

**Islam and Democracy**  
**SIS 519 001**

American University  
School of International Service  
Spring 2010  
Tuesdays 8:10- 10:40 PM  
Room: Ward 105

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Office Hours: Tues., 2:00-8:00 PM

**COURSE DESCRIPTION:**

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This course considers how the broad categories of “Islam” and “Democracy” can intersect in contemporary world politics,. After laying a historical foundation, questions of Islam and Democracy are examined in the context of Islamist parties vying for power through elections, self-proclaimed Islamic States, contemporary Muslim democracies, and Muslim states grappling with democracy as a result of Western occupations. The course also highlights a variety of Muslim perspectives on the topic of Democracy.

**LEARNING OUTCOMES:**

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As a result of this course students should be able to understand the assumptions behind, analyze and discuss the following questions:

1. To what extent is “Islam” relevant **or** irrelevant to the state of democracy (or lack of it) in states with significant Muslim populations?
2. What are the various linkages between Muslim or Islamist actors and democracy?
3. What are the most plausible paths for greater democratization in the Muslim World and what role should Islam play?

**ACADEMIC INTEGRITY CODE:**

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Standards of academic conduct are set forth in the University's Academic Integrity Code. By registering, you have acknowledged your awareness of the Academic Integrity Code, and you are obliged to become familiar with your rights and responsibilities as defined by the Code.

Violations of the Academic Integrity Code will not be treated lightly, and disciplinary actions will be taken should such violations occur. Please see me if your have any questions about the

academic violations described in the Code in general or as they relate to particular requirements for this course.

### **EMERGENCY PREPAREDNESS FOR INTERRUPTION OF CLASSES:**

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In the event of an emergency, American University will implement a plan for meeting the needs of all members of the university community. Should the university be required to close for a period of time, we are committed to ensuring that all aspects of our educational programs will be delivered to our students. These may include altering and extending the duration of the traditional term schedule to complete essential instruction in the traditional format and/or use of distance instructional methods. Specific strategies will vary from class to class, depending on the format of the course and the timing of the emergency. Faculty will communicate class-specific information to students via AU e-mail and Blackboard, while students must inform their faculty immediately of any absence. Students are responsible for checking their AU e-mail regularly and keeping themselves informed of emergencies. In the event of an emergency, students should refer to the AU Student Portal, the AU Web site (www. prepared. [american.edu](http://american.edu)) and the AU information line at (202) 885-1100 for general university-wide information, as well as contact their faculty and/or respective dean's office for course and school/ college-specific information.

### **EARLY WARNING NOTICES:**

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Undergraduate students may receive Early Warning Notices within the first month of classes. These notices are designed for you to contact your faculty, receive assistance, and develop strategies to improve your performance in the class. Please note that you should seek help throughout the semester when you have questions, fail to submit an assignment, fail to attend class, or receive an unsatisfactory grade.

### **REQUIRED BOOKS:**

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Asef Bayat, *Making Islam Democratic: Social Movements and the Post-Islamist Turn* (Stanford University Press, 2007)

Jeroen Gunning, *Hamas in Politics: Democracy, Religion, Violence* (Columbia UP, 2009)

Nader Hashemi, *Islam, Secularism and Liberal Democracy: Toward A Democratic Theory for Muslim Societies* (Oxford University Press, 2009)

M. A. Muqtedar Khan, *Islamic Democratic Discourse: Theory, Debates and Philosophical Perspectives* (Lexington Books, 2006)

Tamara Sonn, *Islam, A Brief History* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2010)

### **COURSE REQUIREMENTS:**

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The grade for this course will comprise of the following:

<u>Category</u>	<u>Points</u>
Class Participation	25%
Class Presentation	25%
Final Paper	50%
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Total	100%

#### **Class Participation:**

Class participation will constitute one fourth of students' grades. Class participation means regular class attendance and active contributions to class discussions. Class participation should also demonstrate that students have read the materials assigned and have come to class prepared to engage with the issues raised by the readings.

#### **Class Presentation:**

Each student will be required to prepare a 20-30 minute presentation (depending on final class size) on a topic not covered in the readings. The presentation should present new information to the class in a clear and engaging manner (e.g. through the use of visual media), while at the same time making appropriate linkages to themes covered in class. The content of the presentation should include both factual information and analysis. The presenter should also allocate time for some class discussion of the most important questions raised by his or her research.

#### **Final Paper:**

Each student will be required to a 12 to 15 page analytical paper on a topic of their choice. Students must submit a proposal with their topic and a preliminary outline of their papers by October 5, 2010.

**GRADE RANGE:**

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- “A” : Excellent, Surpasses Expectations  
 “B” : Good, Meets Expectations  
 “C” : Average Performance  
 “D” : Poor Performance  
 “F” : Failed to Meet Any Minimum Expectations

**READING SCHEDULE:**

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**August 24- Introduction to Course**

Course overview and introductions.

**August 31-Introduction to Islam and the State of Democracy in the Modern Muslim World**

What are the key questions and assumptions of the “Islam and Democracy” Inquiry?

Tamara Son, *Islam: A Brief History of Islam* (Blackwell, 2010).

Arthur Goldsmith, “Muslim Exceptionalism? Measuring the Democracy Gap” *Middle East Policy* (2007).

**September 7- Islam and Democracy: The Context**

Who speaks for Islam within the Muslim World? Who are the various actors involved when we talk about Islam and Democracy? Who represents Islam Globally and how? What are the power dynamics at play in both instances? Exploring questions of identities, authenticity and authority in the Muslim World.

Peter Mandaville, “Before, During and after the West: Muslims and the Umma” in *Transnational Muslim Politics: Reimagining the Umma* (Routledge, 2001).

Edward Said, in *Orientalism, A Reader* (New York University Press, 2000) pp.89-116.

Asef Bayat, “Islam and Democracy: The Perverse Charm of an Irrelevant Question” in *Making Islam Democratic*

M. A. Muqtader Khan, “The Politics, Theory and Philosophy of Islamic Democracy” in *Islamic Democratic Discourse*

Robert W. Hefner, “Modernity and the Remaking of Muslim Politics” in *Remaking Muslim Politics: Pluralism, Contestation, Democratization*, Robert Hefner ed. (Princeton University Press, 2005).

### **September 14- Roots of Democracy in Islam?**

Is Democracy indigenous to Islam? Are there precedents in Islamic History that support or present considerable barriers to the compatibility of Islam and Democracy? What are doctrinal/textual sources supporting/ rejecting democracy?

Tamara Sonn, “Elements of Government in Classical Islam” in *Islamic Democratic Discourse*

Asma Afsaruddin, “Obedience to Political Authority: An Evolutionary Concept” in *Islamic Democratic Discourse*

Abdulaziz Sachedina, “The Role of Islam in the Public Sphere: Guidance or Governance” in *Islamic Democratic Discourses*

Oslem Denli, “An Islamic Quest for a Pluralistic Political Model: A Turkish Perspective” in *Islamic Democratic Discourse*

Fathi Osman, *Shura and Democracy in Islam in Transition* (Oxford University Press, 2008).

### **September 21- Democracy, Religion and Secularism**

Is secularism a requisite for democracy? How do we define secularism?

Nader Hashemi, *Islam, Secularism and Liberal Democracy: Toward a Democratic Theory for Muslim Societies* (Oxford UP, 2009)

### **September 28- Conservative/ Traditional Voices**

The need for religious authority/ guidance/ oversight. Popular sovereignty as a threat to God’s sovereignty.

Hasan al-Banna, *Between Yesterday and Today* (1940s) available at [http://web.youngmuslims.ca/online\\_library/books/byat/](http://web.youngmuslims.ca/online_library/books/byat/)

Abu'l ala Maudoodi, *Islamic Way of Life* (1948) Chapters 3-5, available at [http://web.youngmuslims.ca/online\\_library/books/islamic\\_way\\_of\\_life/index.htm](http://web.youngmuslims.ca/online_library/books/islamic_way_of_life/index.htm)

Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, "Islamic government" in *Islam in Transition* (2007)

Yusuf al Qaradawi, "Islam and Democracy" in *Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought* (2009)

### **October 5- Muslim Reformists/ Modernists and the Case for Democracy in the Muslim World**

Ali Paya "Recent Developments in Shi'I Thought: A brief introduction to the Views of Three Contemporary Shi'I Thinkers" in *Islamic Democratic Discourse*.

Khaled Abou El Fadl, *Islam and the Challenge of Democracy* Boston Review (2004) available at <http://bostonreview.net/BR28.2/abou.html>

Tariq Ramadan, "Ijtihad and Maslaha: The Foundations of Governance" in *Islamic Democratic Discourse*

Grand Ayatollah Ali Montazeri's Fatwa (July 2009) available at <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/tehranbureau/2009/07/grand-ayatollah-montazeris-fatwa.html>

**\*\*\*\*\*NOTE: this is the last day to submit your paper proposals.\*\*\*\*\***

### **October 12- Contemporary Islamist Movements**

What are Islamists' vision for an Islamic State? Does political participation serve to moderate Islamists?

Azza Karam, "Democracy and Faith: The Continuum of Political Islam" in *The Struggle for Democracy in the Middle East*, Nathan Brown and Emad El-Din Shahin eds. (Routledge, 2010)

Amr Hamzawy, Marina Ottoway and Nathan Brown, *Islamist Movements and the Democratic Process in the Arab World: Exploring the Gray Zones* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2006) available at [http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/cp\\_67\\_grayzones\\_final.pdf](http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/cp_67_grayzones_final.pdf)

Amr Hamzawy, Marina Ottoway and Nathan Brown, What Islamists Need to be Clear About (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2007) available at [http://carnegieendowment.org/files/ottaway\\_brown\\_hamzawy\\_islamists\\_final.pdf](http://carnegieendowment.org/files/ottaway_brown_hamzawy_islamists_final.pdf)

Bruce Rutherford, "What do Egypt's Islamists Want?" Middle East Journal 60 (2006): 707-731.

### **October 19- Contemporary Islamist Movements Continued**

James Piscatori, Islam, Islamists and the Electoral Principle in the Middle East, ISIM Paper (2000) available at: [https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/bitstream/1887/10070/1/paper\\_piscatori.pdf](https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/bitstream/1887/10070/1/paper_piscatori.pdf)

"Egypt: Salafism Making Inroads" Arab Reform Bulletin (March 9, 2009). Available at: <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/arb/?fa=show&article=22823>

Shadi Mokhtari, Section on "Traversing the Religious and the Secular in/through Human Rights" in American Imprints and Middle East's New Human Rights Landscape" in After Abu Ghraib: Exploring Human Rights in America and the Middle East (Cambridge University Press, 2009).

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

### **October 26- Case Study: HAMAS**

Jeroen Gunning, HAMAS in Politics (Columbia UP, 2009).

### **November 2- Case Study: Social Movements and Post-Islamism in Iran and Egypt**

Asef Bayat, Making Islam Democratic: Social Movements and the Post-Islamist Turn (Stanford University Press, 2007).

### **November 9- Iraq and Afghanistan: Islam and Democracy After Occupation**

Democracy and Islam in the New Constitution of Afghanistan, RAND (2003) available at [http://www.rand.org/pubs/conf\\_proceedings/2005/CF186.pdf](http://www.rand.org/pubs/conf_proceedings/2005/CF186.pdf)

Juan Cole, “The Ayatollahs and Democracy in Iraq” (2005) available at:  
[https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/bitstream/1887/10072/1/paper\\_cole.pdf](https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/bitstream/1887/10072/1/paper_cole.pdf)

Nathan Brown, “Bargaining and imposing constitutions : Private and Public interests in the Iranian, Afghani, and Iraqi Constitutional Experiments in *Constitutional Politics in the Middle East* (Hart, 2008)

Barnett R. Rubin, Crafting a Constitution for Afghanistan in *Constitutional Politics in the Middle East* (Hart, 2008).

Andrew Arato, “From interim to ‘permanent’ Constitution in Iraq” in *Constitutional Politics in the Middle East* (Hart, 2008)..

Noah Feldman and Roman Martinez, “Constitutional Politics and Text in the New Iraq: An Experiment in Islamic Democracy” *Fordham Law Review* (2006-2007).

### **November 16- A Path Towards Democratization in the Muslim World?**

Walid Kaziha, “The Fantasy of Arab Democracy without a Constituency” in *The Struggle for Democracy in the Middle East*, Nathan Brown and Emad El-Din Shahin eds. (2010)

Carrie Wickham, “The Problem with Coercive Democratization: The Islamist Response to the US Democracy Reform Initiative” *Muslim World Journal of Human Rights* (2004).

Abdelwahab El-Affendi, “Democracy and its (Muslim) Critics: An Islamic Alternative to Democracy” in *Islamic Democratic Discourse*

Dale. F. Eickelman, “New Media in the Arab Middle East and the Emergence of Open Societies” in *Remaking Muslim Politics*, Robert Hefner ed. (Princeton University Press, 2005).

### **November 23- No Class**

### **November 30- The Future of Islam and Democratization/ Course Wrap Up**

If Islam and democracy can be reconciled, what would an Islamic Democracy look like? How would it differ from Western/secular Democracies? How can religious norms/ spirituality be successfully integrated into a democratic framework?

Charles Kurzman and Ijlal Naqvi, Do Muslims Vote Islamic?" Journal of Democracy (April 2010) available at <http://www.journalofdemocracy.org/articles/gratis/Kurzman-21-2.pdf>

See corresponding Data on Islamic Party Participation in Parliamentary Elections throughout the Muslim World: <http://www.unc.edu/~kurzman/elections/>

**\*\*\*\*\*Final Papers Due\*\*\*\*\***