

on Islam to American soldiers and to offer guidance to Muslim soldiers assigned to overseas missions. Television and radio stations requested interviews, and Yee found himself in high demand as the "spokesperson" on Islam from the military. In 2002, he was appointed to serve as Muslim chaplain at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, where he ministered to Muslim soldiers and translators and provided for detainees' religious needs. His most important duties, though, were to advise camp commanders on religious and cultural issues and to ease tensions between guards and inmates, for which he received praise in his performance evaluations.

In September 2003, Yee took a routine leave from Guantánamo. On his way to his family in Seattle, he was arrested and taken into custody at the Jacksonville, Florida, airport. Charged with mutiny, sedition, aiding the enemy, and espionage with potential of a death penalty, Yee was transferred in shackles, blackened goggles, and earmuffs to a maximum-security brig in South Carolina. Held in solitary confinement for a total of 76 days, Yee was subjected to sensory deprivation techniques similar to those used against the prisoners at Guantánamo.

After a month of investigation found no evidence, the military reduced his charges to "mishandling classified documents," claiming that a list of Guantánamo detainees, their cell locations and interrogators, was found among his belongings. In the end, this material was evaluated as necessary for his job, the entire case was dropped, and Yee's record was cleared. Yee returned to duty as a chaplain at Fort Lewis, but he put in his resignation shortly thereafter and received an Honorable Discharge in January 2005.

Yee published an account of his experiences entitled *For God and Country: Faith and Patriotism under Fire*, in which he argued that most of the Guantánamo detainees had little or no "intelligence value," yet camp commanders routinely incited the guards against the prisoners. Yee alleged that guards taunted prisoners about their religion and that their grave mishandlings of the QUR'AN provoked hunger strikes and suicide attempts among the inmates. Yee also wrote that he arrived at Guantánamo with the hope that he would be useful to the military's mission, but he concluded that the mission was in fact to break the detainees' spirits. He said his mediation was sometimes tolerated but more often resented. He argued as well that the detention facility and operations at Guantánamo Bay should be closed, or at least opened to the media for greater transparency. Yee recommended that this would send a message to the world that the United States renounced torture and abuse. Yee also began to give lectures about his ordeal, religious diversity issues, and the challenges of protecting national security and civil liberties. He made presentations at many universities and on Capitol Hill to congressional staff. As of 2009, he was still hoping for an official apology for his detention but doubted

it would come. Since Yee's arrest in 2003, there has been no other Muslim chaplain assigned to the Guantánamo staff and detainees.

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#### youth

Since the early 20th century, the identities of Muslim-American youth have been characterized by a diversity of lifestyles and life choices. Muslim-American youth experience, like that of Muslim-American history as a whole, has been shaped by different religious, racial, ethnic, national, and gender identities. Some Muslim-American youth have rejected the religious heritage of their parents, while many others have attempted to merge the religious values and cultural practices of their parents with similar and divergent practices and values. For some Muslim-American youth, a blended identity has been empowering and emboldening, sharpening their sense of self. For others, it has been a struggle in which they feel caught between multiple worlds.

#### NINETEENTH- AND EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY ORIGINS

Adolescence, as typically understood today—teenage years marked by the struggle for autonomy—is a largely modern phenomenon. Until the middle to late 1800s, most Americans under the age of 18 spent little time in school, if any at all, and were expected to contribute to family farming. During the 19th century, however, the U.S. economy became increasingly industrialized, and the mass migration to cities and immigration from overseas changed the structure of American families. Coupled with the rise of child labor laws and mandatory schooling, this change in American social life marked the creation of "youth" as an age group afforded its own distinct legal and social status in the United States.

Public EDUCATION, which became increasingly compulsory in the late 19th century, played a central role in the lives of Muslim-American youth. School has been a vital American institution, because, along with technical and intellectual training, schools have been primary sites of socialization for young people. ARAB-AMERICAN MUSLIM communities in NORTH DAKOTA, for example, sent their children to public schools in the early 20th century. Taught to be patriotic American citizens and to assimilate into white, Anglo-Protestant culture, Muslims such as Charlie Juma, likely one of the first Muslim Americans born in western North Dakota, learned to speak ARABIC but also began to attend the local Lutheran church and converted to Christianity. A similar result was obtained in California when in this period SOUTH ASIAN-AMERICAN MUSLIM agricultural workers married Roman Catholic Mexican-American women and left the education of their children to their wives. A generational and cultural gap was created between many first-generation immigrants and their American children, a phenomenon common in many immigrant families of whatever religious or ethnic background.

During the era of WORLD WAR I, however, Muslims, both parents and children, came to identify more strongly as Americans and with the U.S. efforts to win the war. Arab Americans, composed mostly of Christians but including some Muslims, enrolled their children in the Boy Scouts and the Girl Scouts, and more than a thousand Muslim-American youths joined the UNITED STATES MILITARY fighting in Europe. The sacrifice required in the war further cemented the identification of Muslim-American youth with the United States as their home country. Some saw a contradiction between their American and Muslim identities and, in some instances, gave up the practice of Islam. Others, especially Muslim-American youth in cities with larger Muslim populations such as TOLEDO, OHIO, and NEW YORK CITY, began to view Islam as an American creed, sometimes describing the mosque to their non-Muslim neighbors as their "church."

At the same time that many second-generation Muslim-American youths were consciously attempting to assimilate into white Protestant-American culture, AFRICAN-AMERICAN MUSLIMS were striving to keep from being harmed by it. The reemergence of Islam as a religious tradition among African Americans in the 1920s and 1930s was defined by the effort to resist and counter white supremacy. For the African-American Muslims who joined the Ahmadi movement, the MOORISH SCIENCE TEMPLE of America, various Sunni mosques, and the NATION OF ISLAM (NOI), conversion to Islam was not only a matter of individual spirituality but was also the basis of a movement to establish new community life and institutions, from MOSQUES and newspapers to ISLAMIC SCHOOLS, all of which were designed to instill pride within African Americans, especially youth.

#### MUSLIM-AMERICAN YOUTH INSTITUTIONS

##### SINCE THE 1930s

Since the 1930s, full-time Islamic schools, Sunday religious classes, and youth organizations have sought to teach adolescents about community norms. In public schools and in their relationship to non-Muslim friends, teachers, and neighbors, they have been exposed to a different set of standards, and through the arts youth have created new identities that sometimes resist but often blend their sense of being fully American and fully Muslim.

##### Schooling

African-American Muslims founded the first institutions for Islamic education in the United States. In 1932, W. D. FARD, founder of the NOI, established the first University of Islam in Detroit. Universities of Islam were developed as an alternative education system to public schools, many of which discriminated against African Americans at the time. Universities of Islam sought to inculcate Muslim children and youth with self-esteem and good moral character. These schools taught kindergarten through 12th grade but were named "University" by longtime NOI leader ELIJAH MUHAMMAD (1897–1975) because of the high expectations and standards held for students and the comprehensive nature of the curriculum.

As the NOI community grew, so did its schools, and by the middle 1970s, there were 41 such institutions across the United States, teaching primary and secondary instruction. After the death of Muhammad in 1975, his son, W. D. MOHAMMED (1933–2008), took the helm of the community and renamed the Universities of Islam after the schools' very first teacher, who was also his mother, CLARA MUHAMMAD (1899–1972). The Clara Muhammad Schools retained the dual emphasis on education and self-pride but also incorporated Sunni Islamic thought and traditions into classroom instruction.

Two of the most successful schools have been the Sister Clara Muhammad elementary school and W. D. Mohammed high school in ATLANTA. W. D. Mohammed high school has offered its students the chance to participate in extra-curricular activities such as mock trial, a celebrated step team, and the *Lady Caliphs*, an all-women varsity basketball team that competed for a national high school championship in 2006. After reviving the Nation of Islam in the late 1970s, LOUIS FARRAKHAN (1933– ) reestablished the Universities of Islam in 1989. Like their predecessors, these institutions have attended to the intellectual and personal growth of students in grades kindergarten through 12 in a number of cities across the country, including CHICAGO, Baton Rouge, and San Francisco.

The type of community-building that African-American Muslims embarked upon in the 1920s and 1930s has also been taken up by their immigrant counterparts. Although Clara Muhammad Schools have educated non-African-American youth, the majority of youth from immigrant Muslim families who attended Islamic school did so at schools established within their own ethnic communities. These schools were first established in the 1980s by Muslim immigrant parents who sought to address the need for institutions to help their children retain their cultural and religious identity. In addition to the inclusion of Arabic and Islamic Studies in school curriculums, these schools have enforced conservative moral codes to govern gender relations and modesty. Islamic schools within Muslim immigrant communities have grown steadily, and a number of schools, such as Al-Ihsan Academy established by Guyanese immigrants in New York City, have conducted large fund-raising efforts to support state-of-the-art computer labs and athletic facilities.

Islamic schools have become part of a broader system of institutions that help Muslim youth develop the skills to navigate being members of a religious minority in the United States. Graduates of these schools have gone on to excel at the nation's most prestigious colleges and universities, yet most full-time Islamic schools have struggled to remain open. These schools depend on tuition to operate and are often confronted with parents who are either unable to afford school fees or lack confidence in these nascent institutions.

Most Muslim-American adolescents have received formal religious education at the mosque Sunday school. Patterned on the Sunday school tradition of American Christian churches, a number of Muslim-American communities have held Sunday religious classes since the 1950s. Teaching young students basic religious duties, Islamic history, and religious and cultural etiquette, these schools attempt to protect and preserve the religious and cultural identities of Muslim youth. This is a formidable challenge for Sunday school administrators and teachers who meet with

students for only a fraction of the time young Muslims spend in the nation's public schools.

The vast majority of Muslim youth in the 20th and 21st centuries have attended public middle schools and high schools. In these settings, Muslim youth have been confronted with many beliefs and practices that call into question those norms and values they have been taught by their families and communities. As religious and sometimes racial minorities within public school settings, Muslim youth have also experienced various forms of anti-Muslim STEREOTYPES and DISCRIMINATION. In 2005, 17-year-old Hassan Rahgozar was beaten by fellow students in a California high school bathroom in a racially motivated attack. Rahgozar sued the West Contra Costa Unified School District for failing to respond to threats against him made before the assault. Similarly, Jana Elhifny, a former Reno-area high school student, was awarded a settlement in 2009 after suing school officials for not protecting her from anti-Muslim harassment.

Although discrimination has been on the rise since the attacks of SEPTEMBER 11, 2001, for Muslim youth the experience with prejudice has differed depending on their race, class, and relationship to non-Muslims. In New York City, where Muslims make up 12 percent of public school students, oral histories of Muslim high school students have revealed that Muslim students are keenly aware of and often frustrated by discrimination, but they are not paralyzed by it. They have envisioned their generation as best equipped to eliminate prejudice against Muslims and expressed a desire to work against discrimination through a network of local and national youth groups and organizations.

#### Youth Organizations

Youth-oriented groups and activities have played an important role in the development of identity among Muslim-American youth since World War I. Prior to the establishment of formal youth organizations targeted toward Muslim Americans, early immigrant communities created activities specifically designed for youth. This first generation of youth activities, such as the Bosnian Women Singers Club founded by Uljeta Sarich in Chicago in the 1930s, replicated contemporary practices of broader American society.

In the 1950s, the FEDERATION OF ISLAMIC ASSOCIATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA (FIA), a coalition of dozens of immigrant-led mosques in the United States and Canada, formed the Islamic Youth Organization. The FIA sponsored summer youth camps and youth conventions in which hundreds of Muslim Americans participated. In 1957, the Islamic Youth Organization, then led by Joe Mallad and Mary Caudry (who was also cochair of the Detroit Islamic Council), participated in the annual convention of the FIA, which featured panel discussions, prayer, and evening dances.

The 1965 convention of the FIA included more events specifically geared toward youth, including a "Youth Jam Session."

All-Muslim BOY SCOUT and GIRL SCOUT troops also began in the 1970s. Drawing on sayings of the prophet Muhammad that endorsed sports and physical activity, the Darul Islam movement, a federation of African-American Sunni Muslim mosques established in 1967, created Islamic scouting organizations and a sports tournament. In the late 1970s, members of the Darul Islam established the *Jawalah* (ranger) Scouts for males, the *Banaatul Muslimeen* (Muslim daughters), a scouting group for girls and young women, and the *Riyaadah*, Arabic for sports, an annual athletic competition. Since that time these activities have been key community institutions aimed at the development of Islamic character among Muslim-American youth.

In 1978, the Atlanta Masjid of Islam created one of the first all-Muslim Girl Scout troops in the United States. In 1982, W. D. Mohammed, Pakistani-American Boy Scout official Syed Ehtesham Haider Naqvi, Boy Scout Chief Executive Ben Love, Turkish diplomat Engin Ansay, and Guinean diplomat Youssouf Sylla founded the Islamic Council on Scouting in North America (ICSNA). In addition to promoting athletic and other skills, Muslim scouting has encouraged a sense of belonging and a strong religious identity. By 2006, there were at least 1,000 Muslim-American Girl Scouts and 2,000 Boy Scouts.

As religious REVIVALISM continued to spread in the last two decades of the 20th century, many new Muslim-American youth organizations emphasized the importance of religious piety and a socially conservative view of Muslim morality. Since the middle 1980s, for example, youth organizations such as Muslim Youth of North America (MYNA), Young Muslims (YM), and Muslim American Society-Youth (MAS Youth) were created by the ISLAMIC SOCIETY OF NORTH AMERICA, the ISLAMIC CIRCLE OF NORTH AMERICA, and the MUSLIM AMERICAN SOCIETY, respectively. Their organizational structure and goals, as well as ethnic makeup and religious perspective, tended to replicate those of their parent organizations. These organizations have also focused on civic engagement and religious training. Activities such as religious study circles and leadership retreats have sought to mold young Muslims into Muslim-American leaders who are fully competent and religiously grounded.

Because these more socially conservative organizations have often encouraged modest DRESS and gender-segregated activities, a religious outlook that some youth find unattractive, some groups have begun to take more open positions toward youth-oriented programs, particularly around the arts. Importantly, these efforts were preceded by other local and national groups, like those within the ministry of W. D. Mohammed that took a different attitude toward youth activities, maintaining similar notions of morality

but embracing MUSIC and performance as positive forms of youth expression.

#### Art and Muslim Identity

Since the late 20th century, an arts movement has begun to flower among young Muslim Americans. HIP-HOP, which has historically been informed by notions of black consciousness and moral discipline articulated by African-American Muslims, has emerged as an important catalyst in this movement. Seen as an extension of the Islamic poetic tradition, hip-hop has become a key medium of self-expression through which youth celebrate their identities as Muslim Americans.

This budding arts movement has also created its own market and series of superstars where Muslim artists well-known in mainstream popular culture, as well as local community hip-hop artists, become icons of an accessible, affirming, and "cool" notion of being Muslim. Although hip-hop has dominated the Muslim-American popular arts, Muslim youth have also listened to and produced *nasheeds* (Islamic songs), inspired by the harmonies of R&B, and Islamic punk and country music, as well as visual and performance art.

Bringing together popular culture, religion and youth, this arts movement has underscored anxieties within Muslim-American communities about sex and gender relations among Muslim youth. Fears about premarital sex, pregnancies to unwed parents, and sexually transmitted disease have characterized the attitudes of many adults who see popular culture as encouraging immoral behavior. These fears have a particularly strong impact on young Muslim women, often placing them under greater scrutiny and restriction.

In a 2005 ethnographic study on Yemeni-American high school students by Loukia Sarroub, young women expressed significant feelings of anxiety and depression about the future as their professional ambitions were circumscribed by notions of chastity, MARRIAGE, and conservatism within their communities. The young men in this study reported no similar feelings. This particular case reflected a differing set of expectations for MEN and WOMEN that have characterized a number of Muslim communities and extended into the realm of artistic performance. Female hip-hop artists, for example, have been confronted with religious criticism and limited opportunities to perform within some Muslim-American communities because of their gender. In response, some Muslim-American groups have sought to support female performances. For example, in 2007 the Sisterhood of the Mosque of Islamic Brotherhood located in Harlem, New York, and Muslims in Hip Hop, an online Muslim hip-hop collective, held a hip-hop concert at New York City's Aaron Davis Hall that featured female Muslim artists.

Despite adult fears and gender inequalities, Muslim youth have continued to participate in the arts and popular culture.

Significantly, Muslim youth participation in the arts has enabled many youth to embrace their diversity and blended identities as assets rather than abnormalities. Through artistic expression and consumption, young Muslims have defined Islam for themselves and resisted demands to conform to the ideals or expectations of adults, Muslim and non-Muslim. For example, Chicago's Inner-city Muslim Action Network (IMAN), founded by Muslim college students, has advanced an advocacy and social service agenda that focuses on empowering communities in urban neighborhoods and has also made the arts a central element of its organizational mission. The appointment of Muslim-American youth to its Board of Directors and its bimonthly Community Café showcase for Muslim artists, male and female, are just a few of the ways IMAN has challenged traditional attitudes toward youth espoused by Muslim Americans, as well as within broader American society.

#### CONCLUSION

Throughout Muslim-American history, youth have been and continue to be the epicenter of Muslim life in the United States. Some of the first and most durable American Muslim institutions were created for Muslim youth, from early 20th-century associations to later 20th- and 21st-century Islamic schools. Muslim-American youth have lived in diverse contexts, yet shared the experience of coming of age as Muslims in the United States. As a part of this experience, they have moved between different worlds—public, private, religious, and secular. Through their familiarity in multiple contexts, Muslim-American youth have acted as bridges between their local communities and broader American society. Furthermore, through the benefit of living with blended identities they have charted a course for themselves and their communities defined on their own terms.

Suad Abdul Khabeer

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#### Yusuf, Hamza (Mark Hanson) (1960– ) preacher and educator

By the early 21st century, Hamza Yusuf had become one of Muslim America's most popular religious scholars, educators, and spokespeople. After the al-Qaeda attacks of SEPTEMBER 11, 2001, Yusuf was propelled onto the national stage as a spokesperson for Muslim Americans. He met with President George W. Bush and became an outspoken critic of both state and vigilante terrorism. In his public speaking, Yusuf combined an impassioned and charismatic speaking style with substantive references to popular culture, Western literature, and medieval ISLAMIC THOUGHT. Defending traditional Islamic religious literature and teaching methods, including those in the mystical branch of Islam called SUFISM, he cofounded the ZAYTUNA INSTITUTE, which aimed to offer traditional Islamic training to Muslim Americans in order to produce an indigenous form of American Islam.

Hamza Yusuf was born Mark Hanson in 1960 to a family of Greek Orthodox and Catholic background. He was born in Walla Walla, Washington, and raised in Marin County, California. Both of Yusuf's parents were well educated and active in the civil rights movement and in antiwar activism. Hanson considered joining the Greek Orthodox priesthood until a near-fatal car accident in 1977 prompted him to reconsider his life path.

After reading the QUR'AN, Yusuf has said, he decided to convert to Islam at the age of 17 in 1977. Shortly after, he traveled to the United Kingdom, where he studied Islam and

ARABIC. During this period, he met Abdullah Ali Mahmood from Sharjah, one of the small emirates, or principalities, in the Persian Gulf. Mahmood, a religious scholar, encouraged Yusuf to study Islam in the United Arab Emirates, where Yusuf spent four years. Yusuf also traveled to Saudi Arabia, Mauritania, Algeria, Morocco, and Egypt, studying under prominent Islamic scholars who licensed him to teach what he learned. During his 10-year sojourn, he became the first American lecturer to teach in the prestigious Karaouine University in Fes, Morocco.

Upon returning to the United States in the late 1980s, Yusuf traveled widely, speaking about Islam to a growing following in Muslim communities and on college campuses. In 1996, Yusuf cofounded Zaytuna Institute, which was modeled partly on the traditional methods of studying and teaching Islam that Yusuf had learned during his 10 years abroad. Unlike some advocates of modern Islamic REVIVALISM who stressed the need to rid Islam of centuries of accumulated traditions, Hanson explicitly embraced both the classical and medieval traditions of Islam. He preserved a central place for Sufi interpretations of Islam in the curriculum of Zaytuna, located in Hayward, California, and devoted himself to translating Sufi texts, such as *Purification of the Heart: Signs, Symptoms and Cures of the Spiritual Diseases of the Heart* (2004), into English. But while committed to preserving both classical and medieval Islamic traditions, Yusuf also hoped to produce a body of Islamic knowledge that was relevant to the contemporary world.

In his early years as a lecturer in the United States, Yusuf's speeches were frequently punctuated by harsh criticisms of American culture and POLITICS, as well as other religious traditions. In a frequently cited speech he made just two days before the events of SEPTEMBER 11, 2001, Yusuf was quoted as saying that "a great, great tribulation" is coming to America. Yusuf is also quoted in a 1995 speech stating that Judaism is a racist religion. He has since explained, in a September 2006 PBS *Frontline* interview, that he was "infected" with anti-Semitism during his time in "the Muslim world," and has since "(grown) out of it," realizing that it is incompatible with core Islamic values.

After the attacks of September 11, however, Yusuf changed the focus of his criticism, which became directed toward fellow Muslims. He was chosen by President George

W. Bush to represent Muslim Americans in a public meeting at the White House on September 20, 2001. Yusuf accepted the invitation and arrived in typical western clothing, with trimmed beard and without what had become his standard turban. He reclaimed his given name, introducing himself as Hamza Yusuf Hanson, and articulated a message of conciliation, cross-religious and cross-cultural respect, and regret for the tone of his previous rhetoric. The October 8, 2001, issue of London's *Guardian* quotes Yusuf as saying, "September 11 was a wake-up call to me. . . . I don't want to contribute to the hate in any shape or form. I now regret in the past being silent about what I have heard in the Islamic discourse and being part of that with my own anger."

Yusuf increasingly emphasized the commonality between American and Islamic values. In the same interview he asserted, "I would rather live as a Muslim in the west than in most of the Muslim countries, because I think the way Muslims are allowed to live in the west is closer to the Muslim way." Though Yusuf did not back off completely from offering criticism of U.S. foreign policy, criticizing the use of all weapons of mass destruction, fear tactics, and racism, whether employed by states or individuals, his new focus was on what he saw as the abuse of Islamic tradition in justifying violence.

Yusuf received criticism from other Muslims for the sudden and dramatic change in his rhetoric and philosophical bent. The shock was compounded by the fiery rhetoric he used toward fellow Muslims who, Yusuf said, abused Islamic theology. Some, like Yusuf Estes, another popular Muslim-American figure, charged that, in his eagerness to appease the Western mainstream, Yusuf stretched the meaning of certain Islamic traditions and ignored others. Even so, Yusuf defended his approach and remained focused on building Muslim-American intellectual institutions that would produce an interpretation of the faith that was deeply informed by both its American identity and the Islamic intellectual heritage.

See also SHAKIR, ZAID.

Hanifa Abdul Sabar

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