

Assimilation or Alienation? The Case of American Muslim Religiosity and Immigration

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ABSTRACT

The American media often portrays Muslim and American identities as being in conflict with one another. However, few studies analyze how American Muslims, themselves, view their own social integration. Using a nationally representative sample of American Muslims conducted by the Pew Research Center in 2011, this study analyzes the impact of levels of religiosity and immigration status on American Muslim perceptions of assimilation and alienation. To test this association, four measures of assimilation and three reconceptualized measures of alienation were utilized for each predictor variable in a cross tabulation analysis. Contrary to popular belief, it is immigration status, and not levels of religiosity, that explain perceptions of assimilation and alienation among American Muslims, with native-born American Muslims experiencing simultaneous perceptions of assimilation *and* alienation.

This study examines the mechanisms that lead to perceptions of assimilation and alienation, while also constructing measurements for these perceptions. Previous studies have tried to answer this question by focusing on ethnic categories, but no study has approached this question by focusing on religious groups. American Muslims have been a part of American pluralism since the nineteenth century. As of 2015, there were 3.3 million American Muslims and this number is projected to double by 2050 (Mohamed 2016). American Muslims are often

perceived as being distinct from mainstream¹ American culture; but, how do they perceive themselves within the American social landscape? Since the 9/11 attacks, American Muslims have been scrutinized by the media and exposed to governmental surveillance. These realities leave American Muslims vulnerable to perceptions of alienation. I aim to understand the mechanisms at play by utilizing the American Muslim experience. Specifically, how do levels of religiosity and immigration status impact American Muslim perceptions of assimilation and alienation?

The study consists of two predictor variables: (1) levels of religiosity; and (2) immigration status. Similarly, it is composed of two outcome variables: (1) perceptions of assimilation; and (2) perceptions of alienation. Assimilation is theoretically significant because sociologists have accepted the ideal definition of American society as a “melting pot” (Metzger 1971:628). Thus, the incorporation of American Muslims into mainstream society is inevitable. The significance of alienation has been articulated by Durkheim’s *anomie*, which is the breakdown of social bonds between an individual and the community and “depend[s] upon social causes and [is] in itself a collective phenomenon” (Durkheim 1951:145). Thus, social integration (*i.e. the presence of assimilation and absence of alienation*) is synonymous with equal opportunity and upward mobility for members of minority groups and embodies the democratic ethos (Metzger 1971).

I explore the effects of religiosity and immigration status on perceptions of assimilation and alienation by using the nationally representative survey of American Muslims conducted by the Pew Research Center in 2011. The literature guided the coding of survey questions as either

¹ The term “mainstream” does not suggest that there is one monolithic U.S. culture. Rather, the term captures the ideological norms and beliefs that dominate U.S. culture.

measures of assimilation or alienation. The following hypotheses have been generated to test the adequacy of the formulation:

Hypothesis 1 –

- *Due to a conflict between religious and national identities, as well as Islamophobic rhetoric, as levels of religiosity increase, American Muslims will perceive:*
 - (a) ***lower levels of assimilation***
 - (b) ***higher levels of alienation***
- *Due to the absence of conflict between religious and national identities, as levels of religiosity decrease, American Muslims will perceive:*
 - (c) ***higher levels of assimilation***
 - (d) ***lower levels of alienation***

Hypothesis 2 –

- *Due to stronger perceptions of national identity, native-born American Muslims will perceive:*
 - (a) ***higher levels of assimilation***
 - (b) ***lower levels of alienation***
- *Due to weaker perceptions of national identity, foreign-born American Muslims will perceive:*
 - (c) ***lower levels of assimilation***
 - (d) ***higher levels of alienation***

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The discourse on assimilation and alienation, in an American context, is limited to the ethnic and immigrant experiences. This expands the assimilation and alienation literature to include an analysis of religious groups, such as the American Muslim experience. Furthermore, ethnic categories and immigration status have been used as primary predictors of assimilation and alienation. By focusing on American Muslims, this study incorporates levels of religiosity as an additional predictor.

The immigration discourse categorizes immigrant experiences in the new country as either one of assimilation *or* one of alienation. This binary outcome model does not leave room for a more complex model in which immigrant groups can simultaneously experience assimilation *and* alienation. Furthermore, the literature is limited in that it is based purely on objective measures of assimilation and alienation (*i.e. native language, educational attainment,*

annual income, etc.) as opposed to the subjective experiences of the individuals or groups being studied. Therefore, this study incorporates perceptions of assimilation and alienation to better capture the intricate and fluid processes at play.

Thus, this study contributes to the assimilation and alienation literature by (1) utilizing a religious group—American Muslims—as an analytic category; (2) utilizing levels religiosity as a predictor of assimilation or alienation; (3) reconceptualizing measures of assimilation and alienation to analyze outcomes based on the potential for simultaneous perceptions of assimilation *and* alienation as opposed to binary outcomes of assimilation *or* alienation; and (4) employing subjective measures of assimilation and alienation based on American Muslim perceptions.

Religiosity

The sociology of religion is experiencing a conceptual polarity of ‘religiosity’ with the institutional model of organizational participation at one end and the social-psychological model of ‘belief’ or ‘faith’ at the other (Estus and Overington 1970). Those that utilize the institutional model argue that roles in religious collectivities contain the meaning of the religious. This means that organizational participation, such as worship services, are used as indicators of religiosity. However, Erich Goode argues “church activity cannot be seen as an indicator of religiosity if its relationship to other variables is dependent on non-religious factors” (Goode 1966:104). This demonstrates that worship service attendance should not be used as a measure of religiosity because there may be confounding variables associated with the behavior, such as religious performance (Goffman 1959). It is in Durkheimian form that worship service attendance is a symbolic method of representing one’s relation to society and therefore not an indicator of one’s actual religiosity. This demonstrates the inadequate utilization of religiosity indicators.

William James promotes the social-psychological model by prioritizing the religious experiences of the individual and is not concerned with religious institutions. James confines himself to personal religion while ignoring its organized manifestations. He offers a sense of validity to the formally abstract idea of religiosity by focusing on psychological aspects of the human consciousness that lead to religious experiences (James 1902). Personal religion is a better measure of religiosity as it is more fundamental and primordial than measures of organized participation. Geertz (1968) shares this perspective as he distinguishes between ‘religiousness’ and ‘religious-mindedness’. As such, I measured levels of religiosity based on how individual actors define the importance of their religious experiences. Then, these differing levels of religiosity will be compared side-by-side to determine their effect on perceptions of assimilation and alienation.

Immigration

‘Immigration’ refers to an individual’s relocation from their country of birth to a new country. The measurement is standardized to the country of birth; that is, an individual born outside of the country of interest is an immigrant (Wadsworth and Kubrin 2007). Many immigrants originate in countries that differ culturally and religiously from the land of immigration, thus raising questions of cultural identity (Koopmans, Michalowski, and Waibel 2012). This study will continue using the trend of immigration status as a predictor of assimilation or alienation by analyzing the association between American Muslim immigration status and perceptions of assimilation and alienation.

Assimilation & Alienation

The term ‘assimilation’ is highly contested in both academic and political discourse and has eluded empirical definition (Roy 1962). As previously mentioned, assimilation literature focuses

on ethnic categorization and is even defined as such: “a multidimensional process of boundary reduction that blurs an ethnic or racial distinction and the social and cultural differences and identities associated with it” (Rumbaut 2001:845; Alba and Nee 2003; Alba and Nee 1997). It is beyond the scope of this study to reconstruct the multiple definitions of assimilation found in the literature. Instead, I will expand upon this definition to include the process of boundary reduction among religious groups as well.

Assimilation and alienation are related; by understanding one, we can draw insights about the other. Previous studies have related each concept through a temporal bond, suggesting that those who are less alienated are more likely to seek assimilation (Gerhards and Hans 2009; Bullough 1967). Sociologists tend to categorize assimilation and alienation as either one or the other, which can be seen by Milton Gordon and Melvin Seeman’s conceptualizations of assimilation and alienation, respectively.

Gordon (1964) has divided the process of assimilation into seven distinct stages: (1) acculturation; (2) structural assimilation; (3) marital assimilation; (4) identification assimilation; (5) attitude reception assimilation; (6) behavior reception assimilation; and (7) civic assimilation. *Acculturation* is the process in which a group acquires the cultural practices of the host society; *structural assimilation* refers to the entrance of a group into primary relationships with members of the host society; *marital assimilation* refers to intermarriage; *identification assimilation* refers to the group’s feelings of being bonded to the dominant culture; *attitude reception assimilation* refers to absence of prejudice; *behavior reception assimilation* refers to the absence of discrimination; and *civic assimilation* refers to the absence of values and power struggles.

‘Alienation’ commonly refers to barriers of integration (Bullough 1967). Seeman’s (1959) conceptualization of alienation is as follows: (1) anomie; and (2) powerlessness. *Anomie*

refers to an individual's perceived lack of integration within the society and *powerlessness* refers to an individual's perceived inability to control outcomes that impact the individual. The final three stages of Gordon's assimilation process—*behavior reception assimilation*, *attitude reception assimilation*, and *civic assimilation*—coincide with Seeman's alienation conceptualization. Due to the overlapping mechanisms found within each conceptualization, I reconceptualized and synthesized their measures to structure a complex model of perceptions of assimilation and alienation.

RESEARCH DESIGN & METHODOLOGY

Data Source & Sampling Plan

The methodological framework consists of a quantitative analysis of a nationally representative probability sample of American Muslims conducted by the Pew Research Center. 1,033 American Muslim adults, aged 18 years and older, were interviewed via telephone between April and July 2011. The sample design addressed the low incidence and dispersion of the American Muslim population, as well as cell phone coverage, by employing three sampling sources: a landline random digit dial (RDD); a cellular RDD; and a recontact sample of previously identified American Muslim household (Kohut, Keeter, and Smith 2011).

The unit of analysis is the American Muslim population. The American Muslim population is diverse and highly dispersed. American Muslims constitute both a religious group and a large immigrant population. 72% of American Muslims are immigrants, having come from at least 77 different countries, with no single country accounting for more than 9% of American Muslim immigrants (Kohut et al. 2011). These numbers indicate a demographically diverse American Muslim population in terms of ethnic background and national origins.

There has been immense attention paid to Muslims in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks and as a result of Islamic extremism. Although majority of American Muslims adopt American customs, the general public does not view the situation similarly. Due to its demographic landscape and position within political discourse, the American Muslim population is a crucial analytic category for analysis on assimilation and alienation.

Variables & Measures

Predictor Variables

Levels of religiosity and immigration status serve as the predictor variables. The Pew survey asked all participants: “How important is religion in your life?” (Kohut et al. 2011). Possible responses included “Very Important,” “Somewhat Important,” “Not Too Important,” and “Not At All Important.” The majority of respondents, 70%, indicated that religion was “Very Important,” with 21% saying “Somewhat Important,” 5% saying “Not Too Important,” and only 2% saying “Not At All Important.” Due to the small variation in responses, I combined the “Somewhat Important” and “Not Too Important” responses into a single measure. Because I measured levels of religiosity based on how individual actors define their religious experiences, the religiosity variable is coded as “Religious Importance” and has three possible measures: “Very Religious,” “Somewhat Religious,” and “Not Religious.”

The second predictor variable, immigration status, is based on respondents’ country of birth when asked, “In what country were you born?” (Kohut et al. 2011). Respondents indicating the U.S. as their place of birth were coded as “Native-born” while respondents indicating any place of birth outside of the U.S. were coded as “Foreign-born.”

Outcome Variables

Perceptions of assimilation and perceptions of alienation serve as the outcome variables.

Gordon's (1964) conceptualization of assimilation and Seeman's (1959) conceptualization of alienation will serve as the foundation for each measurement. I incorporated Gordon's final three measures of assimilation—*attitudinal reception assimilation*, *behavioral reception assimilation*, and *civic assimilation*—into Seeman's two measures of alienation—*anomie* and *powerlessness*—due to their overlapping theoretical content. From this, I developed my measures for the perceptions of assimilation and alienation variables. (See Appendix A)

Perceptions of assimilation refer to an individual's subjective experience based on the following measures: (1) acculturation; (2) structural assimilation; (3) marital assimilation; and (4) identification assimilation. *Acculturation* was measured by responses to the question, "Do you think most Muslims who come to the U.S. today want to adopt American customs and ways of life or do you think that they want to be distinct from the larger American society?" (Kohut et al. 2011). Possible responses included "Adopt Customs," "Want To Be Distinct," or "Both." Because assimilation is defined, here, as the boundary reduction of religious categorizations, "Adopt Customs" is the primary measurement of interest, from which conclusions about the outcome variables were drawn. *Structural assimilation* was measured by responses to the question, "In the past 12 months, have you worked with other people from your neighborhood to fix a problem or improve a condition in your community or elsewhere, or haven't you done this?" (Kohut et al. 2011). This binary measurement included responses of either "Yes" or "No." Again, due to my definition of assimilation, the primary measurement of interest is "Yes." *Marital assimilation* was measured by responses to, "What is your spouse's religious preference?" (Kohut et al. 2011). Responses included "Muslim" or "Non-Muslim." Because my

analytical category is a religious group—American Muslims—intermarriage refers not to an ethnic mixing, but rather a religious one. Therefore, the primary measurement of interest is “Non-Muslim.” Finally, *identification assimilation* was measured by responses to, “Do you think yourself first as an American or first as a Muslim?” (Kohut et al. 2011). Possible responses included “American,” “Muslim,” “Both Equally,” or “Neither.” Again, my definition of assimilation drives the primary measurement of interest, “American.”

Perceptions of alienation, that is, the barriers that inhibit social integration, are measured by combining the common theoretical concepts of Gordon’s *attitude reception assimilation* and *behavior reception assimilation* with Seeman’s concept of *anomie*. Additionally, Gordon’s *civic assimilation* was combined with Seeman’s *powerlessness*, making a total of three measures of perceptions of alienation. Because I reconceptualized Gordon’s assimilation model to fit within a framework of alienation (à la Seeman), I recoded and redefined each measure. *Attitude reception assimilation* is now *attitudinal anomie* and refers to the presence of prejudice. Similarly, *behavior reception assimilation* is now *behavioral anomie* and refers to the presence of discrimination. Finally, *civic assimilation* is now *civic powerlessness* and refers to the perceived lack of control regarding the civic outcomes that impact an individual.

Attitudinal anomie is measured by responses to “Have people acted as if they are suspicious of you?” (Kohut et al. 2011). Possible responses included “Yes” or “No,” with “Yes” being the primary measurement of interest given the alienation context. Similarly, *behavioral anomie* is measured by responses to “Are the American people generally friendly, neutral, or unfriendly toward Muslim Americans?” (Kohut et al. 2011). Possible responses included “Friendly,” “Neutral,” or “Unfriendly.” Because I am measuring perceptions of discrimination, the primary measurement of interest is “Unfriendly.” Finally, *civic powerlessness* was measured

by responses to “Since the terrorist attacks on September 11th, 2001, has it become more difficult to be a Muslim in the U.S., or hasn’t it changed very much?” (Kohut et al. 2011). Possible responses included “Has Become More Difficult,” “Hasn’t Changed,” or “Has Become Easier.” The primary measurement of interest, given perceived lack of control regarding civic outcomes, is “Has Become More Difficult.”

Method of Analysis

The levels of religiosity and immigration status variables were both recoded in SPSS. The values to the question, “How important is religion in your life?” were assigned new values by combining “Somewhat Important” and “Not Too Important,” creating a total of three measures of religiosity, as explained in the ‘Variables & Measures’ section. A nominal value of 1 is coded as “Very Religious,” 2 is “Somewhat Religious,” and 3 is “Not Religious.” For immigration status, the values to the question, “In what country were you born?” were recoded as a binary variable with a nominal value of 1 indicating a “Native-born” respondent and 2 indicating a “Foreign-born” respondent.

After recoding the predictor variables, multiple crosstabs were generated to determine possible associations between each predictor variable and each outcome variable. For example, a crosstab was generated for the levels of religiosity variable and each measure of assimilation and then each measure of alienation. The same procedure was carried out for the immigration status variable for a total of 14 crosstab outputs. (See Appendix B)

Levels of Religiosity vs. Assimilation (four measures)

Levels of Religiosity vs. Alienation (three measures)

Immigration Status vs. Assimilation (four measures)

Immigration Status vs. Alienation (three measures)

The proportion of respondents within each potential association (*i.e. the proportion of native-born respondents who think of themselves as an American first*) was recorded. Next, I determined which associations were statistically significant at the 0.05 level. These statistically significant associations were, then, further analyzed. I compared the proportions of the primary measurement of interest (*i.e. respondents identifying as an American first*) with each measure of the assimilation and alienation variables. From this I determined (1) if levels of religiosity explain perceptions of assimilation and alienation; and (2) if immigration status explains perceptions of assimilation and alienation. These conclusions were based on levels of significance for each association. Once I determined which predictor variables (*i.e. levels of religiosity and immigration status*) explained the outcome variables (*i.e. perceptions of assimilation and perceptions of alienation*), I then determined the manner in which these associations occur. That is, how do levels of religiosity, and immigration status, impact perceptions of assimilation and alienation? For example, do native-born American Muslims perceive themselves as being more assimilated and less alienated in comparison to foreign-born American Muslims? Additionally, what type of model do these perceptions fall within? Are these outcome variables mutually exclusive or can an individual experience simultaneous perceptions of assimilation *and* alienation?

Finally, all statistically significant associations were analyzed further to determine if gender operates as a moderator of the association. Each statistically significant association was recomputed while controlling for gender (*i.e. the proportion of male native-born respondents who think of themselves as an American first*). To determine if gender is indeed a moderator of the relationships, only the statistically significant associations that controlled for gender were marked as meaningful.

FINDINGS

The following findings are based on an analysis of the primary measurement of interest for each measurement of perceptions of assimilation and alienation, as it is the marker for perceived outcomes. In general, levels of religiosity is not a predictor of perceptions of assimilation or alienation among American Muslims due to statistically insignificant findings. (See Appendix C) However, immigration status does predict perceptions of assimilation and alienation, with native-born American Muslims perceiving higher levels of both assimilation *and* alienation. Finally, for each predictor variable, gender operates as a moderator for only the *marital assimilation* measurement. While these findings do not imply causality, they do provide meaningful insights on the status of American Muslim social integration.

Levels of Religiosity

Only two of the four measures of assimilation were statistically significant at the 0.05 level—*marital assimilation* and *identification assimilation*. For each of these measures, non-religious American Muslims accounted for the highest proportion of religiosity levels within the primary measurement of interest. For *marital assimilation*, 53% of non-religious American Muslims indicated a spousal religious preference as non-Muslim with a p-value < 0.001. Similarly, for the *identification assimilation* measurement, 76% of non-religious American Muslims indicated that they identify first as an American with a p-value < 0.001. These findings are aligned with Hypothesis 1(a) and 1(c) since the level of religiosity is inversely associated with perceptions of assimilation. That is, as the level of religiosity decreases, perceptions of assimilation increase.

A surprising finding resulted from measuring levels of religiosity against perceptions of alienation. None of the three measures of alienation were statistically significant at the 0.05.

level. Thus, religiosity levels do not predict perceptions of alienation among American Muslims, and falsifies Hypothesis 1(b) and 1(d).

Since only two out of seven measures of perceptions of assimilation and alienation were statistically significant when using levels of religiosity as the predictor variable, levels of religiosity is not an adequate predictor of assimilation and alienation outcomes.

Immigration Status

Three of the four measures of assimilation were statistically significant at the 0.05 level—*structural assimilation*, *marital assimilation*, and *identification assimilation*. Each of these measurements indicated that native-born American Muslims perceived higher levels of assimilation in comparison to their foreign-born counterparts. 45.7% of native-born American Muslims perceived higher levels of *structural assimilation* compared to their foreign-born counterparts, with a p-value < 0.001. Additionally, 23.2% and 34.6% of native-born American Muslims perceived higher levels of *marital assimilation* and *identification assimilation*, respectively. Although the proportion of native-borns who engage in inter-religious marriage (*marital assimilation*) is not large, it is statistically significant with a p-value < 0.001. Furthermore, the p-value for native-borns who identify first as an American is 0.057. This p-value is just above the significance level, and is a non-trivial finding that should be noted. The only assimilation measurement in which foreign-born American Muslims perceived higher levels of assimilation was *acculturation assimilation*; however, it was statistically insignificant with a p-value of 0.075. These findings are aligned with Hypothesis 2(a) and 2(c) since American Muslims born in the U.S. perceived higher levels of assimilation compared to those born outside of the U.S. Thus, immigration status is associated with perceptions of assimilation among American Muslims.

The alienation measurements reveal another interesting set of findings. On all three measures of alienation, native-born American Muslims perceived higher levels of alienation compared to foreign-born American Muslims. Although not large proportions, 36% and 27.3% of native-borns perceived higher levels of *attitudinal* and *behavioral anomie*, respectively, with statistically significant p-values < 0.001. Moreover, a 63.7% majority of native-borns perceived life as a Muslim as more difficult since the 9/11 attacks (*civic powerlessness*), with a p-value < 0.001. These findings are not congruent with the immigration status hypothesis since it is the native-born population, and not the foreign-born population, that perceives higher levels of alienation. Again, immigration status is associated with perceptions of alienation among American Muslims.

With immigration status as the predictor, six out of the seven measures of perceptions of assimilation and alienation were statistically significant, (in fact, one of these measures was of borderline statistical significance and could be a result of the sample size). Thus, immigration status is a relatively strong predictor of assimilation and alienation outcomes among American Muslims.

Gender

Among some of the statistically significant associations, gender operated as a moderator of the relationship. Almost twice as many non-religious American Muslim males engaged in inter-religious marriage (*marital assimilation*) compared to their female counterparts—63.6% of males and 37.5% of females, respectively. However, while 78.6% of non-religious males versus 72.7% of non-religious females perceived higher levels of *identification assimilation*, these numbers are relatively equivalent. Thus, gender only operates as a moderator of the *marital assimilation* measurement when levels of religiosity predicts the association.

Similar findings are found with immigration status as the predictor. Almost three times as many native-born American Muslim males engaged in inter-religious marriage (*marital assimilation*) compared to their female counterparts—33.3% of males and 11.7% of females, respectively. The remaining statistically significant associations did not find gender operating as a moderator of the relationship since the male to female proportions were relatively equal. 49.4% of native-born males versus 40.9% of native-born females perceived higher levels of *structural assimilation* and 35.8% of native-born males versus 33.1% of native-born females perceived higher levels of *identification assimilation*. Finally, the proportion of male to female perceptions of alienation were similar—36.4% of native-born males versus 35.4% of native-born females perceived higher levels of *attitudinal anomie*; 25.9% of native-born males versus 29.1% of native-born females perceived higher levels of *behavioral anomie*; and 62.3% of native-born males versus 65.4% of native-born females perceived higher levels of *civic powerlessness*. Similar to levels of religiosity, gender only operates as a moderator of the *marital assimilation* measurement when immigration status predicts the association. Thus, gender is not a moderator of the assimilation and alienation measurements as a whole, but does moderate the *marital assimilation* measurement for both levels of religiosity and immigration status predictors.

DISCUSSION

In general, the findings do not support the hypotheses of American Muslim perceptions of assimilation and alienation. (See Appendix D) Contrary the original hypothesis, levels of religiosity is not a strong predictor of perceptions of assimilation and does not explain perceptions of alienation among American Muslims since only the *marital assimilation* and *identification assimilation* measures were statistically significant and no measures of alienation

were statistically significant. The largest proportion of American Muslims who identify first as an American also identify as being non-religious, likely do to a low prioritized Muslim identity.

Unlike levels of religiosity, immigration status is a strong predictor of perceptions of assimilation and alienation since only the *acculturation assimilation* measure was insignificant and the *identification assimilation* measure was borderline significant. Furthermore, all perceptions of alienation measures were significant. In fact, the outcomes of perceptions of alienation predicted by immigration status are quite interesting. Native-born American Muslims perceived higher levels of assimilation *and* higher levels of alienation. This finding supports the reconceptualization of these measures to include a complex model in which American Muslims can experience simultaneous perceptions of assimilation *and* alienation. Thus, perceptions of assimilation and alienation are *not* mutually exclusive experiences.

As the original immigration hypothesis stated, native-born American Muslims experience higher levels of assimilation due to a stronger national identity. The very fact that this group is native-born may increase their perception of assimilation as they grew up in the U.S. and likely know nothing else. This same rationale may help to understand why this group also experiences concurrent perceptions of alienation. The “healthy immigrant” thesis states that immigrants choose, or are selected, by their families and communities to emigrate based on their likelihood of success in the new country, which contributes to above-average mental-health (Wadsworth and Kubrin 2007:1851; Hayes-Batista, Schink, and Chapa 1988; Stephen et al. 1994). Additionally, because native-borns have a stronger national identity than their foreign-born counterparts, they may experience an identity conflict where their “American” and “Muslim” identities are pitted against one another in the increasingly Islamophobic rhetoric transmitted by the American media. Again, the very fact that this group is native-born, growing up in the U.S.

and likely knowing nothing else, makes it difficult for them to rationalize being perceived as outsiders (based on their Muslim identity) when they perceive themselves as assimilated insiders (based on their native-born American identity), thus contributing to their coinciding perceptions of alienation.

CONCLUSION

The 9/11 attacks have greatly piqued interest of American Muslims among the media and scholars. While progress has been made, there are important uncharted areas of the American Muslim experience that still warrant inquiry, and this study concentrated on assimilation and alienation experiences of this group. The literature on assimilation and alienation is confined to ethnic categories, with a particular interest in immigration. Additionally, assimilation and alienation concepts are conceived as an either/or categorization and are standardized by strictly objective measures. This study addresses these gaps by focusing on the religious category of American Muslims, as well as incorporating levels of religiosity as a predictor of assimilation and alienation. Furthermore, this study reconceptualizes measures of assimilation and alienation to also include a both/and model. Finally, subjective measures are utilized to target the lived experiences of American Muslims based on their perceptions of assimilation and alienation.

APPENDIX A
VARIABLE CODING AND MEASUREMENT

PREDICTOR VARIABLES

LEVELS OF RELIGIOSITY

Question: “How important is religion in your life?”

- Measures: (*recoded*)
 - **Very Religious** = Very Important
 - **Somewhat Religious** = Somewhat Important; Not Too Important
 - **Not Religious** = Not At All Important

IMMIGRATION STATUS

Question: “In what country were you born?”

- Measures: (*recoded*)
 - **Native-born** = U.S.
 - **Foreign-born** = Middle East/North Africa; Pakistan; Iran; South Asia (excluding Iran and Pakistan); Sub-Saharan Africa; Other/Undetermined

OUTCOME VARIABLES

PERCEPTIONS OF ASSIMILATION

ACCULTURATION – Question: “Do you think most Muslims who come to the U.S. today want to adopt American customs and ways of life or do you think they want to be distinct from the larger American society?”

- Measures:
 - **Adopt Customs** (*primary measure of interest*)
 - Want To Be Distinct
 - Both

STRUCTURAL ASSIMILATION – Question: “In the past 12 months, have you worked with other people from your neighborhood to fix a problem or improve a condition in your community or elsewhere, or haven’t you done this?”

- Measures:
 - **Yes** (*primary measure of interest*)
 - No

MARITAL ASSIMILATION – Question: “What is your spouse’s religious preference?”

- Measures:
 - Muslim = Muslim
 - **Non-Muslim** = Non-Muslim (*primary measure of interest*)

APPENDIX A

(Continued)

IDENTIFICATION ASSIMILATION – Question: “Do you think yourself first as an American or first as a Muslim?”

- Measures:
 - **American** (*primary measure of interest*)
 - Muslim
 - Both Equally
 - Neither

PERCEPTIONS OF ALIENATION

ATTIDUNAL ANOMIE – Question: “Have people acted as if they are suspicious of you?”

- Measures:
 - **Yes** (*primary measure of interest*)
 - No

BEHAVIORAL ANOMIE – Question: “Are the American people generally friendly, neutral, or unfriendly toward Muslim Americans?”

- Measures:
 - Friendly
 - Neutral
 - **Unfriendly** (*primary measure of interest*)

CIVIC POWERLESSNESS – Question: “Since the terrorist attacks on September 11th, 2001, has it become more difficult to be a Muslim in the U.S., or hasn’t it changed very much?”

- Measures:
 - **Has Become More Difficult** (*primary measure of interest*)
 - Hasn’t Changed
 - Has Become Easier

APPENDIX B
DATA ANALYSIS TABLE

Highlighted rows indicate primary measurement of interest.

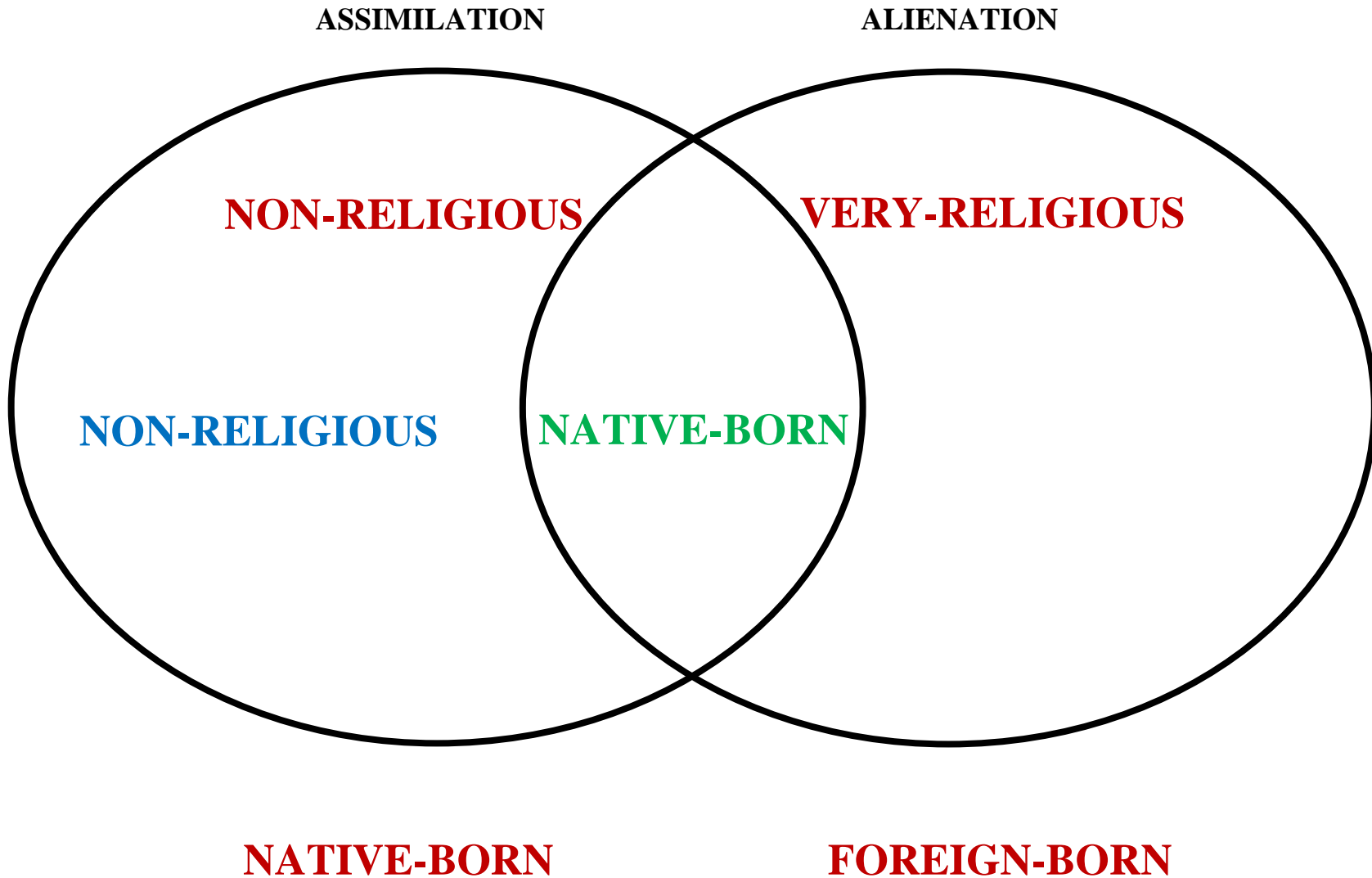
		Levels of Religiosity			Immigration Status	
		Very Religious	Somewhat Religious	Not Religious	Native-born	Foreign-born
Perceptions of Assimilation	<i>Acculturation</i>	Adopt Customs				
		Want To Be Distinct				
		Both				
	<i>Structural Assimilation</i>	Yes				
		No				
	<i>Marital Assimilation</i>	Muslim				
		Non-Muslim				
	<i>Identification Assimilation</i>	American				
		Muslim				
		Both Equally				
Neither						
Perceptions of Alienation	<i>Attitudinal Anomie</i>	Yes				
		No				
	<i>Behavioral Anomie</i>	Friendly				
		Neutral				
		Unfriendly				
	<i>Civic Powerlessness</i>	Has Become More Difficult				
		Hasn't Changed				
Has Become Easier						

APPENDIX C
DATA & FINDINGS TABLE

Highlighted rows indicate primary measurement of interest.

		Levels of Religiosity				Immigration Status					
		Very Religious	Somewhat Religious	Not Religious	p	Native-born	Foreign-born	p			
Perceptions of Assimilation	<i>Acculturation</i>	Adopt Customs	54.8%	65.9%	52.0%	X	54.3%	59.0%	X		
		Want To Be Distinct	19.6%	15.6%	16.0%		0.079	22.1%		17.0%	0.075
		Both	16.5%	11.6%	20.0%			17.3%		14.8%	
	<i>Structural Assimilation</i>	Yes	37.6%	34.1%	28.0%	X	47.5%	32.7%	0.001		
		No	61.7%	65.2%	72.0%		0.021	53.6%		66.6%	
	<i>Marital Assimilation</i>	Muslim	88.8%	85.8%	47.4%	< 0.001	74.4%	89.8%	< 0.001		
		Non-Muslim	10.2%	13.6%	52.6%		23.2%	9.6%			
	<i>Identification Assimilation</i>	American	19.1%	51.8%	76.0%	< 0.001	34.6%	27.3%	X		
		Muslim	54.0%	24.3%	8.0%		43.9%	44.7%			
		Both Equally	21.6%	12.0%	4.0%		16.6%	20.8%			
Neither		1.8%	3.6%	8.0%	2.4%		2.2%				
Perceptions of Alienation	<i>Attitudinal Anomie</i>	Yes	25.1%	18.8%	16.0%	X	36.0%	17.9%	< 0.001		
		No	73.1%	80.4%	80.0%		0.005	62.3%		80.4%	
	<i>Behavioral Anomie</i>	Friendly	50.6%	49.3%	40.0%	X	32.9%	56.4%	< 0.001		
		Neutral	29.8%	31.5%	48.0%		0.091	37.0%		28.3%	
		Unfriendly	14.4%	17.0%	4.0%		27.3%	10.1%			
	<i>Civic Powerlessness</i>	Has Become More Difficult	53.5%	57.2%	36.0%	X	63.7%	50.2%	< 0.001		
		Hasn't Changed	39.8%	35.9%	60.0%		0.024	32.9%		42.2%	
Has Become Easier		0.7%	2.2%	0.0%	1.0%		1.0%				

APPENDIX D
HYPOTHESES VS. FINDINGS



KEY

HYPOTHESES
LEVELS OF RELIGIOSITY FINDINGS
IMMIGRATION STATUS FINDINGS

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