

women's importance to the Islamic community and are not likely to want to alienate them. Denying a prominent woman, whether Muslim or not, access to the podium on the basis of her sex would certainly be to no one's benefit. (However, it is yet to be seen whether the Majlis would allow such an occurrence.)

While an individual woman's moment at the podium expounding on essentially nonreligious topics is not significant in and of itself, it does at least send the message to the congregation that traditions cannot always be strictly adhered to in America. Furthermore, the young girls witnessing these assertive and confident women speaking publicly before men and other women will certainly be influenced. Some of these young girls already have had the experience of performing recitations, either singly or in groups, at the Jami' and the Majma' as part of their Arabic school programs. I believe that such seemingly small instances of visibility in the mosques will lead to larger roles for women and girls in the running of the religious community.

Another factor that will likely affect women's place in the religious community is the influence of the non-Arab Muslim women who frequent the mosques. These women are mostly Americans who have married Lebanese men. They are extremely fervent about their religion and are among the most heavily covered of the women in the community. While they are very conservative in their religious views, they also bring with them some very American behaviors and attitudes. For example, when I first met these women at the Majma', they were running a rummage sale for Lebanese orphans. Except for their dress, they could have passed for the ladies' auxiliary in any American church. When the earthquake struck Iran, it was these American women who organized garage sales and bake sales to raise money. Such activities draw in the Lebanese women to some extent, and ultimately these isolated activities could lead to the organization of full-fledged voluntary associations.

While voluntary associations did begin to appear in the Beirut suburbs before the outbreak of civil war, they seem to have been totally under male control.⁵⁰ A different situation could occur in Dearborn since women now have a central place for congregating—the mosques. Furthermore, there are pressing issues that concern women, particularly those involving the morals of their children. This could be a rallying point for women to organize themselves.



CHAPTER 4

Gathering Strength: The Emergence of American Shi'ism

When the natural world, the former context of the peasant ideas, faded behind the transatlantic horizon, the newcomers found themselves stripped to those religious institutions they could bring along with them. Well, the trolls and fairies will stay behind, but church and priest at very least will come.¹

SOMETIME AFTER I completed my fieldwork in Dearborn, I visited a mosque in another part of the country during Ramadan. Although Shi'a were certainly not unwelcome at this mosque, Sunnis were the only ones in attendance. Those present on that occasion originated from Pakistan, Egypt, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, and Syria. The women were downstairs, the men upstairs. There was no contact whatsoever between the two groups. As I sat with the other women, I reflected on how different an experience this was from the ones to which I had grown so accustomed. While cordiality and hospitality were not lacking, something was missing—and it was not just the men. I realized afterward that what I had found missing was the sense of utter coherence and deeply felt understanding that comes only when all present share in that indefinable essence called culture.

The Islamic group I studied in Dearborn is both distinctively Lebanese and distinctively Shi'i. They are unique. They may share a common set of Islamic values and practices with Muslims all over the world, but their Shi'ism differentiates them in a deep and

significant way from Sunnis and all other groups of Muslims. Their Lebanese characteristics, in turn, differentiate them from all other Shi'a as well. Therefore, to see them as characteristic of all Muslims in America is as helpful as viewing early Irish and Italian Catholics in the United States as interchangeable components of a single religious community. True, in both cases some traits are shared, but it is in the differences that we find the richness and texture that constitute a human community.

It is its "declaration of distinctiveness" that makes this Lebanese Shi'i community seem so vital and strong. These are a people who have made a decision to be true to their beliefs; not to give in to pressures for uniformity either with the larger American culture or with their Sunni brethren. They certainly have not succumbed to puritanical Saudi Wahhabi pressures, something that is becoming commonplace in Islamic mosques in the United States.²

Some might argue that their distinctiveness fosters divisiveness. It is my contention that it actually fosters a sense of well-being—a sort of collective mental health—in the community at large. The mosques, the clerics, the rituals are a bridge tying homeland (usually the village) to life in the new land. These things make the transition far less jarring than it might be. They serve the purpose of buffering the individual from the onslaught of new and "foreign" ways and provide a framework of values within which to confront difficult choices and experiences. For this community, and perhaps for all sincere Shi'a, religion can still provide the means of challenging the status quo.

That being said, I do not mean to imply that everyone in this community shares a uniform standard of religious belief and praxis. To the contrary, there are significant differences in the way people in this community approach religion. These differences relate to the way people emphasize the importance of Islamic law, the Shari'a. To describe these people, I have not used the usual terms such as *Islamist*, *fundamentalist*, *neo-fundamentalist*, because they have all had connotations associated with them that would be misleading if applied to this community. I have chosen to use the term *Shari'a-minded*, coined by historian Marshall Hodgson before the recent period of Islamic resurgence in the world—a resurgence commonly associated with negative events in the eyes of the West. While I did identify a subgroup that I have referred to as being political, most of the Shari'a-minded are not involved in politics. On the other side of the equation are the *traditionalists*, a term I use loosely to describe a wide variation of approaches that lack the rigorous legalistic approach of the Shari'a-minded.

The diversity in this community has not torn it apart. The various approaches to religion tend to coexist without being terribly disruptive to overall functioning. Some might have more religious prestige than others, but this can be counterbalanced by other forces, such as money or even political clout in Dearborn government. People who fall into one category tend to recognize, though often grudgingly, the benefits that others offer. Also, family continues to be the centripetal force in the community. Diversity of religious views may exist within a single family, but it is not allowed to destroy the family fabric.

What I have described is a brief moment in this community's history. Needless to say, the situation that prevails today cannot continue indefinitely. New generations raised in America will inevitably bring about changes.

The American Experience

America has been a great modifier of religion. Religion certainly does not die on American soil, but it is always transformed. While religious pluralism has characterized American society, the pluralism is, to some degree, superficial. Common threads run throughout the religions that have been transplanted in America. Capitalism, the dissolution of the extended family, the immigrants' break with traditional village ties, geographic and social mobility, and contact with innumerable other religions and nationalities have produced a style of religion unique in the world.

The nineteenth century was a time of pronounced new developments in American religion. Religion was no longer embedded in every other aspect of life but became compartmentalized. The unity of large communities through the church broke down, as new churches and sects proliferated across the American landscape. Frequently addressing unlettered audiences, preachers taught a religion of the heart rather than the head, with highly emotional sermons stressing forgiveness and love rather than commands for obedience. These developments eventually affected, at least to some degree, all religious communities in America, and their effects are felt to this day.

In their book *Habits of the Heart*, Bellah et al. offer an analysis of contemporary American life, including Americans' attitudes and approaches to religion. Religion for Americans, these researchers have found, is something "individual, prior to any organizational involvement."³ American religion tends not to be based on an overriding religious authority but is something very private, personal,

and individualistic. The privatization of religion and the idea that each individual chooses his or her own religious beliefs has also meant that religious diversity, at least to a certain extent, has been possible.

The American pattern of privatizing religion while at the same time allowing it some public functions has proven highly compatible with the religious pluralism that has characterized America from the colonial period and grown more and more pronounced. If the primary contribution of religion to society is through the character and conduct of citizens, any religion, large or small, familiar or strange, can be of equal value to any other. The fact that most American religions have been biblical and that most, though of course not all, Americans can agree on the term "God" has certainly been helpful in diminishing religious antagonism. But diversity of practice has been seen as legitimate because religion is perceived as a matter of individual choice, with the implicit qualification that the practices themselves accord with public decorum and the adherents abide by the moral standards of the community.⁴

Of course, anyone at all familiar with American society knows that religion is not solely a matter of the individual's relationship with God. Organizational commitment is also a feature of American life. But this commitment is generally not broad-based. When people speak about involvement in "the church," they are speaking about the local church. This is the case even among Catholics who have traditionally identified themselves strongly with the Church as represented by the Pope, cardinals, and bishops. Among American Catholics, however, it is the local priest instead who has the greatest influence.

In America, religion has developed a therapeutic value for people. It is a place of refuge in a difficult world. Bellah and his colleagues found that Catholics share with Protestants a desire for warm, personal churches and "personal and accessible priests."⁵ In other words, religion, like the family, is supposed to be a means of emotional support in a society that "places enormous pressures on people to marginalize and isolate them and force them away from community."⁶ Not emphasized in these churches, whether they be Protestant or Catholic, is divine law, the type of law that induces people to make sacrifices and to deprive themselves of worldly pleasure. In other words, while religion might comfort and sustain, it does not command and restrain.

Placing Shi'ism in American Society

When Khalid made the comment that religion was a refuge from a sinful world, he was not talking about the emotional support he received from his mosque congregation and from his sheikh. Nor was he referring to some vague, private relationship with God that Americans speak about. Khalid was talking about the importance of following the laws of his religion. For Khalid, and for the Shi'i community at large, these God-given laws are a means both of preserving order and goodness in the world and of counteracting evil. God, in these people's eyes, might be loving, but he also makes demands.

These demands are not to make one feel good about oneself. One fasts because God commands it. Of course, the society acts as God's surrogate by enforcing this obligation on others. At this point, the community is strong enough in its sense of identity—an identity completely infused with Shi'ism—to exert pressure on its members to fast, to abstain from drink, and so on. Again, this is not to say that everyone abides by the laws. But those who do not are marginalized; they are aware of their sins and know better than to flaunt them.

Judging from the trends we find in the larger society, how long can we expect this situation to prevail? A number of factors will continue to support this religious approach. First, as long as new immigrants continue to flow into Dearborn, the community can more or less maintain its distinctive ethnic and religious identity. It is these recent immigrants who have promoted the enactment of Shi'i rituals, particularly those associated with the Imam Husayn, and have enhanced the use of Shi'i symbols through sermons, books, mosque decorations, and so on.⁷

While the intensity of the Shi'i experience was lacking in the lives of earlier immigrants and their children, today's children, on the other hand, hear the names of the imams repeatedly invoked, see increasing numbers of shrouded women, witness men beating their chests in a display of remorse and anger over the tragedy of the death of the Imam Husayn and over the tragedies in their own lives. Immigrants have been key to this experience, and, in the short run at least, they will continue to have a tremendous impact on the religious lives of the community. Thanks to these immigrants and the sheikhs who have been brought to this country to teach them, America is not going to be the place where the imams are forgotten.

Other factors strengthen ties to the old country. Unlike the early Catholic immigrants who could only rely on the exchange of letters if they remained permanently in this country, the Lebanese

have the telephone, homemade recordings and videos, and ultimately the airplane to reconnect families.

Even more important to keeping the faith is keeping marriage endogamous. Research conducted in Canada has shown that children are far more likely to identify themselves as Muslim if both parents are Muslim than if only one parent is.⁸ As we have seen, the Lebanese Shi'a are strong advocates of marrying not only other Shi'a but often people with village and kinship ties.

In addition, the role of the *marji' taqlid* has been strengthened, and this institution affects the lives of Shi'a living in America. While there are Shi'a who reject the institution, there are growing numbers who do accept it. Also, the new sheikhs coming from the Middle East speak as proponents of the *marji'* and through their pulpits encourage people to be *muqallid* to one or another of the possible candidates for the role, thus stressing the need to conform to a strict model of Shi'ism and not one adulterated by secular influences.

The countervailing forces are, of course, powerful. While the children might be exposed to strong influences within their homes and mosques, what they experience in the schools and playgrounds and on television and in movies relentlessly tugs at them to take a different course from their parents.

Even the establishment of full-time elementary and high schools would not completely inhibit the acculturation of the children into American society. In the words of a Yiddish educator from the early part of this century. "We thought we could raise our children according to our spirit, and through our schools insulate them from the community in which they grew up. Today we know that we cannot control the intellectual development of our children, and that both the home and community have a much greater impact on their education than we do."⁹

The statement quoted above by Bellah et al. reminds us that religious tolerance (at least at the superficial level of "we all believe in the same God, so what difference does it make what we call ourselves?") can have a devastating effect on the preservation of religious dogma and traditions. The perception that all religions are equal means that all religions are interchangeable. Religious "conversions" or simply moving from one denomination to another have been particularly commonplace since the 1960s as people sought a church or religion within which they felt "comfortable." Choosing one's religion, after all, is an inalienable right. In America, membership in a religion is voluntary, despite how contrary this notion has been to Muslims and Catholics alike.

Yet all has not been homogenization in American society. The picture is far more complex than that. Ethnicity and religious diversity continue to flourish, though in more muted forms than they did when people were "fresh off the boat." The community will change. America will have an impact, but Shi'ism will not disappear. Of course, to talk about religion in America today is not the same as talking about it in the 1950s when Will Herberg coined the phrase "the American way of life" or in the mid-1960s when Bellah used the term "civil religion." We live in an ever-changing society, one that is affected by and affects religion.

A Possible Picture of the Future

Certain trends toward what has been an "American religious model" are already appearing in Dearborn, one of which is a tendency for the mosques to develop a congregational style. The Jami' is the epitome of congregationalism. It has a board of directors largely constituted of successful businessmen responsible for hiring a sheikh who is expected, in the words of Irving Howe, "to minister to the 'spiritual needs' of his congregants but . . . best be cautious in making spiritual demands on them."¹⁰ The Majma' has a different type of organization. It is dominated by the sheikh who founded the mosque and remains its spiritual guide. Also, the influence of the institution of the *marji' iya* is felt at the Majma' and, thus, functions more like a traditional Catholic church in this respect. When the day comes, however, that Sheikh Berri's (or, in the case of the Majlis, Sheikh Burro's) position needs to be filled, chances are fairly high that the governing bodies of those mosques will also assume greater power and limit the authority of their sheikhs. It also seems likely that as the mosques become increasingly established, people will select a mosque in which they feel most at home and will become its "members."

The sheikhs themselves assume more and more of the role of pastoral counselor that so many priests and ministers play in this society today. Gone are the days of quiet, contemplative reading and discussion of erudite matters. Sheikhs in this country spend a considerable amount of their time helping with all manner of problems, be they personal, social, or religious. They also do not see it as being to their benefit to isolate themselves from the rest of the religious leaders in the community. The roundtable group established in the area that includes several priests and ministers includes members of the *'ulama* as well.

But what about the lay men and women of Dearborn? What predictions can be made for them? Will they continue to pray, fast, eat *halal* meat, wear *hijab*? The answer is probably fairly obvious: yes and no. I believe the community will become more bifurcated in its approach to religion. Those who do not adhere strictly to the Shari'a now probably will produce children and grandchildren who will view these laws as relics of the past.

Ramadan, among this group, probably will be treated in a token way with occasional fasting, most likely at the beginning and end of Ramadan. Head coverings probably will be relegated to the mosque, and selection of mosques will be based on the ability of the sheikh to accept a wide range of religious attitudes. (Selection of the sheikhs will be problematic for these people for a while. Sooner or later, the *'ulama* will have to have at least part of their education in the United States.) These are the people for whom private religion will assume the greatest meaning. And, these are the people who probably will find it easiest to spread out to the other Detroit suburbs.

But the picture really is not so simple as that. Frequently in the third or fourth generations, a kind of revivalism occurs among those whose families have become lax in their religious duties. Sometimes world events precipitate this phenomenon, as in the case of American Jews after the 1967 war. Sometimes other social forces were at work, as in the case of the Catholic Charismatic Movement of the 1970s. The people involved in these revivalistic movements try to reconstruct their lives on religious models and take a new pride in their heritage.

But there will be others who have never deviated. For those who will remain deeply committed to the Shari'a, Dearborn can provide a haven. Arabic might be relegated to the mosques eventually, but the *hijab* and *halal* meat can remain aspects of everyday life in this town. Events in the Middle East, along with the perception of hostility toward all things Arab and Muslim, will only serve to intensify the degree of isolation of many of these people. Of course, there will be a high attrition rate among this group, too, but endogamous marriage and a strong institutional base that supports a religious way of life will serve to perpetuate the Shari'a-minded approach to religion.

Animosity toward Muslims in America

For those who are concerned that American antipathy toward Muslims, be they Sunni or Shi'a, will continue or even intensify, it is

helpful to look back on the history of Catholicism in America. I am writing this section of the book in southern Indiana, where the Ku Klux Klan was very strong in the 1920s. While African Americans were targets of their antipathy, anti-Catholic sentiment was at least as virulent and was shared by a majority of white Protestants in the state.¹¹ Nor was this hatred for Catholics relegated to isolated parts of the country. In fact, it was very widespread. The situation turned extremely volatile at times, such as after President William McKinley had been assassinated by a Polish anarchist in Buffalo, New York. When the Polish Catholic Congress met in that city three weeks after the assassination, the mood of the meeting was described as "militant and apprehensive."¹²

Anti-Catholic sentiment has not disappeared from America, but it is at a low enough level that it certainly does not hinder Catholics from participating in all spheres of activity. There is no reason to think that Muslims in general, and Shi'a in particular, will experience anything much different.

Afterword

When I lived in Dearborn from 1987 to 1991, the main world events that had shaped this community were the Lebanese civil war and the Iranian Revolution. The civil war had been the impetus for large migration and had strengthened the group's religious identity; the revolution had provided the ideological blueprint for religious revivalism among the Lebanese Shi'a.

On a visit to Dearborn in June 1995 to attend the 'Ashura commemorations, I realized that there had been a paradigm shift caused by another major conflagration: the Gulf War of 1991. Dearborn was feeling the aftermath of this war as Shi'i refugees from southern Iraq were joining their Lebanese coreligionists, benefiting from the inroads the latter had made in this Midwestern American city.

The Lebanese still own the stores and numerous restaurants, which now have new signs and smart, well-maintained storefronts. Indeed, the Lebanese business district now extends nearly a mile farther along Warren Avenue. The Dearborn Lebanese are no longer marginal shopkeepers but have become a community of established merchants with capital and stable businesses. The Iraqis are not the entrepreneurs the Lebanese are. If the Iraqis did not bring with them the extraordinary business acumen of the Lebanese, they did bring something else: an official "orthodox" view of Shi'ism. The Iraqis had grown up in the shadow of the tombs of the imams.

'Ashura is almost by definition a dramatic time. In Dearborn, it is more so now than ever. The sense of mourning is enhanced by the greatly increased number of black 'abayas both on the streets and in the mosques. This is the usual attire of women from the Atabat, and life in Dearborn is not about to change this very soon.

'Ashura commemorations were held in all of the mosques in Dearborn during this past Muharram. There are more mosques now. Sheikh Attat, who had been brought from the Bekaa region of Lebanon by the Jami', left that mosque to form his own on Warren Avenue on the Detroit-Dearborn line. It is referred to as the Masjid.

After Sheikh Attat left, another sheikh was brought to lead the Jami', an Iranian by the name of Ilahi. History repeated itself in this

case, too. Sheikh Ilahi, I am told, did not want to be a functionary. He wanted to truly lead the Jami', not be led by its board. And so, following a period of heated debate, he, too, left the Jami'. He has taken over a VFW hall on the corner of Warren and Schaefer and has converted it to the Dar al-Hikma, the House of Knowledge.

Sheikhs Attat and Ilahi took with them somewhat different groups, though there is, of course, overlap. Attat's Masjid appeals to traditional Lebanese, principally, it appears, from the Bekaa region. This mosque is most definitely an Arabic language mosque. Ilahi, on the other hand, is an Iranian and does not speak colloquial Arabic. He does know English, which, no doubt, weighed heavily in his favor when he was considered for the Jami'. His mosque is referred to as being for "Arab Americans"—younger generations who no longer are comfortable with spoken classical Arabic—although during 'Ashura one would not have guessed this. It should not be assumed that because it attracts Arab Americans, it is lax in its attitude toward the Shari'a. My impression was that this mosque sends the message that strict conformity with the law is the only acceptable approach.

The Jami' is still the largest and most diverse of the mosques. To the traditional Lebanese and the "Arab Americans" (a term used more commonly in the community these days) are added some of the very strict Shari'a-minded, many of whom are from Iraq. Sheikh Chirri passed away during the past year. Sheikh Attat having left the Jami', Sheikh Chirri was replaced by Sheikh Habhab, whose previous tenure at the Jami' ended precipitously in the earliest stage of my research.

Sheikh Hashim Hishami, the *khatib* who frequently led 'Ashura commemorations while I lived in Dearborn, has opened a small center himself which appeals to some of the Iraqi refugees, though obviously not to all of them.

This 'Ashura, Hishami's role as *khatib* was filled by men from out of town. One of them, Sayyid Hasan al-Qazwini, originally from Karbala and now residing in California, chanted the Majalis Husayniya in both the Jami' and in the Dar al-Hikma, thus necessitating coordination between the two facilities. While at the Majma', I met another *khatib*, this one brought to Dearborn for the occasion from Canada.

Aside from more mosques and more mourners, I also found a more intense and dramatic atmosphere during this 'Ashura commemoration. After the Majalis was completed in some of the mosques, young men gathered in circles to beat their chests. Again,

this ceremony is led by Iraqis. Still, the fervor is kept behind the mosques doors. It does not spill over to the streets.

I believe the influx of Iraqis to Dearborn is having and will continue to have a significant influence on this community for a number of reasons.

First, the Iraqis have a sense of being the "keepers" of Shi'ism. Their lives have revolved around religion in a way that could not have been the case among the Lebanese, who did not have *madrasas* and shrines in their towns. Their number also includes many religiously trained men (and women) who strongly believe that there is only one interpretation of Shi'ism. In their eyes, deviation from this interpretation implies a lack of true religious commitment.

Second, it might be assumed, judging from past history of the Muslim community in the area, that the Iraqis will form their own cohort and become separated from the Lebanese. However, I do not think this will occur in the foreseeable future. I do not predict a split for a simple reason: money. The Lebanese, with their relatively large numbers and their strong mercantile abilities, can provide the financial resources to maintain and even build mosques and support clerics. It would not be in the best interests of the Iraqis, particularly the clergy, to alienate the Lebanese. The benefits the two groups bring to each other, the religious knowledge and prestige of the Iraqis and the relative wealth of the Lebanese, may serve to strengthen ties between the two groups. And while more Lebanese might be drawn to stricter conformity with religious laws, the Iraqis might, in turn, demand a little less conformity from the Lebanese. After all, the Lebanese need to fit into American society in order to carry out business ventures.

Third, the Iraqis bring with them a strong commitment to the institution of the *marja'*. The dynamics of how this institution will influence American Shi'a and how it will, in turn, be influenced by them is the subject of my current research.

Notes

Introduction

1. Sameer Abraham, Nabeel Abraham, and Barbara Aswad. "The Southend: An Arab Muslim Working-class Community," in Samir Y. Abraham and Nabeel Abraham, eds., *Arabs in the New World: Studies on Arab-American Communities* (Detroit: Wayne State University Center for Urban Studies, 1983), pp. 163–84.

2. Suad Joseph. "Women and the Neighborhood Street in Borj Hamoud," in Lois Beck and Nikki Keddie, eds., *Women in the Muslim World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), p. 544.

3. Laurel D. Wagle. "An Arab Muslim Community in Michigan," in Barbara C. Aswad, ed., *Arabic Speaking Communities in American Cities* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1974), p. 155.

4. For a discussion of the strategies employed by immigrants to the United States, see Alejandro Portes and Ruben G. Rumbaut, *Immigrant America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

5. For historical information about early Muslim immigration, see, for example Mohammad Mahmoud Siryani, "Residential Distribution, Spatial Mobility and Acculturation in an Arab-Muslim Community" Ph.D. diss., Michigan State University, 1977; Michael Suleiman, "Early Arab-Americans: The Search for Identity," in Eric J. Hooglund, ed., *Crossing the Waters* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1987, pp. 37–54; and Gregory Orfalea, *Before the Flames: A Quest for the History of Arab Americans* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1988).

6. Barbara C. Aswad, "The Lebanese Muslim Community in Dearborn, Michigan," paper, Centre for Lebanese Studies Conference on Lebanese Emigration, St. Hughes College, Oxford, 1989.

7. Suleiman, "Early Arab-Americans."

8. For a readable account of U.S. immigration policies, see David M. Reimers, *Still the Golden Door: The Third World Comes to America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985).

9. Nabeel Abraham, "National and Local Politics: A Study of Political Conflict in the Yemeni Immigrant Community of Detroit, Michigan," Ph. D. diss., University of Michigan, 1978, p. 111.

10. Siryani, "Residential Distribution."

11. Anthony Katarsky, "Family Ties and the Growth of an Arabic Community in Northeast Dearborn, Michigan," master's thesis, Wayne State University, 1980.

12. See Barbara Aswad, "Yemeni and Lebanese Muslim Immigrant Women in Southeast Dearborn, Michigan," in Earle H. Waugh et al., eds., *Muslim Families in North America* (Edmonton, Alberta: University of Alberta Press, 1991), pp. 256–81.

13. Samir Khalaf, "The Background and Causes of Lebanese Syrian Immigration to the U.S. before World War I," in Eric J. Hooglund, ed., *Crossing the Waters* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1987), p. 24.

14. Suad Joseph, "Family as Security and Bondage: A Political Strategy of the Lebanese Working Class," in Saad Eddin Ibrahim, ed., *Arab Society: Social Science Perspectives* (Cairo: American University of Cairo Press, 1985), pp. 241–56.

15. See Barbara C. Aswad, "The Southeast Dearborn Arab Community Struggles for Survival Against Urban 'Renewal,'" in Barbara C. Aswad, ed., *Arabic Speaking Communities in American Cities* (Staten Island, N.Y.: Center for Migration Studies, 1974), pp. 53–84.

16. "All Not Well Between Arabs, Non-Arabs," *Dearborn Press and Guide*, Jan. 19, 1984.

17. "The East End 'Melting Pot,'" *Dearborn Press and Guide*, Aug. 10, 1978.

18. In her 1989 article, "The Lebanese Muslim Community in Dearborn, Michigan," Aswad reported a decrease in intercommunity teenage fighting. While there does seem to have been a lull for a while, a series of incidents beginning in 1989 heightened tensions, particularly among high school students.

19. Irving Howe, *World of Our Fathers: The Journey of the East European Jews to America and the Life They Found and Made* (New York: Galahad Books, 1976), p. 51.

20. Smith, "Religious Denominations as Ethnic Communities: A Regional Case Study," in George E. Pozzetta, ed., *The Immigrant Religious Experience* (New York: Garland Publishing 1991), p. 357.

Chapter 1

1. For a discussion of the meanings and significance of Hijra, see Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori, eds., *Muslim Travelers: Pilgrimage, Migration, and the Religious Imagination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

2. S. Husain M. Jafri argues this point persuasively in *Origin and Early Development of Shi'a Islam* (London: Longman Group, 1979).

3. Moojan Momen, *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam* (Oxford: George Ronald, 1985), p. 12.

4. Ibid., p. 147.

5. Momen, in *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam*, speculates that these people may have been converts from Isma'ili Islam which had become very much hated in the Muslim world. Attempting to disassociate themselves

from the atrocities of the Isma'ilis, large numbers probably eagerly embraced the more respectable Twelver Shi'ism.

6. J. R. I. Cole, suggests that instituting this hierarchy could have been a means of controlling rebellious lower-level 'ulama, many of whom had become members of the messianic Babi movement of the nineteenth century. "Imami Jurisprudence and the Role of the 'Ulama: Mortaza Ansari on Emulating the Supreme Exemplar," in Nikki R. Keddie, ed., *Religion and Politics in Iran* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), pp. 33–46.

7. See Abbas Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal: The Making of the Babi Movement in Iran, 1844–1850* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989); and Hamid Dabashi, *Theology of Discontent: The Ideological Foundation of the Islamic Revolution in Iran* (New York: New York University Press, 1993), for a discussion of the institution of the *marji'iyat taglid tamm*.

8. Mikhayil Mishaqa, *Murder, Mayhem, Pillage and Plunder: The History of the Lebanon in the 18th and 19th Centuries*, trans. by Wheeler M. Thackston, Jr. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988).

9. Ibid., pp. 20–21.

10. Cited in Augustus Richard Norton, *Amal and the Shi'a: Struggle for the Soul of Lebanon* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987), p. 14.

11. For an interesting discussion of *taqiya* and its opposite position, *ta'bi'a* (mobilization), see Fuad I. Khuri, *Imams and Emirs: State, Religion and Sects in Islam* (London: Saqi Books, 1990), esp. pp. 123–30.

12. See Charles Issawi, "The Historical Background of Lebanese Emigration 1800–1914," paper, Centre for Lebanese Studies Conference on Lebanese Emigration, St. Hughes College, Oxford, 1989; Norton, *Amal and the Shi'a*; and Joseph Olmert, "The Shi'a and the Lebanese State," in Martin Kramer, ed., *Shi'ism, Resistance and Revolution* (Boulder: Westview, 1987), pp. 189–201, for discussions about the economic conditions prevailing in Shi'i areas of Lebanon.

13. Norton, *Amal and the Shi'a*, p. 14.

14. Albert Hourani, "Ideologies of the Mountain and the City," in Roger Owen, ed., *Essays on the Crisis in Lebanon* (London: Ithaca Press, 1976), p. 35.

15. Fouad Ajami, *The Vanished Imam: Musa Al Sadr and the Shi'a of Lebanon* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986).

16. Eric R. Wolf, *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968).

17. Ajami, *The Vanished Imam*, p. 71.

18. Khalaf, Samir, and Guilain Denoeux, "Urban Networks and Political Conflict in Lebanon," in Nadim Shehadi and Dona Haffar Mills, eds., *Lebanon: A History of Conflict and Consensus* (London: Centre for Lebanese Studies, 1988), pp. 181–200.

19. Suad Joseph, "Family as Security and Bondage: A Political Strategy of the Lebanese Working Class," in Saad Eddin Ibrahim, ed., *Arab Society: Social Science Perspectives* (Cairo: American University of Cairo Press, 1985), pp. 241–56.

20. Ajami, *The Vanished Imam*, p. 74.

21. Norton, *Amal and the Shi'a*.

Chapter 2

1. Michael Gilsenan, *Recognizing Islam* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), p. 72.
2. Whether religious sects tend to fuse or to split is, of course, of interest to researchers. While Nancy Conklin and Nora Faires, in their study "Colored and Catholic: The Lebanese in Birmingham, Alabama" in Eric Hooglund, ed., *Crossing the Waters* [Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1987], p. 69–84, found a close and cooperative relationship between early immigrant Lebanese Maronites and Melkites, studies of more recently transplanted Lebanese communities cite a different situation. In Australia, for example, the Shi'a and Sunnis are differentiating themselves in establishing mosques (Michael Humphrey, "Community, Mosque and Ethnic Politics," *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology* XXIII, 2 [July 1987]: 233–45), and there is division among all Muslim groups, including the Lebanese, in Montreal (W. Murray Hogben, "Marriage and Divorce among Muslims in Canada," in Earle H. Waugh et al., eds., *Muslim Families in North America* [Edmonton Alberta: University of Alberta Press, 1991], pp. 154–84).
3. Alixa Naff, *Becoming American: The Early Arab Immigrant Experience* (Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, 1985) It should be noted, however, that Gutbi Mahdi Ahmad states that Ross, North Dakota, holds the distinction of being the first American city to have had a mosque ("Muslim Organizations in the United States," in Yvonne Haddad, eds., *The Muslims of America* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1991], pp. 11–24).
4. Abdo Elkholy, *The Arab Muslims in the United States* (New Haven: College and University Press, 1966), pp. 76–77.
5. Sheikh Al Azhar is the head of the Azhar University in Cairo, the foremost Sunni theological institution. He is, therefore, the most prominent Sunni cleric in the world.
6. Muhammad Jawad Chirri, *The Shiites under Attack* (Detroit: Islamic Center of America, 1986), p. 107.
7. Ibid., p. 108.
8. Gregory Orfalea, *Before the Flames: A Quest for the History of Arab Americans* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1988).
9. Jay Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience: A History from Colonial Times to the Present* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1985), p. 165.
10. Peter W. Williams, *Popular Religion in America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), p. 77.
11. Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience*, p. 181.
12. Ibid., p. 310.
13. For a discussion of interfaith cooperation in the United States, see Will Herberg, *Protestant, Catholic, Jew* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1955); and Williams, *Popular Religion in America*. The idea of an American "civil religion" was promoted by Robert Bellah in the 1960s. See his "Civil Religion in America," in William G. McLoughlin and Robert N. Bellah, eds., *Religion in America* (Boston: Beacon, 1968), pp. 3–23.

14. John Bowen, *Muslims through Discourse* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993) and Olivier Roy, *The Failure of Political Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
15. See Gilles Kepel, *Muslim Extremism in Egypt: The Prophet and the Pharaoh* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).
16. Marshall Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: The Classical Age of Islam*, Vol. 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974).
17. Leslie Woodcock Tentler, "Who Is the Church? Conflict in a Polish Immigrant Parish in Late Nineteenth-Century Detroit," in George E. Pozetta, ed., *The Immigrant Religious Experience* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1991), pp. 419–54.
18. Robert Wuthnow, *Producing the Sacred: An Essay on Public Religion* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994).
19. J. R. I. Cole, "Imami Jurisprudence and the role of the 'Ulama: Mortaza Ansari on Emulating the Supreme Exemplar," in Nikki R. Keddie, ed., *Religion and Politics in Iran* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), pp. 33–36.
20. Abbas Amanat, "In Between the Madrasa and the Marketplace: The Designation of Clerical Leadership in Modern Shi'ism," in Said Amir Arjomand, ed., *Authority and Political Culture in Shi'ism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988), pp. 98–132.
21. The institution of the *marja* is found only among those who follow the Usuli as opposed to the Akhbari school of law. Those who follow the Usuli school are far more numerous. For a discussion of the differences between the Usulis and the Akhbaris, see Chibli Mallat, *Renewal of Islamic Law: Muhammad Baqer as-Sadr, Najaf and the Shi'i International* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
22. Moojan Momen, *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam* (Oxford: George Ronald, 1985).
23. See Mottehedeh, *The Mantle of the Prophet* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985).
24. Augustus Richard Norton, *Amal and the Shi'a: Struggle for the Soul of Lebanon* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987), p. 72.
25. Shahla Haeri, *Law of Desire: Temporary Marriage in Shi'i Iran* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1989), p. 2.
26. Abu'l-Qasim Khu'i, *Minhaj al-Salihin*, Vol. 2, (Beirut: Dar al-Zahra, n.2.), p. 265.
27. Chibli Mallat, *Shi'i Thought from the South of Lebanon* (Oxford: Centre for Lebanese Studies, 1988).
28. Momen, *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam*.
29. Mallat, *Shi'i Thought from the South of Lebanon*, p. 10.
30. Fouad Ajami, *The Vanished Imam: Musa Al Sadr and the Shi'a of Lebanon* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), pp. 127–28.
31. Norton, *Amal and the Shi'a*.
32. For a discussion of the institution of the *marja* earlier in this century, see Hamid Dabashi, *Theology of Discontent: The Ideological Foundation of the Islamic Revolution in Iran* (New York: New York University Press, 1993),

Momen, *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam*; and Yitzhak Nakash, *The Shi'is of Iraq* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

33. Tentler, "Who is the Church?" pp. 425-26.

34. Michael Fischer, *Iran: From Religious Dispute to Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), p. 13.

35. For various perspectives on this topic, see, for example, the following edited volumes: J. R. I. Cole and Nikki R. Keddie, *Shi'ism and Social Protest* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), Nikki R. Keddie, *Religion and Politics in Iran* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983) Peter Chelkowski, *Ta'ziyeh: Ritual and Drama in Iran* (New York: New York University Press, 1979).

36. Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion* (San Diego: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1959), pp. 111-12.

37. Mayel Baktash, "Ta'ziyeh and Its Philosophy," in Peter Chelkowski, ed., *Ta'ziyeh: Ritual and Drama in Iran* (New York: New York University Press, 1979), p. 103.

38. Mary Hegland, "Two Images of Husain: Accommodation and Revolution in an Iranian Village," in Nikki Keddie, ed., *Religion and Politics in Iran: Shi'ism from Quietism to Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), pp. 218-35.

39. Gilsenan, *Recognizing Islam*, p. 69.

40. Fuad Khuri, *From Village to Suburb: Order and Change in Greater Beirut* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975).

41. Schubel states that Sunnis from South Asia join the South Asian Shi'a in Toronto for their commemoration of 'Ashura. He attributes the use of the Urdu language as the major attraction of the services. Vornon Schubel, "Muharram Majlis," in Earle H. Waugh et al., eds., *Muslim Families in America* (Edmonton, Alberta: The University of Alberta Press, 1991).

42. Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience*. For a colorful description of the Italian festa in East Harlem in the earlier decades of this century, see Robert Anthony Orsi, *The Madonna of 115th Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem 1880-1950* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

43. Williams, *Popular Religion in America*, esp. pp. 76-80.

44. Oleg Grabar, "The Architecture of the Middle Eastern City," in Ira M. Lapidus, ed., *Middle Eastern Cities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), pp. 26-46.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

46. Open-necked shirts became the attire for religious but nonclerical men in the Islamic Republic of Iran. Refusal to wear a necktie has remained an obvious symbol of the rejection of Western values.

47. Transition in leadership at the Jami' occurred during the course of this study. The position of assistant director had been filled by a few men. At this writing, Sheikh Sa'il Attat, who served as assistant director, acts as director of the Jami'. Though he has not learned English and is still very much concerned with the political life of Lebanon, his personable style and obvious flexibility seem to have won over both the new and old immigrants who frequent the Jami'.

48. Sheikh Chirri died in 1994.

49. This is not where people perform *salat*. The decorum required in each area is quite different.

50. When the people of this community speak of Islam, they are generally speaking about Shi'i Islam. I therefore use the two terms interchangeably in the same way as they do.

51. This is apparently a problem that other Muslim communities have had to grapple with in the United States. For example, see Ahmad H. Sakr and Sami A. Arafah, *Guidelines of Employment by Muslim Communities* (Lombard, Ill.: Foundation for Islamic Knowledge, n.d.).

52. Gilsenan, *Recognizing Islam*, p. 120.

53. Young men also act as ushers to control crowds during sermons, as they do, for example, for black Muslim groups in the United States. Gilles Kepel describes a similar situation of crowd control for the controversial Sheikh Kishk in Egypt in *The Prophet and the Pharaoh*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).

54. Fouad Ajami, "The Battle of Algiers," *The New Republic*, July 9, 1990, pp. 12-13.

55. Kepel, *Muslim Extremism in Egypt*; Roy, *The Failure of Political Islam*; and Henry Munson, Jr., *Islam and Revolution in the Middle East* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988).

56. Kepel, *The Prophet and the Pharaoh*.

57. Ajami, *The Vanished Imam*.

58. Khu'i, *Minhaj al-Salihin*, Vol. 1, p. 316.

59. Michael Fischer and Mehdi Abedi, foreword to Khomeini's *A Clarification of Questions* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1984) p. xiv.

60. For further discussion of this topic, see Walbridge, "Arabic in the Dearborn Mosques," in Rouchdy, *The Arabic Language in America*, pp. 184-204.

61. Dolan, quoting historian Sam Bass Warner, in *The American Catholic Experience*, p. 204.

62. Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience*, pp. 207-8.

63. Mottehedeh, *The Mantle of the Prophet*, p. 30.

64. Fischer, *Iran: From Religious Dispute to Revolution*.

65. Victor W. Turner, "Religious Specialists," in Arthur C. Lehmann and James E. Myers, eds., *Magic, Witchcraft, and Religion: An Anthropological Study of the Supernatural*, 2nd ed. (Mountain View, Calif.: Mayfield, 1989), pp. 85-92.

66. Maurice Bloch, "Introduction," in Maurice Bloch, ed., *Political Language and Oratory in Traditional Society* (London: Academic Press, 1975), pp. 109-29.

67. Steven C. Caton, *Peaks of Yemen I Summon* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

68. Pascal Boyer, *Tradition as Truth and Communication* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 83.

69. Patrick Gaffney, *The Prophet's Pulpit: Islamic Preaching in Contemporary Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

70. Richard Antoun, *Muslim Preacher in the Modern World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989).

71. Mottehedeh, *The Mantle of the Prophet*, p. 183.

72. Bloch, "Introduction," p. 24.

73. See Sakr and Arafeh, *Guidelines of Employment by Muslim Communities*.

74. John J. Bukowczyk, "Mary the Messiah: Polish Immigrant Heresy and the Malleable Ideology of the Roman Catholic Church, 1880-1930," in George E. Pozzetta, ed., *The Immigrant Religious Experience* (New York: Garland 1991), pp. 55-81.

Chapter 3

1. Alfred Guillaume, *Islam* (Middlesex: Penguin, 1954), p. 155.

2. Michel Mazzaoui, "Shi'ism in the Arab World," in Seyyed Hossein Nasr et al., eds., *Expectation of the Millennium* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1989), pp. 253-55.

3. Sami Zubaida, *Islam, the People and the State* (London: Routledge, 1989).

4. Barbara D. Metcalf, "The Pilgrimage Remembered: South Asian Accounts of the Hajj," in Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori, eds., *Muslim Travellers: Pilgrimage, Migration, and the Religious Imagination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), p. 100.

5. Abu'l-Qasim Khu'i, *Minhaj al-Salihin* (Beirut: Dar al-Zahra, n.2.), Vol. 2, pp. 325-29. I have abridged the passage considerably, omitting discussions of special cases, errors that do or do not keep the meat from being *halal*, and other ancillary matters.

6. Michael Fischer and Mehdi Abedi, foreword to Khomeini's *A Clarification of Questions* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1984), p. xxi.

7. Fouad Ajami, *The Vanished Imam: Musa Al Sadr and the Shi'a of Lebanon* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), p. 133.

8. Roy Mottehedeh, *The Mantle of the Prophet* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985), p. 181.

9. Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), p. 57.

10. Peter W. Williams, *Popular Religion in America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), p. 81.

11. Clifford Geertz, *Islam Observed* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), p. 1.

12. Erika Friedl, *Women of Deh Koh* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1989), p. 10.

13. Eric R. Wolf, *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968).

14. Allama Tabataba'i, *Shi'ite Islam* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1975), p. 9.

15. Edward G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, Vol. IV (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969).

16. Ayatollah Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr and Ayatollah Murtaza Mutahhery, *The Awaited Savior* (Accra: Islamic Seminary, 1982), pp. 25-26.

17. Cited in Moojan Momen, *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam* (Oxford: George Ronald, 1985), p. 169.

18. P. N. Boratav, "Djinn," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* 2nd ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960), pp. 546-47.

19. This verse refers to the ancient practice of making magic by tying knots in cords and then blowing and spitting upon them in order to bewitch people. See J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough, Part II: Taboo and the Perils of the Soul* (London: Macmillan, 1927), p. 302.

20. Toufic Fahd, "Magic: Magic in Islam," in Mircea Eliade, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (New York: Macmillan, 1987), pp. 104.

21. Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, Vol. 3 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), p. 159.

22. Ibid., p. 170.

23. Brian Spooner, "The Evil Eye in the Middle East," in Mary Douglas, ed., *Witchcraft Confessions and Accusations* (London: Tavistock, 1970), p. 314.

24. John J. Bukowczyk, "The Transforming Power of the Machine: Popular Religion, Ideology, and Secularization among Polish Immigrant Workers in the United States, 1880-1940," in George E. Pozzetta, ed., *The Immigrant Religious Experience* (New York: Garland, 1991), pp. 84-100.

25. Laurel D. Wagle, "An Arab Muslim Community in Michigan," in Barbara C. Aswad, ed., *Arabic Speaking Communities in American Cities* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1974), pp. 155-68.

26. In a study of a village in South Lebanon, Peters found first parallel cousin marriages in 15 percent of one group and 18 percent of another group. Emrys Peters, "Aspects of Rank and Status among Muslims in a Lebanese Village," in Julian Pitt-Rivers, ed., *Mediterranean Countrymen: Essays in the Social Anthropology of the Mediterranean* (Paris: Mouton, 1963), pp. 159-202.

27. Barbara C. Aswad, "Yemeni and Lebanese Muslim Immigrant Women in Southeast Dearborn, Michigan," in Earle H. Waugh et al., eds., *Muslim Families in North America* (Edmonton, Alberta: University of Alberta Press, 1991), pp. 256-81.

28. Shireen Mahdavi, "The Position of Women in Shi'a Iran: Views of the 'Ulama," in Elizabeth Warnock Fernea, ed., *Women and the Family in the Middle East* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985), p. 261.

29. Khu'i, *Minhaj al-Salihin*, Vol. 2, p. 279.

30. Ibid., p. 281.

31. Edwin Terry Prothro and Lutfy Najib Diab, *Changing Family Patterns in the Arab East* (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1974).

32. Emrys Peters, "The Status of Women in Four Middle East Communities," in Lois Beck and Nikki Keddie, eds., *Women in the Muslim World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978) pp. 311-30.

33. Anne Betteridge, "To Veil or Not to Veil: A Matter of Protest or Policy," in Guity Nashat, ed., *Women and Revolution in Iran* (Boulder: West-

view, 1983), pp. 109–29. Also see Arlene Elowe Macleod, *Accommodating Protest: Working Women, the New Veiling, and Change in Cairo* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991).

34. For example, Susan Schaefer Davis, *Patience and Power: Women's Lives in a Moroccan Village* (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman, n.d.).

35. See Charlene Joyce Eisenlohr, "The Dilemma of Adolescent Arab Girls in an American High School," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1988. The author found that Arab teenage girls did not always share their parents' opinions on a number of variables, including the use of the scarf and dating.

36. Aswad, "Yemeni and Lebanese Muslim Immigrant Women."

37. Judith Williams, *The Youth of Haouch el Harimi: A Lebanese Village* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 31.

38. Shahla Haeri, *Law of Desire: Temporary Marriage in Shi'i Iran* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1989), p. 3.

39. Abdu'l Latif Berri, *Temporary Marriage in Islam* (Dearborn, Mich.: Az-Zahra International, 1989), pp. 17–18.

40. Ibid., p. 19.

41. Ibid., p. 33.

42. Ibid., p. 34.

43. Prothro and Diab, *Changing Family Patterns*, p. 120.

44. Jay Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience: A History from Colonial Times to the Present* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1985), p. 252.

45. Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Women's Sphere" in New England, 1780–1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), p. 126.

46. Ibid., p. 132.

47. Ibid., p. 134.

48. Ibid., p. 138.

49. Aswad, "Yemeni and Lebanese Muslim Immigrant Women."

50. Fuad Khuri, *From Village to Suburb: Order and Change in Greater Beirut* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975).

Chapter 4

1. Oscar Hindlin, *The Uprooted* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1951), p. 117.

2. Saudi Arabia, which promotes a truly "fundamentalist" approach to Islam, has financially supported Islamic institutions in the West. Saudi money, for example, built the large mosques in Washington, D.C., and in New York City. As a result, they have had an influence on the way mosques are developing in America.

3. Robert N. Bellah, Richard Madsen, William M. Sullivan, Ann Swidler, and Steven M. Tipton, *Habits of the Heart* (New York: Harper and Row, 1985), p. 226.

4. Ibid., p. 225.

5. Ibid., p. 232.

6. Ibid., p. 240.

7. Many new Shi'i immigrants today are from southern Iraq, refugees in the aftermath of the Gulf War.

8. W. Murray Hogben, "Marriage and Divorce among Muslims in Canada," in Earle H. Waugh et al., eds., *Muslim Families in North America* (Edmonton, Alberta: University of Alberta Press, 1991), pp. 154–84.

9. Irving Howe, *World of Our Fathers: The Journey of the East European Jews to America and the Life They Found and Made* (New York: Galahad Books, 1976), p. 207.

10. Ibid., p. 194.

11. Leonard Joseph Moore, *Citizen Klansmen: The Ku Klux Klan in Indiana* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

12. Daniel S. Buczec, "Polish-Americans and the Roman Catholic Church," in George E. Pozzetta, ed., *The Immigrant Religious Experience* (New York: Garland, 1991), p. 33.

Glossary

- 'abaya*. The all-encompassing black garment worn in some Arab countries.
- Ahl al-Bayt**. The family of the Prophet, particularly the imams and their near relations.
- al-Nar**. Hell.
- 'Ali ibn abi Taleb*. The cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet and the first imam of the Shi'a.
- 'Ashura*. The tenth day of the Muslim holy month of Muharram, the time when Imam Husayn was killed in Karbala, Iraq.
- Ayatollah**. "Sign of God"; a high-ranking *mujtahid*.
- bismi'llah*. "In the name of God." This invocation is used at the beginning of all books, speeches, and sermons, before undertaking any activity such as eating a meal. It is also used to ward off evil spirits.
- chador*. All-encompassing black garment worn by women in Iran.
- fatwa*. A religious legal opinion given by a *mujtahid*.
- fusha*. The classical or standard form of Arabic, as opposed to the colloquial form.
- hadith*. The sayings of the Prophet Muhammad.
- hajj*. Pilgrimage to Mecca.
- hajji (fem. hajja)*. Title given to someone who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca.
- halal*. That which is permitted by Islamic law.
- Harakat Amal**. "Movement of Hope." The militia formed by Imam Musa Sadr among the Lebanese Shi'a.
- haram*. Something that is forbidden by Islamic law.
- Hashimite**. The clan to which the Prophet Muhammad belonged.
- Hidden Imam**. The Twelfth Imam, who went into occultation and whose return is awaited by the Shi'a.
- hijab*. Modest dress worn by modern Muslim women that completely covers the hair and all parts of the body except the face, hands, and feet. Usually the outfit includes a large scarf and a long, shapeless dress or coat.

Hijra. Originally referring to the journey of the Prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Medina, this term is used when referring to a migration that has been given a religious significance.

Hizb Allah. "Party of God." Militia in Lebanon that is more radical than its rival, Harakat Amal. It has advocated the establishment of a theocratic government such as that of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Husayn ibn 'Ali. The grandson of the Prophet Muhammad and the third imam of the Shi'a.

husayniya. The gathering place in a Shi'i mosque, separate from where one performs *salat* (can be a building separate from the mosque).

'id. Holy day.

'Id al-Adha. Feast of sacrifice that takes place during the *hajj*.

'Id al-Fitr. Feast marking the end of Ramadan.

iftar. Breaking of the fast; the meal one eats each evening at sunset during Ramadan.

ijtihad. Process of arriving at judgments on points of religious law using reason and the principles of jurisprudence.

'irfan. Mystical knowledge usually concerning the esoteric meaning of the Koran.

Isma'ili. A Shi'i sect resulting from disagreement over who should be the seventh imam. The founders of the Fatimid caliphate in Egypt in the tenth through twelfth centuries.

Jannah. Paradise

jinn. Spirits spoken of in the Koran that can be either good or evil.

Ka'ba. Sacred enclosure at Mecca.

kafir (plural *kuffar*). Infidel (nonbeliever).

Karbala. Site where the Imam Husayn was martyred and buried, it became a shrine city in southern Iraq with a theological center.

khatib. The person who recounts the story of the death of the Imam Husayn.

khums. Shi'i religious tax that goes to the *sayyids* and to one's *marji'*.

khutba. The sermon given on Fridays at the mosque.

madrasa. A theological school.

Majalis Husayniya. The recounting of the suffering and death of the Imam Husayn.

marji'. Shortened form of *marji'iyat taqlid tamm*.

marji'iyat. The institution of the highest-ranking Shi'i leadership.

marji'iyat taqlid tamm. "The point of emulation" for devout Shi'a; a *mujtahid* who has attained the highest status among all Shi'i clergy to whom Shi'a turn for direction in their religious, social, and, at times, political lives.

Maronites. A Lebanese Christian sect that is affiliated with the Roman Catholic church. The Maronites have been the dominant group in Lebanon since the founding of the modern state of Lebanon.

marjid. Mosque.

mihrab. Prader niche that marks direction of prayer.

Muharram. Month during which the Imam Husayn was martyred. It is considered holy to Shi'a.

mujaddid. The religious reformer who should appear every century.

mujtahid. A high-ranking Shi'i cleric qualified to practice *ijtihad*.

muminin. Believers.

muqallid. Follower of a *marja'*.

mut'a. "Temporary" or "pleasure" marriage, allowable by Shi'i but not Sunni law.

mut'i. A woman who has contracted a temporary marriage with a man.

Najaf. The city in Iraq where the Imam 'Ali was killed, the site of the major theological center for Shi'a.

najis. Ritually impure.

qadi. Religious judge.

qibla. The direction faced in prayer (for Muslims, this is Mecca).

Qom. A shrine city in Iran with an important theological center for Shi'a.

raj'a. Eschatological return, usually of someone of religious significance.

Ramadan. Muslim lunar month of fasting.

salat. Obligatory prayer.

sawm. Fasting.

sayyid. A descendent of the Prophet Muhammad through the line of the Prophet's daughter Fatima and her husband, 'Ali ibn Abi Taleb.

Shari'a. Islamic law.

sheikh. A tribal leader or elder; the term is used in this text as the title of a religious cleric.

shibab. Muslim youths.

tafsir. Science of interpreting the Koran.

taqiya. Concealment of one's religious affiliation.

ta'ziyeh. The term used by Iranians for the passion play commemorating the death of the Imam Husayn.

'ulama. "The learned," or Islamic clergy.

wilayat al-faqih. "Guardianship of the jurisconsult," the doctrine that a cleric should be the head of the government.

wa'z. Exhortation; a kind of preaching.

za'im (plural zu'ama'). Lebanese leader or strongman.

Zaydi. A sect of Shi'ism common in Yemen.

ZemZem water. Water from the well that was said to have sprung from the ground when Hagar and her son Ishmael were in the desert dying from thirst.

Selected Bibliography

- Abraham, Nabeel Y. "National and Local Politics: A Study of Political Conflict in the Yemeni Immigrant Community of Detroit, Michigan." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1978.
- Abraham, Sameer, Nabeel Abraham, and Barbara Aswad. "The Southend: An Arab Muslim Working-class Community." In Sameer Y. Abraham and Nabeel Abraham, eds., *Arabs in the New World: Studies on Arab-American Communities*. Detroit: Wayne State University Center for Urban Studies, 1983. Pp. 163-84.
- Ahmad, Gutbi Mahdi. "Muslim Organizations in the United States." In Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, ed., *The Muslims of America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991. Pp. 11-24.
- Ajami, Fouad. "The Battle of Algiers." *The New Republic*, July 9, 1990, pp. 12-13.
- . *The Vanished Imam: Musa Al Sadr and the Shi'a of Lebanon*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986.
- Al-Sadr, Ayatollah Muhammad Baqir, and Ayatollah Murtaza Mutahhery. *The Awaited Savior*. Translated by A. Ansari. Accra: Islamic Seminary, 1982.
- Amanat, Abbas. "In Between the Madrasa" and the Marketplace: The Designation of Clerical Leadership in Modern Shi'ism." In Said Amir Arjomand, ed., *Authority and Political Culture in Shi'ism*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988. Pp. 98-132.
- . *Resurrection and Renewal: The Making of the Babi Movement in Iran, 1844-1850*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989.
- Antoun, Richard. "Key Variables Affecting Muslim Local-Level Religious Leadership in Iran and Jordan." In Fuad I. Khuri, ed., *Leadership and Development in Arab Society*. Beirut: Center for Arab and Middle East Studies, 1981. Pp. 92-101.
- . *Muslim Preacher in the Modern World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.
- Arjomand, Said Amir. *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984.
- Aswad, Barbara C. "The Lebanese Muslim Community in Dearborn, Michigan." Paper presented at the Centre for Lebanese Studies Conference on Lebanese Emigration, St. Hughes College, Oxford, 1989.
- . "The Southeast Dearborn Arab Community Struggles for Survival Against Urban 'Renewal.'" In Barbara C. Aswad, ed., *Arabic Speaking*

- Communities in American Cities*. Staten Island, N.Y.: Center for Migration Studies, 1974. Pp. 53-84.
- . "Yemeni and Lebanese Muslim Immigrant Women in Southeast Dearborn, Michigan." In Earle H. Waugh, Sharon McIrvn Abu-Laban, and Regula Burckhardt Qureshi, eds., *Muslim Families in North America*. Edmonton, Alberta: University of Alberta Press, 1991. Pp. 256-81.
- Baktash, Mayel. "Ta'ziyeh and Its Philosophy." In Peter Chelkowski, ed., *Ta'ziyeh: Ritual and Drama in Iran*. New York: New York University Press, 1979. Pp. 95-120.
- Bellah, Robert N., "Civil Religion in America." In William G. McLoughlin and Robert N. Bellah, eds., *Religion in America*. Boston: Beacon, 1968. Pp. 3-23.
- Bellah, Robert N., Richard Madsen, William M. Sullivan, Ann Swidler, and Steven M. Tipton. *Habits of the Heart*. New York: Harper and Row, 1985.
- Berri, Abdu'l Latif. *Temporary Marriage in Islam*. Dearborn, Mich.: Az-Zahra International, 1989.
- Betteridge, Anne. "To Veil or Not to Veil: A Matter of Protest or Policy." In Guity Nashat, ed., *Women and Revolution in Iran*. Boulder: Westview, 1983. Pp. 109-29.
- Bloch, Maurice. "Introduction." In Maurice Bloch, ed., *Political Language and Oratory in Traditional Society*. London: Academic Press, 1975. Pp. 109-29.
- Boratav, P. N. "Djinn." In *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960. Pp. 546-50.
- Bowen, John R. *Muslims through Discourse: Religion and Ritual in Gayo Society*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Boyer, Pascal. *Tradition as Truth and Communication*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Browne, Edward G. *A Literary History of Persia*, Vol. IV. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969.
- Buczek, Daniel S. "Polish-Americans and the Roman Catholic Church." In George E. Pozzetta, ed., *The Immigrant Religious Experience*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1991. Pp. 31-53.
- Bukowczyk, John J. "Mary the Messiah: Polish Immigrant Heresy and the Malleable Ideology of the Roman Catholic Church, 1880-1930." In George E. Pozzetta, ed., *The Immigrant Religious Experience*. New York: Garland, 1991. Pp. 55-81.
- . "The Transforming Power of the Machine: Popular Religion, Ideology and Secularization among Polish Immigrant Workers in the United States, 1880-1940." In George E. Pozzetta, ed., *The Immigrant Religious Experience*. New York: Garland, 1991. Pp. 84-10.
- Caton, Steven C. *Peaks of Yemen I Summon*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.
- Chelkowski, Peter, ed. *Ta'ziyeh: Ritual and Drama in Iran*. New York: New York University Press, 1979.

- Chirri, Muhammad Jawad. *Inquiries about Islam*. Beirut, 1965.
- . *The Shiites under Attack*. Detroit: Islamic Center of America, 1986.
- Cole, J. R. I. "Imami Jurisprudence and the Role of the 'Ulama: Mortaza Ansari on Emulating the Supreme Exemplar." In Nikki R. Keddie, ed., *Religion and Politics in Iran*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983. Pp. 33-46.
- Cole, J. R. I., and Nikki R. Keddie, eds. *Shi'ism and Social Protest*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986.
- Conklin, Nancy, and Nora Faires. "Colored and Catholic: The Lebanese in Birmingham, Alabama." In Eric Hooglund, ed., *Crossing the Waters*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1987. Pp. 69-84.
- Cott, Nancy F. *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Women's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977.
- Dabashi, Hamid. *Theology of Discontent: The Ideological Foundation of the Islamic Revolution in Iran*. New York: New York University Press, 1993.
- Davis, Susan Schaefer. *Patience and Power: Women's Lives in a Moroccan Village*. Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman, n.d.
- Dolan, Jay. *The American Catholic Experience: A History from Colonial Times to the Present*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1985.
- Douglas, Mary. *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966.
- Eickelman, Dale F., and James Piscatori, eds. *Muslim Travelers: Pilgrimage, Migration, and the Religious Imagination*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.
- Eisenlohr, Charlene Joyce. "The Dilemma of Adolescent Arab Girls in an American High School." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1988.
- . *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*. San Diego: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1959.
- Elkholy, Abdo. *The Arab Muslims in the United States*. New Haven: College and University Press, 1966.
- Fahd, Toufic. "Magic: Magic in Islam." In Mircea Eliade, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Religion*. New York: Macmillan, 1987. Pp. 104-9.
- Fischer, Michael. *Iran: From Religious Dispute to Revolution*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980.
- Frazer, J. G. *The Golden Bough, Part II: Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*. London: Macmillan, 1927.
- Friedl, Erika. *Women of Deh Koh*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1989.
- Gaffney, Patrick. *The Prophet's Pulpit: Islamic Preaching in Contemporary Egypt*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
- Geertz, Clifford. *Islam Observed*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968.
- Gilsenan, Michael. *Recognizing Islam*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1982.
- Grabar, Oleg. "The Architecture of the Middle Eastern City." In Ira M. Lapidus, ed., *Middle Eastern Cities*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969. Pp. 26-46.

- Guillaume, Alfred. *Islam*. Middlesex: Penguin, 1954.
- Haeri, Shahla. *Law of Desire: Temporary Marriage in Shi'i Iran*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1989.
- Hegland, Mary. "Two Images of Husain: Accommodation and Revolution in an Iranian Village." In Nikki Keddie, ed., *Religion and Politics in Iran: Shi'ism from Quietism to Revolution*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983. Pp. 218-35.
- Herberg, Will. *Protestant, Catholic, Jew*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1955.
- Hindlin, Oscar. *The Uprooted*. New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1951.
- Hodgson, Marshall. *The Venture of Islam: The Classical Age of Islam*, Vol. 1. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974.
- Hogben, W. Murray. "Marriage and Divorce among Muslims in Canada." In Earle H. Waugh, Sharon McIrvine Abu-Laban, and Regula Burckhardt Qureshi, eds., *Muslim Families in North America*. Edmonton, Alberta: University of Alberta Press, 1991. Pp. 154-84.
- Hourani, Albert. "Ideologies of the Mountain and the City." In Roger Owen, ed., *Essays on the Crisis in Lebanon*. London: Ithaca Press, 1976. Pp. 33-41.
- Howe, Irving. *World of Our Fathers: The Journey of the East European Jews to America and the Life They Found and Made*. New York: Galahad Books, 1976.
- Humphrey, Michael. "Community, Mosque and Ethnic Politics." *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology* XXIII, 2 (July 1987): 233-45.
- Ibn Khaldun. *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, Vol. 3. Translated by Franz Rosenthal. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967.
- Issawi, Charles. "The Historical Background of Lebanese Emigration 1800-1914." Paper presented at the Centre for Lebanese Studies Conference on Lebanese Emigration, St. Hughes, College, Oxford, 1989.
- Jafri, S. Husain M. *Origin and Early Development Shi'a Islam*. London: Longman Group, 1979.
- Joseph, Suad. "Family as Security and Bondage: A Political Strategy of the Lebanese Working Class." In Saad Eddin Ibrahim, ed., *Arab Society: Social Science Perspectives*. Cairo: American University of Cairo Press, 1985. Pp. 241-56.
- . "Women and the Neighborhood Street in Borj Hamoud, Lebanon." In Lois Beck and Nikki Keddie, eds., *Women in the Muslim World*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978. Pp. 541-57.
- Katarsky, Anthony. "Family Ties and the Growth of an Arabic Community in Northeast Dearborn, Michigan." Master's thesis, Wayne State University, 1980.
- Keddie, Nikki. *Religion and Politics in Iran*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983.
- Keddie, Nikki R., ed. *Scholars, Saints, and Sufis: Muslim Religious Institutions since 1500*, 2nd ed. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978.
- Kepel, Gilles. *Muslim Extranism in Egypt: The Prophet and the Pharaoh*, trans. by J. Rothschild. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.

- Khalaf, Samir. "The Background and Causes of Lebanese Syrian Immigration to the U.S. before World War I." In Eric J. Hooglund, ed., *Crossing the Waters*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1987. Pp. 17-36.
- Khalaf, Samir, and Guilain Denoeux. "Urban Networks and Political Conflict in Lebanon." In Nadim Shehadi and Dana Haffar Mills, eds., *Lebanon: A History of Conflict and Consensus*. London: Centre for Lebanese Studies, 1988. Pp. 181-200.
- Khu'i, Abu'l-Qasim. *Manahij al-Salihin*. Beirut: Dar al-Zahra, n.d.
- Khuri, Fuad. *From Village to Suburb: Order and Change in Greater Beirut*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975.
- . *Imams and Emirs: State, Religion and Sects in Islam*. London: Saqi Books, 1990.
- Macleod, Arlene Elowe. *Accommodating Protest: Working Women, the New Veiling, and Change in Cairo*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1991.
- Mahdavi, Shireen. "The Position of Women in Shi'a Iran: Views of the 'Ulama." In Elizabeth Warnock Fernea, ed., *Women and the Family in the Middle East*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985. Pp. 255-72.
- Mallat, Chibli. *Renewal of Islamic Law: Muhammad Baqer as-Sadr, Najaf and the Shi'i International*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- . *Shi'i Thought from the South of Lebanon*. Oxford: Centre for Lebanese Studies, 1988.
- Mazzaoui, Michel. "Shi'ism in the Arab World." In Seyyed Hossein Nasr, Hamid Dabashi, and Seyyed Vali Reza Nasr, eds., *Expectation of the Millennium*. New York: State University of New York Press, 1989. Pp. 253-55.
- Metcalf, Barbara D. "The Pilgrimage Remembered: South Asian Accounts of the Hajj." In Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori, eds., *Muslim Travellers: Pilgrimage, Migration, and the Religious Imagination*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990. Pp. 85-107.
- Mishaqa, Mikhayil. *Murder, Mayhem, Pillage and Plunder: The History of the Lebanon in the 18th and 19th Centuries*. Translated by Wheeler M. Thackston, Jr. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988.
- Momen, Moojan. *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam*. Oxford: George Ronald, 1985.
- Moore, Leonard Joseph. *Citizen Klansmen: The Ku Klux Klan in Indiana*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991.
- Mottahedeh, Roy. *The Mantle of the Prophet*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985.
- Munson, Henry, Jr. *Islam and Revolution in the Middle East*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988.
- Naff, Alixa. *Becoming American: The Early Arab Immigrant Experience*. Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, 1985.
- Nakash, Yitzhak. *The Shi'is of Iraq*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.

- Norton, Augustus Richard. *Amal and the Shi'a: Struggle for the Soul of Lebanon*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987.
- Olmert, Joseph. "The Shi'a and the Lebanese State." In Martin Kramer, ed., *Shi'ism, Resistance and Revolution*. Boulder: Westview, 1987. Pp. 189-201.
- Orfalea, Gregory. *Before the Flames: A Quest for the History of Arab Americans*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1988.
- Orsi, Robert Anthony. *The Madonna of 115th Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem, 1880-1950*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.
- Peters, Emrys. "Aspects of Rank and Status among Muslims in a Lebanese Village." In Julian Pitt-Rivers, ed., *Mediterranean Countrymen: Essays in the Social Anthropology of the Mediterranean*. Paris: Mouton, 1963. Pp. 159-202.
- . "The Status of Women in Four Middle East Communities." In Lois Beck and Nikki Keddie, eds., *Women in the Muslim World*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978. Pp. 311-50.
- Portes, Alejandro and Ruben G. Rumbaut. *Immigrant America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.
- Prothro, Edwin Terry, and Lutfy Najib Diab. *Changing Family Patterns in the Arab East*. Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1974.
- Reimers, David M. *Still the Golden Door: The Third World Comes to America*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1985.
- Roy, Olivier. *The Failure of Political Islam*, trans. by Carol Volk, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994.
- Sakr, Ahmad H, and Sami A. Arafah. *Guidelines of Employment by Muslim Communities*. Lombard, Ill.: Foundation for Islamic Knowledge, n.d.
- Schubel, Vernon, "The Muharram Majlis: The Role of Ritual in the Preservation of Shi'a Identity." In Earle H. Waugh, et al, eds., *Muslim Families in North America*. Edmonton Alberta: University of Alberta Press, 1991.
- Siryani, Mohammad Mahmoud. "Residential Distribution, Spatial Mobility and Acculturation in an Arab-Muslim Community." Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1977.
- Smith, Timothy L. "Religious Denominations as Ethnic Communities: A Regional Case Study." In George E. Pozzetta, ed., *The Immigrant Religious Experience*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1991. Pp. 353-72.
- Spooner, Brian. "The Evil Eye in the Middle East." In Mary Douglas, ed., *Witchcraft Confessions and Accusations*. London: Tavistock, 1970.
- Suleiman, Michael. "Early Arab-Americans: The Search for Identity." In Eric J. Hooglund, ed., *Crossing the Waters*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1987. Pp. 37-54.
- Tabataba'i, Allama. *Shi'ite Islam*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1975.
- Tentler, Leslie Woodcock. "Who Is the Church? Conflict in a Polish Immigrant Parish in Late Nineteenth-Century Detroit." In George E. Pozzetta, ed, *The Immigrant Religious Experience*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1991. Pp. 419-54.

- Turner, Victor W. "Religious Specialists." In Arthur C. Lehmann and James E. Myers, eds., *Magic, Witchcraft, and Religion: An Anthropological Study of the Supernatural*, 2nd ed. Mountain View, Calif. Mayfield, 1989. Pp. 85-92.
- Wigle, Laurel D. "An Arab Muslim Community in Michigan." In Barbara C. Aswad, ed., *Arabic Speaking Communities in American Cities*. New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1974. Pp. 155-68.
- Williams, Judith. *The Youth of Haouch el Harimi: A Lebanese Village*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968.
- Williams, Peter W. *Popular Religion in America*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989.
- Wolf, Eric R. *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century*. New York: Harper and Row, 1968.
- Wuthnow, Robert. *Producing the Sacred: An Essay on Public Religion*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994.

Index

- '*abaya*, 54, 179. See also *hijab*
- 'Ali ibn Abi Taleb (Imam Ali), 29–30, 95
- American religious experience, 203–9
- amulets, 172–73
- Arabic language, 65, 108, 115
- Araki, Ayatollah, 81
- 'Ashura: commemoration at mosques, 92–96; definition, 90; Iranian Revolution, 95
- atheists, opinions about, 158

- backbiting, 156–57
- Beirut suburbs, 15
- Bekaa, 70–71
- Bekaa League, 45
- Berri, Nabih, 39
- Berri, Sheikh Abd al Latif: establishing the Majma', 52–53; on the *marji'*, 79; on *mut'a*, 188–90
- Bezzi, Sheikh Khalil, 42–43
- Bint Jubeil, 20, 36; relations with Tibnin, 24–25
- Burro, Muhammad Ali, 54, 63–64

- Catholics, comparison with Shi'a in U.S., 55, 96–97, 165–66; churches in East Dearborn, 25; clerical leadership, 87; education, 112–13; folk beliefs, 173–74; Irish churches, 50–51; Italian holiday celebrations, 97; mysticism, 127; Polish church in Detroit, 62; religious duties, 152–53; role of women, 197–98; sermons, 127
- chador*, 54, 179. See also *hijab*
- children, 106–8, 206

- Chirri, Mohammad Jawad: as community religious leader, 41–52, 55; as hero to community, 27–28
- cleanliness, 185–86
- clergy. See '*ulama*
- coexistence of groups, 203
- congregational style of mosque, 207

- Dearborn, 16–18; East Dearborn, 12–16, 18; Muslim community before 1970, 47–50; official relations with Arabs, 22–25; south end, 14–15, 18; Zaydi mosque, 14
- divorce, 110
- dress, 15, 56, 181–82. See also '*abaya*; *chador*; *hijab*; scarves

- education, modern, 133–34
- engagements, 110
- evil eye, 172–73

- family life, 174–75
- fasting, 139–41
- food, 147
- Ford Motor Company, 17

- generational differences in religious fervor, 208
- German immigrants to Dearborn, 25
- God: existence, 161–62; forgiveness, 158–59
- gold jewelry, 150–51

- hajj*, 141–44
- hajja*, 143, 180
- halal* meat, 145–48
- Harakat Amal, 38–39, 53

- Hashimite Club, 44–45
 Highland Park, 43
hijab: in Lebanon, 178–79; at mosques, 54; use by Hizb Allah and Amal supporters, 178; women's and men's views, 177–83
 Hizb Allah: relations with Harakat Amal, 39; representation at mosques, 53
 Husayn ibn 'Ali (Imam Husayn): battle with Umayyads, 30; different Shi'i interpretations, 90; and memorial services, 89; and other imams, 32; universally recognized saint among Shi'a, 91
husayniya: decorated for special occasions, 109; at the Majma', 52; relationship to mosques, 99; where 'Ashura commemorations are held, 92
 'Id al-Fitr, 69
iftar, 54, 140–41
 imamate, 31–32
 imams, 159, 205. *See also* 'Ali ibn Abi Taleb; Husayn ibn 'Ali
 immigrants: from Arab countries, 1918–22, 17, 58; Catholics, 51 (*see also* Catholics); government policies, 17–18; Italian, 25; recent Muslim immigrants to Dearborn, 102
 Iran, 50
 Iranian Revolution, 131
al-'Irfan, 70
'irfan, 120–21
 Islam, political, 56–59, 82
 Islamic Center of America. *See* Jami'
 Islamic government, 160
 Isma'ilis, 32–33
 Jabal 'Amil, 33, 70–71
 Jami' (Islamic Center of America), 27; attitudes toward Islamic law, 64, 86; disagreement with Majma' over date of 'Id al-Fitr, 70; dress, 1960s, 47; events and services, 48, 100–2; founding of, 41; languages spoken, 65; leadership of, 48, 60, 63, 220n. 47; rejects Islamic school funding, 64; Sunday school classes, 100
Jannah (paradise), 153
jinn, 134, 166–72
 Karbala, 31, 89
 Karoub, Muhammad, 43
khatib, 92
khatibat, 93
 Khomeini, Ayatollah Ruhollah, 33; attitudes toward him in Dearborn, 66–67, 82, 119; as a *marji'*, 66, 79–82; on *mut'a*, 68–69
 Khu'i, Ayatollah Abul-Qasim; as a *marji'*, 66; on *mut'a*, 68; offer to build school in Dearborn, 63; wife's duty, 176
 Khu'i Foundation, 64
 Khu'i School, 73–75
khums, 106
khutba, 116–17
kuffar, 151
 Lebanese: Christians, 17, 35–36; settlement patterns in Dearborn, 19–20; ties with Lebanon, 20–21; under the Ottomans, 34–35; work ethic, 19
 legalistic religion, 158
madrassa, 98–99
 Mahdi, the Imam (the Twelfth Imam), 154–55; beliefs about his return, 162–65; in sermons, 124–26
 Majlis (Islamic Council of America), 54, 58
 Majma' (The Islamic Institute), 52–53; accepts Khu'i offer, 64; contrasts with Jami' and Majlis, 53, 60–61; disagreement about 'Id al-Fitr, 69–70; elections, 60–61; interpretation of Islam,

- 59, 64; Khomeini memorial service, 88–89; relationship to *marji'*, 64; use of Arabic, 65
marji', 34; attitudes toward, 71, 75; choice of, 72–74; development and theory, 65–67, 219n. 21; *marji'iyat taqlid tamm*, 34, 65; and papacy, 87; on personal behavior, 76–83; on prayer and menstruation, 83; relationship with sheikhs, 64; rising prestige, 85; role in Dearborn and U.S., 66–67, 69, 206; selection, 79–82; types of teachings, 68–69
 marriage, 175–76; within group, 206; women's role, 185–86
masjid, 97–98
mihrab, 98
 mosques: in Dearborn, 12, 99 (*see also* Jami'; Majlis; Majma'); role of, 97–99, 201; Shi'i, 14; use in weddings, 110–12
 muezzin, 100
 Muhammad (the Prophet), 28, 29
mujtahids, 33–34
 Muslims, 18
mut'a: attitudes toward, 72–74, 76; definition of, 68; practice of in Dearborn, 186–96
najis, 149–50
al-nar, 153–62
 Nasser, Abdel Gamal, 46–47, 86
 neighborhoods, 20
 occultation of Twelfth Imam, 32. *See also* Mahdi, the Imam
 Palestinians, 17–18
 Polish immigrants to Dearborn, 25
 politics, Dearborn Lebanese involvement, 24
 prayer. *See* *salat*
 prayer stone, 126
 prejudice against non-Protestant religious groups, 208–9
 proselytizing, 124–25
 punishment (for sins), 159–62
 purity, 148–50
qibla: direction of slaughtering animals, 145; importance of establishing direction of, 83
raj'a (return of the Mahdi), 154–55
 Ramadan, 139–41
 religious duties, 136–44
 religious restrictions, 145–52
 restaurants, 15
 Rushdie, Salman: attitudes toward, 84–85; Chirri's position, 50
 al-Sadr, Ayatollah Muhammad Baqir: on coming of Mahdi, 156; commemoration of execution, 103
 Sadr, Sayyid Musa: arrival in Lebanon, 38; effect on religiosity, 132; established Harakat Amal, 38; as hero, 67; as *marja'*, 79; in sermons, 119
salat, 136–39; how often performed, 137–39; at Majma', 102–3; on special occasions, 109; taught to children, 106
Satanic Verses. *See* Rushdie, Salman
 Saudi Arabia, 224n. 2
 scarf, 132–33, 179. *See also* 'abaya; *chador*; *hijab*
 schools: Arabic-speaking students, 22; busing Arabic children, 23; importance of education, 21; quality of in East Dearborn, 11
 sermons, 114–27
 sexual behavior, 157. *See also* *mut'a*
 Shari'a-minded: approach to religion, 57, 202; setting religious standards, 135–36; versus traditional approach, 58
 sheikh: education of, 41–42; role in U.S., 207; versus *imam* and *sayyid*, 42
 Shi'a: comparison with Iran, 135; endurance in U.S., 207–8; exerting pressure on believers, 205;

- imamate, 31–32; importance of Karbala, 30–31; rituals, 205; self-definition, 221n. 50
 Shi'a, Lebanese: association with Palestinians, 38; distinctiveness in Dearborn, 202; divisions, 37–38; immigrants from Bekaa and south Lebanon, 17; as Lebanese religious group, 35–36; under Ottomans, 34–35; position in society, 36–39; zu'ama as traditional leaders, 36–38
shibab, 103–4
 social events, 105–6
 socializing, 20
 Sunnis: Bekaa League, 45; relations with Shi'a in Dearborn, 42–45; Safavid period, Iran, 33
 Syrian immigrants, 19

ta'ziya, 90–91
 television, Arab ethnic, 14
 temporary marriage. *See mut'a*
 Tibnin: and people from Bint Jubeil, 24–25; political candidate from, 25
 Twelver Shi'ism, 32–33. *See also* Shi'a

'ulama: books by, 14; influenced by Islamic Republic of Iran, 86; *muj-*
tahids, 33; relations with Pahlavis, 33; representatives of the Twelfth Imam, 33; role as priests, 115; tensions with laity, 62–63; traditional, in Lebanon, 43; views on women, 176–77

 village ties, 59–60

wa'z, 117
 weddings: description, 110–12; at Jami', 47; at rented halls, 48
wilayat al-faqih, 81
 women: American converts to Shi'ism, 198; in Christian churches, 198; employment of, 183–84; influence of Lebanese women in the home, 199; in mosques, 196, 199–200; obedience to husbands, 176–85; women's auxiliary at Jami', 196–97, 199

 Yemenis: relations with Lebanese, 18; in southeast Dearborn, 15, 17–18

 Zaydis, 18, 32–33; mosque, 44, 45