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**The Effectsofthe 9/11 Attacks on American MuslimsDiasporain the  
U.S.A.**

*A dissertation* submitted in partial requirement for the fulfillment of  
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## **Dedication**

To my dear family

To my faithful colleagues

To my lovely campus' friends

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My lovely friends who had stood beside me during my campus' life and educational career....

## Abstract

The effects of September 11<sup>th</sup> 2001 attacks on the American Muslims Community have a significant act. They reveal in fact various distinctive consequences that emerge in order to prevent terrorist deeds in a nation represented as a chief leader of democracy in all around the world. Moreover, before the attacks, Islam was regarded as a non-violent religion as well one of the fastest growing one in America. It flourished through the hard work of the American Muslim scholars who aimed to preserve its values, principles, and the extension of the Islamic institutions. Indeed, without forgetting the notable role of the American Muslims fellowship who support the spread of Islam through their relationship in social, political, cultural participation. In the other hand, the idea that Islam as a religion associated with terrorism is greatly reinforced after the 9/11 terrorist events. The attacks unveil numerous realities that work in favor of negative attitude toward Muslims and disclose many political, social, cultural, and economic results. The purpose of the study is to investigate the consequences which appeared in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks on the resident American Muslims in the United States. Moreover, the study suggests that the 9/11 attacks are related to American Muslims community and that irritate an anti-Muslim bigotry.

### Key words:

The effects of September 11<sup>th</sup> 2001 attacks, American Muslims, Diaspora, American Muslims fellowship, and anti-Muslim bigotry.

## ملخص

إن تأثيرات 11 من سبتمبر 2001 على وجود المسلم الأمريكي كان حدثًا مهمًا. فقد انعكست في ظهور عدة نتائج و التي كان الغرض منها منع الأفعال الإرهابية في دولة تمثل الديمقراطية في العالم. زيادة على هذا فالإسلام و قبل الهجمات كان ينظر إليه على انه دين يدعو للسلام و مناهض للعنف كما انه كان من أسرع الأديان انتشارا في الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية. أما الفضل في ازدهاره فهو راجع للمجهود الذي بذله العلماء المسلمين الأمريكيين الذين طمحوا للمحافظة على قيمه و قواعده، و ذلك من خلال مؤسساتهم الإسلامية. و في هذا السياق و بدون نسيان الدور الجليل لجماعة المسلمين الأمريكيين الذين دعموا انتشار الإسلام عن طريق علاقاتهم و مشاركتهم الاجتماعية ، السياسية ، و الثقافية. ففكرة أن الإسلام له علاقة بالإرهاب باتت واضحة بعد الإحداث الإرهابية 11 من سبتمبر 2001. فالهجمات كشفت عن العديد من الحقائق و التي عملت على إنباء الفكر السلبي المكرس ضد المسلمين و كشفت عن العديد من النتائج السياسية ، الاجتماعية ، الثقافية ، و الاقتصادية. أما الهدف من هذه الدراسة هو البحث عن النتائج التي تجلت بعد هجمات 11 من سبتمبر 2001 على المسلمين الأمريكيين المقيمين في الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية. و زيادة على ذلك. فالدراسة تقترح أن هجمات 11 من سبتمبر 2001 لها علاقة بجماعة المسلمين الأمريكيين مما أدى إلى تحفيز الدعاية ضد المسلمين.

## Table of Contents

Dedication.....	i
Acknowledgement.....	ii
Abstract in English.....	iii
Abstract in Arabic.....	iv
Table of contents .....	v
List of Figures.....	ix
Abbreviations.....	x
General Introduction.....	xii
Chapter One: Research Methodology.....	xiv
1. 1. Statements of the Problem.....	xv
1. 2. Hypotheses .....	xv
1. 3. Literature Review.....	xvi
1. 4. Significance of the Study.....	xvii
1. 5. Limitation of the Study.....	xviii
1. 6. Methodology.....	xviii
Chapter Two: Islam in the United States.....	1
Introduction.....	2
2. 1. The diversity of religion in the United States.....	2
2. 2. The coming of Islam to the United States.....	4
2. 3. The role of scholars in the spread of Islam in the United States.....	6
2. 4. The Position Of Islam In The United States.....	9
2. 4. 1. Before The 9/11 Events.....	9

2. 4. 2. After The 9/11 Events.....	10
2.5. The Diversity Of Islamic Sects In The United States.....	11
2. 5. 1. Muslim Democrats.....	11
2. 5. 2. Muslim Assimilators.....	12
2. 5. 3. Muslim Isolationists.....	13
2. 5. 4. Muslim Integrators.....	15
Conclusion.....	16
Chapter Three: The American Muslim Diaspora in the United States.....	18
Introduction.....	19
3. 1. The American Muslim Community In The United States.....	19
3. 1. 1. Population.....	20
3. 1. 2. Professions and Works.....	21
3. 1. 2. 1. Top occupations.....	21
3. 1. 2. 2. Under represented occupations.....	22
3. 1. 3. Family incomes.....	22
3. 1. 4. Education.....	23
3. 2. American Muslim’s statistical overview.....	24
3. 2. 1. Gender.....	24
3. 2. 2. Marital status.....	25
2. 2. 1. Ethnicity.....	26
3. 3. The American Muslim Sunni and Shia.....	27
3. 4. American Muslim Women’s status .....	28
3. 5. Islamic institutions.....	30
3. 5. 1. Islamic Mosques.....	30

3. 5. 2. Islamic Schools.....	31
3. 5. 3. Islamic Organizations.....	32
3. 5. 3. 1. Political Islamic Organizations.....	32
3. 5. 3. 2. Social Islamic Organizations.....	32
Conclusion.....	34
Chapter Four: The Effects of the 9/11 Terrorist Act on the American Muslims	
Community.....	35
Introduction.....	36
4. 1. The concept of Islamophobia.....	36
4. 1. 1. Definition.....	36
4. 2. 2. Islamophobia forces.....	37
4. 2. The dramatic September 11 <sup>th</sup> , 2001.....	39
4. 3. The impact of the 9/11 tragic attacks on the American Muslims.....	41
4. 3. 1. Political results.....	41
4. 3. 2. Social results.....	43
4. 3. 3. Cultural results.....	44
4. 3. 4. Economic results.....	45
4. 3. 4. 1. Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development (HLF).....	45
4. 3. 4. 2. Global Relief Foundation (GRF).....	46
4. 3. 4. 3. Benevolence International Foundation (BIF).....	46
4. 4. The U. S. procedures in maintaining security .....	47
4. 4. 1. The procedures maintained on the national level.....	48
4. 4. 2. The procedures maintained on the international level.....	50
Conclusion .....	51

General Conclusion.....	52
Glossary.....	54
Worked cited.....	55

### List of Figures :

Table 01 : Muslim Population Estimate	20
Table 02: The occupational distribution of American Muslims.	21
Table 03: The American Muslim family income in comparison to the general public according to two studies.	23
Table04: The percentage of the American Muslims educational level in comparison to the general public according to two studies.	24
Table 05: The Age composition of the American Muslims in 2008.	24
Table 06: The marital status of American Muslims.	25
Table 07: The American Muslims ethnic spouse's differences.	25
Table 08: The percentage of the American Muslims lived in the U.S.	26
Table 09: The percentage of American Muslims by Ancestry.	27
Table 10: The most concentrate American states with mosques.	31
Map: about the regional distribution of the American Muslims in America	21

## **Abbreviations**

**AMA:** American Muslim Alliance.

**AMC:** American Muslim Council.

**AMJ:** American Muslim for Jerusalem.

**ARIS:** American Religious Identification Survey.

**CAIR:** Council for American Islamic Relation.

**CIA:** Central Intelligence Agency.

**CIE:** Council of Islamic Education.

**CSID:** Center for the Study of Islamic and Democracy.

**FBI:** Benevolence International Foundation.

**FBI:** Federal Bureau of Investigation

**GRF:** Global Relief Foundation.

**HLF:** Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development

**IARA:** Islamic American Relief Agency

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**LIFE:** Life for Relief and Development.

**MAPS:** Muslims in American Public Square.

**MAS:** Muslim American Society.

**MPAC:** Muslim Political Action Committee.

**NSEERS:** National Security Entry-Exit Registration Systems.

**NSS:** National Security Strategy.

## General Introduction

Religion in America is not the most significant aspect that a person can be qualified by. However, Americans in general, do not care much about the person's faith or belief. Through that the American Founding fathers from the beginning desired to implement a "*secularized*" system in order to prevent ancient reasons which led to bloody wars.

Islam is one among the widespread minority religions there. In fact, the 9/11 is the turning point in the history of the American Muslims in America. This event makes Islam and its defenders fell down. It consequently paves the way for anti- Islam to proclaim that Islam is a religion of terrorism.

In this context, we examine in chapter two Islam as a peaceful faith in the United States and its history there and as a religion often associated with terrorism after the 9/11. Then, we study the sectional division of the American Muslim members.

Moreover, we investigate in chapter three the population of the Muslim communities in America though the disagreement among scholars and sociologists as well as the Muslim organizations and institutions upon the exact number of Muslims there. We also evaluate a significant concept known as "*Diaspora*" that emerges and has been in fashion for the past 20 years. However, the meaning of diaspora varies depending on the context, but commonly it means the existence of a certain community in a foreign nation.

In addition, we look at the statistics that have been taken from various sources concerning their nationalities, social status, and distinctive Islamic sects.

In the score of that, we investigate some well- known organizations and institutions as well as schools which played a great role in the spread of Islam.

Finally in chapter four, we explain a notable propaganda which appeared just after the terror attacks which is the concept of “*Islamophobia*”. This latter was introduced by Runnymede Trust in favor of bad reputation of Islam. For instance, Kofi Annan at a 2004 U.N. conference “*Confronting Islamophobia: Education for Tolerance and Understanding*” addressed the international scope of this problem and said that:

*When the world is compelled to coin a new term to take account of increasingly widespread bigotry...; that is a sad and troubling development. Such is the case with “Islamophobia”..... There is a need to unlearn the stereotypes that have become so entrenched in so many minds and so much of the media. Islam is often seen as a monolith..... [and] Muslims as opposed to the West..... The pressures of living together with people of different culture and different beliefs from one’s own are real...But that cannot justify demonization or the deliberate use of fear for political purposes. That only deepens spiral of suspicion and alienation (Esposito 13).*

Moreover, we explore the effect of the September 11, 2001 on the American Muslim community. Indeed we relate this event with all its consequences that occurred to the American Muslims at the political, social, cultural, and economic level.

Finally, in this chapter we mention the U.S foreign policy and try to answer the following question: How does the U.S maintain its security program on the national and the international level in the advanced years after the attacks on the Muslim American communities and the Muslim world?

## **Chapter One: Research Methodology**

## **Chapter One: Research Methodology**

Our dissertation is concerned with the effects of the 9/11 attacks on the American Muslims diaspora in the United States till the present day. In fact, we investigate an issue which is related to many controversial opinions. Indeed, it turns upon Islam as a religion associated with terrorism in the United States of America and also in most of Western countries especially after the 9/11 attacks on the New York Twin Towers and the Pentagon.

### **1. 1. Statement of the Problem:**

Thus we try to answer three major questions which are in relation to our study.

- What is the position of Islam in the United States?
- How could the American Muslims withstand with the non-Muslim Americans?
- What are the consequences of the 9/11 attacks on the American Muslims in the United States of America? Or to what extent were the 9/11 terrorist attacks reflected in the American foreign policy?

### **1. 2. Hypotheses:**

In our research, we state three hypotheses:

- If the 9/11 attacks are related to the American Muslims in the U.S, then they are accused as terrorists.
- If the 9/11 attacks are related to American Muslims community, then the attacks will irritate an anti-Muslim bigotry.

- If the 9/11 attacks affected directly the American Muslim Community, then the attacks are supposed to be conducted by Al- Qa'ida Islamic terrorist organizations.

### 1. 3. Literature Review:

The literature review of our study relies on various writings concerning the 9/11 attacks which focus on the position of Islam in the U.S. for example

*The West's hatred of Islam stems from more than anything else, the denial of its true lineage. The Western world as we understand it is a child of Islam. Without Islam, the West however, we conceive it today-would not exist. And without the west, Islam is incomplete and cannot survive the future (Ghazali 44).*

It is a suggestion announced by Ziauddin Sardar a prominent Muslim Scholar who insists on the role of Islam in America as a *functional* religion in the American society (Ghazali 03). Unfortunately, from the quotation, we understand that after the 9/11 terrorist attacks that peaceful religion could be vanished as well as that good reputation.

According to Zahid H. Bukhari, a director of Project Muslims in American Public Square (MAPS), and Fellow Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding at Georgetown University notes that:

*The September 11, 2001 attacks led to renewed interest in Islam and American Muslims who have become the focus not only of law enforcement agencies but of the media and scholarly community as well. One basic inquiry, which has acquired a political as well as a scholarly character, is the question of precisely how many American Muslims there are (07).*

Therefore, Bukhari by his citation aims to demonstrate that September the 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 attacks reveal many facts such as the exact number of the Muslim Americans in the

United States of America (Ghazali 7). Actually, he does not discuss the outcomes of the 9/11 attacks which directly affect the American Muslims.

Thus, in our research we investigate the outcomes as well as the effect of the attacks on the American Muslim communities.

In addition, Mohamed Nimer, the author of the “North American Resource Guide: Muslim Community Life in the United States and Canada” states that: “*The institutional growth of the American Muslim Community has been remarkable: from one congregation in the mid- 1920’s to more than 2,000 organizations of all functional types by the end of the twentieth century*” (45).

Nimer through his citation focuses on the high number of the Islamic institutions and organizations which at first operate in favor of the American Muslims and spread of Islam, but later on they lead to rise a negative attitude toward the American Muslims after the 9/11 events (45). In fact, that bad reputation drives people to be afraid of the war on terror will be a war on Islam.

#### **1. 4. Significance of the Study:**

In our investigation, we aim to reach the following objectives:

- The function of Islam as a religion often associated with terrorism.
- The American Muslim minority as an ethnic distinctive community.
- The tragic events of September 11<sup>th</sup> and how they were viewed by the Americans.
- The political, social and cultural effects that emerge in the aftermath of the September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 on the American Muslims community in particular.

- The American security measures.

### **1. 5. Limitation of the Study:**

In our investigation, we limit the study since the September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 until the present time when dealing with its effects. Indeed, our investigation concerns the American Muslims who live in America and have an American residence i.e. The Muslims who have an American nationality (citizenship).

Furthermore, our study is limited only to the American Muslims and not the American Arabs. In other words, we mean those American Muslims who hold an Islamic faith. In addition our study concerns in particular with the American policy toward the American Muslims particularly the public reaction after the 9/11 events. Actually, the research is restricted to the events that took place inside America and not outside.

### **1. 6. Methodology:**

In our study, we use the descriptive method in which we gather historical events and analyze them and try to relate them to current exists. However, “*method of reporting data*” can be an appropriate type of the method that can be conducted in this research (Turney and Robb 65). Hence, this latter is suitable when dealing with past events and facts in which we collect them according to the chronological order.

## **Chapter Two: Islam in the United States**

## Chapter Two: Islam in the United States

### Introduction:

Islam is the fastest growing religion in the United States .In its simple sense means peace and obedience to Allah. However, Allah is the translation of the word God or Lord in the English language. In the hand, a Muslim person must intentionally and painstakingly give himself to the service of Allah with the necessity of practicing the five pillars of Islam: the declaration of faith in the oneness of Allah and the prophet hood of Mohamed, Peace Be Upon Him, prayer, fasting the month of Ramadan, alms tax and the pilgrimage to Mecca. Moreover, a Muslim person must also believe in the articles of faith: believe in God, the Holy Books, the prophets, the angels, the Day of Judgment and God's decree whether for good or bad.

### 2. 1. The diversity of religion in America:

The history of religion in America is somehow a confusing one as well as a source of fear to many people. Moreover, in the early times religion in America was not the appropriate subject to deal with. For instance, in 1922 the writer Harold Stearns clarified that he did not write any article concerning religion in his book *Civilization in the United States* because he thought that no one will be attracted to the topic (Henry 79-92) .In one hand, it was also a complex theme since the Americans have experienced from the early beginning various different religions and it is important to note that religion stand as a symbol of proud for them (Eldersveld 01).

Meanwhile, the culture of religion in America is clearly characterized by its liberty and diversity of religious beliefs and practices (01).

In fact, there is no other nation on earth that has culture as diverse as America. At the beginning, this *tolerance* of religion did not exist as a reality in the American society. For instance at Plymouth, in 1620, the puritans formed a tyrannical, oppressive system based on Calvinist principles. Everyone was obliged to follow this doctrinal system and obey its entire requirement. Those who rebelled were punished and some were even executed (Eldersveld 01).

Thus, during the colonial days, the clergy took control of everything. They govern the state. For instance, the clergymen like Jonathan Edwards managed the whole community of New Salem. Other Calvinist took the responsibility to evangelize the Native Americans. Meanwhile, other religious faith appeared in America such as Anglicans, Lutherans, Catholics, Jews, and Quakers, etc. America with those religions became a very *pluralistic* (1) society. However it welcomes all kinds of religious beliefs and nowadays it is speculated that there are over 200 religious groups in the United States of America (01). But strangely and paradoxically, with this diversity of religion and faith, America still kept a nation with no official religion (Pauwels 147).

Actually, according to historical facts, the direct cause of the pluralism the spiritual life was the different backgrounds and beliefs of the top leaders. However, George Washington as an example was an Anglican, but he refused some doctrines like “*The rite of Communion*” (Eldersveld 02).

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Pluralistic: a set of special procedures came according to the conditions of the modern life which we hold to preserve a common life. So it means to protect the cultural diversity along all dimensions against “Unitarianism” (Connolly 41).

Thomas Jefferson also did not believe in many Protestant doctrines and rejected such beliefs as “*The virgin birth*”, “*The resurrection*” and “*The ascension*” so there was no church supported by the majority leaders (Eldersveld 02).

## **2. 2. The coming of Islam to the United States of America:**

From the 1880 to 1914, many thousands of Muslims settled in the United States of America (“Islam in the United States”, par .01). However, historians predicted that 15 to 30 percent of all enslaved African men and fewer than 15 percent of all enslaved African women were Muslims. Moreover, approximately 50 percent of the African Americans who were imported to North America held an Islamic culture since their countries influenced by Islam. For instance Senegambia established a community of Muslim inhabitants from the 11<sup>th</sup> century (par.18-19).

In fact, the existence of Muslims in the new land was due to two main features. On one hand, they were supported by the founding fathers at the beginning whose tolerance was the pillar for the American freedom. Actually, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson possessed copies of the Quran in their libraries. Moreover, Muslims had been mentioned in their work on America’s founding documents (“An introduction to Muslim in America” 01).

For instance, the president Jefferson defended the freedom of religion and stated indirectly in his autobiography the Muslims during the movement of religious freedom in Virginia. He wrote:

*[When] the [Virginia] bill for establishing religious freedom... was finally passed... a singular proposition proved that its protection of opinion was meant to be universal. Where the preamble declares that coercion is a departure from the plan of the holy author of our religion, an amendment was proposed, by inserting the word 'Jesus Christ,' so that it should read 'a departure*

*from the plan of Jesus Christ, the holy author of our religion.' The insertion was rejected by a great majority, in proof that they meant to comprehend within the mantle of its protection the Jew and the Gentile, the Christian and Mohometan, the Hindoo and infidel of every denomination ("Islam in the United States", par.12).*

Secondly, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the famous American writer and former Ambassador to the Philippines, Alexander Russell Webb, who was a Protestant, converted to Islam and represented his newly religion at the Chicago Parliament of Religion in 1893, by which he gained new celebrity in the American society ("An Introduction to Muslim America 02").

However, those Muslims at first came from the Ottoman Empire and from parts of the South Asia. Actually, they did not want to organize an independent settlement and almost all of them assimilated into the huge society. Moreover, in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Muslim population grew rapidly and their number increased due to immigrants, converts and the high birth rate ("Islam in the United States", par.01-02).

As a result, by 2005 all people from Islamic countries gained a legal permanent United States residence. In fact, the aim of those immigrant Muslims varied from a category to another. Many of them look for religious liberty, wealth, better condition of life and education. In another hand, those who derived from slave background succeeded by the civil right movement and their principals which encouraged economic and social justice. They succeeded in constituting a different religious group economically, racially and politically (Esposito 13-14).

According to 2009 Gallup study, *Muslim Americans: A National Portrait*, those American Muslims who originated from several backgrounds were the most ethnically different religious groups in America. However, Native-born American Muslims were

mainly African Americans who constituted the percentage of 24% of the whole Muslim population (“Islam in the United States”, par. 03).

Many Afro-Americans were forcibly converted to Islam during the last seventy years (conversion to Islam in prison). In one hand, South Asian immigrants (India, Pakistan and Bangladesh) make up 26% and the Arabs constituted 26% of the Muslim population and 24% for others (par. 03).

Regardless those circumstances that were not strong enough to facilitate the spread of Islam, however, the Muslim American society succeeded in building a strange mixture of ethnic, linguistic, ideological, economic and religious community. Actually, the Native Muslim Americans were well-integrated groups in the American society till the present day (“Muslims in America a Statistical Portrait”, par.02).

Furthermore, many Muslims had marked their presence in both political and social amalgamation like other American religious communities such as Christians, Jews, Hindus, and others whereas other Muslims refused to participate in those fields and favored to deal mainly with the context of their communities and cultural practices (par. 02).

### **2. 3. The role of Muslim scholars in the spread of Islam in the USA:**

The rapid growth of the Islamic doctrine in America referred to the hard work of the elite member of Muslims there. However, there were two categories of Muslim scholars who interfered in the Intellectual activities around the states of the nation. The first category were those who born as Muslims and came to America as immigrants or the children of immigrants. The second were those foreigners who primarily arrived to

America and hold a European backgrounds and also those African Americans who converted to Islam (Nasr 137).

Moreover, the second category in fact involved more in the program of the intellectual activities in the country rather than the first one. That is quite normal; however, it occurred with the Catholic immigrants in the 19<sup>th</sup> century as well as Jewish and Greek Orthodox immigrants in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. That experience really affected the Islamic community and brought change to it (Nasr 137).

In reality, many obstacles faced Muslims to grow up with its principals one of them was the lack of the standards for maintaining Islamic intellectual activities and scholarship. For instance, any person with an Arabic, Persian, Urdu or Turkish name could easily proclaimed himself as a “*Muslim thinker*” and that was especially during the spread of the good reputation of Islam over the nation (137).

Regardless those problems, the impact of the American Muslim scholars on intellectual affairs has increased rapidly as far as their number. In spite of these, there were three main influential scholars who regarded as the intellectual effective Muslim scholars in the U.S.A. during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. However, Ismail Ragi al- Faruqi (1921-1986), Fazlur Rahman (1919-1988), and Sayyed Hossein Nasr (B-1933) were American citizens. They leaved their mother homes and settled America. Their immigration was certainly a gain card for Islam in the United States and for American scholarship and a real loss to their countries (152).

Al- Faruqi for instance was a Palestinian. He governed Galilee in 1945 at the age of 25. He got his Ph.D. in September 1952 which was mainly on western philosophical thought. It was entitled *On Justifying the Good: Metaphysics and Epistemology of Value*.

Some scholars stated that his dissertation took him back to his Islamic intellectual cultural legacy and origins. Al Faruqi also did some research on Christianity and Judaism (152-153).

Meanwhile, in 1968, Al Faruqi worked till his death as a professor of Islamic studies and history of religion at the department of religion. At the end, he was qualified as the first Muslim scholar in America for offering himself to the domain of Islamic studies. In the other hand, just in the same year Rahman left Pakistan and returned to North America. He also worked as a teacher at the University of California – Los Angeles. In 1986, he was given a name of “*Harold H. Swift Distinguished Service Professor*”. He held this name till his death (Nasr 153-156).

Additionally, Rahman was Al Faruqi’s colleague. They were Muslim scholars of Islamic studies in North America. Rahman’s doctoral dissertation in Islamic philosophy was from Oxford in 1949. It was about the medieval Muslim philosopher-scientist Ibn Sina. It was published later on under the title “*Avicenna’s Psychology*” in 1952. However, Rahman’s mission was to interpret Islam in balanced and scientific terms to cooperate with the conditions of a contemporary advanced society. Unfortunately, many features were against the fulfillment of his project (154). According to Al Faruqi “*Rahman was not pursuing the real objectives of the Institute, but rather was playing politics just as his predecessor has done*” (155).

It was Al Faruqi himself who announced that: “*Rahman-Faruqi Karachi experiment in Islam and modernity had failed*” (155). In one way or another, they failed to achieve their real aim which was the preservation of Muslim intellectual actions and scholarship (154).

Furthermore, Nasr was the earliest scholar who helped in improving of educational system in America. He submitted his doctorate dissertation on “*Conceptions of Nature in Islamic Thought*” by which he was classified the first Iranian to obtain a Harvard Ph.D. However, Nasr position allowed him to change the procedures of teaching philosophy in relation to Islam’s principles.

Unfortunately and for many circumstances, Nasr found himself in the exile. Forcibly, he went back to America where he met Al Faruqi. He worked as a professor at Temple University. He taught Southeast Asian student with the help of Al Faruqi. At the end, Nasr became a famous scholar throughout his students who spread his work and ideas (Nasr 155-158)

## **2. 4. The position of Islam in America:**

### **2. 4. 1. Before the 9/11 events:**

Islam before the 9/11 events was one of the widest growing religion in America and it was estimated that six to eight million Muslims considered it the third biggest and fastest- growing religion there. However, Islam was notably the first religion in the glob which had that capacity to interact with the other faiths and societies than at any time in history. Actually, Islam was and still on a flexible faith in comparison to other religions (Esposito 04).

First, Islam and Muslim’s main goal at the beginning was to motivate people and to maintain meaning and guidance for their life and beyond but unfortunately it stretched an ideological level; however some extremist and religious leaders and others used religion to authorize their beliefs, policies and deeds (04).

As a consequence, nowadays many policy makers, political analysts and commentators gave more importance to Islam especially “*Political Islam*” because of its influence on the world wide relations and international affairs (04).

#### 2. 4. 2. After the 9/11 events:

After the 9/11 attack nearly all American changed their opinion toward Islam and started to doubt in its principals. However, Christian televangelists, political commentators and politicians threatened Islam and demonstrated it as an evil, aggressive religion. According to Franklin Graham and Pat Robertson, “*that Muslims are not only dangerous but represent an evil religion and therefore must be converted*” (Saeed 40).

Shortly after, a great number of American agreed upon one negative idea on Islam that is “*a religion of terror*” not only that but people considered it the biggest problem which faced the entire world today. According to Washington Post/ ABC news poll in 2006, 46% of Americans had a negative view of Islam after the September 11, 2001 (Esposito 12). Moreover, Saeed announced that the majority of the Americans refused the existence of Muslim Americans as Muslim Americans (40).

In contrast, ironically and paradoxically, the 9/11 event also brought some positive alternation in which Boukhari stated that:

*The American Muslim community has been operating at the fourth and fifth stages for the last two years. Paradoxically, the events of September 11 enhanced their involvement in American politics and civil society. The American Muslims community is engaged in introspection, including not only soul-reaching about extremist interpretations of Islam but also reflection on the purpose of citizenship in the United States: are we here only to change American foreign policy, or we are here to work toward social justice for everyone and the betterment of society? Muslims are learning rapidly about alliance-building with other civic, religious and faith- based groups around*

*issues concerning the well-being of society. They are becoming increasingly involved on the local level rather than only at the level of national presidential (Boukhari 17-18).*

## **2. 5. The division of Islamic sects in America:**

The Muslim community in America varied in the participation of its different Islamic sects. However, there are Muslim Democrats who are characterized by their political tendency. Then the Muslim Assimilators who are distinguished by their positive social behavior. Finally, the Muslim Isolationists who are typified by their separation from the social activities.

### **2. 5. 1. Muslim Democrats:**

*“We looked at the states with close races and had a large concentration of Muslims»*

A statement announced by Mahdi Bray, a director of the Muslim American Society (MAS). However, Bray by his saying insisted on the great role played by the majority American Muslims (Gazali 144).

In fact, 40% of them considered themselves as Democrats, 23% as Republicans and 28% as independents or participants of a minority party. Basically, there were 42% of American Muslims who stated that they voted for George W. Bush in 2000 during the presidential election (Bukhari 16). Some estimates proclaimed that 60,000 Muslim Americans nominated Mr. Bush in Florida and supported him in his second term (Gazali 144).

In fact, by 2004 Mr. Bush gained about 7% of Muslim support against his challenger Sen. John Kerry, Massachusetts Democrat. Moreover, 47,092 or 92% were American Muslims who voted for the Democratic challenger, James H. Webb Jr. Mr. Webb.

This latter won the poll against Sen. George Allen in the Republican who gained only 9,326 votes. It is important to state that the Washington Times affirmed on November 14, 2006 that with those Muslim voters America took control over the Senate and replaced it by the Democrats (144).

In contradiction, there were some people who were not satisfied with the presence of Muslims and their participation in the political affairs. In fact, in October 2007, Senator John McCain advocated to Belief Net.com that he would not be comfortable with the prosperity of Muslims in the White House. Indeed, not only that, he advised the Americans to bomb Mecca and Medina as a message to the terrorists basing on the American Constitution as evidence to his claims that America is a “*Christian Nation*” (Ghazali 148).

## 2. 5. 2. Muslim Assimilators:

It is important to indicate that many people confused between the word “*assimilation*” and the word “*simulation*”. However, Gordon <sup>(1)</sup> referred in his book “*Assimilation in American Life*” to the concept assimilation with the expression “*Cultural Pluralism*” (“The crisis in assimilation”, par. 2).

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<sup>(1)</sup>Milton Gordon: a Nobel Prize winner for his books *Human Nature, Class, and Ethnicity*. All of them referred to the concept “*Cultural Pluralism*” (84).

In another hand, Morris as modern writer noted that “*Assimilation*” was the key to historic success of American immigration. He added that immigrants came to America running for various better conditions such as: education, elevated income and freedom of religion...because they lacked such environment in their mother home (“The crisis in assimilation”, par. 2).

Similarly, the meaning of assimilation often associated with the term “*Acculturation*”. Actually, this latter was defined by Berry (1980) as “*the process of adapting to a new culture that is deferent then one’s own culture*” (Soleman and Nawar 12). In contrast, “*Simulation*” in the view point of Nyang <sup>(2)</sup> “*people who see Islam as a political weapon, a strategy for physical and spiritual survival, and a way of life that can be effectively appropriated in their struggle for racial justice and ethnic freedom*”(Hashem 84).

Thus, they worked to “*Americanize*” their Islam values in other to be specified from other Muslims (Sayed 06).

### 2. 5. 3. Muslim Isolationists:

Muslim “*Isolationists*” in America are a minority group who denied interfering in common social activities. Nimer article’s, “the North American Resource Guide: Muslim Community Life in the United States and Canada” declared that:

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<sup>(2)</sup> Sulayman Nyang: Muslim in the American Public Square: Shifting Political Winds (Washington D.C. Project MAPS – Muslims in the American Public Square, Pew Charitable 2004).

*“To be sure, some Muslims maintain an isolationist attitude toward the American society. Some believe that American society is largely hedonistic and morally corrupt. They are proud that Muslims suffer much less than others from problems of contemporary life such as alcoholism, drugs addiction, AIDS, suicide, divorce, out-of-wedlock births, abortion, crime and racism”*(45).

Smith <sup>(3)</sup> explained in his book how Muslim parents preserved their children which considered as a very influential element in order to be isolated from the others. The child in his point of view could be affected easily by his surroundings. He said:

*A few families, who are sufficiently concerned about American education, and with appropriate contacts and financial resources, choose to send their children abroad for their education. Other families, however, even though they may have concerns about American schools argue for not removing children from the public arena. Worried that isolation of private or home schooling will not prepare them for their eventual transition into American public life, these parents hope that proper Islamic training in the home and the mosque or Islamic Center will sufficiently “arm” their children to make wise* (Syed 34).

In addition, more currently, Islamic Organizations and the Council for Islamic School in North America advocated Muslim parents to have a copy of the Qur’an, Seerah, and Hadith at home in order to provide the child with an accredited document when he studied geography, history, and science and this will lead him to discover the parallel of those sciences with the Islamic point of view (34).

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<sup>(3)</sup> Jane, Smith. *“Islam in America”*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999. P153.

#### 2. 5. 4. Muslim Integrators:

According to Moore the concept Integration as process is:

*Integration should not be viewed as an end or an outcome, a policy objective or a socioeconomic good to be obtained; rather it should be defined within the framework of the process itself. Even in communities that are relatively stable and well-established, boasting a long genealogy and a widespread consensus on notions of collective values and history, identity is in a constant state of flux. Pressure toward change-including such factors as population change, urbanization, economic fluctuations, high speed communication, computerization, wartime mobilizations and peacetime military conversions-leave their mark on local communities and high light the importance of understanding communal definition and local conditions as variables that factor into the process of integration (Moore, “Open House” 67).*

Moreover, the West African proverb could precisely explain the term integration when the latter refers to Islam. It states

*Islam is like a crystal clear river. It brings life to whatever lands it flows through. But as it brings life, it also changes to take on the color of whatever it flows over. So when it goes through a desert, it takes on the color of the sand. And when it flows over red rocks, it takes on the red color without itself being compromised (Syed 07).*

During the 1970's and 1980's, the Muslim communities in the United States preferred a level of anonymity that permitted for them to run for the economic progress and “*pursuit of the American Dream*” (Moore, “Muslims in the United States” 123). However, there were organizations which worked at the local level under the name of “*advocacy groups*”. Its major aim was to provide services, build schools, mosques and Islamic centers in order to meet the needs of the growing Muslim inhabitants (124).

Integration can be affected by two major factors. First, the reaction of the host society to the new peoples could influence the process of Integration positively or

negatively. Indeed, it needed to understand the “*homogeneity*” of that society. Thus, it required to identify the society’s acceptance of certain religion, ethnicity, or political culture. For instance, France refused the prosperity of the Jews and Muslims in regard to its secular culture. Furthermore, the second major factor was the ways and the tools that could a society deal with. For instance, institutions that helped in a community’s expansion such as mosques, schools, and organizations including lobbying, civil rights and outreach groups (Syed 05).

Furthermore, when American Muslims searched for their identity in the United States many important questions emerged as Ingrid Mattson stated:

*To be able to understand their role in the United States, Muslims need to define not only Islam but also America. Muslims need to place America in its proper theological and legal category so they can determine what kind of relationship possible and desirable for them to have with this country. Whether or not integration initially seems like a desirable goal, this process will be affected by the immigrant’s race, ethnicity, financial means, linguistic ability, and what religious paradigms are available to them to interpret particular experience with America (Moore “Open House” 66-67).*

## **Conclusion:**

The United States of America is a nation distinguished by its variety of religions in which it reinforces the idea of a “Salad Bowl”. However, the Islam is one of the most significant faiths widespread in America. It contests the indigenous religions in their home like Christianity and the Judaism. It is important to state that the Muslim Americans play great role in defining the principles of Islam particularly the Muslim scholars who considered as exceptional elements in the USA. They work hard and establish their identity throughout their ethnicity, education and political participation without forgetting the

social interaction which helps in realizing their process in a foreign nation associates with anti- Islamic groups.

**Chapter Three: The American Muslim Diaspora in the United  
States**

## **Chapter Three: The American Muslim Diaspora in the United States**

### **Introduction**

Muslims in the United States worked hard to mark their presence throughout many ways such as the social, the cultural and the political participation. However, the adaptation of foreign values was an easy task for a young generations mainly far away their mother home. In fact, what was really the hard experience the preservation of their Islamic values and their Islamic identity; it was throughout the progression of their population as well as the improvement of their Islamic organizations and institutions that the American Muslims succeeded in well managing themselves in a country which differ in its religious background, ethnicity and cultural heritage.

#### **3. 1. The American Muslim Community in the United States:**

The American Muslims were in fact an influential minority in the American society. However their presence was due to many remarkable factors such as: their population, professions, family income and education etc. In other hand, there were other significant elements that played a great role in spreading the Islamic principles for example the Islamic institutions like mosques, schools, and organizations.

### 3. 1. 1. Population:

There was no a definite agreement about the exact number of the American Muslims in the U.S.A. However, there were debates among the researchers who were not convinced with the survey methodologies which led to higher estimates (“Islam in the United States”, par. 34).

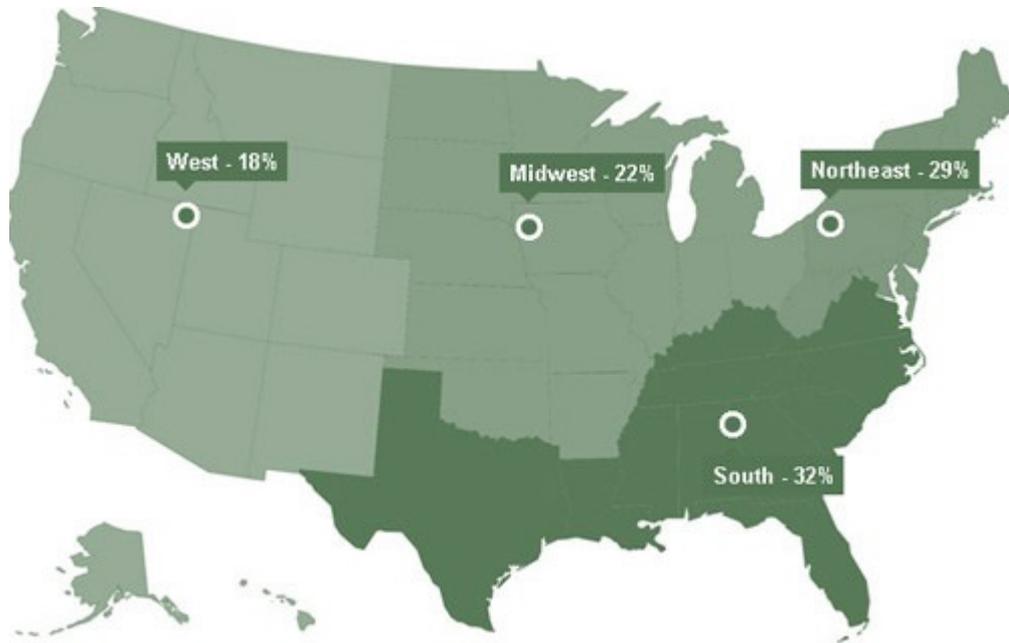
Actually, lot of organizations and institutions gave approximations about the number of the American Muslims in America in which the difference was clearly observed. This table in fact demonstrates that variation (“Islam in the United States”, par. 34).

<u>American Religion Identification Survey.</u>	1.3 million (2008)
<u>Pew Research Center.</u>	2.5 million (2009)
<u>Encyclopedia Britannica.</u>	4.7 million (2004)
<u>U.S News &amp;World Report.</u>	5 million + (2008)
<u>Council on American –Islamic Relations (CAIR)</u>	7million (2010)

Table 01: Muslim Population Estimates (par. 34).

Moreover, the American Muslims existed in fact in almost all parts of America. However, twenty percent of them lived in California, sixteen percent in both New Jersey and Indiana, nearly three percent in each of Michigan, Virginia, Texas, and Ohio. In addition, the majority of Muslims settled in the Northeast cities as well as industrial

Midwest ones. The following map shows the regional distribution of the American Muslims in America (Wright, par. 02).



Regional Distribution of Muslims in the United States: South 32%; Northeast 29%; Midwest 22%; West 18%.

### 3. 1. 2. Professions and Works:

Muslims in America subdivided into two main categories of occupation:

#### 3. 1. 2. 1. Top occupations:

American Muslims occupied various highest positions (“Muslims in America”, par.4).

Occupation	%
Managerial	12
Medical	10
Professional/Technical	22
Sales	5
Clerical	3

Service	4
Blue-Collar/Production	3
Student	8
Homemaker	10
Teacher/Education	6
Retired	5
Other occupation	11
Not sure of occupation	2

Table 02: The occupational distribution of American Muslims (Boukhari 12).

### 3. 1. 2. 2. Under represented occupations:

American Muslims also occupied non signified occupations. They were a minority but in fact that minority influenced the public opinion and helped in forming the public policy. For instance: Journalists/editors, Attorneys/Lawyers, Actors, Producers and Film Directors. In other hand, American Muslims were not commonly interfered in politics. They were not found in States Legislatures and courts where laws are made and practiced (“Muslims in America”, Par. 4):

### 3. 1. 3. Family Incomes:

Actually, it was not an easy task to achieve a recent and exact data about the American Muslim’s income. However, it was clear that the Arab Muslim family income was the highest one. It had been paid about \$69,000. In contrast African- American Muslim families received just \$32,000per year (par.5).

Family Income	American Muslim Poll % of Muslims	Pew Research Center/ Pew Forum % of general public
\$50,000 - \$74,999	22	16
\$75,000 +	28	17

Table 03: The American Muslim family income in comparison to the general public according to two studies (Boukhari 12).

#### 3. 1. 4. Education:

It is important to note that the majority of the American Muslim community was well educated. However, about 67% of them hold a Bachelor's degree or higher in comparison to the general American population which took less than 44%.

Moreover, Muslim children received their education in public religious and non-religious private schools without much trouble except for the challenge of school's understanding of Islamic dress code and the holidays ("Muslims in America", Par. 7).

Table04: The percentage of the American Muslims educational level in comparison to the general public according to two studies (Boukhari 12).

Education	American Muslim Poll % of Muslims	Pew Research Center/ Pew Forum % of general public
Less than High School Degree	6	14
High School Graduate	12	37
Some College	24	24
College Graduate	58	25

### 3. 2. American Muslim's statistical overview:

#### 3. 2. 1. Gender:

According to American Religious Identification Survey (ARIS), American Muslims males constituted about 52% whereas females stand for just 48% (Kosmin and Keysar 11).

However, the reason was simply the high number of young immigrant males in the United States (Kosmin and Keysar 11).

	18-29	30-49	50-69	70 +	Total %
American Muslim	42	45	12	1	100

Table 05: The Age composition of the American Muslims in 2008 (11)

In fact, this table demonstrates that males are very young under the rate of 40% of their adult members for the age of 30 for the same reason of their high amount (11).

### 3. 2. 2. Marital status:

	Single never married	Single living w/ Partner	Married	Divorced  Separated	Widowed	Do not Know Refused	Total %
American Muslim	36	11	42	10	1	0	100

Table 06: The marital status of American Muslims (13).

The highest average in the marital status among the American Muslims reveals in the column of “Married”. This reflects basically the religious customs and the family values (Kosmin and Keysar 13).

According to the Council for American Islamic Relation (CAIR), the devastating majority of American Muslims (87%) stated that they married with their ethnic group, while 11% said that they engaged with partners from other ethnicities (8).

Ethnicity	Percent
Same	67.4%
Deferent	8.8%
Refused	1.7%
Total	77.9%

Table 07: The American Muslims ethnic spouse’s differences (CAIR 8).

### 3. 2. 3. Ethnicity:

There were about 70% of American Muslims reported that they born abroad whereas 28% of them said that they born in the United States. However among the foreign-born, there were two third of them stated that they have lived in America for twenty years or longer (CAIR 6).

Respondents		Percent
Foreign Born	Less than 10 years	3,0%
	10-19 year	21,1%
	20 years or longer	45,7%
	Refused	0,6%
	Total	70,4%
U.-Born		27,9%
Refused		1.7%
Total		100%

Table 08: The percentage of the American Muslims lived in the U.S (CAIR 06).

In the other hand, (CAIR) found that 40% of the American Muslims came from the Arab world, whereas 33% were South Asian (Pakistani, Indian and Bangladeshi). Additionally 6% of them were African and 3% European. The rest denied answering or they said that their ancestors came from somewhere (6). Actually, according to previous surveys, Muslims of South Asian origins in the U.S. were more numerous than the Arab minority. But the following poll shows the opposite because the Arabs arrived to America sooner and this fact made them outnumber the other ethnicities (CAIR 7).

Region	Percentage
South Asian	32,8%
Arab World	40,1%
Turkey	1,9%
Iran	5,0%
African	5,7%
The Caribbean	0,3%
Europe	3,1%
Somewhere else	2,8%
Refused	8,3%
Total	100%

Table 09: The percentage of American Muslims by Ancestry (CAIR 7).

### 3. 3.The American Muslim Sunni and Shia:

The origin of the struggle between Sunni and Shia went back to the disagreement over the succession to the Prophet Mohamed (pbuh) .Furthermore, Myers proclaimed that: *“Sunni derive their name through reliance on the “Sunnah” or the observed sayings, lifestyle and practices of Mohamed (pbuh) as recorded in writings called the Hadith”* (“A Guide to Islamic Sects”, Par. 05).

Actually, Sunni consisted mainly to the descendent of the Hanafi, Shafi, Maliki and Hanabali Islamic schools as well as the Wahhabi or Salafi movement (“Mapping the Global Muslim Population” 9). In contrast, Myers asserted that: *“A principal belief of the Shiite is that no caliph since Ali has been legitimate”* (“A Guide to Islamic Sects”, Par. 06).

In fact Shia followed Ithna, Acharis (Twelvers), Ismailis, Zaydis, Alevis and Alawites schools (“Mapping the Global Muslim Population” 09).

According to CAIR research, there were about 36% of Muslims in the U.S. said that they are Sunni while 12% Shia. In addition, there were other Islamic sectarian Schools such as Sufi which consisted about 2%. In fact, this latter considered as (a mystical tradition). Also, about 1% Salafi “an orientation holding belief in Islam as practiced by the early generation of Muslims” (9). It is important to mention that about 40% of the American Muslims stated that they are “*Just a Muslims*” when they have been asked about the denomination of their Islamic group. In fact, they wanted to preserve themselves as “*denominationally neutral*”. But explicitly that category followed the Sunni Muslims for the reason that Sunni considered themselves from the early beginning as the representatives of Islam (09).

### **3. 4. American Muslim Women’s Status in the United States:**

It is important to note that the United States of America faced various internal social problems such as racism, social injustice, etc. However, women in the other hand are struggling national violence (Qamar-Ul Huda 7). For instance, American Muslim women confronted serious pressures concerning *hijab*. The *hijab* has become a sign of dissimilarity between the Western and the Muslim women (Sayed 43).

In this context, according to Frank who reported concerning the meaning of *hijab* in the West, he stated that “*In the Western world, the hijab has come to symbolize either forced silence or radical unconscionable militancy. Actually, it’s neither. It is simply a woman’s assertion that judgment of her physical person is to play no role whatever in her social interactions*” (Sayed 174).

In the other hand, the human rights, feminist organizations and many new American Muslim Organizations are trying to join education and activism in order to attain gender equality, to promote social justice and to construct a significant clarification of their Islamic beliefs (Qamar- Ul Huda 3).

As an example, KARAMAH is one of those Islamic organizations. It means “dignity” in the Arabic language. Moreover, KARAMAH basic aim is “*to improve the treatment of women and to ensure that Muslim women take an active part in governing their and seeking leadership positions. It believes active involvement can counter the destructive effects of ignorance, silence and prejudices against women*” (Qamar- Ul Huda 15).

In addition, Muslim women in the U.S. marked their presence through their vote during the 2001 election. According to Dr. Ingrid Mattson a vice president of the Islamic Society of North America one of the largest Muslim organizations on the local level, in Bay Area said that:

*Women have taken executive leadership roles at outreach organizations such as Islamic Networks Group and as part of the outreach function at the Muslim Community Association. In addition, the local chapter of the Council for American- Islamic Relation (CAIR), the largest Muslim civil rights organization in America, is run by a female executive director and staff composed executively of women* (Sayed 43).

### 3. 5. Islamic Institutions:

#### 3. 5. 1. Islamic Mosques:

Building mosques in the United States was during the era between 1920's and 1930's. However; in 1952, there were about 20 mosques in the U.S ("Islam in the United States" .par, 26). Nowadays, it is estimated that there are around 1,209 mosques. The largest one in the nation is the Islamic Center of America in Dearborn, Michigan. Its main worshipers are the Shia American Muslim. Actually, it was reconstructed and finished by 2005 to accommodate over 30,000 people (Sayed 36).

Moreover, the first enduring building which functioned as a mosque was the Cedar Rapids in Iowa. It was constructed in February 15, 1934 and served as a mosque for 40 years. Later on, it was sold after building the Islamic Center of Cedar Rapids in 1971. In 1990, the building was reestablished as a Muslim Cultural Center ("Information about Muslims and Mosques in the United States", par. 1).

Region	Number
California	198
Florida	42
Illinois	43
Georgia	40
Michigan	55
New Jersey	56
New York	131
Ohio	41

Pennsylvania	43
Texas	58

Table 10: The most concentrate American states with mosques (“Muslims in America – a Statistical Portrait”, par.11).

Thanks to the local Muslims community led by Imam Taha Tawil, Dr. Thomas B. Irving, Dr. Mohamed Islami, Dr. M. Eyed Dughly, Don Singer, Albert Aossej and many others who worked hard to preserve the building. Nowadays, it is known as the Mother Mosque in America (“Information about Muslims and Mosques in the United States”, par. 2).

### 3. 5. 2. Islamic Schools:

The first Islamic school in America can be accredited to the efforts of Shaikh Daud Faisal in Brooklyn New York (Moes 08). However, American Muslim schools main objectives was to help in realizing and building the Muslim children’s identity (Timani 01). In addition, the Islamic schools were trying to (re)Islamize Muslim children. Unfortunately, the first generation of Muslims (children born in the United States) lost their Islamic values and adopted the American ones (Timani 01).

Actually, the American Muslim parents found the public schools offered to their children a reasonable education at no price, but it did not provide them with Islamic values and lessons. Also the food was not *halal*, the stories and the lectures were either narrating Christian folklore or secular beliefs. As a result it was easy for the Muslim children to surrender in such environment and adopt the American ideals (Khan “American Muslims” 132).

In 1970's and 1980's, Islam movement challenged the process of assimilation. However, they wanted to build numerous Islamic Centers and Schools. They aimed to teach Islamic values and encourage Islamic practices among the young generation (Khan "American Muslims" 133). It is important to mention that there are two thousand Islamic centers and over twelve hundred Islamic schools in North America (133).

### 3. 5. 3. Islamic organizations:

#### 3. 5. 3. 1. Political Islamic Organizations:

The 1990's era witnessed the emergence of political Islamic organizations such as American Muslim Council (AMC), Muslim Political Action Committee (MPAC), American Muslim Alliance (AMA), American Muslim for Jerusalem (AMJ) and Center for the Study of Islamic and Democracy (CSID) (Khan "American Muslims" 135). However, the major aim of those organizations was the political "*mobilization*" of American Muslims to gain power in order to use it for changing the Muslim World. Moreover, those organizations pushed American Muslims to participate in American politics either voting in election or running for office (135).

#### 3. 5. 3. 2. Social Islamic Organizations:

The first Islamic organization which had social dimension was for instance the Council for American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) with its principles "*action alert activism*". Its main aim was to fight the bigotry against Islam in both Civic Public Forum and Conscientious Public Forum (Khan "American Muslims"134). Actually according to Ibrahim Hooper; CAIR's communications director, CAIR possessed various electronic mailing lists, with more than five hundred thousand names. Indeed, Hooper stated that if an

incident of Islamophobia was informed, CAIR quickly transferred an email to its associates asking them to call, email and write letters to the offensive party (134).

Muslim organizations were explicitly adopting the isolationism policy. However, they helped in the de-Americanization and (re)Islamization of the American Muslim children. In fact, thanks to those Islamic organizations which alerted the Muslim parents for the dangerous they were facing by sending their children to public schools (Timani 07) .For instance, Islamic organizations in the other hand helped Muslim parents by providing them with copies of the Qur'an, *hadith* (saying and deeds of the prophet Mohamed, Peace Be Upon Him, lectures on home schooling and Islamic literature... (07)

It is important to state that Islamic organizations distributed Islamic sources to public schools. As an example, Council of Islamic Education (CIE) worked with 12 textbook publishers for presenting the uniqueness of the Islamic values throughout the curriculum. Consequently, the Islamic organizations gained support from the Muslim parents and that was reflected in the rapid growth of Islamic schools across the U.S (Timani 07).

In essence, one of the most frightening features of the Islamic organizations was the fact that ideas such as of integration and assimilation within the American society would spread among the Muslim families. As Mian Ashraf of Islamic Center of New England stated that *“we’re scared that we’re going to lose our identity. Our kids are going into this melting pot, where they might not be able to maintain their religious values, and we’ll lose them”* (Timani 08).

**Conclusion:**

Many studies and investigations agreed upon the reality that Muslims in America reached their goal in maintaining their identity although their diverse national, ethnic, origins and distinct political histories as well as cultures and language. However, it is throughout the idea of “*Muslim Diaspora*” that American Muslims today stretch not only cultural existence but also political one. Thus, thanks to the Islamic associations that paved the way for the emergence of Muslims in the United States.

**Chapter Four: The Effects of the 9/11 Terrorist Act on the  
American Muslims Community**

## **Chapter Four: The Effects of the 9/11 Terrorist Act on the American Muslims Community**

### **Introduction:**

The September 11 attacks on the United States were a significant effects on the American Muslim community as well its internal and external affairs. The 9/11 tragic attack, however, was a visible event which left a noticeable gloomy emotional impact, and terrible material loses. Its impact on the American Muslims as well was immeasurable. In fact, Muslims were regarded as the only responsible for what America suffered from. Thus, America through the 9/11 event was targeted in its symbolic proud monument and therefore threatened as a chief leader for democracy. In this chapter we explain the 9/11 effects on American Muslims and the various distinctive procedures maintained by America to prevent terrorist actions.

### **4. 1. The concept of Islamophobia:**

#### **4. 1. 1. Definition:**

The definition of the concept “*Islamophobia*” coined in the first time by Runnymede Trust who claimed that:

*In the case of the new coinage “Islamophobia”, both kinds of dread are implied: the object of fear is both out there, beyond national boundaries, and also here, all too close to home. Precisely because Islam is perceived to have this dual location it is all the more feared and disliked by many non- Muslims. Recurring metaphors to refer to Muslim communities within Europe include fifth column, bridgehead, enclave, Trojan horse and enemy within. “Islamophobia” is [the] dread or hatred of Islam and of Muslims. It has existed in western countries and cultures for several centuries but in the last twenty years has become more explicit, more extreme and more dangerous.*

*It is an ingredient of all sections of the media, and is prevalent in all sections of the society (Amir 01).*

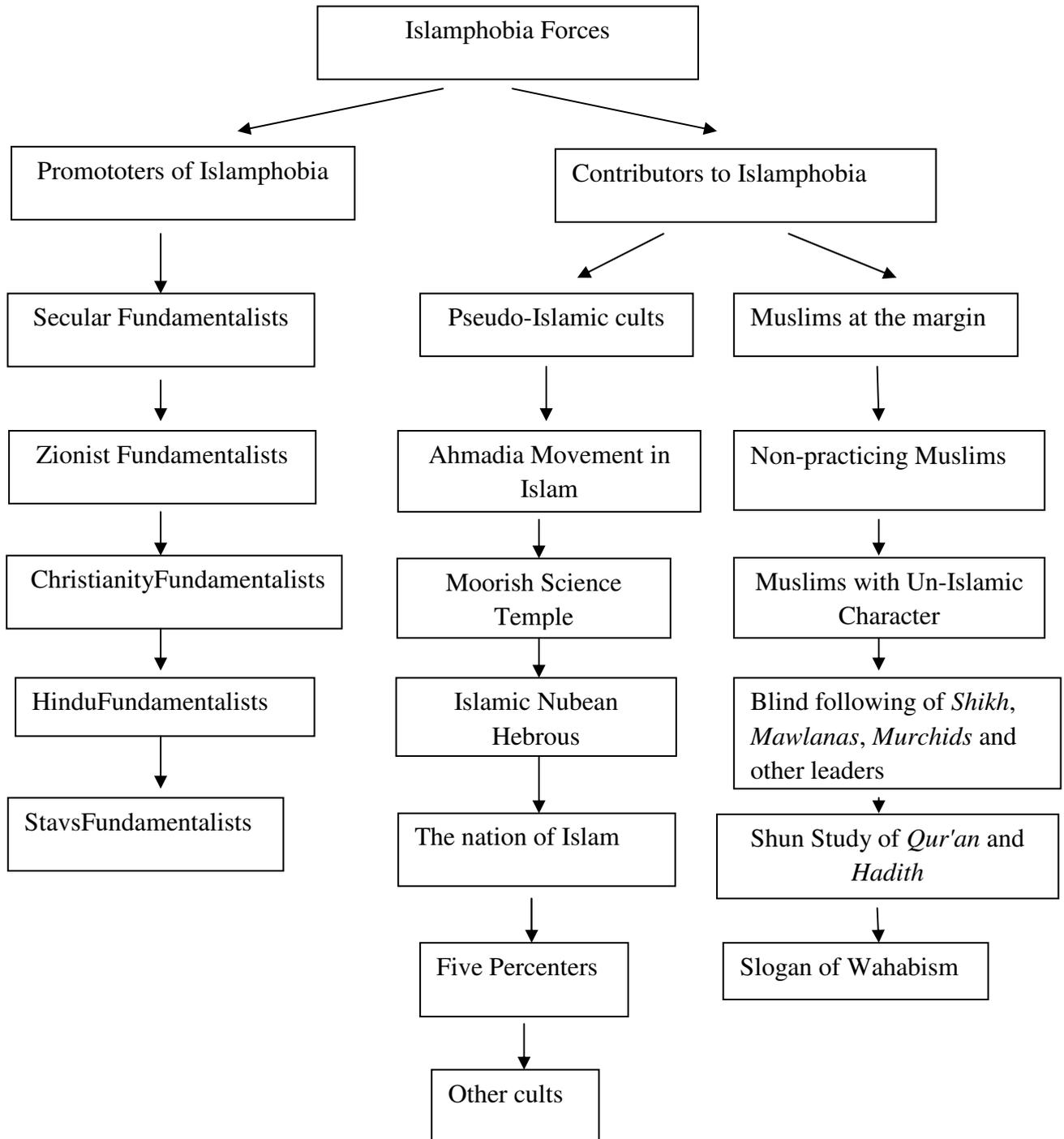
However, the term “*Islamophobia*” appeared in favor of negative prejudices and stereotypes against Islam and Muslims. In point of fact, Ghazali defined it as “*alienation, discrimination, harassment and violence rooted in misinformed and stereotyped representations of Islam and its adherents*” (Ghazali 18).

Indeed Kofi Annan Kofi Annan at a 2004 U.N. conference “*Confronting Islamophobia: Education for Tolerance and Understanding*” refused the introduction of such bigotry against Muslims in America and the entire world. He announced that:

*When the world is compelled to coin a new term to take account of increasingly widespread bigotry...; that is a sad and troubling development. Such is the case with “Islamophobia”..... There is a need to unlearn the stereotypes that have become so entrenched in so many minds and so much of the media. Islam is often seen as a monolith..... [and] Muslims as opposed to the West..... The pressures of living together with people of different culture and different beliefs from one’s own are real...But that cannot justify demonization or the deliberate use of fear for political purposes. That only deepens spiral of suspicion and alienation (Esposito 13).*

#### 4. 2. 2. Islamophobia forces:

There were various distinctive groups whose central intention was to extend the idea of “*Islamophobia*” to the world wide particularly the West (Amir 01). As a point of clarification, “*Islamophobia*” was a visible propaganda that introduced to target Islam and Muslims for political and cultural purpose. Actually Islamphobia’s forces are presented as follows (07).



A diagram of the Islamphobia Forces (Amir 01-07).

The previous diagram demonstrates the forces that help in the spread of the term Islamophobia as a bigotry against the American Muslims in the West. It concerns not only the American Muslims but also the Muslims in all parts of the world. However, those people use new ideas, new policies in other to promote and propagate Islamophobia to the generations. Paradoxically, their names or titles of their schools hide their real job and are in contradiction with their aims and objectives.

#### **4. 2. The dramatic September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001:**

Exactly at eight forty-five a.m. on September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001, nineteen members of al-Qa'ida hijackers took off with an American Airlines flight number 11 which left Boston few minutes earlier (Pauwels 200). They crashed into both Towers of New York's World Center (W.T.C) and into the Pentagon (Curtis IV 97). Meanwhile, a fourth United Airlines flight number 93 probably directed to the White House did not succeed. Miraculously and astonishingly, the White House saved by heroic passengers. They deviated the plane and crashed in a Pennsylvania forest southeast of Pittsburgh (Pauwels 200). Consequently, the United States lost its symbols of financial, military, and political power (Curtis IV 97).

Approximately, 3,000 human beings were killed that day. Later on, the leader of al-Qa'ida, Osama Bin Laden declared that the attacks were a religious revenge for the misery initiated by the U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East. Actually, before and after the attack, al-Qa'ida's members stated that they had their reasons for the violent deeds, counting for instance: The U.S. based support of Israel, the U.S. led war against Iraq in 1991, the presence of U.S. military bases in the Persian Gulf, and U.S. support for corrupt regimes in the Middle East (97).

In this context, George W. Bush reported that “*the conflicts in Afghanistan, Iraq, and in the war on terror are not battles with Islam, the media, many politicians, and other public figures (such as Pat Robertson) have portrayed the battles in these terms*” (Kalkan, Layman, and Uslaner 05).

In point of fact, six days after the 9/11 attacks on the W.T.C in New York and Pentagon Washington, President Bush announced his famous expression “*war on terror*” (Ghazali 18). Furthermore, on September 17<sup>th</sup>, 2001 Bush stated at the Islamic Center in Washington D.C. that “*Those who feel like they can intimidate our fellow citizens to take out their anger don’t represent the best of America. They represent the worst of human-kind, and they should be ashamed of that kind of behavior*” (Curtis IV 99).

On August 11, 2006 the president precisely offended Islam and Muslims in particular. He said “*This nation is at war with Islamic fascists*” (Ghazali 18). However, Muslims were the first responsible in the view point of President Bush and the American public for what America suffered from (18).

As well, Islamic activists by the dramatic day had their own reasons when they threatened the U.S. national security. The process of “*Globalization*”, however, regarded as the most dangerous American progression in their homeland. Globalization in reality was the proof to their terrorist deeds. Moreover, the extremist under the so-called “*Anti Americanism*” in fact raised various complaints against the United States policies in the Muslim world (Khan “Nice but Tough” 357). For instance:

- The United States’ uncritical support of Israeli occupation and colonization of Palatines.
- The human tragedy caused by the sanctions against Iraq.

- U.S. military, moral, and even financial support to undemocratic Arab regimes.
- U.S. opposition to Islamization in Muslim societies.
- Cultural Americanization of the Muslim World through globalization (357).

#### **4. 3. The impact of the 9/11 tragic attack on the American Muslims:**

On September 11, many severe political, social, cultural and economic results appeared in favor of negative attitude toward American Muslims. However, its major concern was to stop terrorist's networks and to maintain security in the United States.

##### **4. 3. 1. The political results:**

The U.S. government introduced a series of “*antiterrorism*” procedures in the aftermath of September 11. For instance Financial Anti-terrorism Act, Airport Security Federalization Act, Bioterrorism Response Act, Preparedness against Domestic Terrorism Act, Aviation Security Enhancement Act, Airline Security Act, Bioterrorism Preparedness Act, and the United States Security Act (Haque 172).

Actually, one of the most significant acts was the Patriot Act. However, on October 26<sup>th</sup>, 2001 the Patriot Act was passed by the Congress and signed by President Bush (172). It is important to state that the act joined several U.S. agencies under the Department of Homeland Security, counting the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Customs Service, Coast Guard, Security Service, Transformation Safety Administration, and many others (Donaldson 325).

According to Ghazali “*the Patriot Act effectively nullifies Amendments 4, 5, 6 and 8 directly and indirectly Amendments 1 and 9 and the INS Special Registration which targeted men from 21 Muslim countries*”. In fact, the major aim of the U.S. Patriot Act was

*“Uniting and Strengthening America by providing appropriate tools required interpreting and obstructing Terrorism act”* (Ghazali 10).

Moreover, on October 13<sup>th</sup>, 2004, Treasury department seized and froze the moneys and the belongings of the Islamic American Relief Agency (IARA) of Columbia, Missouri, and accused five of its representatives for helping funding Osama Bin Laden and the Palestinian Organization Hamas (Ghazali 41). Indeed, the government did not stop but it accused Islamic organizations for helping the extremists in order to realize their terrorist objectives as Ghazali stated:

*Dozens of Charitable groups have been investigated since 2001. Several were shut down, without any official finding that they were aiding terrorist organizations. The organizations shut down were not on any government watch list before their assets were frozen. The predictable result is that Muslims have no way of knowing which groups the government suspects of ties with terrorism....The government action has so far resulted in shutting down five major Muslim charities* (Ghazali 05).

Moreover, the U.S. Attorney General John Ashcroft under the powers permitted to him (The Patriot Act), pointed out around 1,200 Arab, South Asian, and Muslim men to be distrusted by the American government for having relations with terrorists. However, it was not a usual act. They were accused and they were even had not the right to have a lawyer. They were put in prison without being condemned for a crime. In other hand, the FBI also questioned round 8,000 Muslim men in thought of their association with terrorism (Curtis IV 100).

#### 4. 3. 2. The social results:

Many negative attitudes and opinions against Islam and Muslims emerged mainly after September 11<sup>th</sup> attack (Kalkan, Layman, and Uslaner 02). However, in December 2004, an investigation carried out by Cornell University found that approximately 44 percent of Americans believed that the U.S. government should limited and controlled the civil liberties of Muslim Americans (Ghazali 06). Continuously, on March 10<sup>th</sup>, 2006 a research showed that between 23 and 27 percent of Americans believed in stereotypes such as “*Muslims value life less than other people*” and “*The Muslim religion teaches violence and hatred*” (08).

In this context, a Newsweek poll of July 2007 declared around thirty- two percent Americans thought that their fellow citizen Muslims were not much faithful to the U.S. Whereas, forty percent of them believed that Muslims were faithful to America as they are to Islam. In contrast round 46% of Americans were dissatisfied by their country policy which permitted to immigrants from Muslim countries to enter to America (05).

Actually, President Bush advised the American public not to “*demonize*” the whole faith because of the deeds of some people where he changed their intention to be on the astonishing events such as: terrorist attacks, hijackers, politically extremist groups and poor treatment of certain groups like women rather than stereotypes of Muslims (Kalkan, Layman, and Uslaner 02).

According to Saeed, in the aftermath of September 11, the majority of Americans refused the existence of Muslim American as Muslim American. As a result, many minority and foreigner groups had been frustrated to what they faced from American public ignorance (40).

#### 4. 3. 3. The cultural results:

The high level of education in fact played a significant role when dealing with the reaction of American people toward Muslims. However, College-educated Americans showed much acceptance to Muslims and Islam than those who did not join to the college. In reality, education was particularly an influential cultural aspect on views of the Islamic religion. Actually, there were round half 52% of college-educated Americans favored views of Islam and just 29% of them never attended college agree (Keeter and Kohut 191).

However, citizens who were familiar to Islam were in fact the first to accept Muslim Americans than those who were not (185).

In the score of that, Keeter and Kohut stated that:

*The horrific events of September 11, 2001 focused the attention of the American public on the Islamic world and Muslims, both in the United States and abroad. While the reactions of Americans are a testament to their core values of tolerance and religiosity, they also signal a cautionary note about the future of relations between cultures that share many values but still differ in significant ways (185).*

In this quotation Keeter and Kohut claimed that “*Tolerance*” is one of the American’s major values and ideals. Furthermore, President Bush also made his effort to spread and promote “*Tolerance*” in the aftermath of the tragic event. Although the high level of toleration and mainstream American culture, there were not yet an entirely acceptance to Muslims instead there were some significant doubts remained (Keeter and Kohut 185).

#### 4. 3. 4. The economic results:

In July 2006, a national study led by economics researchers at the University of Illinois showed that Muslims and ethnically Arab men who worked in the United States lost around 10 percent of their belongings in the years after the September 11 terrorist attacks (Ghazali 82). For instance, in March 2005, a Chicago bank blocked the account of a Bridgeview mosque because it offered \$10,000 to the Islamic American Relief which is supposedly helping extremists before the U.S. government stopped its charities (44).

In fact, the American government believed that the moneys from Islamic charities were not for supporting just Islamic projects but it was transmuted to finance radicals and terrorists too (Paz 58).

In this context, Alberto Gonzales sent a message in which he announced that American Muslims charities should be closed. He cited “*Muslim Americans would be punished if they want to help Palestinians; either way the assault on the charities was not about the safety and security of the American people but about policies*” (Ghazali 35).

Since the 9/11 attacks, the Bush administration shut down a great number of Islamic charity institutions including the following major charities:

##### 4. 3. 4. 1. Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development (HLF):

On December 4, 2001, Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) attacked the Texas Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development. Interestingly, the same day during a public appearance with Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, President Bush declared that HLF provided money to Hamas and help families of suicide bombers with funds. Actually, he described it as “*one of the deadliest terror organizations in the world today*”.

Furthermore, HLF replied that it provided just humanitarian relief, with a focus on Palestinian victims and refugees of the war in Bosnia, Kosovo, and Turkey (Ghazali 35).

On Jul 27, 2004, the HLF directors and fundraisers accused for aiding the militant Palestinian group Hamas and money laundering and conspiracy (35).

#### 4. 3. 4. 2. Global Relief Foundation (GRF):

The Global Relief Foundation in Chicago shut down by the FBI just ten days after closing HFL. However, they froze all of its belongings (pending an investigation), took its computers, filing cabinets, furniture, pictures, and more (39).

On the same day, the Immigration and Naturalization Service stopped GRF's director, Rabih Haddad and attacked his home. In the other hand, there were false stories reporting that Al Qa'ida had a secret ties with GRF (39).

Among the stories, in January 2002, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and U.S. special forces when they explored caves and safe houses in Afghanistan found documents connecting two Chicago-based Islamic charities to Al Qa'ida. However, although GRF's Lawyer Roger Simmons contacted the paper and defended his institution by challenging the reporter's claims but the United States was convinced and told Simmons "*the newspaper would neither correct nor retract the story*" (39).

#### 4. 3. 4. 3. Benevolence International Foundation (BIF):

The Benevolence International Foundation in Illinois was attacked by the FBI on the same day the GRF was raided. However, its mission was to help in providing humanitarian relief services worldwide. In 2002, the executive officer of BIF Enaam Arnauout accused for misleading supporters and delivering funds to terrorist organizations

like Al Qa'ida. In February, Arnauout arrested for using charities to supply troops in Chechnya and Bosnia (Ghazali 39).

Moreover, in August he was condemned to 11 years prison. Later on, the U.S. claimed that in the 1980's, Arnauout had a connection with Al Qa'ida leader Osama Bin Laden during the Afghan war against the Soviet Union (39).

Interestingly, the September 11 alerted the U.S. government. It successively froze and blocked the Muslim charity's account. In this context, Stuart Levey the Treasury Department's undersecretary for terrorism and financial intelligence declared that "*we will not allow organizations that support terrorism to raise money in the United States*" (44). It is important to mention that there were various organizations and institutions that faced the same destiny as HLF, GRF, and BIF such as: Safa Trust, Al-Haramain Islamic Foundation, Islamic American Relief Agency (IARA), Kindhearts USA, Kids in Need of Development, Education and Relief (Kinder USA), Life for Relief and Development (LIFE) (44).

#### **4. 4. The U.S. procedures in maintaining security:**

According to Haque September 11<sup>th</sup> woke-up the Americans and brought serious changes in which he stated that:

*September 11<sup>th</sup> was a the most significant event because it alerted the structures of interstate relations, transformed perceptions of security, redefined the identities of friends and enemies in world politics, restructured the criteria of state- citizen, resident relations, and reprioritized the mission of public government (172).*

In score of that, Singer as one of the world's leading experts on changes in the 21<sup>st</sup> century security announced that "...terrorism in this vein was therefore perceived almost exclusively as a "Security Threat" (04). Consequently, the United States implemented various distinctive laws and procedures on the national and the international.

#### 4. 4. 1. The procedures maintained on the national level:

According to Biddle the safety of the nation state and the protection of the American citizens were a permanent dynamic concern even before the 9/11 attacks (03). Since the 9/11, the U.S. government launched one of the major documents that guided the American foreign policy which entitled the National Security Strategy (NSS) in September 2002. However, the central objective of the 2002 NSS focused on “*pre-emption, unilateralism, and military hegemony. It, however, also affirms the following traditional objectives: “political and economic freedom; peaceful relations with other states, and respect for human dignity”* (Ishtiaq and Mohsen 33-34).

Indeed, the 2002 NSS advocated the American nation to use democracy and freedom to fight the countries around the world. Thus, throughout the 2002 NSS, the United States aimed to “*defend liberty and justice because these principles are right and true for all people”* (Ishtiaq and Mohsen 33).

Interestingly, the Americans considered the 2002 NSS a symbol of proud because it reflected the desire of Jefferson, Lincoln, and the Marshall Plan (33). Moreover, they convinced that the 2002 NSS personified their values like democracy, human rights, liberty, and free speech. Actually, for them no other nation on the earth could have such workable ideals as America (Ishtiaq and Mohsen 44).

In this context, Ashcroft affirmed on the necessity to implement the National Security Entry-Exit Registration Systems (NSEERS). However, the NSEERS program required a compulsory digital fingerprinting and photographing of strangers when entering the American soil (Heymann 10). Additionally, Peter King, a House Homeland Security Committee chairman insisted that people who were from a Middle Eastern and South

Asian background should endure for a further security checks because of their ethnicity and faith (Ghazali 62).

Likewise, Mark Flanagan, a congressional candidate from 13<sup>th</sup> District of Florida suggested that passengers who looked like Arabs or Muslims should undergo for an additional check. In point of fact, he claimed that *“it is a fact that over the past 34 years, starting with the Munich Olympics, the majority of terrorist attacks have been carried out by Muslims”* (Ghazali 63).

Moreover, after the 9/11 attack the United States organized a public opinion polls. However, the pool was not just for questioning American people about the contemporary policies but also to find if America could has a *“functional”* and *“workable”* foreign policy at all (Ishtiaq and Mohsen 38).

The poll demonstrated that since 2005 the following issues left at the margin whereas they could guarantee the U.S. security if they were reinforced. For example

- Supporting women’s rights in Muslim countries.
- Showing more respect for the views and needs of other countries.
- Improved effectiveness of intelligence operations.
- Helping Muslim countries develop economically.
- Tighter controls on immigration.
- Maintaining American military edge by exploring or placing weapons in space.
- Tighter control over foreign students in the U.S. (Ishtiaq and Mohsen 38).

#### 4. 4. 2. The procedures maintained on the international level:

On September 20, 2001, two weeks after the terrible attacks, President Bush arranged a speech to Congress in which he declared “...*These terrorists...are the heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the 20<sup>th</sup> century...they follow the path of fascism, Nazism, and totalitarianism*” (Tomiak 05).

Therefore, Bush after the disastrous attack desired to leave his personal stamp on the American foreign policy. Actually, his desire reflected in the Bush Doctrine. It is in essence the frame of American security requirements. Robert Jervis explained four major elements of the Bush Doctrine. He mentioned:

*A strong belief in the importance of a state’s domestic regime in determining its foreign policy and the related judgment that is an opportune time to transform international policies; the perception of great threats that can be defined only by new and vigorous policies, most notably by preventive war; a willingness to act unilaterally when necessary; and as both a cause and a summary of these beliefs, an overriding sense that peace and stability require the United States to assert its primacy in world politics* (Ishtiaq and Mohsen 46-47).

In this context, the United States urged the Muslim World to be more democratic and non-violent communities (Khan “Nice but though” 356). In score of that, the Bush administration introduced the so-called “*policy of preemptive counterterrorism*”. However, its major procedures to preserve the U.S. security and interest were:

- Eliminating the terror network and all its affiliates wherever they are. This involves extensive intelligence gathering and covert and overt military, as well as police operations for eliminating and apprehending terrorist asserts.
- Undermining the capacity of the “*axis of evil*”-Iran, Iraq, and North Korea- to use weapons of mass destruction against the United States. The most important goal under this objective is a change of regime in Iraq.

- Preventing the growth and influence of radical Islamists, particularly from the oil rich nations in the Gulf and Muslim Diasporas in the West (359).

**Conclusion:**

In the aftermath of the 9/11 attack, the United States run for countless security measures in order to protect its citizens and as well its national and international matters. Indeed, the U.S. intervention in the Muslim World under the process of American “*Globalization*” was viewed by Islamic activists as indirect cultural dominance in their homeland. Therefore, they regarded the crucial event as a natural reaction toward the American policies in the world relations.

## General Conclusion

Since the United States regards as the country of diversity in all the aspects. Religion considers as a free belief that anyone can believe in whatever his leaning or origin. Because of the early amendment of the Bill of Rights that insures the freedom of religion, Islam is one of the three prominent holy religions found in the United States before the twentieth century. The two main elements that make Islam and Muslim living in the new world are first refers to the founding father John Adams and Thomas Jefferson who owe copies of the Quran in their Libraries and the American writer ambassador Alexander Russells Webb who is converted to Islam.

Hence, Islam balloons vastly in the United States in a considerable number where many people are converted easily to the Muslim faith. However one of the most shocking events in America is the September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001, it turns the status of Islam as a nonviolent religion upside down. It deeply threatens its existence and even the American Muslims who face an aggressive reaction from both the public and government's actions.

In one hand, Muslim community in the United States before the 9/11 attacks was not the only minority, but also had a significance presence in the American life. Due to the existence of foreign religion in foreign land of Muslims regardless of Muslims' origins, the Islamic communities distributions exist all over America. Indeed, they share the non-Muslims daily part of public services and occupations.

Furthermore, the religious sermonize and the Islamic norms are practiced and respected from both government and non-Muslims. For instance, many Islamic mosques, schools, and organizations participate in emerging the Islamic faith in all over the American lives in sort of economy, social, and politic.

In spite of all the facilities that are offered to the American Muslims, they suffer a lot to preserve the Islamic values and ethics in a constant active community.

When someone asks an American former citizen about the attacks of 9/11, spontaneously he reveals gloomy answers of Al Qa'ida threats and a great sentiment of Islamphobia. Unfortunately the term is directly linked to an anti-Islamic movement shape from the dread toward Muslims.

Since the dramatic event that provokes huge damages, the image of Islam as a religion is tarnished and linked to terrible labels and offenses such as terrorist. As a result, the 9/11 attacks irritate many serious consequences that harm the American Muslims mainly insides the Unites States of America. Such as, the political procedures which limit the number of immigrants who hold an Islamic faith to enter to the U.S. However, those procedures conceder in fact as an act for preserving security inside America.

Finally, the method conducted in this research is the method of reporting data which is a type of the descriptive method. Moreover, there are other types such as case study, survey and questionnaire that also can be applied for further research.

## Glossary

**Diaspora:** From the 1970's to 1980's, the word diaspora came to mean a population living outside its homeland.

**Five Percenters:** This group consider themselves belonging to top 5% of the people. They identify themselves as an elite group in the society. Their beliefs have no relation with Islamic principles.

**Islamic Nubean Hebrews:** This cult was established by "Imam Isa" who has published many books of his teachings. His main aim was to attack Sunni Islam. This group in fact wears an Arab style clothes including turbans and women wear veil over their faces. Imam Isa published pictures of all prophets mentioned in the Qur'an and shown their faces to be Negroid.

**Moorish Science Temple:** It was established by Noble Drew Ali who wrote his own "Koran" in English and believed to be a prophet by his followers. This group is divided to various groups one of them is Moorish Divine Movement. In general, they have some secret teachings and do not believe in selling their material in the open market.

**Pseudo-Islamic Cults:** This cult claims that they are Muslims but they have nothing common with Islam and Muslims except for the Arabic terminology used by the Muslims all around the world.

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