2016; Mahood and Rane 2017). Among the generation of Muslim youth raised in the post-9/11 era are many whose interpretations are far more extreme than those of first-generation Islamists. Central to their extremism is an overt disdain for Western society and governments (Roose 2016). As noted by Rabasa and Benard (2015, 193), "there is no question that the Internet plays an increasingly important role in disseminating radical Islamist narratives". Another study similarly concludes that "As a venue for information exchange, ideological development and training, the individual radicalization process was characteristically shaped or even made possible through the Internet" (Koehler 2014).

Since the time of the 9/11 attacks, advances in online technology have drastically altered the way in which people communicate. According to Sageman (2008), the threat now comes from radicalised individuals that have most likely never been to a terrorist training camp and do not answer to leaders like Osama bin Laden but instead are radicalised and recruited through the Internet. However, it is important to exercise caution and avoid the shortcomings of early twentieth-century media studies, which assumed audiences to be easily influenced, passive receivers of media content, rather than the active participants that research since the 1970s has demonstrated them to be (Rane et al. 2014). Sageman conveys the importance of this understanding in the following:

> There is an implicit assumption that mere exposure to material on jihadi websites radicalizes naïve Muslims and turns them violent. On the contrary, it appears that there is active participation by these online jihadists and they

> seek out the website, each for his own reasons. This type of interactivity online was important in the trajectory to political violence. However, much work remains to be done to understand the influence of the Internet in this turn to violence (Sageman 2014, 569).

5 The Role of Religion

As discussed in Chap. 5, for over a decade debates have raged in Western countries as to the role of Islam in contributing to the radicalisation of Muslims and the threat of terrorism. Home-grown terrorism is perceived by sectors of the media, polity and public to be the result of failed integration of Muslims. Indeed, in the West, particularly Europe, Islam is seen as a barrier to integration (Meer and Modood 2009). Goli and Rezaei note that "Concerns about "homegrown mujahideen" in Western, democratic countries have energised a global debate about the possible roles of immigration policies and failed integration in facilitating *Radical Islamism*" (2011, 81). Others have argued that the problems of Muslim radicalisation and a lack of integration are "distinct phenomena", although "there may be an indirect relationship, to the extent that extremists are embedded in communities where they find some degree of support, tolerance, or indifference" (Rabasa and Benard 2015, 2).

However, until Goli and Rezaei's (2011) study, there was a lack of empirical examination of the extent to which Muslim association with Islamism versus engagement with Western society relates to one's propensity towards radicalisation. They base their study on a nationally representative sample of 1113 youth (ages 15–30) in Denmark. Outlining the key assumptions underlying the study, the authors state:

> …in an attempt to explain the recent rise of militant Islamist ideologies around the world—including in Western nations, some analysts have suggested that failed (unsuccessful) integration may be to blame. The proposition is that the absence of socioeconomic success, unemployment, poverty, alienation, and discrimination motivates young Muslims in Western countries towards Radical Islamist worldviews. The report *Radicalisation, Recruitment, and the EU Counter-radicalization Strategy* notes specifically: "poor integration and exclusion of Muslims in Western societies might lay a significant foundation for radicalisation and polarization" (2011, 84).

Their study identified and categorised participants as follows:

Group One: Non-Radical Muslims (N=551) comprised about half (49.4%) the sample. Respondents in this category largely did not endorse beliefs, attitudes, or behaviours that characterise a Radical Islamist World view.

Group Two: The Least Radical Muslims (N=301) accounted for another quarter (27%) of the sample. Respondents in this category endorsed some beliefs, attitudes, or behaviours that are also endorsed by their more radical counterparts. They take their religion very seriously, but their Islamic belief system might be better characterised as *fundamentalist*.

Group Three: The Affiliated (N=198) numbered less than one in five (18%) among the sample. Respondents in this category endorse fundamentalist and Islamist beliefs, attitudes, or behaviours but do not necessarily embrace the militancy that characterises the radicals. Some of these respondents are probably more rebellious, feeling harmed by what they experience as global pressure on Islam, but not identifying with *Radical Islamism*. This group may be sympathetic to the aspirations and ideals of Radical Islamists, but they do not actively support them.

Group Four: The Most Radical Muslims (N=63) comprised only 5.8% of the overall sample. Respondents in this category endorsed militant, radical Islamist beliefs, attitudes, and behaviours. They explicitly express affinity and support for, and identification with, known militant, radical Muslim groups. (p. 85)

Concerning factors pertaining to integration, including language use and work, Goli and Rezaei (2011) found no significant differences between the groups. However, while "household Danish was quite common (61.4%) among respondents in Group One, it was less commonly (42.9%) reported among those in Group Four" (2011, 90).

Most significantly, in addition to the likelihood of radical Islamists having been arrested by the police being three times that of non-radical Muslims, "The sharpest and most consistent differences between the Radical Islamists and other Muslim immigrants concerned their adherence to religious duties and proscriptions" (Goli and Rezaei 2011, 105). More than half of those in the most radical group deferred to *shariah* over national law (56%) and almost a third endorsed a death penalty for apostasy (30%), while among non-radical Muslims only 7% favoured *shariah* and only 1% endorsed death for apostasy.

Additionally, radical Islamists were slightly more likely to prefer residential segregation of Muslims from non-Muslims and about three times

as likely to prefer their children be educated in an Islamic school. Significant differences were also found in relation to political participation with almost 40% of radical Islamists and only 4% of non-radical Muslims reporting that they refused to vote in elections. Radical Islamists were also found to be overrepresented in respect to lower levels of education and underrepresented in higher levels of education.

While this research does not shed new light on who is likely to commit an act of terrorism or why, it does tell us that about half of the young Muslims in Denmark are influenced by the ideology of Islamism in terms of their worldview. Of these, about half (about one-quarter of the total sample) are conservative, religious fundamentalists but probably not active Islamists. The other half endorse Islamists ideas and of these a small number (about 6% of the total sample) endorse militant Islamism. The number of the latter who would commit an act of terrorism is much smaller and the factors involved in taking such action differ among individuals.

6 Combatting Home-Grown Terrorism

There has been a surge in funding and initiatives to combat home-grown terrorism in the West over the past decade. These have been seen in the areas of security, policing, border protection, and intelligence, often under the banner of counter-terrorism, but also include programmes to counter radicalisation and extremism. Counter-radicalisation is seen as prevention, while de-radicalisation relates to rehabilitation. State policies are now starting to show that there is an understanding that preventative measures are the most important with regards to counter terrorism (Wormeli 2014), although this is not always reflected in the allocation of funding and resources.

In Europe, there are two broad categories for counter-radicalisation: general preventive initiatives and targeted interventions (Vidino and Brandon 2012). The former is "aimed at challenging extremist ideas and influences in society, promoting tolerant, moderate and democratic principles, and addressing factors that can increase vulnerability to radicalisation" (Vidino and Brandon 2012, 164). These general preventative measures are aimed at Muslim communities, or might be considered the potential pool of extremist recruitment, and attempt to the challenge aspects of ideology. The goal is to enhance community resilience to radicalising influences. Targeted interventions are usually initiated when the authorities are informed of an "at-risk" individual. Training is provided to

those in civil society, police services, schools, colleges, health services, social work, housing, prisons, and probation services, who may encounter individuals that display signs of radicalisation. The training focuses on the process of radicalisation, "explaining its manifestations, why it occurs, and why it is dangerous" (Vidino and Brandon 2012, 168).

However, the underlying assumption of these policies, programmes, and initiatives rests on a discredited notion of radicalisation as a process:

> As soon as a mysterious process of radicalization was identified as the core dynamic for terrorism, politicians, both in the U.S. and abroad, naturally requested new projects for counter- or de-radicalization. Many researchers were not yet sold on the nature of radicalization, so self-appointed practitioners went ahead of scholars and set up a variety of de-radicalization programs in Asia, the Middle East, and Europe. Such programs are conspicuously absent in the United States. They are based on flawed lay understanding of radicalization: misinterpretation of Islam and potential terrorist vulnerability to them. (Sageman 2014, 568)

Sageman asserts that the programmes combine attempts to correct misguided interpretations of Islam and social work for "at-risk" individuals, but due to a lack of empirical testing "we have no idea whether the counter- or de-radicalization programs work or not" (2014, 569).

7 Challenges of Researching Islamist Terrorism

Early assumptions of terrorism researchers included psychological perspectives that terrorists are disposed to personal pathology. While some individual terrorists may suffer from some form of mental illness or may even have suicidal tendencies, such responses have failed to explain the phenomenon when subjected to empirical scrutiny. The search for a "terrorist personality" was eventually replaced with a theory of terrorism as a process, but one "without a clear delineation" (Sageman 2014, 566).

Government funding of terrorism research has also been problematic due to it attracting non-experts, many of whom have been used as propaganda tools by governments and media to advocate for certain perspectives and policies, such as the notion of terrorists being motivated by hatred of the West, as valid explanations for the phenomenon (Sageman 2014). There has since been a preoccupation with ideology but without a clear distinction being made between Islam and Islamism and the very

different aspirations, intentions, and purposes of each. Rather, the latter has assumed the place of the former in the minds of non-Muslim and Muslim masses as well as many so-called experts.

A consequence of government intervention to combat radicalisation and terrorism is the stigmatisation of Muslim communities in the West. As described by Dunn et al. (2016, 282), government policies and initiatives intended to promote social cohesion and harmony and counter violent extremism have stigmatised Muslims in general by "an overriding emphasis upon Muslim vulnerability to extremism". The authors assert that "the unfortunate effect of this mission is that a militant threat is officially confirmed, and, moreover, this reinforces many of the core stereotypes of Islam in the West: militancy, fanaticism, intolerance, fundamentalism, misogyny and alienness" (2016, 282). The notion that vulnerable young Western Muslims are at risk of recruitment by Al-Qaeda, ISIS, or other Islamist, jihadist operatives spawned a counter-terrorism industry aimed at promoting their resilience to extremism and terrorism is met with a scathing response from experts such as Sageman:

> In the United States, there was a ghost chase for these alleged al Qaeda spotters and recruiters, under the guise of material support for terrorism. After over a decade of intense search, there still has been no discovery of any single spotter/recruiter—except for FBI undercover agents. (2014, 577)

Since the first decade of the twenty-first-century terrorism research has employed sophisticated computer technology using such approaches as social network analysis, dynamic network analysis, agent-based modelling, data mining, data farming, and Bayesian network analysis to model terrorist behaviour and decision-making. However, they have failed to meet expectations due to a "lack of good empirical databases to test the validity of these simplistic models" (Sageman 2014, 568). Capturing the essence of the problem, Sageman provides an assessment of the current state of academic research on terrorism and the underlying reason for its lack of progress as follows:

> Data available to academics via popular search engines are, at best, secondary sources coming from journalistic investigation or, worse, erroneous claims by self-appointed experts. These are mostly based on politically motivated government leaks and government claims about "terrorists"—often made for political reasons. They tend to justify the government's actions (providing the prosecutorial case in an upcoming trial), and obfuscate more than they clarify. (2014, 570)

> In contemporary terrorism studies, the only data sets collected in academia are incidents-based databases, like the Global Terrorism Database (GTD) collected at the University of Maryland's National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism. Such a database can very crudely describe a terrorist incident but gives no details on the plots. From such data, one can make statements about the frequency and distribution of terrorist attacks, but little about how people turn to political violence, which requires far more detailed, comprehensive, and reliable data. (2014, 571)

8 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that terrorism is a new phenomenon among Muslims, emerging in the latter half of the twentieth century. Home-grown terrorism by Muslims in the West is an even more recent, twenty-first-century phenomenon. Such terrorist attacks have killed hundreds of innocents, undermined the place of Islam and Muslims in the West and contributed to the securitisation of Western societies at the expense of liberal, democratic, multicultural values. Over time, the perpetrators of these attacks have identified increasingly with the Islamist ideology of ISIS. They have employed an array of tactics ranging from sophisticated bombs and suicide bombings to more low-tech mass shootings, knife attacks and most recently car rammings. Their targets have most often been "soft", open public places not easily defensible from such attacks. Little is understood about those who would commit such heinous crimes beyond the fact that they tend to be young, male and have, at some level, identified with the ideology of Islamism, albeit, in some cases, for only a brief period prior to their attack. In many ways, terrorism committed by Muslims has driven the focus on Islam that we have seen since the turn of the century in Western media, political and public discourses as well as academic research. The problem of home-grown terrorism committed in the name of Islam remains the most contentious and convoluted in regards to Muslims in the West. It is also the issue about which we have the least degree of certainty as to its causes and solutions.

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CHAPTER 10

Islamophobia

1 Introduction

Since the turn of the century, Islamophobia has become a widely discussed concept with regard to Muslims in the West and has attracted considerable concern from governments both in the Muslim World and the West, as well as transnational organisations including the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) and the United Nations (UN). The term emerged towards the end of the twentieth century in reference to fear, prejudice, and discrimination in relation to Islam and Muslims. However, there is not a single, agreed-upon definition of Islamophobia. The concept has attracted a large amount of academic research, particularly with respect to the manifestations and impacts of Islamophobia. It has also attracted criticism from those who claim that the use of the term inhibits legitimate criticism of "Islam". This chapter discusses the various scholarly perspectives concerning definitions, manifestations, extent, causes, and critiques of Islamophobia. It argues that what tends to be classified as Islamophobia includes prejudice and discrimination of Muslims but also that the underlying fear and concern is generally not the religion per se but political Islam that developed in the mid-twentieth century in the broader Muslim world and began to make its mark on Muslim communities in the West since the 1980s and 1990s. While such political and ideological manifestations of Islam relate to a minority of Muslims, they are the dominant representation of Islam in political discourses and media reports, which

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continue to be a primary source of information about Islam and Muslims for an overwhelming majority of people in the West.

2 Origins

Islamophobia has become part of popular discourse over the past decade or so but those more familiar with what it represents consider it "a new word for an old concept" (Bleich 2011, 1582). Many scholars identify "orientalism" (Said 1978) and the process of "othering" as its basis (Allen 2010; Halliday 1999; Rana 2007; Sayyid 2014). If we take a broad understanding of Islamophobia as negative sentiments directed towards Islam and/or Muslims, then we could say the phenomenon has been around since the early Muslim conquests of Christian lands. Historians such as Tolan (2002) have documented negative views of Islam and Muslims in Christian writings dating back to the seventh century and that some of the sentiments they convey continue to appear today in Islamophobic discourses. These tend to emphasise differences between Islam and Christianity, while similarities or common ground are either ignored or distorted so as to reinforce a narrative of Islam's deviance, inferiority, and illegitimacy vis-à-vis Christianity. Numerous scholars have argued that anti-Muslim/anti-Islam sentiments that originated in Christian sources were revived during the era of European colonial rule of Muslim lands and inform many of the stereotypical representations of Islam and Muslims seen in contemporary fictional and news media (Rane et al. 2014; Morey and Yaqin 2011). The seminal work of Edward Said (1981), *Covering Islam,* traces Western media portrayals of Islam and Muslims to European colonial writings about the Muslim world, which Tolan (2002) contends have much earlier origins:

> The negative orientalist portrayals of Islam that Edward Said denounces in his *Orientalism* as the ideological underpinnings of French and British colonialism in fact have their origins in the defensive reactions of Christian "orientals", unwitting subjects of the new Muslim empire. (2002, 67)

While it is commonly believed that enmity has existed between Islam and Christianity (and by extension the West in general) since the advent of Islam, a growing body of research challenges this notion (Donner 2012; Morrow 2013; El-Wakil 2016). That various Muslim empires sought the expansion of territory and subjugation of non-Muslim peoples is not in

dispute but the extent to which this was sanctioned by the religion of Islam has been brought into question. The discovery and authentication of numerous covenants of the Prophet Muhammad (d. 632) with various Christian and Jewish communities of his time, for instance, suggest that he sought peaceful and harmonious relations with other groups of "believers" (Morrow 2013; El-Wakil 2016). Donner (2012) contends that in spite of certain traditional Muslim and Christian sources that depict a violent military conquest of the Near East by Muslim armies, archaeological and sociological evidence indicates that these may have been the exception rather than the rule and that it would be a century following the advent of Islam before a more assertive, exclusive "Muslim" identity would emerge vis-à-vis other religious communities as a consequence of intra-Muslim political conflict. This chapter contends that just as anti-Islam/anti-Muslim sentiments developed historically in response to the politicisation of Islam, or what could be termed "Islamdom" (Hodgson 1993; Salvatore 2010), contemporary Islamophobia has also emerged in relation to political Islam or what is referred to today as Islamism (Tibi 2012; Mozaffari 2007).

The term "Islamophobia" emerged sporadically in the 1970s (Rana 2007) but became a more widely used term following the 1997 report "Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All" by the British race-relations NGO the Runnymede Trust (Allen 2010; Bleich 2011). The report contends that "anti-Muslim prejudice has grown so considerably and so rapidly in recent years that a new item in the vocabulary is needed" (CBMI 1997, 4). Subsequently, the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 (9/11) were a "watershed moment" for its use both in Europe and the USA (Rana 2007, 148).

Most scholars agree Islamophobia did not suddenly come into being after the events of 9/11; rather, like anti-Semitism and xenophobia, it has long and deep historical roots (Cesari 2011; Esposito and Kalin 2011; Mason and Poynting 2007; Sajid 2005). The Runnymede Trust's 1997 report cautiously suggests "a continuous line from the Crusades of the medieval times through the Ottoman Empire and European colonialism to the Islamophobia of the 1990s" (CBMI 1997, 5). Some have expressed caution, however, in drawing historic links between medieval and modern anti-Muslim sentiments in order to avoid a perception of endorsing the "clash of civilisation" thesis promoted by Huntington (1996) and Lewis (1990), thereby encouraging the "myth of confrontation" underlying Islamophobia (Meer 2014, 503).

For Sajid (2005), hostility towards Islam and Muslims has taken different forms at different times and observes four phases since the 1960s that have shaped today's version of Islamophobia: (1) the presence of approximately 40 million Muslims in European countries, (2) increasing global economic leverage of oil-rich Arab countries, (3) abuses of human rights by repressive regimes that are identified as Muslim or Islamic, and (4) the emergence of political movements and groups that use violence and terrorism under the banner of Islam (Sajid 2005, 3). Moreover, their immigrant and lower socio-economic status vis-à-vis wider society tends to expose Muslims in the West to marginalisation and various forms of discrimination that arise out of anti-immigration and other policies and discourses that oppose cultural diversity (Cesari 2011, 49).

In the twenty-first-century context of terrorism committed in the name of Islam and growing anxiety in the West over increasing Muslim populations, various governments and transnational organisations began to give greater prominence to the issue of Islamophobia. The European Union issued several reports on the topic in the mid-2000s (EUMC 2002, 2003, 2006) and, in 2004, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan opened a UN conference on "Confronting Islamophobia" with the statement, "When the world is compelled to coin a new term to take account of increasingly widespread bigotry, that is a sad and troubling development. Such is the case with Islamophobia" (Bleich 2011, 1582). Nowadays, the term is "practically ubiquitous" in Western discourses on Islam (Cesari 2006; Zúquete 2008, 321) and has been received with much concern from Muslim governments and the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC).

The world's largest transnational organisation after the UN, the OIC, which is comprised of 57 member states, has a dedicated Islamophobia Observatory "to raise awareness of the dangers of Islamophobia and counter it by monitoring all its forms and manifestations, in addition to initiating a structured dialogue to project the true values of Islam" (Organisation of Islamic Cooperation 2008, 2). Since 2008, the OIC has produced annual reports on the extent and manifestations of Islamophobia. Its most recent report states:

> The growing trend of Islamophobia has not subsided in any tangible way. Muslims have been terrorized and discriminated. Islamic sacred symbols have been insulted. People with Islamic attires were targeted with hatred. Women with hijabs were abused on streets and public spaces. Certain governments outlawed Islamic attires or applied restrictive access for Muslims to

> have prayer facilities. Right-wing Politicians and media spread evil images of Islam. Acts of radical and extreme groups in the name of Islam have provided xenophobes with excuses to further their agenda. Their statements and acts have not only been irresponsible, but also conducive to the radical narratives of violent groups and terrorists, jeopardizing the positive image of Islam and boosting Islamophobia across the globe. (OIC 2017, 1)

3 Definitions

Although Islamophobia has become commonly used in media, government, and public discourse, there is no widely accepted definition of the term. The OIC defines Islamophobia in its latest report in the following words:

> Islamophobia is a phenomenon related to notions of fear, hate, and anger; of which one sequentially following another. Within such a cycle, 'fear' was the initial reason of Islamophobia, and in this case the fear was against Islam and anything associable with this religion i.e. Muslims, mosques, Islamic center, minarets, the Holy Qur'an, Hijab, and so on. Very often, such a fear is directed towards certain practices like Halal food standard, men with beard, type of dress and clothes, or simply towards names that sounds 'Arabic'. All those things made the Islamophobes to 'hate' the all above-mentioned hence Islamophobia also constitutes racism and discriminations against Muslim individuals in their daily life, in media, in workplace, in political sphere, etc. (OIC 2017, 5)

The 1997 Runnymede Trust report described Islamophobia as "a useful shorthand way of referring to dread or hatred of Islam—and, therefore, to fear or dislike of all or most Muslims" (p. 1). The report uses the term not just to cover hostile sentiments but also extends it to the "practical consequences of such hostility in unfair discrimination against Muslim individuals and communities, and to the exclusion of Muslims from mainstream political and social affairs" (p. 4). While this report is a "hugely influential document", shaping and influencing much of the subsequent writing and thought about Islamophobia (Allen 2007, 5), there is significant variation in the precise formulations of the phenomenon (Bleich 2011). Lee et al. (2009) define it as "the fear of Muslims and the Islamic faith" (p. 93). Similarly, for Abbas (2004), it is "the fear or dread of Islam or Muslims" (p. 28). Expounding on the Runnymede Trust's definition, Zúquete (2008) describes Islamophobia as "a widespread mindset and fear-laden

discourse in which people make blanket judgments of Islam as the enemy, as the 'other', as a dangerous and unchanged, monolithic bloc that is the natural subject of well-deserved hostility from Westerners" (p. 323). Semati (2010) calls it "a single, unified and negative conception of an essentialized Islam, which is then deemed incompatible with Euro-Americanness" (p. 1).

In a more carefully developed definition, Stolz (2005) explains that "Islamophobia is a rejection of Islam, Muslim groups and Muslim individuals on the basis of prejudice and stereotypes. It may have emotional, cognitive, evaluative as well as action-oriented elements (e.g. discrimination, violence)" (p. 548). In other words, for Lee et al. (2009) and Abbas (2004), Islamophobia is exclusively about fear (or dread), directed at either Islam or Muslims. For Zúquete (2008) and Semati (2010), Islamophobia is directed at Islam and not necessarily at Muslims. For Stolz (2005), it is a rejection of either Islam or Muslims that extends beyond thought processes to include concrete actions that may include violence and discrimination against Muslims. Similarly, the UN Human Rights Council (UNHRC) (2007) defines Islamophobia as "a baseless hostility and fear vis-a-vis Islam, and as a result a fear of and aversion towards all Muslims or the majority of them" and stated that it also refers to the "practical consequences of this hostility in terms of discrimination, prejudices and unequal treatment of which Muslims (individuals and communities) are victims and their exclusion from major political and social spheres" (p. 8). However, others such as Halliday (1999) contend that "the attack now is against not *Islam* as a faith but *Muslims* as a people, the latter grouping together all, especially immigrants, who might be covered by the term…Hence the more accurate term is not 'Islamophobia' but 'anti-Muslimism'" (p. 898). In sum, the disparate definitions proposed by scholars and organisations highlight three key questions in the conceptualisation of the phenomenon: (1) whether Islamophobia is primarily directed at Islam and/or Muslims, (2) whether it is manifested in discourses, attitudes, sentiments and/or actions, and (3) whether it is distinctive or *in*distinctive from other discriminatory phenomena such as racism and xenophobia.

4 Manifestations and Extent

As the above definitions indicate, what is termed Islamophobia includes a range of acts that offend, insult, and violate the rights of Muslims, among them hate crimes that target Muslim individuals and places of worship. According to the Runnymede Trust (1997) report, Islamophobia manifests itself in four aspects: (1) social exclusion (e.g. from politics and government, from employment, and from management and responsibility), (2) violence (e.g. physical assaults, vandalising of property, and verbal abuse), (3) prejudice (e.g. in the media and in everyday conversation), and (4) discrimination (e.g. in employment practices and in provision of services such as education and health) (CBMI 1997, 11–12). Sayyid (2014) provides a more detailed summary in his "repertoire of Islamophobia", which consists of six main clusters of Islamophobic actions and attitudes: (1) "attacks on persons perceived to be Muslims. These attacks can be committed by random individuals or by semi-organized or organized groups acting together"; (2) "attacks on properly considered to be linked to Muslims: mosques, cemeteries, business premises"; (3) "acts of intimidation… may include advertising campaigns warning of the danger of Islam, as well as, the burning of Qur'an or demonstrations against building of mosques or cultural centers"; (4) "that which may occur in institutional settings, in which those perceived to be Muslims receive less favorable treatment than their peers in comparative positions within the same organizations. Such behavior may take the form of harassment, bullying, pointed jokes, distribution of tasks, and assessments of performance in which those considered to be Muslims are subject to adverse treatment or comment"; (5) incidents in which there is a sustained and systematic elaboration of comments in the public domain that disparage Muslims and/or Islam. This disparagement could be more or less subtle. For example, "publishing the Qur'an with Muhammad listed as the author or recycling medieval Christian polemics as the "truth" about Islam or reading specific crimes as being motivated by Islam or Muslim culture"; and (6) "Islamophobia in which the state (in the form of its functionaries) plays an active role. These can include intensification of surveillance of Muslim populations using technology, agent provocateurs, and paid informers" (2014, 15–16). Like the Runnymede Trust, Sayyid (2014) notes these Islamophobic "clusters" or "aspects" are interconnected and mutually reinforcing. He also points out they are not exclusive to performances of

Islamophobia alone; they can also be found in performances of anti-Semitism and racism in general.

Around the Western world, various reports have been produced that document the manifestations and extent of Islamophobia. Examples include those compiled by the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), which has found an increase in incidents of anti-Muslim bias and anti-Muslim hate crimes over time, including in public spaces and at work as well as in institutions such as prisons (CAIR 2017). In Europe, the European Islamophobia Report (Bayrakli and Hafez 2016), Collective Against Islamophobia in France and the UK Home Office have issued reports confirming a continued increase in incidents in the form of hate crimes targeting Muslims, including assaults, attacks on mosques and discrimination in employment (ENAR 2017).

In the past few years, anti-Muslim sentiments seem to be more closely aligned with anti-immigration and a banning of Muslims. A survey conducted by the Chatham House Europe Programme found public opposition to any further migration from predominantly Muslim states is not confined to supporters of US President Donald Trump (Goodwin et al. 2017). Respondents in Australia, Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Spain, and the UK were presented with the statement "All further migration from mainly Muslim countries should be stopped". Majorities in all but two of the ten states agreed to this statement, ranging from 71% in Poland, 65% in Austria, 53% in Germany and 51% in Italy to 47% in the UK and 41% in Spain. In no country did the percentage that disagreed surpass 32% (Goodwin et al. 2017). These results connect with other surveys exploring attitudes concerning Islam in Europe. In a Pew survey of ten European countries in 2016, majorities of the public in five countries had an unfavourable view of Muslims living in their country: Hungary (72%), Italy (69%), Poland (66%), Greece (65%), and Spain (50%), while numbers were lower in the UK (28%), Germany (29%), and France (29%) (Pew Research Center 2016). There was also a widespread perception in many countries that the arrival of refugees would increase the likelihood of terrorism, with a median 59% across ten European countries holding this view (Pew Research Center 2016).

Concerning the manifestations of Islamophobia in Australia, a recent report documented 243 incidents between September 2014 and December 2015 that were reported to the National Islamophobia Register (Iner 2017). It identified over two-thirds of the victims as females and around three-quarters of the perpetrators as males. Almost

80% of the female victims were wearing a head covering. The forms of Islamophobia reported included physical and verbal assaults both online and in public spaces. Some attacks were made in writing in the form of written correspondence and graffiti and included threatening statements to cause harm as well as death threats. Females tended to be victimised more than males in public, while males tended to be victimised more than females online. While 98% of the perpetrators were identified as Anglo-Celtic, almost one-quarter of the incidents reported to the Register were made by non-Muslims, often friends, neighbours, or acquaintances of the victims. The report notes that "external events, such as global and national terrorist attacks, sieges, legislation targeting Australian Muslims, and protests, coincided with an increase of incident reports to the Register" (Iner 2017, 55). Gendered differences were also found in the kinds of verbal attacks reported. For instance, females were mainly subjected to insults that targeted their "honour", such as being called a "bitch" or "whore", while males were "proportionally more likely to be targeted with "terrorist rhetoric"" (Iner 2017, 68).

For Meer and Modood (2009) "the impact of appearing Muslim" cannot be separated from "the impact of appearing to follow Islam". They support their claim with testimonies of Muslims who recount that they experience street-level discrimination when they appear "conspicuously Muslim" more than when they do not (Meer and Modood 2009). For example, Meer and Modood (2009) note the increase in personal abuse and everyday racism since 9/11 and 7/7 in which the perceived "Islamicness" of the victims is the central reason for abuse—regardless of the validity of this presumption, to the point that Sikhs and others with an "Arab" appearance have been attacked for "looking like bin Laden"—suggests that discrimination and/or hostility to Islam and Muslims are interlinked.

However, although various polls have shown up to half of the Australian population would support a ban on Muslim immigration (Essential Report 2016), a recent report on the extent of Islamophobia in Australia, which defines the term as "negative and hostile attitudes towards Islam and Muslims", found it to be prevalent among only a small minority of Australians. Almost 70% of Australians were found to have "a very low level of Islamophobia", while about 20% are undecided and "only 10 per cent are highly Islamophobic" (Hassan and Martin 2015, 6). The study found that people are more likely to be Islamophobic if they are "older, have not completed Year 12, are not employed in a professional or mana-

gerial role, or belong to a non-traditional Christian denomination". Additionally, those who have regular contact with Muslims were found less likely to be Islamophobic along with those who have "tolerant attitudes towards migrants or who are not very worried about terrorism" (Hassan and Martin 2015, 6). Meer and Modood (2009) contend that the tendency to seamlessly associate religion and issues of terrorism gives rise to a widespread view that it is legitimate to target Muslims proactively for reasons of national security:

> Three-fifths argued that Britain's security services should now focus their intelligence-gathering and terrorism-prevention efforts on Muslims living in Britain or seeking to enter it, on the grounds that, although most Muslims were not terrorists, most terrorists threatening the country were Muslims. (Meer and Modood 2009, 351)

In addition to a fear of terrorism and its linking with Islam post-911 (Rane et al. 2014), scholars have identified the "othering" of Muslims in the twenty-first century as central to the spread of Islamophobia. Brubaker (2013) highlights a major shift in the othering of immigrant populations in the past couple of decades. Throughout Europe, he explains, populations that had previously been identified and labelled using national origin, region of origin, socio-economic, demographic, legal or racial categories have increasingly converged under a religious term as "Muslims". He also notes, however, that in asserting their rights vis-à-vis other religious and social groups, pressing demands with the state and protesting perceived attacks on Islam, such as in the cases of the Rushdie affair, Danish cartoons and *Innocence of Muslims* film (Rane et al. 2014), Muslim activists who sought recognition "*as Muslims*" inadvertently "contributed to the collective Muslim categorization" (Brubaker 2013, 2).

Brubaker (2013, 3) also points out the experience of being stigmatised as Muslims in everyday interaction or public discourse can lead some to reactively assert a Muslim identity "to revalorize what has been devalorized". This may also be understood as a response to being cast, categorised, counted, queried and held accountable as Muslims in public discourse and private interaction. It has been argued, for instance, that in the fight against violent extremism Western governments have, perhaps inadvertently, negatively impacted on non-Muslim perceptions of Islam and Muslims. Dunn et al. (2016, 282) contend that government policies

and initiatives intended to promote social cohesion and harmony and counter violent extremism have stigmatised Muslims in general by "an overriding emphasis upon Muslim vulnerability to extremism". The authors assert that "the unfortunate effect of this mission is that a militant threat is officially confirmed, and, moreover, this reinforces many of the core stereotypes of Islam in the West: militancy, fanaticism, intolerance, fundamentalism, misogyny and alienness" (2016, 282). While the stigmatising of Muslims through an association with violence and terrorism seems to be a key factor in the extent to which Islamophobia is found in the West, the next section will discuss other factors that have been attributed to its emergence.

5 Causes

Scholarly opinions differ as to the main contributors to the contemporary rise of Islamophobia. As discussed at the beginning of the chapter, some draw a connection with a view of the history of Christian-Muslim relations as marked by conflict and hostility. Others suggest that media representations of Islam and Muslims directly contribute to Islamophobia, while another group of scholars attributes the phenomenon to the racialisation of Muslims and the impact of more widespread forms of racism and xenophobia.

When we contemplate the causes of Islamophobia, historic experiences consistently feature. Esposito and Kalin (2011) argue that two basic causes of Islamophobia relate to the interpretation of history and political attitudes. They state that an "unfounded and reductionist historiography" posits that "Muslims, from the rise of Islam to the present, have sought to annihilate Christianity and Islamize Europe" (Esposito and Kalin 2011, viii). They note that although this antagonistic view of historical relations between Islam and the West has not enjoyed support in most scholarly circles, it negatively affects public opinion, which has been exploited by Western governments since the turn of the century to harness support for wars in Afghanistan and Iraq as well as in pursuit of political gains from anti-immigration segments of the electorate. Esposito and Kalin (2011) point out that political attitudes directed against Islam arose in reaction to the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the USA and the post-9/11 attacks in Europe. Attributing these acts to the Islamic faith of their perpetrators suggests a prejudice against Islam and Muslims since similar associations are seldom attributed to terrorist attacks by criminals of other faiths (Esposito and

Kalin 2011). They further contend that equating these acts of terrorism, "which are prohibited by Islam and which violate its essential principles and rules" (2011, viii), with mainstream Islam empowers and encourages extremists.

Numerous scholars have argued that the antipathetic views of Islam and Muslims identified in the context of Islamophobia in the West are predominantly shaped by their representation in the mass media (Rane et al. 2014; Morey and Yaqin 2011; Nacos and Torres-Reyna 2007). There is a general consensus that mass media and, increasingly, social media play an instrumental role in stimulating and intensifying Islamophobia (OIC 2012). Morey and Yaqin (2011) suggest that the Western media present a "limited and limiting conceptual framework surrounding Islam in public discourse" within which the perceived "negative", "threatening" features of Muslim belief and behaviour are "constantly promoted and reinforced" (p. 20). The dominant stereotypes of Muslims include "the bearded Muslim fanatic, the oppressed, veiled woman, the duplicitous terrorist who lives among 'us' the better to bring about our destruction" (Nacos and Torres-Reyna 2007, 2). A number of studies have demonstrated that post-9/11 the media frames used in the coverage of Islam and Muslims are based on orientalist depictions of a religion and people as a different, strange, inferior and threatening "Other" (Poole 2002; Manning 2006; Steuter and Wills 2009; Kumar 2010; Powell 2011). These studies have consistently found that terrorism, violence and the threat of Islam tend to be the dominant media frames used in the coverage of Muslims. They have observed that Western news media conflate Islam and terrorism through portrayals of Muslims as terrorists and Islam as a religion that condones terrorist acts (Norris et al. 2003; Ryan 2004; Papacharissi and de Fatima Oliveira 2008). Collectively, even if not explicitly stated, these studies highlight the far more extensive focus of the mass media on political Islam and the actions of Islamists, than the faith of Islam.

It has been well established that media audiences are active not passive and respond to content based on their pre-existing attitudes, experiences and knowledge as well as a range of other factors such as age, gender, education, location, culture, and religion (Rane et al. 2014). Thus, while media reports may tend to frame Muslims as a cultural or security threat, this is not necessarily how audiences will read the content. Ciftci (2012) empirically tested perspectives on perceived threat, social identity, and cognitive capabilities in the USA, Great Britain, France, and Germany. The results show that perceived realistic and symbolic threat is the most

significant source of Islamophobic attitudes in the West. He explains that "individuals are found to be more likely to hold anti-Muslim attitudes if they feel that their culture or well-being is threatened by Muslims" (Ciftci 2012, 307). For example, Ciftci (2012) notes, an individual is more likely to have an unfavourable opinion about Muslims or believe that Muslims are violent, if she/he thinks that Muslims remain distinct from the mainstream society (symbolic threat), or if she/he is concerned about the rise of Islamic extremism (general threat). In addition, Ciftci (2012) finds citizens' orientations widely differ across the five Western countries. Muslims are viewed most unfavourably in Spain and Germany. When asked about Muslim support for Al-Qaeda, 68% of citizens in Spain and 54% in the USA hold affirmative views (Ciftci 2012). In contrast, public opinion in Germany, France, and Britain appears to be less accepting of the view that Muslims are supportive of terrorism (Ciftci 2012). More interestingly, while less than a third of respondents in five countries believe that Islamic identity leads to violence, the proportion of those that view Muslims as violent or fanatical is over or around 50% (Ciftci 2012). He contends these views are then exploited by the media and right-wing leaders "to feed the xenophobia of a new kind" (Ciftci 2012, 307).

The time period in which this discussion is occurring is also significant, particularly in respect to broader global conflicts and race relations. A number of scholars discuss the "racialization" of religion, which is a process of ascribing ethnic or racial identities to a religious group (Dunn et al. 2007; Meer 2013, 2014; Rana 2007). Mason and Poynting (2007) also observe a shift from anti-Asian and anti-Arab racism to anti-Muslim racism in the UK and Australia respectively. For example, they point out following the Iranian Revolution in 1979 and the Rushdie Affair in 1989, the representation of the Asian "Other" in the UK increasingly underwent a transformation from Asian or "Paki" to Muslim. In Australia, the analogous transition is from the Arab "Other", or "Leb" (Lebanese), to Muslim "Other". In addition, Mason and Poynting (2007) demonstrate the upsurge of Islamophobia after 9/11 arose, as did similar episodes during the 1991 Gulf War, "from the exacerbation of existing tendencies, which have been manifest in everyday racism, both before 1991 and in the intervening period" (p. 81).

In the context of the Cold War and "War on Terror", Rana (2007) argues religious identities became politicised and "racialized" in the engagement with modern forms of power (Rana 2007). He proposes a broadened view of modern racism as *both* biological *and* cultural. With the

"War on Terror", Rana (2007) suggests the Muslim is incorporated into a "racial formation that is adamantly anti-immigrant" (p. 159). Cesari (2011) and Rana (2007), among others, see overlap between anti-Muslim racism and anti-immigrant racism premised on the social characteristics of foreignness. Moreover, Rana (2007) argues the "race-ing" of Islam does not take place in a vacuum but within the context of a specific historical relationship. "In the current racial formation," Rana (2007) writes, "Islam and Muslims have taken a familiar yet strange meaning often evoked in the language of war, conquest, terror, fear, and the new crusades" (p. 159).

Particularly among right-wing populists and extremists, however, it is argued that Muslims are not a race and, therefore, hostility towards them cannot be considered a form of racism. Sayyid (2011) explains, however, that racism does not depend on the actual existence of races:

> In the last 50 years the two communities in Europe that have been subjugated to some of the most intense forms of racist genocidal violence were the German Jews and Bosnian Muslims. Clearly, in both cases being Jewish or being a Muslim was not about endorsing a set of beliefs or engaging in a set of practices. When the Nazis and Serbian ultra-nationalists called, it was not just the practice but the population that they targeted. Refusing to observe the Sabbath or refusing to pray towards Mecca would not have been sufficient to save you. Races were never exclusively biologically determined but rather socially and politically produced. (Sayyid 2011, 3–4)

Dekker and van der Noll (2011) empirically tested whether Islamophobia is a unique phenomenon or not fundamentally different from negative attitudes towards other out-groups. To answer this question, they studied and compared attitudes towards Islam and Muslims with attitudes towards Judaism and Jews among more than 500 young people in the Netherlands. Their findings support the notion of Islamophobia as a distinct construct and show that the other out-group attitude only partly contributes to the explanation of Islamophobia. More than half of the respondents had a negative to very negative attitude towards Islam and Muslims (54%), while one-fifth of the respondents had a negative to very negative attitude towards Judaism and Jews. Nevertheless, it was found that people who have negative attitudes towards Islam and Muslims are more likely to also have a negative attitude towards Judaism and Jews. The researchers explain the origins of Islamophobia and anti-Semitism are partly the same. Dekker and van der Noll (2011) contend that contact evaluation, socialisation by

persons, perceived threat, nationalism and gender are predictors for both Islamophobia and anti-Semitism. However, negative clichés and age predict Islamophobia but not anti-Semitism, while socialisation by mass media, knowledge, intergroup anxiety and religiosity predict anti-Semitism but not Islamophobia. Nationalism is a common underlying general variable, but religiosity is a predictor for anti-Semitism and not for Islamophobia.

6 Critiques of Islamophobia

Several criticisms of Islamophobia have been raised, some more compelling than others. Cesari (2006) argues "the term can be misleading" because it may subsume other forms of discrimination (such as racial or class) under religious discrimination (p. 8). Similarly, Richardson (2013) suggests one of the "disadvantages" of using the word "Islamophobia" on its own is that it "implies that hostility towards Muslims is unrelated to, and basically dissimilar from, forms of hostility such as racism, xenophobia, sectarianism, and such as hostility to so-called fundamentalism" (p. 4). He also adds it may imply there is no correlation with issues of class, power, status, and territory or with issues of military, political, or economic competition and conflict. Moreover, Richardson (2013) points out the term suggests there is no important difference between prejudice towards Muslim communities within one's own country and prejudice towards cultures and regimes elsewhere in the world where Muslims are in the majority. He argues the key phenomenon to be addressed is "anti-Muslim hostility", namely "hostility towards an ethno-religious identity within Western countries" instead of a wider "hostility towards the tenets or practices of a worldwide religion" (p. 4). As a result, Richardson (2013) notes it would have been more accurate for the Runnymede Trust to say Islamophobia is "a shorthand way of referring to fear or dislike of all or most Muslims—and, therefore, dread or hatred of Islam" (pp. 4–5).

Considering the wide range of interpretation of what "Islamophobia" is—from a descriptive term for hatred directed against Islam and Muslims to a denunciatory catchword directed against those who express legitimate criticism of Islam—attempts have been made in the literature to clearly distinguish between legitimate criticism and disagreement on the one hand and *unfounded* prejudice and hostility on the other. The 1997 Runnymede Trust report draws a distinction between the two via a framework of "open" and "closed" views of Islam. It explains "the phobic dread

of Islam is the recurring characteristic of closed views", while "legitimate criticism and disagreement, as also appreciation and respect, are aspects of open views" (p. 4). The report then itemises eight main features of "closed views" and contrasts them in each instance with eight main features of "open views". These eight distinctions are summarised as whether:

1. Islam is seen as monolithic and static, or as diverse and dynamic.
2. Islam is seen as other and separate, or as similar and interdependent.
3. Islam is seen as inferior, or as different but equal.
4. Islam is seen as an aggressive enemy or as a cooperative partner.
5. Muslims are seen as manipulative or as sincere.
6. Muslim criticisms of "the West" are rejected or debated.
7. discriminatory behaviour against Muslims is defended or opposed.
8. anti-Muslim discourse is seen as natural or as problematic. (CBMI 1997, 4)

The report notes closed views "feed off each other, giving and gaining additional resonance and power and giving each other kickstarts, as it were—they are joined together in vicious circles, each making the others worse" (CBMI 1997, 4). Moreover, it explains they sometimes provide "codes" for each other, such that whenever one of them is explicitly expressed some of the others may also be present (CBMI 1997). This also holds true for open views, which interact in "virtuous circles" (CBMI 1997).

Allen (2007) argues while this distinction is particularly useful in being able to identify Islamophobia in certain given situations such as media representations of Islam and Muslims, "closed views" fail to offer a clear explanation for other equally important situations, such as discrimination against Muslims in the workplace, in education, or in service provisions. He also contends "the black and white duality of the love or hate of Muslims and Islam" in the proposed framework ignores the "grey areas" that exist in between. As a result, Allen (2007) explains since 1997 all that which has fallen within those "grey areas" has been "given license to gain momentum and form the basis upon which more indirect forms of Islamophobia have found favour" (p. 7). He concludes continuing to refer to Islamophobia in such simplistic ways is detrimental to understanding and, more worryingly, reinforces the dualistic nature in which Muslims today have become increasingly understood in wider society:

> Whether 'mainstream' or 'extremist, 'moderate' or 'radical', as Ziauddin Sardar noted shortly after 9/11, Muslims have since been seen in one of two ways: either as apologetics for Islam or terrorists in the name of Islam. Take this further and the closed and open, apologetics and terrorists easily fall into that simplistic trap of being either 'good' or 'bad'. As such, if you're not a 'good' Muslim—moderate, mainstream and 'open'—then you can only be 'bad'—radical, extremist and 'closed'. What is known and understood about Islamophobia therefore rests upon the naïve premise that 'Islamophobia is bad only because it is' and nothing more. (Allen 2007, 8)

One of the more outspoken critics of Islamophobia, Malik (2005a, b, 2009), asks whether the hatred and abuse of Muslims is being exaggerated to silence critics of Islam. He contends that the use of the term Islamophobia confuses hatred and discrimination of Muslim with criticism of Islam. As studies have shown, Islamophobia is not nearly as prevalent among Western populations as discourses suggest (Hassan and Martin 2015). This is in spite of intense and long-term negative representations of Muslims in the media and that for most people these are a primary source of information about Islam and Muslims (Rane 2010). Numerous studies have found education and interaction to mitigate the prevalence of Islamophobia in society (Hassan and Martin 2015; Rane 2010; Dunn 2007). Imhoff and Recker (2012) argue that public criticism of aspects of Islam should not be misidentified as prejudiced views but rather as enlightened and secular critique of religious practices such as veiling, circumcision, and the ritual slaughtering of animals. In sum, there is concern within that scholarly literature that Islamophobia inhibits legitimate and enlightened critique of certain religious traditions, customs, and regimes, but, with the exception of Tibi (2012) and a few others, there are very few scholars that explicitly recognise Islamist ideology, symbols, and activities as the actual instigators of anti-Muslim and anti-Islam rhetoric and action that are otherwise classified as Islamophobia.

It is noteworthy that in spite of such extensive work attempting to define Islamophobia, most definitions use the term "Islam" in reference to the object of Islamophobic sentiments and actions but tend to neglect the role that the politicisation of Islam since the latter half of the twentieth century has played in Islam-West relations in general and in Western views of Islam and Muslims in particular. Notable exceptions include Halliday (1999) whose examination of the concept begins with the observation that it "reproduces the distortion…that there is *one* Islam" and that an

emphasis on "greater dialogue, bridge-building, [and] respect for the other community…inevitably runs the risk of denying the right, or possibility, of criticisms of the practices of those with whom one is having the dialogue…who, on universal human rights grounds, object to elements in Islamic or other traditions and current rhetoric, but also those who challenge conservative readings from within, can more easily be classed as Islamophobes" (p. 898). He adds that "what is presented as 'Islam' may well be one, but by no means the only possible interpretation", noting "the apparently given symbol of Islamism, *shariah* law, is itself a modern creation and liable to many, contingent, interpretations: there is no one *shariah* which Islamists can invoke" (p. 897).

Others have also critiqued the deployment of the term "Islamophobia" for purposes beyond anti-discrimination. Zúquete (2008) points out the "indistinctiveness" of the term places under the broad umbrella of "fear or hatred of Islam", discourses and criticisms that have different sources, motivations, and goals. He warns the indiscriminate use of the "Islamophobia" label, which has a "moralistic dimension", can potentially be used to stigmatise generally those who criticise or even attempt to understand, in a non-monolithic way, some aspects of Islam:

> The conflation (sometimes open, often implicit) of legitimate criticism or valid points of view with demonization, has the consequence of ending any sort of truly democratic and open debate on any sort of issue, silencing voices afraid of stigmatization, and in practice facilitating the emergence and actions of those who indeed demonize. (Zúquete 2008, 324)

Zúquete (2008) suggests adopting Maussen's (2006) approach of distinguishing between "academic discussions on the relations between Islam and modernity, public discussions on whether Islam recognises the principle of separation of state and church, public outcries about Islam as a 'backward religion' or as a 'violent religion', and the forms of hate speech one can find on internet forums and in newspapers" (p. 101). Zúquete (2008) contends a sizeable number of those who pose questions regarding Islam are not necessarily motivated by an illogical attitude, biased mindset, pure fear, or blind hate.

Others, such as Husain and Rosenbaum (2004), associate Islamophobia in the West with a fear and reviling of Islamism, likening the West's reaction to political Islam or "the green peril" to that of previous ideologies including Nazism, Soviet communism (red peril), and Chinese communist

(yellow peril). A concern with political Islam and Islamism has also been found among supporters of anti-Islam groups on social media. A recent study of Australia's anti-Islam groups' social media posts concludes that "concerns about terrorism and perceived political threat from Islam are paramount" (Miller 2017, 383).

This perspective is supported by studies such as that of Gottschalk and Greenberg (2007) whose widely cited work on Islamophobia finds that the central issue is with political Islam not the Islamic religion per se. They contend that Islamophobia is not a consequence of a negative personal experience with Muslims but the acceptance and internalisation of negative stereotypical portrayals of Muslims in mass media and political discourses, which tend to be concerned with political Islam than the religion of Islam. When asked what comes to mind when "Islam" or "Muslim" is mentioned, participants in Gottschalk and Greenberg's research consistently mentions such names and events as Osama bin Laden and 9/11, such ideas and practices as jihad, veiling and *shariah*, and places in the Middle East including Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and Iran. All of which relate to political Islam and Islamist ideology rather than the religion per se. In fact, the authors note, very few people mention the Qur'an or Islamic rites and rituals such as prayer, fasting, charity, or the hajj pilgrimage (p. 3). While Islamophobia may certainly be directed at Islam and Muslims, this seems to be a consequence of an inability to distinguish between Islamism and Islam, Muslims and Islamists. What people in the West, some of whom are classified as Islamophobes, are objecting to is not Islam per se. Indeed, the essence of Islam—belief in God, prayer, charity, fasting, and pilgrimage—are consistent with the so-called Judeo-Christian tradition. Rather, the objection is directed at political Islam and its various manifestations, which include symbols pertaining to female dress (El-Fadl 2016), modern notions of *shariah* law (Tibi 2012) as well as the caliphate or Islamic state (Mahood and Rane 2017).

Perhaps one of the strongest critiques of Islamophobia is presented by Tibi (2012) in his book *Islamism and Islam*. He argues that Islamophobia is a term "Islamists have invented" to "protect themselves against criticism" and to "defame critics" (pp. vii–viii). Like Halliday (1999), Tibi (2012) notes Islamists have promoted the idea of "one essential Islam" that seeks political domination. While Muslims who oppose this view are called heretics, non-Muslims who challenge it are labelled "Islamophobes" (p. 9). He adds:

> Some Islamists cultivate a sense of victimization by imagining themselves as the "new Jews" and even speak of a "new Holocaust" against Muslims—a tragic irony when one considers how antisemitic most Islamists are. The accusation of Islamophobia serves as a weapon against all who do not embrace Islamist propaganda, including liberal Muslims. (p. 12)

However, Tibi does acknowledge the existence of genuine anti-Muslim sentiments and attacks that he says should be termed "Islam-bashing":

> If Islamists can be accused of coining the notion of Islamophobia to deter legitimate criticism as a religious defamation of Islam, this fact does not erase the existence of prejudice against Islam. Much popular discourse in Europe and America can be legitimately described as Islam-bashing. (p. 13)

In this category, Tibi includes pseudo-scholarly works on Islam which attempt to portray the Islamic religion and civilisation as the antithesis of the West that has failed to develop rational and enlightened thinking, which serves to reinforce narratives also propagated by Islamists. He further contends that the concept of Islamophobia has not only been wielded to stifle criticism of Islamism among policymakers but presents a major obstacle to the study of Islamism as distinct from Islam. Halliday (1999) anticipated this problem, warning that the term "Islamophobia" challenges the possibility of dialogue based on universal principles and that the term reproduces the distortion of a monolithic Islam: "that there is something against which the phobia can be directed" which "serves not only to obscure diversity, but also to play into the hands of those, within the Muslim communities, who wish to reply to this attack by offering their own selective interpretation of the tradition, be this on women, right of free speech, the right to renounce religion or anything else" (pp. 898–899). In this respect, how Islamophobia is defined and applied has significant implications for addressing genuine abuse, discrimination, and hate crimes committed against Muslim people. To the extent that it serves as a cover for Islamist ideology, the use of the term Islamophobia inhibits legitimate criticism of symbols, institutions, and practices that promote the othering of Muslims and prevent the religion of Islam from developing in a way that is conducive to Western social norms and values and thereby taking its place amongst other faiths that comprise multicultural Western societies.

7 Conclusion

It has been well documented that assaults, discrimination, and insults faced by Muslims in the West have intensified since the turn of the century. These are broad categories for what is described as Islamophobia. Just as anti-Islam/anti-Muslim sentiments developed historically in response to the early politicisation of Islam after the death of the Prophet Muhammad, contemporary Islamophobia has also emerged in relation to political Islam or what is referred to today as Islamism since the latter decades of the twentieth century. Most definitions of Islamophobia tend to focus on Islam and Muslims as the object of insult or attack but fail to identify that anti-Muslim/anti-Islam sentiments are actually directed at aspects of Islamism rather than the faith of Islam, although this distinction is not yet made sufficiently clear in either political, media, or public discourse. Another major criticism of the use of the term is that it is used to prevent legitimate criticism of aspects of Islam, as well as Islamism, which are arguably inconsistent with the values and principles on which Western nations are built and ultimately detrimental to the long-term acceptance of Islam and Muslims as part of the mosaic of cultures and religions that comprise contemporary Western societies. This includes the development of approaches to Islam that are developed within and in relation to Western societies. It is also noteworthy that while incidents of Islamophobia are extensively documented, they represent a tiny fraction of the, otherwise neutral or positive, interactions of Muslim and non-Muslims in the West. While anti-Muslim sentiments may be extensive among certain demographics, Islamophobic acts are done by even smaller groups or individuals. Although now under increasing pressure due to the rising influence of right-wing and populist groups and parties on Western governments, the rights of Muslims in Western countries continue to be respected. A key to addressing the problem of Islamophobia will be for Western states, Muslim communities in the West, and wider society, including the media, to make a clear distinction between what constitutes the faith of Islam and what has come to be associated with it as a consequence of Islamist ideology and Muslim political activism.

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CHAPTER 11

Minority *Fiqh* (*Fiqh al-Aqalliyyat*)

1 Introduction

This chapter examines the broader context, origins, theory, and criticisms of a juristic discourse that has gained considerable scholarly attention on Muslims in the West over the last decade and a half. This scholarly discourse is termed "the jurisprudence for Muslim minorities in the West" and is also known by its technical term as *fiqh al aqaliyyat al-Muslima/fiqh al aqaliyyat* or minority *fiqh* for short.

2 Broader Context Behind the Emergence of Minority *Fiqh*

As alluded to in Chaps. 2 and 4, the idea of Muslims' *permanent* presence in Western liberal democracies emerged gradually in the second half of the twentieth century. Generally speaking with respect to Western Muslims' socio-political orientation, the trajectory taken was that of relative isolation and non-institutionalisation towards increasing integration and institutionalisation (see Chap. 5). The phenomenon of seeking systematic *theoretical justifications* (especially in terms of Islamic law/jurisprudence) for the *enduring* presence of Muslims in Western liberal democracies was even of more recent origin and only emerged in the last decade of the twentieth century. According to Hassan (2013, 1–2, 9), this quest for a

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normative explanation and rationalisation of the legitimacy of Western Muslims' *ongoing* presence and naturalisation was not just a pragmatic but also an internally driven process that was put into place to find answers to the question of how to live a way of life that is faithful to the Islamic tradition in the context of socio-political, legal, and cultural conditions that were significantly different to those prevalent in Muslim immigrants' countries of origin. It is this internal process that this chapter wishes to bring to light.

The initial discursive-based answers to issues arising among Western Muslims as members of religious minority in Western liberal democracies were not systematic in nature. They took the form of issuance of *ad hoc fatwas* stemming from scholars situated in Muslim majority world on specific questions relevant to the everyday experiences and conditions of the *individual* Muslim (male) immigrant. For example, these *fatwas* addressed issues pertaining to the consumption of food prepared by non-Muslims, concessions for performance of obligatory daily rituals, and the nature of basic social interactions between Muslims and non-Muslims to name just a few. Over time, the permanency of the new minority condition that Western Muslims found themselves in prompted some Western and non-Western Muslim religious leaders to question the continued relevance and applicability of the existing conceptualisations and interpretations of Islamic jurisprudence which stemmed from and reflected the realities of Muslim *majority* society contexts that very much informed these *ad hoc fatwas*. Some religious leaders also saw the need to develop a new *category* of Islamic jurisprudence specific to Western Muslims' minority status (Hassan 2013, 1–2). This transition took several decades and it was no't until the 1990s that first, systematic attempts were put in place in this respect (see below). Importantly, as in previous episodes of Islamic history (Abou El Fadl 1994), this Muslim-minority status has had important implications on the evolution of the nature, function, and purpose of Islamic theology, jurisprudence, and legal philosophy in the sense that it contributed to their growth as well as change in their very purpose and character.[1]

While the experience of constituting a minority for (Western) Muslims is neither historically nor theoretically unprecedented (Hassan 2013, 1–2),

[1] This will, hopefully, become evident to the reader over the course of this chapter in the context of discussing the theories and methodological approaches underpinning *fiqh al-aqalliyyat*.

March aptly observes that Western Muslims' contemporary situation is unique from that of other Muslim minorities (e.g. India, China), both present and past. This is so, argues March, because Western liberal democracies impose *specific* demands on Western Muslims' conscience which have profound theoretical and normative implications especially on those Western Muslims who remain wedded to a decidedly pre-modern Islamic worldview. More specifically, March avers that Western liberal democracies are not only based on non-traditional (Muslim) political and cultural values but see themselves as embodying universal claims that underpin the dominant form of political culture, namely political liberalism and the concept of liberal citizenship. These take form in "prevailing liberal values of equality, religious tolerance, universal citizenship, public civic education, gender equality and moderate civic loyalty" (March 2009, 36) which, in principle, are expected to be adopted by all of its citizens regardless of their specific religious or ethnic backgrounds. In other words, being a citizen in Western liberal democracies carries a *normative* expectation to not only passively submit to and formalistically abide by relevant legal and political systems but also to, *out of conviction*, embrace and actively contribute to the safeguarding and facilitating of these same values. This, in turn, can potentially create a number of tensions between the concept of liberal citizenship and a particular interpretation of Islamic teachings (as documented below). Arguably, one of the main reasons, if not the main reason, behind the emergence of minority *fiqh* was to develop a body of knowledge that would be able to address these (perceived) tensions in a constructive manner and to either minimise them or remove them entirely. This aspect of minority *fiqh* discourse is aptly noted by Hassan (2013, 13) as follows:

> However, the main source of contention between the question of Muslim minorities and liberalism remains: the so-called inherent nature of Islamic *Shariʿah* and its propensity to dominate the life of Muslims and consequently the land in which they live. In order to address this perception, different mechanisms have been developed, the most significant of which is the development of the discourse of *fiqh al-aqalliyyat*. On the surface, this discourse appears to respond to specific legal questions pertaining to aspects of a Muslim's life in the West, but it is also an attempt to dispel the perception of *Shariʿah* as a hegemonic anti-liberal legal system.

Now, before we examine the main theoretical approaches to the minority *fiqh* discourse and how they have wrestled with the issues raised in the above quote and other related issues, it is important to dedicate some space to the historical overview of the emergence of minority *fiqh*.

3 Historical Overview of the Emergence of Minority *fiqh*

The theoretical beginnings of minority *fiqh* can be traced back to the middle of the last decade of the twentieth century after which a mushrooming of literature on the subject occurred (March 2009, 37). As noted by Hassan (2013, 8–10), the pioneering contributors to the theory of the minority *fiqh* were primarily Sunni[2] Arab scholars, especially those loosely associated with the Muslim Brotherhood. Two Muslim scholars in particular contributed significantly to the emergence of minority *fiqh* discourse, namely T. Al-Alwani (d. 2016) and Y. Al-Qaradawi (b. 1935). The technical term minority *fiqh* itself was coined by Al-Alwani in 1994 when the Fiqh Council of North America, under his presidency, issued a *fatwa* (legal opinion) allowing American Muslims to vote in American elections (Fishman 2006, 1). Al-Alwani therefore not only initiated discussions pertaining to the special status of Muslim minorities but also contributed the very first theoretical, scholarly work on the subject entitled *Towards a Fiqh for Minorities: Some Basic Reflections* (Al-Alwani 2003).

Al-Alwani's justification for the establishment of an entirely new *fiqh* discipline detached from existing approaches to *fiqh* was based on several grounds. One of these was premised on the idea that Western Muslims' current experience of being a minority is qualitatively different from earlier ones making unique demands on them and requiring new and creative thinking (new *ijtihad*). This new *ijtihad* must go beyond the confines of (neo-)classical jurists and their interpretational approaches to deal with the novelty of Western Muslims' situation adequately and responsibly.[3] In

[2] Our discussion of minority *fiqh* discourse will be restricted to the Sunni branch of Islam not only because it was a product of Sunni scholars but also because not only the vast majority of Western Muslims are of Sunni persuasion but also as noted by Hassan (2013, 10–11) Shi'is unlike Sunnis "due to their historical minority experiences and legal philosophy of accommodating minority life…developed an early clear stance on the legitimacy of minority life".

[3] In this regard, he mentions certain shortcomings of classical jurists' conceptualisation of the Qur'anic message of Islamic universality, concept of citizenship, the emergence of inter-

other words, Al-Alwani took the view that the classical legal heritage was largely non-applicable to the conditions in which Western Muslims are finding themselves in now. This, in turn, warranted the development of new conceptual, methodological, and interpretational approaches to the primary sources of Islamic teachings, the Qur'an and the Sunna. Interestingly, Al-Alwani also argued that principles and objectives stemming from these approaches can also be applied to other contexts, including the Muslim majority contexts (Hassan, 99–101).

Al-Qaradawi's approach to and justification of minority *fiqh* is somewhat different from that of Al-Alwani. His major contribution to this body of knowledge can be found in the book titled *Fī fiqh al-aqallīyāt al-muslima: ḥayāt al-muslimīn fī l-mujtamaʿāt al-uḫrā* (Al-Qaradawi 2001) that was partially translated into English with the title *Fiqh of Muslim Minorities: Contentious Issues & Recommended Solutions* (Al-Qaradawi 2003).

Al-Qaradawi, like Al-Alwani, also clearly recognises the novelty of Western Muslims situation that requires the development of systematic theoretical body of knowledge that comes under the remit of Islamic jurisprudence. Unlike Al-Alwani, however, Al-Qaradawi sees minority *fiqh* not as an independent field of scholarly inquiry but as a branch of existing *fiqh*. He compares it to established categories of *fiqh* such as the jurisprudence of medicine, the jurisprudence of economics, and the jurisprudence of politics (Shavit 2015, 77). Like Al-Alwani, Al-Qaradawi also emphasises the importance of ijtihad in the theory of minority *fiqh* but conceptualises this ijtihad but as a contemporary manifestation of the well-established process of renewal (*tajdid*) that is firmly rooted in the classical Islamic legal heritage (Hassan 2013, 75–77).

The differences in methodological and theoretical underpinning to the theory of minority *fiqh* including those by Al-Qaradawi and Al-Alwani briefly alluded to above will be discussed in more length below. In what follows we provide a brief discussion on the definition, presuppositions, and significance of minority *fiqh*.

national law, the United Nations and various diplomatic conventions which require radical rethinking of pre-modern concepts from Islamic jurisprudence such as the concept of dar al harb, jihad al talab, and so on.

4 Definition, Presuppositions, Significance, and Purposes of Minority *fiqh*

The actual definition of minority *fiqh*, its purposes and goals depend upon the broader theoretical and methodological approaches that underpin a particular *conceptualisation* of the same. So, technically speaking, there is no one agreed-upon definition of minority *fiqh*. However, generally speaking the definition provided by Shavit (2015, 2) captures the essence of minority *fiqh* discourse, its nature, function and purpose/s. Shavit (Ibid.) defines minority *fiqh* as:

> The field of jurisprudence that examines the legitimacy of voluntary, modern migration to and residence in non-Muslim societies and addresses specific, everyday challenges that Muslim minorities confront is called *fiqh al aqalliyyat al-Muslima*. This field draws from the religio-juristic heritage that developed in relation to previous minority conditions while struggling to resolve dilemmas that have not been treated by jurists of the past.

In many ways, this definition reflects that main presuppositions on which minority *fiqh* is founded. March (2009, 37–38) identifies several of these: (1) the idea of permanency of Muslim minority condition in the West discussed above; (2) the idea that a significant proportion of Western Muslims (intentionally) seek guidance from the Islamic legal heritage in their (daily) decision-making processes and the premise that (3) the context in which Western Muslims are situated in warrant approaches to Islamic jurisprudence which are based on additional flexibility and adaptation to those already existing in Islamic legal heritage.

For Hassan, the significance and the goals of minority *fiqh* go well beyond its innovative theoretical and methodological framework. For example, Hassan is of the view that the theory underpinning minority *fiqh* is not to be limited to its function and application to Muslim minorities only but that minority *fiqh* has important implications with respect to understanding the very nature of the Islamic legal system as a whole. In this respect Hassan argues that minority *fiqh* has four corresponding objectives or purposes. First is its contextualisation of the entire Islamic legal heritage, including that of the classical, as a discursive edifice that was a product of its own context. This, in principle, implies that *fiqh* is an ever-dynamic construct that continues to evolve and is subject to constant interrogation and continual change. Second significant dimension of

minority *fiqh* is that it harmonises Muslims' presence in the West with Islamic teachings by providing a theoretical substantiation of compatibility of principles of sharia, as an ontological, methodological, and ethical concept, with the dominant liberal ethical beliefs that obtain in Western liberal democracies. Third, and relatedly, it demonstrates that certain sharia principles do not necessarily exist in an entirely contradictory relationship with liberal ethical beliefs and values. Finally, it paves the way towards construction of Muslim identity which reconciles its own normative demands with those of the law and the context in which they find themselves (Hassan 2013, 13). In other words, for Hassan, minority *fiqh* provides normative justifications for the emergence of a genuine Western Muslim identity and the idea of a Western Islam as discussed in the next and the final chapter of this book.

5 Overview of the Main Theoretical Approaches to Minority *FIQH*

This section provides an overview of the literature on the main theoretical approaches underpinning minority *fiqh*. In particular, we highlight the scholarship that develops typologies of the most representative (and competing) approaches as documented by Shavit (2015) and Hassan (2013). The reason for this is that such an approach helps us unearth and better understand the contested nature of the very project of minority *fiqh*, its goals, and objectives.

Shavit traces the emergence and the development of two competing approaches to the project of minority *fiqh* and the underlying ideologies and legal theory methodologies (*manhaj*) that inform them *as an extension of existing differences between the same approaches that are present in the Muslim majority contexts* (Shavit 2015, 3). One such approach he terms the *wasati* approach. The main theoretician and proponent of this approach is Al-Qaradawi whose ideas on Muslim minority jurisprudence have been institutionalised through the ECFR (see our discussion in Chap. 3). The *wasati* approach is contested by the *salafi* approach affiliated with the foundational authorities of the modern Saudi Arabian religious establishment of the likes of Bin Baz (d. 1999) and Al-Uthaymin (d. 2001) whom we have identified as representatives of theological puritanism in Chap. 3. In the Western Muslim context, this approach is championed and propagated through loose networks of *salafi* mosques, publication houses,

and associations existing in various parts of Western liberal democracies (see Chap. 3).

Importantly, Shavit (2015, 15–16) also argues that while the two approaches have significant ideological and methodological differences (discussed below), they also share a number of important presuppositions in terms of their conceptualisation of the primary function of the Muslims' (permanent) presence in the West as explained above in the context of identifying the main presuppositions on which minority *fiqh* is based on.

The *wasati* approach to minority *fiqh* is, in essence, an extension of the broader *wasati* methodology that emerged in the 1990s in the Muslim majority context. This interpretational approach to Islamic ethics and law emphasises a number of concepts. The main ones include *maqasid al sharia*, *maslaha*, *talfiq* (see below), and *tajdid*-based *ijtihad*. It is important to highlight that while all of these mechanisms have legal precedence in classical Islamic tradition, the manner in which they are conceptualised and employed interpretationally by the *wasatis* can depart, at times significantly, from the mainstream and well-established approaches. We provide a succinct definition of each concept as this is a necessity to understanding the respective approaches to the minority *fiqh*. The *maqasid al sharia* approach, in essence, is premised on the idea that Islamic law in terms of its philosophy aims to fulfil certain objectives which will lead to a desirable and sound application of Sharia (Auda 2007). In other words, Islamic law and its philosophy are purposive in nature. The concept of *maslaha* is a closely related, *maqasid* allied interpretational mechanism that sees the function of Islamic law as being premised on its ability to maximise social benefit (*maslaha*) and welfare and minimise social harm (*mafsada*) (Duderija 2014). Talfiq is a legal stratagem made popular by early modernist Muslim reformers such as M. Abdu (d. 1905) that encourages "derivation of rules from material of various schools of Islamic law"[4] rather than just staying within the boundaries of one such school. Ijtihad is a well-known interpretational tool in Islamic jurisprudence that, in broad terms, implies an intellectual effort aimed at deriving fresh interpretations of the primary sources of Islamic law by means of *innovative* methodologies in contrast to following of the established ones (known as *taqlid*). *Tajdid* is another concept that has pre-modern roots but is emphasised in (modernist) reformist thought. It means "renewal" and is often coupled with another concept that has similar meaning, namely *islah* or revival.

[4] http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e2323

Tajdid-based ijtihad is, therefore, a process that aims to renew the Islamic faith (or Islamic law and ethics in particular) on the basis of innovative legal reasoning that is not shackled by existing interpretational approaches and their interpretational outcomes, both past and present.

These concepts and interpretational mechanisms are then specifically adapted and applied to the Muslim minority context by the *wasati* scholars. They are also further extended and enriched by two additional concepts which are methodologically and interpretationally elevated and emphasised much more in the minority Muslim context by *wasatis* compared to that of the Muslim majority context. The first interpretational mechanism is *al-taysir or fiqh al-taysir*. This approach to Islamic law is encapsulated by the idea that the minority status provides Muslims with additional entitlements or concessions (*rukhsas*) in terms of non-fulfilment of certain otherwise normative obligations and duties, for example, combining of daily prayers at home when one is at work or women taking off veils (*hijab/niqab*) if that exposes them to serious physical or psychological harassment. Importantly, this concept of *taysir*, unlike in the context of a Muslim majority, is elevated to the level of the *principles* of sharia in *wasati* thought (Hassan 2013, 95). The second concept, namely that of *tabshir al-da'wa*, is less methodological and more in justificatory nature. It performs two functions specific to the minority context: (1) bringing back into the fold of Islam what are considered to be lapsed or forgetful Muslims and (2) as a tool for a flexible and gradual form of proselytising Islam to non-Muslims (Ibid., 95–96). Importantly, for *wasatis* as for *salafis*, *tabshir al-da'wa* provides one of the main *raison d'êtres* behind the continued legitimate (voluntary) presence of Muslims in the West (Shavit 2015; Hassan 2013; March 2009). In terms of the hierarchy of sources of Islamic law, *wasati* approach, especially (but not only) in the minority context, champions the interpretational/interpretational supremacy of the Qur'an over all other sources alongside the need for its contextualisation. This is complemented by its recourse to a very broad and extensive utilisation of the concept of *maslaha* (Shavit 2015, 18). Shavit describes these interpretational hierarchies and preferences by *wasatis* as follows (Ibid., 33):

> *Wasaṭīs* emphasize that (a) in interpreting Quranic injunctions, attention must be given to the reasons for their revelation and to the weight of their appearance and (b) the Quran comprises generalities, or universals (*kulliyyāt*) and partialities (*juz'iyyāt*). The generalities, which are constants (*thawābit*) and thus are never subject to change, should dominate decision-making;

> they can limit the use of partialities; (c) all sources of law, including the Prophetic traditions, must be read in light of the Quran, which is the supreme and ultimate guide; the role of traditions is to elaborate on the Quran and demonstrate its relevance. When a Prophetic tradition contradicts universals extracted from the Quran, it cannot serve as the basis for a decision; (d) because the *sharī'a* was meant to safeguard particular aims, *fatwās* can and in fact should change in correspondence with various times, places, customs, and conditions so as to enable their safeguarding.

Such an approach to the Qur'an and Sunna is possible only on the basis of *tajdid*-based ijtihad that, in the minds of *wasatis*, has the unique ability to balance and reconcile the demands of the past with that of the present on normative grounds. The centrality of *tajdid*-based ijtihad in this regard is highlighted by Shavit (Ibid., 113) as follows:

> First, *ijtihād* for Muslim minorities is necessary because there is much confusion as to what is permissible and what is impermissible for them, as well as about basic concepts that define minorities' existence and their relations with majority societies. Second, the challenges faced by Muslim minorities are particularly grave and, therefore, the general need of contemporary *fiqh* for *ijtihād* is of even greater urgency. Third, while the situation of Muslims living as minorities is not new, the religious laws of the Muslim minorities of the past were decided at a time when *ijtihād* was weak and *taqlīd* was prevalent.

The above-named mechanisms are, therefore, considered as indispensable if religious laws are to have the necessary degree of flexibility to meet the unique needs of Muslim minorities in the West while at the same time allowing them to stay true to (the objectives of the) sharia.

The *salafi* approach to minority *fiqh*, in contrast, is not premised upon a self-consciously elaborated methodology specific to Western Muslim minority context. This is not a coincidence but a direct outcome of Salafis' existing methodological commitments and tendencies which they consider to be universally applicable regardless of the context in which Muslims find themselves. The *salafi* approach, in principle, rejects the need for the kind of methodological accommodations that *wasatis* put in place as per our discussion above. They are especially opposed to the broad use of *maslaha* by the *wasati* scholars which, as will be discussed below, has been used, from the perspective of *salafis*, "to allow the prohibited". Shavit describes their approach in the following manner:

> Contrary to *wasaṭīs*, *salafīs* do not hold that Muslim minorities are entitled to facilitation because of the unique hardships they encounter. This position is derived from the foundational *salafī* view that Allah's laws are universal and should be interpreted and applied literally, and that strictly adhering to these laws constitutes the essence of Islam's *wasaṭī* nature. In the eyes of *salafīs*, the grave challenges which Muslim minorities face are opportunities for demonstrating strong devotion. This point of view obviates the need to highlight specific methodologies for Muslim minorities. While *wasaṭī* foundational texts on *minority fiqh al-Muslima* focus on the potential of *maṣlaḥa* and *cross-madhhab* search to effect decisions in line with specific objectives, the *salafī* ambition when addressing Muslim minorities is to assert the authority of existing *fatwās* in non-Muslim lands. (2015, 122)

As such the interpretational recourse to *al-taysir*, a principle of significant importance in *wasati* approach to minority *fiqh*, as noted above, does not feature in the *salafi* discussions on the issue (Shavit 2015).

Some of the differences that arise between *salafi* and *wasati* approaches centre around their respective conceptualisations of what constitute additional concepts that have a direct bearing on the question of the status of Muslim minorities from the perspective of (pre-modern) Islamic jurisprudence. These concepts are *dar al-islam* and *dar al-harb/kufr* and *al wala' wal bara'*. They will be discussed in the subsequent section where we examine the main issues that minority *fiqh* has been concerned with in the context of providing a normative basis for Western Muslim settlement in Western liberal democracies.

Apart from the important work by Shavit cited above, the monograph by Hassan (2013) is another systematic effort at presenting an overview of different approaches to minority *fiqh*. Hassan classifies them into three trends, namely the puritan-literalist, the traditionalist, and renewalist. The puritan-literalist trend would correspond to what Shavit terms the *salafi* approach and the renewalist would come under the *wasati*.

Methodologically speaking, Hassan (Ibid., 30–31) describes the literalist-puritan approach as absolutist, formalistic operating within a static and circular concept of history that is constantly imposing itself onto the present. The non-rationalist jurisprudential component from the first and second centuries of Islam in particular is elevated as having universal significance and applicability. The *salafi* approach to the sacred text is heavily textualist and puritan in nature. It marginalises the importance of context in terms of both its role in shaping the sacred text as well as

shaping the reality of Western Muslims. It is furthermore oblivious to insights from contemporary interpretational theories as they apply to Qur'an and Sunna whose fresh interpretation is for all purposes seen as closed (Ibid.; cf. Duderija 2011).

The traditionalists are primarily scholars associated with Al-Azhar *fatwa* committees and Egyptian muftis/ifta. In terms of methodology, their approach to minority *fiqh* stresses the idea that Muslim minorities are to be treated as exceptional cases which demand from the perspective of (classical) Islamic jurisprudence licence-based (*rukhsah*) rulings approach. This approach is consciously at pains to simultaneously "adhere to traditional classical juridical positions" but also accommodate the political reality of Western Muslims. So, like *salafis*/puritan literalists, the traditionalists do not see the need for the development of new (category) of *fiqh* as advocated by *wasatis*/renewalists. In terms of their interpretational approach, the traditionalists are different from puritans/*salafis* insofar the former emphasise or rely heavily on the Qur'anic and hadith-based texts with little or no concern to link these texts to the context in which Western Muslims are embedded when issuing their *fatwas* whereas the traditionalists add an additional layer by attempting to, in elaborate and extensive manner, find legal precedents in books of Islamic jurisprudence from formative, classical and postclassical periods which could, in one way or another, qualify the textual evidence found in the canonical texts and which are most relevant to the new context (Ibid., 38). In the words of Hassan (Ibid., 6):

> The traditionalist trend acknowledges the richness of the tradition to the extent it holds that the tradition encompasses all needed answers and guidance. The advocates of this trend, however, distinguish between the tradition's different sources: text, legal reasoning, customs, etc. They also appreciate the urgencies of time and space. In order to strike a balance between the tradition and the condition of Muslim minorities, they search the tradition for a possible solution. Once they found it, they adopted it, though with cautious phrasing and conditional language.

According to the renewalists, the Islamic tradition, if approached and conceptualised in a particular manner, has all the necessary internal mechanisms required to renew itself and therefore meet the challenges Western Muslim minority condition demands even if this, at times, means departing from well-established opinions from the past. As briefly outlined above, the renewalists (*wasatis*) employ an array of methodological

mechanisms when doing so. It is, therefore, not surprising that *wasati* scholars are largely responsible for the creation of minority *fiqh* as a scholarly discipline in its own right (Ibid., 6).

6 The Main Issues in Minority *FIQH* Discourse

Having provided an overview of the approaches to the theory of minority *fiqh*, we now want to examine its application in relation to some major concrete issues/concepts to which it is applied. In particular, we examine the concepts *dar al islam/dar al harb* and *al wala' wal bara'* as they have featured most prominently in the discussions surrounding the nature of relationship between Western Muslims and the society in which they live in general and the concept of their citizenship/loyalty in particular (Hassan 2013, 121–122). The first thing to make note of in this regard, and as alluded to above, is that there is a long history of Muslim juristic thought with respect to Muslim minority status and the concept of migration (*hijra*) that has yielded certain conceptual terminology around which the discussions revolved. The main concepts in this respect are have already been mentioned above, namely *dar al islam* (abode of Islam)/*dar al harb* (abode of war)/*dar ul kufr* (abode of unbelief) and *al wala' wal bara'* (loyalty and disassociation) which are used to describe and/or evaluate the nature of Muslim–non-Muslim socio-political relationships both at the level of individuals as well as political entities. Another thing to keep in mind in this context is that there is a great variety of opinion pertaining to the definition of these concepts/categories and how, when, and under what circumstances do they take effect (Hassan 2013, 123–124). Hassan (2013, 125) documents the kind of questions and reasoning pertaining to the delineations of the conceptual categories deliberated by jurists as follows:

> What is the basis of jurists' designation of the land as an abode of Islam or an abode of war? Is it the presence of a ruling power? Is it jurisdictional question? Is it the people? Is it safety? What is the meaning of manifesting one's religion? Does it refer to rituals or to some form of personal application of Islamic Law or to the ability to apply Islamic Law in its totality? How does one qualify the land? Is it dār al-harb or dār al-ʿahd or murakkabah or even dār al-Islām? Moreover, how does one qualify dār al-Islām? Can it be called dār al-Islām even if injustices were practiced against Muslims? What is

> the nature of the relationship with the non-Muslim community? What is the meaning of their muwālāh[5] or mushābahah[6], befriending and imitation?

The various responses Muslim scholars provided to the above and similar questions were based on what Hassan terms jurists' "operative causes" that mainly focused on the idea of whether or not an individual was able to live in a particular society/"abode" in accordance with their religious convictions and live them out freely. Importantly, the legal determinations the jurists arrived at were informed by not only the normative sources and methodologies of interpretation that they were committed to but also the concrete historical realities (Hassan 2013, 123), a point we will discuss below. Put differently, and more specifically for the purposes of this chapter, one of the central issues in Muslim juristic thought pertains to the idea of whether or not Muslims are allowed to live in lands that are not under the direct political and/or religious sovereignty of Muslims, and if so under what circumstances and for what reasons.

The literalist-puritan approach to these questions is summarised by Hassan as follows:

> They [i.e. the proponents of the *salafi* approach] look at its people, culture, and products with suspicion. This discourse derives its force from the belief that land can only be one of two categories: an abode of Islam or an abode of war. They see the abode of Islam as being the legally chosen abode for Muslims to live, where they enjoy sovereignty and autonomy over their religious affairs, and the land of war is the land of disbelief, nonbelievers, the enemy, the immoral, etc. This being the case, the logical outcome is that Muslims have to abandon the non-Muslim abode. This abandonment is required physically through immigration to Muslim lands. If, however, this is not possible for any specific reason, then social abandonment of the society is required. In other words, a policy of segregation and isolation from the wider society is recommended. (2013, 154)

Unsurprisingly, puritan-literalists conceptualise the concept of *al wala' wal bara'* in strictly religious terms, that is, Muslim loyalty is constructed as applying to other (like-minded) Muslims *only*. Therefore, Muslims should disassociate themselves from non-Muslims in as many respects as possible (apart from for the purposes of *da'wa*). According to this view,

[5] Loyalty.

[6] Resemblance of Muslims to non-Muslims in dress and appearance.

the West is the abode of disbelief (*kufr*). There is an emphasis on Muslims' distinct identity that is to be manifested in terms of their everyday social conduct (including dress and physical appearance), traditions and culture (Duderija 2014). Muslims are not supposed to show feelings of affection to and develop friendships with non-Muslims as this could evolve into a form of loyalty (*wala'*) which can lead to disbelief (Hassan, 26–29; Shavit 2015, 117–132). Shavit (2015, 125) describes *salafi* approach to the concept of *al wala' wal bara'* in following terms:

> The salafi understanding of "loyalty and disavowal" places three primary restrictions on Muslims: not to be loyal to non-Muslims, not to befriend or show affection toward non-Muslims, and not to imitate non-Muslims.

This approach to the concept of loyalty and disavowal, as problematic as it is in terms of Western Muslims' meaningful integration, does appeal to Muslim minorities in the West to respect the laws of the land, prohibits terrorism and calls for Muslims to deal "justly" with non-believers (Shavit 2015, 129–133). Therefore, it would be wrong to conclude that *salafi* based understanding of *al wala' wal bara'* prohibits *all* kind of associations with non-Muslims but does limit them greatly to those settings in which Muslims are considered to have a clear and tangible benefit either in financial, educational, or proselytisational terms (Ibid., 132).

In terms of scriptural reasoning, *salafis* primarily justify their approach on a particular reading of Q.4:97[7] and some hadith which report prophet's disavowal of Muslims who reside in the land of polytheists. From these textual "indicants", to borrow the terminology from Islamic jurisprudence, *salafis* form the view that Muslims are to, in principle, only reside in places where political and religious authority is in the hands of Muslims. Other Qur'anic verses such as Q.5:51[8] and Q.3:118[9] are interpreted to

[7] "When the angels take the souls of those who have wronged themselves, they ask them, 'What circumstances were you in?' They reply, 'We were oppressed in this land,' and the angels say, 'But was God's earth not spacious enough for you to migrate to some other place?'" Abdul Haleem (2005, 60).

[8] "You who believe, do not take the Jews and Christians as allies:*a* they are allies only to each other. Anyone who takes them as an ally becomes one of them–God does not guide such wrongdoers" (Abdul Haleem 2005, 73).

[9] "You who believe, do not take for your intimates such outsiders as spare no effort to ruin you and want to see you suffer: their hatred is evident from their mouths, but what their hearts conceal is far worse. We have made Our revelations clear for you; will you not use your reason?" (Abdul Haleem 2005, 43).

mean that it is impermissible for a Muslim to befriend Christians and other infidels (Ibid., 128). The residence in non-Muslim lands and befriending of non-Muslims are, therefore, viewed as highly undesirable and a threat to one's faith (Shavit 2015, 117–118). As noted above, some exceptions to this rule are made under certain conditions. For example, Muslims who are considered as having very firm faith are allowed to reside voluntarily in non-Muslims' lands but only insofar as they, as members of the Muslim *ummah* and bearers of the Islamic message (and therefore Islam itself), will concretely benefit from such an arrangement. Thus, *salafis* argue that Muslims should, in principle, not become citizens of their adopted countries since this would indicate that they have *de facto* adopted or subscribed to the prevalent beliefs, culture, and practices in these societies (Hassan 2013, 30).

Wasatis have some very different ideas about the concepts of *dar al islam*, *dar al kufr/harb*, and *al wala' wal bara'*. *Wasatis*, for example, dispute the ongoing relevance of pre-modern jurists' division of the world into *dar al harb/kufr* on a number of grounds. Al-Alwani offers a number of reasons why this is so. First, he argues that since Islam is a universal religion and all land belongs to Allah any place should be considered as at least *potentially dar al islam*. Second, Al-Alwani forms the view that any land in which Muslims can freely practise their faith comes automatically under the category of *dar al-Islam*. Third, drawing upon some classical scholars, Al-Alwani also argues that non-Muslim lands are to be designated as *dar al-da'wa* (lands of proselytising) rather than *dar al harb/kufr*. Finally, Al-Alwani also questions the relevance behind the continued assumptions embedded in pre-modern jurists' views regarding the nature of international relations that assumed these relations are to be governed by force/enmity/hostility as the default option. Instead, he forms the view that the various international laws and institutions such as the UN have brought about important conceptual transformations regarding the nature and the concept of the world itself and international relations away from conflict and war mentality to that which favours peace and the guaranteeing of basic human rights of minorities. These changes, in turn, should be embraced as Islamic and those inherited from pre-modern era that contradict them should be abandoned (Shavit 2015, 107–108; Hassan 2013, 136–138).

Other *wasati* scholars like Al-Qaradawi and Bin Bayyah prefer to use the category of *dar al 'ahd* (in contrast to *dar al kufr/dar ul harb*) to describe the realities in which Muslim minorities in the West find

themselves in. This concept is, however, not understood in its pre-modern sense of a non-Muslim land that has an official peace treaty (of certain duration) with a Muslim individual or state, but something much deeper in terms of the kind of rights and responsibilities that arise as a result of entering into such an arrangement. For Al-Qaradawi, living in *dar-al 'ahd* implies Muslims' participation in an "international civil political domain of human brotherhood", whereas for Bin Bayyah this concept implies individual's entering into a contract (in form of permanent visa or citizenship) with the state resulting in specific moral and legal obligations between the two parties (Hassan 2013, 142).

The reconceptualisation and subsequent redefinition of *dar*-based concepts by *wasatis* also have important implications in relation to the questions of Muslims' loyalty/disavowal and citizenship in Western liberal democracies. The textual indicants in form of Qur'anic verses and hadith *salafis* use to justify their own particular understanding of *al wala' wal bara'* discussed above are contextualised by *wasatis* as being applicable to very specific situations that no longer have any relevance for Western Muslims. For example, emigration is allowed to any country where Muslims are allowed to profess their faith freely (Shavit 2015, 110–111)[10] or they interpret the Qur'anic verses that talk about Muslims not befriending non-believers as applicable only to those non-Muslims who show outright aggression and enmity towards Muslims without any legitimate reasons. The same Qur'anic verses, moreover, are also interpreted in the light of universal Qur'anic and juristic principles that demand righteous conduct and just dealings with people irrespective of faith (Shavit 2015, 134–137). The *wasati* concept of loyalty is, therefore, much more nuanced and does not only have religious/faith dimension but includes other levels such as loyalty at the level of humanity, loyalty to one's homeland, society and political community (Hassan, 149–151; March 2009).

Therefore, *wasatis* not only consider it permissible for Muslim minorities to reside in Western liberal democracies they also call for them to be proactive citizens of the respective countries they live in while "foster[ing] their Islamic identity and their religiously based communal ties and proselytize[ing] through the example of their good, moral conduct" (Shavit 2015, 112). *Wasatis* also are much more accommodative of Western Muslims' participation in the political processes including

[10] As in the case of early Muslims who fled to Ethiopia and did not return to Arabia even after Muslims established themselves in Arabia there and Islam become victorious.

electoral voting, abiding by laws and regulations which are at odds with traditional Islamic norms (such as the concept of "usurious" nature of home loans), naturalisation and service in non-Muslim militaries and police forces (Shavit, 192–238). These are, in turn, justified primarily on the grounds of prevention of harm and encouragement of Muslims to make meaningful contribution to the broader society (Shavit, 189–190). For *salafis*, participation in political processes in the West are shunned and equated with shirk, or acts of associating "partners to God", because such participation is considered to usurp God's sole prerogative as *the* sovereign source of legislation (Ibid.).

7 Criticisms of Minority *fiqh* Discourse

There have been sustained criticisms of the minority *fiqh* discourse from both "traditionalists" and more reformist-minded perspectives. This will be illustrated briefly, by the objections raised to the project of minority *fiqh* by its two prominent critics, M. Said R. Al-Buti (d. 2013) and T. Ramadan (b. 1962).

Al-Buti, a Syrian scholar killed by the so-called Islamic State in 2013, was a staunch defender of "classical" *madhhab-based* approaches to the Islamic tradition (see Chap. 3). Al-Buti's major critique of the minority *fiqh* discourse revolves around the idea that Muslims have a distinct religion-based identity which is irreversibly compromised at the level of belief (*'aqida*) in case of Muslims emigrating and assuming citizenship in the West. This is so because, for Al-Buti, the very act of migration shifts Muslims *wala'* from that of Islam to that of a non-believing entity. In other words, for Al-Buti, citizenship implies much more than a legal or even moral contract and that the acceptance of citizenship on behalf of a Muslim individual *ipso facto* implies acceptance and soundness of the prevalent non-Islamic "creed" (Hassan 2013, 146–147). For Al-Buti, the West, therefore, constitutes *dar al kufr* and those who propagate minority *fiqh* discourse are deemed guilty of facilitating Muslim minorities' assimilation and loss of Islamic lifestyle. Al-Buti also accuses the proponents of minority *fiqh* discourse with merely providing an "Islamic" cover for ideas and practices that in actual fact contradict the teachings of Islam (Taha 2013, 7).

While for Al-Buti, the architects of minority *fiqh* discourse go too far in their "accommodations", for Ramadan they do not go far enough or more precisely the minority *fiqh* discourse is seen but as a transitory stage towards

Western Muslims' full integration into Western liberal democracies. One significant aspect of Ramadan's critique is that the minority *fiqh* discourse is essentially an imported and alien one dominated by scholars from the Middle East who, in principle, assume Western Muslims' continued dependence on their religio-juristic construct. Ramadan concedes that "minority *fiqh*" was both important and necessary as a temporary solution to the question of Muslim presence in the West. However, he forms the view that, when viewed from the long-term perspective, many of the assumptions underpinning the *wasati* (let alone *salafi*) approach to minority *fiqh* discourse have a number of shortcomings. Ramadan identifies the "dualist nature", the acceptance of "minority thinking" logic and conceptualisation of integration in terms of adaptation as examples of the pitfalls inherent to the theory and practice of minority *fiqh* discourse. Ramadan, for example, questions Al-Qaradawi's distinction between Muslim and non-Muslim societies (dualist thinking) as outdated and that terminology such as "Muslim minorities" or naturalised or converted Muslims should no longer be operative as the world has become a global village (Ramadan 2005, 6, 53). Furthermore, Ramadan rejects the application of categories of not only *dar al harb/islam* that were dominant in pre-modern Islam but also concepts such as *dar da'wa/dar al 'ahd* as applicable to the West (as conceptualised by both *wasati* and *salafi* approaches to minority *fiqh*) as not doing justice to the universal and comprehensive nature of Islam and its message. Ramadan coins a new "*dar*" category, namely *dar al shahada* (abode of testimony) as being reflective of and truthful to the Islamic message with respect to the role of Muslims, Western Muslims included, in the world today because it

> represent[s] an environment in which Muslims are brought back to the fundamental teaching of Islam and invited to meditate on their role: considering themselves as shuhada ala al-nas (witnesses before humankind), according to the Qur'anic expression, should lead them to avoid all reactionary and oversensitive attitudes and to develop a self-confidence based on a deep sense of responsibility, which in Western societies should be accompanied by real and constant action for justice. This approach "from the inside" makes it possible to define the European environment as an area of responsibility for Muslims. (2005, 77)

For Ramadan, therefore, Muslim citizens in the West apply sharia by the very fact of explicitly abiding by and respecting the constitutional

frameworks of countries of which they are residents of as this allows them to perform their function as "shuhada ala al-nas", namely witnesses for humanity.

8 Conclusion

In conclusion, and following Shavit, it is befitting to make note of the fact that the discourse of minority *fiqh* does not have immediate relevance to all or even the majority of Muslims in the West who are for the most part ignorant of or indifferent to the kind of arguments and responses the discourse generates and juristic questions and methodologies which underpin them (Shavit and Spengler 2017). Even those Muslims in the West who do take these discussions more seriously adopt and select certain views over others on a basis of several considerations and factors, not all of which can be traced back to particular methodological or normative commitments. As such, Shavit (2015, 252–253) aptly reminds us that the discussions pertaining to minority *fiqh* do not represent the totality of Western Muslims' circumstances, realities, or responses to their condition. This will be exemplified in our next chapter that examines the idea of the emergence of a Western Muslim identity and its main theoretical architects.

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CHAPTER 12

An Emerging Western Islam

1 Introduction

A number of academic writings, primary so in Europe, have, for a number of reasons and from various perspectives, discussed the concept of a Western or more precisely "Euro/European-Islam" and/or American Islam (Nielsen 2007; Al-Sayyid 2002; Baxter 2008; McCould 2014). A number of Companions/Handbooks on the topic also exist (Hammer and Safi 2013; Haddad and Smith 2015; Cesari 2014; Tottoli 2015). However, few studies focus on the question of *theoretical* underpinnings of the idea of Western Islam and the factors that facilitate its indigenisation (Yu 2014; El-Affendi 2009; Hashas 2013; Duderija 2015). The purpose of this chapter is to provide a discussion on the emergence of a Western Islam/Western Muslim identity from this perspective. We start the chapter by problematising the concept of a Western Islam and what is meant by it.

In which sense can we talk about the emergence of a Western Islam over the last two to three decades? Is this Western Islam to be thought of in terms of mere geography? Is it an issue of politico-legal allegiance (i.e. legal status, citizenship) or intellectual and cultural affinity? Is it perhaps a question of an identity based on distinct understanding of a religious tradition? Can it be best understood in terms of subscription to certain values, principles, and the philosophical and worldview assumptions underpinning these? Alternatively, is it a question of emotional attachment and belonging? Or is this emerging Western Islam a combination of some

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or all of the above? Put differently, would the emergence of such an identity be signalled or manifested by the sociologically observable processes of (various degrees and modes) of de-ethnicisation (in case of those whose sense of "Muslimness" is strongly linked with their ethnicity), de- and/or trans-culturalisation (in particular the loss of language, customs, etc., or the adoption of Western equivalents), creolisation, acceptance of civic and civil rights and responsibilities, the development of a strong sense of emotional attachment and belonging to the West, the engendering of Western-Muslim-specific literature, performing and fine arts, music, norms, or the development of Western-Muslim-specific Islamic theology, legal and ethical thought?

While in Chap. 3/4 we examined some important factors and process that affect Western Muslims' identity construction in the context of them belonging to a new immigrant religious minority, this chapter examines the emergence of Western Islam by focusing on factors, agents, and discourses which could be identified as facilitating the emergence of Western Islam primarily defined in terms of its cultural, religio-philosophical, and socio-political dimensions. This translates into the idea that Western Islam is based on a comprehensive yet reasonable doctrine that embraces values of modernity and legitimises them both theologically and politically. Furthermore, the idea of such a Western Islam is also accommodative of Rawls' concept of overlapping consensus where citizens, despite their differing worldviews, endorse and abide by the same core laws for reasons internal to their own comprehensive doctrines (Rawls 1971).

Finally, although some of the below identified factors and processes have been dealt with in previous chapters (e.g. institutionalisation and converts), their inclusion and discussion in this chapter is approached from the theoretical perspective outlined above, namely how they contribute to the emergence of Western Islam.

2 Some Significant Factors and Processes Facilitating the Emergence of a Distinct Western Muslim Identity/Western Islam

In this section we identify and discuss major factors and processes that in our view conceptually enable the emergence of Western Islam as defined in the previous section. They include increasing institutionalisation of Islam in the West, the role of Western Muslim converts, religious music, Western languages as well as the ideas of Western Muslim academics and intellectuals.

2.1 Increasing Institutionalisation of Islam in the West

Institutionalisation of Islam in the West should also be seen as a significant force which contributes to the emergence of a Western Islam. Over the last two to three decades Western Muslims, ever more aware of their permanent rather than temporary status in the West, have increasingly made recourse to the policies of politics of recognition. The process of institutionalisation of Islam is defined here as primarily a public method of this politics of recognition. The continued, although often controversial, building of Muslim places of worship, the mushrooming of numerous Muslim schools or weekend *madrasas*, the growing network of halal food outlets, the flourishing Western-based Islamic mass media, the increasing political representation of Muslims at various levels of government either in mainstream political parties or in so-called "Islamic" parties, their solid participation in social and cultural affairs of the broader Western society are all clear signs of the progressive institutionalisation of Muslim communities in the West, and the integration of these communities and their representative institutions into the broader social and political structures of Western liberal democracies.[1] Consequently, this process of progressive institutionalisation of Islam in the West is also an important element of the development of the idea of a Western Islam and is also strongly indicative of its emergence.

Perhaps one of the most important examples of institutionalisation of the idea of a Western Islam is the Muslims of Europe Charter,[2] prepared by the Federation of Islamic Organisations in Europe (FIOE) that was endorsed and signed by more than 400 Muslim organisations from 28 European countries in early 2008. One of the most basic ideas that characterises this document is the idea that Islam and Muslim communities have been an integral part of and belong to Europe and need to be recognised as such. The document also explains how the correct understanding of Islam can be understood to be in harmony with contemporary European values based on human rights and justice. The document also calls for European Muslims' positive integration into their respective societies, including their full participation as citizens.

[1] Some forms of institutionalisation of Islam such as establishment of Sharia courts/tribunals and possibly some Islamic schools could be interpreted as underpinning the idea of the emergence of a Western Islam. However, this is not necessarily so as these institutions can only operate under the existing laws and regulations of the respective nation-states in which they operate.

[2] http://www.cie.ugent.be/documenten/muslim_charter.pdf

2.2 Western Muslim Converts

Another important agent for an emergence of a distinctly Western Islam is the role, activism, and the ideas of Western Muslim converts. This is so for several reasons. First, in some ways reminiscent of the Western-born generations of Muslims of immigrant background, the Islam of Western Muslim converts does not have established ethno-cultural roots. Having been brought up in a culturally Western mentality, these Muslim converts' Muslim identity and understanding of Islam is inevitably shaped by this context and is therefore distinctly Western. Second, by assuming the role of cultural mediators between Western Muslims with immigrant background and non-Muslim Westerners these Western Muslim converts often facilitate the acceptance of the very idea of a Western Islam in the minds of both non-Muslim Westerners as well as Western Muslims of immigrant background (Allievi 2002, 7; Roald 2004, 289–305). Significantly, based on their physical features and Western-style dress, Western Muslim converts also problematise the idea of an "authentic stereotypical Muslim" who does not look "Western" (i.e. non-white, non-Caucasian, wearing traditional clothes from Muslim majority cultures such as *jalabiyya* or *shalwar khamis*). Third, by their very presence they demonstrate the possibility of Muslim citizenship in the West as they themselves are, of course, its citizens. Fourth, with their frequent critiques of traditional cultural or ethnic Islam (often acting in chorus with Western-born generations of Muslims with immigrant background in this respect), they contribute to the engendering of a Western Islam. Western converts to Islam, due to their unique positions, also significantly contribute to the above-mentioned process of institutionalisation of Islam with their social know-how and through the pooling of a network of relationships (including political, institutional, and religious ones).

Lastly, some of these Western Muslim converts belong to the category of Western Muslim intellectuals described above (such as Anne Sofie Roald and Hamza Yusuf), who have significantly contributed to the intellectual formulation of a Western Islam (Ibid.).

2.3 Religious Music

The last three decades have witnessed a flourishing of Western Muslim religious songs sung in European languages, including French, German,

Spanish, Italian, and particularly English (sprinkled with Qur'anic and other religious phrases in Arabic) (Morris 2013). This religious music is at times expressed in the form of hip-hop, clearly mirroring Western equivalents, and is not restricted to American Muslims of African descent (Khabeer 2007). This interesting development, plays a very important role for many a young Western Muslim in the construction of a distinct Western Islam. It does so in a number of ways. First, by being truly trans-ethnic in character, it facilitates a religious rather than ethnic-based Western Muslim identity and therefore the idea of a Western Islam (Alim 2005, 2006). Second, it provides an important avenue for young Western Muslims to develop a sense of Muslim self which has the potential to make Islam more meaningful and attractive to their lives (in contrast to traditional ways of Islamic da'wa which, apart from some Sufi groups, largely eschew music and consider that listening to it, even if it is religious in nature, is a sin), and to at least partially bridge the often wide gap between mainstream Western values and practices and those of traditional Islam (Ackfeldt 2012). Third, especially in the context of Western Europe, it acts as one channel through which Western Muslims are able to voice their grievances of belonging to a socio-politically and religiously marginalised and often stigmatised community (Aidi 2004; Miah and Kalra 2008). This can lead to a more politically engaged and participatory Western Muslim citizenship consciousness, which, in turn, potentially facilitates their sense of belonging in the West. Fourth, this religious music is often educational in character and is aimed at bringing up law-abiding and young pious Western Muslims. The works of Muslim convert Yusuf Islam, formerly known as Cat Stevens, are particularly important in this regard. Fifth, this pious Muslim music contributes to the development of a distinctly Western Muslim cultural identity and by extension to that of a Western Islam itself.

2.4 Western Languages

Unlike the first Muslim immigrants to the West, subsequent generations of Muslims have no problem in communicating in the official languages of the countries in which they reside. This language proficiency is an important element in facilitating Western Muslim identity in at least two crucial ways. First, it potentially enables Western Muslims to be more intimately familiar with the dominant cultural, social, political, intellectual, and legal

context of their countries of citizenship/residence, thereby enhancing their ability to meaningfully integrate into the broader public sphere and be active and participatory members of it. This, in turn, enhances the levels of acceptance of Western Muslims by the broader non-Muslim community as being genuine and contributing members of the broader society in which they live. Second, it runs counter to the stereotype of (a Muslim) immigrant who does not and/or is unwilling to learn the official language of their country of residence and as such is destined to live on the cultural, social, political, and intellectual margins of the broader community.

In the context of the discussion of the importance of language in the emergence of a Western Muslim identity, the issue of discursive hegemony on Islam and Muslims written in Western-based languages is of importance as well. Today the number of both academic and non-academic forms of discourse (journals, magazines, books, newspapers, Internet websites and blogs, television and radio) on Islam and Muslims in English and other major Western European languages, notably French and German, far outweighs the number in any other language, including Arabic. This is true in relation to both Muslim and non-Muslim authors of these various writings. This phenomenon is of course a reflection of the global cultural and economic dominance of Western countries worldwide, especially the USA. One clear example of this dominance of European languages on discourses on Islam and Muslims is the amount of Muslim religious terminology that is being integrated into Western languages and the speed with which this is happening. To take the example of the English language, words such as *jihad*, *hijab*, and *in sha' Allah* are no longer in need of translation and have been adopted into the language. It is our contention that this process also contributes to the emergence of a distinctly Western Muslim identity because it not only provides Western Muslims a window into acquiring knowledge of their tradition, as many are unable to read in the language of their parents (especially in the case of Arabic-, Urdu-, Bengali-, and Farsi-speaking Western Muslims, whose alphabet is not based on Latin characters), but the literature on Islam and Muslims in European languages is aimed at advocating views which are in favour of the development of a Western Islam. However, it must be kept in mind, as demonstrated in our chapter on jurisprudence for Muslim minorities, that some literature in European languages, often a translation written by ultra-conservative Saudi or Saudi-supported religious scholars and those who share their views, does not advocate such principles.

2.5 Western Muslim Intellectuals and the Emergence of a Western Muslim Identity

The discourses and theoretical discussions engendered by Western Muslim intellectuals, and in some cases religious leaders, is an important factor which can facilitate the emergence of a Western Islam. The context of residing in Western liberal democracies where ideas can be freely developed and exchanged has been crucial in the emergence of a new class of Muslim intellectuals who, by virtue of either birth or immigration (or in some cases exile), have made the West their home. These Western Muslim intellectuals, over the last two to three decades in particular, have made serious efforts to engender new discourses aimed at developing "authentic" interpretations of the Islamic tradition which would religiously justify and promote the social, cultural, and political integration of Western Muslims without the loss of their religious identity and, thereby, attempt to create a culturally distinct, Western Islam. While there is a range of often contrasting views with respect to the method, the substance, and the ultimately desired outcomes of this religiously grounded theoretical framework (El-Affendi 2009), all of them share one common characteristic, namely the viability of the very concept of a Western Muslim identity.

The most "forceful" of these proposes a creation of a Western Islam as a distinctly specific religio-cultural and philosophical construct based on its own and substantially different interpretation of the Islamic tradition as manifested in the development of culturally specific Islamic ethics and jurisprudence. So, just as through history Islam was shaped by African, Asian, and South Asian cultures, the advocates of this type of Muslim identity call for a European, North American, or Australian Islam. We will examine below how this specifically plays itself out in the thought of two most significant proponents of Western Islam today, Tariq Ramadan and Bassam Tibi.

Tariq Ramadan

Tariq Ramadan has been described as a "symbol" of the new European Muslim, who was not only born and grew up in Europe, but is also intellectually a product of both Islamic and Western thought currents and perhaps more importantly as someone who "started to pave out the road to reform and changes in the understanding of Islam in Muslim communities in the West" (Roald 2008, 97).

Over the last two decades or so Ramadan has been consistently arguing, and more forcefully over time, that the context of citizenship in Western liberal democracy permits Western Muslims to be genuinely Muslim, to develop their own distinct Western/European culture as well as Islamic ethico-religious thought (March 2011), and to be law-abiding citizens. In other words, Ramadan has been a fervent proponent of the idea that Western Muslims can remain in complete fidelity with their religious identity and practices and at the same time cultivate a distinctly Western Muslim culture, thought, and identity by developing new interpretations of their inherited religious tradition.

For Ramadan the signs of an emergent, maturing and authentic Western Muslim "personality" are well under way. Ramadan refers to this process as a "silent revolution" that is taking place at a grass-roots level and that is largely hidden from the attention of the mainstream media. This emergent Western Islam is described as being faithful to the universal principles of Islam but clothed in Western culture/s and firmly rooted in Western societies (2004, 4). Furthermore, Ramadan is convinced that it is the responsibility of Western Muslims themselves to develop their own intellectual, political, and financial resources when engaging in this process of developing an authentic Western Muslim personality (2004, 6) rather than relying on external entities.

When developing the idea of a Western Islam and Western Muslim identity Ramadan's approach rests on two main theoretical and practical considerations pertaining to:

1. rethinking of methods of interpretation of Islamic normative intellectual tradition
2. the ideas concerning Western Muslims' socio-political engagement and citizenship

We examine each one in some detail.

Rethinking Interpretation of Islamic Intellectual Tradition

As noted above Ramadan's concept of a Western Islam is, at the most fundamental level, premised on the idea that the Islamic and the Western tradition share a common set of universal values that are rational in nature. To argue for this view Ramadan has developed a systematic methodology of interpretation of the Islamic normative tradition. In this respect,

Ramadan positions himself as following in the footsteps of early Islamic modernists such as al-Afghani (d. 1897) and M. Abduh (d. 1905) whom he refers to as Salafi reformists (2004, 26–27). He describes this approach as having a dynamic and contextualist relationship with the scriptural sources that affords reason a significant role in the process of interpretation (Ramadan 1999, 241–242).

Concerning the nature of revelation, and its relationship with reason and context (*waqi'i*), Ramadan affords the last two a considerable interpretational leverage and sees no conflict between revelation and reason. In this regard, Ramadan adopts what could be termed a form of natural theology whereby the concept of revelation is not restricted to scriptural texts only but also is constitutive of the entire creation/universe which points to the existence of a transcendental reality (Ramadan 2004, 20).

Moreover, Ramadan makes an extensive use of concepts from Islamic legal philosophy such as *maqasid*, *maslaha*, and *ijtihad* to argue for a purposive-based (*maqasid*) approach to Islamic legal theory (see Chap. 11) that is underpinned by a rationalist Islamic theology and ethics (see Chap. 3). This allows him to escape the traditionalist confines of heavily textualist-based ijtihad and broaden both its scope and its nature and apply it to Western Muslim context. Another interpretational strategy Ramadan uses in his reformist project is to question the continued applicability of existing concepts in the Islamic intellectual tradition and to replace them with either new concepts or to re-conceptualise them altogether. This is especially so in relation to those concepts that have a direct bearing on the relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims.

As an example of re-conceptualisation, we refer to Ramadan's reasoning on one of the most central of such concepts in the Islamic intellectual tradition, namely the concept of sharia. Ramadan laments that this concept has been misused and misunderstood by Muslims and non-Muslims alike (2004, 31) as, in essence, it is reduced to medieval Islamic law, especially to its corporal punishments dimension (*hudud*). While acknowledging that the concept of sharia does connote the idea of establishing rules, Ramadan argues that its fundamental meaning refers to the idea of faithfulness to a normative ideal embedded in a particular Islamic cosmology. In his words:

> Just as the *shahada* is the expression, in the here and now, of individual faithfulness to the original covenant by means of a testimony that is a "return

> to oneself" (a return to the *fitra*, to the original breath breathed into us by God), so the *Sharia* is the expression of individual and collective faithfulness, in time, for those who are trying in awareness to draw near to the ideal of the Source that is God. In other words, and in light of all that has been said in the second chapter, the *shahada* translates the idea of "being Muslim," and the *Sharia* shows us "how to be and remain Muslim." This means, to put it in yet another way and extend our reflection, that the *Sharia* is not only the expression of the universal principles of Islam but the framework and the thinking that makes for their actualization in human history. There can be no *Sharia* without a corpus of fundamental principles that set, beyond the contingencies of time, a point of reference for faithfulness to the divine will. (2004, 31–32)

It is these fundamental principles of sharia such as justice and dignity that are the sources of universal Islamic values which are *conceptually* shared by those values underpinning Western liberal democracies and which, in turn, enable Western Muslims to reside in their respective societies and remain faithful to the moral commitment underpinning the sharia. More on this below.

As an example of abandoning of inherited conceptual categories, we can point to Ramadan's approach to the conceptual division of the world that is found in classical Islamic juristic discussions pertaining to peace and war (*dar al islam /dar al kufr/dar ul harb*) between Muslims and non-Muslims (see Chap. 11). Such a categorisation of the world is rejected by Ramadan as conceptually outdated and not rooted in the normative sources of Islamic teachings, the Qur'an and Sunna (Ramadan 2004, 63–73).

Instead, Ramadan introduces a new concept, namely the abode of testimony, *dar al shahada*, as a much more suitable alternative for the situation in which Western Muslims find themselves in as citizens of Western countries. Ramadan identifies a number of reasons why this is so. One reason is that the concept is indicative of an Islamic reference point of those who employ it as shahada is the most basic element of belonging to the Islamic faith and being a Muslim. Moreover, the concept is also suggestive of an action-based belief system governing Muslim life based on "respect, trust, and, above all, absolute faithfulness to agreements, contracts, and treaties that have been explicitly or silently entered into" (2004, 74). In other words, this concept, unlike any other existing ones "*allows the identity and social responsibility of Muslims to be both expressed and*

linked" (2004, 75) and as such it is particularly useful in the context of Muslims living in Western liberal democracies. In his own words:

> The notion of shahada protects and safeguards the essential features of Muslim identity, in itself and in society: it recalls the permanent relation to God (al-rabbaniyya) and expresses the duty of the Muslim to live among people and to bear witness, in both action and word, to the content of the message of Islam before all humankind. And this is to happen in any society, for it is the basis of our relations with others. Western countries, called dar al shahada or alam al-shahada (area, or world, of testimony), represent an environment in which Muslims are brought back to the fundamental teaching of Islam and invited to meditate on their role: considering themselves as shuhada ala al-nas (witnesses before humankind), according to the Qur'anic expression, should lead them to avoid all reactionary and oversensitive attitudes and to develop a self-confidence based on a deep sense of responsibility, which in Western societies should be accompanied by real and constant action for justice. This approach "from the inside" makes it possible to define the European environment as an area of responsibility for Muslims. This is the precise meaning of the area of testimony that we are proposing here and that completely upends the existing perspective. (Ramadan 2004, 76–77)

Therefore, for Ramadan, reforming certain aspects of the Islamic intellectual tradition is the first and necessary step in engendering a Western Islam as well as in positively integrating Western Muslims into their societies. However, an additional embodied element is needed too.

The Idea of Social-Political Engagement and Citizenship

The second pillar that facilitates the emergence of a Western Islam in the thought of Ramadan pertains to his reasoning with respect to Western Muslims' multidimensional engagement with the societies in which they reside and his ideas concerning citizenship.

As noted in our discussion of the minority *fiqh* concept in Chap. 11, Ramadan is very suspicious of and conceptually rejects the idea of viewing Western Muslims as permanent religious minorities as the most suitable conceptual lens through which the conditions and solutions to Western Muslim challenges in living in Western Muslim democracies should be approached. Instead, Ramadan forms the view that Western liberal democracies guarantee fundamental civic rights to all its citizens which enable Western Muslims to engage fully with their societies as there exist no laws

in Western liberal democracies which are contrary to the core Islamic values (Ramadan 1999, 121). These basic rights include the right to practice religion, the right to knowledge, founding of organisations, the right to autonomous representation, and the right to appeal to the law (Ramadan 1999, 135–137). Moreover, Ramadan identifies additional rights Western Muslims as citizens of Western liberal democracies enjoy which are more socio-political in nature and enable Western Muslims to contribute to the common societal good. They include entitlements to a decent standard of living, healthy family life, and work, education, to be treated justly and to express solidarity (Ramadan 2004, 149–152). For Ramadan, the existence of these rights ought to inspire Western Muslims to fully and responsibly engage with their respective societies. Such an engagement would be indicative of a social commitment founded on moral responsibility, defence of rights, expressing solidarity, and entering into partnerships and common projects with non-Muslim co-citizens. In relation to moral responsibility, Ramadan (2004) calls for Western Muslims to develop civic awareness that is founded on this very sense of moral responsibility and which would be a concrete means of Western Muslims' expressing their "way of faithfulness" to the normative Islamic values itself (151–152). In other words, Western Muslims' social commitment is also a manifestation of their commitment to their Islamic and Muslim identity. The idea of the defence of rights is encapsulated by the premise that Western Muslim ought to contribute to the promotion of rights of all of their co-citizens, especially the marginalised and the disadvantaged, and actively voice opposition and resist whenever these rights have been violated (Ramadan 2004, 154). This would require that Western Muslims' understanding of solidarity goes beyond those of their co-religionists (Ramadan 2004, 155). This approach would also entail Western Muslims' entering into partnerships with all those who share universal values, especially but not only at the local level (Ramadan 2004, 156). Such an orientation would logically lead to, and engagement on, common projects (Ramadan 2004, 157–158).

The above elements of social commitment on behalf of Western Muslims would also pave way for Western Muslims' increased political engagement in their respective societies which Ramadan not only considers legitimate but ethically required for Western Muslims as long as certain basic conditions are respected such as the idea whether or not such engagement would lead to creation of a more just and dignified society (Ramadan 2004, 163–164).

Ramadan (2004) also points out that Western Muslims' civic engagement must be informed by a programme of citizenship education that would enable them to develop "a deep knowledge of their environment" enabling them to become acquainted "with the knowledge of history, geography, language, culture, and traditions" (166) of the broader societies that they are a part of. This idea of citizenship education, on behalf of Western Muslims, should, however, not be approached as an uncritical and passive process but is to be filtered through an ethical lens that is faithful to Islamic universal principles as discussed above (168–170).

Engagement in inter-religious dialogue is an additional factor Ramadan (2004) considers to be indispensable in effective management of diversity that characterises the conditions in which Western Muslims live. Ramadan's idea of effective dialogue includes not only clarifying shared convictions between the participants but also entails dealing honestly with disagreements, the establishment of trust and respect, openness to the idea of intra-faith dialogue, and dealing with the question of individual participant's representativeness of and positioning vis-à-vis his/her own's tradition (209–210). Importantly, for Ramadan (2004), dialogue must be complemented by shared involvement and commitment to joint action (211).

In summary, Ramadan considers Islam to, fundamentally, be a faith/spirituality- and ethics-based worldview that clusters around certain principles such as justice and dignity which are essentially rational and universal in nature and scope. Islam is, therefore, not a totalising monolith culture but can sustain a variety of different cultures including a Western Muslim culture, and therefore the idea of a Western Islam as a conceptual category, that is, "both respectful of the universal principles [that inhere in the Islamic tradition] and sustained by the history, traditions, tastes, and styles of various Western countries" (216).

Bassam Tibi

Unlike Ramadan's ideas on Western Muslims and the idea of Western or European Islam, Tibi's discussions of the concept are less theological in nature and are not embedded in the language of Islamic jurisprudence and Islamic legal philosophy. Rather, they have a strong political science theoretical foundations and orientation. Therefore, Tibi's ideas regarding the concept of Euro-Islam primarily address its political dimensions rather than offering systematic theological or juristic justifications. This should not be surprising given that Tibi, as a Syrian-born but German-naturalised

citizen, is a political scientist with expertise in the theory of international relations (IR) and who is especially known for his passionate advocacy of the importance of religion in the study of IR.

As noted by Yu, the central themes that animate the several decades long scholarship of Tibi are what Tibi terms the politicisation of Islam (or Islamism) and Islam's reformation (Yu 2014, 90). However, given the focus of this chapter, what is primarily discussed are Tibi's ideas that are specifically relevant to the theoretical foundations of his Euro-Islam conceptual construct.

Tibi's concept of Euro-Islam is premised on a number of different concepts whose lynchpin is the idea of cultural modernity or cultural modernism as theorised by Jurgen Habermas (1987). According to Tibi's understanding of the theory of cultural modernity, in terms of its norms and values, cultural modernity is a universal phenomenon based on modern rationality. The Islamic tradition is able to adopt its values and norms as it was the case in the past with the medieval Islamic rationalism and the thought of medieval Muslim scholars like Ibn Rushd, Ibn Sina, and Ibn Khaldun who espoused a rationalist Islamic theology. Cultural modernism also implies a subscription to secularity understood as a system whereby religion is separated from politics but not banished from public life or from the ethico-moral compass of the believing individuals. In this respect Tibi contrasts secularity from what he calls ossified or dogmatic state secularism as in the case of Ataturk (2014, 88). Describing his self-positioning in this respect Tibi asserts as follows:

> I restrict my commitment to secular modernity as a decoupling of religion from politics. At the same time, I accept religion as a source of ethics for a cultural underpinning of international morality. This is no contradiction. In this spirit, I draw on the Hellenized tradition of Islamic rationalism, addressed earlier as a positive heritage of Islam, to support the argument that religion – as ethics, not as a concept of order – in a cross-religious and cross-cultural morality could contribute to a bridging between Islam and other religions and civilization. (24)

Therefore, Tibi (23–29) insists that cultural modernity and its conceptual cognate secularity ought not to be confused or conceptually coupled with what he terms colonial Orientalism or considered to be applicable only to Christianity since cultural modernity and its norms and values are products of cultural cross-pollination. As such, in principle, they belong

to all of humanity and are intrinsically secular (128). Two basic premises underpin Tibi's arguments in this regard, namely the idea that the introduction of Hellenism to the West itself was largely due to the rationalist thought currents that were transferred to the West via the works of premodern rationalist Muslim scholars and the idea that on this basis European Christendom developed into a new *secular* civilisation known as the West (28).

Elsewhere, Tibi associates cultural modernity, and the idea of Europe itself, with democracy, individual human rights, civil society, the enlightenment culture of tolerance, pluralism, a rational worldview and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) (p. 157, 192, 221). All of these, in turn, could be incorporated into Euro-Islam (p. 192, 206).

However, for this process to take place Islamic law reform is necessary by means of reviving Islamic humanism and rationalism briefly mentioned above. In this respect Tibi repeatedly underscores the idea that "one needs to relate cultural change in Islam to cultural modernity through religious reforms" (221). Tibi in particular mentions that the rationalisation of Islamic tradition by contemporary Muslim scholars such as M. Abed Al-Jabiri (d. 2010), as a form of neo-Averroism, is particularly helpful in bringing about and indigenising the idea and the concept of Euro-Islam (279).

Given the above, it is not surprising that Tibi conceptualises Euro-Islam as a "secular concept orientated towards European values of cultural modernity" (307) which will enable European Muslims to become European "citizens of the heart" (30). This process, in turn, will bind European Muslims and non-Muslims alike into a solidarity group he terms Euro-Islamic *asabiyya*[3] (207).

Furthermore, because for Tibi, Islam is a cultural system, many Islams being shaped in different cultural conditions are possible, including that of Euro-Islam based on European cultural and civil values shared by all Europeans (165, 192, and 206). Hence as there is South Asian, South-East Asian, and African Islam, there can also be European Islam.

The significance of the conceptual construct of Euro-Islam for Tibi is primarily in it serving as an effective socio-cultural bridge between Muslims in Europe and the European identity itself. Moreover, Euro-Islam is to

[3] Asabiyya is a term coined by Ibn Khaldun (Rosental tr. 2015) to refer to kind of group consciousness based on sense of shared purpose and is marked by high degrees of social cohesion.

perform another function, namely as an alternative to what Tibi terms Islamisation of Europe as well as to counter the proponents of cultural relativism (i.e. those who embrace the concept of multiple-modernities and reject the concept of universal cultural modernity) which he labels as "ideological multiculturalists" (180). These groups are considered to undermine the norms and values of cultural modernity on which European identity is based. Tibi reserves a lot of criticism for the Islamists in particular whose views about Islam and Europe are seen as a significant threat to European identity and its open, civil society (xiii–xiv; 159). Interestingly, Tibi includes the ideas of Tariq Ramadan and his above described concept of *dar al shahada* as an example of an Islamist discourse (159; 187) not suited to the development of Euro-Islam as Tibi envisions it.

In one of the most exhaustive explanations Tibi offers in describing the concept of Euro-Islam and what such a concept would comprise of, Tibi equates such a concept with "a liberal and open variety" of Islam that is acceptable to both to Muslim migrants and to European societies. Furthermore, such an Islam would be accommodative of European ideas and values underpinning Europe including secularism and individual citizenship as embodied by modern Western secular democracies. He reiterates, however, that such a Euro-Islam would still remain the same religion as it exists anywhere else, but it would be only "culturally adjusted to the civic culture of modernity", as Islam in Africa is adjusted to co-exist with domestic African cultures. He goes further to suggest that Euro-Islam's major features would also include "an understanding of tolerance that goes beyond the Islamic tolerance restricted to Abrahamic believers (*ahl al-kitab*)", an Islam that would "acknowledge cultural and religious pluralism", an Islam that would abandon its claims to supremacy (206). In his own words:

> In sum, Euro-Islam is compatible with liberal democracy, individual human rights and the requirements of a civil society. Therefore, Euro-Islam departs from citoyennité and thus represents a contrast to communitarian politics that result in ghettoization. It is important to note that the politics of unfolding patterns of Euro-Islam should in no way be equated with assimilation. The integration is limited to the adoption of the civic culture of civil society, resulting in a variety of Islam addressed here as Euro-Islam. Thus, I am speaking out in favor of an enlightened and open-minded Islamic identity that would be compatible with European civic culture. (206)

Despite their differences in terms of their overall approaches, conceptualisations of key concepts and methodologies both Tibi and Ramadan promote the idea of a Western Islam as a culturally distinct and authentic expression and manifestation of universal Islamic teachings that sits comfortably with the political theory underpinnings of Western liberal democracies. Ramadan does so on the basis of what could be termed a process of cultural translation whereby "different degrees of appropriation and combination of two different cultures and the creation of a new identity and world-view" (Yu 2014, 230). In this respect Ramadan creates a new conceptual category of a Western Islam. Tibi's approach can be better described as a case of cultural borrowing that tries to incorporate and reconcile cultural modernity as something external with Islam as it was the case in the past when Islam was "Hellenised". Finally, it should also be noted that Ramadan's ideas have, at the grass-roots level, found a much more receptive audience which can be contributed both to his more "authentic" approach but also to the fact that Ramadan is not just an academic but a public- and activist-minded intellectual with strong links to many Western Muslim organisations and networks.

3 Conclusion

On the basis of a particular theoretical construct of what the concept of Western Islam is constitutive of and entails, this chapter aimed to identify factors and process that facilitate the emergence of the idea of a Western Islam as a conceptual category and outline the main arguments of two leading theoreticians of Western Islam, Tariq Ramadan and Bassam Tibi. In relation to the former, several factors and processes were found to be facilitating the emergence of Western Islam including Islam's increasing institutionalisation in the West as well as the role of Western converts to Islam, Muslim religious music, and Western languages. With respect to the latter, and despite the respective differences in their theoretical and conceptual approaches, both Ramadan and Tibi form the view that it is possible to construct a conceptual category of a Western Islam which is simultaneously faithful to the Islamic worldview and compatible with and the socio-political, legal and civil values that underpin Western liberal democracies.

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CHAPTER 13

Conclusion

The last three decades have witnessed an explosion of interest, both scholarly and popular, in Islam and Muslims, particularly Muslims who reside in Western liberal democracies. Apart from global geo-political events that have contributed to this phenomenon, increased numbers of and a more visible presence of Muslims in the West, primarily due to immigration, (as detailed in Chap. 2) have also ensured that discussions pertaining to Islam and Muslim communities in the West have taken centre stage in many Western social and political contexts and continue to do so until today. The aim of this book was to document the major issues and debates surrounding this "new", visible and, for some, problematic presence of Islam and Muslims in the West. However, as discussed in the second chapter, the presence of Muslims in the West is nothing new. Interactions between Islam/Muslims and the West have been taking place since the early days of Islam often in the context of military conflict and often marked by religious intolerance. Centuries-long Muslim presence on the European continent goes back to the eighth century in the case of the Iberian Peninsula, eleventh century in the case of Sicily and the fourteenth century in the case of the Balkans. Also, in the other parts of the West, Islam has centuries-long presence.

Both historically and in contemporary times, ideas in the West concerning Islam and Muslims have tended not only to emphasise their foreignness but also their uniformity. However, as catalogued in the third chapter,

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there are many and often competing Islamic orientations operating in the West with very different conceptualisations of the normative Islamic tradition and with very different social orientations towards the broader society, ranging from highly participatory to isolationist. We also noted that many major Islamic movements and trends operating in the West have transnational links as the cases of the Hizmet Movement and the European Council of Fatwa and Research discussed in Chap. 3.

In the context of contemporary Western liberal democracies, Muslim communities constitute a new immigrant minority religion and the dynamics surrounding their identity construction in many important ways resemble those of other communities which have operated in similar contexts. Saliency of their religious identity, especially among Western born or raised Muslims, at the expense of others, such as ethnicity or race, is one important aspect of this dynamic. This is not, however, to imply that what we termed a religion-based identity is necessarily fundamentalist in character. Individualisation or privatisation of Muslim identity is in fact a major characteristic of Western Muslim identity (re-)construction. While there exists ultraorthodox and highly reactionary types of Western Muslim identities that emphasise distinctiveness from the broader society, there are also types of Western Muslim identities which are very comfortable with the idea of being a Muslim and a Westerner. The types of Western Muslim identity construction, we emphasised, depend in part on the approaches to the normative Islamic tradition Western Muslims adopt and the kind of "Muslim woman" construct they endorse. In relation to the latter, emphasis on distinction in dress or what could be termed "Muslim visibility", especially in form of the *hijab*, tends to contribute to a sense of "otherness" and "foreignness" between Western Muslims and the broader society.

A major socio-legal framework Western liberal democracies have adopted, from the second part of the twentieth century in particular, in dealing with the increasing number and diversity of settling immigrants is that of multiculturalism. Over time, heated debates and contrasting views among scholars and the political elite have emerged regarding the relative merits or failures of multicultural policies. We argued that in the context of Western Muslim communities a significant factor that has shaped these debates has been the rise of Islamism both globally as well as in the West in particular. In this respect we contended that the ideology of Islamism, unlike that of Islam as a faith, is not compatible with the values underpinning multiculturalism. Furthermore, we insisted that the failure to make a

conceptual distinction between Islam and Islamism has contributed to both the rise of right-wing parties as well as to the retreat from multicultural policies in some Western liberal contexts.

As discussed in Chap. 5, over the last three decades or so and with the broader recognition of the *permanent* presence of Muslims in Western liberal democracies, the process of institutionalisation of Islam as a concrete manifestation of the increasing integration of Western Muslims has progressively been taking place. While the processes of institutionalisation are different in various nation-state contexts, we have expressed concern that some forms of institutionalisation such as in form of Muslim Arbitration Tribunals and *shariah* courts run the risk of supporting the ideology of Islamism that is detrimental to the prospects of Western Muslims' integration and acceptance in the West.

The issues pertaining to gender have also come into the focus in the context of discussions pertaining to Islam and Muslim communities in the West. One of the most sensitive and controversial debates relates to the various responses elicited by Western Muslim organisations to the ever-increasing demands by certain sections of Western Muslim communities for the recognition and accommodation of female religious authority defined both as scholarly authority to engage in interpretation of normative texts as well as the legitimacy of assuming religious leadership and representation of Muslim communities including in the context of mosques. This new-found gender consciousness has given rise to both activist and scholarly based forms of gender jihad that resulted in not only the emergence of scholarly literature that produces non-patriarchal interpretations of Islam and is affirmative of female religious authority but also has forced some of the main Islamic organisations in the West to confront this issue directly and make certain accommodations in this respect. Alternative initiatives have also sprung that bypass existing power structures and have materialised in the form of women-only/inclusive or women-led mosques.

Another phenomenon that has attracted significant attention among scholars working on Islam and Muslim communities in the West is that of the Western converts to the Islamic faith, the subject matter of Chap. 8. Converts to Islam in the West form a very small percentage of Western Muslims and have converted due to different motives and have adopted different versions of being a Muslim. Importantly, their impact on the relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims in the West is significant, especially their potential for bridge-building and in contributing to the

acceptance of the very idea of a Western Muslim. In fact, some very high-profile Western Muslims, such as Hamza Yusuf in the USA, with large followings among Western Muslims are converts to the faith.

Issues pertaining to militancy, terrorism, especially home-grown terrorism, and radicalisation have dominated discussions on Islam and Muslim communities in the West, especially since the tragic events of 9/11. In Chap. 9 we attempted to present the main findings behind the enormous amount of research that exists on these and related issues including the definition of key concepts and theories, the way in which individuals become radicalised and the measures that exist in combating radicalisation. It was argued that the ISIS-style terrorism is a new phenomenon among (Western) Muslims. This particular version of jihadist extremism emerged at the start of the twenty-first century but forms part of the legacy of post-colonial Islamist ideology that has exerted considerable influence vis-à-vis Islam over the past several decades. Unfortunately, these challenging and problematic aspects associated with Islamism and Muslim communities in the West have tended to dominate mainstream media representations of Muslims and cast a long shadow over other more positive and celebratory aspects of Islam and Muslims' presence in the West.

The phenomenon of Islamophobia has also strongly emerged as one of the major issues that are brought up in the context of discussing Islam and Muslim communities in the West. Much of the negativity towards Islam and Muslims that has been witnessed over the past several decades is a consequence of Western societies' concern with Islamist ideology, although this is often expressed as anti-Islam. After providing insights into the definition, origins, causes as well as manifestations and criticisms of Islamophobia, we argued that a conceptual distinction between Islam and Islamism would be a useful way of wrestling with the concept, its various appropriations, and the social implications thereof.

Minority *fiqh*, the topic of Chap. 11, is another issue that has come to the fore of the discussions on Islam and Muslim communities in the West over the last couple of decades. We provided an outline of the context behind its emergence and the major theoreticians who have contributed to the development of minority *fiqh* discourse and made references to some of its most vocal critics. The chapter primarily focused on demonstrating the differences between two leading (and competing) theoretical approaches to this discourse. It was argued that the *wasati*, unlike the *salafi* approach to minority *fiqh*, has much more potential in contributing to the meaningful and lasting integration of Western Muslims because of

its favourable ideas on Muslims' participatory citizenship and proactive orientation towards the broader society.

In Chap. 12 we discussed the concept of the emergence of a conceptually uniquely Western Islam, its conceptual viability, and identified the main factors that could be considered to facilitate its emergence. One factor that was given most attention was the idea developed by Western Muslim intellectuals in favour of such a Western Islam, in particular, the views of Tariq Ramadan and Bassam Tibi.

On a final note it is worth highlighting again that many important developments in relation to Islam and Muslim communities in the West have taken place over the last three decades or so, giving rise to a plethora of important issues and debates that are often challenging set ways of thinking, behaving, and living on behalf of both Muslim and non-Muslim members of Western liberal democracies. As Nielsen and Otterbeck observe:

> As they have settled, Muslims have raised challenges to their surroundings as well as been challenged themselves. There has been a complex of adjustments, not always easy, which both sides have had to make in the details of daily life. But the increasingly permanent Muslim presence and Muslims' interaction with their surroundings are raising deeper questions and challenges to both sides, issues which relate to individual and collective senses of identity and which therefore affect and will continue to affect basic patterns of corporate and public life in Western Europe. (2015, 169)

In this book, we included what we consider to be the most important issues and debates. While some of these developments continue to give rise to concerns about the nature of the future Muslim–non-Muslim relations in the West, many point to successful transformations and fruitful exchanges of ideas. Given the nature of the present context that is characterised by the rise of right-wing politics in Western liberal democracies and the continued threat of terrorism, including home-grown terrorism, it is likely that many of the identified issues and debates will continue to hold a lot of relevance in the foreseeable future. The nature of the future developments in debates and issues discussed in this book will depend on the dynamics internal to Western Muslim communities, those that operate at the level of Western liberal democracies as well as those at the global level.

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