



TASK FORCE SERIES

Strengthening America: The Civic and Political Integration of Muslim Americans

REPORT OF THE TASK FORCE ON MUSLIM AMERICAN
CIVIC AND POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT

Farooq Kathwari and Lynn M. Martin, *Cochairs*
Christopher B. Whitney, *Project Director*

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ON GLOBAL AFFAIRS**

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FOREWORD

America's strength has long been tied to its commitment to diversity and its openness to the waves of immigrants arriving on its shores from every corner of the world. The talents and energies of these immigrants and their dedication to the values of their adopted country have made the United States the world's strongest and most adaptive nation. Muslim American immigrants, while a relatively recent addition to the American mosaic, were on a path taken by many previous immigrant groups prior to the September 11, 2001, attacks. Those groups had come to the United States in search of the American dream and through hard work achieved much economic success. The path also eventually led them to full participation in U.S. civic and political life.

The Muslim American path to integration changed dramatically with the tragic events of September 11, which left many Americans questioning the loyalty and intentions of Muslim Americans. The subsequent wars in Afghanistan and Iraq and the broader war on terrorism contributed to deepening suspicions at a time when Muslim Americans lacked well recognized institutions and leaders who could have helped respond to public concerns.

It is in the interest of all Americans not to allow an atmosphere of distrust and misunderstanding to endure. The nation faces critical foreign and domestic policy challenges relating directly to Muslim populations around the world, which Muslim Americans can help address. Muslim and non-Muslim Americans must work together to expand the opportunities for Muslim Americans to participate in the national discourse and help meet the urgent challenges ahead. Doing so will enhance the nation's security and well-being and reaffirm our commitment to equality under the law, pluralism, and tolerance as bedrock principles of American society.

The Task Force

The Chicago Council Task Force on Muslim American Civic and Political Engagement was convened in February 2006 to consider the engagement of Muslim Americans in the national discourse on U.S. foreign policy. Cochaired by Farooq Kathwari, chairman, president, and chief executive officer of Ethan Allen Inc., and Lynn Martin, former U.S. secretary of labor and former U.S. congresswoman from Illinois, the Task Force brought together thirty-two leading figures

from around the United States to examine the challenges and opportunities for greater Muslim American civic and political participation and to develop a report of findings and recommendations. The Task Force's mandate expressly did not include an examination of U.S. foreign or national security policy toward the Muslim world or any part of it, the perceptions of the American public and American leaders of events and issues involving Muslims outside the United States, the actions or attitudes of Muslim communities toward the United States and its policies and how those actions and attitudes affect Muslim Americans, or the views of Muslim Americans in particular of U.S. policies and actions in the Muslim world or any other dimension of U.S. foreign policy.

As a Midwest institution, The Chicago Council is well positioned to facilitate a dialogue between Muslim and non-Muslim leaders on these important issues. The Midwest is home to four of the nine U.S. states with the largest Muslim populations, and there is great diversity within these communities. The Chicago Council also has a strong interest in addressing issues related to immigration. The Council believes that perspectives from the Midwest will be a valuable addition to the national discourse on Muslim American integration.

Acknowledgments

The Chicago Council would like to first thank the Task Force's cochairs, Farooq Kathwari and Lynn Martin, for their leadership and guidance through a demanding eighteen-month process. The Council is especially fortunate to have found two leaders with such broad and complementary experience who could bring their expertise to bear on such a complex and controversial topic. Informed conversations on the role of Muslim Americans in American public life are currently taking place only in a few, small specialized circles. It is a testament to the insight, energy, and dedication of Secretary Martin and Mr. Kathwari that the Task Force was able to assemble a broad and diverse group of prominent individuals on the topic; conduct a series of wide-ranging discussions with the group; seek the views of many interested parties from government, nongovernmental organizations, the media, academia, and civic communities in the United States and Europe; and incorporate the insights gleaned from this process into a thoughtful, wide-ranging report.

The Council would also like to extend its deep gratitude to the Task Force members. They brought varied backgrounds and perspectives to the table and yet were willing to work together during

the deliberations to develop agreement on the broad framework for the report's recommendations. I would like to thank them in particular for their commitment of time and knowledge and their willingness to exchange views in a frank and open manner.

The Council is grateful to Caroline P. Cracraft, formerly of the British Consulate General of Chicago, and Qamar-ul Huda of the United States Institute for Peace, who served as observers and advisors to the Task Force.

Nadia Roumani made invaluable contributions to the Task Force process with two commissioned papers on capacity building for Muslim American institutions that she wrote and presented to the Task Force. These studies provided important information for the development of the report. The Chicago Council would also like to thank Brie Loskota for her work in coauthoring one of the papers. I would also like to thank Craig Charney and his colleagues at Charney Research for organizing two focus groups of Muslims and non-Muslims that helped the Task Force understand perceptions of Muslim Americans.

The Task Force's deliberations were informed by the knowledge and perspectives offered by outside experts who spoke to the Task Force. We are grateful to Richard Cizik, Marda Dunsky, Rabbi Brad Hirschfield, Sulayman Nyang, and Agha Saeed for providing their time, thoughts, and counsel.

The Council and Task Force cochairs would like to thank the numerous government officials, community leaders, experts, and members of the media who met with delegations of Task Force members during visits to Los Angeles, New York City, Washington, D.C., London, and Paris. In particular, the Council would like to thank Andrew Seaton, the British consul general in Chicago, and Richard Barbeyron, the former French consul general in Chicago, for their assistance in organizing a very informative set of meetings in London and Paris, respectively. The Council would also like to thank Task Force member Philippa Strum for helping to facilitate these meetings, traveling tirelessly to participate in them, and for hosting the report's release at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

The Council extends a special thanks to all who contributed to the writing and editing of the Task Force report, most especially the Council's executive director for studies, Christopher Whitney, who led the process of creating a report that expresses so well the agreed conclusions of the group. Patricia O'Toole played a critical editing role in refining the draft report, and The Chicago Council is very grateful for the time she dedicated to the project.

Several members of the Council staff played key parts in planning and implementing the project and creating the Task Force's report. As project director Christopher Whitney masterminded the entire project from beginning to end with great skill and extraordinary dedication. Alya Adamany very ably managed all the meeting logistics and provided valuable input to recruiting Task Force members, preparing session summaries, and developing the report. Council intern Victoria Strokova very diligently worked on the report sidebars and fact-checked the report. Chicago Council staff, including Rachel Bronson, Elisa Miller, Silvia Veltcheva, J.D. Bindenagel, Richard Longworth, Daniela Abuzatoaie, and Gina Demke, along with Chicago Council interns Ruby Khan, Leena Al Arian, Diya Bose, Amisha Chaudhary, Sarah Rashid, Katie Shepherd, and Keith Weghorst, also made valuable contributions to the effort.

Finally, The Chicago Council would like to express its deep appreciation and thanks to the Ford Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, the Joyce Foundation, and Javeed Akhter for the generous support that made the Task Force and this report possible.

Marshall M. Bouton
President
The Chicago Council on Global Affairs

Executive Summary

Muslim Americans were thrust into the spotlight by the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, whose perpetrators claimed to be acting in the name of Islam. Many Americans, knowing little about Islam or about Muslims living in the United States, came to identify the terrorist threat with the Muslim community at large and to view Muslim Americans with deep suspicion and doubt. Nearly six years later, fears and suspicion remain. Terrorism remains an urgent threat, the terrorists continue to wrap themselves in the mantle of Islam, misunderstandings persist, and the ability of Muslim Americans to counter the rising tide of skepticism has been impeded, damaging the efforts of the many who are ardently trying to carve a constructive place in American society.

Muslim Americans are a very diverse group, comprised of a mix of ethnic, linguistic, ideological, social, economic, and sectarian groups. Roughly two-thirds are first-generation immigrants from across the globe, and a significant portion of the remainder is African American. Before September 11, many Muslim Americans had begun following the path to integration taken by millions of immigrants and minorities before them—facing many of the same challenges and opportunities. Yet the integration of Muslim Americans was not yet well under way in September 2001. Their institutions were underdeveloped, and they lacked strong, visible leaders.

Despite these limitations, many Muslim Americans joined with other Americans in responding to the September 11 attacks. They volunteered time and money to relief efforts. Several leading national Muslim organizations came out immediately to condemn the attacks. Others have cooperated with law enforcement agencies to address homeland security challenges.

At the same time, extensive federal and other law enforcement investigations since September 11 have focused on Muslim Americans. These investigations have resulted in arrests and a small number of successful prosecutions on terrorism-related charges. Though any involvement of Muslim Americans with extremism raises strong concerns, independent studies have underscored that unlike in Europe, there is little, if any, publicly available evidence to date of widespread or entrenched extremist activity with links to al Qaeda or other global terrorist organizations.

Nevertheless, Muslim American efforts to dissociate themselves from the terrorist threat have not been fully effective for a number of reasons. The perception by many Americans that some

Muslim American organizations and leaders have not fully and readily acknowledged the potential for radicalism within the community and the need for vigilance in countering it has been a barrier to understanding and dialogue. Some Americans have continued to view Muslim Americans with suspicion because they question the compatibility of Islam with American values, focusing on issues such as the treatment of women and the separation of church and state.

Many Muslim Americans and some other Americans believe that hostility toward Islam and Muslim Americans is preventing their voices from being heard and their contributions from being recognized. The contention among some Americans that Islam is incompatible with American values is thought to fuel organized attempts to discredit Islam and exclude Muslims from the nation's civic and political life. This has created fear and resentment among many Muslim Americans that has also contributed to an atmosphere of mistrust.

Further complicating the problem is the fact that Muslim Americans are a relatively new and numerically limited presence in American life. Like previous immigrants and other minority groups, they have not yet developed the capacity to speak out and be heard clearly in the public square. The Muslim American community lacks strong institutions and recognizable public or political voices to gain regular access to government and media circles. Americans' knowledge of Islam and their personal contact with Muslims also remain sparse, undermining efforts to build respect through familiarity.

For all these reasons, Muslim Americans have been relatively absent from the public discourse and our civic and political life. This lack of engagement comes at time when the talents and perspectives of Muslim Americans are needed to address the enormous domestic and foreign policy challenges that face the nation, especially those related to Muslim countries and Muslim peoples around the world. The disengagement of Muslim Americans undermines American values, especially the conviction that the success of our nation relies on embracing our diversity and involving all our citizens in the public arena.

The gathering climate of suspicion and mutual mistrust, exacerbated by the lack of engagement and dialogue, threatens to marginalize and alienate some Muslim Americans to the point where the danger of radicalization of a small minority could become a real possibility. It would take only a single, significant act of terrorism in the United States involving Muslim Americans to cement the impression that rampant radicalism has taken root within the community.

Therefore, the Task Force believes that creating full and equal opportunities for civic and political participation of Muslim Americans is an urgent national need. It is vital that Muslim Americans find ways to demonstrate visibly their commitment to America, its institutions, and its values. This well-educated, diverse group has the potential to make contributions to civic life and policy discourse as varied and numerous as those of any other group of Americans.

The Task Force prepared this report in order to present a balanced, nonpartisan assessment of the current Muslim American experience and recommendations for expediting the Muslim American journey to full civic and political integration. Many immigrant and minority groups have had to overcome suspicion and hostility in order to win full acceptance in the public sphere. While there is no doubt that Muslim Americans would in time achieve full integration in U.S. society, just as other groups have, the need to accelerate the process is urgent. The risks of inaction are substantial: further marginalization of Muslim Americans at best and serious alienation at worst.

The goal of bringing Muslim Americans into the fold of American life as quickly as possible is in the interest of all Americans. Muslim American leaders and organizations, government, the policy establishment, the media, and other major institutions all have significant roles to play in this process. The short-term need is critical, and the long-term gains cannot be overstated. The civic and political engagement of Muslim Americans will not only increase security, but enrich our policies, our society, and our standing as a nation that upholds basic human values of decency and fairness and that provides hope and opportunity for all.

The recommendations that follow call upon a wide range of institutions and leaders, Muslim and non-Muslim, to assist in speeding the Muslim American journey to full participation.

Recommendation #1 **Expand and Recognize Muslim American Contributions to National Security**

The horror of the September 11 attacks brought Americans together in their common humanity and a sense of purpose in countering the threat of terrorism. Many Muslim Americans shared in this reaction and commitment. A number of prominent Muslim American organizations condemned the attacks of September 11, reached out to help the victims, worked to raise awareness of the Quran's teachings against violence, and cooperated with law enforcement agencies

on antiterrorism efforts. While government officials have credited Muslim Americans for these and subsequent efforts, doubts about the efforts persist. The visibility and effectiveness of the Muslim American response to September 11 was limited in part by the lack of institutional capacity and recognizable voices in the community. It remains critical that Muslim Americans take more active steps to counter the threat of terror and that the government work more effectively to build trust and partnerships with the Muslim American community.

Disavowing terrorism

Many Muslim Americans have taken positive steps to denounce terrorism and differentiate their traditions from the beliefs of radical groups. It is crucial that they continue to focus on these positive steps as the danger of terrorism persists. While Muslim Americans question the fairness of holding all Muslim Americans responsible for constantly condemning the actions of a few extremists, the reality is that in the eyes of much of American society, the burden is still on Muslim Americans to respond. Muslim American leaders and organizations can amplify their condemnations of extremism and terrorist acts, strengthen their efforts to prevent radical activity within the Muslim American community, and find more effective ways to communicate these endeavors to the media and the public.

Expanding contributions to homeland security

Successful partnerships between Muslim Americans and local law enforcement such as Southern California's Muslim-American Homeland Security Congress should be expanded. A national network of such partnerships could play a vital role in the early detection of potential threats. Programs like the Muslim Public Affairs Council's "National Grassroots Campaign to Fight Terrorism" can be extended to all U.S. mosques. Muslim leaders can do more to encourage young Muslim Americans to seek employment with the U.S. government and could work with relevant government agencies to create internships.

The U.S. government can do more to facilitate communication and cooperation with Muslim America. Public statements by senior officials acknowledging the significance of Muslim American contributions to national security and emphasizing the importance of not holding any group accountable for the actions of a few would

help build public acceptance and understanding of the community. Cultural sensitivity training for federal law enforcement officers would also increase the trust and communication necessary for fuller cooperation. A further vital step is to ensure that any investigations conducted by law enforcement be carried out in ways that do not violate U. S. laws and civil rights.

Recommendation #2 **Improve Media Coverage and Public Understanding of Muslim Americans**

In recent public opinion surveys, a sizable minority of Americans expressed fear and hostility toward Muslims and Islam, creating perceptions of a rising Islamophobia in the United States. Media efforts to educate the public on Islam and the lives of Muslim Americans have been complicated by the spread of terrorist violence in the Middle East and elsewhere and by terrorists' continuing claim that they are acting in the name of Islam. While many major American newspapers and broadcast media have improved the quality of their coverage of Islam and Muslim societies since September 11, others have continued to present Islam as a monolith and to portray Muslims in stereotypical or biased ways that create an "us-versus-them" mentality. Public opinion studies also show that Americans who are more familiar with Islam and know Muslim Americans personally are more likely to see them as being like other Americans.

Working with the media

Media organizations and Muslim American groups could jointly sponsor seminars to address concerns on both sides and deepen relationships and understanding. Muslim organizations could train their leaders and spokespersons to communicate more effectively with the media and proactively pitch stories. The media can work to eliminate or clarify language that conflates Islam or Muslims with fascism or terrorism, strive for informed coverage of events—including Muslim American condemnations of violence and radicalism—and support the training of more Muslim American journalists.

Creating an independent, national organization dedicated to public education

The creation of a new nonadvocacy institution focused on educating the public about Muslim cultures and societies would help broaden American understanding. The institution would be nonethnic, non-denominational, and nonpolitical and would provide information on the rich and diverse heritage of the Muslim world through exhibitions, lectures, conferences, and publications. Over time, the organization could become a trusted, impartial source of information and expertise for the public, media, and government on the many facets of Muslim life throughout the world.

Undertaking a wide range of efforts to further public understanding

Demystifying Islam for the general public will require greater initiatives by many different Muslim American groups and other American organizations, working separately and in partnership. Interfaith activities, cultural events, and educational initiatives at the primary, secondary, and university levels would all increase awareness of the community and its intellectual, scientific, and cultural achievements. It is vital that non-Muslim religious and secular organizations take part in this work since they have the capacity to reach audiences that Muslim institutions cannot, and their participation would enhance the legitimacy and credibility of the message.

Recommendation #3

Increase Civic Engagement among Muslim Americans

Much of the groundwork for achieving increased civic and political integration is in place. Most Muslim Americans view the United States as their home. They see no contradiction between the moral teachings of Islam and the values that Americans hold dear. A number of institutions and initiatives are already positioned to help. Speeding Muslim American integration is in the interest of all Americans, and success will involve building on these foundations and creating stronger ties between Muslim and non-Muslim groups.

Expanding partnerships

Encouraging Muslim Americans to play a greater part in civic life should be a high priority for Muslim organizations. Opportunities

for engagement can be increased by expanding existing partnerships with non-Muslim groups and by forming new partnerships. Such activities create opportunities for Muslim leaders to frame public service in a Muslim context and make civic participation a fundamental element of Muslim American life.

Forming a national leadership group of prominent Muslim Americans

A leadership network of prominent Muslim Americans could strengthen Muslim American institutions and create new programs to encourage Muslim youth to enter public service. The enhanced communication among Muslim American leaders would help their organizations and the community at large respond more rapidly and effectively to public and media interest, especially in times of heightened concern. Members of the leadership group could also serve as “community ambassadors” to the U.S. government, offering informed perspectives on U.S. relations with Muslim societies, and as interlocutors between Muslim Americans and Muslim communities abroad.

Building coalitions on important policy initiatives

Muslim American organizations could make a valuable contribution to the American body politic by expanding their participation in coalitions concerned with issues such as immigration, public health, and the strengthening of democratic institutions. This will help other Americans understand that Muslims have great concern for a wide range of issues affecting the national well-being. It will also enable Muslims to expand their contributions to the larger society and increase the moral authority of Muslim leaders when they seek support on issues of particular interest to Muslim Americans.

Bridging religious divides

The country would benefit from greater cooperation among Muslim, Christian, and Jewish organizations. All three faiths share a deep spiritual connection to the Middle East, but their disagreements over U.S. foreign policy and events in the region have severely strained interfaith relations and hampered the dialogue and collaboration on numerous important domestic issues. Current conversations can be expanded to include an increasingly diverse group of organizations, becoming the basis of a national forum for interfaith discussions.

Recommendation #4

Build Stronger Muslim American Institutions

Muslim American institutions do not have the range of opportunities for participation in the policy discourse to meet the community's and the nation's needs. Their limited role is partly attributable to the diversity of Muslim America, which complicates efforts to coalesce on issues or to create institutions that cross over among different Muslim American groups. The capacity constraints typical of young ethnic and religious institutions have also been a handicap. In addition, some institutions have avoided foreign policy issues for fear of drawing unfavorable scrutiny or detracting from their work on civil rights. While the challenge of strengthening Muslim American institutions may appear daunting, similar challenges have been met time and again by other immigrant groups and minority communities. Many of the strategies used by these groups can be emulated by Muslim Americans.

Increasing institutional effectiveness and engagement

It is critical that existing Muslim American organizations be strengthened further and that new ones be formed to help increase understanding of Muslim American life and facilitate participation in the civic and political discourse. Many existing institutions need to restructure, develop new strategies, and learn how to effectively deliver their messages. They need to provide Muslim Americans with education on the workings of American civic and political life, and they need to improve dialogue and interaction across ethnic, sectarian, and generational lines within the Muslim American community. As they build capacity, Muslim organizations will have more success in forming partnerships with non-Muslim organizations to address issues of common concern. American foundations should be encouraged to make a long-term commitment to helping these institutions become more effective.

Broadening academic and policy initiatives

The engagement of more Muslim American scholars in the activities of think tanks, research institutes, and universities on issues related to Islam and Muslim societies would also be valuable. There is a need for endowed chairs, fellowships, centers for policy and area studies, and other structures to support the work of established and

emerging Muslim and non-Muslim scholars of Islam. Postdoctoral fellowship programs in Islamic studies that are open to Americans of all religious backgrounds as well as fellowship programs for young Muslim American scholars studying important public policy issues of all types are also needed. Enlarging the scope and impact of academic and policy initiatives will require the strong commitment of American universities, think tanks, government agencies, and philanthropists.

More collaboration between Muslim American institutions and established think tanks and research institutes would also strengthen Muslim American integration into the policy discourse. There are few strong links between Muslim American institutions and leaders and think tanks and research institutes undertaking work related to Islam and Muslim communities. More joint efforts would help add new perspectives to the policy discussions of think tanks and research institutes. It would also help Muslim American institutions build their knowledge base by providing more exposure to policy analysis.

Recommendation #5

Cultivate the Next Generation of Muslim American Leaders

Young Muslim Americans are also not as fully engaged as other American youth in U.S. political and civic life. Developing the leadership potential and professional skills of young Muslim Americans is crucial to creating an informed, seasoned, and capable group of leaders who can contribute to the betterment of the nation as a whole. Engaging young Muslim Americans in civic life is also a critical factor in reducing the potential for alienation.

Making leadership development of young Muslim Americans a priority

Muslim American organizations could work with local, state, and federal government agencies to create internship programs for young Muslim Americans. Think tanks and universities based in Washington should be encouraged to create fellowship programs to increase understanding of the policy process. Muslim and non-Muslim institutions can also jointly sponsor speaking tours to encourage public service among young Muslim Americans.

Training young staff and new leaders

Developing leaders and staff is essential if Muslim American organizations are to maximize their ability to contribute to the policy discourse. Young staff members need high-quality theoretical and practical training. Special attention should be given to leadership training for women.

Recommendation #6**Give Ongoing National Attention to Muslim American Integration***Establishing an American Diversity Dialogue*

The Task Force proposes that an ongoing American Diversity Dialogue among Muslim and non-Muslim leaders be established to examine critical issues related to Muslim civic and political integration in the United States. This would help give prominence to the issue and provide thoughtful and informed assessments of Muslim American civic and political integration over time. The American Diversity Dialogue would meet approximately three times a year in a rotating group of cities and would commission research to inform its discussions. It would issue an annual report on *The State of Muslim America* that would be widely disseminated to policymakers, the media, and the American public. Dialogue leadership and membership should be drawn from a group of highly respected public figures such as former government officials, business and civic leaders, and policy experts.

Creating a national philanthropic initiative on American diversity

A national philanthropic initiative on American diversity would expand financial support to nonprofit, nonpolitical educational, research, cultural, and civic organizations in order to deepen appreciation of diversity in America and strengthen its expression in society. The initiative would focus particularly on the Muslim American experience, strengthening public understanding of that experience and creating opportunities for greater Muslim American civic and political participation. Funding would come from foundations and individuals during a one-time capital campaign. The initiative's corpus would be spent over a defined period of time such as ten years.

Conclusion

The recommendations in this report are offered as a step toward strengthening the democracy entrusted to us by the founding fathers and the U.S. Constitution. The integration of minority groups, women, and immigrants into our civic and political processes has been slow, challenging work in the past. Yet its practical and symbolic importance cannot be underestimated. Muslims, like many other immigrant groups, came to the United States in search of religious and political freedom, in need of refuge, and in hopes of prosperity. The tragic events of September 11 and their aftermath have challenged our security, put the dream of America to the test for Muslim Americans, and called our values as a nation into question.

Yet with today's critical foreign and domestic policy challenges, there is an urgent need for Muslim Americans to enter more fully into the national discourse. This is first and foremost the responsibility of Muslim Americans themselves, but also of the government, the policy establishment, the media, and other major American institutions.

By working together to ensure that Muslim American voices are heard, we will not only increase our own security, but make our foreign policy a truer expression of who we are as a nation and reaffirm our commitment to the ideal of *E pluribus unum* (one out of many).

PART I: THE CHALLENGE

1

A Call to Action

Americans have long cherished the ideal of *E pluribus unum*, chosen by the Founding Fathers in 1776 as the motto for the Great Seal of the United States. White, Protestant, and primarily of English descent, the men who led the American Revolution and wrote the Constitution could not have foreseen that the union they forged from the thirteen colonies would one day be a melting pot of immigrants and their descendents from every corner of the earth. Today the Great Seal presides over the world's most diverse and powerful nation, symbolizing a legacy in which countless immigrant groups have successfully cemented their tiles in the great American mosaic.

The attacks of September 11, 2001, and the war on terrorism have subjected this article of our democratic faith to one of its greatest tests. For the first time since the internment of Japanese Americans after Pearl Harbor, many Americans are questioning the loyalty of an American group composed largely of immigrants and children of immigrants. Like Japanese Americans before Pearl Harbor, many Muslim Americans before September 11 were quietly following a path taken by millions of immigrants: enjoying their freedoms, pursuing the promise of the American dream, and gradually increasing their participation in the larger society. Then came September 11, an act perpetrated in the name of Islam by anti-American extremists. Muslim Americans became the object of suspicion and misunderstanding in a climate of fear about further terrorist attacks on U.S. soil.

Muslim American integration was not yet well under way prior to September 11. With underdeveloped institutions, a lack of visible leaders, and their patriotism in question, Muslim Americans have not been effective in responding to the climate of fear and distrust that developed after the attacks. In addition, the perception that Muslim American leaders and organizations have not condemned strongly and frequently enough terrorism committed in the name of Islam has been a barrier to their effectiveness in the public arena. These problems have not only allowed misunderstanding and suspicion to persist, but have undermined the ability of Muslim Americans to contribute their much-needed talents and perspectives to the greater national good. The longer this situation is allowed to fester, the

greater the danger of stigmatization, marginalization and, indeed, radicalization within the community.

Islam is one of the fastest-growing religions in the United States, and Muslim Americans are a very diverse population. The group includes native-born African Americans, immigrants, descendants of immigrants, and converts, all with different American experiences. African-American Muslims have been fully integrated into the nation's civic and political life the longest and often have diverging perspectives and needs from those who have come recently to the United States. Many Muslim immigrants and their children, who make up the majority of the U.S. Muslim population, still have a long road ahead to reach full participation in American life. Many have come to the United States in search of education, economic opportunity, and religious freedom. They feel a strong commitment to the country's well-being, and they seek opportunities to contribute to the society in which they make their home.

Given the enormous domestic and international challenges we face as a nation today, including the intense focus on national security and U.S. policy in the Middle East and South Asia, our civic institutions and policy debates would benefit from the greater inclusion of Muslim American voices. In fact, their perspectives are particularly valuable as the United States considers the uncertain course of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, the challenge of Iran, the security of the energy supply, and the growth of Muslim populations in Western countries.

Fully engaged, Muslim Americans could assist in the work of improving relations between the United States and nations with large Muslim populations. A sizable number of Muslim intellectuals now live in the United States for the first time in this nation's history. They could help to promote positive change in Western European countries, where relations between Muslims and the larger population are strained. With their deep understanding of both Islamic and Western democratic traditions, they are well equipped to help create new frameworks for Muslim communities living in pluralistic societies. They can be persuasive spokespersons for America in a world of increasing anti-American sentiment.

The realization of equal opportunities for Muslim Americans to participate more fully in our civic and political life will require new efforts by Muslim American organizations as well as established non-Muslim institutions. Muslim Americans can take the initiative by building leadership capacity and greater public awareness of their commitment to the nation's safety. They are also well posi-

tioned to articulate the fit between Islamic and American ideals and to make the mosque as integral to American society as churches and synagogues.

The firm acknowledgment by Muslim Americans of the potential for radicalism in their community and the need to prevent it is a vital step. Though there is little reason to suspect widespread extremism within the Muslim American community today (see Chapter 3), vigilance is required to ensure it does not develop. Some Muslim American leaders and institutions have taken important initial measures to address this. Others, however, have been reluctant to recognize any potential problem. It is time for all to acknowledge the danger and take further steps to counter it. It is important for Muslim Americans to recognize that violence committed in the name of Islam is of great public concern to Americans, whether it happens here or abroad. It would take only a single significant act of terrorism in the United States involving a Muslim American to cement the impression that rampant radicalism has taken root within the community.

Non-Muslim leaders and institutions must also help advance the process of Muslim integration. They can help Muslim Americans enter and earn their way up the ranks in government, universities, foreign-policy think tanks and research institutions, and the media. The media can encourage tolerance and work to expand the public's understanding of Islam and of Muslim Americans. There is need for the U.S. government to take definite, visible measures to make the civic and political integration of Muslim Americans a high priority and to further recognize positive steps already being taken to minimize the danger of radicalism. An ongoing American Diversity Dialogue among Muslim and non-Muslim Americans about the challenges we face together would give needed prominence to the issue and make all Americans aware that the task of Muslim engagement is urgent and that our success in this endeavor will benefit the whole country.

The goal of these efforts should be to open paths for the integration of Muslim Americans into the nation's civic and political life as quickly as possible. As long as there is a fear of terrorism, there is likely to be heightened scrutiny and mistrust of Muslim Americans. Expanded communication and engagement are the best ways to prevent further misunderstanding, the emergence of an "us-versus-them" mentality, and a national overreaction in the event of a major terrorist incident in which Muslim Americans are clearly implicated.

As Muslim and non-Muslim Americans work together toward this goal, it is important to remember that other American communities, both immigrant and native, have faced similar challenges. These have been overcome by the fundamental American belief in fairness, by the unwavering efforts of community leaders in the face of great difficulty, and by sustained collaborations between the communities and established American institutions and leaders. Success in integrating Muslim Americans into American civic and political life will strengthen us as a nation. Failure would impoverish our policymaking, diminish us as a democracy, and reduce the value of an asset vital to our national security.

The rest of Part I of this report describes the Muslim American experience in the United States and the challenge of integration. Part II then provides specific recommendations on how to accelerate the process of integration, reduce tension and misunderstanding between Muslim Americans and other Americans, and strengthen Muslim American participation in our national discourse.

2

The Muslim American Experience

The origins of Muslim America

Muslim Americans have been part of American life for hundreds of years. Some have asserted that Muslim explorers visited the New World before Columbus, and there is substantial evidence that large numbers of Muslims came to the United States in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries via the Atlantic slave trade. Scholarly estimates of the numbers vary, but it is thought that between 10 and 30 percent of the slaves taken from Africa were Muslim. Although forcibly converted to Christianity, many continued to practice Islam in secret and passed their heritage from generation to generation.

The first significant wave of migrants from the Middle East began after the American Civil War and lasted until World War I. Most were Christian Arabs from Syria, Palestine, and Lebanon who were seeking refuge from conscription and discrimination. A small minority were Muslims. Approximately 7 percent of the Syrian American community joined the U.S. Army during the war, and many other Christian Arab and Muslim Arab immigrants also served. Two laws passed after the war, the Emergency Quota Act of 1921 and the Immigration Act of 1924, sharply curtailed immigration, particularly from non-European countries. Racial restrictions were abolished by the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, but quotas for many ethnic groups, including those from the Middle East, remained. The Muslims who came in this era tended to be better educated and more urban than their predecessors.

The largest inflow of Muslims began with the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, which abolished national-origin quotas and opened our doors to an unprecedented number of immigrants and students from Asia, the Middle East, and Africa. Like many immigrants before them, they came to escape war, poverty, and religious or political persecution. Palestinian immigration accelerated dramatically following the 1967 Arab-Israeli War. Many Iranians came after the fall of the Shah in 1979. Immigration from South Asia rose significantly after the Indo-Pakistani wars of 1965 and 1971. Strife in Bangladesh, Afghanistan, Lebanon, Iraq, Somalia, Bosnia, and other countries added to the influx and further diversified the American Muslim population. One striking consequence of this history is that

approximately two of three Muslims living in the United States today were born elsewhere.

Muslims born here include children and grandchildren of immigrants, converts to Islam, and a large number of African Americans. Many African Americans embraced Islam because it reconnected them to a history and a cultural identity that had been lost in slavery, teaching racial equality and the need for self-improvement. As their numbers grew, they created institutions such as the Nation of Islam, which focused on civil rights and black empowerment. These institutions were later joined by more conventional Islamic organizations such as the Mosque Cares. The vast majority of African American Muslims now practice in the mainstream of the faith, and many of the nation's leading scholars of Islam are African American.

The diversity of Muslim America

Today's Muslim American population is an extraordinary mosaic of ethnic, linguistic, ideological, social, economic, and religious groups. Native Muslim Americans are well integrated into American society, while many newcomers are just beginning to adapt to American life. In terms of religious devotion, Muslims range from highly orthodox to moderate to secular. Muslims resemble Christians, Jews, Hindus, and other American religious communities in that many of them seek full political and social integration, while others prefer to live primarily in the context of their communities and cultural practices. Many of the immigrants come from Muslim-majority countries and inevitably go through a period of adjustment as they learn the ways of a pluralistic society.

The size of the Muslim American population has proved difficult to measure because the U.S. Census does not track religious affiliation. Estimates vary widely from two million to seven million. What is clear, however, is that the Muslim American population has been growing rapidly as a result of immigration, a high birth rate, and conversions.

According to a 2007 survey by the Pew Research Center, 65 percent of the Muslim American population are first-generation immigrants, and 61 percent of the foreign-born arrived in the 1990s or this decade. Seventy-seven percent of Muslims living in the United States are citizens, with 65 percent of the foreign-born being naturalized citizens. As a point of comparison, 58 percent of foreign-born Chinese living in the United States are naturalized citizens.

A recent study by the Center for Human Rights and Global Justice at New York University's School of Law found that many Muslims

Estimating the Muslim Population in the United States*

Because the Census Bureau and the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services do not collect information on religious affiliation, there is no definitive count of Muslims living in the United States. The available estimates vary widely, from two million to seven million.

The estimates have been made using methods ranging from telephone surveys and answers to the ancestry question in the Census to language use and mosque affiliation. All of these have limitations. Many of the studies done so far have relied on small and potentially unrepresentative samples, and much of the analysis has been predicated on inferences that are difficult to substantiate. Estimates based on national origin have no methodological basis for determining the number of African American Muslims and assume that first- and second-generation descendants of Muslim immigrants accurately identify countries of origin. They also presume that Muslims who immigrate to the United States do so in proportion to their numbers in the country of origin, which is problematic for those originating from religiously pluralistic societies. Estimates based on mosque affiliation use self-reported figures that have been questioned for their assumptions about the number of Muslims who are affiliated with mosques as well as the methodology for estimating the number who are not.

*All source information for sidebars in this report is located at the end of the bibliography.

were among the more than 40,000 people who have waited more than three years for a decision on their naturalization applications, a process that should take no longer than 180 days.

Estimates of the African American Muslim population have ranged from approximately one-fifth to one-third of the total for all Muslim Americans. The other major ethnic groups are Arabs and South Asians (Indians, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, and Afghans). Even though most Americans identify Islam primarily with Arabs, two-thirds of Arab Americans are Christian. However, most Arab immigrants since World War II have been Muslims, and Muslims are the fastest-growing segment of the Arab American population. South Asians constitute the fastest-growing Muslim community, perhaps accounting for a quarter of all Muslim Americans. The Muslim population of the United States also includes Turks, Iranians, Bosnians, Malays, Indonesians, Nigerians, Somalis, Liberians, Kenyans, and Senegalese, among others. In addition, there is a small but growing population of White and Hispanic converts, many of them women who have married Muslim men.

Although Muslims live in every corner of the nation, many have settled in major metropolitan areas along the two coasts and in the Midwest: New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, and Detroit/Dearborn. The ten states with the largest Muslim populations are California,

New York, Illinois, New Jersey, Indiana, Michigan, Virginia, Texas, Ohio, and Maryland. There are also established communities near state universities, which often have sizable numbers of foreign-born Muslim students and faculty.

The 2007 Pew survey found that Muslim Americans generally mirror the U.S. public in education and income levels, with immigrant Muslims slightly more affluent and better educated than native-born Muslims. Twenty-four percent of all Muslims and 29 percent of immigrant Muslims have college degrees, compared to 25 percent for the U.S. general population. Forty-one percent of all Muslim Americans and 45 percent of immigrant Muslims report annual household income levels of \$50,000 or higher. This compares to the national average of 44 percent. Immigrant Muslims are well represented among higher-income earners, with 19 percent claiming annual household incomes of \$100,000 or higher (compared to 16 percent for the Muslim population as a whole and 17 percent for the U.S. average). This is likely due to the strong concentration of Muslims in professional, managerial, and technical fields, especially in information technology, education, medicine, law, and the corporate world. There is some evidence of a decline in the wages of Muslim and Arab men since 2001, although more recent data suggest the trend might be reversing.

The Muslim American journey is unique in that it is part of two quintessentially American experiences: the African American and the immigrant. Immigrant Muslims and African American Muslims have worked to establish their voices in politics and society, sometimes together, but more often on their own. While they share an identity as Muslims, their racial, cultural, socioeconomic, and historical circumstances have differed widely. In working toward full political participation, immigrant Muslims have a great deal to learn from the successes of African American Muslims, particularly in building institutional capacity and communicating effectively with other Americans. More cooperation between these two Muslim communities would help close the gap between them. It would help them find the commonalities in their separate histories, enabling them to relate more fully to each other as Muslim Americans and to expand their contributions to American society.

Muslim civic and political participation before September 11

Prior to September 11, Muslim immigrants, following the pattern of many earlier immigrant groups, were developing an interest

Political Diversity of Muslim Americans

Many Muslim groups endorsed George W. Bush in the presidential election of 2000, in part because of his promise to repeal the secret evidence provisions of the Federal Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996, which facilitated the use of secret evidence in terrorism cases. Various exit polls found either a plurality or very small majority of Muslim Americans voting for Bush, and some observers have argued that their votes in Florida were important to the President's victory.

Muslim attitudes toward President Bush changed dramatically after the passage of the USA PATRIOT Act in 2001. In the eyes of many Muslims, the law disproportionately targeted their communities and violated their civil rights. Negative perceptions were reinforced by the war in Iraq. A 2004 Zogby International/Project MAPS survey found that only 13 percent of Muslim Americans supported the intervention. The 2007 Pew Research Center survey of Muslim American attitudes found that only 15 percent approve of President Bush's job performance.

In 2004 Muslim Americans voted in significantly greater numbers and shifted their support from President Bush and the Republican Party to John Kerry and the Democrats. A 2005 survey by the Muslim American Political Action Committee estimated that the percentage of registered Muslim voters who cast ballots more than doubled between 2000 and 2004. The 2007 Pew survey found that 71 percent voted for Kerry, versus 14 percent who voted for Bush.

Despite the realignment in voting patterns, the socioeconomic and ethnic diversity of Muslim America, strained relations and differing policy priorities between African American and immigrant Muslims, and the conservative social leanings of many immigrant Muslims suggest that Muslims are not likely to vote as a bloc.

in civic and political participation as they became more settled. International affairs and U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East were a focal point, particularly among first-generation immigrants. Muslim leaders, imams, and national organizations issued public statements on policy issues, but these rarely translated into actions to influence policy. Muslim Americans also undertook fund-raising for international humanitarian relief and worked on civil rights issues affecting Muslims in the United States.

Yet like many immigrant and minority groups before them, Muslim Americans were also facing challenges on the road to full civic and political integration in American society. Their diversity, the high proportion of immigrants in their population, and the fact that so many of them came from societies offering little opportunity for political participation were especially problematic. Also, many national Muslim American organizations were relatively inexperienced and had not paid sufficient attention to building bridges to other communities and to institutions with similar concerns. As a

result, they lacked the skills for effective organizing and for educating the general public on issues important to their constituencies. They were also generally unsuccessful in forming meaningful ties to government officials and in winning public office. The first Muslim to win a seat in the House of Representatives was elected in 2006. To date, no Muslims have served in the Senate, and only a handful have served in state or local office.

In part, the absence of Muslim Americans from high office is attributable to the fact that they are a relatively new and still numerically limited presence in American political life. It was not until 1950 that an Italian American (John O. Pastore of Rhode Island) was elected to the Senate, and it took another fifty-six years for another Italian American, Nancy Pelosi, to become Speaker of the House. In 1958 Hawaii elected both the first Chinese American U.S. senator, Hiram L. Fong, and the first Japanese American U.S. congressman (and later also the first Japanese American in the Senate), Daniel K. Inouye. This was long after the first major waves of Italians, Chinese, and Japanese immigrants arrived in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is worth noting that Congress has had seventeen members from the Christian Arab American community, which established itself in the United States long before large numbers of Muslim immigrants began arriving. The first was George Kasem of California, elected to the House in 1959.

3

September 11 and Muslim Americans

The September 11 attacks were a major event in American history and a shock to all Americans. Americans awoke to the international terrorist threat of al Qaeda, an elusive, globally dispersed collection of violent individuals with the United States and U.S. interests as their target and Islam as their rallying cry. The horror of the attacks, subsequent media exposure, the declaration of war on terrorism, and repeated images of violence in Muslim societies created a deep fear among Americans of further attacks and of an existential conflict with so-called “Islamic terrorists,” who were perceived as enjoying wide support among the world’s Muslims. With little knowledge about Islam or Muslim Americans, many Americans came to identify the terrorist threat with the Muslim community at large and to view Muslim Americans with deep suspicion and doubt.

Investigation of Muslim Americans

The U.S. government, eager to prevent further acts of terrorism, took a series of initiatives that had an immediate effect on Muslim Americans. The USA PATRIOT Act dramatically expanded the authority of government agencies to address terrorism here and abroad. The government also authorized National Security Agency wiretapping and monitoring and FBI surveillance of mosques. According to government data, since September 11 more than 80,000 Arab and Muslim nonnational residents have been required to undergo fingerprinting and registration, 8,000 have been identified for questioning, approximately 5,000 have been arrested or detained, and at least 400 have been criminally charged in terrorism-related investigations. Many in the Muslim American community and some outside scholars argue that these totals for the number of Muslim Americans registered, interviewed, arrested, or detained are low.

Some media and law enforcement experts have questioned the capacity of a number of the alleged terrorist groups to carry out their intended plans, and there is a lack of publicly available evidence and agreement on the number of successful terrorism-related prosecutions. While the Department of Justice has indicated that over 200 of such cases have resulted in convictions, there is no public listing of offenses for which convictions were obtained, and some question how many directly relate to terrorism. The Inspector General of the

Department of Justice discovered that between 2001 and 2005, many cases that were counted as antiterrorism efforts in fact involved crimes such as drug trafficking and marriage fraud. An analysis by the Center on Law and Security released by the New York University School of Law in September 2006 developed a separate list of 510 terrorism-related cases, out of which forty-six resulted in convictions on federal crimes of terrorism. Whatever the numbers, the federal government has not disclosed a finding of any well-organized or deeply rooted terrorist cells with operational links to al Qaeda or other global terrorist organizations—such as those that have been exposed or that have undertaken attacks in Europe. Of course, this does not necessarily mean that extremism within the Muslim American community is not possible. However, judging from publicly known facts, there is little reason to suspect widespread support for terrorism among Muslim Americans. While investigations should and will certainly continue, it is vital that they are carried out in ways that do not violate U. S. laws and civil rights.

Anti-Muslim sentiment

Many Muslim Americans and other observers are increasingly concerned by what they perceive to be rising Islamophobia in the United States. In their view, Islamophobia is the contention that Islam is a monolithic bloc unresponsive to change and lacking commonalities with American values, that Islam is a violent political ideology rather than one of the world’s major religions, and that discrimination against Muslims is therefore justifiable. These beliefs are thought to fuel organized attempts to discredit Islam and exclude Muslims from the nation’s civic and political life.

A survey by Washington Post-ABC News in 2006 showed that less than one-half of Americans have a positive view of Islam. (About three-quarters say they approve of Protestants, Catholics, and Jews.) Some Americans doubt Muslims’ desire and capacity for engagement in the larger society. Others question the compatibility of Islam with American values. There are fears of extremism, reservations about the treatment of women in some Islamic societies, and questions about the separation of church and state and democracy’s failure in a number of Muslim societies.

Thirty-six percent of Americans stated in a 2005 Pew poll that Islam is more likely than other religions to encourage violence. A 2006 Gallup survey found that approximately one-third of Americans believe Muslim Americans sympathize with al Qaeda, and 39 percent

think that Muslims should be required to carry a special identification card. Only 49 percent consider Muslim Americans loyal to the United States.

Misrepresentations of Muslims and Islam in some media coverage contribute to negative perceptions and apprehensiveness toward Muslim Americans by their fellow Americans. In the flurry of reporting after the September 11 attacks—and given the demand for immediate, round-the-clock attention—some coverage was not as careful as it might have been with more time and research. While some media did an excellent job of providing careful analysis and balanced reporting, there remained a big enough gap in other reporting that many viewers were left without sufficient knowledge and perspective to sort fact from fiction. For example, scenes of virulent anti-American rhetoric and violence by extremists claiming to wear the mantle of Islam were often beamed into American living rooms without commentary or context. Presented without analysis, such reports left the false impression that the extremists represent Islam and that Muslims generally approve of terrorism. This distortion ironically serves the terrorists' purposes by seeming to validate their claim to be acting in the name of Islam.

Public perceptions of Muslim Americans were—and is some cases still are—negatively affected by the frequent use of terminology explicitly or implicitly linking all Muslims and Islam to extremism and terrorism. For example, the word “Islamist” has been used to describe Muslim extremists who violently oppose the encroachment of Western influences upon Muslim societies. Connecting the word “Islamic” to violent extremists who happen to be Muslim deepens the perception of Islam as condoning violence. As Muslim Americans have pointed out, the Irish Republican Army is not referred to as “Catholic terrorists.” The Tamil Tigers are not referred to as “Hindu terrorists.” Nor is the Ku Klux Klan referred to as “Christian terrorists.” The term “Islamofascist,” which was coined in an attempt to portray the war on terrorism as a war on fascism, is also inflammatory.

Despite the diversity of the Muslim community in America and throughout the world, media coverage, intentionally or not, also tended to present Islam as a monolith, contributing to an “us-versus-them” mentality. In addition, Muslim protests and denunciations of violence have often been underreported. The use of anti-Muslim epithets by some pundits has gone mostly unchallenged by Muslims and non-Muslims alike. This contrasts with the rapid and wide disapprovals usually incurred by media and public figures whose slurs are directed at other racial and ethnic groups. The relative silence in

countering misinformation and bigotry only reinforces the public's mistaken belief that most Muslims condone violence and allows misperceptions to endure.

It is beyond the scope of the Task Force's mandate to report conclusively on the perception and the reality of Islamophobia in the United States. However, the depth of conviction among many Muslim Americans and some non-Muslim Americans of its significance should not be discounted. It points to a potentially deepening crisis between Muslim Americans and other Americans that threatens not only the well-being of Muslims in the United States, but American security at home and abroad.

Lack of Muslim American voices

Efforts by Muslim Americans to expose the fallacy of the terrorists' assertions that they represent Islam and to dissociate themselves from terrorism have not succeeded for a number of reasons. An important obstacle has been the perception that Muslim Americans have not spoken out frequently or forcefully enough to condemn violence committed in the name of Islam, leaving this very deep concern of the American public at issue. While Muslim Americans have become more active in the public sphere since September 11, taking up civil rights issues of concern to their community, they have not yet developed recognizable civic or political voices that regularly and visibly contribute to public discourse. In some cases, Muslim Americans have been fearful and chosen not to speak out. Because their patriotism has frequently been called into question—and because of the inexperience and limited resources of their institutions—many Muslim Americans have shied away from the media and any public statements that may be construed (or misconstrued) as critical of the U.S. government and its foreign policies. They have preferred not to put a spotlight on their community or place themselves or others under scrutiny. Others have spoken out only to protest false charges and personal mischaracterizations.

Despite this seeming withdrawal from the public sphere, there is much evidence that Muslim Americans are committed to the democratic process in this country. A 2005 Zogby International/Project MAPS survey showed that political participation is endorsed by 95 percent of Muslim Americans. The 2007 Pew survey found a voter registration level of 63 percent for Muslim Americans. This compares to a 2004 figure of 72 percent for the U.S. population as a whole, and 2000 figures of 63 percent for Mexican Americans and 57 percent for

Indian Americans. Many Muslim Americans, however, tend to feel politically isolated because they have so few representatives in government and because some non-Muslim political candidates are unwilling to accept campaign contributions or other support from Muslim Americans.

While more Muslims have run for public office at all levels of government over the last few years, many Muslims believe that the current climate of American opinion is not conducive to office seeking. The 2006 election of Keith Ellison, an African American Muslim from Minnesota, to the U.S. House of Representatives affirmed the openness of the American political process. But the ensuing controversy over his decision to use the Quran rather than the Bible when he took the oath of office was a reminder of the animosity and suspicion directed toward Muslims from some quarters. One of his congressional colleagues cited his election as evidence of a need for immigration reforms to limit the possibility of more Muslims being elected to public office.

4

The Challenge of Integration

Muslim Americans are certainly not the first group in America to face challenges in overcoming bias and misperception among those unfamiliar with their ways. Irish Catholics, for example, faced mistrust and hostility on a par with that felt by today's Muslim Americans. They arrived in the wake of the mid-nineteenth-century Potato Famine, a time when Americans were overwhelmingly Protestant and feared that the newcomers were agents of the pope and incapable of becoming loyal Americans. Although the Irish gained some access to political power through their participation in labor unions and urban organizing, continuing anti-Catholic prejudice forced them to establish their own schools, colleges, and other institutions. Not until John F. Kennedy was elected president in 1960, a century after the first major influx of Irish immigrants, did Catholics achieve full acceptance in American society.

Like Catholics, Jewish immigrants of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries also confronted exclusion and hostility because of their religion. Many places of public accommodation refused to serve them. Leading universities set quotas to limit the number of Jews in their student bodies. Jews also organized their own schools, hospitals, and civic organizations. During the 1920s and 1930s Jewish Americans were accused of having dual loyalties and advocating the Communist cause.

Other groups have faced circumstances similar to those faced by Muslim Americans today during times of domestic violence and war. Italian Americans faced discrimination and suspicion during the 1910s and 1920s because a few Italians were prominent in the violent Anarchist movement. German Americans were stigmatized during both world wars. After the attack on Pearl Harbor, 117,000 Japanese Americans—two-thirds of them born in the United States—were relocated and interned, allegedly to prevent espionage and to protect them from harm. In 1988 Congress issued a formal apology for the injustice and paid each surviving internee \$20,000. Today the loyalty and identity of Japanese Americans, German Americans, Jewish Americans, and Catholic Americans are not in question. But their integration into the mainstream was hard won.

While difficult, the process of successfully integrating new groups from widely divergent backgrounds into a society based on the values of liberty and justice—as embodied in the democratic

institutions imparted to all Americans by the Founding Fathers—is a uniquely American experience. It centers on the belief that our diversity makes us stronger; that openness is fundamental to the economic, cultural, and political success of the nation; and that to be a beacon of hope and opportunity for others around the world, we must never shut ourselves off from new people and ideas.

The urgency for Muslim Americans

America's long history with immigrants shows that over time they develop a sense of belonging to the larger society and an interest in civic and political participation. Along the way, other Americans learn more about them and begin welcoming them into the fold of American life. Ethnic and religious groups typically begin this evolution by forming organizations to serve their communities and to gain a foothold in the nation's political life by mobilizing voters, influencing local governments, and other activities. As mentioned, some groups have needed considerable time to overcome obstacles created by prejudice and the discrimination it breeds. Typically, immigrants' integration into the mainstream takes place over several generations.

Muslim immigrants were on a similar trajectory, but September 11 and the war on terrorism profoundly altered their circumstances. The mistrust and divisions that have developed and persisted between Muslim Americans and other Americans have slowed and even stalled the process of integration. In this climate especially, Muslim Americans themselves have not stepped forward as forthrightly and fully as needed to address the issues that engage them and the larger society.

While the integration of Muslim Americans could eventually be achieved on its own, the need to accelerate the process is urgent. The risks of inaction are substantial: further marginalization of Muslim Americans at best and serious alienation at worst. It is in the interest of the United States to ensure that this does not happen.

The danger of further marginalization of Muslim Americans comes at a time when integration and understanding are critical to solving not only problems specific to the Muslim community, but national and international challenges. The United States faces major foreign policy dilemmas involving Muslim countries and Muslim peoples throughout the world, including the war on terrorism, the conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan, and conflict and instability in the Middle East and South Asia. These challenges impact policy at home,

including homeland security, energy policy, immigration policy, civil rights, and more. Cultural understanding and sensitivity, historical and political expertise, language and diplomatic skills, research and intelligence gathering experience along with many other capabilities are required to address these challenges. Muslim Americans have invaluable contributions to make in these and many other areas.

Overcoming the obstacles to integration and expanding the opportunities for the engagement of Muslim Americans in U.S. civic and political life is a major national undertaking. But it also presents an opportunity to remind the country that the overwhelming majority of Muslim Americans reject extremism and terrorism. We have successfully met this challenge in the past: The idea of holding Italian Americans collectively accountable for the criminality of the Mafia never took root in the American consciousness.

It is therefore critical that the swift civic and political integration of Muslim Americans become a national priority. The recommendations of the Task Force that follow in Part II of this report call upon a wide range of institutions and leaders, Muslim and non-Muslim, to assist in speeding the Muslim American journey to full participation.

Muslims in Europe

European Muslims face even greater challenges than Muslim Americans in their efforts to become more civically and politically engaged. European Muslims tend to be much less socioeconomically integrated than Muslim Americans, their feelings of alienation have been correspondingly higher, and more of them have been attracted to radicalism.

Muslims began moving to Europe in response to its need for unskilled labor in the reconstruction period after World War II. Overall, Europe's Muslim communities are larger and have more homogeneous ethnic origins than their American counterparts. For example, the great majority of French Muslims are from North Africa. In Germany, approximately three-quarters of the Muslim population is of Turkish origin. Most of Britain's Muslims are of South Asian heritage, and Dutch Muslims come primarily from Turkey and Morocco.

In 2006 the BBC estimated that there were fifteen million Muslims in Western Europe. The National Intelligence Council projects that the number will likely double by 2025. Among the countries with the largest concentrations are France (six million, or about 10 percent of the population), Germany (three million, or 3.6 percent), Great Britain (1.6 million, or 2.7 percent), Spain (one million, or 2.3 percent), and the Netherlands (945,000, or 5.8 percent). European Muslims are generally poorer and less educated than other Europeans or Muslim Americans. Almost two-thirds of Bangladeshi and Pakistani households in Britain live below the poverty line, and they are three times more likely than whites to be unemployed. In Germany and the Netherlands, unemployment rates for immigrants are approximately double those of the rest of the population. A 2006 survey by the Pew Global Attitudes Project found that 53 percent of Muslims living in Germany reported family incomes of less than 18,000 euros annually, compared with 35 percent of Germans overall. The Center for Turkish Studies recently concluded that two-thirds of the Turks in Germany live below the poverty line or just above it. The 2006 Pew survey found that 45 percent of French Muslims reported family incomes of 17,500 euros or less, compared with 27 percent of the general population.

Europe's Muslims have encountered several barriers to integration. The ethnic and religious diversity that has long been a fact of American life is a relatively new phenomenon in most nations of Western Europe, and nationality in Europe has historically been defined ethnically. There is also generally no equivalent to the American dream to bind European immigrants to their adopted countries. Many European countries also tend to be socially and religiously more liberal than their Muslim communities. And because immigration was originally viewed as a temporary work arrangement, neither the immigrants nor their host countries have made concerted efforts toward integration. The scores of immigrant groups who came to the United States differed widely in their religious and cultural backgrounds, but the prevailing pluralistic ethos and their shared belief in the American dream promoted a high degree of identification with U.S. society and nationhood.

PART II: RECOMMENDATIONS

The Task Force endorses six recommendations to speed the integration of Muslim Americans into American civic and political life:

1. Expand and recognize Muslim American contributions to national security
2. Improve media coverage and public understanding of Muslim Americans
3. Increase civic engagement among Muslim Americans
4. Build stronger Muslim American institutions
5. Cultivate the next generation of Muslim American leaders
6. Give ongoing national attention to Muslim American integration

Recommendation #1 Expand and Recognize Muslim American Contributions to National Security

The September 11 attacks were a watershed moment for all Americans, creating a sense of vulnerability that had long been absent from daily life. The horror of the tragedy brought the nation together with a unity of purpose in countering the threat of terrorism. Many Muslim Americans shared in this commitment in the aftermath of the attacks. A number of prominent Muslim American organizations condemned the attacks and called for fellow Muslims to help those affected, although the community's lack of institutional capacity and recognizable voices limited its responses in an emergency situation.

In the last five years, Muslim Americans have made important contributions to national security by cooperating with law enforcement agencies. A number of leading organizations, including the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC), South Asian American Leaders of Tomorrow, National Association of Muslim Lawyers, and Pakistani American Public Affairs Committee, regularly meet with the Department of Justice, the Department of Homeland Security, and the FBI to discuss concerns, policies, and procedures. Several organizations have focused on educating law enforcement and the public about Muslim Americans. In 2002 ADC launched a national Law

Muslim American Responses to Terrorism

Many Muslim American institutions were quick to condemn the September 11 attacks, issuing a statement on the same day that read in part: “American Muslims utterly condemn what are apparently vicious and cowardly acts of terrorism against innocent civilians. We join with all Americans in calling for the swift apprehension and punishment of the perpetrators. No political cause could ever be assisted by such immoral acts.” The statement was signed by the American Muslim Alliance, American Muslim Council, Association of Muslim Scientists and Engineers, Association of Muslim Social Scientists, Council on American-Islamic Relations, Islamic Medical Association of North America, Islamic Circle of North America, Islamic Society of North America, Ministry of Imam W. Deen Mohammed, Muslim American Society, and the Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC).

In 2004 MPAC launched the “National Grassroots Campaign to Fight Terrorism” and set three goals: 1) to raise religious awareness and make it plain that terrorism does not conform to the Islamic principle of *jihad* (struggle), 2) to increase control of intermosque activities in order to prevent exploitation by outside elements, and 3) to facilitate the detection of criminal activity. To work toward these goals, MPAC developed a series of forums and training seminars involving mosque leaders and law enforcement agencies. It also disseminated guidelines for imams and Muslim leaders. The campaign was endorsed by the FBI and the Islamic Society of North America, the largest Muslim organization in the United States, representing more than 600 mosques nationwide.

Also in 2004, the Council on American-Islamic Relations launched an online petition drive called “Not in the Name of Islam.” The petition was designed to disassociate Muslims from violent acts committed in the name of Islam. It was endorsed by many mosques and Islamic organizations, and to date it has been signed by almost 700,000 individuals.

Enforcement Outreach Program and is currently planning to launch an Employment Diversity Awareness Building Program. Muslim American organizations run sensitivity training programs for teachers, the FBI, other law enforcement agencies, and other groups. FBI Director Robert Mueller and other government officials have credited the Muslim and Arab American communities for their assistance in the nation’s efforts to thwart terrorism.

Yet much remains to be done. There is still a perception that Muslim Americans have not done enough to address the concerns of those outside the community. Muslim Americans must make it a priority to visibly demonstrate their commitment to America, its institutions, and its values. They must combat the perceptions and fears among Americans of radicalism and reassure the public that the vast majority of Muslim Americans do not espouse violence and do not pose a terrorist threat. At the same time, greater efforts must

Fiqh Council of North America’s Antiterrorism Fatwa

After the July 7, 2005, terrorist bombings in London, the Fiqh Council of North America, an eighteen-member association of Islamic scholars who interpret Islamic law in the United States, issued a *fatwa* (a religious ruling) against terrorism and extremism. The fatwa states that “Islam strictly condemns religious extremism and the use of violence against innocent lives. There is no justification in Islam for extremism or terrorism.” It stressed that “targeting civilian life and property through suicide bombings or any other method of attack is *haram*—or forbidden—and those who commit these barbaric acts are criminals, not martyrs.” The fatwa cited the Quran and Prophet Muhammad in support of its strong prohibitions of terrorism and of cooperation with those involved in any act of violence. Muslims were encouraged by the fatwa to cooperate with law enforcement authorities to protect the lives of all civilians. Among the 145 endorsers of the fatwa were the Council on American-Islamic Relations, the Islamic Society of North America, the Islamic Circle of North America, the Muslim Public Affairs Council, Muslim American Society, Muslim Student Association of the US and Canada, and the American Muslim Alliance.

be made by the government, the media, and opinion leaders to spotlight positive Muslim American contributions to national security.

Disavowing terrorism

Many Muslim Americans have taken positive but often unnoticed steps to denounce terrorism and differentiate their traditions from the beliefs of radical groups. It is crucial that they not view their obligation in this area as fulfilled. In the eyes of American society, the burden is still on Muslims to respond, and they should do so by amplifying their voices and actions in the hope that more Americans hear and accept the message. There is an ongoing need for Muslim leaders to condemn terrorist acts, strengthen their efforts to prevent extremist activity among Muslim Americans, and find more effective ways to communicate these endeavors to the media.

It is regrettable that so many Americans know so little about Muslim Americans’ opposition to violence and about their contributions to national security. Yet a real sense of danger persists and should be addressed—by Muslim organizations, government, and others. No immigrant or minority group in our history has prevailed in combating misperceptions and prejudice except through persistence even in the face of denial.

The nation’s estimated 1,500 mosques have a critical role to play in these efforts. Many American mosques are led by foreign-born imams, in part because there are few U.S. training programs

for Muslim clerics and in part because so many congregations are heavily populated by immigrants. While the majority of imams are respected religious leaders, a few high-profile cases in which immigrant imams have been accused of inciting extremist activity have left many Americans with the impression that mosques are centers of radicalism. Muslim organizations could further their contributions to national security by expanding programs like MPAC's "National Grassroots Campaign to Fight Terrorism" to all U.S. mosques.

Expanding contributions to homeland security

There is great value in strengthening and expanding successful partnerships like the Muslim-American Homeland Security Congress (MAHSC), which was formed by Southern California's Muslim American community and local law enforcement. Once established in other cities, these partnerships could form a national network capable of playing a vital role in early detection of potential threats (see sidebar below on its details). Muslim Americans with law enforcement credentials could form a task force to provide government agencies with new methods for strengthening homeland security in a manner that protects civil liberties. Such a group could also

Muslim-American Homeland Security Congress

Local initiatives can play a critical role in developing cooperative and mutually beneficial relationships between Muslim Americans and U.S. government agencies. One of the best examples of such a partnership is the Muslim-American Homeland Security Congress (MAHSC), which was created by Southern California's Muslim American leaders and Los Angeles County Sheriff Leroy D. Baca with the endorsement of U.S. Congresswoman Jane Harman and Los Angeles County Supervisor Zev Yaroslavsky. MAHSC's executive board includes leaders of a wide range of Muslim organizations such as the Council of Pakistan American Affairs, Council on American-Islamic Relations, Omar Ibn Al Khattab Foundation, Muslim Women's League, Islamic Center of Southern California, and the Muslim Public Affairs Council.

MAHSC's mandate is to contribute to national security while also fighting discrimination and acts of prejudice. It has undertaken cultural sensitivity training of terrorism liaison officers and cooperated with law enforcement agencies and ethnic media on an advertising campaign to encourage Muslims to seek careers in law enforcement and elsewhere in government. As Sheriff Baca and his staff have said in testimony before a number of congressional committees, MAHSC has been successful and should be replicated. MAHSC hopes to develop a national network of local community-government partnerships.

serve as a bridge between the government and the Muslim, Arab, and South Asian communities in the United States.

In addition, the nation would benefit greatly if more Muslim Americans were employed with the U.S. government. Well educated in a variety of fields, they can make a wide range of contributions. There is a particular need for their language skills and cultural competencies in law enforcement and intelligence work. Many Muslim Americans have hesitated to work in government because of a belief that it is not sufficiently responsive to their concerns. Some fear that they would be the object of special scrutiny. The reluctance could be reduced if Muslim American leaders and the government worked together to address these concerns. Muslim American leaders could do more to explain to their communities the value of Muslim American participation in government. Trust and confidence-building measures by government agencies can contribute to better understanding, a welcoming environment, and less hesitation among Muslim Americans seeking employment.

Facilitating communication and cooperation

The U.S. government can do more to help combat misperceptions and facilitate communication and cooperation with Muslim Americans. This would not only help ease fears among the public, but would promote the further expansion of Muslim American contributions to homeland security. The Department of Justice, FBI, and Department of Homeland Security have all publicly acknowledged the significance of Muslim Americans' assistance in safeguarding the United States from attack. Yet these statements have rarely been made by senior officials, so they seldom make news. As a result, few Americans are aware of Muslims' contributions in this area. Public statements by the president and by cabinet members would be covered by the media and can be used as an opportunity to strengthen public acceptance of Muslims and recognize the contributions they make to the larger American society. In the aftermath of September 11, President Bush's statements distancing the attacks from Islam and encouraging tolerance likely helped calm public fears. Presidential leadership in this area contributes to deepening understanding and helping Americans see Muslims in a context not exclusively defined by national security issues.

Building trust and creating mutually beneficial partnerships between Muslim America and the agencies charged with securing

Muslim Americans in the U.S. Military

Muslim Americans have been proudly serving their country in the U.S. military for more than a century. The U.S. Department of Defense estimates that there are around 4,700 Muslims in the armed services. The number is not definitive because religious affiliation is an optional response on department surveys. Some advocacy groups, arguing that many Muslims hesitate to reveal their religion, have put the number as high as 15,000. According to the U.S. Department of Defense, more than 4,000 Muslim servicemen have been deployed to Iraq and Afghanistan and at least nine have lost their lives serving their country.

The U.S. military has encouraged Muslims to enlist, recognizing the need for their language skills and cultural knowledge. The military has also taken measures to accommodate Islamic religious practices. Mosques and prayer rooms have been built on military bases and in the service academies. The hiring of Muslim chaplains has also increased. In addition, senior military officers and Pentagon officials have also begun to celebrate Islamic religious events with Muslim soldiers.

Like many other groups, Muslim Americans have formed their own service organizations—the American Muslim Armed Forces and Veterans Affairs Council and the Muslim American Veterans Association—to address the needs of veterans and those currently serving.

the homeland is also a critical task. It is important for the U.S. government to acknowledge that it is wrong to hold any group collectively accountable for the actions of a few. Doing so runs counter to the nation's belief in fairness and justice and would compromise efforts to establish strong partnerships. Federal authorities and local law enforcement officers should start by developing more effective dialogue with Muslim American leaders and their organizations. The most constructive dialogue would be rooted in an acknowledgment that the great majority of U.S. Muslims are loyal Americans and that many can provide unique and crucial support to American antiterrorism efforts as well as to policy discussions on the evolving U.S. relationship with Muslim countries.

A wider variety of government efforts and more government resources could also improve relations between law enforcement and the Muslim American population in general. Federal law enforcement officers could use additional training, and more bridge building with the Muslim American community would increase the trust and open communication necessary for resolving differences that stand in the way of fuller cooperation. Meetings to discuss civil rights issues and community engagement will be more effective if there are more of them and if they are better publicized.

In carrying out this work, the government can build on initiatives already taken. For example, the Department of Justice Community Relations Service (CRS) has assisted local law enforcement agencies with training and other efforts to prevent racial and ethnic tension. After September 11 the department published *Twenty-four Plus One Things Local Law Enforcement Agencies Can Do to Prevent or Respond to Hate Incidents Against Arab-Americans, Muslims, and Sikhs*, which includes tips on the proper reporting of allegations of intimidation, ensuring Muslim Americans' safety, assessing the potential for radicalism, reviewing patrol practices, and training staff. A CRS video titled "The First Three to Five Seconds" is used to increase law enforcement officers' understanding of Arab and Muslim cultures.

Recommendation #2

Improve Media Coverage and Public Understanding of Muslim Americans

Many major American newspapers and broadcast media have improved the quality of their coverage of Islam and Muslim societies since September 11. As they have deepened their knowledge of Islam, Muslim cultures, and Muslim-majority states, they have increased their attention to these subjects, capturing more of the Muslim world's diversity and treating it less like a monolith. Some in the media, however, have continued to present Islam in an increasingly negative light, helping cement stereotypes and lending credence to the "us-versus-them" mentality. For all media, the task of educating the public on the lives and high ideals of the overwhelming majority of the world's Muslims has been greatly complicated by the continuing threat of terrorism and by terrorists' continuing claims that they are acting in the name of Islam.

The misperceptions and negative attitudes toward Muslim Americans in the United States are due in part to the limited knowledge most Americans have of Islam. In a 2005 Pew survey, 66 percent of respondents said they knew little or nothing about Islam; only five percent claimed to know a great deal. However, among the Pew respondents conversant with Islam, 61 percent expressed favorable views of Muslim Americans. Those with a Muslim acquaintance were much less likely to mind the idea of having a Muslim neighbor (10 percent versus 31 percent) and much less favorably disposed to the idea of requiring Muslims to carry special identification (24 percent versus 50 percent).

As the Pew and Gallup opinion polls of recent years have shown, Americans who are familiar with Islam and who personally know Muslims are more likely to see them as being just like other Americans. Since the days when they began raising barns together, Americans have known that working side by side for the common good is one of the best ways for strangers to build mutual understanding and respect.

Working with the media

Several steps could be taken immediately to build better understanding. Media organizations and Muslim American groups could jointly sponsor seminars to explore problematic aspects of coverage,

Muslim and Non-Muslim Focus Groups

The Chicago Council on Global Affairs commissioned Charney Research to conduct two U.S. focus groups, one Muslim and one non-Muslim, for an in-depth exploration of perceptions of Muslim Americans and their involvement in U.S. society and the nation's policy process. Both were conducted in May 2006. The non-Muslims met in Indianapolis, the Muslims in Chicago.

The research found that both groups had broadly similar views on the state of the nation, the challenges it faces, and the need for greater incorporation of Muslim perspectives in the policy process. Among the key findings:

- Both groups felt that Muslim Americans had made significant social and economic strides but were politically marginalized in U.S. society. Muslim participants in particular felt isolated from the political mainstream.
- Non-Muslim participants had very little interaction with Muslims, and few knew Muslims personally. This group viewed Muslim Americans as high achievers but also as misunderstood by other Americans as a result of media portrayals heavily influenced by international acts of terrorism. Despite their feeling that the portrayals were unfair, the non-Muslims expressed worries about extremism taking root in Muslim America.
- Muslim participants perceived their communities to be deeply divided by class, generation, and national origin. Despite these divisions, they were very proud of their religion and faith and the accomplishments of Muslim Americans and felt that extremism in their communities was rare.
- Both groups were open to greater Muslim American involvement in the U.S. foreign policy process, including creating new institutions, promoting leadership development, building intercommunity alliances on policy issues, electing more Muslim public officials, and increasing the number and prominence of Muslims working in the policy community.
- Both groups demonstrated concern over the country's loss of international standing in recent years, and both endorsed having Muslim American institutions play a greater role in improving U.S. relations with Muslim-majority countries. However, none of the non-Muslims and few of the Muslims had knowledge of specific Muslim American institutions.

gain a deeper appreciation of the differences in perspectives, and devise solutions that address both the sensitivities of Muslims and journalistic principles and practices. Meetings of community leaders and newspaper editorial boards are also important, particularly in smaller markets where the media have fewer opportunities to interact with Muslims. Muslim organizations could also offer ideas for expanding coverage of the everyday activities of Muslim Americans, who are seldom seen or heard except in connection with events in the Middle East. For example, newspapers frequently cover the charitable and civic contributions of organizations associated with

other faiths or ethnic groups, but they seldom report on fund-raising events or cultural activities in Muslim American communities.

The media can make a major contribution to public understanding by working to eliminate language that conflates all of Islam or all Muslims with fascism or terrorism and by giving more coverage to Muslim American condemnations of extremism and efforts to counter radical appeals. When a journalist profiles an outspoken radical Muslim who claims to be a leader but has few followers, the story tends to reinforce the erroneous impression that such views are representative. Reporters and editors can enrich coverage by getting to know more, credible Muslim leaders and constituents and by consulting with scholars of Islam and Muslim affairs.

Diversity in the newsroom is as beneficial as diversity in other parts of American society. The media's success in recruiting and mentoring journalists from minority communities has made their coverage more informed and nuanced. Reporting on Muslims and on Islam will likewise improve as more Muslims enter the profession of journalism and earn their way into senior positions. Special scholarships from journalism schools and media internships for Muslim Americans would stimulate their interest in the field. Mentorship programs for young Muslims already working in journalism are also important.

Muslim American organizations can contribute to better coverage by training their leaders and spokespersons to communicate more effectively with the media, particularly on issues where there is widespread misunderstanding such as the purpose and practice of wearing head scarves, a custom that many non-Muslim Westerners see as symbolic of Islam's oppression of women. These organizations could also reach out to the media in other ways—by furnishing lists of Muslim scholars and leaders who can serve as sources, for example. Such lists would help ensure that news stories will include a wide range of authentic Muslim voices. Persistence in condemning terrorism and extremist ideology will also help Muslim leaders and organizations attract fair and balanced media attention.

Creating an independent, national organization dedicated to public education

A new nondenominational, nonadvocacy institution focused entirely on educating the public about the Muslim world would help broaden American understanding of the diversity of Muslim cultures and societies. The organization would be inclusive and expressive of

the diversity within the Islamic tradition and would not align itself with any of its particular branches or attempt to identify preferred religious or cultural practices. It would provide information on the rich heritage of Islamic societies through art exhibitions, musical performances, public lectures, films, seminars, conferences, publications, and materials created for students and teachers. It could also help improve dialogue and cooperation on political, cultural, and economic issues without taking positions on them. Over time, the organization would become a national resource—a trusted, non-partisan provider of information and expertise for the public, media, and government on the many facets of Islam and Muslim life around the world.

The new institution would supplement rather than replace existing organizations, and its nonethnic and nonpolitical status would give it the potential to attract Americans who are unlikely to join organizations that are predominantly Muslim in membership. It could be supported by membership dues and by contributions from foundations, corporations, and others who recognize the need for this work but hesitate to fund organizations that might be perceived as political or religious. The Asia Society and the Americas Society are useful models for creating a nonadvocacy, educational organization with broad public recognition and credibility.

Undertaking a wide range of efforts to further public understanding

The Task Force recognizes that no single organization or initiative alone can succeed in broadening understanding and facilitating the full engagement of Muslims in American society. We know from our history that such an outcome will only come about through the efforts of many different groups, sometimes working alone and other times in partnership. These efforts could include broad-based inter-faith efforts, ranging from dialogue and exchanges between houses of worship to collaborative civic activities. Cultural and civic institutions could contribute by presenting art exhibits, musical performances, films, and public lectures. It is vital that non-Muslim religious and secular organizations take part in this work. They have the capacity to reach audiences that Muslim institutions cannot, and their participation would enhance the legitimacy and credibility of the message.

Collectively, such activities could help demystify Islam for the general public and demonstrate the congruence between Islam and American values. They would increase public awareness of Muslims'

The Five Pillars of Islam

The Five Pillars of Islam are the obligations that every Muslim must satisfy in order to live a good and responsible life.

- *Shahadah* consists of reciting the basic statement of the Islamic faith: “There is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is his messenger.” It is said daily in the call to prayer.
- *Salat* is ritual prayer, to be performed five times a day at specified times.
- *Zakat* is a form of self-purification and growth through the compulsory giving of a certain percentage (usually 2.5 percent) of one’s wealth to charity.
- *Sawm* requires fasting during the daylight hours of the Muslim holy month of Ramadan.
- *Hajj* is the annual pilgrimage to Mecca in Saudi Arabia. Muslims in Mecca stand before the *Kaaba* praising Allah together. Hajj promotes the bonds of Islamic brotherhood and sisterhood by showing that everyone is equal in the eyes of Allah. Every adult Muslim who can afford it and is physically able must undertake this journey at least once.

long history of intellectual, scientific, and cultural achievement. And, they would show the diversity of opinion among Muslim Americans on sensitive issues such as the treatment of women and perceived affronts to the sacred. Muslim leaders and organizations can also underscore their commitment to the constitutionally mandated separation of church and state, a bedrock principle of American democracy. Some Americans are concerned that some Muslims seek to undermine this principle by advocating the application of Islamic law in American society. It is important to reassure Americans that Muslim Americans do not aspire to this.

Recommendation #3 Increase Civic Engagement among Muslim Americans

Part of America’s greatness as a nation lies in its acceptance of diverse faiths, cultures, and personal values. But unless that diversity is actively expressed in civic and political participation, the country cannot reap its full benefits. Long before American women were allowed to vote, they were active in social reform movements and worked on political campaigns. Yet they could not hold office, and they had little effect on public policy. Although the right to vote was a major step toward full inclusion, it was not until women began serving in government in significant numbers that they had a real say in national affairs. The African American journey toward full participation took a different path, but the ultimate benefit was the same: a stronger, more representative polity.

Many Muslim American immigrants are not deeply engaged in civic activities, and many of those who are have confined their participation to their faith communities. Broader engagement gives immigrants a sense of themselves as stakeholders in the life of the country. It can motivate individuals to become active in political parties or to run for local public office, both of which can be stepping-stones to state and national office. Also, as any community increases its civic participation, the larger society tends to view it in a more positive light.

Much of the groundwork for the full civic and political participation of Muslim Americans is already in place. Whether by choice or by birth, most Muslim Americans regard the United States as their home. They see no contradiction between the moral teachings of Islam and the values that Americans hold dear. They do not regard the challenges to democracy in Muslim-majority states as a sign that Islam and democracy are fundamentally incompatible; they attribute the problems to complex historical and geopolitical factors. Many Muslims view democracy as the form of government that adheres most closely to Islamic moral teachings, which place great emphasis on accountability and justice. Many also regard the current debates over gender-related issues as an opportunity to redefine the role of women in Islam, placing it in a modern context. The number of Muslim women scholars and activists in the United States is growing. Through their work, Muslim American women are finding new ways to make social contributions within and beyond their communities.

While Muslim Americans may still struggle to find the right balance between their Muslim and American identities, we know from experience that such struggles have defined and enriched every American community. Given that democracy benefits from robust civic and political participation, it is in the interest of all Americans for the government and a wide range of institutions to give Muslim Americans the cooperation and support they need to speed their progress toward full integration.

Expediting full engagement will require Muslim Americans to build more bridges to non-Muslim groups, especially those with whom they have had sharp disagreements over foreign policy matters. The circumstances also require that Muslim Americans forge a shared conviction among themselves that greater civic and political participation can be achieved without the loss of religious identity.

Expanding partnerships

Encouraging Muslim Americans to increase their participation in civic life should be a high priority for Muslim organizations. Civic engagement can take many forms, from volunteering for nonprofits to serving on school boards, taking part in parent-teacher and neighborhood associations, and participating in mosque-church-synagogue exchanges. Opportunities for engagement can be increased by expanding and improving existing partnerships between Muslim and non-Muslim groups and by forming new partnerships, particu-

Habitat for Humanity

Habitat for Humanity International is a nonprofit, ecumenical Christian organization that seeks to eliminate poverty and homelessness in the world. It invites people of all backgrounds to build houses in partnership with families in need. The Habitat idea was conceived in 1965 by Millard and Linda Fuller with Clarence Jordan while they were staying at Koinonia Farm, a small interracial Christian farming community in Georgia. Since its founding in 1976, Habitat for Humanity has built more than 225,000 houses in some 3,000 communities throughout the world, providing safe, decent, affordable shelter to more than one million individuals. Habitat now has a presence in more than ninety countries.

Through its work, Habitat provides an opportunity for diverse groups of people to bridge their theological differences by putting their faith into action, making affordable housing and better communities a reality. Habitat's philosophy is that everyone can use the hammer as an instrument to manifest God's love, and its policy has always been to build with people in need and volunteers, regardless of race or religion.

larly at the local level. The Arab Community Center for Economic & Social Services (ACCESS) in Detroit launched a program in which local community organizations mobilized for a day of public service in non-Muslim communities. The Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC) and the Progressive Jewish Alliance are jointly developing a program to encourage greater civic engagement. Successful programs such as these could be widely copied. Such activities create opportunities for Muslim leaders to frame public service in a Muslim context and make civic participation a fundamental element of Muslim American life.

Forming a national leadership group of prominent Muslim Americans

Although Muslim Americans have attained prominence in many fields and emerged as leaders in their own communities around the United States, they have not yet pooled their resources, experiences, and ideas in an effort to enhance Muslim American participation in national discourse. Such a leadership network could be instrumental in strengthening Muslim American institutions and creating new programs to encourage Muslim American youth to enter public service. Members of the leadership group could also serve as "community ambassadors" to the U.S. government, offering informed perspectives that could help to lessen tensions between the United States and countries with large Muslim populations. And by interacting with their counterparts in other countries, these leaders could serve as interlocutors between Muslim Americans and Muslim communities abroad.

A relevant precedent for such a forum is the Committee of 100, a national nonpartisan organization of leading Chinese Americans. Founded in 1990 at a time of heightened tension between China and the United States, the committee brings a Chinese American perspective to U.S. foreign policy. The Committee of 100 currently has 149 members in the United States and Asia, all of them leaders in their fields. It gathers once a year to discuss critical issues in U.S.-China relations and Asian American life. It also briefs policymakers, issues position papers, and makes public statements on matters of interest to its constituents.

Building coalitions on important policy initiatives

National Muslim American organizations and associations, focused primarily on the civil liberties of Muslim Americans, have not yet

invested significant energy in joining with other organizations to address larger questions of social justice or social policy. Advocacy coalitions and intercommunity cooperation are important vehicles for mobilizing diverse constituencies and generating broad-based support for change. Muslim organizations could make a valuable contribution to the American body politic by expanding their participation in coalitions concerned with such issues as comprehensive immigration reform, poverty, public health, religious freedom, national security, and the strengthening of democratic institutions here and abroad.

Greater Muslim American engagement in policy-related coalition building will help other Americans understand that Muslim Americans have great concern for a wide range of issues affecting the national well-being. Making a greater effort to demonstrate that concern will enable Muslim Americans to expand their contributions to the larger society. That, in turn, will increase the moral authority of Muslim American leaders when they seek support on issues of particular interest to their community.

Bridging religious divides

The country would also benefit from greater cooperation among Muslim, Christian, and Jewish organizations. All three faiths share a deep spiritual connection to the Middle East, but their disagreements over U.S. foreign policy and events in the region have severely strained interfaith relations and hampered the dialogue and collaborative work they could do on a wide range of important domestic issues.

Interfaith conversations have a long history in this country, and many are under way now. But they have ceased in moments of crisis—precisely when they are needed most. The current conversations can be expanded to include an increasingly diverse group of organizations, from the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights to evangelical groups, grassroots organizations, and secular organizations concerned with public policy. Over time, such dialogues could become the basis of a national forum in which Muslim, Christian, and Jewish leaders could reinforce the importance of coalescing around shared American values when addressing poverty, human rights, democracy promotion, and other issues of social justice.

Building successful charities

Charitable almsgiving (*zakat*) is one of the five pillars of Islam, and many Muslim Americans fulfill this requirement by giving to charities that provide humanitarian, educational, and medical assistance in the United States and elsewhere. Like many other communities, Muslim Americans have been particularly generous to organizations providing emergency relief in parts of the world where they have ethnic and religious roots. Such giving has been complicated by federal antiterrorism regulations instituted in the wake of September 11. The regulations apply to all Americans, but they have had a disproportionately large impact on Muslim American charity.

One of the great challenges to those who wish to support relief efforts in the Middle East is that the work is sometimes carried out by organizations with direct or indirect links to groups the U.S. government has designated as terrorist entities. During and after the 2006 war between Israel and Lebanon, for example, it was difficult for Muslim Americans (or any Americans, for that matter) to ease the plight of Lebanese civilians without risking scrutiny by the U.S. government for aiding organizations connected with Hezbollah, which managed much of the relief work.

Scrutinized by federal authorities determined to prevent the flow of American funds to terrorist organizations, Muslim Americans

The Muslim American Response to Hurricane Katrina

After the hurricane, Muslim communities across the United States organized food, blood, and donation drives; volunteered time and resources; and held prayer services and fund-raisers for disaster relief. A coalition of major Muslim American groups formed the Muslim Hurricane Relief Task Force to coordinate humanitarian relief. The Islamic Society of North America launched the ISNA Katrina Relief Fund. The Council on American-Islamic Relations called on mosques and Islamic centers nationwide to collect donations for disaster relief. Islamic Relief, an international organization striving to alleviate the poverty and suffering of the world's poorest people, committed \$2 million for Katrina relief projects in Louisiana and Mississippi and assisted evacuees in Houston and Dallas.

In Houston more than 2,000 Muslim volunteers served food to hurricane victims on the fourth anniversary of the September 11 attacks. This effort was organized by the Houston Muslim Relief Group, a coalition of twenty mosques and local Islamic organizations formed after Katrina, in coordination with the Second Baptist Church of Houston and Interfaith Ministries of Greater Houston. In Baton Rouge nearly one hundred New Orleans evacuees found refuge at the Islamic Complex, and the Islamic Center provided shelter to 500 more.

reduced their contributions to Muslim charities, and that, in turn, has curtailed the charities' work. A number of these charities have been investigated for links to terrorist organizations, and some have been shut down. Yet many organizations, non-Muslim as well as Muslim, have questioned the evidence and procedures used in these cases.

Muslim donors and others have expressed concern that federal regulations in this area do not contain a so-called intent clause, which would allow the government to take action against donors only if there was evidence that they knew their contributions would be used for illegal purposes. The lack of such a clause has caused Muslim Americans to worry that their past contributions might lead to criminal prosecution, or in the case of those who are not citizens, to deportation. The U.S. government counters that the current measures are effective and necessary and that publicly available guidelines explain how to make donations in a manner consistent with the law.

Developing reasonable standards and procedures for international charitable giving

Muslim American giving in the Middle East was a powerful tool of public diplomacy for the United States before September 11—and could be again. What is needed is an approach that simultaneously respects antiterrorism policies and allows Muslim Americans to practice their charitable giving without fear of government reprisal. Devising this approach requires the active cooperation of high-level federal officials, leaders of major American charities, and Muslim leaders with a broad understanding of the issue.

Creating a Muslim American charity dedicated to improving the lives of fellow Americans

While many Muslim charities operate domestically, they are largely unknown to the general public, and the complicated status of their international giving has limited opportunities to do more work in the United States. Muslim Americans have the potential to make major contributions to fellow Americans in need, and a national charity inspired by Islamic values and dedicated to domestic needs could have a number of positive effects. In addition to improving the lives of Americans of all faiths, it could inspire Muslim Americans to become further vested in American society and improve public attitudes toward Muslims and Islam. A possible model for such a philanthropy is the U.S. arm of Catholic Charities.

Prominent Muslim Americans should play an active role on the charity's board to ensure that the organization is successful and that its operations are transparent. The board should also include respected non-Muslims, whose participation will engender trust and confidence in the organization, raise its profile in the larger society, and increase its ability to make significant contributions to the national well-being.

Recommendation #4

Build Stronger Muslim American Institutions

Many of the earliest Muslim American institutions were formed by African Americans who saw American Islam as a logical development in black religiosity and a constructive response to racial inequities. African American Muslims used their organizations to serve their community and to represent their interests in the wider society. The influx of Muslim immigrants after the immigration law changes of 1965 dramatically altered the Muslim American landscape and led to the creation of organizations that concentrated on building schools and mosques to accommodate their growing numbers. A few institutions that engaged in broader discussions on policy issues or social justice, particularly within the Arab community, emerged after the 1967 Israeli-Arab War. The 1990s saw the emergence of multiethnic Muslim institutions, many of which focused on defending civil liberties and encouraging political participation.

In the period of intense scrutiny that followed the September 11 attacks, it became evident that Muslim Americans were not well equipped to address their civil rights needs or to respond effectively to the concerns of the public, the media, and the government. Muslim leaders recognized the need to build stronger institutions and to make civic and political engagement an even higher priority. Muslim organizations refocused, attempting to strengthen relations with political figures and the media and to educate the general public on Islam and Muslim America. Muslim Americans also recognized the need to accelerate the development of American training programs for imams in order to increase their effectiveness in serving their constituencies and in building bridges to other communities.

Despite these efforts and the achievement of some notable successes, much remains unrealized. Importantly, Muslim American institutions still do not have the range of opportunities for participation in the public and policy discourse that might be expected and certainly is needed at this point. Groups that have participated have tended to do so indirectly, issuing press statements and action alerts and conducting briefings with legislators and the public. Much of their work has focused on documenting civil rights abuses and educating Muslim Americans on their rights and how to engage with law enforcement. The organizations have had only limited access to discussions of foreign policy in connection with the war in Iraq, the recent Lebanon-Israel war, relief for the victims of the 2005 earth-

quake in Pakistan, and the divide between the U.S. government and the governments of many Muslim-majority countries.

There are a number of reasons for this lack of capacity among Muslim American institutions to participate more fully in the civic and policy arenas. The great diversity of the Muslim American population led to the creation of institutions that were often divided along ethnic or sectarian lines. Many are local or regional rather than national in scope. Sometimes they are ineffective simply because they have tried to do too much, taking on everything from community service to policy advocacy. While some Muslim American organizations have attempted to overcome divisions among ethnic or sectarian groups or between immigrants and African American Muslims, the fragmentation has made it difficult for Muslims to project recognizable public voices.

Muslim American institutions have also faced a long list of challenges typical in young ethnic and religious institutions. Goals are often vague and overly ambitious. Constituencies are defined too

Capacity-Building Case Study: The National Council of La Raza

The National Council of La Raza (NCLR) is the largest Hispanic civil rights and advocacy organization in the United States. It works to improve opportunities for millions of Hispanic Americans through its network of nearly 300 affiliated, community-based organizations.

The idea for NCLR began to take shape in the early 1960s when many Mexican Americans were concerned that their participation in the national civil rights movement went largely unrecognized due to their geographic isolation and lack of developed institutions. They formed a coordinating body in Washington, and with funding from the Ford Foundation, undertook research to determine the need for more local and national advocacy institutions for Mexican Americans.

The organization has shown great ability in adapting its strategies to an ever-changing political climate. Founded in Arizona in 1968 as the Southwest Council of La Raza, it initially helped establish and support community organizations. Early on it made a commitment to nonpartisanship and equal representation of men and women in its governing body. It quickly evolved into a national institution and in 1972 changed its name to NCLR. In 1979 it broadened its focus to include all Hispanics. Because of financial constraints, NCLR reduced its affiliate support in the 1980s to concentrate on national advocacy work and establish a policy analysis center. But it kept its capacity building mission and steadily worked to rebuild its network of affiliates. In 1996, when welfare-related policymaking shifted mainly to the states, NCLR incorporated state-level advocacy into its legislative agenda. Today, NCLR focuses on ensuring that Latino perspectives are heard in five key policy areas: assets/investments, civil rights/immigration, education, employment and economic status, and health.

generally, or key audiences are overlooked. Many young organizations are overly dependent on individual donors, which can make them beholden to a handful of large contributors and preclude long-term commitments to issues. Few are successful in partnering with other organizations—Muslim or non-Muslim.

In terms of the policy process, few Muslim American organizations are able to engage in policy analysis or policy advocacy. Some have avoided foreign policy for fear of drawing unfavorable scrutiny or of detracting from their work in civil liberties and other areas. Others have not yet acquired the skills needed to succeed in this area. Many organizations that aim to have a say in the policy process lack expertise in the issues and do not possess the experienced staffs needed to operate effectively in legislative affairs, community mobilization, fund-raising, media relations, or public education. (See the Appendix for a list of institutions and their engagement in policy discourse.)

Increasing institutional effectiveness and engagement

It is critical that Muslim American organizations be strengthened further and that new ones be formed to increase understanding of Muslim American life and to facilitate participation in the civic and political discourse. Many of the existing organizations are fulfilling important functions and should be supported in their efforts to increase their effectiveness. They should strengthen their structures and strategies and learn how to effectively deliver their messages. They also need to educate Muslim Americans on the workings of American civic and political life and improve dialogue and interaction across ethnic, sectarian, and generational divides. As they build capacity, these organizations will be able to form more partnerships with non-Muslim organizations to address issues of common concern.

While the challenges may appear daunting, they have been met time and again by immigrant groups and other communities, and their strategies can be emulated by Muslim Americans. For example, there is much to be learned from the experience of African Americans, who successfully developed institutions, messages, and partnerships to achieve self-empowerment and address community needs. Like African Americans and other Americans, Muslim Americans can articulate their concerns and proposals in terms that resonate with all Americans, emphasizing values such as equal opportunity, rule of law, freedom of religion, individual liberty, democratic principles,

Case Study: Japanese Americans and the Redress Movement

Following World War II and the internment of Japanese Americans, the Japanese American community took several initiatives to win back lost rights. These included efforts to repeal California's Alien Land Law, which had long prohibited Japanese from purchasing and owning land in the state, as well as fighting to give Japanese immigrants the right to become citizens, a right denied them for more than fifty years.

Despite these efforts, Japanese Americans for many years hesitated to pursue redress for their internment during the war because they saw their community as small and lacking in political clout. But in 1978 the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), the nation's oldest and largest Asian American civil rights institution, was ready to proceed. From the outset it realized that its success would depend on the active engagement and support of other American communities that recognized the injustice of the internment. It developed a campaign focused on the need to uphold the principles of American democracy. The American Jewish Committee was the first outside organization to join the campaign. Others soon followed. With the support of two members of the U.S. House of Representatives and one senator of Japanese ancestry, it took only one year to pass a bill authorizing an investigation. The investigation was followed by a federal commission, a body that provided an important forum for advancing the issue nationally. The campaign culminated in 1988 with the signing of the Civil Liberties Act, which provided monetary compensation and issued a formal apology. The JACL continues to combat social injustice and serves as an example to other ethnic minorities.

and pluralism. This would align emerging Muslim communities with the larger society, promote acceptance, and facilitate partnerships with other groups.

Increasing institutional effectiveness will require perseverance by Muslim American institutions and the support of established institutions such as think tanks, foundations, universities, and community-based organizations. More diversified funding is important, because broad financial support increases the likelihood of organizational success.

Capacity building can be accelerated by the inclusion of more women in strategic development and day-to-day operations. Muslim Americans are not unique in underutilizing the talents of women. Now that the largest Muslim organization, the Islamic Society of North America, is led by a woman (Ingrid Mattson), there is an opportunity to encourage other institutions to do more to hire and advance women.

American foundations can play a crucial role in making a long-term commitment to strengthening Muslim American institutions

and creating opportunities for civic and political participation. The contributions they make to the institutions of civil society are critical and unique. For example, they often make commitments to sensitive, complex issues of social and public policy avoided by others. They can be powerful advocates for fairness and for access. Foundations can also assist with financial and technical assistance for capacity building in existing organizations working toward full civic and political engagement. They can fund the creation of new institutions to educate the public or undertake policy or academic activities. In addition, foundations can create a forum linking Muslim American institutions to established networks, coalitions, and experts. Such assistance would increase Muslims' familiarity with the best practices in these areas and expand ties to resources and potential outside partners.

Broadening academic and policy initiatives

More Muslim American involvement in the policy-related activities of think tanks and research institutes would help create a core group of specialists and leaders who can help strengthen Muslim American voices and participate in the policy discourse. While many Muslim individuals already do such work, they tend to be scattered across the nation and often lack connections in the policy and public spheres.

Building on the important work being undertaken by Muslim and non-Muslim scholars in universities would also contribute to strengthening Muslim American contributions to the national dialogue. There is a need for more endowed chairs, fellowships, centers for policy or area studies, and other structures to support the work of established and emerging scholars of Islam and to encourage younger Muslim Americans to enter the academic and policy fields.

Endowed chairs enrich the intellectual life of universities and the nation by improving scholarship and the quality of interactions between faculty and students. They are also a deeply rewarding way for an individual philanthropist to support a university or an area of academic inquiry. Faculty members who hold these chairs often serve as role models, influencing the academic and professional trajectories of junior faculty and graduate students. Chairs are needed in a wide range of fields related to Islamic studies: religion and history, the modern Middle East and Islamic world, U.S. foreign policy and the Middle East, the role of gender in Islam and in Muslim societies, and Muslim migrant integration in the United States and other Western nations.

Postdoctoral fellowship programs in Islamic studies that are open to Americans of all religious backgrounds are also needed. These programs are a relatively inexpensive way to encourage outstanding emerging scholars to pursue academic and research careers. Fellowship programs for young Muslim American scholars studying important public policy issues not linked to Islam or Muslim societies should also be established. The existence of such programs would underscore the point that Muslim American scholars are not focused exclusively on their own history and identity. It is also important for American seminaries to continue to diversify their faculties and curricula as part of their commitment to strengthening religious pluralism and understanding between faiths.

Enlarging the scope and impact of such initiatives will require the strong commitment of American universities, think tanks, government agencies, and philanthropists. Fortunately, the government, many universities, and leading foundations have already begun making a sustained commitment to these efforts. The U.S. Department of Education Title VI International Education Programs Service provides critical support for foreign language and area studies at institutes of higher education. Title VI centers on the Middle East and South Asia, educating students about Islam and Muslim societies. Foreign language and area studies fellowships assist individuals undergoing advanced training. Federal government funding for these programs should be increased to ensure the nation continues to produce a steady supply of graduates with expertise in Islamic, Middle East, and South Asian studies.

Developing links between Muslim Americans and established think tanks and research institutes

Many U.S. think tanks and research institutes are now doing excellent work related to Islam and Muslim communities, but there are few strong links between these organizations and Muslim American leaders and institutions. Such links are important because think tanks and research institutes play a central role in the policy discourse, and Muslim Americans can bring valuable perspectives and contributions to it. More joint efforts would enrich the policy input of think tanks and research institutes. It would also help Muslim American institutions build capacity by providing more exposure to policy analysis and more ideas for relating their policy perspectives to those of others. Research centers and fellowship programs could be a source of important synergies, as could joint projects such as

the recent collaboration between the Institute for Social Policy and Understanding (ISPU) and the Pew Charitable Trusts. With funding from Pew, ISPU conducted focus-group meetings across the country in preparation for a national study of Muslim Americans.

Recommendation #5 Cultivate the Next Generation of Muslim American Leaders

Politically engaged young Americans have been one of the greatest strengths of our democracy. Their intellectual capital, enthusiasm, and energy fuel the work of a broad range of entities that influence, plan, and execute policy. And from their involvement, young Americans gain the knowledge and experience needed for leadership in all areas of civic and political life.

Young Muslim Americans, like their elders, are largely missing from this picture. This is particularly troublesome given the youthfulness of the Muslim American community. Jeffrey Passel of the Pew Hispanic Center has estimated that 36 percent of the U.S. Muslim population is under the age of eighteen, and 55 percent are age 29 or younger. Hostility experienced by many young Muslim Americans from some members of the general public and from some Muslims with different views on questions of cultural accommodation or gender has hindered civic and political engagement. Forty-two percent of Muslim American respondents aged twenty-nine or younger in the recent Pew survey reported being victims of

Interfaith Youth Core

The Interfaith Youth Core (IFYC), founded in 1998 by a young Muslim American and based in Chicago, is a grassroots organization dedicated to strengthening civil society by building mutual respect and pluralism among young people from different religious traditions and empowering them to work together to serve others. IFYC's "shared values" approach encourages youth to express their own religious traditions in social action, recognizing the common value in other traditions such as hospitality, and work together to apply these values for the greater good.

Since 2003 IFYC has reached more than 51,000 people and helped more than 1,700 organizers create and lead interfaith youth service programming in communities across the United States. During IFYC's Days of Interfaith Youth Service in 2006, 4,000 youth from twenty-seven different religious traditions participated in seventy-nine service projects at thirty-five sites nationally and worldwide. These projects included Hurricane Katrina relief, with youth delivering refreshments to volunteers rehabilitating houses in an impoverished section of Biloxi, Mississippi. A religiously diverse group of Brandeis University students volunteered for a day at the Greater Boston Food Bank, where they sorted food to make meals for the hungry. In Philadelphia a group of Muslim, Jewish, and Christian youth and adults assembled "breakfast bags" of nonperishable items for the homebound elderly.

discrimination or intolerance based on their faith within the last year. This compares to 29 percent of Muslims thirty and older who said likewise.

Nevertheless, young Muslim Americans have a strong interest in political participation, driven by a need for self-empowerment. This development is one that all Americans should encourage. Helping to develop the leadership potential and professional skills of young Muslim Americans contributes to a more informed, seasoned, and capable group of leaders who will one day work on behalf of all Americans.

Engaging young Muslim Americans in civic life promotes integration and diminishes the potential for alienation. It also provides a needed talent pool and brings more young Muslims into influential arenas such as Congress, think tanks, and the media. In addition, it helps build bridges between Muslim Americans and the broader public and facilitates the emergence of leaders with whom younger Muslims can easily identify.

Making leadership development of young Muslim Americans a priority

Muslim American organizations and other institutions should strengthen long-term programs for building the next generation of Muslim American leaders. It is vital to give young Muslim Americans hands-on experience with legislative and policy processes. To that end, Muslim American organizations could follow the lead of other communities that have worked with relevant state and federal government agencies to create internship programs. Programs that give emerging Muslim American leaders opportunities to work on social justice issues and community capacity building are also important. Additionally, there is a need for a stronger network of Muslim American public policy professionals.

Effective programs for the professional development of young Muslim Americans can be easily created by adapting approaches used by other groups. The Jewish community has been particularly successful in developing internship and fellowship programs. Aside from providing financial support for undergraduate, graduate, and postgraduate studies, many Jewish organizations promote the development of leadership skills and involvement in politics. Organizations such as the American Jewish Committee, the Wexner Foundation, and PANIM (the Institute for Jewish Leadership and Values) give fellowships to those interested in domestic and international policy, leadership, management, and diplomacy.

The Anthony Shadid Internship Program

The American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) has a mandate to defend the rights of Americans of Arab descent from discrimination, stereotyping, and hate crimes. It also promotes Arab cultural heritage and represents the Arab American community on issues of foreign and domestic policy.

Since 1981 ADC has run a successful internship program to expose young Arab Americans to the public policy process and deepen their knowledge of U.S. government institutions. The program has given more than 400 college students from all over the country an opportunity to go to Washington and gain first-hand experience with ADC issues and campaigns. Interns are given practical training in community organizing, media relations, research and writing, legal affairs, political action, and educational outreach. Some interns work in Congressional offices, and each week all interns visit government offices, embassies, and similar institutions. This introduces them to policymaking bodies important in shaping issues of concern to Arab Americans. The internships also offer a variety of leadership development positions within ADC. Interns are selected on the basis of their academic records, personal recommendations, and history of professional, campus, and community activities.

The program now bears the name of Anthony Shadid, a former ADC media intern who is a Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist with the *Washington Post*. Other program alumni work in the Department of Justice, the Department of Homeland Security, offices of U.S. Attorneys, and nongovernmental advocacy and nonprofit institutions.

The African American and Latino communities also support professional advancement for their younger members. Latinos have developed relevant programs within organizations such as the Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute, Hispanic Alliance for Career Enhancement, Latino Issues Forum, and the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials. For African Americans, there are relevant fellowship and internship programs within the Congressional Black Caucus, National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education, United Negro College Fund, and UNCF Special Programs Corporation. The establishment and promotion of these opportunities have strengthened the networks of both communities and increased their ability to communicate their values and prepare young members for leadership roles.

Muslim Americans have created several programs along these lines. The ADC has a summer internship program that places young Arab Americans in offices of members of Congress, and some interns go on to permanent work for the member. The Muslim Student Network, formerly known as the Muslim Public Service Network (MPSN), is a 501(c)(3) organization founded in 1994 to bring Muslim undergraduate and graduate students to Washington, D.C., each

summer for public policy internships. Alumni now work in policy-related organizations across the country as congressional staffers, emerging scholars, and employees at advocacy institutions. In order to expand, the MPSN needs considerably more resources.

In line with the new academic and policy initiatives discussed previously, think tanks and universities based in Washington should be encouraged to create fellowship programs for young Muslim Americans. These institutions typically have great strengths in public policy work and considerable access to government officials influential in the policy process. Young Muslim Americans would benefit enormously from programs that bring them to Washington for a summer or a semester to meet members of Congress and their staffs and to speak with policy experts and advocacy groups. Such efforts would help build long-term relationships between these institutions and emerging Muslim American leaders. There is also a need to encourage young Muslims to apply to prestigious programs such as the Presidential Management Internship.

Finally, Muslim American organizations can partner with other institutions to encourage public service among young Muslims. These organizations could sponsor nationwide speaking tours in which congressional staffers and professionals engaged in issue-specific advocacy work for nongovernmental organizations, think tanks, and foundations talk to young Muslim Americans about their experiences. The focus should be on giving young Muslim Americans about to enter college an introduction to the political process and a better understanding of the importance of public service. Programs such as this can help define public service in a Muslim context and reinforce it as a fundamental part of the Muslim American experience.

Training young staff and new leaders

Developing new leaders and staff is essential if Muslim American organizations are to maximize their effectiveness, particularly in areas related to the policy process. Young staff members need high-quality training—theoretical as well as practical—to succeed in addressing policy issues, fund-raising, mobilization of their constituencies, and communication. Junior staff members, often relegated to programs for the young, should be deployed throughout the organization to gain exposure to people at all levels and in all departments. Special attention should be given to leadership training for women. There is also a need to give young Muslim Americans yearlong internships in these organizations. A greater emphasis on retaining staff members

would also improve capacity, which may require paying higher salaries. Volunteers with extensive leadership experience can be particularly useful in mentoring young staff members.

Recommendation #6

Give Ongoing National Attention to Muslim American Integration

Overcoming the barriers to Muslim American integration is a national challenge that will require sustained efforts by Muslim and non-Muslim leaders and institutions alike. Only through focused and ongoing dialogue and cooperation can lasting success be achieved. The goal of this effort should be to make the expansion of Muslim American participation in U.S. civic and political life a national priority and bridge the divides that threaten our national well-being.

Establishing an American Diversity Dialogue

The Task Force proposes that an ongoing American Diversity Dialogue among Muslim and non-Muslim leaders be created to examine critical issues related to Muslim civic and political integration in the United States. This would help give prominence to the issue of Muslim American integration and provide thoughtful and informed assessments of civic and political integration over time. The dialogue would provide Muslim and non-Muslim leaders with a forum for discussing the barriers to integration, the strains in the relations between Muslim Americans and government agencies, opportunities for improving public understanding of the Muslim American experience, and ways for Muslim Americans to assist in bridging the divide between the United States and the Muslim world.

The American Diversity Dialogue would meet approximately three times a year in a rotating group of cities and would commission research to inform its discussions. It would issue an annual report on *The State of Muslim America* that would be widely disseminated to policymakers, the media, and the American public. The dialogue would also convene and take action whenever there is an urgent need for heightened attention and discussion of the Muslim American experience.

Participants in the American Diversity Dialogue would be drawn from a group of highly respected public figures such as former government officials, business and civic leaders, and policy experts. It should include individuals with broad knowledge of the American political system, U.S. foreign policy and international relations, and the Muslim American experience. Muslim American members

would be selected from the community's most respected and representative leaders. The core membership would be supplemented with participants drawn from among diverse local and regional leaders in each of the meetings' host cities.

A highly regarded independent institution would provide logistical and operational support for the American Diversity Dialogue. This host institution would partner with other institutions around the country in developing briefing papers and policy analyses, organizing dialogue meetings in different cities, recruiting experts to make presentations to the American Diversity Dialogue, and coordinating interviews with government officials. The dialogue would be funded by a variety of donors, including foundations and individuals.

Creating a national philanthropic initiative on American diversity

The creation of a national philanthropic initiative on American diversity would expand financial support to nonprofit, nonpolitical educational, research, cultural and civic organizations for the purposes of deepening American understanding of the value of diversity and strengthening the ways in which it is expressed in American society. It would focus particularly, but not exclusively, on the Muslim American experience, broadening public understanding of that experience and enlarging opportunities for greater Muslim American civic and political participation. Grant making would emphasize attention to these challenges by non-Muslim organizations, but would not exclude support for Muslim American activities. Funding for the initiative would be obtained through a one-time national appeal to foundations and individuals. The initiative's corpus would be spent entirely over a defined period of time such as ten years.

Conclusion

There is no form of government more challenging than democracy. It rests on the will of the majority, yet it requires the protection of minority rights. It is strongest when it is most inclusive, but inclusion can lead to conflict and delay. It sets high ideals for itself—so high that it often falls short. The authors of the Constitution hoped that their charter would enable citizens to create “a more perfect union,” and we now know what they meant: a democracy is a work-in-progress. It will never be perfect, but it can always be made better.

The recommendations in this report are offered in hopes of strengthening the democracy entrusted to us by the Constitution. The integration of minority groups, women, and immigrants into our political processes has been slow work in the past, and outsiders have often had to overcome great opposition in order to secure the rights promised to them in the Constitution. But Americans now take it for granted that full political participation is important on pragmatic as well as idealistic grounds: Access for all mobilizes the energies, talents, and wisdom of all.

Muslims, like many other immigrant groups, came to the United States in search of religious and political freedom, in need of refuge, and in hopes of prosperity. A land of unparalleled opportunity, the United States has enabled its people, no matter their origin, to succeed through hard work and determination. The tragic events of September 11 and the challenges it wrought have put the dream of America to the test for Muslim Americans and called our values as a nation into question.

Yet with today’s critical foreign and domestic policy challenges, many related directly to Muslim American interests, there is now, more than ever, an urgent need to expand Muslim Americans’ opportunities for civic and political integration and fuller participation in the national discourse. This is the responsibility of Muslim Americans themselves, but also of our government, the policy establishment, the media, and other major American institutions.

We know from our history that immigrant groups gradually achieve political integration on their own, but in this instance we have everything to gain by accelerating the process. All Americans will benefit from the contributions that Muslim Americans can make to our society and to international understanding in a world beset by real and imagined differences and by costly conflict. By working together to ensure that Muslim American voices are heard, we will

not only increase our own security, but make our foreign policy a truer expression of who we are as a nation and reaffirm our commitment to the ideal of *E pluribus unum*.

Appendix

Muslim American Institutions

This list of institutions that directly engage Muslim American interests has been assembled by The Chicago Council on Global Affairs on behalf of the Task Force. It is intended to be a representative but not comprehensive listing. There are many smaller but still active and important organizations serving the needs of Muslim Americans around the country. The Chicago Council has made every reasonable effort to document the information included in the listing but takes no responsibility for the completeness or accuracy of any particular listing. Nor does the listing of any organization imply any endorsement by The Chicago Council or members of the Task Force of that organization's purposes or activities.

The American Islamic Forum for Democracy (AIFD) was founded in 2003 by M. Zuhdi Jasser, M.D., and a group of Muslim professionals. AIFD is a public membership organization with headquarters in Phoenix, Arizona. Through commentary and press releases it promotes an understanding of Islam that favors the separation of religion and state, supports the idea that Muslim Americans are able to practice their faith more freely in the United States, and believes that Islam's principles are compatible with free market capitalism. AIFD has opposed religious extremism, terrorism, and the use of Islam to justify violence. Initiatives have included networking with interfaith organizations, posting articles and commentary on its Web site, and contributions to the local discourse on Islam and its coexistence with other religions in the United States.

The American Muslim Alliance (AMA), founded in 1994, is a national grass-roots organization based in Newark, California, with offices in New York and Washington, D.C. It works to increase Muslim participation in electoral politics by encouraging voter participation and helping Muslims run for local office. AMA emphasizes civic engagement, leadership training, coalition building, strategy formation, political participation, and agenda setting. National chairman Agha Saeed played an important role in launching the California Civil Rights Alliance (CCRA), a statewide coalition of twenty-three organizations that campaigned for civil rights in the 2004 presidential election and the 2006 congressional elections.

American Muslim Taskforce on Civil Rights and Elections (AMT) was founded in 2004 as the successor to the American Muslim Political Coordinating Council. Its main objectives are to assist Muslim Americans in becoming full partners in the development and prosperity of the United States, defending the civil and human rights of all, integrating the American Muslim community into everyday American life, and building alliances with fellow Americans on a wide variety of social, political, economic, and moral issues. AMT seeks to achieve these goals by mobilizing Muslim Americans at the local, state, and federal levels to vote for the candidates who support their agenda. AMT issued election plans for the 2004 and 2006 elections. It also conducts voter education and strategic voter mobilization programs. AMT is a coalition of eleven national Muslim organizations: the American Muslim Alliance, Council on American-Islamic Relations, Islamic Circle of North America, Islamic Society of North America, Muslim Alliance of North America, Muslim American Society, Muslim Public Affairs Council, Muslim Student Association-National, Muslim Ummah of North America, Project Islamic Hope, and United Muslims of America.

American Muslims Intent on Learning and Activism (AMILA), founded in 1992, is a public membership organization headquartered in San Francisco and active throughout the Bay Area. AMILA (Arabic for "to work" or "to act") aims to develop capacity within the Muslim American community through activism, Islamic education, spirituality, and networking with other Muslim groups. AMILA reaches out to Muslim groups through lecture series, study groups, book clubs, and Ramadan spiritual retreats. It promotes cultural understanding and philanthropy through activities like Islamic Art Fairs and "Eid for Everyone" gift drives.

American Society for Muslim Advancement (ASMA) was founded in 1997 by Imam Feisal Abdul Rauf and is headquartered in New York City. ASMA is dedicated to strengthening American expressions of Islam based on tolerance and to fostering environments in which Muslim Americans can thrive without compromising essential values and beliefs. ASMA sponsors lectures, study groups, and cultural programs and participates in coalition building and interfaith dialogue. In 2002 Imam Feisal started the Cordoba Initiative, an interfaith effort to improve the relationship between the Islamic world and the United States through civil dialogue, policy initiatives,

education, and cultural programs. It has programmatic partnerships with institutions such as the National Jewish Center for Learning and Leadership, the East-West Institute, and the Aspen Institute.

Center for the Study of Islam and Democracy (CSID) was founded in Washington, D.C., in 1999 by a diverse group of Muslim and non-Muslim academics, professionals, and activists from around the United States. CSID is a membership-based, nonprofit think tank dedicated to studying Islamic and democratic political thought and merging them into modern Islamic democratic discourse. CSID sponsors an annual conference and a series of domestic and international workshops and seminars focused on Islam and democracy. It also issues *Muslim Democrat*, a quarterly member newsletter with original articles, book reviews, and announcements of events. It also issues *Democracy Watch*, a monthly newsletter on democratization and reform efforts in the Middle East and North Africa.

Council for the Advancement of Muslim Professionals (CAMP), established in 1994, is a network of young Muslim professionals with thirteen chapters in the United States and Canada. The main objective of CAMP is to encourage professional development through educational, social, and intellectual activities and networking. This includes working to build understanding and cooperation between the different faiths and cultures of the world. CAMP publishes a quarterly newsletter with event announcements and articles of interest to Muslim professionals. In cooperation with Civilizations of Exchange Cooperation Foundation, CAMP also organizes the Ambassadors of Peace Program, which allows twenty to twenty-five professionally minded individuals from different backgrounds to travel abroad and establish dialogue with Muslims in other parts of the world.

The Council of Islamic Organizations of Greater Chicago (CIOGC), founded in 1992, is the federated body of fifty organizations serving thousands of Muslims in the Greater Chicago area. Its members include mosques, schools, and social service and professional organizations from diverse backgrounds. The council works to strengthen the capacity of its member organizations and deepen relationships with other communities as well as city, state, and federal authorities. It also provides civic education, health services, and voter registration and fights negative portrayals of Muslims. CIOGC participates in a number of coalitions advocating labor rights and affordable housing in Chicago, health and education reform in Illinois, and

civil rights and immigration reform at the national level. In 2005 the Council worked to get Illinois legislators to pass a “Charity without Fear” resolution in support of Muslim charities. The council publishes the *Chicago Crescent*, a monthly newsletter, in addition to a weekly electronic newsletter. It also hosts the annual Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) convention attended by more than 40,000 people.

Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), founded in 1994, is the nation’s largest Muslim civil rights and advocacy group. It is headquartered in Washington, D.C., and has thirty-two chapters across the country. It focuses on protecting civil liberties and fostering better relations between the United States and the Muslim world. CAIR’s members are predominantly of Arab and Indo-Pakistani descent. CAIR’s daily action alerts on issues of interest to Muslims are sent to 500,000 individuals and organizations nationwide. The alerts are also translated into Arabic and distributed globally. Prior to September 11, 2001, CAIR focused on workplace discrimination issues. Since then, it has emphasized civil rights issues related to federal law enforcement. Through public service announcement campaigns it has attempted to improve the American understanding of Muslims in the United States. CAIR’s online petition against religiously motivated terrorism, “Not in the Name of Islam,” was signed by 700,000 individuals. CAIR also produces an annual report on the civil rights status of Muslims in the United States.

Free Muslims Coalition (FMC) is headquartered in Washington, D.C., and has chapters in ten states, Iraq, and Egypt. FMC is a nonprofit public membership organization of Muslim Americans and Arabs who feel that so-called “religious” violence and terrorism have not been fully rejected by the Muslim community. FMC supports the strengthening of secular democratic institutions in the Middle East and the Muslim world by supporting reform efforts. Coalition experts give interviews to the press and television, produce television ads, and publish a blog in support of a modern, secular, and pluralistic interpretation of Islam.

Human Development Foundation of North America (HDF) is a nonprofit organization established in 1997 by the Pakistani American community with funding from the Association of Pakistani Physicians of North America (APPNA), the Society for International Health, Education and Literacy Programs (SIH), and the Noor

Foundation. It is headquartered in Schaumburg, Illinois, and has offices in Canada and Pakistan. The mission of HDF is to facilitate a nonpolitical movement for positive social change and community empowerment through mass literacy, enhanced quality of education, universal primary health care, and grassroots economic development. HDF established the “YesPakistan.com” Web portal, which facilitates the development of a virtual community of Pakistanis. HDF also has a summer internship program for students interested in community mobilization and development.

Institute for Social Policy and Understanding (ISPU), headquartered in Clinton, Michigan, was founded in 2002. ISPU is an independent, nonadvocacy research organization that studies the impact of U.S. domestic and foreign policy on Muslims in America. The organization has more than two dozen full-time staff and scholars who contribute articles and research to the organization. ISPU’s main research areas are demographics, relations between the United States and the Muslim world, and the impact of post-September 11 policies on Muslim Americans. ISPU’s current priority is to collect demographic data on the Muslim community through a series of surveys, one of which is a national study in collaboration with the Pew Charitable Trusts.

The Institute on Religion and Civic Values (IRCV) is a national, non-profit research center based in Fountain Valley, California. Its mission is to strengthen civil society by exploring issues that affect faith, citizenship, and pluralism and to serve as a catalyst for aligning public policymaking with our nation’s core values. In 2007 IRCV began building upon the legacy and sixteen-year track record of its predecessor organization, the Council on Islamic Education (CIE). That organization was founded in 1990 to work within the U.S. K-12 education system to improve coverage of world history and world religions based on contemporary academic scholarship. Utilizing the nonadvocacy model refined during the CIE experience, IRCV’s research, consulting, training, and resource development work extends beyond education to areas such as civic engagement, media analysis, inter-religious cooperation, and international development.

International Strategy and Policy Institute (ISPI) was founded in Chicago in 1994 by a group of American Muslims to promote better understanding of Islam and Muslims in the United States. It also aspires to educate Muslim Americans about the U.S. educational

system and ways to participate in the national discourse. ISPI publishes books and papers addressing these issues, holds public seminars and colloquia, and sponsors lectures and discussions.

Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA), founded in 1971, is an umbrella organization working to increase the general public’s knowledge of Islam and to encourage Muslims to follow Islamic traditions. It also is an advocate for civil liberties and socioeconomic justice in American society. Based in Queens, New York, it has chapters in fourteen cities. ICNA’s members are primarily of Indo-Pakistani origin. ICNA outreach activities, conducted through the “Why Islam” project, include a toll-free number to answer questions about Islam, billboards on public highways, community-organizing booths at malls, and radio advertisements. In recent years ICNA has cohosted its national convention with the Muslim American Society. The ICNA Sisters Wing provides Islamic education and training to women of all backgrounds and publishes *Noor* magazine. ICNA also operates Muslim Children of North America, an educational project focused on children ages five through twelve, and Young Muslims, a national youth organization that provides educational services. ICNA also supports a Muslim Women’s Help Network, which is based on the idea that the protection and maintenance of women and children are the foundation of a productive community life. ICNA is restructuring its board and programming to focus on spiritual development and religious education within the community through *halaqas* (religious gatherings) and lectures.

ICNA Relief, a separate charitable organization, provides social services to Muslims and is beginning outreach to the non-Muslim community. After September 11, 2001, ICNA Relief documented civil rights cases and provided case-management services to detainees and their families. In 2005 ICNA Relief raised \$10 million in cash and in-kind donations for earthquake victims in Pakistan.

Islamic Networks Group (ING) was founded in 1993. Based in the San Francisco Bay Area, ING is an entrepreneurial, educational outreach organization with affiliates and partners in twenty U.S. states, in Canada, and in the United Kingdom. ING promotes interfaith dialogue and education about world religions and their contributions to civilization through annual presentations and other educational programs in schools, universities, law enforcement agencies, corporations, health care facilities, and community centers.

Islamic Shura Council of Southern California (ISCSC) was established in 1995 to promote communication, understanding, cooperation, and coordination among the Muslim communities in Southern California. The main goal of the organization is to facilitate the emergence of an integrated Muslim community in Southern California to provide guidance on the practice of Islam in the United States. ISCSC is located in Anaheim, California, and is affiliated with more than sixty Islamic Centers, mosques, and civic organizations.

The Islamic Society of Greater Houston (ISGH) was established in 1968 for the purpose of reconstructing an Islamic community in accordance with the principles of the Quran and Sunnah (the model practices, customs, and traditions of the prophet Muhammad); providing services for fulfilling the educational, religious, social, economic, and cultural needs of the Muslim community in Houston; providing an Islamic identity for the children in the community; and presenting an Islamic point of view to those outside the Muslim communities. ISGH runs seventeen mosques and community centers. Through its subsidiary, the Islamic Education Institute of Texas (IEIT), it operates three full-time schools under the name of Dar-ul-Arqam.

Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) was founded in 1982 as an offshoot of the Muslim Students Association of the United States and Canada (MSA-National). ISNA, headquartered in Plainfield, Indiana, is a national association of Sunni Muslim organizations. Membership is diverse but predominantly comprised of immigrants of South Asian and Arab origin. ISNA develops educational, social, and outreach programs on Islam and works to improve relations between Muslim and non-Muslim American communities. In 2004 ISNA launched the ISNA Leadership Development Center, which provides imam training and engages in other capacity-building activities. ISNA also holds the largest annual Muslim conference in the country, in Chicago, with approximately 40,000 participants. ISNA's magazine, *New Horizons*, has a circulation of 70,000. ISNA recently elected Ingrid Mattson, professor of Islamic Studies at Hartford Seminary, as president. She is the first woman president of a national Muslim organization.

Karamah: Muslim Women Lawyers for Human Rights was founded in 1993 at the University of Richmond Law School by Professor Azizah al-Hibri and a group of Muslim women lawyers. Its work is primarily

composed of research and writing on Islamic jurisprudential issues relating to women's rights. Now based in Washington, D.C., Karamah promotes the well-being of Muslim communities worldwide through legal education and leadership development. It also works to increase respect and understanding of Islamic law and civilization. Karamah shares its knowledge of gender-equitable Islamic jurisprudence with Muslim women jurists in other countries. With the support of the National Endowment for Democracy, Karamah has established the international Muslim Women Jurist Network to enable members to engage in dialogue on issues affecting Muslim women. Karamah's Law and Leadership Summer Program puts approximately twenty women through a three-week course on leadership training, peace, and conflict resolution.

Muslim Advocates was founded in 2005 as the charitable arm of the National Association of Muslim Lawyers. Headquartered in Washington, D.C., the organization uses legal advocacy, policy advocacy, and education to promote justice, freedom, and equality for all regardless of faith. It also promotes the full participation of Muslims in American public life. Most members are lawyers, but the organization is beginning to appeal to other Muslim professionals. Muslim Advocates undertook advocacy work related to the PATRIOT Act in 2005 and met with senior officials of the Department of Justice, Department of Homeland Security, and FBI to articulate the Muslim community's civil rights concerns. Muslim Advocates also undertook a campaign to help protect Muslim American charitable giving. The organization has partnered with the ACLU and the Center for National Security Studies on a number of issues such as a campaign to encourage Congress to exercise comprehensive oversight of domestic surveillance. Other partners include the National Immigration Forum, South Asian American Leaders of Tomorrow, and the North American South Asian Bar Association. Muslim Advocates is a member of the Rights Working Group, a collaborative campaign addressing human rights and civil liberties.

Muslim Alliance in North America (MANA) was founded in 2001 by Siraj Wahhaj and Ihsan Bagby. MANA, headquartered in Lexington, Kentucky, is a national network of mosques, Muslim organizations, and individuals working to address social and economic problems facing Muslim communities, especially in inner cities. MANA aims to strengthen neighborhoods and institutions that meet the critical needs of Muslim Americans, to call people to the message of

Islam, and to work for remedies of injustice and other ills affecting American society in general and Muslims in particular. MANA's constituents are primarily African American Muslims.

Muslim American Society (MAS) was founded in 1992. Based in Falls Church, Virginia, MAS has fifty-five chapters (most run by volunteers) in thirty-five states. It aims to present the message of Islam as one of peace through submission to the will of Allah, to promote better understanding and more cooperation between Muslims and non-Muslims, and to encourage Muslims to take part in building a virtuous and moral society. MAS works primarily through religious education programs, lectures, and youth work through its fifteen community centers. It publishes a magazine for Muslim Americans, partners with ICNA on its annual conference, and is a member of the AMT and the American-Muslim Task Force for Disaster Relief. Membership is largely Muslims of Arab descent, but an increasing number of South Asians and African Americans are participating in its activities.

MAS Freedom Foundation (MAS FF) was founded in 2004 as the public policy and advocacy division of MAS. MAS FF has headquarters in Washington, D.C., and twelve chapters. The foundation seeks to engage the MAS network in civic and policy issues and to build a broad coalition that will enhance the religious, political, and social strengths of the Muslim American community. MAS FF electronically distributes weekly updates on civil rights and organizing. It has organized voter registration efforts that include electronic registration kiosks at mosques around the country. MAS FF is also involved in community efforts to promote a higher minimum wage, poverty alleviation, and disaster relief, including relief for Katrina victims. It has just launched a Civil and Human Rights Division to monitor and address human and civil rights violations in the United States as well as abroad. The division will also work to strengthen coalition ties with existing human and civil rights organizations and will conduct educational and advocacy campaigns to assist grassroots, legal, and legislative initiatives.

Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC) was founded in 1988 and has offices in Los Angeles and Washington, D.C. It is a public service, policy, and media outreach organization that aims to foster effective grassroots organizing, protect the civil rights of Muslim Americans,

and build relationships between Muslim Americans and their political representatives. MPAC's base is predominantly Arab American and Indo-Pakistani. MPAC, which has a strong history of engaging in interfaith activities in Los Angeles, recently launched a joint project on civic engagement with the Progressive Jewish Alliance. In 2004 MPAC initiated the National Grassroots Campaign to Fight Terrorism and set three goals: to raise religious awareness and make it widely understood that terrorism does not conform to the Islamic principle of *jihad* (struggle), to increase control of intermosque activities to prevent exploitation by outside elements and to facilitate detection of criminal activity. To work toward these goals, MPAC developed forums and training seminars involving mosque leaders and law enforcement agencies. It also disseminated guidelines for imams and Muslim leaders. The campaign was endorsed by the FBI and the Islamic Society of North America. MPAC is also a member of the Rights Working Group, a collaborative campaign addressing human rights and civil liberties.

Muslim Students Association of the United States and Canada (MSA), founded in 1963, is the oldest Muslim organization in the United States. Based in Falls Church, Virginia, it has chapters at most large universities, where it provides venues for Muslim students of all nations to convene for prayers and educational forums. Because of MSA's decentralized structure, chapters vary significantly. Some chapters are quite conservative, while others have been active on domestic and international issues, taking part in interfaith and global social justice activities. MSA National does not engage directly in advocacy but has used its campus-based student groups to mobilize people for public demonstrations.

National Association of Muslim Lawyers (NAML) was founded in 1996 as MuslimJD, an e-mail discussion list for Muslim attorneys sponsored by Karamah: Muslim Women Lawyers for Human Rights. It changed its name and registered as a nonprofit corporation in 2000. Based in Washington, D.C., NAML promotes the integration of Muslims into American society by fostering understanding of and respect for the law, the legal process, and the role of the legal profession. NAML also promotes meaningful access to legal representation for Muslims. Since 1999 NAML has hosted an annual conference on legal issues that pertain to Muslim Americans. It also partners with local Muslim bar affiliates and law schools throughout the country. In 2005 NAML founded its own charitable entity, Muslim Advocates.

Project Islamic HOPE (Helping Oppressed People Everywhere) (PIH) is a civil and human rights organization based in Los Angeles. It supports and follows the leadership of Imam W. Deen Mohammed and organizes rallies, marches, and other events for the local African American Muslim community.

Sound Vision Foundation, based in Bridgeview, Illinois, is a charitable organization established in 1995 to develop Islamic information and educational material for Muslims in the United States. Its materials are now also widely used outside the United States. Sound Vision publishes original content on Islamic life in a Western context, including issues related to youth, domestic violence, the empowerment of women, bridge building, and civic participation. Sound Vision's weekly newsletter provides guidance to Muslim individuals and mosques on how to further mutual understanding with non-Muslims. Sound Vision also produces Chicago's only Muslim daily talk show, called "Radio Islam," in which a diverse group of Muslim and non-Muslim leaders often participate. Sound Vision's other projects include a special series for children, MuslimFest (which showcases Islamic arts and music), and the production and promotion of English language Islamic music.

United Muslims of America (UMA), founded in 1982 and headquartered in Sunnyvale, California, was the nation's first nonpartisan Muslim public affairs organization. Entirely a volunteer organization, UMA focuses on encouraging American Muslims to participate in U.S. political and civic life. It also sponsors the UMA Interfaith Alliance to encourage interreligious dialogue. UMA is a member of American Muslim Taskforce on Civil Rights and Elections.

Zaytuna Institute, a nonprofit educational institute and school, was founded in 1996 by Hamza Yusuf and Dr. Hesham Alalusi in Hayward, California. It provides educational programs, materials on Islam, and training in Islamic religious studies. Zaytuna regularly offers courses on Islamic studies and Arabic language. On average, 250 students register for more than ten courses each quarter. Zaytuna plans to make its educational programs available outside the Bay Area through its soon-to-be-launched Distance Learning Program and the Zaytuna Minara Program. The latter provides a concentrated educational format in which selected topics are taught in multiple, daylong sessions in cities across the United States. To date nearly 1,000 students

have taken part in this program. In 2004 Zaytuna Institute instituted a three-year pilot project for a full-time Islamic seminary program designed to train Muslim students to become scholars, leaders, thinkers, and influential voices in American society. The success of the pilot project led to the creation of a larger program, one that will last for six years and be multidisciplinary.

The following organizations serve various ethnic and national groups, Muslim and non-Muslim.

American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) was founded in 1980 by former U.S. Senator James Abourezk. ADC has headquarters in Washington, D.C., and thirty-eight chapters nationwide. ADC defends the rights of Americans of Arab descent against discrimination, stereotyping, and hate crimes. It also promotes the cultural heritage of Arab Americans. ADC encourages unified, collective, and effective advocacy work among Arab Americans; promotes a balanced U.S. Middle East policy; and serves as a reliable source for news media and educators. ADC's department of legal services offers counseling in cases of discrimination and defamation. ADC is also involved in cultural and community activities and events. It issues a bimonthly newsletter, *ADC Times*, along with issue papers and special reports on defamation and discrimination. ADC also provides its members with guidance and action alerts on issues requiring a grassroots response.

Arab American Institute (AAI), founded in 1985 in Washington, D.C., is a nonprofit, nonpartisan, national leadership organization that encourages Arab Americans to participate in political and civic life and fosters a national sense of community. AAI convenes national and local organizations for leadership summits and holds meetings with policymakers and U.S. government officials. It promotes Arab American political participation by forming Arab American Democratic and Republican leadership councils, hosting major events at national and state party conventions, conducting get-out-the-vote events and candidate forums, registering and informing Arab American voters in key states, and publishing an annual congressional scorecard.

Association of Arab American University Graduates (AAUG), founded in 1968 and based in New York, is an educational and cultural membership-based association that does not engage in politi-

cal lobbying. It develops educational and cultural information and activities on the Arab world and the Arab American community. AAUG's goal is to contribute the intellectual and professional skills of the Arab American community to facilitating positive developments in the Arab world and to build understanding between that world and the United States. AAUG programs include an annual conference, cultural events, summer study in the Middle East, and publication of the *Arab Studies Quarterly* as well as books on the Arab world and the Arab American community.

National Association of Arab-Americans (NAAA), founded in 1972, is a lobbying group dedicated to the formulation and implementation of an objective, nonpartisan U.S. foreign policy agenda in the Middle East. NAAA focuses on a wide range of Middle East-related issues, including the Arab-Israeli conflict, Middle East peace negotiations, democracy and human rights, the reconstruction of Lebanon, U.S. foreign aid, and regional security and stability. NAAA's national office in Washington, D.C., prepares reports and briefs to assist its board in setting policy objectives. *Voice*, its newsletter, keeps members current on activities in Washington and around the country. NAAA's political action committee supports candidates for federal elective office who are receptive to issues of concern to Arab Americans. NAAA Foundation, a nonprofit educational organization, supports programs fostering an awareness of Arab history, ethnicity, and culture in the United States.

Pakistani American Public Affairs Committee (PAKPAC) was founded in 1989 by members of the Association of Physicians of Pakistani Descent of North America. PAKPAC has headquarters in Laurel, Maryland, five active chapters, and representatives in many congressional districts. It is a national political lobbying organization focusing on the concerns of the Pakistani-American community and the Pakistani-U.S. relationship. After September 11, 2001, PAKPAC focused on civil rights, and in 2005 it mobilized its members to raise funds for earthquake victims in Kashmir. PAKPAC undertakes direct lobbying efforts with Congress and meets with government agencies such as the Department of Homeland Security and the Department of State. The organization is staffed with one full-time secretary. The remainder of its work is undertaken by volunteers and the board of directors.

South Asian American Leaders of Tomorrow (SAALT), founded in 2000, works to increase the capacity of the U.S. South Asian community to participate in the nation's civic and political life. SAALT is headquartered in Takoma Park, Maryland, and has an office in New York City. In May 2006 SAALT became a membership organization, and it currently has a listserv of 2,300. SAALT addresses domestic issues and is particularly concerned with criminal justice, immigration reform, and xenophobia. It addresses these through community education, leadership development, and coalition building. Its civic empowerment programs focus on new immigrants and youth. SAALT is a member of the National Council of Asian Pacific Americans, through which it collaborates with the U.S. Departments of Justice and Homeland Security on community civil liberty and security concerns. Among SAALT's accomplishments are the production of an award-winning documentary and campaign to raise public awareness of post-September 11 hate crimes against South Asians.

Signers of the Report

Geneive Abdo
 Javeed Akhter
 Salam Al-Marayati
 Khalid Azim
 Yahya M. Basha
 M. Cherif Bassiouni
 Louise Cainkar
 Colleen K. Connell
 Richard H. Cooper
 Sunil Garg
 William S. Graham
 David D. Hiller
 Shamil Idriss
 Farooq Kathwari
 Dale T. Knobel
 John Jeffrey Louis III
 Lynn M. Martin
 Aminah Beverly McCloud
 Abdul Malik Mujahid
 Guity Nashat
 Mary Rose Oakar
 Talat Othman
 Eboo Patel
 Imad I. Qasim
 Ahmed Rehab
 Gowher Rizvi
 Carl Robinson
 Nawar Shora
 Donald M. Stewart
 Philippa Strum
 Sayyid M. Syeed
 John Tateishi

Task Force Cochairs

Farooq Kathwari

*Chairman, President and Chief Executive Officer
 Ethan Allen Interiors Inc.*

Farooq Kathwari is chairman, president, and CEO of Ethan Allen Interiors Inc. He has been president of the company since 1985 and chairman and CEO since 1988. Mr. Kathwari also serves as chairman of the Kashmir Study Group, chairman of Refugees International, a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, a trustee of the World Conference of Religions for Peace, a member of the American Committees on Foreign Relations' board of distinguished advisors, vice chairman of the National Retail Federation, past chairman and president of the American Home Furnishings Alliance, a director of Henry L. Stimson Center, and a director of the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy at Georgetown University. He has received National Human Relations awards from the American Jewish Committee, American Muslim recognition awards from several organizations, *Worth Magazine* recognition as one of the fifty best CEOs in the United States, the National Retail Federation Gold Medal, the International First Freedom Award from the Council for America's First Freedom, Ernst & Young's Entrepreneur of the Year Award, and the Anti-Defamation League's Humanitarian Award. He received his B.A. degree from Kashmir University in English literature and political science and an M.B.A. in international marketing from New York University.

Lynn M. Martin

Former United States Secretary of Labor

Lynn Martin, former U.S. secretary of labor and five-term member of Congress, is president of the Martin Hall Group, Inc., a consulting company dealing with human resource issues. She also advises companies on global strategies and activities. For twelve years, Secretary Martin chaired Deloitte & Touche's Council on the Advancement of Women and was an advisor to the firm. She was also a professor at Northwestern University's J.L. Kellogg Graduate School of Management. Secretary Martin now serves as a member of the boards of directors of The Chicago Council on Global Affairs, Constellation Energy Group, Dreyfus Funds, the Procter & Gamble Co., Ryder System, Inc., and AT&T, Incorporated. She is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, New York, and the Chicago Network. She also serves as a member of the not-for-profit

Special Programs Corporation of the United Negro College Fund. In addition to a number of honorary degrees, Secretary Martin has received the Defender of Justice Award from the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the Alumni Achievement Award from the University of Illinois, and the Directors' Choice Award from the National Women's Economic Alliance. She was selected as the Mother of the Year by the March of Dimes, has received the Jane Addams Medal from Rockford College, has been elected as laureate of the Lincoln Academy of Illinois, and was selected as Woman of Achievement by the Anti-Defamation League in 2001. Prior to serving as secretary of labor, she represented the 16th District of Illinois in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1981 to 1991. She has also served in state and local elective offices. Secretary Martin graduated Phi Beta Kappa from the University of Illinois in 1960.

Participant Biographic Summaries

Geneive Abdo

Senior Analyst, Gallup Center for Muslim Studies

The Gallup Organization

Geneive Abdo is a senior analyst for the Gallup Center for Muslim Studies. She was formerly the liaison officer for the Alliance of Civilizations, a United Nations initiative under Secretary-General Kofi Annan. In September 2006 her book on Muslims in America, *Mecca and Main Street: Muslim Life in America After 9/11*, was published by Oxford University Press. Before joining the United Nations, Ms. Abdo was a foreign correspondent for the *Chicago Tribune*. Her twenty-year career focused on coverage of the Middle East and the Islamic world. She was also at the Kroc Institute.

Javeed Akhter

Founder and Executive Director

The International Strategy and Policy Institute

Dr. Javeed Akhter is a founder and executive director of the International Strategy and Policy Institute (ISPI), a nonprofit organization established in 1994 by a group of Muslim Americans in the Chicago area. Dr. Akhter is also a member of the Chicago Committee of Human Rights Watch and Muslim Public Affairs Council. He is an associate professor of pediatrics at the University of Illinois and a faculty member in the pediatrics residency program at Advocate Hope Children's Hospital in Oak Lawn, Illinois.

Salam Al-Marayati

Executive Director

Muslim Public Affairs Council

Salam Al-Marayati is the director and a founder of the Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC), a public service, nonprofit, nonpartisan agency that disseminates accurate information about Islam and Muslims to the media and elected officials. Previously, he served as the commissioner of the Human Relations Committee in Los Angeles, board member of the American Committee to Save Bosnia, cochair of Interfaith Coalition to Heal Los Angeles, and member of the executive committee of the Democratic National Party.

Khalid Azim

*Executive Director
UBS Securities LLC*

In 2006 Khalid Azim joined the Capital Markets desk of UBS Investment Bank after a nearly ten-year career at Morgan Stanley. Mr. Azim also served as an officer in the U.S. Navy and is a veteran of the first Gulf War. Mr. Azim was selected as a White House Fellow for the 1999-2000 class. He is also a member of the Council of Foreign Relations, New York. Mr. Azim sits on the board of trustees of the Cathedral School of St. John the Divine.

Yahya M. Basha

*Founder and Chairman
Muslim American Coalition*

Dr. Basha is currently a foundation board member of the Muslim Public Affairs Council and is on the board of governors of the Arab American Institute in Washington, D.C. Dr. Basha was chairman of the American Muslim Council from 2000-03. He has also served as member of the State of Michigan Civil Rights Commission; advisor to the American Muslim Taskforce; chair of American Muslim Political Coordinating Council; board member of the Center for the Study of Islam and Democracy; and president of the Islamic Medical Association, Midwest Region.

M. Cherif Bassiouni

*President Emeritus, International Human Rights Law Institute
Distinguished Research Professor of Law, DePaul University*

Dr. Bassiouni is the Distinguished Research Professor of Law at DePaul University and president emeritus of the International Human Rights Law Institute. He is also president of the International Institute of Higher Studies in Criminal Sciences in Siracusa, Italy, as well as the honorary president of the International Association of Penal Law, based in Paris, France. Previously, he served as dean, secretary general, and honorary president of the International Association of Penal Law and as nonresident professor of criminal law at the University of Cairo.

Louise Cainkar

*Assistant Professor, Social and Cultural Sciences
Marquette University*

Louise Cainkar is a sociologist and assistant professor in the Department of Social and Cultural Sciences at Marquette University.

She is currently writing a book based on her study of the impact of the September 11 attacks on the Arab/Muslim community in metropolitan Chicago. In 2004 she received the Carnegie Corporation Scholar Award for her work on Islamic revival in the United States. Ms. Cainkar is a consulting scholar on the Social Science Research Council project “Reframing the Challenge of Migration and Security.”

Colleen K. Connell

*Executive Director
American Civil Liberties Union of Illinois*

In January of 2001 Colleen Connell became the first woman attorney to lead the American Civil Liberties Union of Illinois. Ms. Connell joined the staff of the ACLU of Illinois in 1984. Prior to becoming the executive director, Ms. Connell served as the ACLU’s associate legal director and director of the Reproductive Rights Project. She also litigated a wide variety of other cases, including matters involving rights of the mentally ill, equal access to education, housing discrimination, freedom of speech and association, and other constitutional rights.

Richard H. Cooper

*Chairman
General Welfare Group, LLC*

Richard Cooper is the chairman of General Welfare Group, LLC. He is a graduate of New York University and completed the program on Investment Decisions & Behavioral Finance at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. He is a member of the board of The Chicago Council on Global Affairs and serves on its executive committee. He also serves as a member of the international advisory committee of the International Crisis Group and is the convener of the R2P Coalition, a group of global human rights organizations.

Sunil Garg

*Director, Integration Office
Exelon Corporation*

Sunil Garg is currently a director at Exelon Corporation. Prior to joining Exelon in 2002, he worked in consulting for ICF International and did research on inner-city neighborhoods for the University of Chicago’s Chapin Hall Center for Children before becoming an assistant to Chicago Mayor Richard M. Daley in 1997. In 1999 he was appointed a White House Fellow by President Clinton. He currently serves on the board of the Old Town School of Folk Music, the

Chicago Children's Theater, Inter-Faith Youth Core, Kids in Danger, and Residents' Journal.

William S. Graham

Founder

Shenandoah Capital, LLC

William Scott Graham is the founder of Shenandoah Capital, LLC. He was formerly president of USABlueBook, a leading direct mail catalog in the water and water treatment industry, serving over 50,000 municipal and industrial accounts. He has also held the position of senior consultant and project leader with Grupo Financero, based in Mexico City, Mexico. Mr. Graham is also the Guatemala project leader and sponsor donor of the organization Water for People.

David D. Hiller

President, Publisher and CEO

Los Angeles Times

David D. Hiller became publisher, president, and CEO of the *Los Angeles Times* in October 2006 after holding the same positions at the Tribune Company starting in November 2004. Hiller came to the Tribune Company in 1988 from the law firm of Sidley & Austin. Previously, he served two years at the U.S. Department of Justice as special assistant and associate deputy attorney general. He is on the board of trustees for Roosevelt University and the Chicago History Museum and is on the board of directors of the McCormick Tribune Foundation and Chicago Tribune Foundation.

Shamil Idriss

Acting Director, Alliance of Civilizations

United Nations

Shamil Idriss is acting director of the Alliance of Civilizations, an initiative launched by the UN secretary-general in September 2005 with the goal of improving Islamic-Western relations. Prior to this position, Mr. Idriss served as senior advisor to the Council of 100 Leaders: West-Islamic World Dialogue Initiative at the World Economic Forum and continues to serve on the steering committee for that initiative. From 2000-04, Mr. Idriss served as chief operating officer of Search for Common Ground, a global leader in international conflict resolution.

Dale T. Knobel

President

Denison University

Dale T. Knobel is a scholar specializing in the history of American ethnic and race relations. He has served since 1998 as president and professor of history at Denison University. He came to Denison from Southwestern University in Texas, where he was provost and dean of the faculty. Over the preceding twenty years he served on the history faculties of Northwestern University and Texas A&M University. Dr. Knobel is a trustee of the Institute for the International Education of Students.

John Jeffrey Louis III

Chairman

Parson Capital Corporation

John Jeffrey Louis is chairman of Parson Capital Corporation, a small merchant banking firm in Chicago. He is a director and cofounder of Frye-Louis Capital Management in Chicago and the City Bakery, Inc. in New York City. Mr. Louis is also a director of S. C. Johnson and Son, Johnson Financial Group, and Eximious, Inc. He is the former chairman of the board of National-Louis University, a trustee of Northwestern University, and serves on the board of directors of The Chicago Council on Global Affairs.

Aminah Beverly McCloud

Director, Islamic World Studies, and Professor, Islamic Studies,

Department of Religious Studies

DePaul University

Dr. McCloud is a professor of Islamic Studies in the department of religious studies at DePaul University and the director of the Islamic World Studies Program. She is also editor of *The Journal of Islamic Law and Culture* and founder of the Islam in America Conference at DePaul University. She is a board member of CAIR-Chicago, the Healing Project at Boston University Hospital, Radio Islam, the Institute for Social and Policy Understanding, and the Feminist Sexual Ethics Project at Brandeis University.

Abdul Malik Mujahid*Chair**Council of Islamic Organizations of Greater Chicago*

Abdul Malik Mujahid is chair of the Council of Islamic Organizations of Greater Chicago. He is the founder, president, and director of Sound Vision Foundation. He gives Friday sermons at Chicago's Muslim Community Center, Rush Presbyterian St. Luke's Hospital, and the Downtown Islamic Center. Mr. Mujahid is on the board of trustees of the Council for a Parliament of the World's Religions. In the past, he has served as national coordinator of Bosnia Task Force, USA. It was in this capacity that he initiated the formation of the Islamic Shura Council of North America.

Guity Nashat*Associate Professor of History**University of Illinois at Chicago*

Guity Nashat is a research fellow at the Hoover Institution and an associate professor of history at the University of Illinois at Chicago. She is a member of the editorial advisory board for *World Civilization* and a member of the Middle East Studies Committee at the University of Illinois. She was formerly a member of the Center for Middle East Studies at the University of Chicago. She is a member of the Iranian Studies Association, the Middle East Studies Association, and the Council of the Society of Iranian Studies.

Mary Rose Oakar*President**American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee*

Mary Rose Oakar was a founding member of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee's advisory board and was named president in June 2003. She has served as member of the Cleveland City Council, as congresswoman, and as a member of the Ohio House of Representatives. She was appointed by Vice President Gore to the board of Builders for Peace and Economic Development in the Middle East. She has also served as a monitor for the Palestinian elections.

Talat Othman*President**Grove Financial, Inc.*

Talat Othman is president of Grove Financial, Inc., an investment firm specializing in U.S.-Middle East business and finance.

Previously, Mr. Othman established and served as CEO of Dearborn Financial, Inc., was general manager of Saudi Arab Financial Corporation of Luxembourg, and served as vice president and head of the International Money Management Division at Harris Bank. Mr. Othman served on Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government Middle East Institute board and was the founding president of the founding committee of the Council of Islamic Organizations of Greater Chicago.

Eboo Patel*Founder and Executive Director**Interfaith Youth Core*

Eboo Patel is the founder and executive director of the Interfaith Youth Core, a Chicago-based international nonprofit organization. He serves on the board of directors of the International Interfaith Centre and the Interfaith Initiative of the Points of Light Foundation and is president of the board of *CrossCurrents* magazine. Dr. Patel is an Ashoka Fellow, selected as part of an elite international network of "social entrepreneurs" implementing ideas with the potential to change the pattern of our society.

Imad I. Qasim*Partner**Sidley Austin LLP*

Imad Qasim is a partner in the Chicago office of Sidley Austin LLP. His principal practice areas are mergers and acquisitions, corporate finance, venture investments, buyouts, and international transactions. Mr. Qasim is a member of the American Bar Association and is admitted to practice in the District of Columbia, Illinois, and New York. He is a graduate of Georgetown University and Hamilton College. Mr. Qasim is a member of the board of directors of The Chicago Council on Global Affairs.

Ahmed Rehab*Executive Director, Chicago Office**Council on American-Islamic Relations*

Ahmed Rehab is executive director of the Chicago office of the Council on American-Islamic Relations, the nation's largest Muslim civil liberties and advocacy group. Rehab has traveled to Kericho, Kenya, as part of the U.S. delegation from the Council for a Parliament of the World's Religions. He serves as board member and secretary of the

Egyptian American Society. Previously, he served as an educational consultant for Chicago's Niagara Foundation, an interfaith organization that promotes interactive dialogue.

Gowher Rizvi

Lecturer in Public Policy and Director

Ash Institute for Democratic Governance and Innovation

Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

Gowher Rizvi is director of the Ash Institute for Democratic Governance and Innovation. Before joining the institute, he was the Ford Foundation's representative in New Delhi, having previously served as the foundation's deputy director for Governance and Civil Society, as a program officer in the Foundation's Asia division, and as the Asia Society's director of contemporary affairs. Rizvi came to the Ford and Asia foundations from Oxford University, where he held several positions. He is also the founder and editor of *Contemporary South Asia*, an academic and policy studies journal.

Carl Robinson

Managing Partner

MICA Consulting Partners

Carl Robinson is managing partner of the firm of MICA Consulting Partners. As a licensed psychologist, Dr. Robinson has spent the better part of his career assisting a broad range of businesses in the management of change and in developing effective leadership and talent management strategies. He holds a faculty appointment at Northwestern University and is currently a visiting associate professor of industrial/organizational psychology at Roosevelt University.

Nawar Shora

Director, Law Enforcement Outreach Program

American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee

Nawar Shora is director of Diversity and Law Enforcement Outreach (LEOP) with the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee. He initiated the program in January of 2002. Through LEOP, Mr. Shora has been involved in varied aspects of diversity education and cultural awareness training and has worked with government agencies, private corporations, churches, and academic institutions. He is a subject matter expert on Arabs and Islam on two government training DVDs, one by the Department of Justice and the other by the Department of Homeland Security. He is also author of *The Arab-American Handbook* (Cune Press) due out in fall 2007.

Donald M. Stewart

Visiting Professor, Harris School of Public Policy

The University of Chicago

In 2004 Donald M. Stewart retired from the position of CEO of The Chicago Community Trust, a post he held since January 2000. He is currently a visiting professor at the University of Chicago's Harris School of Public Policy Studies. Prior to joining the trust, Stewart spent an academic year at the Carnegie Corporation, serving as senior program officer of the education division and special advisor to the president. Dr. Stewart is the former president of Spelman College in Atlanta, where he served for ten years.

Philippa Strum

Director, United States Studies

Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

Philippa Strum is director of the division of United States studies at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and Broeklundian Professor of Political Science Emerita, City University of New York. She is a political scientist specializing in U.S. government and constitutional law, civil liberties, and human rights. She has also taught at Boğaziçi Üniversitesi in Istanbul. Her edited Wilson Center publications include *American Arabs: History, Identity, Assimilation, Participation*. Dr. Strum is the secretary of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Sayyid M. Syeed

National Director, Office of Interfaith and Community Alliances

Islamic Society of North America

In 2006 Dr. Sayyid M. Syeed stepped down as secretary general of the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) to lead ISNA's Office of Interfaith and Community Alliances. Other former positions include secretary general of the International Islamic Federation of Student Organizations, general secretary of the Association of Muslim Social Scientists, and editor-in-chief of the *American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*. Dr. Syeed is a member of the board of advisory editors for the *Middle East Affairs Journal* and of the board of advisors for the Council on American-Islamic Relations.

John Tateishi

*National Executive Director (retired)
Japanese American Citizens League*

In 2006 John Tateishi retired as national executive director of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) after more than twenty-five years of involvement with Asian American communities. He gained national prominence in 1978 when he launched a campaign to seek redress for Japanese Americans interned in U.S. detention camps during WWII. As the national redress director of JACL, Mr. Tateishi crafted the legislative and public affairs strategies of a grass-roots campaign that lasted ten years and successfully culminated in an apology from the president and the U.S. Congress and monetary redress for the victims of the internment.

Task Force Observers

Caroline P. Cracraft

*Vice Consul for Press and Public Affairs (retired)
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Qamar-ul Huda

*Senior Program Officer, Religion and Peacemaking Program
United States Institute of Peace*

Task Force Session Speakers

Session I – Opening Comments/Background to the Issues

Marda Dunsky

*Assistant Professor
Medill School of Journalism, Northwestern University*

Sulayman S. Nyang

*Professor of African Studies
Howard University*

Session II: American Muslim Participation in Foreign Policy Discourse

Salam Al-Marayati*

*Director
Muslim Public Affairs Council*

Geneive Abdo*

*Senior Analyst, Gallup Center for Muslim Studies
The Gallup Organization*

Agha Saeed

*Professor of Political Science and Sociology
California State University, East Bay*

Session III: Empowering the Community

Richard Cizik*

*Vice President for Governmental Affairs
National Association of Evangelicals*

Dale T. Knobel*

*President
Denison University*

John Tateishi*

*National Executive Director (retired)
Japanese American Citizens League*

Session IV: Engaging the Community in U.S. Relations with the Muslim World

Brad Hirschfield

Vice President

CLAL - The National Jewish Center for Learning and Leadership

Session V: Discussion of City Visits, Capacity-Building Papers and Draft Outline of Report

Nadia Roumani

Fellow, Center for Religion and Civic Culture

University of Southern California

Session VI: Discussion and Finalization of Key Findings and Possible Recommendations

(no speakers)

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