Researching the Civil Rights and Liberties of Western Muslims

Ariane Chebel d'Appollonia
Rutgers University

Suspicion of Muslim minorities in Western countries did not start with the attacks of September 11, 2001. The post 9/11 period, however, amplified existing prejudice. Muslims have come under intense scrutiny on the chance that they might be terrorists and have been targeted by most of the counter-terrorist measures adopted since then. In the United States, the initial objective was to catch foreign radicals, as illustrated by the FBI's massive investigation called "PENTTBOM" which sought to identify aliens involved in the attacks.[1] Additional measures such as the Absconder Apprehension Initiative (AAI) and the implementation of the National Security Entry-Exit registration System (NSEERS), adopted in 2002, targeted foreign Muslims.[2] The enactment of new statutory provisions designed to identify and apprehend foreign terrorists was soon followed by a catch-all strategy targeting all Muslims living in the US.[3] Furthermore, the broad definition of what constitutes a terrorist threat (as developed by the 2001 PATRIOT Act, the 2005 REAL ID Act, and the 2007 Protect America Act) has allowed US authorities to extend the list of terrorist offenses—leading to increased infringement on civil liberties in the name of security. Governmental discrimination also fueled prejudice against Muslims by providing a justification for anti-Muslim sentiments. A large section of the public welcomed racial/ethnic profiling and various measures limiting the civil rights and the civil liberties of Muslims as a way to improve homeland security.[4]

Europe experienced a similar trend. Pre-existing anti-Muslim sentiments were reignited by the terrorist attacks of 9/11, the London bombings, and

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the Madrid bombings. They were also exacerbated by failed plots, such as the one at the Glasgow airport, and a series of heated controversies about, among other issues, the construction of mosques and the issue of hijab.[5] As in the United States, Muslims have been excessively targeted by immigration and counter-terrorist initiatives, both at the national and EU levels.[6] In addition to social and political exclusion, Muslims have been the victims of security measures such as profiling, special registration, wiretapping, incarceration, interrogation, and removal. Furthermore, several European countries have restricted access to naturalization by subsuming citizenship laws to anti-terrorist legislation.[7]

Perspectives on the Civil Rights of Western Muslims

Violations of the civil rights of Muslims (citizens and foreign nationals alike) in the current context of securitization have been extensively documented from at least three perspectives. The first one is the contribution of civil rights movements, advocacy groups, human rights agencies, and Muslim organizations that report anti-Muslim incidents and investigate violations of civil rights.[8] A cross-national comparison of these violations reveals four commonalities. First, the majority of civil rights deprivations are committed by governmental authorities such as border patrols, police, military, and public housing agencies. Second, despite variations over time, the number of reported violations is not decreasing in most Western countries. Third, post-9/11 repercussions are increasingly gendered, with men targeted by security measures and women (especially those wearing hijab) targeted by hate crimes.[9] Finally, Islam has become the privileged topic of many terrorism experts and policy-makers whose discourse is influenced by binary cultural stereotypes (such as Islam versus democracy, and secularism versus religious fanaticism).[10] This discourse, in turn, still informs political practices based on the "normality" of extraordinary measures defined as "lesser evils."[11]

The second perspective is provided by legal scholars and ethicists who critically examine the civil rights controversies that have raged since 9/11, including the abuse of "security powers" by law enforcement agencies, the use of torture, the legal "black hole" of Guantanamo, as well as the unconstitutionality and immorality of any form of discrimination.[12] In the case of Muslims, some studies analyze how human rights standards are commonly disregarded by democracies through the expanding notion of "guilt by association," while the fear of the "enemy inside" leads to the abuse of exceptional powers by Western governments.[13] This perspective also includes studies focusing on the legal challenges raised by the accommodation of Islam, especially in European secular societies,[14] as well as the issue of citizenship

in the context of the securitization of immigration and integration issues.[15] The common assumption is that a greater sense of Muslim civic engagement would prevent further violations of civil rights. Yet, this leads to two different kinds of recognition of Muslims—either as a religious minority or as a racial/ethnic minority—meaning choosing one of the various juridical models for the protection of minorities.[16]

The third perspective focuses on how Muslims perceive their situation and how they react in the current context of securitization. Key findings based on surveys, electoral studies, and interviews reveal that shared experiences of discrimination in the post 9/11 era have enhanced group consciousness among all Muslims in Western societies.[17] This group consciousness often relates to religion through the notion of Islamic identity; yet, the identification process can also be fueled by a "symbolic religiosity" or a "symbolic ethnicity" leading to the emergence of "Muslim atheists."[18] This increased sense of common identity translates into political-civic mobilization in various ways. There is evidence of a stronger mobilization among Muslims, as illustrated by the intensification of the activities of Muslim organizations focusing on the issue of civil rights, as well as a higher level of political visibility combined with increasing turnout rates of Muslim voters.[19] In most Western countries, the main object of Muslim participation in mainstream politics is empowerment. The denial of civil rights to Muslims has thus served to mobilize them through civic participation in order to fight for their rights. In the United States, the Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC) and the American Muslim Council (AMC) played a key role in the formation of the first "Muslim bloc vote" in 2000. A coalition of Muslim organizations formed the American Political Coordination Committee, endorsing G.W. Bush. American Muslims increased their mobilization after 9/11. The discriminatory aspects of counterterrorism caused a shift in partisanship. A coalition of ten Muslim organizations formed the American Muslim Task Force on Civil Rights and Elections, endorsing John Kerry. This was coupled with successful mobilization efforts, resulting in a 20% increase in Muslim American voters. US Muslim political involvement continued to achieve a higher level of visibility during the 2006 Congressional elections, which were characterized by the election of the first Muslim member to the US Congress, Minnesota Democrat Keith Ellison.[20] This trend was confirmed by the 2008 presidential election when Muslims overlooked differences they have among themselves. Nearly 90% supported Democrat Barack Obama, and a significant portion of voters cited civil rights issues as the main factor driving their choice. In addition, religious and non-religious organizations made efforts to deconstruct the perception of Muslims as a potential terrorist threat in the hope of reducing

discrimination. The Fiqh Council of North America, for example, stated that it was religiously acceptable for enlisted US Muslims to take part in the fight against terrorism. Community groups have repeatedly condemned al Qaeda and suggested that Muslims should help the FBI in preventing terrorist attacks. Other proactive initiatives that have been developed by the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) and other civil rights organizations include initiating legal action, contacting politicians on state and federal levels, engaging in lobbying activities, and organizing educational outreach programs for the general public.[21]

In Europe, the struggle for recognition in the public space encompasses the formation of Muslim political organizations or parties, the increased institutionalization of relations between Muslim organizations and public authorities, as well as social and political mobilization by Muslims.[22] Some studies focus on the various types of Muslim organizations—their goals, leaders and activities.[23] Other studies analyze the current mobilization of Muslim communities within the perspective of social movement theory and the "politics of identity."[24]

In spite of these efforts and as Abdulkader Sinno explains in his contribution to this special section below, Muslims remain politically underrepresented and are less politically engaged than other groups.[25] In Europe, Muslims are also disadvantaged in employment and schooling.[26] Furthermore, violations of civil rights and discrimination in most institutional spheres generate an increasing sense of alienation which, in turn, fuels political distrust and social radicalization that sometimes manifests itself in protests or violence. Disaffection from mainstream politics is increased by the anti-Muslim discourse of politicians and lack of opportunities for full political inclusion.[27] These limitations have two major disadvantages. First, the weak political representation of Muslims in Western countries impedes the development of a serious "civil rights movement" that achieves civic equality. Second, the violations of the civil rights of Muslims in the name of security create more insecurity by fueling the resentment of Muslims who feel unfairly marginalized and become more receptive to terrorist recruitment.[28]

The Road Ahead for Researchers

The three perspectives I review above suggest a number of research questions that deserve to be addressed further: is Muslim "otherness" any different than that of other minorities whose civil rights have been transgressed in previous (actual or perceived) times of emergency? What are the different strategies used by various Muslim communities to secure their civil rights? What is the potential impact of Muslim civic mobilization on identity politics? What

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are the invisible costs of discrimination against Muslims in spheres such as education, the economy or the law?

Addressing these questions in a rigorous social scientific way would help to better understand what motivates "claims making" by Muslims in various Western societies and to quantify the effect of civil rights violations on their lives. There is a need to further build on the few comparative studies available to develop involved theories that place the Muslim experience within the context of the experiences of other minorities.[29] The current backlash against Muslims fits into a long history of religious discrimination against Jews on both sides of the Atlantic, Catholics in the US, and Protestants in Europe. Previous episodes of egregious violations of the civil rights of both citizens and non-citizens in the United States include the Alien and Sedition Acts of the 1790s, the Chinese Act of 1882, the Palmer Raids and the Red Scare that followed World War One and the internment of persons of Japanese ancestry during World War Two. It was not until 1952, with the passage of the McCarran Walter Act, that Asians were allowed to become US citizens. Furthermore, the criminalization of illegal immigration targeted aliens racially constructed as "unwanted"—from the Chinese immigrants in the late nineteenth century to the Hispanic immigrants today. Similar civil rights deprivations took place in Europe, and like in the United States, they were justified by the trade-off between liberties and security in times of national emergency.[30] The current securitization thus inspires a feeling of déjà vu in terms of the retrenchment of civil liberties for distinct groups among the general population. Does this mean that we tend to overestimate the uniqueness of the situation faced by Muslims? Opinion polls and surveys, for example, often rely on the assumption that the "otherness" of Muslims is a given fact. Therefore, they tend to emphasize the alleged particularities of Muslims in terms of religiosity, social values, identity and loyalty (see Justin Gest's contribution to this special section).[31] It is worth noting that the majority of Western Muslims are both mainstream and very similar to other minorities who face comparable issues of dual allegiance/identity and are equally, if not less religious and socially conservative than these minorities.[32]

Studies seeking to explain why Muslims face difficulties in asserting their rights suggest a number of characteristics, such as the ethnic and sectarian diversity of Muslim communities and the lack of centralized/hierarchical organization in Islam. Yet, other ethnic and religious minorities that are extremely heterogeneous enjoy various levels of mobilization and institutional recognition.[33] As Justin Gest also argues, comparative studies could help to de-essentialize Muslims and Islam by identifying similarities and differences in the processes of integration, representation, and institutional accommodation.

Some drivers of discrimination are unique to one target group and do not lend themselves to a comparative study. The ongoing dynamics of securitization, for example, does not seem to have an end in sight. Unlike prior times of emergency, the war on terror is a conflict without end, and without limits. Japanese Americans, for example, had their civil liberties restored, if only after the end of hostilities. The war on terror offers no comparable prospect of victory and thus little likelihood of a comparable restoration of rights. Each terrorist attack, from Times Square to Islamabad, makes it more difficult for Muslims to assert their rights.

In this context, what are the different strategies available to various Muslim communities for securing their civil rights? Most studies focus on different types of Muslim organizations (religious, political, professional, cultural, or mixed), on the nature of their activities (spiritual regeneration, political activities, civil rights advocacy), and on the scope of their mobilization (local, national, transnational).[34] There is room for researchers to deepen this line of inquiry to account for complexity at the local and national levels. Patterns of accommodation are contingent on different historical conditions and different forms of government. Furthermore, similar objectives (recognition, equality before the law, and full citizenship) can be achieved through various strategies and forms and degrees of accommodation. Muslims sometimes make claims simultaneously for differential (e.g. accommodation for religious requirements) and egalitarian (e.g. treatment similar to other religious groups) rights, both at the collective and at the individual levels. These demands are not necessarily contradictory, and we should therefore move beyond the traditional dichotomy between differentialism and civic universalism in the evaluation of the "level of integration" of Muslims. In addition, the notion that Muslims have identical demands in various Western countries is misleading, even if their claims are legitimized by identical concerns.

Another area of potential research interest is to explore why different contexts produce similar issues. For example, although the relationship between state and church in the United States differs dramatically from the secular patterns found in many European countries, the US version of the "mosque issue" looks extremely European. Perhaps the answer to this unexpected similarity lies at the local level. The violation and protection of civil rights varies across subnational units in some countries such as the United States in part because of variation in local legal and government institutions. Opportunities and constraints for Muslim civic mobilization are also affected by the micro-politics of accommodation.

Another area open for rigorous research is the politics of identity among Muslims in the current context of limitations on their civil rights and liberties.

Like other minorities in a context of excessive securitization, Muslims suffer from their "visibility." Yet, more than other minorities, Muslims need to become more visible as a way to be more effective in affirming their rights.[35] Against the negative visibility fueled by discrimination, a proactive visibility can provide a platform from which Muslims formulate their demands. Yet, moving toward a more self-conscious politics of identity involves choosing among several strategies of self-presentation (as religious minority, cultural group, or political constituency) and political action (an interest-based pan-ethnic strategy like US Hispanics, a coalition of "people of faith" like other religious minorities who downplay the particularities of their religion by promoting the common interests of religious communities against secular interests, or a "linked fate" option designed to rally all minorities suffering from discrimination). The many decisions made in these areas have reshaped the identities of Western Muslims and members of their broader communities in very complex and diverse ways that are not easy to discern short of involved research on the local level or very large scale surveys that lend themselves to comparison across countries and locales.

Finally, we still do not know the exact costs of discrimination on the lives, livelihoods, education, health and well-being of individuals associated with Islam. The reason is that many of these costs are invisible until researched in a methodical way. In spite of some existing research, we do not know accurately yet how many more rejections identifiably Muslim individuals have to experience in comparison to non-Muslims before receiving an invitation to interview or a job offer. The same applies to potential bias within juries and among judges against Muslim defendants, members of admissions committees at schools and universities, voters towards Muslim candidates, and landlords in majority areas.[36] While enough good experimental research, and this is the only method to use to gauge this invisible cost, has been done to show the enormous scale of anti-Muslim discrimination, there is a need for more comparative and fine-tuned data to complete the picture.[37] ⋈

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End Notes

[1]According to the DOJ Office of the Inspector General (OIG), this initiative led to the detention of 1,200 individuals within two months after the attacks. All the 762 aliens placed in INS custody as a result of PENTTBOM were identified as Muslims on the basis of their respective country of origin (OIG 2003). In November 2001, Attorney General Ashcroft launched a "mass interviews" program for men aged 18 to 33 from countries in "which intelligence indicates al Qaeda terrorist presence or activity," and who had entered the country after 2000. The State Department also slowed the process of granting visas for men aged 16 to 45 from certain Arab and Muslim countries. Finally, delays in the citizenship process were implemented for Arabs and Muslims (see CHR&GJ 2007).

[2]Enforcement practices focused on the deportation of individuals from Muslim countries. In November 2002, the INS expanded the NSEERS and required male nationals ("special registrants") of 25 countries admitted prior to 9/11 to register with the INS. Of the 25 countries of "elevated national security concern," only one (North Korea) is not a Muslim state. The Clear Law Enforcement for Criminal Aliens Removal Act (CLEAR, adopted in July 2003) also targets foreigners by giving local police the power to enforce federal immigration laws.

[3]The Bush administration used the Material Witness Statute, 18 U.S.C. §3144, as a means to detain Muslims, both foreign nationals and US citizens, without charges for an unlimited time period. US citizens Lindh, Padilla, and Hamdi were detained as enemy combatants without right of due process.

[4]In a poll conducted by Cornell University in 2004, for example, 22% of US respondents agreed that citizens should be profiled based on being Muslim or of Middle Eastern heritage; 27% believed that Muslims should be required to register their whereabouts with US authorities; and 29% agreed that Muslim civic organizations should be monitored by law enforcement agencies (MSRG 2004).

[5]On the situation of Muslims in Europe after 9/11, see Abbas (2005), Cesari (2010), Fekete (2009, 2004), Statham (2004) and Vaïsse (2008).

[6]The EU Common Position and Framework Decision on Combating Terrorism, adopted in December 2001, broadened the definition of terrorism considerably, and new crimes of association with terrorism were created. This trend was reinforced by, among others, the 2002 Framework Decision on Combating Terrorism, the 2004 Hague Program, the 2005 Directive on Money Laundering and Terrorist Financing, and the 2005 Counter-Terrorist Strategy. At the national levels, concerns about violations of civil liberties refer to various legislative instruments, such as the Terrorist Offense Act adopted by Belgium in 2003, the Italian Law 155/2005, the French Law on "everyday security and combating terrorism" adopted in 2001, the Perben Laws of 2004, the "security packages" adopted by Germany in 2001, the British Prevention of Terrorism Act of 2005 and the Terrorism Act of 2006. As in the United States, these laws target both citizens and non-citizens. In addition, European countries have adopted new restrictive immigration measures targeting "unwanted aliens."

[7]This securitization of integration is illustrated, for example, by the British Nationality, Immigration and Nationality Act of 2002, the revision of the Alien Act in Germany in 2005, the new requirements introduced by the French government in 2006 regarding access to permanent residence and the "loyalty" of applicants to naturalization.

[8]See AAIF (2002), ACLU (2002), ADC (2003), CAIR (2002, 2009), EUMC (2002, 2005, 2006), Henderson et al. (2006), HRW (2002, 2005), IHRC (2010).

[9]On the gendered aspect of discrimination, see Cainkar (2009: chapter 7). See also Haddad et al. (2006).

[10]See Jackson (2007).

[11]On this lesser evil perspective, see Ignatieff (2004). Examples of this perspective can be found in Nelson (2009).

[12]See Brysk and Shafir (2007), Chesney (2003), Cole (2003), Cole and Dempsey (2002), Edley (2003), Finn (2010), Huq, Tyler and Schulhofer (2010).

[13]See Akram and Kevin (2002), Chang and Kabat (2004), Chebel d'Appollonia (2012), Hagopian (2004), Iftikhar (2008), Leone and Anrig (2003), Monshipouri (2010), Zogby (2006).

[14]On the challenges raised by the accommodation of Islam in Western democracies, see Aluffi and Zincone (2004), Bagby (2005, 2004), Cesari (2004), Eck (2002), Fetzer and Soper (2005), Geaves et al. (2004), Hunter (ed., 2002), Klausen (2005), Kraler (2007), Laurence and Vaïsse (2006), Rohe (2006), Statham (2004). On the issue of religious recognition (especially in secular European countries) as a way to secure rights, see Cesari and McLoughin (2005), Koenig (2007), Shadid and Koningsveld (2002), Warner and Wenner (2006).

[15]On the issue of citizenship, see Alsayyad and Castells (2002), Haddad (2002), Modood, Triandafyllidou and Zapata-Barrero (2006).

[16]See Aluffi and Zincone (2004).

[17]Some scholars suggest that securitization has increased a sense of "common destiny" and, therefore, a stronger Muslim identity. See Barreto and Bozonelos (2009), Barreto, Masuoka, and Sanchez (2008).

[18]This trend is confirmed in the United States by the growing number of Muslims (up to 15% in 2010) who have no specific religious/ethnic affiliation, thus describing themselves as "just Muslims" (see Pew, 2011). On the emergence of "Muslim atheists" in Europe, see Kaya (2009: chapter 6).

[19]On the impact of discrimination on registration and turnout rate, see Ayers and Hofstetter (2008), Barreto and Dana (2010), Jalalzai (2009). On the relationship between group consciousness and political participation, see Cainkar (2010) and Jamal (2005).

[20]A second Muslim, André Carson, was elected in a special election in 2008.

[21]Organizations such as Amnesty International (AI), Islamic Supreme Council of America (ISCA), Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC) and others have been active in raising awareness and providing education about Muslims to members of government, law enforcement agencies and educational institutions. See Peňa (2007), Terry (2006).

[22]On the various strategies developed by Muslims in Europe to gain more recognition in the public space, see Haddad (2002), Koenig (2007), McLoughlin (2005), Salvatore (2004), Rath et al. (2001), Shalid and Koningsveld (2002), Warner and Wenner (2006). Some of these studies are discussed in Maussen (2006).

[23]See Klausen (2005), Pfaff and Gill (2006).

[24]See Bonnefoy (2003), McLoughlin (2005), Salvatore (2004), Statham et al. (2005), Vertovec and Peach (1997).

[25]In the United States, for example, 64% of Muslim respondents to a Pew Survey (2010) said they voted in the 2008 presidential election, compared with 76% of the general public. In 2011, 66% said they were certain they were registered to vote, compared with 79% among the general public. Muslim involvement is also low in most European countries, especially in Austria and Sweden (See Herding 2010). On the issue of prejudice against voters and candidates, see Braman and Sinno (2009).

[26]For example, although Muslims of four generations now live in Germany, 80% of them do not have German citizenship. In France about 50 percent of Muslims, mostly of Maghreb origin, are French. The large majority of them, however, are under the age of eighteen and therefore cannot vote. In the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, 50 percent of the Muslim population cannot vote either. On the issues faced by Muslims in Western politics, see Sinno (2008).

[27]See Barreto and Dana (2010), Ireland (2000).

[28]See Boubeker (2008). This "security/insecurity" spiral is also fueled by international terrorist organizations using the violations of civil rights in Western countries in order to justify their conception of a "just war." On the impact of the excesses of securitization on radicalization, see Chebel d'Appollonia (2010).

[29]Examples of comparative analysis with other minorities can be found in Haddad, Smith, and Esposito (2003), Martinez-Ebers and Dorraj (2010).

[30]Civil rights deprivations in times of emergency are part of European history. In France, for example, foreigners suspected of espionage were listed by police authorities in the carnet b. Detention camps that had been set up during World War I in order to address the alleged subversive threat posed by immigrants coming from belligerent countries were reconstituted in 1938 to detain Spanish Republicans who had fled the dictatorship established by Franco. Meanwhile, the fear of Bolshevik contagion coupled with the spectre of a Fascist fifth column increased suspicion of immigrants and foreign-born citizens. Discrimination against immigrants and other foreigners perceived as a threat culminated during World War II. Various categories of "suspects" (including anti-Fascist refugees from Italy and Spain, Communists, and Freemasons) were sent by the French Vichy regime to concentration camps. Jewish refugees from Germany and Austria were categorized in Great Britain as "enemy aliens" and sent to internment camps in Canada and Australia. Comparing the current situation of Muslims in Western countries to previous episodes of discrimination is important for at least two reasons. First, it demonstrates that contextual factors matter as much as the characteristics of minority groups targeted by "security measures." Second, there are lessons that can be drawn from the past in order to better understand the various strategies used by minorities in securing their rights despite prejudice. A comparative approach does not suggest any kind of "hierarchy of suffering."

[31]See Tessler (2003). This is illustrated, for example, by the common assumption that, in the case of Muslims, there is an antagonism between various identity "markers," such as religion, ethnicity and sense of national belonging. A Pew survey in 2005 found that, given a choice of identifying as first Muslim or Christian or as first a citizen of their country, the majority of British, French, and German Muslims chose faith, while the majority of British, French, and German Christians chose country. Some have taken these results as substantiating the danger of over accommodating religious differences. A Gallup poll conducted in 2006 by Zolt Nyiri, however, found that Muslims in Paris and Berlin tend to identify themselves as strongly with France and Germany (46% and 35% respectively) as members of the general public in those countries (46% do so nationwide in France, 36% in Germany). Muslims in London are even more likely to have a strong British identity (57%) than the British at large (48%). Ethnically and religiously based mobilization does not perpetuate segregated identities, but rather a mutually reinforcing ethnic and national identification (Nyiri 2010). Other minorities do the same when asked to choose one "marker" on the assumption that religion and nationality are exclusive. One question asked by the 2006 Latino National Survey was how Latinos identify themselves: as Americans, as Latinos, or as members of particular national groups? When forced to choose only one identity, the number of those who answered "American" was low. Yet when Latinos were allowed to report multiple identities, two-thirds of the respondents identified themselves with the United States, with a large majority emphasizing the importance of speaking English as being part of being American.

[32]It is worth noting that Muslims in the US are about as religious as Hispanics. According to the Pew Research Center, 69% say that religion was very important in their life. Two-in-three (66%) Hispanics say that their religious beliefs are a very important or a somewhat important influence on their political thinking. Among Hispanic evangelicals, more than eight-in-ten (86%) feel this way. Indeed, a clear majority of evangelicals (62%) say religious belief is a "very important" influence, a far greater share than among Latino Catholics (36%) and mainline Protestants (38%). A significant minority (30%) of Hispanics, however, say their religious beliefs are either not too important or not at all important to their political thinking. Likewise, 30% of Muslims say that religion is somewhat or not all important in their life. See Pew Hispanic Center (2007) and Pew Research Center (2010).

[33]In terms of religious organization, Muslims are quite similar to Protestants (weak global structures, strong localism) and very different from Catholics and Orthodox Christians (both strongly hierarchically organized). Yet, Catholic communities are extremely diverse in Western countries. This diversity is reflected by the multiplication of, and competition among, Catholic organizations. Jewish communities are also very diverse. Some European governments are trying to institutionalize Islam by creating "representative bodies" similar to those developed for their Jewish communities in the past.

[34]See Abdulkader Sinno's contribution to this collection for a brief review of research by sociologists, anthropologists and other ethnographers who are looking specifically at the interaction of Muslim institutions and actors with representatives of the state at various levels.

[35]On the dilemma of visibility/invisibility, see Cainkar (2002), Haddad and Smith (2002).

[36]On the issue of the overrepresentation of Muslims in prison, see Farhad Khosrokhavar (2004) and Joly, Beckford and Khosrohavar (2007).

[37]On employment, see Adida, Laitin and Valfort (2009). On the legal field, see Braman (2009).

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