

**Mission and Modernity in Morelos:  
The problem of a combined hotel and prayer hall  
for the Muslims of Mexico**

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A paper prepared for the annual conference of the  
Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and Commonwealth,  
*Thinking through Tourism*, London, 10-13 April 2007



# Mission and Modernity in Morelos: the problem of a combined hotel and prayer hall for the Muslims of Mexico

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## Abstract

A recent visitor to Mexico, from Muslim Aid, commented on the necessity for religious projects to exhibit self-sufficiency. The dependence on external aid should, now, never be taken for granted. In such a climate, the need for entrepreneurial ingenuity is essential to the successful operation of any religious enterprise. *Dar as Salām* is the product of a pioneering Mexican project to bring a place of worship and conference centre to the Mexican Muslim convert community. To provide itself with some revenue, it opened the doors of its residential accommodation to the public for visitors to the popular Mexican weekend retreat of Tequesquitengo in Morelos. With the opening of these doors coincided a critique of the relationship between the place's Mexican and Muslim identities. Tequesquitengo provides the Muslim converts of Mexico with a retreat from the ordinary pressures of Mexican life, which has been likened to the *hijra*, or exile, performed by the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh). Yet, non-Muslim visitors who come to stay have brought with them the indulgencies of their modern lifestyle, including the drinking of alcohol, and fornication. Some Muslim visitors to the mosque have therefore been critical of the *haram*, or forbidden, nature to some of the activities taking place there, yet the centre remains dependent on such sources of revenue for its existence. In this paper, I examine how the dual nature of this conflict between being Muslim and Mexican mirrors to some extent the experiences of the wider Mexican convert community, yet how this predicament is an inevitable product of the desire of external investors to minimize a venture's dependency on external resources in a context where the Muslim community is developing.

## Keywords

Tourism, Religion, Identity, Islam, Mexico

In 1996 Boris Vukonić declared 'Religion and tourism are intertwined: the activity of one creates the conditions for the activity of the other' (Vukonić 1996). In this paper, I consider how a disjunction between these two domains causes frustrations in relation to a combined hotel and prayer hall for Muslims in Mexico and how these frustrations might be remedied.

## Islam in Mexico

Teresa Alfaro Velcamp (2002) attributes the arrival of Islam in Mexico to bouts of immigration from the Greater Syria area of the then Ottoman Empire in the late eighteenth century. The Muslim community has, however, located a text, *Un Hereje y Un Musulman* by José Pascual Almazán, which suggests that Mexico's first Muslim immigrant arrived in the sixteenth century, coming from Spain via Morocco.<sup>1</sup> Most conversions<sup>2</sup> to Islam have stemmed from proselytization work, which gained its greatest momentum in the mid-1990s. While the exact extent of Mexico's Muslim population remains unknown to any accurate degree, the most recent statistical estimates have placed its level at 39,000<sup>3</sup>, with in the region of 1,000 converts (Garvin 2005).

The two largest concentrations of Muslims in Mexico may be found in Torreón in the north and just outside San Cristóbal de las Casas in Mexico's south. The former is composed of Shia immigrants, mainly from Lebanon, who have their own mosque and are relatively integrated into Mexican life. The latter is a Murabitun Sufi community of converts, who live a separatist existence, restricting relations with non-Muslims almost exclusively to commerce. Mexico's Sunni Muslims are sporadically located throughout the country with the largest concentration in Mexico City.

The sparse literature on Islam in Mexico<sup>4</sup> supports Alfaro Velcamp's (2002) view that Mexican Muslims exist in four principal forms: as descendants of immigrants, recent immigrants, Muslim diplomats, and as converts to Islam. As I point out in a recent paper, while Alfaro Velcamp indicates that there are four different types of Muslims in Mexico, these groups would appear to be neither mutually exclusive nor discretely bound since, for example, some of the individuals coordinating Muslim missionary activity in Mexico are both immigrants *and* converts.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, these groupings themselves can be composed of divergent forms of Islam. Converts who discovered Sunni Islam through an organization called the *Centro Cultural Islámico de México* (CCIM) constitute the informants to this study.<sup>6</sup> The data upon which this study

is based were collated through participant observation and both semi-structured and informal interviews carried out during a year of fieldwork, six months of which was spent living at the site that is the focus of this paper.

### **The Hotel and Prayer Hall**

As you pass around the road that circumnavigates Lake Tequesquitengo in Morelos, you cannot help but observe the scenery. Rolling mountains lie in the backdrop while the expansive lake sits below you to one side. Yet as you continue on your journey another structure calls upon your attention: a white tower reaching up to the sky; a decorative minaret marking the presence of Muslims in Mexico, making it evident you have arrived.

Dar as Salām is situated between the villages of Tequesquitengo and San José Vista Hermosa and occupies a hilltop position set off the circulatory road that runs around Lake Tequesquitengo. The Hacienda of San José Vista Hermosa is the ancient seat of Hernán Cortés; a colonial mansion, now serving as a hotel, which draws tourists both from within Mexico and from abroad. Tequesquitengo is the home to a number of hotels and is a renowned centre for aquatic sports, such as water and jet-skiing. The resort is a popular location for second homes and is a recipient of what Nuñez (1963) has famously called '*el weekendismo*'. Located nearby are the pyramids of Xochicalco, the caves of Cacahuamilpa and the mineral-rich water springs of *Las Estacas*. Beyond its sporting and sightseeing activities, the Tequesquitengo area also draws visitors due to its attractive climate, enjoying hot temperatures and an average of 360 days of sunshine a year. The area's appeal as a tourist resort could not be clearer.

In January 2003 the Centro Cultural Islámico de México (CCIM), a business established to promote Islam in Mexico, officially opened Dar as Salām as a centre for education and worship for Mexican converts to Islam. The development project started in 2000 and the place was used as a meeting point for the convert community even before its construction was completed. Speaking to an ethnohistorian in the context, Omar Weston, the Managing Director of CCIM, described Dar as Salām as a short-term

residential school open to Muslims from all over the Mexican Republic so that they may learn more about Islam, get to know other Muslims from other parts of the country and, afterwards, teach what they have learned to other Muslims when they return back home (Ismu Kusumo 2004).

The Tequesquitengo area has provided Mexican Muslims with a quiet retreat from the hustle and bustle of city life, in which most of the converts are ordinarily situated. Owing to a lack of funds amongst the new Muslims and foreign investors' reluctance to create a dependency on external aid, not all of the residential accommodation has been completed and the finished rooms have had to be rented out to weekenders to generate income. As many of Mexico's Muslims do not have the resources to holiday here, although they have often been allowed to stay without charge, non-Muslims have been taken in as paying guests to allow for some flow of revenue. For some of the converts these visitors have not been their guests of choice.

### **The Prayer Hall**

Dar as Salām is accessed via the unmade street Bajada Molachos, which runs off Tequesquitengo's circulatory road. After a small parking area with a car port, the most noticeable feature is the garden, which is lush and green, like a paradise in the midst of a desert. When I arrived at Dar as Salām in February 2006, the surrounding countryside had dried out and most of the grass was yellow or dead despite the area's lakeside situation. Yet in the midst of this dry landscape stood this colourful garden, withstanding Morelos's heat.

Another parking area is situated opposite the garden and a small pathway through some foliage leads to a large, open plan space with seating in front and to one side. The vast majority of the ground floor is open air, the prayer hall itself being composed of a quarter of this surface area, separated from the rest by curtains. When I first arrived there was some bamboo furniture which now adorns *dawa* (missionary) offices in Mexico City, although three other sets of tables and chairs remain. Enclosed, on the far side, there is a kitchen with gas cooker, refrigerator and freezer, leading

through to a small, yet resourceful library with office facilities and a TV, video recorder and a DVD player. A balcony off the library looks out over the rear garden on to the lake and the passage under an Arabian archway takes you from the open plan space down to the rear garden via a broad staircase. Beside the kitchen there is a small run of stairs up to the minaret tower and the roof terrace, where there are two dormitories and a barbecue area. This level offers extensive views over the lake. Owing to the incline of the land on which the site is built, there are basement facilities at the level of the rear garden. Here we can find a washing area for carrying out *wudu*, or ritual cleansing, a storage shed and a bathroom. The rear garden is split into two sections by a row of young bamboo plants and on the far side of these lies the accommodation of Hotel Oasis. A division in the bamboo plants permits the passage between these two sections.

As Omar Weston enunciated in his interview with Fitra Ismu Kusumo (2004), Dar as Salām is open to Muslims from all over Mexico. In this sense it is the sole retreat to which all Mexican Muslims have access. Its comprehensive library provides Muslims with otherwise inaccessible material, owing to the cost of books and the paucity of literature available on Islam in Castilian. It contains a number of works in English that are not yet available in Spanish translation. The collection is not restricted to books, but also includes audio cassettes, videos and DVDs. A number are in Arabic. The Islamic theme to Dar as Salām does not end in its library. The prayer hall's residential accommodation provides the opportunity for Muslims to live together in unison, providing a sense of community, and the *adhan* (the call to prayer) is sung five times a day to draw residents to worship. When residential conferences have taken place, delegates have not had to pay for their stay.

The vast majority of converts to Islam live in cities, where the Muslim immigrant communities are larger but also where the pressures to stray from Islam can be the greatest. In a conversation with me, Omar Weston of the CCIM likened the opportunity to come to Tequesquitengo to the *hijra*, or exile, performed by the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh). In the year 622 CE, Muhammad and his followers regrouped in the city now known as Medina in exile from persecution under the Quraysh. It was from here that the Muslims then went on to conquer Mecca in 630 CE. The exile was an escape from idolaters and the conquest was a conquest over idolatry. In this sense

the retreat to Tequesquitengo can be seen to be an escape from the wider forms of idolatry prevalent in the cities and an opportunity to gather up the energy to return to the environment renewed with the message of *tawhid*, or the oneness of God. Also, the more rural location provides the opportunity for Muslims to work the land, which is a form of labour exalted by the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) in a *hadith* narrated by Al-Miqdam: “Nobody has ever eaten a better meal than that which one has earned by working with one’s own hands. The Prophet of Allah, David used to eat from the earnings of his manual labor.”<sup>7</sup>

## **The Hotel**

The name Hotel Oasis is apt owing to the vibrancy of the vegetation growing around the accommodation. During the first few months of my stay, daily deliveries of water used to feed through to hoses that kept the grounds of Dar as Salām in bloom even when the surrounding area was bereft of water.

Hotel Oasis consists of two blocks of ensuite accommodation. One block of three rooms lies beside the site’s swimming pool and faces out onto the prayer hall Dar as Salām. Only the run of infant bamboo plants divides the part of the garden closest to this building from the lawn leading up to the area of worship. Passage between the two sections is unrestricted. Looking out from this block to the right reveals the location of five more rooms, which are split over two levels. At the time of my visit, the two first floor rooms were still under construction and the three ground floor rooms required fitting. These look out over open land to the side of the site, however there is also a barbecue area up on the first-floor terrace of this second block, which is accessible from the garden, giving impressive views out onto the lake and some communal space for the hotel’s visitors. Behind the swimming pool and the completed accommodation is a parking area, which has goalposts for the playing of football. There is another small terrace beside the swimming pool, which provides a further communal space for hotel guests. The rooms are large and each one has two double beds. The ensuite facilities have wash basins, lavatories and showers. The amenities are basic; however this is

reflected in the hotel's very competitive pricing, which places it among the cheapest of options in the area.

The competitive pricing, the spectacular scenery, the excellent climate and the good location all add to Hotel Oasis's appeal as a resort for weekend breaks. Until recently its accommodation had not been overly publicized and the flow of business that had been coming was a product of drive-by enquiries, as the fact that the site rents out rooms is advertised on a large sign beside the main circulatory road. Tequesquitengo is popular as a weekend destination for people who live in Mexico City, as it is only a short drive away and it provides an escape from the stresses of the city.

### **Informants' Comments**

The first comments I heard voiced about the operation of Dar as Salām were criticisms that came from a Kenyan Muslim visitor, who I shall call Isa<sup>8</sup>, who was staying at the site while awaiting deportation to his home country. Isa explained to me that what was happening was *haram* (forbidden) and that a Muslim must earn his living through *halāl*, or permitted, means:

“A Muslim should do business that is halāl. He [sic] cannot earn from things that are haram. If people come here to do drinking or fornication or to listen to loud music, that is haram. Because this is a mosque, these people should not come.”

Isa's comments reminded me of an evening just a few days before. Some guests were staying at Hotel Oasis and had gone for a swim in the pool on the site. They had left the doors of their car open in the car park behind the accommodation so that they could listen to their music, which was playing at a considerable volume. This helped me to understand Isa's perspective. Also, Isa considered Dar as Salām to be a mosque, as this – to him – was its function. The site was actually labelled a prayer hall within a hotel and conference centre owing to a Mexican law which makes wholly religious

buildings State property. This meant that legally the property was not wholly religious, but Isa saw the situation differently.

Another Muslim from abroad, this time from Somalia, came and stayed on site. Ahmad, as I will call him here, lived at the mosque for a number of months and arrived at having strong opinions about the visitors who came. In the absence of the resident caretaker, Ahmad spoke to a couple who turned up late one evening looking for a room. He told them that we had no space, even though – in fact – we did have one room available. Afterwards I asked him what had happened. He replied:

“He was drunk. We don’t want that type here. It is best they go.”

During my six months at Dar as Salām, I witnessed a number of guests come and go. The site’s caretaker, a convert to Islam from Chile, allowed a number of people to stay who often ended up drinking alcohol. It was not uncommon to find these people on the terrace by the poolside, listening to loud music and drinking beer. From such practices and the perceptions of people such as Isa and Ahmad, I became aware of a conflict between the identities of the hotel and the prayer hall, which both occupy the same site. David Herbert sums up the nature of this social contest in the subtitle of his new Open University course: *Islam in the West: the politics of co-existence*. Dar as Salām had two contesting identities that were struggling to co-exist. I put this situation to a number of Mexican converts to the religion to hear their perspective.

Faisal, a Mexican convert to Islam in his early twenties, affirmed confidently that the place is an Islamic hotel, adding “Yes, I see it that way.” When I asked him if it was, then, compatible with non-Muslim visitors, he replied:

“There’s no problem. For example, music is forbidden in Islam, but when I went one time, a family had a stereo and were playing music and nobody said anything to them. [...] It would be preferable if it were a hotel for Muslims, but that’s not possible, because the bad thing is that if we open it just to Muslims people won’t come. And it’s a good opportunity for the people who do come to get to know Islam.”

Abul Khayr, a convert in his mid-twenties, explained about the problem of the perception of what Dar as Salām is doing:

“The problem is that people in Mexico misunderstand the role of this mosque. All the world’s Muslims are accustomed to asking other Muslim countries, such as Saudi Arabia, for money to build a mosque, but never do they realize how much upkeep a mosque is going to need. And it is a tidy sum! In just electricity and water, it’s a big upkeep. So what we are trying to do in Tequesquitengo is to run a business to generate the upkeep needed for maintaining the mosque. And they look down on this. The people who don’t agree with this perspective, they look down on it and criticize it.”

One brother, Asif, in his late teens, exhibited a tolerant perspective, considering the hotel and the prayer hall as entirely distinct entities:

“Well, I believe that, yes, one can’t be responsible for the behaviour of others. Obviously, first of all they are separate, right? There’s the hotel and there’s the mosque. It might be the same piece of land, but nevertheless they are separate. And beyond this, you can’t look at the behaviour of the people and pay too much attention to it, because this isn’t right either. Simply because they’re not Muslims, they can behave in a different way, right? You can hardly watch over them. To be honest, I’ve never had any problem with this. If it were possible to have it as a place just for Muslims, yes, of course I would like that, but in the situation that we’re in, that’s not possible. You have to be realistic too.”

Husaam, a convert in his late-forties, explained how he had come to view Dar as Salām from his attendance at conferences. He saw the place as a model for Islamic behaviour and as an opportunity to call others to Islam:

“When I go there, obviously I follow the rules of the place. This space is for praying. You can’t drink there. You have to follow a dress code. I think they have the right to expect that the people who go there observe the rules of the

place. All hotels have rules. If you accept the rules, on you go. If not, no. If you publish rules, there's no problem. People will decide to go by whether or not they accept them, right? So if they say, no, it's not what I'm after, on they go. Carry on with their journey. And there is always the chance that if they say yes, they will ask questions and learn about the behaviour of others. And we can invite them to reflect on their beliefs and customs and to adopt Islam.”

Abul Khayr gives an example of the kind of criticism he has heard said within the community:

“They criticize the mosque, but it doesn't count as far as I'm concerned, as I've been there since the beginning and the majority of what they say is untrue; 99% of it. For example, they say that women go around naked there. And I've never seen that.” He jokes, “If I'd seen it, I wouldn't have come back!”

Ahmad once commented to me that a female guest “shouldn't walk around naked like that”. He made this remark as she was wearing a very short skirt and a skimpy top. These differing views of what constitutes “naked”, in one case being literally unclothed and in the other being inadequately dressed, provide the basis for the urban myth that has circulated amongst the convert community. Isa, too, exhibited the same perspective as Ahmad, as he revealed when he described to me how he chose to whom to speak at an Immigrant Detention Centre in the United States:

“I met a girl from Belize, who dreamed she was visited by the Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him. She was at the Immigrant Detention Centre. I talked to her about Islam, which was a blessing because I helped her move closer to Islam. I thought it was alright to speak to her as she was properly dressed. There used to be other women wearing what I think they call bikinis. They used to stand at their doorways, but I looked away because they were naked.”

Ahmad and Isa's views on clothing come from their past immersion in a culture following Islamic dress codes. That they come from this culture is seen to authenticate

their views amongst converts, since they come from an authentic Islamic setting, confirming them as knowledgeable about Islam. This position facilitates misunderstanding in relation to cross-cultural terms, such as “naked”, simplifying how rumours have started amongst Mexican converts as to ‘naked’ people having been running around at Hotel Oasis, while in literal terms being untrue.

During my stay, I observed the caretaker of Dar as Salām and Hotel Oasis rent out rooms by the hour to a young couple, I witnessed much drinking of alcohol by non-Muslim hotel guests and heard loud music blasting on infrequent but multiple occasions. The existence of the swimming pool encouraged people to dress sparsely and this no doubt caused Isa’s frequent eye lowering as people passed by. I noted that whenever there was an Islamic conference on, the rooms would not be rented out to non-Muslim guests, so there was some attempt to separate the two activities. The problems of perception usually arose among Muslims who were resident for longer periods of time.

### **The Problem**

A British Muslim visitor from Muslim Aid was due to come to visit Dar as Salām while the Director, Omar Weston, was due to be away. He asked me if I could show the gentleman round. I agreed. During his visit, we discussed Dar as Salām and he commented on its suitability for some sort of external aid. Key in his analysis was the fact that the project would be self-sufficient. He explained that none of the charities are looking to burden themselves with long term dependencies, so they prefer to identify entrepreneurial religious projects that provide some form of sustainable revenue to keep themselves going after receiving an initial financial injection.

Dar as Salām’s problem can be part summed up in the words of Abul Khayr:

“When you have a hotel and you want it to work, if you start to introduce rules like ‘no drinking permitted here’, ‘no music allowed’, ashamedly you are never going to have people, in Mexico.”

Thus if it is a hotel you are running, operating it as a halāl enterprise is going to be difficult. The costs for water, electricity and the telephone line at Dar as Salām are sizeable, but Mexico’s Muslim community is small. The resources held by Mexico’s converts to Islam and Muslim immigrants are at present insufficient to support the upkeep of this prayer hall and educational centre and the incomes of most would prevent them from being able to pay to stay at the hotel, which would have been one way of maintaining a halāl nature. Also, the incomplete state of some of the buildings on site means that the accommodation might not meet with the expectations of the international Muslim traveller, seeking an Islamic holiday abroad. Furthermore, the completion of such building works is dependent on future capital injection, which will only come from an external source if they are happy that the project will prove self-sustainable. Mexican legislation also encourages the dual use of properties, as purely religious buildings become the property of the state. This returns us to having to open the accommodation up to non-Muslims and leaves us placed in the centre of the debate about whether such an operation can be ethical from a Muslim point of view. There would appear to be no easy solution.

### **Mirroring the Converts’ Experiences**

Faisal works in a shop that educates about Islam and carries out dawa (missionary) work in Mexico City. He explained how the shop has to work in a similar way to Dar as Salām:

“The nargilas are haram, but we need revenue. [...] I don’t like to sell [them]. In fact, I don’t smoke. I don’t like smoking. I’d prefer that, instead of these, we sold other things, but they are what people want. What can we do? Some Mexican Muslims who come, say, “Haram! Haram! Haram!” I feel like saying, “So you’re going to give us the money to run the office then, right?”

Faisal illustrates another case of Islam teaching something different to what Mexican society wants, indicating the struggle for one of these two identities to take precedence

over the other. As with Dar as Salām, pragmatics prevent Islam being the dominant voice, even if this would be the preferred option.

Such challenges are not uncommon for Mexican converts to Islam. Many pressures continue to affect new Muslims after their conversion. For example, an employer may not agree to an employee taking short breaks during the day for prayer. Also, families often pressure converts directly to abandon the newly adopted religion and indirectly by attempting to draw the convert into practices forbidden in Islam. Many family celebrations are accompanied by the serving of alcohol, the eating of meat which might include pork, and dancing, which are all prohibited for these Muslims. This can place added pressure on converts while they are adapting to a new way of life.

These pressures sometimes cause converts to withdraw from family festivities. Faisal told me how he ceased to attend family functions for almost two years as he understood the practices to be haram. He now has started to be present as of the last New Year, since he has learned how important the family is in Islam and he realizes he shouldn't break down communication with them. Now he attends family gatherings while not partaking in the particular activities which are not allowed for him as a Muslim. Abul Khayr explained how he has little contact with some family members now, as his connections are stronger with the Muslim community. He mentioned how his uncle would often try to goad him into drinking, but that he had stopped listening to such fooling around.

Clearly Dar as Salām cannot simply withdraw from interaction with Mexican society, particularly as part of its mission is to teach people about Islam and to help to draw new people to the religion. There is thus a need for a balance between the place's Mexican and Muslim identities, without reaching the extreme in either. It would appear that too many restrictions might frighten non-Muslims away, while the centre needs to remain open to non-Muslims if it is to carry out dawa. CCIM once tried to run a restaurant at the site, but it had to close down, because it didn't draw enough custom, which was attributed to its prohibition of alcohol consumption.

## **The Way Forward**

There is a need for recognition amongst charitable organizations providing aid to projects in contexts where the Muslim community is in the developmental stages that self-sufficiency isn't an immediate process and that some sort of gradual withdrawal from dependency is the method most likely to lead to success. Hotel Oasis would benefit from being marketed to a greater extent as a cultural experience and from reducing its dependency on drive-by custom, which leaves it open to customers who do not relate to the ethos of the institution. The hotel could be marketed broadly as a retreat and in this sense it could attract people who are more understanding of its aims and sympathies. This might include marketing to other religious groups, which would promote interreligious understanding in addition to greater knowledge about Islam in general in Mexico. Also, if external aid is not forthcoming to support Dar as Salām's activities that benefit the Mexican Muslim convert community, the centre should consider charging those who can afford it for attending conferences and awarding bursaries, exempting fee payment, to those who cannot.

Without ongoing aid until a community has arrived at a state of self-sufficiency, a new Muslim organization will be dependent on supplying services that are in demand in the society in which it finds itself in order to survive. In this sense, the external society exerts pressure upon the organization to conform to its needs, which is an experience somewhat replicated in the lives of converts, who also feel the pull of their relations with non-Muslims, such as with family and those at work. If external investors were able to make longer term commitments to such projects, until communities reach such sizes as they can finance themselves, there would be much more autonomy for both individuals and such organizations and the true essence of an Islamic identity would be able to be preserved.

## Notes

1. This information was published on CCIM's old webpage, which is now only available in archives (MCM 2003).
2. I use the word conversion, although it should be noted that this process is often argued to constitute 'reversion' from a Muslim point of view, as in Islam people are held to be born into Islam, but then later stray from it. Accordingly, this return to the original religion is sometimes termed a reversion, although this word was not used by my informants in their conversations with me.
3. This statistic comes from adherents.com (2007), which calls upon data quoted in Barratt's (1982) World Christian Encyclopedia for projected population levels.
4. There is very little produced on Islam in Mexico to date. In addition to Alfaro Velcamp's (2002) work, these are some of the key studies: Garvin 2005; Ismu Kusumo 2004; Kettani 1986; Klahr 2002; Morquecho 2005; Ruiz Ortiz 2003; Sanchez García 2004.
5. Lindley-Highfield (2007). This point was made in a paper examining motivations for religious conversion to Anglican Christianity and Islam in Mexico, presented at ENAH-INAH, Mexico.
6. This research was funded by a doctoral studentship from the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), whom I would like to thank, in addition to Omar Weston and the Centro Cultural Islámico de México, for making this study possible.
7. USC-MSA (2007): Sahih Bukhari, *Volume 3, Book 34, Number 286*, narrated by Al-Miqdam.
8. The names of all informants in this study have been changed to protect their identity and to provide them with anonymity.

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