

**UNDERSTANDING THE ROLE OF ISLAM IN POLITICS: RELIGION,  
MODERNITY AND DEMOCRACY  
SPRING 2014  
Dr Jocelyne Cesari**

**Time: Mondays-Wednesdays  
2-3 pm**

**COURSE OVERVIEW**

In this course, we will investigate the relationship between modernization, politics, and Islam in Muslim-majority countries. This course provides a unique overview of the historical and religious developments from the end of World War II to the Arab Spring that have made Islam a major political force, and discusses Islam's impact on emerging democracies in the contemporary Middle East. We will systematically analyze the status of Islam within modern nation-states through several case studies: Iraq, Pakistan and Turkey as well as Egypt and Tunisia. Such case studies will show how Islamic references have been central to building modern national narratives and institutions, and how collective Islamic discourses and actions will influence post-authoritarian regimes and democratic transitions. The analysis of each country will be based on a discussion of the theories of modernization as well as on a comparison with other similar developments in other parts of the world. It will also discuss and present current sociological approaches of the concept of religion and apply it to Muslim-majority countries.

**LEARNING OBJECTIVES**

1. *To reconsider the theories of modernization by introducing the role of Islam in particular and religion in general*
2. *To reconsider the theories of secularism and religion in the light of the cultural and religious changes in Muslim countries*
3. *Discuss the gap between theological work and social interpretation of the Islamic religion in different national contexts*

**Materials:**

- Readings for each session will be scanned and uploaded onto the course website.
- **The following books are required as resources that we will use in the course in addition of the materials for each session:**

**The Middle East: *The Middle East* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, summer 2013, 13th Edition)**

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- **The Qu'ran Interpreted (1955) by Arthur Arberry .**
- **Or The Koran (1956) by N.J Dawood.**
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- **Jocelyne Cesari, *The Awakening of Muslim Democracy: Religion, Modernity and Democracy*, Cambridge University Press, 2014**

**Class Requirements:**

- Each student is expected to read the materials before each class and participate actively in the class discussions.
- Midterm Paper will be an assigned topic. (10-15 pages)
- Final Paper is on a topic of students' choice – 15 (minimum) to 20 pages. (after approval by the professor)

**The assignments aim to evaluate students understanding about the contemporary discussions on the Islamic religious tradition in different cultural contexts and their ability to compare with parallel discussion in other religious traditions.**

**Grading:**

- Class Participation: 20%
- Midterm Paper: 35%
- Final Paper: 45%

**COURSE SCHEDULE****Session 1:****STATE AND RELIGION IN MUSLIM COUNTRIES I**

Nasr, SVR, *“Islamic Leviathan: Islam and the Making of State Power,”* New York: Oxford University Press, (2001): 69-82.

Hashemi, Nader. *“Secularism and Its Discontents in Muslim Societies,”* New York: Oxford University Press, (2009): 133-170.

Assad, Talal. *“Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam,”* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, (1993): 1-54.

**Session 2:****STATE AND RELIGION IN MUSLIM COUNTRIES II (Comparative perspective)**

Fox, Jonathan. “World Separation of Religion and State in the 21st Century.” *Comparative Political Studies* 39,(June 2006): 537-569.

Stepan, Alfred. “Religion, Democracy and the ‘Twin Tolerations.’” *Journal of Democracy* Volume 11, Number 4, (October 2000): 37-57.

**Session 3 ASSESSING THE GAP BETWEEN POLITICAL ISLAM AND ISLAMIC THEOLOGY**

El Fadl, Khaled Abou. *The Great Theft: Wrestling Islam from the Extremists.* New York: HarperCollins (2005): 45-110.

Faraj, Muhammad ‘Abd al-Salam. *Jihad: The Absent Obligation*. Birmingham: Maktabah Al Ansaar (2000): 24-85.

Khomeini, Ayatollah Ruhollah. "Islam Is Not a Religion of Pacifists" in *Theory and Practice of Islamic Terrorism: An Anthology*. Edited by Marvin Perry and Howard E. Negrin. New York: Palgrave Macmillan (2008): 29-32.

Qutb, Sayyid *Milestones*. Chicago: Kazi Publications (2007): 53-76.

#### **Session 4:**

#### **ISLAM AND DEMOCRACY IN EGYPT**

Abed-Kotob, Sana and Sullivan, Denis J. “*Islam in Contemporary Egypt: Civil Society vs. the State*,” Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers (1999): 1-37; 121-136.

Rutherford, Bruce K. “*Egypt after Mubarak: Liberalism, Islam, and Democracy in the Arab World*,” Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press , (2008): 32-130; 231-260.

Madhi El, Philip Rabab and Marfleet, (eds). “*Egypt: The Moment of Change*,” London: Zed Books, (2009): 103-135.

#### Recommended background reading:

Cook, Steven A. “*The struggle for Egypt: from Nasser to Tahrir Square*,” New York : Oxford University Press, (2012).

#### **Session 5:**

#### **ISLAM AND DEMOCRACY IN EGYPT II**

Stephane Lacroix, “*Sheikhs and Politicians: Inside the New Egyptian Salafism*”

Brookings Doha Center Policy Briefing, (June 2012).

<http://www.brookings.edu/research/papers/2012/06/07-egyptian-salafism-lacroix>

Tschirgi, Dan; Kazziha, Walid; McMahon, Sean F.; Boulder Colo (Eds), “*Egypt’s Tahrir Revolution*,” Lynne Rienner Publishers, (2013):103-142; 142-183; 249-275.

#### **Session 6:**

#### **ISLAM IN TUNISIA: TOWARD AN ISLAMIC DEMOCRACY?**

Pack, Jason; Roslington, James. "Politics and Power in the Maghreb: Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco from Independence to the Arab Spring," *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 67 Issue 1, (Winter2013):150-151.

Hachana, Mohamed Nejib. "Twenty Years of Change: Tunisia's Journey of Progress Continues." *Mediterranean Quarterly* 19, no. 2, (Spring 2008): 1-4.  
<http://ezproxy6.ndu.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=32604406&site=ehost-live>

Hamden, Mohammed Elihachmi. "*The Politicization of Islam*," West view: Diane Publishing Co., (1998): 25-61.

"*Tunisia: Analyzing the Dawn of the Arab Spring*," Abu Dhabi Gallup Center (June 2011). <http://www.abudhabigallupcenter.com/148229/Tunisia-Analyzing-Dawn-Arab-Spring.aspx>

Caffrey, Paul, "The awakening of revolution in Tunisia. Why Tunisia?" and Dale Sprusansky, "Assessing Tunisia's elections" in Haddad, Bassam; Bsheer, Rosie; Abu-Rish, Ziad. "*The dawn of the Arab uprisings: end of an old order*," Palgrave Macmillan, chapter 2

Recommended background reading:

Willis, Michael J. "*Politics and power in the Maghreb: Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco from independence to the Arab Spring*", Columbia University Press,(2012).

**Session 7:**

**ISLAM AND DEMOCRACY IN MOROCCO: TOWARD A CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY?**

El Mansour, Mohamed. "*Salafis and Modernists in the Moroccan Nationalist Movement*," *In Islam and Secularism in North Africa*, Edited by J.Ruedy, Basingstoke: Macmillan, (1994): 53-71.

Maddy-Weitzman, Bruce; Zisenwine, Daniel. "*Contemporary Morocco: state, politics and society under Mohammed VI*," Edited by Park, Milton, Routledge, (2013): Chapter 2, 3&4.

Desrués, Thierry, "Mobilizations in a hybrid regime: The 20th February Movement and the Moroccan regime," *Current Sociology*, Vol. 61 Issue 4, (Jul 2013): 409-423.

Dalmasso Emanuela. "Surfing the Democratic Tsunami in Morocco: Apolitical Society and the Reconfiguration of a Sustainable Authoritarian Regime," *Mediterranean Politics*, Vol. 17 Issue 2, (July 2012): 217-232.

Guessous, Nouzha. "Women's rights in Muslim societies: Lessons from the Moroccan experience," *Philosophy & Social Criticism*, Vol. 38 Issue 4/5, (May/Jun2012): 525-533.

**Session 8:**

**ISLAM IN IRAN: FUSION OF RELIGION AND POLITICS**

Kamali, Masoud. "*Revolutionary Iran: Civil Society and State in the Modernization Process*," Aldershot: Ashgate, (1998): Chapter 7; Pt.III.

Mirsepassi, Ali. "*Democracy in Modern Iran: Islam, Culture, and Political Change*," New York University Press, (2010): 81-148.

Houchang, Chehabi. "Religion and Politics in Iran: How Theocratic is the Islamic Revolution?" *Daedalus*, (Summer 1991): 69-92.

**Session 9: TURKEY: SYNTHESIS BETWEEN ISLAM AND SECULARISM?**

Kucukcan, Talip. "State, Islam, and Religious Liberty in Modern Turkey: Reconfiguration of Religion in the Public Sphere," *Brigham Young University Law Review* Volume 2003, Number 2, (2003): 475-506.

Navaro-Yashin, Yael. "*Faces of the State: Secularism and Public Life in Turkey*," Princeton University Press, (2002): 1-43.

Juris, Pupcenoks. "Democratic Islamization in Pakistan and Turkey: Lessons for the Post-Arab Spring," *Muslim World Middle East Journal*, Vol. 66 Issue 2, (Spring 2012):273-289.

Parlar Dal, Emel. "The Transformation of Turkey's Relations with the Middle East:

**Session 10 : ISLAM IN PAKISTAN: THE INTERNATIONAL RISK OF A POTENTIAL "FAILED" STATE**

Haq, Farhat. "*Pakistan: A State for the Muslims or an Islamic State?*" In *Religion and Politics in South Asia*. Edited by Ali Riaz, New York: Routledge, (2010): 119- 146.

Heng, Michael S.H. and Ten, C.L., eds. "State and Secularism: Perspectives from Asia," Hackensack, NJ: *World Scientific*, (2010):185-213.

Siddiqui, Rushda. "The Islamic Dimension of Pakistan's foreign policy." In *Radical Islam and International Security: Challenges and Responses*, Edited by Efraim Inbar, New York: Routledge, (2008): 153-168.

**Session 11:**

**LIBYA: DEMOCRACY AFTER QADAFI?**

Vandewalle, Dirk J. *"A history of modern Libya,"* Cambridge University Press, (2012): 96-215.

Barger, John. "After Qadhafi: Prospects for Political Party Formation and Democratization in Libya" *The Journal of North African Studies* Vol. 4, No. 1, (1999): 62-77. <http://ejcontent.ebsco.com/ContentServer.aspx?target=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.tandfonline.com%2Fdoi%2Fpdf%2F10.1080%2F13629389908718350%3F%26userIP%3D141.161.5.78>

**Session 12:**

**IRAQ: OVERCOMING SECTARIAN DIVIDES?**

*See Iraq country profile on [www.islamopediaonline.org](http://www.islamopediaonline.org)*

Ghanim, David. *"Iraq's dysfunctional democracy,"* Santa Barbara, California: Praeger, (2011): 33-53; 117-147 .

**SESSION 13: WOMEN'S RIGHTS, RELIGION AND DEMOCRACY**

Hashemi, Kamran. *"Religious Legal Tradition, International Human Rights Law and Muslim States,"* Brill, (2008): 23-124.

Htun, Mala, and S. Laurel Weldon. "State Power, Religion, and Women's Rights: A Comparative Analysis of Family Law." *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies* 18, no. 1 (Winter 2011): 145-165.

Razavi, Shahra, and Anne Jenichen. "The Unhappy Marriage of Religion and Politics: problems and pitfalls for gender equality." *Third World Quarterly* 31, no. 6 (September 2010): 833-850.

Sezgin, Yüksel. "Women's Rights in the Triangle of State, Law, and Religion: A Comparison of Egypt and India." *Emory International Law Review* 25, no. 2 (October 2011): 1007-1028.

"Islam and the Politics of Gender" In Kathryn May Robinson *Gender, Islam, and Democracy in Indonesia.* (London; New York: Routledge, 2009): 165-187.

**FINAL PAPER DUE**