Factors Determining Religious Identity Construction among Western-born[1] Muslims: Towards a Theoretical Framework

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Abstract

The aim of this article is to analyze, on the basis of a particular theoretical approach to identity construction, the factors that shape and help delineate various types of (religious) identity constructions among Western-born generations of Muslims. The author argues that a theoretical framework that combines a socio-cultural use of religion in the construction of group identity with that of scriptural interpretation provides the optimal conceptual tool for not only understanding the formation of religious identity among Western-born and/or Western-raised generations of Muslims, but also for delineating between different types of identities being acquired by the Muslims living in the West.

Introduction

Studies focusing on identity construction among Western Muslims have highlighted a number of factors that influence this process. These factors include secularization and globalization,[2] geopolitics and the nature of international environment,[3] the broader socio-economic, political and legal contexts of "host societies"[4] and the diversity within the Muslim communities themselves (such as ethnicity, family and socio-economic background, the length of immigration experience).[5] For example, J. Cesari identifies the following dimensions of Western Muslim minorities as being particularly important in the construction of their identities: the meta-discourse on Islam; the influence of dominant cultural and political frameworks; the complex interaction between religion and ethnicity; the influence of global Islam; the state collusion between religion, ethnicity and social marginality and intra-Muslim theological diversity.[6] While I do not dismiss the importance of these factors, this article outlines a theoretical framework that highlights how the socio-cultural use of religious identity in the construction of group boundaries and the use of different scriptural interpretation models help construct as well as differentiate between different types of Western Muslim identity.

Migration and Identity Changes among New Immigrant Communities

In order to fully understand the identity formation dynamics among immigrant Muslim communities in the West, the dialectic between migration and identity changes requires some elaboration. The impact of the process of immigration on identity changes in new[7] (post-1965) immigrant religious minority communities in the West has only recently been given attention. However, over the last forty years and the past twenty-five years in particular, for a number of economic, social and political reasons, the size and the number of immigrant communities residing in the West has significantly increased. [8]

As a direct result of the process of immigration many religious communities in the West are transplanted from a religious majority to that of a religious minority context. Additionally, immigration to the West brings about a situation in which a more homogenous majority socio-cultural setting in immigrants' country of birth is substituted by that of a secular, pluralist and minority one in the West. This change from the majority to minority religion status and the transplantation in the living context of new immigrant religious communities results in identity modifications and is a very important factor in understanding strategies concerning immigrants' identities.[9] N. Ammermann maintains that "circumstances and demands in a new culture inevitably shape the beliefs and practices that were taken for granted in a home country".[10] As W. Schiffhauer observes one reason for this is that in the majority context the religious community and the society stand in a complementary relationship whilst in the minority context they stand in an oppositional one.[11]

N. Hashmi in the context of identity construction among immigrant children in Europe also notes this change in identity as a result of 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.[12]

These changes in identity that take place in the members of immigrant minority religious communities are particularly evident in the way in which the ethnic and the religious dimensions of their identities are being transmitted and reconstructed as well as in the changing nature of the relationship between the two sources of identity. The actual dynamic between these two loci of identity is not yet clear and various ethno-religious groups differ in the extent to which they emphasize their religious or ethnic identities.[13] P. Hammond and K. Warner have presented a model which aims to shed light on this dynamic. According to this model, in some immigrant minority religious groups a process of *ethnic fusion* occurs, that is, a process in which religion becomes a foundation of ethnicity. The Amish and Jewish communities are examples of this type of ethnic-religious identity dialectic. The term *ethnic religion* applies to those communities in which religion comprises one of several foundations of ethnicity. The cases in point are the Greek and Russian Orthodox and Dutch Reformed Churches. The term *religious ethnicity* is applied to those religious communities in which religious tradition is shared by other ethnicities such as in the case of Mexican, Irish and Italian Catholics.[14]

Numerous studies of religion and the new immigrants highlight the central role religion plays in ethnic identity and the difficulty of separating the two. Indeed, at the center of a classical sociological study of immigration and religion is the notion of the centrality of religion in immigrants,[15] especially if they belong to a minority religious group.[16] G. Mirdal, in the context of discussing Muslim identities in contemporary Europe, 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".[17] T. Smith, writing on the religion and ethnicity issues in America echoes this view by asserting that "the process of uprooting, migration and resettlement produce intensification of religious commitment on the part of immigrants".[18] He asserts that the process of immigration itself is often a "theologizing experience".[19] He further adds that:

> Immigrants are religious—by all counts more religious than they were before they left home—because religion is one of the important identity markers that helps preserve individual self-awareness and cohesion in the group.[20]

F. Yang and E. Rose, while examining the transformations in new immigrant religions, argue, furthermore, that "internal" and "external religious pluralism" in Western liberal democracies "encourages institutional and theological transformations that energize and revitalize religions [of immigrants]".[21] R. Alba notices that same trend in western European societies in which religion for immigrants, and that of Western-born descendents of immigrants in particular, becomes a key institutional site for demarcation of native/immigrant boundaries.[22] S. Gilliat, whose study explored the possible effects of pluralism on the religious identity of young British Muslims, similarly observes that the process of (im)migration can lead to "an invigoration of old traditions, and thus a strengthening of identity".[23] J. Waardenburg similarly asserts that "in migrant or minority situations religion may play an important role in reaffirming and integrating identity on a communal level".[24] Significantly, Smith has found that in the immigrant context, ethnicity is determined frequently by identification with a particular religious tradition more than any other factors such as language or feelings of nationalism.[25] 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. [26]Studies done by A. Greely alluded to the interdependence of religion and identity in new immigrants and the fact that "religion plays an ethnic function in American society and [that] ethnicity has powerful religious overtones".[27] Religious identity in particular, therefore, for many immigrant groups seems to be highly salient.

What can be said about the identity construction in the second and subsequent generations of minority religion immigrants? P. Eid and J. Waardenburg argue that immigrant children focus on identity strategies which move away from the pre-fabricated boundaries of both the host society and country of origin.[28] N. Ammermann, furthermore, asserts that the second and third generations of immigrants arrive at their own relationships to ethnic and religious traditions.[29] H. Ebaugh and J. Chafez in their study of new immigrant minority religion communities in United States note two trends in which immigrants and their congregations sometimes begin to modify their identity definitions and priorities. Firstly, in some cases there is a gradual redefining of their religious identity to become less ethnically intertwined, less "cultural" or more "pure" and therefore more ethnically inclusive. Secondly, in a few cases there is a broadening in the meaning of the ethnic label itself.[30]

It is important to note that parent immigrants regardless of the cultural background, when passing their cultural heritage on to their children, consider religion to be the key for cultural reproduction.[31] Although most of the first-generation immigrants continue to cling to their distinctive ethnic identities and practices[32], H. Ebaugh and J. Chafez, based on their empirical studies of new immigrant religious minority communities in the United States maintain that "second and subsequent generation-dominated religious institutions will likely be more pan-religious and/or more pan-ethnic in their practices, identities, and memberships".[33]

Review of Literature[34]

As argued above the relevant literature on new immigrant communities indicates that an emphasis on the religious component of immigrant members' identity in immigrant

minority communities generally takes on added significance especially in second and subsequent generations of immigrants. Several studies specific to Muslim immigrant communities are in line with these findings. For example, J. Jacobson's[35] and B. McGown's[36] studies on identity construction among Western Muslim youth lead to J. 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"[37] 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".[38] C. McMichael's,[39] Gilliat's,[40] S. Alvi, H. Hoodfar and S. McDonough's,[41] S. Ahmed's,[42] S. Azmi's,[43] C. Gibb's,[44] L. Peek's[45] and to large extent H. Kaplan's[46] studies of Western-born Muslim youth residing in Australia, the United Kingdom and North America confirm this finding. Hashmi comes to the same conclusion in her investigation of identities among young Muslims in Britain and France.[47] R. Mohamad supports the same opinion in her research on identity construction with specific reference to gender.[48]

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[49]/maintenance/consolidation,[50] especially if the surrounding environment is perceived as discriminatory and/or exclusive in its orientation.[51] The international political climate in the post-9/11 world has, as demonstrated by Peek's study, further contributed to the religion-based identity construction among Western-(born) Muslims.[52] As I demonstrated elsewhere this religion-based identity does not necessarily imply an increased religious orthodoxy or orthopraxy but in the development of new forms of Muslim religiosity which becomes a central component of their identity.[53]

This article, in line with the above findings, is based upon the premise that the concept of religion can be a key factor in the development of one's identity both in the sense of believing (i.e. identity at the level of individuals) and belonging (i.e. identity at the level of a community/group/civilization).

However, Western Muslims do not construct a homogenous or monolithic religious identity. There are, indeed, different types of being a (Western) Muslim.[54] How can we delineate between these different types of religious identity? Which factors can be identified as being responsible for the formation or construction of these various ways of being a Muslim? Is there a theoretical framework which could help us in our understanding of this phenomenon? This article attempts to offer answers to these questions.

Religious Identity Construction

In order to define and delineate between *types* of religious identity construction among Western-born Muslims and identify the mechanisms responsible for their construction, it is essential to examine the concept of religious identity and its construction in particular. To facilitate our understanding, below we shall undertake a literature overview of the existing studies on Western Muslims' religious[55] identity based upon the sociological approach to religious identity construction, as well as of studies examining the social orientations and levels of interaction among Muslims in the West.

Generally speaking there has been little research done which explores the relationship between religious minorities in general (and Muslims in particular) and religious identity construction/formation.[56] Furthermore, the majority of studies examining identity

issues in Western-born generations(s) of Muslims focus on *transmission* of ethno-religious identity and their *socialization* rather than construction of religious identity *per se*.[57] The majority of these were conducted in France,[58] which has a large number of Maghrebi (Moroccan), second- and third-generation Muslim youth, some in Britain,[59] a few in other western European states with large Muslim minorities[60] and few in North America.[61] Findings of these studies suggest that the development of symbolic ethno-religious identity in the case of the majority of Muslim youth is well under way.[62] However, religion as an identity marker is not rejected by Western Muslim youth.[63] Although forming a minority, the existence of what Eid terms "orthodox Muslims", whose ethno-religious identity is not purely symbolic is acknowledged.[64] Additionally, liberal and progressive types of Muslim religious identity are also present.[65]

Only a small number of academic studies have been conducted on religious identity construction in Western-born generations of Muslims.[66] In the context of the Muslim communities in North America, Peek's study explored the process of religious identity formation and examined the emergence of religion as the most salient source of personal and social identity for a group of second-generation American Muslims. Peek identified three stages of religious identity development among her participants who were primarily the members of a Muslim Student Association (MSA) described as highly religious (Peek). The three types of religious identity categorized by Peek included ascribed, chosen and/or declared identity.[67] Peek also briefly examined the reasons behind the changes in these stages, maintaining that these were socially and historically dependent.[68] Apart from immigration or minority faith status, negative perceptions and portrayal of Islam, especially in the post-9/11 climate, interestingly enough were the major contributing factors towards the increased saliency of religion as a source of identity among Peek's respondents.[69]

Dynamics of Identity Formation

Hashmi investigated the identity dynamics of second-generation university age Muslim youth living in Britain and France.[70] She concluded that in both contexts religious identity, at the expense of the ethnic, was considered more meaningful and essential element of one's identity.[71]

A different study also using a socio-cultural approach to religious identity conducted by A. Sander is somewhat more relevant to this article's aims as it tried to determine different categories of Muslims.[72] Sander in her research on levels of religiosity of Swedish immigrant Muslims grouped them into four general categories according to their orientation towards their ethno-religious heritage.[73] They included the "ethnic Muslim" who expresses his/her Muslimness primarily through his/her ethnic /parental background, thus is ethnically and socially but not religiously oriented; the "cultural Muslim" who socializes according to the customs of his/her ethnic and cultural origins and analogous to the ethnic Muslim is ethnically but not religiously oriented; the "religious Muslim" who has specifically religious beliefs and who actively participates in its practices, thus is religiously but not ethnically oriented; and the "political Muslim" is someone who is a believer in Islam but uses this belief primarily as a socio-political phenomenon. Eid, who investigated the level of ethnic and religious retention among second-generation Arab youths in Montreal, concluded that there was a prevalence of symbolic ethnic and religious identity among these youth.[74]

Eid investigated the level of ethnic and religious retention among the second generation of Arab youths aged 17–24 in Montreal. He administered a non-random sample

survey to 250 respondents and conducted sixteen follow-up in-depth interviews. He concluded that there was a prevalence of symbolic ethnic and religious identity among these youth.[75]

Using a self-administered questionnaire, Ahmed's study examined the impact of religious minority status on a sample of ninety-six 18–26-year-old college/university American Muslim students and their religiosity and psychosocial maturity. The findings showed that these Muslim youth were significantly more religious than their non-Muslim counterparts. Additionally, the study concluded that a religious minority status may have a positive impact on Muslim youth's pro-social behavior, religiosity and psychosocial maturity.[76]

G. Schmidt's study explored aspects of transnational identity formation in 15–30-year-old Western-born or Western-raised Muslims residing in Denmark, Sweden and the United States. Her fieldwork was based on taped interviews. She concluded two things. Firstly, that existence of transnational identities is evident in these individuals. Secondly, her findings showed that these transnational identities were affected by aspects of the local and the contextual and, in particular, by conditions prevalent in the host nation and the nature of its legislative system.[77]

Gilliat's study aimed to explore the possible effects of pluralism on religious identity of a minority group. She relied on fieldwork questionnaires, participant observation and unstructured interviews ($n=15$) to collect her data. The participants in her study included young British Muslims aged 18–25 and Muslim community leaders. She categorized the "identity responses" of the respondents into: (a) an exclusivist identity which is "highly distinctive, uncompromising regardless of opposition or disadvantage, with a highly protected sense of being a Muslim"; (b) a borderline identity whose identity is "unsure", "insecure", "ambiguous", "situationally dependent" and "pragmatic"; and (c) an assimilationist identity which is based on disassociation from the ethno-religious community and a strong effort to associate with the host community regardless of advantages and opportunities that may be sacrificed in the process.[78]

The Effect of Globalization

S. Ameli examines the effect of globalization on the main elements of British Muslim identity. These elements included: (a) understanding of religious principles; (b) the observance of religious practices; (c) the adherence to religious beliefs; and (d) religio-social relationships. In order to achieve the aims of his study he developed a theoretical framework and identified three factors which have the greatest impact on British Muslim identity. They included the local factors/forces (British Society), global forces (globalization/glocalization)[79] and historical forces.[80] His empirical component consisted of a major survey ($n = 180$), questionnaire ($n = 67$) and interviews ($n = 30$). The participants in his study were primarily high school, university/college aged Muslims who were either born or raised in Britain. Ameli also developed a typology of British Muslims concerned with religious orientations and tested it empirically. Ameli's typology included the following types of Muslim identity:

- *Traditionalist*, which is characterized by social conservatism, ritual centeredness and political indifference;
- *Islamist*, characterized by their emphasis on Islamic politics and movements and the comprehensiveness of the Islamic way of life;
- *Modernist*, characterized by a "combination of modernization and Islamic ideology", their desire to achieve social reformation through modernization

and reformation of religious thinking in accordance with modern modes of thought;

– *Secularist*, characterized by rejection of politicization of Islam, and its traditional aspects but unlike traditionalists active participation in secular politics and social activity and lack of religious observance and involvement within social institutions;

– *Nationalist*, characterized by those who identify themselves primarily with the culture of the parents' homelands as an expression of patriotism;

– *Anglicized*, 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*, characterized by no firm orientation towards the original culture as well as not giving primacy for the new British culture; and

– *Undetermined*, characterized by rejection of diverse cultures one is confronted with, confusion about religious belief and sense of hopelessness and rootlessness.[81]

Some of the findings of Ameli's study that are relevant to ours are that major changes have occurred in the understanding of the religious principles and practices. On the religious principles level for example Ameli found that absolutism of religious truth has to some extent given way to more pluralistic concept of religious values, and on the levels of observance, socially or collectively oriented aspects of religious practices[82] have diminished in importance. However, there was no significant change in the realm of religious beliefs which suggested the persistence of "inner faith as a key determinant of identity".[83] Another significant finding was that "social relationships among Muslims cannot be analyzed in isolation from religious thought, understanding and belief. Additionally, Ameli concluded that the process of globalization had seriously affected social relationships among British Muslims so that the majority of Muslims in his study "no longer considered religion as a fundamental criterion for social relationships in their daily lives".[84] Interestingly, the majority of British Muslims in the study did not develop a sense of cultural and spiritual belonging to Britain and its "culture".

Religiosity and Being Muslim

Using a quantitative approach based on regression analysis M. Rooijackers examined the relationship between "religiosity" and "socio-cultural integration" among a sample of 80 Turkish-Dutch participants aged 17–26. Based on "correspondence analysis" Rooijackers found that those respondents who had a high religious self-concept and have internalized the "Islamic cultural traditions" have been characterized as having "an exclusive or predominant Turkish identity and an inter-mediate or low level of orientation to Dutch society".[85] Inversely the study found that "non-religious attitude is linked with general disagreement with respect to [Islamic] traditions a more multi-ethnic identity and a positive orientation to Dutch society".[86]

Another study relevant to the proposed study is that of C. Nijsten.[87] Her study examined the relationship between "religiosity" and ethnicity among Muslim-Moroccan youngsters living in The Netherlands. Using a quantitative method similar to Rooijackers, Nijsten's findings did not reveal significant relationship between "religious commitment"

and "socio-economic integration". There are two important findings from the Nijsten's study for the purposes of the proposed study. Firstly, Nijsten found that the more contacts her respondents had with their Dutch friends and the more they were feeling Dutch, the less importance they attached to Islam, the observance of ritual practices, embracing of Islamic cultural norms and values and agreement with Islamic belief statements. She, however, did not argue for a definite, causal relationship between religious commitment and "ethnic-identity retention". Secondly, Nijsten considers that a positive attitude towards Dutch society and a strong religious commitment can go hand in hand with the exception of what she terms "Islamic traditionalism".

F. 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 analyzing 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-islamization where Islam as a reference is lost; assimilation, where Islam is restricted to the private sphere; institutional integration whereby institutionalization of Islam takes place; Muslim minority self-definition in contrast to the non-Muslim majority
- orientations that distance themselves from Europe—such as European Muslims perceive 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
- missionary orientations in Europe—according to which Muslims are obliged to convert Europeans to Islam.[88]

A different study using a socio-cultural approach to religious identity conducted by Sanders attempted to determine different categories of Muslims in Sweden. In the context of determining the levels of religiosity of Swedish immigrant Muslims, Sanders grouped them into four general categories with reference to their orientation towards their ethno-religious heritage.[89] They included the "ethnic Muslim" who expresses his/her Muslimness primarily through his/her ethnic/parental background, thus is ethnically but not religiously oriented; the "cultural Muslim" who socializes according to the customs of his/her ethnic and cultural origins and analogous to the ethnic Muslim is ethnically but not religiously oriented; the "religious Muslim" as someone who has specifically religious beliefs and who actively participates in its practices, thus is religiously but not ethnically or culturally oriented; and the "political Muslim" is someone who is a believer in Islam but uses this belief primarily as a socio-political phenomenon.

Klinkhammer's study of second-generation of 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:

- *Traditional Islamic Lebensfuehrung* as the basis for religiosity which is taken for granted, is culture-based, non-confrontationalist *vis-a-vis* the broader society, and rooted in the broader worldview based on a clear distinction between non-religious and religious spheres in life.

– *The exclusivist Islamic Lebensfuehrung* which is based on individualization and Islamization of self that Dassetto emphasizes, 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.

– *The universalized 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.

Importantly, G. Klinkhammer argues that the above types are not necessarily a result of the experience of migration but are a result of a particular, broader religion/modernity dialectic.[90]

The Political Dimension

W. Heitmeyer, J. Mueler, and H. Schroeder's study analyzed the extent and the causes of "Islamic fundamentalist orientation" of some 1200 young German Turks (aged 12–21 years) and how it affects their integration potential. Their analyses related to the three dimensions of Islamic/Muslim identity, i.e. personal religiosity, its socio-cultural aspect and its political dimension.

Based on a comprehensive survey which addressed the individual, social, religious and political facets of the participants' life circumstances, relevant findings suggested that there was a considerable unfriendly orientation towards democracy and integration in German society among the sample. This type of social orientation among Western Muslims considers the philosophy/values underpinning democracy and integration into the broader society as contravening their vision/understanding of Islam. The main causes behind the emergence of these types was suggested to lie in a number of independent, intrasocial (*innergesellschaftliche*) complexes, the most important of which include: ethno-cultural identification; reaction at the denial of acknowledgement of a collective identity; rejection of new (modern) values; the experiences of discrimination and violence against non-natives; issues related to modernization and its consequences; and family problems. Importantly for this study, the authors' opinion is that in order to avoid falling into social and ideological "wholes", there is a need for stable, identity supportive religio-cultural pillars to be put in place which provide an answer for the search for religious certainty which is very important to these individuals.[91]

Religious Modulation

In Belgium, J. Leman examined the function of religion in relation to development of social identity and social relationships towards the "in groups" and "out groups" in the context of a multi-religious and multiethnic city of Brussels. In particular he looks at the role religion plays, especially in its orthodoxical and orthopraxical dimensions, as a modulator in the transformation of socio-cultural life of its adherents within the immigrant community. He proposes five different forms of religious modulation in a multicultural urban context[92] namely religion as:

- – the conveyor of (ethno)-cultural bridging in which religion plays the function of a bridge with the country of origin
- – a medium of socio-cultural integration
- – a medium for affirming the original culture
- – a means of cultural-religious syncretism
- – an engine of adaptation and non-adaptation

Leman's study is of interest to us because it is based upon a socio cultural use of religion by believers, an approach that is also partially used in this study. He considers that Muslim immigrants use religion as primarily a medium for affirming the original culture, a culture that contains elements that "under no circumstances may be absorbed by surrounding non-Islamic cultures". Significantly, he suggests that among second and third generations of Muslim immigrants religion will be increasingly used as a modulator for the development of a meta or supra-ethnic, or what we would refer to as religion-based identity.[93]

The Need for Further Study

Based upon the studies reviewed above we can conclude that none of them attempted to examine the relationship between the process of religious identity construction and social orientation, nor did they attempt to explain the origins and factors which could be identified as responsible for the construction of these various types of Muslim religious identity and how they affect their social orientations. Furthermore, none of the studies investigated the role of the religious tradition itself in construction of religious identity or its types. In addition, there are no existing studies which purport to examine the role of scriptural hermeneutics on religious identity construction of Muslims in general, including the Western-born generations, although the importance of the role of scriptural hermeneutics in religious identity construction has been recognized.[94]

   This article aims to fill this gap and develop a theoretical framework that takes these factors into consideration.

Construction of Religious Identity

In order to understand and, indeed, delineate between different types of "being a Muslim", and understand the processes responsible for their respective religious identity constructions and social orientations in the context of new immigrant communities, the theoretical framework I have adopted is based upon:

- – a sociological approach to religious identity construction in which a *socio-cultural use of religious identity in the construction of group boundaries* is employed and
- – a scripture interpretational approach.

As will subsequently be made clear, the employment of this two-layered approach provides the optimal conceptual tool for understanding the mechanisms responsible for the construction of and delineation between the various types of religious identity among Western-born Muslims as well as their social orientations towards the broader society. I would like now to discuss my model and its constituents in some more detail.

   We shall examine the following questions: What are the constitutive elements of the (immigrant) Muslim religious identity construction? Which aspect(s) of this identity

become more meaningful in the context of new immigrant minority communities? Can we link the process of religious identity construction among Western-born Muslims with that of identification and levels of interaction toward the broader society and if we can, in what ways? Below I propose that what I refer to as the Self–Other boundary mutual group/civilizational identity construction dialectic has the explanatory power to answer the questions posed above.

Factors in Identity Construction

The first element that I incorporate in my analytical framework is what I refer to as the "Self –Other" civilizational boundary mutual identity construction. In this context, Brodeur argues that the constructions of Islam(s) and Muslim identities whether real or imagined

> . . .are never generated solely on the basis of "pure" internal Islamic develop-ments; they are rather the fruit of a binary Self/Other interdependent processes that is best understood as existing somewhere in between local and global, past and future, here and there.[95]

Moreover, he further maintains that the construction of Muslim identity "relies on the constant dialectical interplay between the Self and the Other".[96] Additionally, as Ameli astutely asserts in the context of presenting a historical analysis of Muslim identity, that since the dawn of Islam, the Other has played an instrumental role in the formation of Muslim identity both in theological and in communitarian terms.[97] In the context of identity construction among Western-born Muslim youth living in France and Germany, Hashmi suggests that the idea of the Self as opposed to the Other "seems particularly applicable for young people of ethnic immigrant origins".[98] In the context of Western nation-states N. Green argues that it is "[t]he immigrant [that] represents the "Other".[99] Furthermore, Waardenburg maintains that

> . . .in relation to the identity of Muslims in Europe, there is [however] an aspect of "the condition of otherness" that seems particularly relevant [here], namely the effect of marginalization, discrimination and exclusion in relation to the apprehension of the self and the non-self. In principle Muslims are "the Other" for non-Muslims and vice-versa.[100]

E. Eriksson's definition of identity as a "psycho-social phenomenon where the sense of "me" and "myself" is formed in relation to others and their responses" particularly high-lights the role of the "Other" and that of broader society in the definition of the "Self".[101] On the other hand A. Davutoglu emphasizes the importance of (civilizational) self-perception (*selbstverstaendnis*) in the perceptions of the "Other".[102] The analysis and comparison of types of what Davutoglu terms civilizational self-perceptions[103] can shed light on the "process of the formation of psycho-cultural imaginations in perceiving others and in the process of formulating exclusivist policies".[104] Furthermore, in the context of immigrant minority religious groups, such as Western-born Muslims, the external boundaries of "Self" are always negotiated in relation to the majority group's own self-definitions.[105] Hashmi argues that in the context of immigration, immigrants and their religions are often perceived as single homogenous entities and that the process of generating self-images, for both the immigrants (the Self) and the host society (the Other) is based upon how they see themselves as being viewed.[106] M. Yinger similarly maintains that the formation of religious identities among minorities

is influenced by attitudes shown towards them.[107] Religion, and thus religious identity, in particular, has been and is being shaped "through the strains and tensions in the oscillation between benevolence towards and distrust of the Other".[108] The construction of these Self images and that of the Other are, according to Haensch, a continuous process. Furthermore, she argues, that the process of migration and meeting of cultures lead to both the reflection on the self-image and a reflection on the image of the Other prior to migration.[109]

Self–Other Mutual Identity Construction Dichotomy

Given the above, religious identity construction in the context of Western-born Muslim youth, can be particularly well conceptualized in terms of what the author refers to as the Self–Other mutual identity construction dichotomy. By this it is meant that not only do the views of the religious "Other" impinge upon the views of the religious "Self" but also that the view of how the religious "Other" views the religious "Self" also affects the way one constructs the religious "Self" and vice versa. The way in which these perceptions of "Self" and "Other" are mutually constructed and the way they delineate between the Self and the Other impact upon the nature of this Self–Other mutual identity dialectic. The nature of Self–Other mutual identity construction can either be characterized as antagonistic, exclusivist and oppositional according to which the Self is constructed in civilizationally isolationist, antagonistic, and exclusivist lines *vis-à-vis* the Other. On the other hand the nature of the Self–Other mutual identity construction can be civilizationally inclusivist and hybrid one according to which the sense of Self is constructed along inclusivist and civilizationally hybrid lines *vis-à-vis* the Other.

The religious "Self" and the religious "Other" operate at both the individual and group levels since religious identity encompasses both the sense of believing (individual) and that of belonging (to a broader religious community/civilization). In the case of Western-born Muslims, the term "Self" refers to the socio-religious identity as based upon the civilizational *ummah* understanding of their religious identity. By the same token, the term "Other" refers to the broader socio-cultural society of the West which is based upon Judeo-Christian civilizational foundations. Hussein considers that the most important elements that impinge on the formation of a Muslim identity are threefold: the concept of Self,[110] the concept of territory[111] and the concept of community.[112] This study's approach is based primarily upon the socio-cultural use of religious identity in the construction of group boundaries alongside that of interpretation of scripture which, as we shall subsequently argue, incorporate and emphasize the inter-relationship of all of the three aspects of Muslim identity as defined by D. Hussein, which particularly highlight its communal dimension.

This is so for several reasons. Firstly, as alluded to above the politicization of Muslim identity in the current international climate as well as the new immigrant minority status of the Western Muslim community largely facilitate this communal, universalistic, *ummah* aspect of Muslim identity. Secondly, in the context of Muslims in Europe, J. Malik argues that both majorities and minorities construct collective, monolithic identities.[113] Thirdly, group-based identity plays a significant role in defining and ordering the relationship between the Self and the Other.[114] Fourthly, throughout history and, especially during the period of the Middle Ages during which the genesis and, the formation of the discursive parameters within which the nature of the dynamics of Islamo-Christian group identity construction emerged and was established (as will be discussed below), Islamo-Arab and Judeo-Christian religious identities have been

primarily, if not exclusively, based at the level of groups and communities and not at the level of individuals. These in turn have been inherited by some contemporary members of these two civilizations.[115] Fifthly, the nature and the construction of *group* identity and the boundaries of the Self and the Other as conceptualized by different ways of being a Muslim are very different and this difference is used as one criteria that delineates between the two religious identities. Thus, as I. Kaya points out in the context of investigating Turkish American Identity formation, we can "other" each-other but not equally.[116] This difference in the understanding of civilizational identity can be used as one delineating criteria as well as a heuristic device to help explain why certain identity construction among Muslims are constructed the way they are.

Furthermore, the notion of socio-religious boundaries and the inclusivity-exclusivity dichotomy take central importance in sociological approaches to religion, especially in the context of immigrant communities.[117] This is so because socio-religious boundaries act as effective means of delineating between the Self and the Other.[118] These boundaries can be "formed through markers, such as physical appearances and shared belief, which act as *loci* of differentiation".[119] Dynamic[120] in nature, socio-religious boundaries seem to play a core role in the construction of minority identities in particular, including the religious minority identities. This is so because social boundaries perform the function of markers of a group identity.[121] Based on the boundary approach to religious identity the "Self" presupposes the existence of the "Other" which falls *outside* the set boundaries. The process of religious identity construction among members of immigrant minority religions can, therefore, be particularly well examined in terms of "aris[ing] through a series of nesting dichotomizations of inclusiveness and exclusiveness".[122]

Based on the above, the process of Western-born Muslims' identity construction can be conceptualized well in terms of the Self–Other boundary mutual religious identity construction dialectic approach. Several case studies indicate that immigration often plays a catalyst role in the process of creation and questioning of self images including the images of the other.[123] Therefore, the way in which these socio-religious boundaries are set to delineate between the Self and the Other can be used as a conceptual tool to explain how religious identities among Western-born Muslims are constructed and how to differentiate between different types of these identities. This is so because they affect the nature of the Self–Other boundary mutual religious identity construction dialectic dichotomy.[124]

Sociological Approaches to Religious Identity Construction

The second element in my theoretical framework is a sociological approach to religious identity construction and in particular the socio-cultural use of religious identity in the construction of group boundaries.

G. Davie maintains that given the "undeniable relevance of the religious factor to the geopolitical configurations of the new century", the sociological study of religion has gained a new urgency. This is particularly the case for new immigrant communities.[125] Several studies confirm this assertion in the context of immigrant Muslim minority religious communities and how they construct their identities. For example, Hashmi who investigated the identity dynamics of second-generation university age Muslim youth living in Britain and France asserts "we cannot talk about identity without referring to the society in which the individual exists and to which s/he relates".[126] Following this line of reasoning Kaplan,[127] Cesari[128] and R. Meshal[129] argue that factors such as the

dominant socio-cultural and political climate and its approach to minority cultures play an important role in the formation of Muslim identities and behaviors in the context of immigrant minority religion/culture.

The role of religion in religious identity construction from a sociological perspective is two-fold. Firstly, it acts as a social binder. That is religion contributes towards group solidarity among members of a certain ethno-religious community. Secondly, religion is an important factor in the way members of a certain religious community construct various social and cultural relationships in which they are embedded.[130]

Eid points out two general sociological approaches to the study of religious identity. The aim of one approach is to simply assess the level of observance of religious practices and beliefs and compare them to the socially recognized practices and behaviors considered religiously "normative" and "prescribed". This approach "understands religious identity exclusively in terms of internalization and observance of a given religious system".[131] The other approach emphasizes believers' social use of religion. This approach stresses the socio-cultural[132] use of religious identity in the construction of group identity. According to this approach "religion is an important factor in the structuring of various social and cultural relations in which subjects are enmeshed".[133] For the purposes of understanding the relationship between Western Muslims' identity constructions and their social orientations as well as between different ways of being a Muslim, one component of my framework is premised on a socio-cultural use of religious identity. A modified Eid's theoretical model referred to above is particularly useful in shedding the light on the mechanisms affecting the nature of the Self–Other boundary mutual identity construction.

Eid's theoretical framework is based on a model comprising of four distinct but *interrelated* dimensions referring to four different forms of socio-cultural use of religious identity in the construction of group boundaries. Eid's approach draws upon the work on ethnic identity done by Isajiw[134] and applies it to a religious identity context.[135] It is based upon the premise that

> ...the processes by which individuals establish ties to one or more ethnic/religious groups and their corresponding cultural universes [*internal aspect of identity*] should necessarily be analysed in relation to the processes of socio-cultural incorporation by which the same individuals become socially and culturally competent actors within one or more communities [*external aspect of identity*].

For Eid, a self-concept, including what constitutes "Self-religious identity", to be of any sociological relevance it ought to be related to external processes in which it is embedded.

According to this theoretical model, external/internal processes are encompassed by cultural and social processes of ethnic and religious identity. The cultural domain of ethnic and religious identity refers to "the processes of learning and accepting and internalizing some or all patterns of behaviors of one or more ethnic or religious group(s)".[136] The social processes, in turn, relate to the "entrance of individuals into primary groups such as family and friends as well as into secondary such as systemic institutional organizations (economic, political, educational) and voluntary associations (cultural, professional, religious)".[137]

The model, therefore, divides the concept of religious identity into "internal/subjective" and "external/objective aspects"[138] and identifies social and cultural components of religious identity both of which have internal and external aspects. Social internal and external aspects, respectively, refer to "the subject's identification and levels of

interaction with his or her religious community".[139] The Cultural internal aspect relates to the "subject's personal identification and sense of belonging to his/her religious culture, whereas the cultural external aspect refers to the "subject's level of observance of religious rituals".[140]

These categories are useful as they can shed light on how the individual constructs a religious identity *vis-à-vis* the "Self" (at both individual and community level) and how strong their religious commitment is (i.e. are they practicing Muslims or do they have a symbolic religious identity). Based upon this aspect of the theoretical framework one could examine how different ways of being a Muslim construct their religious identities in relation to these categories, if there are any differences between them and if yes, what these differences are.

The above four aspects of religious identity, however, only pertain to the religious "Self" and do not take into account the religious "Other". As we mentioned above the construction of identities in immigrant minority religion context can be particularly well conceptualized in terms of the Self–Other mutual identity construction dichotomy. I will, therefore, incorporate into my theoretical framework an examination of how Western-born Muslims construct the (religious) "Other, and how that influences the way they construct the (religious) "Self". This additional constituent of religious identity, analogous to that of Eid, would also exist at a social and cultural level. The social element would have an internal and external component whilst the cultural would have only the external component.[141] We shall refer to them as Social External Other, Social Internal Other, and Cultural Internal Other. Social External Other and Social Internal Other aspects of religious identity relates to believer's identification and levels of interaction with the socio-cultural and political dimensions of the "Other". This would manifest itself in the believer's socio-cultural incorporation into and participation in the socio-cultural milieu of the (dominant) Other and the extent to which the social, political and cultural dimensions of the (dominant) Other are considered to be in consonance with the civilizational view of "Self".[142] The Cultural Internal Other would relate to the believer's attitude towards the "legitimacy" and "validity" of the religious culture of the Other as an alternative avenue to his/her own.[143] Based upon this element of the theoretical framework one could examine how different ways of being a Muslim influences the construction of their religious identities in relation to these categories, if there are any differences between them and if yes, what are these differences.

The Veil and the Construction of Gender Identity

Other mechanisms that need to be taken into consideration in the context of identity construction among members of new immigrant minority religious communities are notions of difference, categorization and distinction.[144] Hashmi is of the view that in the transplanted context of immigration religion for immigrants becomes a powerful vehicle of difference, distinctiveness and categorization between the Self and the Other.[145] 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, categorization and distinction.[146]

This is especially so in the case of the veil worn by some Muslim women.[147] For example, Meshal 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".[148] Based on these considerations the question of "normative"

female Muslim gender construction and her role in the broader society becomes relevant to our discussion.

How do different types of being a Muslim construct the notion of a normative female gender? Which mechanisms are responsible for a particular gender construction? How do they affect the nature of the Self–Other mutual identity construction dialectic?

I have already referred to Meshal's study which demonstrates that religious symbols such as the veil worn by some Muslim women in the West is responsible for creating difference and categorization between some Muslim and non-Muslim members of Western societies which, in turn, facilitate an exclusivist Self–Other boundary mutual identity construction dichotomy. Are there any other mechanisms related to a particular Muslim female gender construction that can be seen as being responsible for creation of distinction and difference between some Muslim and non-Muslim members of Western societies and therefore facilitate an antagonistic Self–Other boundary mutual identity construction?

Representations of Muslim Women

Before I attempt to answer the above stated questions, more needs to be said about the prevalent views on the role of the female gender in Muslim identity construction and the current discourses that influence a particular female Muslim gender construction as engendered by both Western Muslims and non-Muslims.

Representations of Muslim women are central to political debates on cultural[149] identity, relationship between Muslim societies and the West, tradition and authenticity and cultural specificity and globalism".[150] Furthermore, women in Islamic discourses play a vital role in the (re)-construction of Muslim religio-cultural identity[151] and even more so in the context of an immigrant minority group.[152] 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).[153] R. Mohammad argues that this centrality of women in Muslim communities in terms of identity reconstruction and preservation:

> . . .intensifies 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.[154]

Additionally, 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 which facilitates an exclusivist Self–Other mutual identity construction.[155] Further re-enforcing this is the presence of "the racist environment [evident in some spheres of Western societies] which contributes to a return to religion which generate stereotypical biases reinforced within Orientalist discourses".[156] Moreover, the still prevalent 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.[157] The similarities in Orientalist and Islamist discourses of knowledge construction, argues K. Shanaz, are indicative of how "dominant Western stereotypes and Islamist visions of authority intersect",[158] and thus further contribute towards an antagonistic Self–Other mutual identity construction.

Socio-Spatial Regulatory Mechanisms

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 even to some professionally educated Muslim women living in the West.[159]

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.

For example, R. 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' honor, 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".[160]

H. 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.[161]

Mohammad 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"[162] between Muslims and non-Muslims. 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. As such they also affect the nature of the Self–Other boundary mutual identity construction.

Education

The first factor she identifies is in the field of education.[163] For example, the demand for mushrooming Muslim schools and, 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.[164] 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. 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.[165]

Labor Market

The labor market is another socio-spatial regulatory mechanism identified by Mohammad that is responsible for the creation of an oppositional or antagonistic

Self–Other mutual identity construction.[166] 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".[167]

Early Marriage

Sexual regulation through early marriage is another significant socio-spatial regulatory practice. It is "a key means through which both group identity and women's position within the group are preserved and consolidated".[168] 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".[169]

The Veil

Dress is the final socio-spatial regulatory practice identified by Mohammad.[170] Dress, argues C. Dweyer, "has become an over-determined signifier for the identity of young British Muslim women".[171] 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".[172] She further maintains that clothing is the most salient way in which human collectivities demarcate social boundaries and distinguish self from the other at both collective and individual levels.[173] T. Benn and H. Jawad echo this sentiment by stating that visual markers such as the *hijab* are highly significant in issues of cross cultural integration.[174] As argued below the wearing of the veil tends to facilitate oppositional Self–Other identity construction based on a particular religious identity, which emphasizes the normativeness and centrality of the concept of wearing the veil.

The role of dress, especially the veil, argues Dweyer, is seen as a primary signifier of a distinct oppositional Muslim religious identity *vis-à-vis* Western identity for Muslims and non-Muslims alike.[175] Indeed, Meshael 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.[176] The practice of veiling, furthermore, ensures that "essentialised and oppositional identities are straightforwardly read from appearances".[177] Veiling, as Todd aptly points out, "is a powerful symbol, which can reveal a host of meanings, linked to the self-definitions of two [Muslim and non-Muslim] communities".[178] The veil, in the minority culture context of Western Muslims is often seen as a marker of foreignness and those who adopt it are often denied 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".[179] Meshal's study on the *hijab* in Canada confirms this by indicating that integration and the wearing of veil exist in an inverse relationship.[180] In her study of young British Muslim women, Gwyer echoes this sentiment by asserting that the (Muslim) Asian versus West dichotomy is often reinforced through choice of dress, re-inscribing or strategically fixing essentialized identities.[181] This type of Self–Other mutual identity

construction, needless to say, in Zine's words, "causes insularity with respect to Muslim interactions with others".[182]

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",[183] can be seen to facilitate or further re-enforce the antagonistic and exclusivist civilizational/group identity construction between Muslim and non-Muslim communities, thus affecting the Muslims' social orientation. Meshal's study, as mentioned previously, confirms this view. Indeed, it is pertinent to point out that, according to Hoodfar, the negative portrayal of Islam and Muslims in the West proved to be a motivating factor for some women to take up the veil.[184] Hence it is a two way process of the Self–Other mutual identity construction.

There is also mounting evidence from many minority communities including Muslim women in Australia indicating that young Western-born Muslim women are increasingly adopting a more explicitly Islamic dress including the *hijab*.[185] Furthermore, Dweyer and Meshal argue that for Western-born young Muslim women, wearing a veil seems to play a decisive role in the construction of new Western Muslim identities.[186]

It ought to be noted here that the hermeneutics of the veil, however, is complex since "multiple meanings [are] associated [with] veiling which vary historically, culturally and politically".[187] 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.[188]

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".[189] In this form the veil's original or historical scripture-based, meaning, which has been linked to a legacy of patriarchal embeddedness of the scriptural tradition,[190] has been replaced by a host of diverse meanings.[191] These range from those of opposition to inherited ethnic culture and racialized discourses of exclusion, to a symbol of political protest/resistance (usually in the form of political Islam); from a sign of moral purity to that of strong commitment to religious identity or a tool of security in unfamiliar, potentially threatening environments, as well as many others.[192]

The construction and the types of religious identity would, according to this view, differ in the way in which the above socio-spatial mechanisms are employed to construct the Self and the Other in relation to how the normative Muslim female gender construct is formulated.

The Historical Component of Religious Identity Construction

Another element in the proposed theoretical framework is that of history of mutual identity construction between the two civilizations or more simply "historicity" and how it affects the religious identity construction among Western-born Muslims. Why include the historicity component?

A. Hoefert and A. Salvatore, in examining the importance of trans-cultural politics in inter-cultural/civilizational formation of Self and the Other have suggested that contextual factors are largely responsible for not only the identity construction of the Self but that of the "Other". These contextual factors, in turn have a historicity component as they are passed from generation to generation.[193] Indeed, S. Ismail asserts, that "[T]aking into account the sociality and historicity of religion is central to understanding the production of religious identity in the public sphere".[194] K. Leonard similarly maintains that Muslim identities like other identities are "characterised by instability, construction in context, and reinterpretations of the past in the present".[195] P. Brouder similarly maintains that meaningfully integrated self-understanding is rooted both in history and in the future of one's primary community of identity[196] which, as outlined above in the new immigrant context, is often their Islamic identity. I. Lapidus, furthermore, considers that "in the construction of modern Muslim identities there is a striking degree of historical structural continuity" and that "in some cases contemporary Islamic states and Islamic religious movements are simply direct continuations of past ones".[197] Similarly, Ameli in the context of investigating the impact of globalization on Muslim identity construction among British-born Muslim youth asserts that "History—and also current interpretations of history—enter crucially into analysis of contemporary Muslim identity".[198] Ameli further concludes that:

> If Muslim identity should be evaluated according to determinative factors involved in the construction of identity, and if these factors have themselves been subject to radical transformation in historical terms, it then becomes necessary for the analyses to present a historical view of these factors.[199]

Thus, identities, including religious identity, have what is here termed a "historicity" component. Variant understandings/readings of these contextual and historical aspects of religious identity construction will, therefore, also determine its type. This provides an additional theoretical and conceptual tool through which one can derive the understanding of the mechanisms of variant types of religious identity constructions among contemporary Western-born Muslims.

The Role of Scriptural Hermeneutics

An additional element in the proposed framework is the role of religious tradition itself, and more precisely the different ways of conceptualizing and interpreting this religious tradition. 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".[200] Religious narratives act as the "building blocks of individual and collective religious identities".[201]

The construction of a religious identity is also based upon a particular understanding (or interpretation) of the religious tradition itself (i.e. its primary, normative sources).[202] Waardenburg and A. Wadud argue that in the context of Muslim immigrant descendents, the normative sources and the search for true, normative Islam are particularly important.[203] Z. 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 build-
> ing blocks of what it means to be a Muslim. The nature and content [204] of these
> original sources are the ultimate definition of Muslim identity, and will remain
> valid for all time.[205]

Furthermore, 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"[206] which become central to their identity dynamics.[207]
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-ul-fiqh*) has "obtained a new rel-
evance for Muslims living in Western societies", that it is of "utmost importance" and
that it has "practical relevance". This view is confirmed by several other empirical
studies conducted, for example, by S. Noeckel, U. Boos-Nuenning and
Y. Karakasoglu.[208] This is so because normative Islam, that is one based upon a particular
interpretation of primary sources of the Islamic worldview, is assumed to offer Muslims a
comprehensive guide with many guarantees and benefits in terms of what they should do
and believe in, in order to lead a life of a good Muslim which becomes their primary
concern.

Thus any attempt to understand the religious identity construction among Western-
born generation of Muslims needs to take this important element into account. I term
this the scriptural-hermeneutical factor in religious identity construction. This phrase
refers to a particular approach to the interpretation of primary sources of the Islamic
Weltanschauung, namely the Qur'an and the Sunnah. However, as I have shown else-
where,[209] religious tradition and its sources are subject to various interpretations based
upon certain methodological and epistemological assumptions. These hermeneutical
differences, argues Wadud, in the case of Islamic tradition are crucial in the constructing
of variant religious identities [210] including the variant concepts of normative female
Muslim identity.[211]

The primary, normative sources of the Islamic religious tradition are the Qur'an and
the Sunnah.[212] The centrality of the Qur'an and the Sunnah in Muslim thought
permeates through the entire Islamic intellectual legacy. They are uniformly recog-
nized by Muslims as the ultimate points of reference on whose basis, in the past as
well as in the present, a variety of interpretive communities across the Muslim ideologi-
cal divide have based both their creeds (*aqidah*) and interpretive approaches (*manhaj*),
and thus their religious identity. However, the often-invoked formula of "going back
to the Qur'an and Sunnah" has become a cliché phrase in contemporary Muslim
discourses.[213] Throughout the Muslim historical experience the phrase has been an
ideological battleground in terms of whose interpretation is the most representative
of God's Intent/Will and Prophet's (s) bodily interpretation of it. Reflecting this
Waardenburg argues that this quest for normative Islam in the Western context is
constantly re-constructed by successive generations of Muslims who appeal to a
"true, normative" Islam along variant lines so that one is faced with the dilemma of
the multiplicity of normative Islams.[214]

Therefore, differences in interpretative models of the Qur'an and the Sunnah are
central when examining which type of religious identity is being constructed.[215] This
is because these normative sources contain a number of references to religious identity
construction of the Muslim Self *vis-à-vis* the (religious) "Other" that are open to

various interpretations. Furthermore, the act of interpretation of the sacred is not just a scholarly task but a highly political one, as Raines reminds us.

> It is a contentious terrain precisely because it continues to deeply affect people in their daily lives. It is contentious because interpreting the sacred shapes how power is used in society. To interpret religious tradition is to enter a conflict and to make a choice. Our appropriation of our heritage is never neutral; it displays our intention and purpose for its use. It is taking up sides even if, or perhaps especially if it claims to do so.[216]

The religious tradition, therefore, also affects all of the other factors identified above since it has a socio-political dimension too by, for example, how it defines the religious boundaries of "Self" and "Other" or that of a normative *muslimah* (Muslim woman) image in relation to the socio-spatial mechanisms discussed above. [217] As such differences in interpretation and the role of religious tradition are very important factors that ought to be taken into consideration when developing a theoretical framework on religious identity construction among Western-born Muslims.

Conclusion

The discussion above has highlighted several factors which influence religious identity construction of Western-born/raised Muslims. These emphasize the importance of taking into account the Self–Other mutual identity construction dialectic; the socio-cultural use of religious identity in the construction of group boundaries, the notion of difference, categorization and distinction in religious symbols, and, as a corollary, the role of normative female Muslim gender construction; and lastly the scriptural hermeneutic component. The scriptural interpretation factor was considered crucial in the construction of Muslim religious identity because it influences all of the other factors identified in the model. As such a theoretical framework whose aim is to explain the construction of religious identity among Western-born/raised Muslims in the context of immigrant minority religion as well as for delineation between different types of "being a Muslim" needs to take into account the important factors identified in this analytical discourse. These factors would help identify the mechanisms and processes which determine Muslims' identity construction in the context of belonging to a new immigrant religion; explain the different ways of constructing this identity, and at the same time account for different types of being a Muslim in the West, especially in relation to their social orientation towards the broader society.

Acknowledgements

NOTES

1. In this category we also include those individuals who were not born but were raised/lived in the West during their childhood years.
2. S.R. Ameli, *Globalization, Americanization and British Muslim Identity*, London: ICAS Press, 2002; O. Roy, *Globalized Islam-The Search for the New Ummah*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.
3. J. Waardenburg, *Muslims and Others—Relations in Context*, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003.

4. S. Allievi and J. Nielsen, eds., *Muslim Networks and Transnational Communities in and across Europe*, Leiden: Brill, 2003.

5. S.R. Ameli, *Globalization, op. cit.*; O. Roy, *Globalized Islam, op. cit.*; J. Waardenburg, *Muslims and Others, op. cit.* Also L. Peek, "Becoming Muslim: Development of a Religious Identity", *Sociology of Religion*, Vol. 66, No. 3, Fall 2005, pp. 215–242; H. Kaplan, "Relationship between Religion and Identity Development: A Study of the Second Generation American Muslim Adolescents", Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Syracuse University, New York, 2005.

6. J. Cesari, "Muslim Identities in Europe", in ed. A. Al-Azmeh, *Islam in Europe- Diversity, Identity, Influence*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 48–69, 52.

7. Communities that have immigrated to the West in the post-1965 period. Most Muslim immigrant communities today in the West belong to this category and are a focus of this study. In the context of Muslim immigrants in North America, Abu-Laban presents a typology of Muslim immigrant families. According to this typology, the immigration periods have been put into three groups: (1) the Pioneer, dating from the latter part of the nineteenth century up to and including World War II; (2) the Transitional, dating from post-World War II to about 1967, and (3) the Differentiated, dating from around 1968 to the present. Abu-Laban then divides the Differentiated group into first- and second-generation differentiated. In this study, who we refer to as the first- and second-generation (or Western-born generations of Western Muslims) are the equivalent of the first- and the second-generation differentiated Muslims as identified in Abu-Laban's study. Although the immigration patterns to Western Europe are somewhat different than those to North America, the dates used by Abu-Laban, for the purposes of this study, can be applied to the Western European context since there was a large intake of immigrants in the second half of the 1960s in Europe as well, whose children belong to the same generation as the second-generation differentiated in North America. See E.H. Waugh, S. McIrvin Abu-Laban and R.B.Qureshi, eds., *Muslim Families in North America*, Alberta: University of Alberta Press, 1991, pp. 12–26.

8. For the United States data, see H.R. Ebaugh and J.S. Chafez, *Religion and the New Immigrants—Continuities and Adaptations in Immigrant Congregations*, Oxford: Alta Mira Press, 2000, pp. 13–14; R.S. Warner and J.G. Wittner, ed., *Gatherings in Diaspora—Religious communities and, the New Immigration*, Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1998, pp. 4–8. For Europe, see J. Cesari, *When Islam and Democracy Meet: Muslims in Europe and in the United States*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.

9. Ebaugh and Chafez, *Religion and the New Immigrants, op. cit*, p. 401. Also F. Yang and H.R. Ebaugh, "Transformations in new immigrant religion and their global implications", *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 66, No. 2, 2001, pp. 269–288.

10. N. T. Ammermann, "Religious Identities and Religious Institutions", in ed. M. Dillon, ed., *Handbook of the Sociology of Religion*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp. 207–225, 208.

11. W. Schiffauer, "Migration and Religiousness", in T. Gerholm and G. Lithman, *The New Islamic Presence in Europe*, London and New York: Mansell, 1990, pp. 146–159, 151.

12. N. Hashmi, "Immigrant Children in Europe: Constructing a Transnational Identity", in eds. A. Hoefert and A. Salvatore, *Between Europe and Islam—Shaping Modernity in a Transcultural Space*, Brussels: P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2000, pp. 163–173.

13. Ebaugh and Chafez, *Religion and the New Immigrants, op. cit.*, p. 401.

14. Ph.E. Hammond and K. Warner, "Religion and ethnicity in late-twentieth century America", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 527, 1993, pp. 55–66.

15. W. Herberg, *Protestant, Catholic, Jew. An Essay in American Religious Sociology*, 2nd edn., Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1960.

16. G.M. Mirdal, "The Construction of Muslim Identities in Contemporary Europe", in F. Dassetto (directed by) *Paroles d'Islam-Individus, Societes et Discours dans l'Islam Europeen Contemporain*, Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 2000, pp. 35–49, 39–40.

17. Mirdal, "The Construction of Muslim Identities", *op. cit.*, p. 39.

18. T. L. Smith, "Religion and Ethnicity in America", *American Historical Review*, Vol. 83, December 1993, pp. 1155–1185, as cited in Ebaugh and Chafez, *Religion and the New Immigrants, op. cit.*, p. 401.

19. T.L. Smith, "Religion and Ethnicity in America", *op. cit.*

20. R. B. Williams, *Religions of Immigrants from India and Pakistan: New Trends in American Tapestry*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, p. 29.

21. F. Yang and E.H. Rose, "Transformations in New Immigrant Religions and their Global Implications", *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 66, No. 2, April 2001, pp. 269–288.

22. R. Alba, "Bright vs. blurred boundaries: Second generation assimilation and exclusion in France, Germany, and the Unites States", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 1, January 2005, pp. 20–49.

23. S. Gilliat, "Perspectives on the Religious Identity of Muslims in Britain", Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Wales, St. David's University College, Lampeter, 1994.

24. J. Waardenburg, *Muslims and Others*, *op. cit.*, p. 485.

25. T. L. Smith, "Religion and Ethnicity in America", as cited in Ebaugh and Chafez, *Religion and the New Immigrants*, *op. cit.*, p. 401.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 1174.

27. A. Greely, *Religious Change in America*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989, p. 42; also A. Greely, *Why Can't They Be Like Us? American White Ethnic Groups*, New York: E.P. Dutton, 1971.

28. P. Eid, "Ethnic and Religious Identity Retention among second generation of Arab Youths in Montreal", Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Toronto, Toronto, 2002, p. 25; J. Waardenburg, "Normative Islam in Europe", in F. Dassetto (directed by) *Paroles d'Islam- Individus*, *op. cit.*, pp. 49–69.

29. N. T. Ammermann, "Religious Identities and Religious Institutions", in ed. M. Dillon, *Handbook of the Sociology of Religion*, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

30. Ebaugh and Chafez, *Religion and the New Immigrant*, *op. cit*, .p. 402.

31. Warner and Wittner, ed., *Gatherings in Diaspora*, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

32. S. Gilliat, "Perspectives on Religious Identity", *op. cit.*, p. 162.

33. Ebaugh and Chafez, *Religion and the New Immigrant*, *op. cit.*, p. 406.

34. For a more in-depth discussion and analysis of changes in western (born) Muslims' identities see A. Duderija, "Literature review on identity construction in the context of being a new immigrant religion minority: The case of Western Muslims", *Journal of Immigration and Minorities*, Vol. 25, No. 2, July 2008, pp. 141–162.

35. J. Jacobson, *Islam in Transition: Religion and Identity Among British-Pakistani Youth*, London: Routledge, 1998.

36. B. McGown, *Muslims in the Diaspora*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.

37. J. Zine, "Muslim Students in Public Schools: Education and the Politics of Religious Identity", *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, Vol. 32, No. 4, December 2001, pp. 399–345, 402.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 401.

39. C. McMichael, "Everywhere is Allah's Place: Islam and the Everyday Life of Somali Women in Melbourne, Australia", *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 2, June 2002, pp. 171–188.

40. S. Gilliat, "Perspectives on Religious Identity", *op. cit.*

41. S. Alvi, H. Hoodfar, and S. McDonough, *The Muslim Veil in North America: Issues and Debates*, *op. cit.*

42. S. Ahmed, "Religiosity, Identity &Pro-Social Behaviour—A Study of Muslim Youth", Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Farleigh Dickinson University, New Jersey, 2003.

43. S. Azmi, "Canadian Social Service Provisions and the Muslim Community in Metropolitan Toronto", *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Vol. 17, No. 1, 1997, pp. 153–156.

44. C. Gibb, "Religious Identification in Transnational contexts: Being and Becoming Muslim in Ethiopia and Canada", *Diaspora*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 1998, pp. 247–267.

45. L. Peek, "Becoming Muslim", *op. cit.*

46. H. Kaplan, "Relationship between Religion and Identity Development", *op. cit.*, pp. 111–112.

47. N. Hashmi, "From Ethnicity to Religion", *op. cit.* The point is made throughout the work and is evident in the work's title.

48. R. Mohammad, "Marginalisation, Islamism and the production of the 'other's' 'other'", *Gender, Place and Culture*, Vol. 6, No. 3, September 1999, pp. 221–240.

49. S.R. Ameli, *Globalization*, *op. cit.*, pp. 76–80.

50. C. McMichael, "Everywhere is Allah's Place", *op. cit.*, pp. 177–188.

51. P. Eid, in particular, summaries literature on the role of prejudice and discrimination on strengthening of ethnicity and religion in second generation of Muslims living in the West in "Ethnic and Religious Identity Retention", *op. cit.*, pp. 50–54, cf. J. Cesari, *When Islam and Democracy Meet*, *op. cit.*, p. 170; N. Hashmi, "From Ethnicity to Religion", *op. cit.*, p. 66; B. Marechal, S. Allievi, F. Dassetto and J. Nielsen, *Muslims in Enlarged Europe—Religion and Society*, Leiden: Brill, 2003, p. 14; S. Gilliat, "Perspectives on Religious Identity", *op. cit.*, pp. 197–200. Indeed, a protest Muslim/Islamic identity, argue Vertovec and Rogers, can be forged in reaction to negative or essentialist representations

of Islam and immigrants. See S. Vertovec and A. Rogers, *Muslim European Youth-Reproducing ethnicity, religion culture*, Ashgate: Routledge, 1998, pp. 1–27.

52. L. Peek, "Becoming Muslim", *op. cit.*

53. A. Duderija, "Literature Review", *op. cit.*, pp. 141–162.

54. For examples of a western Muslim typology see T. Ramadan, *The Western Muslims and the Future of Islam*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; S.R. Ameli, *Globalization*, *op. cit.*

55. The studies of western Muslim identities based on ethnicity as the main variable under analysis will be considered only in as much as they have a direct bearing on the aims of this study.

56. S. Ahmed, "Religiousity, Identity &Pro-Social Behaviour—A Study of Muslim Youth", *op. cit.*

57. P. Eid, "Ethnic and Religious Identity Retention", *op. cit.*, p. 43.

58. A. Begag, "The Beurs: Children of North African Immigrants in France: The Issue of Integration", *Journal of Ethnic Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 1, 1990, pp. 1–13.

59. S. Gilliat, "Perspectives on Religious Identity", *op. cit.*

60. A. Bastenier, "L'incidence du factour religieux dans la conscience ethnique des immigres marocains en Belgique", in *Social Compass*, Vol. 45, No. 2, 1998, pp. 195–218; C. Nijsten, "Living as a Muslim in a Migration Country", in eds. W.A.R. Shadid and P.S. Van Koningsveld, *Political Participation and Identities of Muslims in non-Muslim States*, Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1996; L. Yalcin-Heckman, "Growing up as a Muslim in Germany: Religious Socialisation among Turkish Migrant Families", in eds. S. Vertovec and A. Rogers, *Muslim European Youth*, *op. cit.*, pp. 167–193; J. Lans and M. Rooijackers, "Attitudes of second-generation immigrants towards Collective Religious Representation of their Parental Culture", in eds. D.Hutsebaut and J. Coveleyn, *Belief and Unbelief-Psychological Perspectives*, Amsterdam: Rodopi, pp. 111–133.

61. Y.Y. Haddad, "Maintaining the Faith of the Fathers: Dilemmas in the Religious Identity in the Christian and Muslim Arab-American Communities", in ed. E. McCarus, *The Development of Arab-American Identity*, Chicago, IL: University of Michigan Press, 1994, pp. 63–82; N. H. Baranzagi, "Arab Muslim Identity Transmission: Parents and Youth", in eds. B. Abu-Laban, and M.W. Suleiman, *Arab-Americans: Continuity and Changes*, Belmont: Association of Arab American University Graduates, pp. 65–83; P. Eid, "Ethnic and Religious Identity Retention", *op. cit.*

62. P. Eid, "Ethnic and Religious Identity Retention", *op. cit.*, p. 47.

63. Begag, "The Beurs: Children of North African Immigrants in France", *op. cit.*

64. P. Eid, "Ethnic and Religious Identity Retention" *op. cit.*, pp. 49–50.

65. *Ibid.* Also see L. Peek, "Becoming Muslim", *op. cit.*

66. P. Eid, "Ethnic and Religious Identity Retention", *op. cit.*, pp. 49–50.

67. L. Peek, "Becoming Muslim: Development of a Religious Identity", p. 215.

68. *Ibid.*

69. *Ibid.*

70. N. Hashmi, "From Ethnicity to Religion", *op. cit.*

71. *Ibid.*

72. A. Sander, "To What Extent is the Swedish Muslim Religious?" in eds. S. Vertovec and C. Peach, *Islam in Europe: the Politics of Religion and Community. Migration, Minorities and Citizenship Series* (General eds. Z. Layton-Henry and D. Joly), CRER Warwick-London: Macmillan, 1999.

73. *Ibid*, p. 187.

74. P. Eid, "Ethnic and Religious Identity Retention", *op. cit.*

75. *Ibid.*

76. S. Ahmed, "Religiousity, Identity &Pro–Social Behaviour", *op. cit.*

77. G. Schmitt, "Islamic Identity Formation among Young Muslims; The Case of Denmark, Sweden and the United States", *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Vol. 24, No. 1, April 2004, pp. 31–45.

78. S. Gilliat, "Perspectives on Religious Identity", pp. 198–199.

79. The term "glocalism" has been coined by Robertson and it highlights the intimate and dialectical relationship between global and local influences acting simultaneously and affecting each-other. See R. Robertson, "Glocalization: time–space and homogeneity–heterogenity", in *Global Modernities*, eds. S. Featherstone, S. Lash and R. Robertson, London: Sage, 1995.

80. S. Ameli, *Globalization*, *op. cit.*, pp. 23–24.

81. Ibid., pp. 134–139, 227–272.

82. The Friday congregational prayer for example.

83. S. Ameli, *Globalization*, *op. cit.*, p. 277.

84. Ibid., p. 278.

85. M. Rooijackers, "Religious Identity, Integration and Subjective Well-being among Young Turkish Muslims", in eds. Shadid and Van Koningsveld, *Political Participation and Identities of Muslims*, *op. cit.*, pp. 66–75, 72.

86. *Ibid.*

87. C. Nijsten, "Living as a Muslim in a Migration Country", in *Political Participation and Identities of Muslims*, eds. Shadid and Van Koningsveld, *op. cit.*, pp. 160–173.

88. F. Dassetto, La construction de l'islam europeen: Approche socio-anthropologique (Musulmans d'Europe), Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996, as cited in Waardenburg, Muslims and Others, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

89. A. Sander, "To What Extent is the Swedish Muslim Religious ?" in eds. S. Vertovec and C. Peach, *Islam in Europe, op. cit.*, p. 187.

90. G. Klinkhammer, *Moderne Formen islamischer Lebensfuehrung*, Marburg: Diagonal Verlag, 2000, pp. 286–289.

91. W. Heitmeyer, J. Mueler, and H. Schroeder, *Verlockender Fundamentalismus-Tuerkische Jugend in Deutschland*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1997, pp. 9, 32, 183–186.

92. Immigrant Muslim communities live predominantly in such context.

93. J. Leman, "Religions, Modulators in Pluri-Ethnic Cities: An Anthropological analysis of the relative Shift from Ethnic to Supra-Ethnic and Meta-Ethnic Faith Communities in Brussels", *Journal of Contemporary Religion*,Vol. 14, No. 2, pp. 217–231, 224–225.

94. A. Wadud, "Alternative Qur'anic Interpretation and the Status of Muslim Women", in *Windows of Faith-Muslim Women Scholar-Activists in North America*, ed. G. Webb, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2000, pp. 3–21; R.A. Meshal, "Banners of Faith and Identities in Construct: The Hijab in Canada", in S.S. Alvi, H. Hoodfar and S. McDonough, *The Muslim Veil in North America: Issues and Debates*, *op. cit.*, pp. 72–105, 88. Meshal's empirical study on the reasons behind wearing of the *hijab* by second generation of Muslim women in Canada suggests that Qur'an and hadith are the most important sources for formation of religious vies including that of the *hijab*.

95. P.C. Brodeur, "From Postmodernism to 'Glocalism',Towards a theoretical understanding of contemporary Arab Muslim Constructions of Religious Others", in *Globalization and the Muslim World—Culture Religion and Modernity*, ed. B. Schaebler and L. Stenberg, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2004, pp. 188–205.

96. P. Brodeur, "From Postmodernism to 'Glocalism'", *op. cit*, p. 190.

97. S. Ameli, *Globalized, op. cit.*, p. 93.

98. N. Hashmi, "From Ethnicity to Religion", *op. cit.*, p. 59.

99. N. Green, "The Comparative Method and Post structural Structuralism: New Perspectives for Migration Studies", in *Migration, Migration, History, History*, eds. J. Lucassen and L. Luicassen, Bern: Peter Lang, 1997, p. 57.

100. J. Waardenburg, "Normative Islam in Europe", *op. cit.*, p. 41.

101. E. Erikson, *Identity and the Lifecycle*, London: W.W. Norton, 1980, pp. 20–21.

102. À. Davutoglu, "Civilisational Self-Perception and Pluralistic Coexistence: A Critical Examination of the Image of the Other", in *Muslims and the West-Encounter and Dialogue*, eds. Z.I. Ansari and J.L. Esposito, Islamabad/Washington: Islamic Research Institute and Centre for Muslim-Christian Understanding, 2001, pp. 103–123, 107–122.

103. These self-perception, argues Davutoglu, imply identity by necessity. He identifies several sub-categories of this civilizational, collective identity self-perception, namely: strong and rigid, strong and flexible, strong and regional, weak and rigid and weak and flexible. À. Davutoglu, "Civilisational Self-Perception and Pluralistic Coexistence", *op. cit.*, pp. 103–123, 107–112.

104. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

105. D. Juteau, "Ethnic Communalizations in the World System: Theorizing from the Margins", in *Multiculturalism in North America and Europe. Comparative Perspectives on Interethnic Relations and Social Incorporation*, ed. W.W. Isajiw, Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 1997, pp. 187–210.

106. N. Hashmi, "The Immigrant Children", *op. cit.*, pp. 166–170.

107. M. Yinger, *The Scientific Study of Religion*, New York: Macmillan, 1970, p. 315.

108. A. Hoefert and A. Salvatore, eds., *Between Europe and Islam, op. cit.*, pp. 15–16.

109. A. Haensch, "Emigration and Modernity: On the Two fold Liminality in Arab and Franco-Arab Literature", in *Between Europe and Islam, op. cit.*, eds. A. Hoefert and A. Salvatore, p. 143.

110. That is believer's relationship with God as based upon the key Qur'anic concepts such as *tawhid* (God's unity and uniqueness), *taqwa* (God-consciousness), *istikhlaf* (vicegerency of human beings), *dhikr* (remembrance of God) and *rabbaniyah* (believer's spiritual relationship with God).

111. Traditionally the classical Islamic thought that has no direct link with the Qur'an and Sunnah bodies of knowledge, linked Islam and its adherents with a particular territory. Muslims, the Self, were to live in *dar al Islam* (abode of peace/Islam) and other regions described variously as *dar al kufr* (abode of unbelief), dar *al'ahd/ dar al sulh* (abode of treaty) and *dar al 'amn* (abode of security) were identified as the Other, most schools discouraging or prohibiting Muslims from living in them.

112. The well-known concept of *ummah/qawm* and that of *wala'* or loyalty to one's religion and other spheres of life. D. Hussein, "The Impact of 9/11 on British Muslim Identity", in *Islam and the West Post 9/11*, eds. R. Geaves, T. Gabriel, Y. Haddad, J. Idleman Smith, Ashgate: Routledge, 2004, pp. 122–125.

113. J. Malik, ed., *Muslims in Europe-From the Margins to the Centre*, Muenster: LIT Verlag, 2004, p. 3.

114. I. Kaya, "Shifting Turkish American Identity Formations in the United States", The Florida University State, College of Social Sciences, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 2005, p. 11.

115. As in the case of Neo-Traditional Salafis, see A.Duderija, "Islamic Groups and their Worldviews and identities: The case of Neo-Traditional Salafis and Progressive Muslims", *Arab Law Quarterly*, Vol. 21, No. 4, 2007, pp. 339–360.

116. I. Kaya, "Shifting Turkish American Identity", *op. cit.*, p. 10.

117. J. Jacobson, *Islam in Transition, op. cit*, pp. 13–18.

118. *Ibid.*, pp. 9–26, 126–152.

119. N. Hashmi, "From Ethnicity to Religion", *op. cit.*, p. 50.

120. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

121. *Ibid.*; Also D. Maumoon, "Islamism and Gender Activism, A Muslim Woman's Quest for Autonomy", *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Vol. 19, No. 2, October 1999, pp. 269–284; S. Gilliat, "Multiculturalism and Identity", *op. cit.*, p. 348.

122. J. Jacobson, *Islam in Transition, op. cit.*, p. 17. Hashmi maintains that affirmation of (a particular type of) religious identity often acts as an instrument or a toll by which people deal with their exclusion from the broader society. This exclusion is often felt more by the second generation of Muslims; N. Hashmi, "From Ethnicity to Religion", *op. cit.*, p. 66.

123. A. Haensch, "Emigration and Modernity", *op. cit.*, p. 161.

124. By the term nature I mean either oppositional, antagonistic or inclusive and civilisationally hybrid.

125. G. Davie, "The Evolution of the Sociology of Religion—Theme and Variations", in *Handbook of the Sociology of Religion*, ed. M. Dillon, *op. cit.*, pp. 61–75.

126. N. Hashmi, "From Ethnicity to Religion", *op. cit.*, pp. 22–23.

127. H. Kaplan, "Relationship between Religion and Identity Development", *op. cit.*, p. 111

128. J. Cesari, *When Islam and Democracy Meet, op. cit.*, Appendix I, pp. 183–184.

129. R. A. Meshal, "Banners of Faith and Identities in Construct", in S.S. Alvi, H. Hoodfar and S. McDonough, *The Muslim Veil in North America, op. cit.*, pp. 72–105.

130. Eid, *Ethnic and Religious Identities, op. cit.*, p. 36.

131. *Ibid.*, p. 35

132. We refer to it as civilisational for reasons outlined below.

133. *Ibid.* (emphasis mine)

134. W.W. Isajiw, "Ethnic Identity Retention", in *Ethnic Identity and Equality. Varieties of Experience in a Canadian City*, eds. R. Breton, et al., Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990, pp. 34–91.

135. That this transplanting of ethnic to religious is valid in the context of immigrant minority Muslim communities living in the West is based upon the identity dynamics described above. It is not only that Muslims are increasingly defining themselves primarily through their religious identity but also that the western broader societies are also doing so. See, O. Roy, *Globalized Islam, op. cit.*

136. P. Eid, "Ethnic and Religious Identity", *op. cit.*, p. 29.

137. *Ibid.*

138. *Ibid*, p. 38.

139. *Ibid.*

140. *Ibid.*

141. As each religious tradition has it own distinct rituals.

142. In our case to what extent politico-legal mechanisms as products of modernity such as secularism, multi-party system democratic system, constitutionalism, gender equality, etc., are seen as being in accordance with/or even a product of Islamic Weltanschauung.

143. That is, to what extent a Muslim believer considers inclusivism and pluralism of religious pathways as normative Islamic worldview.

144. N. Hashmi, "From Ethnicity to Religion", *op. cit.*

145. *Ibid.*
146. T. Benn and H. Jawad also argue that "visual indicators are highly significant in issues of cross-cultural integration", in *Muslim Women in the United Kingdom and Beyond- Experiences and Images*, ed. H. Jawad and T. Benn, Leiden: Brill, 2003, p. xiii.
147. R. Mohammad, "Marginalisation, Islamism and the production of the 'other's' 'other'", *op. cit.*
148. R. A. Meshal, "Banners of Faith and Identities in Construct", *op. cit.*, p. 93.
149. In the West this would translate into religious identity if we consider the argument of the increased practice of culture free Islam amongst Muslim youth in the West argued above.
150. H. Elsadda, "Discourses on women's biographies and cultural identity: Twentieth-century representations of the life of 'A'Isha Bint Abi Bakr", *Feminist Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 1, Spring 2001, pp. 37–64.
151. J. Afary, "The war against feminism in the name of the almighty: Making sense of gender and Muslim fundamentalism", *New Left Review*, 224, 1997, pp. 89–110.
152. R. Mohammad, "Marginalisation", *op. cit.*, p. 225.
153. K. J. Arjouch, "Gender, Race and Symbolic boundaries: Contested Spaces of Identity among Arab American Adolescents", *Sociological Perspectives*, Vol. 47, No. 4, pp. 371–394, p. 387.
154. R. Mohammad, "Marginalisation", *op. cit.*, p. 225.
155. R. Mohammad, Ibid., pp. 226–227.
156. *Ibid.*
157. *Ibid.*, p. 243.
158. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
159. K. Shahnaz, "Muslim Woman: Interrogating the Construct in Canada", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Canada, 1995. See also, *ibid.*, pp. 42, 44; D. Maumoon, "Islamism and Gender Activism", *op. cit.*, pp. 270–271.
160. R.Mohammad, "Marginalisation", *op. cit.*, p. 230.
161. H. Afshar, "Gender roles and the moral economy of kin among Pakistani women in West Yorkshire", *New Community*, 15, pp. 211–225.
162. In this study we would refer to it as a oppositional or antagonistic Self–Other mutual religious identity construction at a civilizational level. Mohammad's term "separateness" will be used interchangeably with this term.
163. R. Mohammad, "Marginalisation", *op. cit.*, pp. 231–233.
164. This and other similar international events concerning what many Muslims see as the plight, humiliation and subjugation of Muslims around the world at the hands of the West emphasises links between various Muslim groups thereby fostering cross-cultural Islamic consciousness and instilling into the second generation of Muslims a worldview which "ensures that the Islam/West opposition persisted and remained dominant in the Muslim imaginary". This understanding is, argues Mohammad further, "fuelled especially by parental fears over their children's assimilation into a morally bankrupt, permissive society", R. Mohammad, 'Marginalisation', *op. cit.*, p. 225.
165. See D. Hiro, *Black British, White British, a history of race relations in Britain*, 2nd edn, London: Paladin, 1992.
166. R. Mohammad, "Marginalisation", *op. cit.*, pp. 233–234.
167. *Ibid.*, p. 233.
168. *Ibid.*, p. 234.
169. H. Afshar, "Behind the veil", in *Structures of Patriarchy: the state, the community and the household*, ed. B. Agarwal, London: Zed Books, 1988, pp. 216, 228–247.
170. R. Mohammad, "Marginalisation", *op. cit.*, pp. 235–236.
171. C. Dweyer, "Negotiating Diasporic Identities: Young British S.Asian Muslim Women", *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 23, No. 4, 2000, pp. 475–486.
172. H. Hoodfar, "More than Clothing: Veiling as an Adaptive Strategy", in S. Alvi, H. Hoodfar and S. McDonough, *The Muslim Veil in North America, op. cit.*, pp. 3–41.
173. *Ibid.*
174. H. Jawad, "Historical and Contemporary Perspectives of Muslim women living in the West", in *Muslim Women in United States*, eds. T. Benn and H. Jawad, *op. cit.* p. xiii.
175. C. Dwyer, "Veiled meanings: Young British Muslim women and the negotiation of differences", *Gender, Place and Culture*, Vol. 6, No. 1, March 1999, pp. 5–26.
176. R.A. Meshal, "Banners of Faith and Identities in Construct", *op. cit.*, p. 102.
177. R. Mohammad, "Marginalisation", *op. cit.*, p. 225.

178. S. Todd, "Veiling the 'other', unveiling our 'selves': reading media images of the Hijab psychoanalytically to move beyond tolerance", *Canadian Journal of Education Toronto*, Vol. 23, No. 4, Fall 1998, pp. 438–451.

179. J. Zine, "Staying on the 'straight path': A critical ethnography of Islamic schooling in Ontario", unpublished Ph.D., University of Toronto, Canada, 2004, p. 233.

180. R.A. Meshal, "Banners of Faith and Identities in Construct", *op. cit.*, pp. 100–101.

181. See C. Dwyer, "Veiled Meanings", *op. cit.*

182. J. Zine, "Staying on the 'straight path'", *op. cit.* p. 233.

183. *Ibid.*, p. 220.

184. H. Hoodfar, "More than Clothing: Veiling as an Adaptive Strategy", *op. cit.*, p. 39.

185. D. Maumoon, "Islamism and Gender Activism", *op. cit.*, p. 270; S. Ali, "Why, Here, Why Now? Young Muslim Women Wearing Hijab", *The Muslim World*, Hartford, Vol. 95, No. 4, October 2005, pp. 515–530.; K.I. Leonard, *Muslims in the United States*, *op. cit.*, pp. 121–122; C. Gibb, "Religious Identification in Transnational contexts: Being and Becoming Muslim in Ethiopia and Canada", *Diaspora*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 1998, pp. 247–267, p. 262; R. Santi, "On Being Australian and Muslim: Muslim Women as Defenders of Islamic Heritage", *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 21, No. 6, 1999, pp. 649–661, p. 653; C. McMichael, "Everywhere is Allah's Place, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

186. C. Dwyer, "Veiled Meanings", *op. cit.*, p. 6; R.A. Meshal, "Banners of Faith and Identities in Construct", *op. cit.*, p. 98.

187. J. Zine, "Staying on the 'straight path'", *op. cit.*, p. 270; cf. S. Alvi, H. Hoodfar, and S. McDonough, *The Muslim Veil in North America: Issues and Debates*, *op. cit.*; L. Ahmed, "The Veil Debate—Again", in *On Shifting Ground-Muslim Women in the Global Era*, ed. F. Nnouraine-Simone, New York: Feminist Press, 2005, pp. 153–172.

188. J. Zine, "Staying on the 'straight path'", *op. cit.*, p. 220.

189. C. Dwyer, "Veiled Meanings", *op. cit.*, p. 6.

190. See for example L. Ahmed, *Women and Gender in Islam*, London: Yale University Press, 1992. Also A. Barlas, *Believing Women In Islam—unreading patriarchal interpretations of the Qur'an*, Austin, TX: University of Texas, 2002.

191. For a more detailed discussion of this subject, see J.Gh. Read, "To Veil or Not to Veil? A case study of identity negotiation among Muslim women in Austin, Texas", *Gender and Society*, Vol. 14, No. 3, June 2000, pp. 395–417.

192. C. Dwyer, "Veiled Meanings", *op. cit*, pp. 6–9; D. Maumoon, "Islamism and Gender Activism", *op. cit.*, pp. 271–272. Todd argues that "Clearly, the hijab is no innocent 'signifier' within such a volatile context. It has come to symbolize everything from Islamic fundamentalism, freedom of religious expression, and women's subordination to women's empowerment and equality"; S. Todd, "Veiling the 'other', unveiling our 'selves': reading media images of the Hijab psychoanalytically to move beyond tolerance", *Canadian Journal of Education*, Toronto, Vol. 23, No. 4, Fall 1998, p. 438; cf. J. Zine, "Staying on the 'straight path'", *op. cit.*, pp. 221–225.

193. A. Hoefert and A. Salvatore, eds. *Between Europe*, *op. cit.*, p. iv.

194. S. Ismail, "Being Muslim: Islam, Islamism and Identity Politics", *Government and Opposition*, Vol. 39, No. 4, pp. 614–631.

195. K. Leonard, *Muslims in the United States—The State of Research*, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

196. P. Brodeur, "From Postmodernism to "Glocalism"', *op. cit.*, p. 188.

197. I. Lapidus, "Between universalism and particularism: the historical bases of Muslim communal 'national' and global identities", *Global Networks*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2001, pp. 37–55, p. 48.

198. S.Ameli, *Globalization*, p. 89.

199. *Ibid.*

200. N. T. Ammermann, "Religious Identities and Religious Institutions", in *Handbook of the Sociology of Religion*, ed. M. Dillon, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

201. *Ibid.*

202. A. Wadud, "Alternative Qur'anic Interpretation and the Status of Muslim Women", in *Windows of Faith-Muslim Women Scholar-Activists in North America*, ed. G. Webb, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2000, pp. 3–21. Also next footnote.

203. Cf. J. Waardenburg, "Normative Islam in Europe", *op. cit.*, pp. 49–69, 55–56.

204. And author would add the way these are conceptualised and interpreted.

205. Z. Sardar (ed.), *Futures*, Special edition on Islam and the Future, Butterworth-Heinemann, April, Vol. 23, 3.9 (this is all the reference information that is available)

206. By which he means the "entirety of the explicit and informal rules for explaining and applying the sacred text". H.M. Vroom, "Islam's adaptation to the West: on the deconstruction and reconstruction of religion", *Scottish Journal of Theology*, pp. 226–243, p. 230.

207. Vroom, "Islam's adaptation to the West", *op. cit.*

208. S. Noekel, *Die Toechter der Gastarbeiter und der Islam: zur Soziologie alltagsweltischer Anerkenungspolitiken-eine Fallstudie*, Bielefeld, transcript, 2002; U. Booes-Nuenning and Y. Karakasoglu, *Viele Welten Leben. Zur Lebenssituation von Maedchen und jungen Frauen in der Migration*, Muenster: Waxmann, 2005.

209. A. Duderija, "Towards a New Methodology of understanding the Scope and the Nature of the Concept of Sunnah", *Arab Law Quarterly*, Vol. 21, No. 3, 2007, pp. 1–12.

210. A. Wadud, "Alternative Qur'anic Interpretation and the Status of Muslim Women", *op. cit.*, p. 3; R.W. Hood Jr., P.C. Hill and W.P. Williamson, *The Psychology of Religious Fundamentalism*, New York: Guildford Press, see especially pp. 11–47 and in the context of Islamic Fundamentalism, pp. 155–183.

211. K.J. Arjouch, "Gender, Race and Symbolic Boundaries", *op. cit.*

212. On the concept of Sunnah, see A. Duderija, "Towards", *op. cit.*

213. For more see, Y. Wahyudi, "The Slogan "Back to the Qur'an and Sunnah"—A Comparative Study of the Responses of Hasan Hanafi, Muhammad Abid Al-Jabiri and Nurcholish Madjid", Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, McGill University, Canada, 2002.

214. J. Waardenburg, *Muslims and Others*, *op. cit.*, pp. 343–345.

215. A. Wadud, "Alternative Qur'anic Interpretation and the Status of Muslim Women", *op. cit.*, p. 3.

216. J.C. Raines and D.C. Maguire, eds., *What Men Owe to Women?—Men's Voices from World Religions*, New York: State University of New York Press, 2001, p. 2.

217. For how different scripture interpretational methods affect, for example, the construction of very different normative Muslimah images, see A. Duderija, "Neo-Traditional Salafi Qur'an-Sunnah Hermeneutic and the Construction of a Normative Muslimah Image", *HAWWA*, 5.2 & 5.3, 2007, pp. 289–323; A. Duderija, "The Interpretational Implications of Progressive Muslims' Qur'an and Sunnah Manhaj in Relation to Construction of a Normative Muslimah Representation", *Journal of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, Vol. 19, No. 4, 2008, pp. 409–427.