



Translanguaging at the Islamic center of New Mexico: A phenomenological study with the Imam and center worshippers

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Abstract

In the last few decades, a novel term has emerged within the scope of bilingualism, most remarkably in the field of bilingual education – translanguaging. Notably, studies on the use of translanguaging by bilingual students have naturally been attracted to possible teaching strategies for classroom settings. However, this research is designed to investigate the effectiveness of translanguaging outside the classroom environment. This qualitative phenomenological study is conducted to investigate the impact of the Imam’s translanguaging at the Islamic Center of New Mexico (ICNM) on the comprehension of Arabic and non-Arabic speakers. The Imam of the Centre and three worshippers from within the Muslim community are the study participants, and their relationships and interactions are considered from the perspective of differential power dynamics. The data have been collected by conducting four interviews at the ICNM. Findings revealed that Imam's translanguaging during the Friday sermons using his first language repertoire includes actions like raising his hand and using many Islamic expressions during the preaching. The findings also show that worshippers did not prefer translanguaging and considered it ineffective in Friday sermons. The research results contribute towards augmenting our understanding of the controversial term, translanguaging, especially outside of classroom settings.

Keywords: code-switching; linguistic repertoires; semiotic repertoires; translanguaging; bilingual

1. Introduction

For this study, the researcher looks at the novel and controversial concept of translanguaging, which Canagarajah (2011) defined as “the ability of multilingual speakers to shuttle between languages, treating the diverse languages that form their repertoire as an integrated system” (p. 401). The term translanguaging was first coined in Welsh by an educator, Williams (1994), who employed translanguaging primarily to deepen the students' utilization of Welsh to learn English. Rather than having students always employ Welsh in one situation and classroom space, Williams (1994) gave Welsh students the opportunity to interchange their languages of output and input (i.e., students were asked to read in one language and write in another).

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Moreover, translanguaging refers to “the communicative practices in which people engage as they bring into contact different biographies, histories, and linguistic backgrounds.” (Blackledge & Creese, 2017, p. 250).

These authors contended that translanguaging could possibly be transformative and creative, as it can go beyond manifest differences, enabling people to interact freely using their entire linguistic repertoire without being bound by social and political limits. Thus, translanguaging has a spatial dimension, as it occurs in a ‘translanguaging space’ (Wei, 2011), or ‘translanguaging zone’ (Blackledge et al., 2015).

In this study, however, the aim is to highlight the diverse ways an Imam utilizes cultural, linguistics, and social repertoires in his English and Arabic to create compressible discourse at a US Islamic mosque. Throughout the researcher’s experience in the US, he witnessed that many Arabic-speaking or non-Arabic-speaking Imams use a myriad of linguistic expressions in their Friday sermons; these Islamic expressions are rooted in the Arabic language, and many Imams try to deliver these meanings and teachings of Islam in English, primarily using Arabic gestures and style. These linguistic moves might include and/or exclude some of the non-Arabic-speaking audience. Therefore, in this research, the researcher investigates the role that this complex interweaving of linguistic and semiotic resources plays in conveying meaning and creating a sense of membership, belonging (or exclusion), and shared (or divided) values within the Muslim community.

2. Literature Review

Otheguy et al. (2015, p. 281) described the meaning of translanguaging as “the deployment of a speaker’s full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named (and usually, national and state) languages.” Furthermore, García and Leiva (2014) contended that multilingual families and a group of people living in the same place or having a particular characteristic in common utilize translanguaging to create a meaningful context. Furthermore, they argued that translanguaging had idiosyncratic merits compared to other fluid languaging practices, that is, transformative with the possibility to eliminate the hierarchy of languaging practices where some are considered more superior and valuable than others (Yuvayapan, 2019).

Similarly, Wei (2011, p. 1223) asserted that the demonstration of translanguaging “creates a social space for the multilingual language user by bringing together different dimensions of their personal history, experience and environment.” Translanguaging drives us far from emphasizing “dialects” as particular codes to attention on the agency of individuals tied up with utilizing, making, and translating signs for daily interaction. Noguerón-Liu and Warriner (2014) proposed that the thought of translanguaging extends existing multilingualism theories by concentrating on people’s social practices. They embrace this term to distance themselves from an emphasis on theoretical, romanticized ideas of ‘language’ as a set of skills and accentuate how multilingual individuals convey an assortment of resources while engaging in daily communication.

2.1. *Translanguaging vs. Code-Switching*

García and Wei (2014) stated that translanguaging is different from code-switching. Code-switching depends on the notion that there are two languaging systems; however, it specifies that bilinguals or multilinguals transgress these all the time by shifting languages that are viewed as autonomous, sealed systems with their own linguistic forms. They claimed that recent literature on the concept of code-switching indicates the ability of multilingual people to be a crucial and creative

resource. Conversely, they argued that translanguaging begins from the speaker's code or 'language', and concentrates on practical, observable practices.

2.2. *Semiotic Repertoires*

Blackledge et al., (2015) mentioned that communicative repertoires are inherently multimodal, and thus we should refer to semiotic repertoires rather than linguistic repertoires. Semiotic repertoires include aspects of communication such as gesture, posture, and so forth, and contain gaps and silences as well as potentialities. People's communications are portrayed by what Goffman (1963) called the 'body idiom'- dress, bearing, development, position, and physical motions. When participants interact verbally and face-to-face, they utilize differentially the immenseness of their physical bodies in depending upon the situation and context. Gesture is a typical characteristic of the semiotic repertoire. Generally, gesture is important to the speech it accompanies, and at other times, it is less important. Gesture is made specifically salient, in some instances, for example, when a client wants to buy a pig's heart, he/she raises six fingers to a butcher (Blackledge et al., 2015). Moreover, gesture might be more than a simply visual fact (Goodwin, 1986). For instance, a handclap contributes sounds to communication interaction. On a different occasion, a gesture might be expanded to draw attention through touch.

2.3. *Translanguaging in structured settings*

Through classroom ethnography, Canagarajah's (2011) study focused on how classroom pedagogies can be adapted to embrace student translanguagers and help them improve, based on the translanguaging strategies that they use in a non-restrictive context. In his dialogical approach, he examined the translanguaging strategies that a Saudi graduate student, Buthaina, used during a university course on the teaching of second language writing. In interviews, the author discussed with her the logic and rhetoric involved in the creation of her unique discursive choices (e.g., "a storm of thoughts stampedes"). Canagarajah (2011) stated that multilingual teachers should raise their awareness of the diverse options and resources available for their students without imposing unfair expectations from outside.

While Canagarajah (2011) focused on using translanguagers' strategies in a non-restrictive context to feed translanguaging classroom pedagogy, Adamson and Coulson (2015) examined the use of translanguaging skills in a non-restrictive context to feed students' critical academic writing skills. In a case study over a three-year period, the writers experimented with a translanguaging classroom pedagogy to polish new students' skills in extended critical academic writing and prepare them for upcoming English Japanese courses. The authors provided an insight into the positive effect of a translanguaging classroom pedagogy—in that it can indeed lead to a favorable student response and to improved student performance in writing tasks.

Daniel and Pacheco (2016) inquired how four multilingual teens chose to use languages other than English to make sense of schoolwork, even though these languages are often ignored or discouraged. The study took place in a dual-education program, where most of the students were immigrants; in this school, the author reported that over 70 languages were represented among students from over 130 countries. Data were derived from two qualitative studies with multilingual students. The first study was an ethnographic one in an after-school setting—a refugee camp. Data of the first study included 20 days of observation with field notes and videotaping, two interviews with teachers, and two focus-group interviews with both participants drawn from a larger sample of 13 students. The other study was for four weeks in an eighth-grade English language arts classroom. Data collection on the two teens entailed 12 days of observations with field notes and videotaping, and interviews with the two

participants. Participants of this study employed different language strategies to support them in generating meaning inside and outside the school. The authors suggested that teachers should incorporate a translanguaging pedagogy that supports multilingual students and boosts their academic performance.

3. Objectives of the Study

Several aspects of the researcher's personal experience sparked his interest in the topic of translanguaging at the Islamic Center of New Mexico. The researcher is an avid second-language learner and teacher, and he hopes this study will guide him in understanding the role of translanguaging across different avenues of his life, as well as his students' lives, including spaces of worship.

Most research on translanguaging issues focuses extensively on the context of the classroom, and on students (more often than teachers) as users of translanguaging. Remarkably, more recent research explored translanguaging in reference to various types of repertoires, such as Blackledge and Creese (2017), who explored the topic in terms of nonverbal repertoires. However, a majority of studies still focus on translanguaging in the written language. In other words, there seems to be a dearth of research on translanguaging in the spoken language. Having identified this gap in the literature, the researcher aims to explore territories beyond the classroom, beyond student participants, and beyond the written language. He plans to shed light on translanguaging in natural speech (in combination with nonverbal resources) at the ICNM, a context where diverse individuals with different levels of literacy (if any) communicate and practice identity work daily. Specifically, the researcher will analyze the Friday sermons, searching for insights into the role of translanguaging in creating a sense of belonging or exclusion in the community, for translanguaging research raises critical questions of power and marginalization.

4. Central Research Question

How does the Imam's translanguaging in Friday sermons affect the comprehension of Arabic and non-Arabic speakers?

Sub-questions:

- 1- How and why does the Imam Use cultural, linguistic and social repertoires in English in his Friday speeches in Arabic?
- 2- How does the Imam's translanguaging - including linguistic and semiotic repertoires- affect the meaningfulness of his Friday speeches to diverse worshippers?

5. Research Methodology and Data Collection Methods

To investigate the phenomenon of the Imam's translanguaging at the Islamic Center of New Mexico, a phenomenological study was conducted to seek a deep understanding of the phenomenon. There are numerous reasons behind the choice for using the phenomenological approach. The first reason is that the purpose of a phenomenological approach is to enlighten the specific—in this case, the translanguaging between English and Arabic in Friday sermons—to identify the phenomenon of the Imam's translanguaging by examining how he and the worshippers perceived the effectiveness of translanguaging. The second reason is that the abundance of qualitative accounts overwhelmingly produced and built in phenomenological research, not only help to investigate or depict the data in real life conditions, but also help to examine the complexities of actual life situations (i.e., the Imams' use of cultural, linguistic, and social repertoires). Improving analytical thinking is the third reason in that it

helps to develop different perspectives on the same subject pertaining to the individual, for example, the views of the Imam and the worshippers on the effectiveness of translanguaging as a means to create a comprehensible message.

To collect data, after getting permission from the Imam of the Center, the researcher conducted five consecutive observations (with video recording where possible), concentrating on how and why the Imam uses both Arabic and English in his cultural, linguistic, and social repertoires to create a meaningful discourse. Besides observing the Imam's use of translanguaging, the researcher observed the worshippers' level of engagement with the Imam's speech. For instance, did they pay constant attention? Did they show appropriate reaction to specific messages in the Imam's speech? And so on.

The researcher also delved further in his investigation of the main research question by conducting four semi-structured interviews. He first recruited three persons whom he observed praying, to represent part of the power dynamics relationship. The researcher generated questions for the interview based on his five observations at the mosque. Ideally, he met with the three persons immediately after the Friday sermon to have reliable and spontaneous answers about their beliefs and reaction to the effectiveness of the Imam's translanguaging. The fourth interview was with the Imam, where the researcher posed questions originating from the five observations. The questions were focused on distinct aspects, for instance, his use of gestures and tone. Participants' prior consent to the conduct of the interviews after the Friday sermon was duly obtained. Lastly, the researcher used an audio recorder to record the interviews, which were transcribed afterwards to obtain rich qualitative data.

5.1. Participants

The mosque attendees are diverse: coming from different races, speaking different languages, wearing traditional/ ethnic clothing, and following unique cultural practices. There were people from Egypt, Saudi Arabia, United States, Palestine, etc. A majority of the individuals praying are bilingual since they speak the languages of their native countries as well as English. The dominant language in the mosque is English, due to the fact that attendees live in the United States, an English-speaking country. Table 1 below shows the ethno-linguistic data of the participants highlighting their nationalities and languages.

Table 1. Participants in the interview on translanguaging

Participants	Nationality	Language	Period in USA
Participant 1 Imam	Egyptian	Arabic and English	6 years
Participant 2 Othman	USA	English	Native
Participant 3 Abas	Syrian	Arabic and little English	Refugee
Participant 4 Abdullah	Iraq	English and little Arabic	16 years old young man

The first participant is the Imam of the center. He has been in the United States for more than six years. He is originally from Egypt and speaks Arabic and English fluently. The second participant is a male and newly converted Muslim, Othman. He has been a Muslim for about a year. He was born and raised in the United States. He is also a monolingual native speaker of English. He was one of the mosque attendees in both Friday congregations the researcher observed. The third participant is a male

Arab refugee, Abas. He lived most of his life in Syria before he settled in the United State. He is literate in the Arabic language. On the other hand, he was placed in the beginner's course at the English Institute, therefore he would be considered a very limited English speaker. He is a conservative Muslim, and he regularly attends Friday sermons. The fourth participant is a 16-year-old male student, Abdullah. His family is originally from Iraq, but he was born and raised in the United States, in New Mexico. His parents are proficient Arabic speakers. Abdullah's Arabic language is limited since he only speaks a few common Arabic phrases.

The participants were purposefully selected based on their attributes and how best they can help answer the research question of determining the effectiveness of translanguaging by the Imam to the persons praying (participants) from diverse backgrounds. To increase the research validity and reliability, the participants were chosen from varying positions within the power dynamics in which the Imam is the most powerful participant compared to the other participants. However, any female participant was not chosen for two reasons. First, it is not allowed as a male researcher to enter the female worshippers' area. Second, females do not see the Imam while he gives the speeches since they are segregated from men. Thus, the women would not have been able to speak on the Imam's use of semiotic repertoires.

6. Study Context

The observations and interviews for this study were conducted at the Islamic Center of New Mexico (ICNM), which is a non-profit religious organization under the New Mexico Non-Profit Corporation Act. The center is organized exclusively for charitable, religious, and/or educational purposes and provides religious, social, and educational services to Muslims in Albuquerque and surrounding communities. The mosque is segregated into two parts: one for males and the other for females. In addition, all Muslims can perform daily prayer services and Friday sermons, as the center can accommodate more than 700 persons. The mosque is usually fully packed during the Friday sermons, the 7th day in the Islamic week. In fact, the literal meaning of the Islamic word for Friday—*Jumma*—is congregation.

In Islam, this day (Jumma) is given more significance than other days of the week. Friday for Muslims is like Sunday for Christians. Each Friday, Muslims perform the prayer of *Jumma*, and Imams of all mosques offer the *khutbah* (sermon) on a special topic. It is noteworthy that *Jumma* is a duty that is required of every Muslim in congregation, except four: a slave, a woman, a child, or one who is sick. However, it is acceptable if females pray on *Jumma*. In addition, it is worth noting that all persons praying are required to perform the ablution, dress in their best clean garments, wear perfume (except for women), and gather at the mosque for Friday sermons.

7. Data Analysis

To accurately answer the research questions, methodological triangulation was used for the collected data to uncover deeper meaning. The four interviews--with open-ended questions—were transcribed and coded separately. To extract a deep meaningful analysis, each interview was coded individually; for instance, the researcher first analyzed the codes to generate as many themes as possible from one participant. After completing this process for all the participants' interviews, the emergent themes were identified from all the participants' interviews.

8. Results and Discussion

This study aimed to answer the following two queries.

The first question that this study set out to answer was, how and why does the Imam use cultural, linguistic and social repertoires in English in his Friday speeches in Arabic. To answer this, some of the interview questions and answers exchanged between the researcher and the imam will be analyzed. Answering the first question, the Imam believed that “Islam is not translated”. Some Islamic expressions like *Aallah wakbir*, *alsalam ealaykum*, *Salaa Allah ealayh wasalam*, do not have equivalent in English”. For this reason, he used Arabic words or his Arabic repertoires in delivering some aspects of the Friday sermons. Sometimes the Imam used the sign language in his sermon like raising of the hand, the Imam stated that “all languages have the same sign language, and I have seen many native and fluent Muslim speakers raise their hands while delivering their sermons”. Blackledge and Creese (2017) studied the use of non-verbal communication in translanguageing. They claimed that whenever people with different linguistics and biographical background, they translanguage through the implication of nonverbal communication. Furthermore, translanguageing is viewed as making use of the speakers' application of the concepts of their earliest linguistic abilities, switching between languages as integrated systems (García & Kleyn, 2016; García & Li, 2014). The term translanguageing was used to describe the process of educating multilingual children. The finding of this study is in line with previous findings (Al-Ahdal, 2020; García & Kleyn, 2016; García & Li, 2014; Mazak & Carroll, 2017), and also confirmed William's (1994) conclusion in a study in which students were charged with employing all of their language abilities in order to better grasp Welsh and English. Integrated bilinguals were produced as a result of the integration of the two languages throughout the learning phase.

The second research question was, how does the Imam's translanguageing - including linguistic and semiotic repertoires- affect the meaningfulness of his Friday speeches to diverse worshippers. We analyze some of the Imam's responses to gain an insight. The Imam said, “At the initiating of delivering the Friday sermons, I felt that translating some Quranic verses into English do not convey the meaning, however repeating that many times change my feeling and now I can feel that the meaning is conveyed.” Similarly, the Imam confirms that using translanguageing does not affect the meaning to be delivered naturally. The same thing may happen with non-Arabic native speakers: they may find that hearing some expressions in Arabic may not enable them to catch the meaning, but with daily repetitions of the same they begin to grasp the meaning. Moreover, some Islamic expression like, '*alsalam ealaykum*' are known to every Muslim, even the new converts as this greeting is one of the very first phrases they learn. Likewise, most preachers use Arabic language to say '*alduaa*', at the end of the Jummah prayer. Imam also confirmed that "Most non-Arabic Muslims should learn how to say *alduaa* in Arabic. I found many people saying that they understand the expression I usually repeated in Arabic like *alnabiua salaa Allah ealayh wasalam*, and *Allah subhanah wataaalaa*.”

To get a deep understanding about how the worshippers perceived translanguageing in Friday sermon, two of the interviewees' responses are quoted and analyzed here.

8.1. Worshipper Excerpt 1 - Othman

Interviewer: *Do you fully understand the Imam's speech?*

Othman: *No, I do not, especially the verses from the holy Quran and Hadith.*

Interviewer: *How about the fixed Islamic expressions mentioned by the Imam?*

Othman: *Still, I have not learned them yet. All that I need is time to learn the meaning of each to understand Friday sermons.*

Interviewer: *So, you prefer to attend a full version of English Friday sermons to a one with English and Arabic mixing. Alternatively, at least, he can interpret them during preaching.*

Othman, *I prefer to attend a complete English version of the Friday sermon as a new convert Muslim to understand the teachings of Islam. Thus, I will ask help from the Imam to interpret the verses and fixed Islamic expressions.*

Othman's experience sheds light on the ineffectiveness of translanguaging in Friday sermons in reaching a complete comprehension of the preach. Othman needs a long time to learn and understand the Arabic phrases uttered by the Imam to grasp the whole meaning of the intended message by Imam. Therefore, based on his experience, it can be concluded that translanguaging is not the ideal way of communication in such a context.

8.2. Worshipper Excerpt 2 - Abas

Interviewer: *Do you fully understand the Imam's speech?*

Abas: *No, I do not understand because I speak little English, and the sermon is in English.*

Interviewer: *How about the fixed Islamic expressions mentioned by the Imam?*

Abas: *Of course, these are the only phrases that I understand in Friday sermons. However, I do not understand under which context they are used since I do not speak English fluently.*

Interviewer: *So, you prefer to attend a full version of Arabic Friday sermons to a one with English and Arabic and English mixing.*

Abas, *I prefer to attend a complete Arabic version of the Friday sermon because the holy Quran and hadith are written in the Arabic language.*

Abas's experience is quite like that of Othma's. Use of translanguaging in the Friday sermon hardly helps him to comprehend the content or implied meaning of the Imam. He needs more time and exposure to successfully understand the full meaning of the sermon. Therefore, based on his experience, it can be said that translanguaging between Arabic and English is not ideal in such a context.

Al-BatainehKay and Gallagher (2018) studied the attitudes of future teachers towards translanguaging for bilingual learners in United Arab Emirates. Their findings revealed that teachers show contradictory attitudes towards translanguaging. They related such contradiction to the role that language ideology plays in determining the attitudes of the future teachers. This study's findings contradicted Moody et al (2019). They found that graduate students' beliefs about translanguaging were highly positive. Still a third natural attitude is shown in Rivera and Mazak's (2017) study. They examined the impact of students' language attitudes on their instructor's translingual pedagogy. The finding revealed that the greatest number of students have neutral attitudes towards their teachers' translanguaging.

We get contradictory perceptions regarding the using of translanguaging by the Imam in Friday sermon. Imam believed that Translanguaging needs time to be effective, he also thought that some expressions should not be translated into English. On the other hand, translanguaging seems to be ineffective for the worshipers. They seemed to understand nothing, at least nothing that can be attributed to translanguaging. Othman, who is a new Muslim convert, found it difficult to understand the verses of Holy Quran and Hadiths narrated in Arabic, so he preferred a sermon to be wholly in English. Similarly, Abas who is a new resident in the USA, does not feel that translanguaging is effective in conveying the meaning. Abas could only understand Arabic and miss all the English sermons. He also could not comprehend the context in which the Arabic expressions are used.

9. Conclusion

The present study examined why and how the Imam used translanguageing in Friday sermons in a mosque in an English speaking country. It also explored the worshippers' perceptions about the meaningfulness of using translanguageing in enhancing or aiding their comprehension of the sermon. The study found that the imam used his first language repertoire while preaching in English, for example, he raises his hand and changes his tone while delivering the sermon depending on the context. The Imam believed that sign languages are similar in all language; they help in conveying the meaning irrespective of the language spoken in the context. The study found that worshippers did not favor attending a sermon which mixes Arabic and English. They like the Friday sermons to be delivered only in one language. Native Arabic speaker preferred the sermon to be wholly in Arabic while the native English-speaking worshiper wanted the whole sermon to be delivered in English. To them, translanguageing could not help in conveying the meanings.

10. Limitation and Further Studies

Every study has some limitations. Despite of the gap that this research has tried to bridge, it faced some limitations. First, the sample participants are small. Depending on only four participants could not guarantee generalizing the findings. Further studies need to be conducted to validate this study's findings. Moreover, the study uses the interview for data collection. Future studies need to be backed up with quantitative data for instance, by using questionnaires along with the interview to recruit more participants and depending on their responses, the finding will be more reliable. Even the participants chosen seemed to be either new Muslim converts or recent migrants, sometimes not exposed to Islamic expressions and at others, not exposed to adequate English. For future studies, it would better if the participants selected are ones who have been Muslims for a substantial period of time and are closely integrated with the Muslim society, and as for Arabs immigrants, they too should be well adjusted to the language of the land.

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Appendix

Translanguaging at the Islamic Center of New Mexico


Hani Albelihi, PhD Student, University of New Mexico

Study's Focus and Author's Positionality	What is Translanguaging?	Previous Research
<p>Focus: The study aims to look for insights into the role and effectiveness of translanguaging in Friday sermons to create comprehensible speeches</p> <p>Participants:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Imam • Three males worshippers from different backgrounds. <p>Positionality:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -I am a male traditional conservative Muslim (insider) -I am a native-speaker of Arabic (insider) -A proficient second-language user of English (outsider) 	<p>Canagarajah (2011) defines translanguaging as “the ability of multilingual speakers to shuttle between languages, treating the diverse languages that form their repertoire as an integrated system”.</p> <div style="text-align: center;">  </div>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Garcia and Leiva (2014) contend that multilingual families utilize translanguaging to creatively create a meaningful context • Wei (2011, p. 1223) argues that translanguaging “creates a social space for the multilingual language user by bringing together different dimensions of their personal history, experience and environment”. • Canagarajah (2011) states that bilingual teachers should raise their awareness of their diverse options and resources available for their students without imposing unfair expectation from outside.
Research Methodology and Methods	Research Questions	Site of Study
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Theoretical Framework: • A phenomenological approach will be used to seek a deep understanding of the research questions. • Data Collection: • Five observations • Semi-structured in-depth phenomenological interviews. <div style="text-align: center; margin-top: 10px;">  </div>	<p>Central Question: <i>How does the Imam's translanguaging in Friday speeches affect comprehension of Arabic and non-Arabic speakers?</i></p> <p>Sub-questions: <i>How and why does the Imam use cultural, linguistic and social repertoires in his English and Arabic in his Friday speeches create a meaningful discourse?</i> <i>How does the Imam's translanguaging- including linguistic and semiotic repertoires affect the meaningfulness of his Friday speeches to worshippers?</i></p>	<p>I aim to conduct the observations and the interviews at the Islamic Center of New Mexico (ICNM), which is a non-profit religious organization under the New Mexico Non-Profit Corporation.</p> <div style="text-align: center; margin-top: 10px;">  </div>