

As public debates about Muslims’ integration into European societies increase due mostly to rising Islamophobia, academic interest toward European Muslims also advances. Scholars particularly analyze how Muslims will adapt into Europe as being both Muslim and European. Two recent great examples of such scholarship are Ahmet Yükleyen’s *Localizing Islam in Europe* and John R. Bowen’s *Can Islam Be French*. Yükleyen’s study examines the diverse ways that the Turkish Islamic groups in the Netherlands and Germany interpret Islam in adapting themselves to the European setting. In his analysis, Yükleyen focuses on the demands of the Muslim individuals, mainstream Islamic sources, the discourse of competing Islamic communities, and the policies of the European states. Similarly, Bowen’s book looks at how French Muslims experience their faith to ensure both preserving their Islamic identity and adapting to broader French society. Bowen unpacks the pragmatic adaptations of Muslims into French society in a variety of settings such as mosques, institutes, schools, and other public spaces. Taken together, these books challenge two widely held arguments about Islam’s adaptation to local settings. First, they challenge the idea that Islam has immutable essence regardless of historical and political context. Second, while the authors demonstrate the influence of social context on Muslims’ interpretation of Islam, they also challenge the view that the context completely determines religious interpretations. In this sense, they pay close attention to the Islamic core and examine how Muslims negotiate the fixed and flexible elements in their religion in adapting into new settings.

Building on Fredrik Barth’s approach to anthropology of knowledge, *Localizing Islam in Europe* examines interactions among Muslim organizations, their representation in Europe, their corpus of assertions, and their relations with European states. Yükleyen first defines the key element of his study, the “Turkish Islamic field” (Chapter 1), which has two dimensions: “Vertically, Islamic communities and organizations operate in between the state and Muslims. Horizontally, they compete among themselves” (p. 33). Yükleyen, with an emphasis on their development in Turkey and Europe, introduces varying Islamic communities and organizations within the Turkish Islamic field: (i) official Islam, focusing on religious services for Turks and their loyalty to the Turkish state and represented by mosques administered by the Turkish Directorate of Religious Affairs (*Diyanet*) organization; (ii) political Islam, focusing on Muslims’ representation in European public sphere and represented by Milli Görüş community; (iii) civil Islam, focusing on interfaith dialogue and building networks with broader European society and represented by the Gülen community; and (iv) mystical Islam, focusing on recitation of Quran and traditional Islamic rituals and represented by the Süleymanlı community.
Later in the book, the author also discusses revolutionary Islam, focusing on establishment of an Islamic state and represented by the Kaplan community.

In Chapters 2-4, Yükleyen expands the two dimensions of the Turkish Islamic field. In Chapter 2, he analyzes the vertical relations between European Muslims and Islamic organizations through the cases of Gülen and Süleymanlı communities. Yükleyen specifically looks at how religious authority is produced in these two communities and its influence on their religious interpretations. Inward-oriented and highly centralized nature of the Süleymanlı community has produced stricter Islamic interpretations while outward oriented and decentralized nature of the Gülen community has led more liberal interpretations of Islam that emphasizes interreligious dialogue and education. In Chapter 3, Yükleyen shifts his attention to the horizontal relations among Islamic communities and organizations. He analyzes how Milli Görüş, Gülen and Süleymanlı communities compete one another for providing the needs of their followers through social and religious activism. The author concludes that the more Islamic communities address the socio-religious needs of their followers in Europe, the more they serve their supporters and the more their religious discourse adapts to Europe. In Chapter 4, Yükleyen revisits the vertical dimension of the “Turkish Islamic field,” but this time, with a focus on the relationship between state and Islamic communities and organizations. He compares Milli Görüş's relationship with the state in Germany and the Netherlands. Yükleyen argues that Dutch multicultural policies, as compared to relatively more exclusionary policies of the German state, helped “Islamic organizations to integrate and adapt their interpretation of Islam to their European settings” (p. 181).

After expanding the vertical and horizontal dimensions of the Turkish Islamic field, Yükleyen employs his model to explain different levels of integration of the Turkish Islamic groups in Europe. The Gülen community and the Northern branch of the Milli Görüş in the Netherlands helped their followers' social and economic integration and bridged them with the broader European society. Süleymanlı and Diyanet groups also helped their followers' social integration but generally failed to encourage them to have closer relations with the larger society. The Kaplan community, which Yükleyen examines in Chapter 6 in greater detail, isolated their followers from both mainstream Muslims and broader European societies. Having analyzed different interpretations of Islam within his model, Yükleyen concludes that Muslims “do not adapt their religion in the name of reformism but rather, they reform their religion as they try to make it relevant for their own lives, as well as accessible to and recognized by non-Muslims” (p. 259).

In *Can Islam be French*, building on anthropology of public reasoning approach, John Bowen examines how Muslims are reinterpreting their religion as a response to the conditions in France. He specifically looks at how Muslims re-think Islam to be both French and Muslim. The key question of the book, then, is “what forms of Islamic ideas and institutions enable those Muslims wishing to practice their religion to do so fully and freely in France?” (p. 5). Through a rich ethnography of mosques, Islamic schools, teaching and research institutes, websites, and public debates, Bowen argues that pragmatic reasoning of French Muslims and particular ways that the French state governs Islam created new combinations of Islamic interpretations that made a French Islam possible.