Political and Social Life in The Muslim World
COLLEGE OF THE HOLY CROSS

Honors 299   Professor Vickie Langohr
Spring 2010   326 Fenwick
T 9:30-12:00   793-2763
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Th 9:30-11, 3:30-4:30

        Muslims make up the majority of the population in 47 countries, from relatively wealthy countries in Europe and the Persian Gulf to desperately poor countries in Southeast Asia and sub-Saharan Africa. We will use readings on Turkey, Indonesia, Iran, Afghanistan, Egypt, the West Bank and Gaza, and Yemen to explore the following questions: are there social or political practices which are found in almost all Muslim countries regardless of geographical location or level of wealth? In particular, do levels of socioeconomic development (annual income, or GDP per capita, level of literacy, level of urbanization, etc.) explain behaviors and practices in particular countries better than a country being majority-Muslim does? Why do levels of freedom for women differ widely across the Muslim world? Why do the governments of some Muslim countries strongly discourage women from veiling, while others require it, and is forbidding certain groups of women from veiling, as is done in Turkey, compatible with democracy? How do the high levels of violence in areas such as Afghanistan affect women's rights, and what role do particular interpretations of Islam play in justifying suicide bombings?

        Another key theme of the class will be democracy as a political system. Most Muslim countries are not democracies; can Indonesian democracy tell us anything about the conditions required for the creation of more Muslim democracies? We will read the arguments of Muslim scholars who say that Islam poses no obstacle to democracy, and who point to particular historical practices of Islam to back up their argument, as well as the argument of Ayman al-Zawahiri, al-Qaeda's second-in-command, that democracy and Islam are not compatible because in a democracy the only thing that is required to pass a law is that the majority of people want it, while *shari'a* (Islamic law) requires that Muslims behave in certain ways whether they wish to or not.   We will use the cases of Egypt and Indonesia to ask whether democracy in a majority-Muslim state would actually limit citizens' freedoms, as we examine whether the main competitor to the undemocratic Egyptian government – the Muslim Brotherhood – would be committed to equal rights for all citizens should it win power in free and fair elections, and how increases in citizens' power in democratic Indonesia led to a proliferation of laws to implement various aspects of *shari'a* in local communities.

Books for Purchase

- *The Making of A Human Bomb: An Ethnography of Palestinian Resistance*, Nasser Abufarha, Duke University Press (Durham, 2009)

- *A Woman Among Warlords: The Extraordinary Story of an Afghan Who Dared to Raise Her Voice*, Malalai Joya, (Scribner, 2009)

- *The Modern Middle East: A Political History Since the First World War*, Mehran Kamrava, (University of California Press, 2005)

- *Passionate Uprisings: Iran's Sexual Revolution*, Pardis Mahdavi, (Stanford University Press, 2009)

- *The Mantle of the Prophet: Religion and Politics in Iran, SECOND EDITION,* Roy Mottahedeh, (Oneworld Publications; Revised edition, December 25, 2008)

Course Requirements

The requirements for this course, in addition to regular attendance , are five three-five page weekly papers (20% of your grade), a 7-10 page paper (30%), a 12-15 page paper (30%), and participation in class (20%). The participation grade is divided into 5% for the day on which you lead discussion of a reading, and 15% for participation in discussions throughout the class.

T Jan 26: Introduction

T Feb 2: Background on Islam, and Religious Explanations for Social Phenomena

1 discussant, analyzing how persuasive she finds Inglehart and Norris' argument that citizens of Muslim-majority countries have the least commitment to women's equality of any group of citizens, and that this partially explains why there are so few Muslim democracies. This discussant should make sure, in addition to other arguments, to address how valid the survey questions are on which Inglehart and Norris base their argument.

Basic Background on Islam

- *Global Islamic Politics*, Second Edition, Mir Zohair Husain, (Longman Publishers, 2003), 1-27 (ER)

A Famous Historical Argument Linking Protestantism to a Sociopolitical Outcome

- "Protestantism and the Spirit of Capitalism," Max Weber, excerpts (ER)

Contemporary Arguments Linking Islam to Sociopolitical Outcomes

- "Islam and Liberal Democracy," Bernard Lewis, *Atlantic Monthly*, February 1993 (ER)

- "Islam and Authoritarianism," M. Steven Fish, *World Politics*, Vol. 55, No. 1, October 2002, 4-5, 24-36 (ER)

- "The True Clash of Civilizations," Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris, *Foreign Policy*, March-April 2003 (ER)

T Feb 9: Shi'ism and Politics in Pre-Revolutionary Iran

1 discussant, assessing Bill and Williams' argument about similarities between Catholicism and Shi'ism, and assessing the role of anti-imperialism in opposition to the Shah.

- *Roman Catholics and Shi'I Muslims: Prayer, Passion, and Politics*, James Bill and John Williams, (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2002), 13-20 (stop at "The development of legal schools"), 47-74 (ER)

- *The Modern Middle East: A Political History Since the First World War*, 140-154

- "Secrets of History: The C.I.A. in Iran: How A Plot Convulsed Iran in '53 (and in '79)," James Risen, *New York Times*, April 16, 2000 (ER)

- "Granting Capitulatory Rights to the U.S." Imam Ruhullah Khomeini, in *Modernist and Fundamentalist Debates in Islam: A Reader*, eds. Mansoor Moaddel and Kamran Talattof, (Palgrave, 2002) (ER)

- *Reconstructed Lives: Women & Iran's Islamic Revolution*, Haleh Esfandiari, (Woodrow Wilson Center, 1997) 23-31 (ER)

- *The Mantle of the Prophet: Religion and Politics in Iran*, Roy Mottahedeh, (Pantheon, 1985), 7-34, 38-50, 69-78, 110-115

T Feb 16: The Iranian Revolution and Its Effects on the Lives of Women and Youth

1 discussant, discussing the ways that women's rights and abilities have increased and decreased during the Islamic revolution.

- *Mantle of the Prophet*, 134-144, 186-198, 248-287, 337-345

- *The Modern Middle East*, 154-166

- "On the Islamic Hijab," Murtaza Mutahhari, Tehran: Islamic Propagation Organization, 1987, in Mansoor Moaddel and Kamran Talattof, editors, *Modernist and Fundamentalist Debates in Islam*, Palgrave, 2002 (ER)

- *Reconstructed Lives*, 107-131, excerpts (ER)

- *Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution*, Nikki Keddie, (Yale, 2003), 285-297 (ER)

- "Youth Exclusion in Iran: The State of Education, Employment, and Family Formation," Djavad Salehi-Isfahani, and Daniel Egel, Wolfensohn Center for Development, Dubai School of Government, Middle East Youth Initiative Working Paper No. 3, September 2007, 5-13, 18-20, 24-36 (ER)

T Feb 23: Responses of Urban Iranian Youth to "Anti-Fun" Revolutionary Policies

2 discussants. One discussant will discuss the plausibility of Mahdavi's informants' contention that their behavior (pre- or extramarital sex, attending parties, breaking dress codes) constitutes a political "rebellion" and analyze Bayat's argument about fundamentalism as an "anti-fun" movement. The other discussant will use the Keddie and Salehi-Isfahani readings from the previous week to discuss the ways in which specific socioeconomic changes in Iran in the past twenty years have made Mahdavi's informants and their behavior possible.

- *Passionate Uprisings: Iran's Sexual Revolution*, Pardis Mahdavi, (Stanford University Press, 2009), 1-10, 20-31, 51-66, 71-77, 90-103, 110-155, 191-204, 213-215, 237-253, 299-304

- *Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East,* Asef Bayat (Stanford University Press, 2010), 115-150 (ER)

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T Mar 9: Background on the Arab-Israeli Conflict, Examples of Palestinian Non-Violent Resistance, and Theories About Why Suicide Bombings Occur

1 discussant, analyzing Palestinians' attempts to respond non-violently to Israeli occupation and the specific reasons why Palestinian support for suicide bombings has increased and decreased over time.

- "Palestine, Israel, and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A Primer," *Middle East Report*, http://www.merip.org/palestine-israel_primer/toc-pal-isr-primer.html (READ ALL SECTIONS)

- *A History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, Fifth Edition, Ian Bickerton and Carla Klausner, (Prentice-Hall, 2007), 80-82 (ER)

*The First **Intifada** and Attempts at Nonviolent Resistance*

- Bickerton and Klausner, 219, 220-226 (ER)

- *Building a Palestinian State: The Incomplete Revolution*, Glenn Robinson, (Indiana University Press, 1997), 66-93 (ER)

The Oslo Accords and Life in Gaza During the Oslo Process

- Bickerton and Klausner, 256-258, 273-274, 276-279 (ER)

- "Why Peace Failed: An Oslo Autopsy," *Current History*, January 2002, Sara Roy (ER)

*Violent and Non-Violent Resistance Since the Second **Intifada***

- Bickerton and Klausner, 329-334, 345-346, 353, 355-357, 363 (ER)

- "Building A Different Middle East," Joel Beinin, *The Nation*, January 15, 2010 (ER)

Suicide Bombings, Part I

- "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Bombings," Robert Pape, *American Political Science Review* 2003 (ER)

- "Ground to A Halt," Robert Pape, *New York Times*, August 3, 2006 (ER)

- *Dying to Kill: The Allure of Suicide Terror*, Mia Bloom, (Columbia, 2005), 46-75

T Mar 16: Suicide Bombing in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict – joint meeting with Religion and Violence Honors Seminar students

- *The Making of A Human Bomb: An Ethnography of Palestinian Resistance*, Nasser Abufarha, Duke University Press (Durham, 2009), 1-2, 7-11, 16-22, 25-84, 100-133, 140-176, 196-217

- *Dying to Kill*, Bloom, 19-39 (ER)

- "Palestinians Debate 'Polite' Resistance to Occupation," Lori Allen, *Middle East Report*, Winter 2002 (ER)

T Mar 23: The Practice and Politics of the *Hajj*

1 discussant, using the film and the Malcolm X reading to address how the *hajj* creates the feeling among pilgrims that Muslims worldwide are a single community, and assessing how Nomani's experience as a single mother on the *hajj* complements or contradicts this argument.

- Watch the film "Inside Mecca" (in the Media Resource Center)

- *Guests of God: Pilgrimage and Politics in the Islamic World*, Robert Bianchi, (Oxford, 2004), 3-21, 49-55, 68-69 (ER)

- *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, (Ballantine Books, 1964), 158-166, 325-348 (ER)

- *Standing Alone in Mecca*, Asra Nomani, (Harper, 2005), selections (ER)

T Mar 30: What Factors Encourage or Hinder Democracy? Should All Islamic Religious Practices Be Allowed in Democracies?

2 discussants. One will critically examine Aboul Fadl's arguments about the ways in which democracy and Islam may and may not be compatible, and Zawahiri (the second-in-command of al-Qaeda)'s arguments about why they are not. The second will assess the European Court of Human Rights' argument that Turkey's law preventing university students from wearing the veil does not violate Turkish women's human rights, as well as Obama's use of American Muslims wearing the veil as evidence of American religious pluralism in his "Cairo speech" to the Muslim world.

- "What Democracy Is…….and Is Not," Philippe Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl, reprinted in *Comparative Politics 98/99* (ER)

- "Checklist, Freedom House Political Rights and Civil Liberties" *(ER)*

- "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy," Seymour Martin Lipset, *American Political Science Review*, Section II: "Economic Development and Democracy," pp. 75-85 (ER)

- "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" Michael Ross, *World Politics* 53.3, April 2001, 325, 332-336, 347-351, 356-7 (ER)

- "Islam and the Challenge of Democracy," Khaled Aboul Fadl, *Boston Review*, April-May 2003, 1-18 (ER)

- The Open Meeting with Sheikh Ayman al-Zawahiri Part 2, April 2008, excerpts from sections on the Muslim Brotherhood's party program (transl. Langohr) (ER)

- "Case of Leyla Sahin v. Turkey," European Court of Human Rights decision, including dissenting opinion by Judge Tulkens, 10 November 2005 (ER)

- "Text: Obama's Speech in Cairo," *New York Times*, June 4, 2009, excerpts (ER)

- "Youthful Voice Stirs Challenge to Secular Turks," Sabrina Tavernise, *New York Times*, October 14, 2008 (ER)

T Apr 6: Egypt and the Muslim Brotherhood: Is Egypt's Main Opposition Group Committed to Democracy?

One discussant, analyzing whether the Muslim Brotherhood would be committed to democracy, particularly equal rights for women and Egypt's Christian minority, if it came to power.

- "Egypt," *Freedom in the World* 2009
  http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=22&year=2009&country=7601

- "Revolution, Facebook Style," Samantha Shapiro, *New York Times Magazine*, January 25, 2009 (ER)

- "The Brotherhood Goes to Parliament." By Samer Shehata and Joshua Stacher. *Middle East Report* Fall 2006, 32-39 (ER)

- "What Do Egypt's Islamists Want? Moderate Islam and the Rise of Islamic Constitutionalism," Bruce Rutherford, *Middle East Journal*, Autumn 2006, pp. 707-720 & 726-731 (ER)

- "In the Shadow of the Brothers: The Women of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood," Omayma Abdel-Latif, October 2008, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

  http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.cfm?fa=view&id=22347

- "Labor Disunion," Lee Keath, *Cairo Today*, June 1993 (ER)

- "I Will Stand Up for the Muslim Brotherhood," Mona El Tahawy, *The Jewish Daily Forward*, September 19, 2007 (ER)

- "The Muslim Brotherhood Will Stand Up For All Egyptians," Ibrahim al Houdaiby, *The Jewish Daily Forward*, September 26, 2007 (ER)

- "The Draft Party Platform of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood: Foray into Political Integration or Retreat Into Old Positions?" Nathan Brown and Amr Hamzawy, Carnegie Papers, January 2008, 1-9, 16-19 (ER)

-------------------------M April 12 4:30, Rehm Library: Patricia Omidian lecture on Women --------------------------in Afghanistan (required)--

T Apr 13: War, Warlords, Islam, and Women's Rights in Afghanistan

1 discussant, discussing whether Joya thinks religion is responsible for the lack of women's rights in Afghanistan, and why she thinks that the U.S.-supported Afghan government, and the continuing NATO occupation, don't serve to advance Afghan women's rights.

- *A Woman Among Warlords: The Extraordinary Story of an Afghan Who Dared to Raise Her Voice*, Malalai Joya, (Scribner, 2009), 1-109, 124-151

- "Silence is Violence: End the Abuse of Women in Afghanistan," United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan, July 8, 2009, 4-28 (ER)

T Apr 20: Islam, Politics, and Socioeconomic Development In Authoritarian Indonesia, 1949-1998

- *Background on Indonesia*, Langohr (ER)

- *Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia*, Robert Hefner, (Princeton, 2000), 14-20, 41-48 (ER)

- *Politics in Indonesia: Democracy, Islam, and the Ideology of Tolerance*, Douglas Ramage, 10-22 (ER)

- *Indonesia's New Order: The Dynamics of Socio-Economic Transformation*, ed. Hal Hill, (University of Hawaii Press, 1994) 54-60, 105-106, 145-148, 158-166 (ER)

- "The Changing Indonesian Household," Gavin Jones, Women in Indonesia: Gender, Equity, and Development, eds. Kathryn Robinson and Sharon Bessell, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2002, 226-233 (ER)

- *Opposing Suharto: Compromise, Resistance, and Regime Change in Indonesia*, Edward Aspinall, 42-48, 209-238 (ER)

T Apr 27: Changes in Islam's Effect on Social Life and Culture During Indonesian Democracy

2 discussants. One will address the question of whether the coming of democracy in Indonesia has actually lessened citizens' civil liberties by allowing citizens to pass laws requiring particular Islamic practices. (questions addressed in the "Dress Codes" section of the readings.) The second will discuss the ways in which the representation of Islam in film and TV has changed in a democratic Indonesia with fewer government controls on the media and cultural production.

Dress Codes, Freedoms of Religious Minorities, and Freedom of Speech

- "Indonesia's Salman Rushdie," Human Rights Watch, April 10, 1991 (ER) (note, in 1991 Suharto was still in power and media laws had been liberalized, but Indonesia was not a democracy until 1998).

- "The Mega Factor in Indonesian Politics," Krishna Sen, *Women in Indonesia: Gender, Equity, and Development*, 13-16 (ER)

- *Gender, Islam and Democracy in Indonesia*, Kathryn May Robinson, (Routledge, 2008), 165-187 (ER)

- "Behold Indonesia's Democratic Beacon," Shawn Crispin, *Asia Times*, (ER)

- "Regional '*Shari'a*' Regulations in Indonesia: Anomaly or Symptom?" Robin Bush, in *Expressing Islam: Religious Life and Politics in Indonesia*, eds. Greg Fealy and Sally White (ER)

- "Spread of Islamic Law in Indonesia Takes Toll on Women," Jane Perlez, *New York Times*, June 27, 2006 (ER)

- "One Step Forward," Robin Bush, *Inside Indonesia*, January-March 2007 (ER)

- "No Longer A Choice," Eve Warburton, *Inside Indonesia*, January-March 2007 (ER)

Representations of Islam in Film in Democratic Indonesia

- "Return of the *Kyai:* Representations of Horror, Commerce, and Censorship in Post-Suharto Indonesian Film and Television," Katinka van Heeren, *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, June 2007 (ER)

- "Indonesia: Be Good – God is on Television," M. Taufiqurrahman, *Jakarta Post*, July 16, 2005 (ER)

- "Cruelty, Ghosts, and Verses of Love," Katinka van Heeren, International Institute for the Study of Islam in the Modern World (*ISIM) Review 22*, August 2008, p. 20 (description of the movie *Ayat Ayat Cinta*) (ER)

- "When Love Glorifies God: Islamic Film is Emerging As a New Genre in the Indonesian Film World," Ekky Imanjaya, *Inside Indonesia*, July-September 2009 (ER)

T Apr 4: The Emergence of A Democratic Public Sphere in Yemen? And Social Practices Within A Yemeni Neighborhood

Two discussants. The first discussant will critically analyze Wedeen's arguments that *qat* chews (a gender-segregated practice of discussing public issues while chewing *qat*, a mildly narcotic plant) are a key representation of democratic practice on the local level in nationally undemocratic Yemen. The second discussant will assess how much power women have and how equal they are to men in the traditional Yemeni town discussed in Meneley's reading, where the sexes are completely segregated in public, but women's practices of visiting other women are crucial to building the status of all of the members of the family, and one informant tells Meneley, "Yemen is the only place in the world where men stay home at night to watch the children while the women go out visiting."

- "Yemen," *Freedom in the World*, 2009
  http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=22&year=2009&country=7735

- *Qat in Yemen: Consumption and Social Change*, Shelagh Weir, (British Museum Publications, 1985), 27-28, 38-41, excerpts of Chapter 7, "The Social Importance of Qat Parties," (read from the beginning of this chapter to 'Hosted Qat Parties;' skip that section and the following 'Everyday Qat Parties,' and read 'Social Interaction') (ER)

- *Peripheral Visions: Publics, Power, and Performance in Yemen*, Lisa Wedeen (University of Chicago, 2008), 1-5, 103-147 (ER)

- *Tournaments of Value: Sociability and Hierarchy in A Yemeni Town*, Anne Meneley, (University of Toronto Press, 1996), x-xiv, 3-4, 7-16, 22-36, 39-43, 48-58, 62-66, 73-76, 86-96 (ER)