

# Gatherings in Diaspora

RELIGIOUS  
COMMUNITIES  
AND THE NEW  
IMMIGRATION

## 7 Structural Adaptations in an Immigrant Muslim Congregation in New York

*Rogaia Mustafa Abusharaf*

*The notion that religions change seems in itself almost a heresy. For what is faith but a clinging to the eternal, worship but a celebration of the permanent? Has there ever been a religion, from the Australian to the Anglican, that took its concerns as transient, its truth as perishable, its demands as conditional? Yet of course religions do change, and anyone religious or not, with any knowledge of history or sense for the ways of the world knows that they have and expects that they will. For the believer this paradox presents a range of problems not properly my concern as such. But for the student of religion it presents one, too: how comes it that an institution inherently dedicated to what is fixed in life has been such a splendid example of all that is changeful in it? Nothing, apparently, alters like the unalterable.—Clifford Geertz 1971, 56*

How have immigrant Muslim peoples carried on their religious faith and traditions in the context of a predominantly Christian America? What structural changes accompany an immigrant mosque's adaptation to this doubly alien environment? This chapter explores these questions through the examination of an immigrant Muslim mosque that I call the Islamic Mission in Brooklyn, New York. The Mission, one of the oldest immigrant mosques in the United States, has experienced significant changes in its ethnic membership as well as in its organizational structure, and thus offers a unique opportunity to study how Islamic religious practices are institutionalized through a dynamic process of "selective adaptation" to the North American context. In this chapter, therefore, I focus on two significant issues: (1) ethnicization, through which the Mission has undergone a transition from a

philanthropic enterprise founded by a wealthy Moroccan immigrant into a Yemeni ethnic religious institution; and (2) organizational adaptation, through which the Mission has become a congregation, having membership, a formal governance structure, a hired clergyman, and regular ethnic activities.

Since the congregation's founding in 1928, its character has been significantly transformed as a result of changing ethnic membership. Sheik Daoud Ahmed Faisal, a Moroccan immigrant, founded the Mission and opened it to Muslims of any background. Recently, though, Yemenis have become the predominant ethnic community in the congregation, and this ethnicization process has had important implications for patterns of participation and worship, notably for women, that I shall examine.

I shall also explore how a religious institution that is not typified by a "congregational" polity in its homeland has adapted itself to the United States by adopting this organizational form. The most significant structural changes in the inner workings of the Mission have been the formalization of the governance structure (the concept of membership in the mosque and the election of a board of directors) and the professionalization of the clergy. These changes, I argue, are partly adaptive changes made in response to forces in the host society.

Yet while the Muslim immigrants have adapted their religious institution to new challenges in North America, they maintain continuity with their traditional culture. This congregation has been and continues to be a vehicle through which immigrants reconstruct their communal identity in the diaspora, thus preserving and safeguarding their ethnoreligious and cultural landscapes. For all its congregants throughout the years, it has been the paradigmatic religious and cultural "home away from home."

## **Methodology**

I first encountered the congregation in 1991 while researching the social history of Sudanese migration to the United States and Canada, but I did not focus on the Mission as a specific ethnographic site until joining the New Ethnic and Immigrant Congregations Project (NEICP) in 1994. The bulk of my fieldwork was done between the fall of 1994 and the spring of 1996. I used traditional ethnographic methods of life-history collection, participant observation, and extensive review of textual material. I also found it necessary to do multisite research in order to establish the distinctiveness and cultural particu-

larity of the Islamic Mission. Most of my visits took place on Fridays, when the *jumaa* (congregational prayer) is held. I paid other visits on Sundays and weekdays and at different times of the day to enable me to observe additional events as well as regular weekday activities. As a result, I witnessed conversion ceremonies with five people during an evening prayer, and I was present at a funeral service.

Several long-time Sudanese members of the congregation (Babikir, Osman, and Eissa) were my initial key contacts. I had established rapport with them during my earlier research. Thus, I experienced little of the initial mistrust, hostility, and suspicion that is so common in ethnographic research. My interviewees introduced me to other influential figures in the body of the congregation, notably the imam, Haj Mukhtar Al Tantawi,<sup>1</sup> and a Yemeni business owner, Haj Ali, who serves on the Mission's board of directors as its treasurer. To protect the privacy of these individuals, I have changed all personal names (except that of the founder, Sheik Daoud, a public figure), drawing from a pool of common Arabic Muslim names. All quotations from interviewees represent my translations from Arabic.

I informed the imam about my plans to study the history of the Mission as part of the NEICP, and from then on he (and other members) referred to me as the *dactora* (doctor), indicating their appreciation of my position and my task. I made it clear that my role was to construct a history of the Mission as well as to explore what the Mission has meant for its members throughout the years. Most of my encounters with Mission members were supportive and helpful.

One member expressed his admiration for the project in these words: "God has given you an excellent opportunity to do good work on the masjid [mosque]. I think it is very important that you do this, and we will be very interested in your work." The imam spared no effort to provide much needed information during the nearly two years of my frequent and lengthy visits to the congregation. He also made it possible for me to interview members for whom my female gender could have caused considerable discomfort in a predominantly male congregation.

My identity as an immigrant Sudanese Muslim female provided multiple avenues for ethnographic insight. As a Muslim, I was able to participate in ways that a non-Muslim obviously could not (for example, attending prayer). However, as a female researcher, I realized that there were limitations to my ability to gather data in a male-dominated congregation. For example, I could not gather data from the main sanctuary when the men were present. I was able to listen to the sermon

(*khutba*) as well as to any announcements or commentaries originating in the main male-occupied sanctuary, but only from a remote-speaker-equipped study room on the third floor, and I was aware that listening is only one part of observing. In this respect the imam and my informants were especially helpful in dealing with my gender-related data-gathering difficulties. The absence of other women in the mosque's service prompted me to explore patterns of gender participation. I interviewed several women—three Yemenis (Thahaba, Naseera, and Um Saeed), a Sudanese (Nafisa), and an Afro-Caribbean (Kulthoom). Ultimately, the Mission proved to be a rich and useful site for the exploration of the meaning of congregational experience for Muslims in North America. The Mission today remains a vital cultural expression of the migrants' difficult mix of a desire to achieve legitimacy in their new location while maintaining the cultural and religious principles from their societies of origin.

## **The Congregation in Islamic Theology**

Before considering the evolution of the Mission as an ethnic religious institution, I begin by discussing the place of the congregation in Islamic theology. The first Muslim congregation was found in the Kaaba (sacred tabernacle) in the city of Mecca in Saudi Arabia known as *Elharam Elsherief* (The Sanctified Tabernacle). The centerpiece of the Kaaba is a place for retreat, an embodiment of universalistic Muslim ideals reinforcing communal existence and solidarity among Muslims, especially during the annual pilgrimage rites.<sup>2</sup> Thus, congregations in Islamic tradition appear to serve multiple roles that include both spiritual as well as communal dimensions. These roles, as well as the universalistic claims of Islam, are apparent in the following Qur'anic verse (Sura 2: 125):

*Remember We made the House, a place of assembly for humankind, and a Refuge of Safety: [So] take the Station of Abraham as a place of Prayer. We covenanted with Abraham and Ismail: that they should sanctify My House for those who compass it round, or use it as a retreat, or bow in prostration therein.*

Throughout Islamic history the *jami* (congregation) has assumed considerable significance for Muslims' religious practice as well as their social worlds. Mosques are established by believers who wish not only to worship the One God but also to seek the warmth, exhilaration, and gratification of the community of fellow Muslims with similar persua-

sions and worldviews. According to Mona Abul Fadl (1991, 27), “for Muslims communal prayer, *salat el jumaa*, remains more than an act of devotion in a formal place of worshiping, but it is an act that transcends the individual to the community and crosses the bounds of space and time, thus nourishing and fortifying the sense of community and identity.”

Gathering in a congregational setting also corresponds to the highly valued Islamic universalistic ideals of the *Ummah*, “the community of faith.” The *Ummah* denotes that “purposeful entity, composed of a group or a *jamma* whose members, by virtue of a common faith, way of life and a sense of destiny, have been forged in a common historical consciousness. Thus they are endowed with the awareness of a common identity, allegiance and purpose” (Abul Fadl 1991, 58).

The neighborhood mosque is the religious institution where the five daily prayers are said: *salat elsubh* (morning prayer), *salat elthuhr* (noon prayer), *salat alasar* (afternoon prayer), *salat el maghrib* (sunset prayer), and *salat elishaa* (evening prayer).<sup>3</sup> The main congregational service is held on Friday at noontime, preceded by a *khutba* (sermon). Mosques in Muslim societies derive most of their support from their local community, although most of them are built and maintained structurally by the national government. Mosques have neither a professional ministry nor an official membership; Muslims can worship at any *masjid* they choose. In fact, in Muslim ecclesiology one is not a member of the mosque but rather a “serviteur” of God (see Murphy 1994, 19). Membership in a congregation is exemplified by one’s service to God regardless of one’s ethnicity, gender, or class, for in the mosque “all marks of distinction that imply a sense of exclusivity or an ascribed privilege are dissolved” (Abul Fadl 1991, 59). With this understanding of the multiple roles the congregation plays in Islamic theology and Muslim social life, I turn now to explore the social history of the Mission.

## **From Multiethnic Mission to Ethnic Congregation**

The Islamic Mission is situated in a residential Brooklyn neighborhood near the street where the bulk of Muslim immigrant-owned businesses are located. Its founder, Sheik Daoud Ahmed Faisal, was born in 1891 in Morocco, was educated in Grenada, and in 1913 immigrated to the United States, where he founded the *masjid* in 1928 (Farrant 1965). From its original location at 128th Street and Lenox Avenue in Harlem, the *masjid* moved to Brooklyn Heights in 1935. Sheik Daoud was a member

of a wealthy family who owned gold mines in Morocco, and so he enjoyed an income that allowed him to carry out the duties of his *masjid*. An excerpt from a letter he wrote to the American Consul General in Aden on September 23, 1952, to sponsor a Yemeni Arab who wished to immigrate to the United States, testifies to his financial status:

*Your Excellency; . . . I am Sheik Daoud Ahmed Faisal, spiritual head of the Islamic Mission of America for the propagation of Islam in the United States. . . . I have property value over \$75000.00 dollars [sic] in the United States of America from which my income derives and said income is spent exclusively for the benefit of my Muslim brothers and sisters whom I serve by the leave of Allah, my Lord. I have just completed the extension to our mission house at a cost of over \$23000.00 dollars [sic] especially for the accommodation of our ever growing Muslim community.*

The Mission was thus Sheik Daoud's philanthropic offering to the Muslims of New York.

The founding of the Islamic Mission marked the birth of an African Muslim religious body in North America. It also signified Sheik Daoud's efforts to consolidate the Islamic faith in diaspora by keeping alive the community's understanding of the practices of the Sunni branch of Islam upon which his congregation was based. For Sheik Daoud, the Mission not only represented a means of reinventing the homeland but also proved instrumental in legitimizing Islam in the American context. Geertz (1971, 3) argues that "religion may be a stone thrown into the world; but it must be a palpable stone and someone must throw it"; this mosque clearly represented such a "palpable stone."

Mosques in Muslim societies reinforce not only religiosity, or God consciousness, but also community consciousness. Thus, the founding of the Mission was an effective way for Sheik Daoud to reimagine the communal life of the homeland. As Conrad Arensberg argues:

*To reconstitute a communal life, to live together as an ethnic group, the immigrants have built in exact and revealing terms the key institutions of their native land and its ancestral but ever-changing social order. Culture is a way of life, a way of thinking and feeling, a way grounded in highly specific institutions of distinctive social pattern, articulation, and relationships. To reconstitute one's way of life is to build, reinvent such specific institutions. (quoted in Klass 1961, xiii)*

Indisputably, Sheik Daoud was the central figure in this congregation. He was benefactor, spiritual leader, imam, and zealous missionary. As the mosque's imam, he had an expanded role from that of

imams at home. This in itself represented an adaptation to the new challenges of the American context. For example, besides leading the congregation in prayer (as an imam in a Muslim country would have done), he presided at every worship service, wrote marriage contracts and gave divorce certificates, conducted funeral services, and participated in conversions.

The conversion process is a window into the cultural significance of the Mission in its founding period. According to a Brooklyn newspaper account (Farrant 1965), a new birth certificate was issued for each convert, who in turn had “to petition the mosque for ‘reclamation’ of the names of his slave ancestors, as they were known before enslavement.” Because his congregation was initially founded in Harlem, Daoud enjoyed the benefits of reaching out to a sizable African American and Afro-Caribbean population whose memory of Islam was revived in North America after the advent of missionaries from the Islamic Ahmadiyyah sect (Turner 1986).<sup>4</sup> For people of African descent, Daoud’s mosque represented an “African space” where commemoration of “authentic” Islamic practices was celebrated. For those many former slaves with Muslim roots, the congregation told “a powerful story about continuities between the present and a past” of African peoples in the Americas (Scott 1991, 267).

In his discussion of religions of the African peoples in the Americas, Joseph Murphy (1994, 186) introduces the concept of “diasporan spirituality” to show their orientation to Africa. He also discusses how in the context of the religious experience of people of African descent,

*the boundaries of space and time constructed by the ceremony [of worship] condense the experience of the community into a limited number of symbols so that the people can show themselves their part in the cosmic drama of the African people. In the construction of the space of the ceremony and in the limited time bounded by the ceremony’s opening and closing, the people may enter an African space and time.*

In this context Islam is indeed a “diasporan spirituality” that allows African Americans to experience a connection between Islam and the African continent. Murphy’s concept of diasporan spirituality helps us understand the meaning of the mosque for African and African American people.

It is worth reiterating that Sheik Daoud was a zealous missionary. His efforts included tours to the Caribbean at a time when many Caribbean nations were under colonial occupation. After one such



tour, he wrote to Sheik Hamff Aziz of Princetown, Trinidad, on May 7, 1951, expressing his satisfaction: "I am quite pleased that my humble effort in propagating the faith of Islam to humanity has found favor with such noble minds as yours and those who found satisfaction and guidance in it."

Beside the significant Afro-Caribbean and African American constituency in the Mission, many Arabs and African immigrants had also found "welcome in Boro [Brooklyn]," as was reported in the *Brooklyn Eagle* (Toomey 1951, 10). According to this account, "when Arabic sailors dock in Brooklyn, many of them head immediately for the Islamic Mission of America, 143 State Street." Among those sailors were Sudanese merchant marines known as the "Bahara," who joined the Mission in the 1940s. (*Bahara* is the Arabic word for "seamen," and it is often used by my Sudanese contacts in the Mission to refer to themselves.) The Bahara worked in various international naval companies (for example, the British War Ministry), arriving in American ports during World War II, when they were recruited to join the U.S. Navy, which was greatly in need of their services. Because of this service, they were quickly granted American citizenship, and many settled in New York after the war.

The Bahara, who have been worshiping at the Mission for decades, represent a most unusual immigrant community. Not only are they pioneers of Sudanese migration to North America, they moved at a time when any sort of Sudanese out-migration was relatively unknown. Also, because of their ethnolinguistic makeup as Dongulawis (from Dongula in the Sudan), they managed to reproduce in revealing ways the community they left behind. Within Daoud's mosque, they represented a distinct community by virtue of their ethnicity, their historical experience as World War II servicemen, and their place of origin. Because of their quick access to the benefits of citizenship, as well as their relatively high incomes, the Bahara encountered fewer social problems than other immigrants to the United States. However, in their state of diaspora, they did experience a sociocultural and religious isolation that prompted them to congregate with each other and with other Muslims.

Oscar Handlin (1973, 105–106) has suggested that "the more thorough the separation from the other aspects of the old life, the greater was the hold of the religion that alone survived the transfer. Struggling against heavy odds to save something of the old ways, the immigrants directed into their faith the whole weight of their longing to be connected with the past." However, as did the majority of immigrants in

North America, the Bahara worked to remake their past in an unfamiliar surrounding. They found the ritual observance an appropriate place to start regaining the life they had once extolled back home, as Osman and other members have indicated to me. Indeed, as Earle H. Waugh (1991, xiii) argues, "religious ritual has an important role in strengthening this sociocultural identity; conversely, shared identity is a nurturing soil for the cultivation of religious observances." Even from the outset, however, the varied interplay between the Bahara and the larger North American host society influenced their congregational experience.

Both Eissa and Osman explained that the Mission consolidated their social relations with other Muslims in New York. They agree with the newspaper accounts that report that, since its founding until the mid-1980s, the Mission attracted a diverse Muslim constituency for *jumaa* as well as during *Eid elfitr* (small Ramadan feast) and *Eid eladha* (the big feast following the pilgrimage to Mecca). It does not come as a surprise that many Muslims with marked ethnolinguistic differentiations would find refuge in the Mission, given Sheik Daoud's leadership, effective organization, and generosity.

Babikir, another long-time member, explained the attraction of the mosque for the Bahara in this way:

*When we came to Brooklyn we were young men, we did not have families yet. Only a couple of us were married, and they brought their wives years after our settlement. We had excellent relations with each other because all of us are Dongulawis. We lived in the same apartment building, we ate, prayed, and socialized with each other. But life was not as it used to be, and we missed our extended families, friends, and neighbors in the Sudan. We belonged to a Navy Servicemen's Union here in the United States. Through some black American friends, we were introduced to Haj Daoud. Haj Daoud was extremely fond of Sudanese because he knew Satti Majid, a Sudanese marine who came before us. These blacks told us about Majid's efforts with the black community in Harlem. He converted many people, and he was highly respected by many people. We did not have a formal place to pray and to meet with other Muslims. Very few Muslims were in New York then. The mosque helped us in the ghorba [the state of being away from home] and helped us get to know other Muslim people.*

The symbolism attached to the Mission and the fact that it provided a space where Islamic ideals were reinforced are also clear from Eissa's account:

*Black Americans as well as Caribbeans were always very enthusiastic about worshipping in it. Blacks who told us about Satti Majid's role in converting many black people told us that he emphasized Islamic ideals of equality and that there is no color line in Islam, that everybody is equal in the eyes of God. This was very appealing to black people, and that is why they felt very comfortable in coming with us to the Mission.*

I was told that, in addition to African Americans and other Muslims in Brooklyn, women also used to worship at the Mission. As Kulthoom, an Afro-Caribbean member, indicated:

*We used to go to the Mission everyday for the ishaa [evening] prayer and on Fridays. Mother Khadija, Haj Daoud's wife, was also there all the time. A lot of women—Sudanese, Caribbean, and black Americans—all came here. We used to have also a religious discussion group. We were very happy to be part of the Mission. But now, there is not enough room for women. We go to other mosques now.*

Under Sheik Daoud, the Mission provided its male and female constituency with a means for seeking legitimacy by normalizing Muslim religious practices in the United States. As Osman explains:

*When the Mission was founded very few Arab Muslims lived in Brooklyn. There were some Pakistanis and Indians, but American people were not familiar with Islam because of the small number. But when the mosque was built, people started to notice. Neighbors became aware of our practices especially during the jumaa. Little by little, they became used to the idea of a mosque in their neighborhood. Now there are even more mosques established by both immigrants and nonimmigrants. I think that people in Brooklyn now do not look at these mosques as alien institutions anymore.*

As Osman's account makes clear, the Mission has played a significant role in "reducing the distance" between immigrants and their hosts. This narrative corroborates Thomas Sowell's (1996, 48) argument that "not all cultural interaction resulting from migrations are one way. Just as the larger society surrounding the immigrants may influence their culture, so can the immigrant culture affect the larger society."

In its early years the Mission was a philanthropic offering of a wealthy, religiously gifted Moroccan, Sheik Daoud, who conducted affairs at the Mission in accordance with the Islamic principles that he recognized. In a spirit of noblesse oblige, he made it available to all the Muslims of Brooklyn, an originally small number that came to include African Americans, Afro-Caribbeans, and Sudanese. For years

after its founding, the Mission constituency was thus largely multiethnic, both male and female, but since the 1980s, there has been a marked decline in this character. Some previous constituencies have left, and they have been replaced by others.

Many Sudanese Bahara who worshiped in the mosque for four decades have moved away. Some repatriated to Sudan, and some relocated to other, warmer regions of the United States. Currently only three Bahara still live in Brooklyn and pray at the Mission. The African American constituency has also declined. Lawrence Mamiya (1995) indicates that many left to establish the Darul Islam movement (the House of Islam) and their own mosque. In a personal communication in 1996, Mamiya elaborated:

*In regards to the split by the Darul Islam movement, some of the African Americans who were members of the mosque felt that Sheik Daoud and the masjid as a whole were not doing enough outreach work with the black community, who constituted the majority population in that part of Brooklyn. This was in the late 1960s and early 1970s, when the black power and black consciousness movement was in full swing in the United States. So the African American members were affected by those ideas, and they decided that they could form their own masjid (the Yasin Masjid) and do their work in the black community.*

Although the decline of the African American constituency did occur when Sheik Daoud was alive, several contacts indicated that some of those who continued to worship at the Mission now go also to Masjid el Taqwa in Brooklyn under the leadership of Imam Siraj Wahaj, an African American. (Daoud died in the mid-1980s. The exact date is unknown.)

Yemenis now constitute the Mission's predominant ethnic group, with nearly two hundred members, according to the chair of the board of directors. Haj Ali observes:

*Many people in this neighborhood know that the Mission is jami Yemeni [a Yemeni congregation]. Apart from Friday service, the mosque is constantly attended by Yemenis. Now we have idara [administration] run by Yemenis. They work very hard to make sure that everything here is taken care of.*

Another member indicates:

*It is true that a lot of people come to worship at the Mission, but the majority are Yemenis. Brooklyn is a main area of concentration for Yemeni people. Usually these people do everything together. Be-*

*cause there is a very large number [of Yemenis] in Brooklyn now, almost all of them come to the Mission. . . . They are also in the board of directors who run the mosque.*

The death of Sheik Daoud, the out-migration of Sudanese Bahara, and the departure of African Americans, as well as the influx of Yemenis into Brooklyn over the last twenty years, have all combined to change the character of the mosque dramatically in patterns of worship, organizational structure, and gender and ethnic participation. The Mission has become a Yemeni congregation, governed and regulated by the Yemeni ethos, codes of behavior, and cultural sensibilities. Of course, as a mosque, the Mission is officially open to the Muslim public, and this matters for Friday *jumaa*, when Muslim men from all backgrounds come to prayer. But the rest of the week—most visibly in the predominance of Yemenis during daily evening prayer—and for the determination of its future, the Mission now is an ethnic, specifically a Yemeni, cultural space.

Adherence to a common religion does not guarantee unity. Indeed, as Richard Weekes (1984, xxvii) argues, “nowhere is the division within Muslim society more apparent than in the understanding and practice of religion.” Similarly, Geertz (1971, 14) writes that:

*religious faith, even when it is fed from a common source, is as much a particularizing force as a generalizing one and indeed whatever universality a given religious tradition manages to attain arises from its ability to engage a widening set of individual, even idiosyncratic conceptions of life, and yet somehow sustain and elaborate them all.*

And Wade Clark Roof (1993, 204), reflecting more on Christians than on Muslims, writes about local religious communities:

*Every congregation has its own culture—a set of symbols, values and meanings that distinguishes it from others. Aside from the more obvious factors that have a bearing, such as religious background, polity, and social context, congregations differ in the stories they tell about life. They are “thick gatherings,” each with its own rich idiom and narrative combining elements of world view, ethos, plot, and identity. Mood, atmosphere, tone, sight, tastes, and smell are all involved as is a sense of life’s unfolding drama—from where and to where does time march. Each congregation has its own “style,” its own sets of encoded meanings about sacred realities.*

The current congregational membership of the Mission relies on ethnic affiliation, and in the process it therefore reinforces the majority of its members’ self-awareness as Yemenis.

## **The Mission as a Yemeni Congregation, 1985 to the Present**

Most Yemeni immigrants were sailors who decided to stay permanently in port cities like Detroit and New York and who secured employment in Arab-owned businesses in Brooklyn and elsewhere. They have become a closely knit ethnolinguistic community that has found a cultural and religious home in the Mission. Since the mid-1980s they have become the majority in the congregation and have assumed the leadership of the Mission. This resulted in replacing many of the practices prevalent during the life of Sheik Daoud. The transition from a multi-ethnic congregation to one with Yemeni predominance heightened the awareness among worshipers of ethnic and gender boundaries within the congregation.

Several factors account for the transformations that took place in the Mission as a result of the changing ethnic fellowship. First, Yemenis are racially and ethnically homogeneous (Held 1989). This ethnic homogeneity has enabled the Yemenis in diaspora to preserve their identity as an ethnic community rather than a religious one. This is understandable, since ethnolinguistic differentiations that characterize other communities do not exist among Yemenis. In fact Yemenis have little interaction with non-Yemenis, and as Carla Makhlouf (1979, 14) points out, "for political, economic and religious reasons, Yemen has been historically a most isolated society." Second, although it is true that Yemenis share the fundamental beliefs of other Sunni Muslims, including the same commemorations related to their faith and the same body of duties that they should perform, they practice them differently and give them different emphasis.

The Islamic Mission now largely reflects Yemeni religious traditions and conceptions of the world, traditions and conceptions that differ from the former practices of Sheik Daoud and his congregation. As Yemenis assumed the leadership of the Mission, they reconfigured the congregation as a more ethnically homogeneous body and, in particular, discouraged the participation of women in worship.

### **Women and the Mission**

According to long-time members of the congregation, women used to worship in the Mission just as men did. In the "old days," women and men prayed in the main area, which was divided by a partition of "thick draperies" (Farrant 1965), similar to the arrangement found in other mosques. Women were active participants in Halaqa, a religious study group run by Mother Khadija, Sheik Daoud's wife.

This has changed in recent times: the very few women who do come

to Friday prayer are accommodated in the small study room in the imam's suite. Interviews with my five women contacts, all of whose spouses are members of the Mission, indicate that women do not participate in the congregation. A similar pattern is reported in Barbara Aswad's (1991) study of Yemeni women in Dearborn, Michigan; at the mosque there, considered by women and men alike to be a male congregation, women are excluded.

Therefore, while Yemenis have chosen to adapt in certain ways to American patterns, the position of Yemeni women in the United States with respect to the strict sexual segregation remains the same as in their society of origin. Thus Yemeni cultural and religious ideals are embedded in their practices in the Mission. Elements of Yemeni traditional culture have been well identified by Makhlouf (1979, 21) in her study *Changing Veils: Women and Modernization in North Yemen*, where she observes that "all women [in North Yemen] led similar lives, characterized by a domestic orientation and a strict segregation of male and female spheres of action." Thus, socially constructed boundaries are not necessarily revisited as a result of migration, and in the case of the Yemenis, immigration tends to reorient individuals—especially many older women—toward their traditional culture and lifestyle. Umm Saeed, a fifty-year-old Yemeni woman, stated the following:

*You see, Yemeni women in general will never go to a mosque. They think that only men should go to mosques even during the jumaa and the Eid. They prefer to say their prayers at home. Most of Yemeni women also do not work outside the home. Just like at home [Yemen], very few women work. It is the same thing here: they only take care of khidmat elmanzil [household work].*

Thahaba and Naseera (both Yemeni women over the age of sixty) described the Mission as a "men's mosque." Both women indicated that they do not usually attend the Mission, but their husbands and sons are members. Naseera emphasized that

*most Yemeni women pray at home. They never go to the mosque—especially the Mission—because they know that the praying area is filled with men. Even during Eid celebration we don't go. Especially for young Yemeni women who have families, it is difficult. But we know that in other mosques women—Egyptians, Palestinians, and Indians—they all like to go.*

To corroborate this perception that the exclusion of women is attributable more to Yemeni culture than to Muslim religion, I conducted

supplementary interviews with a member of the Islamic Center of Connecticut (known as Masjid el Madina) as well as with another woman in El Takwa mosque in Brooklyn. In both mosques women not only come to worship and socialize but are seen as important custodians of traditions. They are recognized as transmitters of cultural knowledge to the future generations because of their service as teachers of language and religion. For example, at the Islamic Center of Connecticut the majority of teachers are women. Women also assume responsibilities on the board of directors. Some contacts even claimed that women are trying to influence the process that will result in the appointment of the next imam. The population of this mosque contains a diversity of ethnic groups. The largest are Somalis and Indo-Pakistanis, but smaller numbers of Egyptians, Palestinians, Afghans, and African Americans belong. Sumaya, an Egyptian pharmacist, explained the significant role of women in the Connecticut mosque:

*Women play a very important role in the masjid and assume a lot of responsibilities. I would like to emphasize that 80 percent of the mosque activities are carried out by women. Also most of the Sunday religious classes are taught by women. We conduct workshops and seminars to discuss Islamic feminist issues. We have women's Friday halaqa [religious discussion], and we sponsor community monthly dinners. Women are also responsible for finances, fund-raising activities, and the lunch program for Sunday school. Nowadays we are trying to raise funds to expand the parking lot. Our fund-raising events and workshops are very well attended despite the fact that most of us work full-time elsewhere. Right now we are working on revising the mosque's constitution to formalize the role of women, and so far members of the board are very receptive, because they are aware of the vital role that women play in the functioning of the masjid.*

A similar situation exists in El Takwa, an African American congregation in Brooklyn. Women are active in the mosque, which in turn plays a pivotal role in their social as well as religious lives.

The differences in gender participation between these mosques and the Islamic Mission appears to be due to Yemeni cultural practices rather than to a religious mandate. In comparison, Sheik Daoud and his African American and Sudanese congregants originated from societies in which "social segregation of males and females is not nearly so rigorously practiced as in many traditional Arab settings" (see Fernea 1961, 154). Women in Islamic countries have participated in the shaping of their faith, as Saddeka Arebi (1994, 12) notes:



*Historical developments of Islam testify to the actual participation of women in shaping religion through their leadership of major political revolts, such as the one led by Aisha, the wife of the Prophet in the year 656 A.C., which shaped Islam's political and spiritual future in the most fundamental ways.*

Moreover, Mecca has been the host for women and men during *hajj* and *omra*<sup>s</sup> rituals for centuries. The Mission was clearly a more gender-inclusive place during the long leadership of Sheik Daoud.

It should be noted that, while Yemeni women are aware that other congregations in New York have active female members, they do not associate their own absence with a subordinated or inferior position. Indeed, as Makhlof (1979, 25) has argued, "in this case where there exists a large amount of sex segregation, women are given a separate sphere over which men have little control and which may constitute a source of support and even power." Makhlof (1979, 22) describes one of the important female rituals that seems to empower women, the *tafrita*, or "afternoon visit," in which they visit each others' homes to chat, listen to music, and chew *qat* (a substance similar to tobacco). It is not surprising to find similar wide-ranging networks of Yemeni women in New York, through which women develop and consolidate their own alternative congregations. These networks not only give Yemeni women in diaspora an opportunity to congregate with each other but indeed have helped eliminate any form of cultural isolation that faces migrant peoples.

## **Organizational Adaptation**

Examination of the Mission congregation's adaptation to its sociopolitical context provides an understanding of how religious beliefs can be "prismatic"—acting like lenses that generate and reflect influences in both the migrants' and hosts' contexts. The Mission has adapted Islam to its North American environment, but it has not been assimilated into it. The distinction is important. Anthony Richmond (1974, 194) defines adaptation as "the mutual interaction of individuals and collectivities and their responses to particular social and physical environments," whereas assimilation is characterized by "the linear progression of immigrant cultures toward a dominant American national character" (McLaughlin 1992, 6). Indeed, regardless of religious affiliation, immigrants from many places have had to adopt already established organizational forms that have helped them negotiate the transition from their socially marginal position as newcomers to a position

of full inclusion in their new country while retaining important cultural practices from their old ones. One way immigrants manage this transition from a position of insularity to one of participation is by selectively adapting structural elements of local religious organizations to fit the needs of their immigrant religious institutions.

Adaptive strategies are effective mechanisms for gaining legitimacy in the host society. They may also be necessary. In fact, transplanting key institutions of the homeland into a new society without making necessary modifications has proved to be an exasperatingly arduous task (Handlin 1973). Muslims' realization of this predicament reinforced their capacity to respond to the new challenges and influences of the religious "open market system" in the United States (see Warner 1993b, 1050). My ethnographic data on the Islamic Mission experience demonstrate that Islamic religious institutions are structurally flexible and internally adaptive. The remaking of the Mission congregation testifies to its adaptation to the new demands of the host environment.

The Mission has made significant changes to common mosque practices in order to adapt to the North American environment. By far the most significant of these has been to accept a professionalized clergy in the form of a hired imam. Other changes include developing a sense of membership in the mosque, creating Sunday events such as Sunday school, and adopting nonprofit organizational structure in order to have a body to own and govern the mosque.

Both internal flexibility and external pressures influence the Mission's structural adaptation. The integrative, accommodative, and adaptive potential of Islam is neither a foreign nor a novel phenomenon. A common Arabic expression often emphasized by the laity is *al Islam salih likul zaman wa makan* (Islam is flexible in time and space). Muslim social scientists argue that Islam can adapt both in its theories and in its practice. Abul Fadl (1988, 172–173) has argued that

*the only paradigm of "knowing" compatible with the requisites of all "being" would appear to be one that could accommodate the elements of the intellect with those of the rational and the empirical modes of knowing. Historically, the Islamic paradigm of knowledge has proven congenial to the different modes of knowing. The legacy of the Birunis, Ibn al Haythams, al Ghazzalis, Ibn Rushds, Rhazis, and Suhrawardis [Muslim theologians] is a monument to this capacity to integrate and accommodate the diverse modes or traditions within what is more of a synthetic rather than a syncretist whole.*

In his account of the adaptation experience of Muslims in the United States and Canada, Waugh (1991, 72–73) has maintained that

three interconnected factors help Muslims adapt their traditions in a Judeo-Christian environment. First, North Americans rate high in religiosity. Thus, "Muslims do not confront the prospects of an environment hostile to matters of faith." Second, Islam shares an Abrahamic origin with the Christian and Jewish faiths, which helps familiarize Muslims with North American religious ideologies. Finally, the emphasis on individual achievement in the North American society does not depend on religious affiliation. Muslims can seek to succeed socially and financially and thus conform to important social mores without abandoning or even mentioning their faith.

Immigrants appear to have altered the organizational structure of the Mission in several significant ways. Immigrants view these changes not only as indispensable measures but also as a necessary precondition for the establishment of an Islamic foothold in the United States.

The Islamic Mission today has a very different governance structure from the one it had at its founding in 1928. From its founding until his death, Sheik Daoud essentially was the organization as the owner of the mosque and the director of its operations. That has changed. General elections for an eight-member board of directors take place every three years, and the board of directors is in charge of all decisions pertaining to Mission affairs, including finances, religious instruction, and the hiring of the imam. The election of the board of directors demonstrates how membership is now defined in the Mission. Haj Ali described it as follows:

*Only contributing members to the masjid are permitted to vote on who will be elected for the board of directors, who in turn are nominated and seconded for a final vote. Records are kept with the names of those contributing members, who are usually contacted for the general elections of the board.*

Although the concept of membership is alien to *masjids* in Muslim countries, this immigrant mosque has had to adapt some notion of membership in order to conduct its affairs, and the notion they have adopted is defined by financial contribution.

The mission's most conspicuous adaptive strategy has been the creation of a professional Muslim ministry. Mosques in Muslim societies are led in a fundamentally different way from those in the United States, as Waugh (1994, 572) explains:

*Traditionally, Muslims have placed less stress on the local religious institution as a mechanism of identity than have their Christian counterparts. In Muslim countries, the local mosque might well be no*

*more than a convenient place to pray with one's neighbors; one certainly never becomes a member of that mosque. One of the most crucial reasons for this is doctrinal: Islam accepts no mediating or authoritative role for a religious institution between Allah and the believer. Thus there is no role for an official priesthood in Islam, no need for an institutional body within which those officials may act on behalf of the believers, and no need for membership. [emphasis added]*

In Islamic countries, then, there is no professional minister in each mosque. Muslims instead choose their leadership from among themselves. This organizational practice originates in Islamic theology, which not only does not recognize the role of intercessors between God and the believer but also emphasizes that an individual or a group should neither stand above others nor claim the privilege of special mission not open to others (Abul Fadl 1991). Therefore, in prayers—the supreme act of worship in the congregation—one prays directly to God without intermediaries, and there is no need for an officially recognized cleric (Weekes 1984). Imams therefore are not a professional class of religious leaders, but are instead local leaders recognized for their extensive knowledge of the holy book, the Qur'an, and the *Hadith* (sayings of the Prophet). The imam's duties are usually confined to leading congregational prayers, which is done on a strictly voluntary, unpaid basis. For those who consider themselves fortunate enough to earn the trust of their community by serving as imams, the role is a source of honor, gratitude, and veneration.

Haj Hassan, a Sudanese national who has served as imam in a neighborhood mosque in Khartoum, Sudan, explains the traditional position of an imam in a Muslim country:

*The mosque has always been a big part of Muslims' religious and social activity. The imam is usually a volunteer. Especially because the majority of mosques are built by local financial assistance of local communities and philanthropists, the imams are chosen from the same communities. Imams volunteer to lead prayers, deliver sermons during Friday, or [lead] Eid prayers. They are usually highly honorable and respected people who do not expect any financial gains in return to their religious service. They expect only reward in heaven.*

In the United States, most immigrant congregation members work long hours to make ends meet, and thus they have little time to assume the responsibility of being a volunteer imam. These immigrant work realities necessitated the establishment of a professional Muslim clergy "to help promote the spiritual principles of Islam, perpetuate faith and

foster better understanding between the Muslim community and people of other religious faiths.” The fact that this statement appeared in the *Masjid News*, the Mission’s monthly newsletter, in October 1995 demonstrates an attempt to justify, through the printed word and perhaps in other domains, the emergence of professional imamhood. Further, in the United States now, imams, like their Christian and Jewish counterparts, are expected to be educated professionals. Thus, the imam is recruited from outside the congregation. Haj Tantawi, the imam who left the Mission in 1996, was a professor of religion in Egypt, and the newly selected one, a Yemeni, has a university degree in business administration. When I asked a member to explain why the former imam was an Egyptian and not a Yemeni, he answered, “Egyptian imams are very learned in Islam. Of course to have a knowledgeable imam is very important here, because they do a lot of things. But also the Yemenis know that the Azhar Seminary [in Egypt, where the Mission’s imam had taught,] is the best in the world for Islamic studies. They wanted to bring someone [in] who knows what he is doing.” The imam of the Mission is elected, formally appointed, and fully remunerated by the Mission’s board of directors, a practice that would be virtually unthinkable in a Muslim country.

According to Raymond Brady Williams (1988, 93), immigrants’ mosques are increasingly hiring full-time imams who are trained in Islamic subjects. Several factors in the receiving society create the need for expanded uses of the mosque and therefore of the imam. The mosque now is a place where members carry out their individual and communal religious duties, hold social occasions pertaining to nonmosque business, conduct marriage ceremonies, perform funeral services, and teach Sunday religious school—none of which happens in mosques in Muslim societies. Thus, the making of a professional Islamic ministry resembling that of the denominationally ordained clergy reflects the capacity of Muslims to respond to their surrounding environment. The Mission’s imam perceives his increasingly professionalized role as a reflection of the immigrant community’s heightened awareness of the importance of their congregation not only as a place of worship but as a site where the group is reconstituting itself and its ideologies.

Looking back to the days of Sheik Daoud, the Sudanese Babikir explains his view of the changed Mission leadership:

*When the mosque was established, we did not hire an imam. Whoever was able to volunteer to lead prayer did so. . . . In the 1940s we were tired after serving for a long time in the war. The mosque was a good place to come together to worship, and exchange information*

*and chat. We did not have Sunday religious classes or a board of directors. There weren't as many mosques then as there are now. Our mosque was very similar to those you find at home based on one's willingness to volunteer. We did not have to pay anybody to do anything.*

The situation is vastly different now. Sheik Daoud is no longer alive to provide, to lead, and to serve as he thought necessary. The imam now is dependent on his congregation for his livelihood and therefore has to respond to the desires of the board of directors. His role continues to expand beyond the already expanded one adopted by Sheik Daoud.

Haj Mukhtar Al Tantawi, the Egyptian imam, reflected on his role in the Mission:

*I was hired by the Mission to be the resident imam in 1993. The Mission Board of Directors knew of my background as professor of religious studies from the imam who used to be here before me but who chose to return to Egypt after serving for three years. My job here is to lead prayer during jumaa and Eid, to deliver the sermon, to conduct marriage contracts, and to perform funeral services. Being resident in the masjid also makes me responsible for everything that goes on here. Also I make sure that Sunday school runs smoothly. I have invited many speakers to give lectures at several occasions, and we also organize pilgrimage trips to Saudi Arabia. I introduced a lot of activities and events in the Mission. In Ramadan [the Muslim month of fasting] I started a maibat elrahaman [soup kitchen] and a clothes drive for the needy people in Brooklyn. It does not matter what their religion is: we serve dinners for everyone during that month, and all year round we try to help. Muslims are trying to be helpful to those who are in need.*

One of the main activities of any imam is leading the congregational prayer, which remains the most significant ritual for the hundreds who attend every Friday afternoon. Prayer is preceded by an Arabic *khutba* (sermon), in which Haj Tantawi, for example, addressed a variety of issues ranging from politics, theology, and history to a more transnational discussion of the global Muslim community. Following the Arabic *khutba*, Haj Ali delivered an English version before announcements or commentaries were communicated. (Tantawi did not speak any English but encouraged a bilingual *khutba*.)

Through sermons, the Mission community comments upon prevailing antipathies and negative imagery of Muslims in their host environment. *Khutbas* are reflective of Muslims' experience as immigrants and

as adherents of a markedly politicized faith. These commentaries range from resistance to the increased proliferation of stereotypical perceptions of Muslims as violent and oppressive to expression of deep-seated discontents with human rights violations in the Balkans, an exceptionally important issue for the congregation. A sermon about the Balkans provides a time for reflecting on and for mourning the massacres and ethnic cleansing of the Bosnians “while the entire international community was watching,” as one immigrant put it. These events had significant reverberations on the Muslim world in general and on this congregation in particular, since the Mission has been a strong advocate for the Bosnian cause. At the end of each prayer, members are reminded to make donations to be sent by nongovernmental and human rights organizations for relief operations.

According to Haj Tantawi, the new role he had taken on as a community activist through outreach efforts “in time of need” reflects the mosque’s intention to counterbalance the negative public image associated with Muslims in North America. The soup kitchen program is one example of such activities.

In addition to guiding the community, the imam plays a pivotal role in *dawaa* (missionary) efforts in the United States. Several mosque members indicated that conversions in the Mission happen with predictable regularity. This is hardly the role an imam assumes in a Muslim society even where there are sizable non-Muslim communities, but in North America imams are increasingly walking in the path of Western evangelists. Not only does the imam’s newly acquired authority enhance his ability to undertake a balancing role between the congregation and the larger society, but it legitimizes his status as a religious figure in the North American religious world.

Haj Tantawi’s role in religious instruction was also substantial. Sunday religious school falls under the imam’s jurisdiction because he selects the curriculum for Arabic and Qur’anic instruction. Haj Tantawi’s background as a religious studies professor before his migration to Brooklyn enhanced the role of the congregation as a vehicle for socialization of children. On Sundays children ages six to sixteen attend multiage classes instructed by male teachers. I was informed that most of the girls who are not enrolled in the Sunday Islamic schools are already attending the Islamic school system sponsored by the Muslim immigrant and nonimmigrant community in New York.

The adoption of Sunday as an important day for religious activities, as Warner (1994, 81) has indicated, is one of the noticeable calendrical adjustments that immigrants are undertaking. In the United States,

Sunday becomes a day for family-oriented activities even though Friday is the Muslim sacred day. Haj Tantawi indicated that

*since everybody works on Friday we cannot adhere to it as a formal day of religious classes. Even for jumaa I am obligated to keep the khutba and prayer rather short, so people can go back to work. For the Sunday school, we decided that since all religious classes are held on Sunday, we did not want to choose a separate day. It is easier just to do what everybody else does here.*

In the process of teaching Yemeni children the principles of Islam and the Arabic language, the Mission, like so many other immigrant mosques, is striving to sustain Muslim identities. Warner (1993a, 13) argues that

*as religion becomes less taken for granted under the conditions prevailing in the U.S., adherents become more conscious of their tradition, and many become more determined about its transmission. Religious identities that had been ascriptive from birth may become objects of active conversion, in order to counter actual or potential losses by defection.*

Religious education in general and in the Mission in particular allows the congregation to serve as a mediator between the host and immigrant culture. Hence, education aims at transmitting both revealed and cultural knowledge to the new generation of American Muslims, whose educators spare no effort in promoting the moral, spiritual, and cultural foundations of conceptions of accountability to God and the community in which they live at an early age. Religious instruction, including Qur'anic education, offers one means for inculcating "memorable truth" and passing it from one generation to another. In the face of the dramatic influences of the larger society on young children, the Mission education reflects the determination of the congregation to preserve the identity of immigrants. As Haj Ali observes:

*Sunday school is a great contribution to teach children about their religion and their purpose in life as responsible, virtuous adults. When you bring children to the mosque, you create an understanding of who they are, and where they came from. Some people like to send their children to religious schools. But they are very few, and at some point they have to join public schools. We have to understand that these are American-born children, and they could be pressured by their peers, especially in big cities. So, if children go to public schools and come once a week to the mosque, that will still be good, because they just want to be reminded.*



The greatest change that the Mission has made in adapting itself to its foreign environment, then, has been in the increasingly wide-ranging and professionalized role of its religious leader. But this adaptation has gone hand in hand with several other changes, including the adoption of the host country's organizational forms (nonprofit status and board governance) and religious norms (Sunday school and congregational membership).

## **Conclusion**

The purpose of this chapter has been to highlight the changes in the Islamic Mission's ethnic membership as well as in its organizational form through examining the interrelated processes of ethnicization and religious professionalization. The objective has been to understand the way in which this congregation has changed through the years.

This social history of the Mission provides an excellent example of how congregational structures are shaped by the overall context of the immigrant-host relationship. The Islamic Mission has given Muslim immigrants an opportunity to rearticulate their faith through distinctive adaptations to the host environment's dominant culture, while still struggling to maintain the essentials of their faith and the desirable attributes of their own culture. Throughout this ongoing effort, immigrants stress their determination to retain their culture and way of life even as they rework some roles and adopt some new ones. The Mission, like other Muslim congregations in North America, adopted native organizational structures that parallel those of churches and synagogues. The fine line between adaptation and assimilation is important for immigrants who have "learned that much of their impact and effectiveness depends on [their group's] effective leadership and organization" (Abul Fadl 1991, 59).

What is interesting about the Mission is that the more modifications and adjustments the immigrants accomplished, the more aware they became of their distinctive identity in contrast with other groups. Their adaptation therefore is not a "linear progression" toward Americanization or an incidence of cultural assimilation, but rather a modification and a renegotiation of roles.

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

Many people have given me help and support. Dr. Terry Schmitt offered excellent editorial comments, and I benefited immensely from his insight and

knowledge. I owe a great debt to Professor Larry Mamiya of Vassar College for providing invaluable information, including correspondence and newspaper clippings pertaining to Sheik Daoud Ahmed Faisal. Thanks go also to Professors Jim Faris and Dennison Nash at the University of Connecticut. Versions of this chapter were presented to the New England Religious Discussion Seminar at Hartford Seminary; I am especially grateful to Reverend Dr. Carl Dudley and Richard Chiola of Yale Divinity School, who participated in the seminar. I must likewise express many thanks to the New Ethnic and Immigrant Congregations Project, especially to R. Stephen Warner and Judith G. Wittner, for their constructive comments. I am grateful to Adila Abusharaf and Eva Beerman for their company during much of my fieldwork. Last but not least, I would like to acknowledge the help and generosity of the Mission congregation, the imam, and the many people who offered information, all of whom made the completion of this chapter possible.

## NOTES

1. Imam means religious leader, one who leads the congregation in prayer. Haj refers to a Muslim who has performed the annual pilgrimage to Mecca.

2. The pilgrimage (*Hajj*) is one of the five pillars of the Islamic faith, which are (1) *alshahada*, the confession of faith; (2) *salat*, performing prayers five times a day; (3) *zakat*, almsgiving; (4) *Siyam*, fasting; and (5) the pilgrimage to Mecca. The performance of the annual pilgrimage is a religious obligation that every-able bodied Muslim has to undertake once in one's life-time. Millions of Muslims from all walks of life perform the annual rite, which is believed to be "the culmination of an act of faith" as Abul Fadl (1991, 34) argues. The Hajj consolidates the Muslim sense of community. Purity, piety, and community are all brought into focus during the pilgrimage.

3. Muslims perceive daily prayer as a link between God and the individual. The Arabic word (*salat*) literally means link. Since *salat* is often performed communally, it strengthens community consciousness as well as God consciousness.

4. The origins of the Ahmadiyya movement can be traced back to the nineteenth century, when this sect was founded in India to propagate Islam all over the world, including the United States. The migration of Ahmadiyya missionaries took place during the nineteenth century, and most of their activities were focused on converting African-Americans, who saw Islam as a way of circumventing alienation and ethnic oppression.

5. *Omra* denotes a visit to Mecca. It is not obligatory like the *Hajj*.

## REFERENCES

Abul Fadl, Mona. 1988. "Islamization as a Force of Global Cultural Renewal." *American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences* 5 (2): 163-179.

- . 1991. *Introducing Islam from Within: Alternative Perspectives*. Leicester, England: Cromwell Press.
- Arebi, Saddeka. 1994. *Women and Words in Saudi Arabia: The Politics of Literary Discourse*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Aswad, Barbara. 1991. "Yemeni and Lebanese Muslim Immigrant Women in Southeast Dearborn, Michigan." Pp. 256–281 in *Muslim Families in North America*, edited by Earle H. Waugh, Sharon McIrvin Abu-Laban, and Regula Burckhardt Qureshi. Edmonton, Alberta: The University of Alberta Press.
- Eickelman, Dale F. 1989. *The Middle East: An Anthropological Approach*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall.
- Farrant, Lawrence. 1965. "The Days of Ramadan." *Brooklyn World Telegram*, January 5, p. B1.
- Fernea, Robert. 1961. *Nubian Ethnographies*. Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press.
- Geertz, Clifford. 1971. *Islam Observed*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- . 1973. *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books.
- Handlin, Oscar. 1973. *The Uprooted*. 2nd ed. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press.
- Held, Colbert. 1989. *Middle East Patterns: Places, Peoples, and Politics*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview.
- Klass, Morton. 1961. *East Indians in Trinidad: A Study of Cultural Persistence*. Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press.
- Makhlouf, Carla. 1979. *Changing Veils: Women and Modernization in North Yemen*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Mamiya, Lawrence. 1995. "A Historical Overview of African American Sunni Muslim Movements, 1929 to 1975." Paper presented at the Islam in America Conference, De Paul University, Chicago.
- McLaughlin, Virginia, ed. 1992. *Immigration Reconsidered*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Murphy, Joseph. 1994. *Working the Spirit: Ceremonies of the African Diaspora*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Richmond, Anthony. 1974. "Migration, Ethnicity and Race Relations." Pp. 192–203 in *International Migration*, edited by G. Tapino. Proceedings of a Seminar on Demographic Research in Relation to International Migration. Buenos Aires: CICRED.
- Roof, Wade Clark. 1993. *Generation of Seekers: The Spiritual Journey of the Baby Boom Generation*. San Francisco: Harper.
- Scott, David. 1991. "That Event, This Memory: Notes on the Anthropology of African Diasporas in the New World." *Diaspora: Journal of Transnational Studies* 1 (3): 261–285.
- Sowell, Thomas. 1996. *Migrations and Cultures*. San Francisco: Harper Collins.
- Toomey, Jeanne. 1951. "Arabs Find Welcome in Boro." *Brooklyn Eagle*, August 16, p. 10.

- Turner, Richard. 1986. *Islam in New York in the 1920s: A New Quest in Afro-American Religion*. Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University.
- Warner, R. Stephen. 1993a. "Introduction to the New Ethnic and Immigrant Congregations Project." Working paper, Office of Social Science Research, University of Illinois at Chicago.
- . 1993b. "Work in Progress Toward a New Paradigm for the Sociological Study of Religion in the United States." *American Journal of Sociology* 98 (March): 1044–1093.
- . 1994. "The Place of the Congregation in the Contemporary American Religious Configuration." Pp. 54–99 in *American Congregations*, vol. 2, edited by James P. Wind and James W. Lewis. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Waugh, Earle H. 1991. "North America and the Adaptation of the Muslim Tradition: Religion, Ethnicity, and the Family." Pp. 68–101 in *Muslim Families in North America*, edited by Earle H. Waugh, Sharon McIrvin Abu-Laban, and Regula Burckhardt Qureshi. Edmonton, Alberta: University of Alberta Press.
- . 1994. "Reducing the Distance: A Muslim Congregation in the Canadian North." Pp. 572–612 in *American Congregations*, vol. 1, edited by James P. Wind and James W. Lewis. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Weekes, Richard. 1984. *Muslim Peoples: A World Ethnographic Survey*, 2nd ed. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press.
- Williams, Raymond Brady. 1988. *Religions of Immigrants from India and Pakistan: New Threads in the American Tapestry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.