

***History, Islam and Politics
in the Middle East and North Africa, 4 cr.***

*Professor: Driss MAGHRAOUI, PhD driss_m@yahoo.com
Class Time: To be assigned at the beginning of the semester*

Course Description:

This course focuses on the history, politics and culture of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region. It will take a social and cultural history approach to understanding the nature of political authority, the complex relationships between Islam and politics, secularization, social movements, the challenges of democracy and constructions of gender relationships in the MENA region.

This course aims to provide analytical insights into moments which shaped the history of the Middle East with a more particular concentration on North Africa. Successive civilizations and dynasties, moments of expansion and decline, colonial and post-colonial politics have taken turns in rearranging the configuration of the MENA historical itinerary. Different social groups have had lasting impact on the ethnic, religious and cultural identity of MENA societies. In North Africa, the history of colonialism materialized in the rearrangement of politics, culture, urbanism and the society at large in a dynamic that reinvigorated the meaning of political authority and the subsequent cultural productions and the definition of the nation states during the decolonization period. From another angle, we will address ways through which the character of the nation and national memory are shaped, how 'origins' interact with memories to produce identities and how memory is deployed by groups and cultural communities to speak back to the historical 'grand narratives' of the nation.

We will also explore the place of religion and spirituality in modes of cultural identification and the way religion impacts on the structure and functioning of the public sphere. Questions to explore will bear on how spirituality moves to shape memory and political conviction and how to develop a critical language and framework that avoids readymade and simplistic discourse about the nation. In the final part of class, the course will explore the current challenges of MENA region in the post-colonial era by looking at issues related to authoritarian rule, democracy, economic liberalization, civil society, Islamic movements and women NGOs and the more recent Arab Revolts.

Course Objectives:

During this course students will work toward being able to:

- Raise epistemological questions regarding the study of the Middle East and North Africa
- Identify the historical contexts and complexities behind MENA history in the 19th and 20th centuries.
- Review the basic historical events and political forces that have shaped the modern era in the MENA.
- Explain the necessity to be aware of not only political and diplomatic events but also how these events shape the lives of individual people.
- Recognize that MENA history has to be understood in an interdisciplinary way and that the social sciences can help us to overcome simplistic views about the Middle East and the place of Islam in it.
- Develop a very good intellectual baggage of concepts, conflicting theories and notion to describe Middle Eastern societies in their complexities.

Knowledge

This course is designed to assist students to acquire and demonstrate knowledge about:

- Middle Eastern and North African History, Islam and Politics.
- Different anthropological, historical, cultural and political theories about MENA.
- Basic events that have shaped the history and politics of the region and that are important for understanding the current problems that these societies are faced with.
- A better understanding of the politics and economic conditions of the region.

Skills This course will give student the opportunity to gain practical experience in:

- Developing a critical mind in the understanding of any society.
- Looking at political, economic, cultural and social phenomena from different perspectives.
- Developing more complex, nuanced and intelligent ways about understanding “self” and “other”.
- Evaluating the situation in the modern Middle East and North Africa that will be valuable for work in any government and Non-government institutions.

Evaluation

There will be a mid-term and final assessment. The overall evaluation is structured as follows:

Participation: 20%

Midterm Exam: 40%

Final Research paper: 40%

Required Readings

The readings are made up in a course reader available at the beginning of the semester;

Bibliography:

Books:

- Bourqia, Rahma and Miller, Susan G. 1999. *In the Shadow of the Sultan: Culture, Power and Politics in Morocco*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts
- Brown, L. Carl. 2000. Religion and State: *The Muslim Approach to Politics*. Columbia University Press, New York
- Clancy-Smith, Julia Ann. 1997. *Rebel and Saint: Muslim Notables, Populist Protest, Colonial Encounters (Algeria and Tunisia, 1800-1904)*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press
- Diamond, Larry; Plattner, Marc F. and Brumberg, Daniel eds. 2003. *Islam and Democracy in the Middle East (A Journal of Democracy Book)*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press
- Eickelman, Dale F. & Piscatori, James P. 2004. *Muslim Politics*. 2nd ed. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press
- Göçek, Fatma Müge ed. 2002. *Social Constructions of Nationalism in the Middle East*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press
- Hourani, Albert. 1991. *The History of the Arab Peoples*. Warner Books, NY
- Khalidi, Rashid. 1997. *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press
- Le Gall, Michel and Perkins, Kenneth (eds.) 1997. *The Maghrib in Question: Essays in History and Historiography*. University of Texas Press

- Lockman, Zachary. 2004. *Contending Visions of the Middle East: The History and Politics of Orientalism*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press
- Munson, Henry. 1993. *Religion and Power in Morocco*. Yale University Press
- Norton, Augustus Richard ed. *Civil Society in the Middle East*. Vol. 1, Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 1995
- Norton, Augustus Richard ed. *Civil Society in the Middle East*. Vol. 2, Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 1996
- Posusney, Marsha Pripstein and Angrist, Michele Penner eds. 2005. *Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Regimes and Resistance*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers
- Pratt, Nicola. 2007. *Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Arab World*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers
- Prochaska, David. 1990. *Making Algeria French: Colonialism in Bône 1870-1920*. Cambridge University Press
- Roy, Olivier. 2004. *Globalized Islam: The Search for a New Ummah*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press
- Ruedy, John. 1992. *Modern Algeria: The Origins and Development of a Nation*. Indiana University Press
- Salamé, Ghassan ed. 1994. *Democracy without Democrats? The Renewal of Politics in the Muslim World*. New York, NY: I.B. Tauris
- Sater, James. 2007. *Civil Society and Political Change in Morocco*. Civil Society and Political Change in Morocco, London and New York: Routledge
- Wiktorowicz, Quintan ed. 2004. *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press

Articles or Book Chapters:

- Brynen, Rex; Korany, Bahgat and Noble, Paul (eds.). 1995. "Political Liberalization: Democratization in the Arab World". Vol. 1, Theoretical Perspectives. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner
- Burke III, Edmund. 1998. "Theorizing the Histories of Colonialism and Nationalism in the Arab Maghrib". In *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 20, Spring 1998, pp.17-34
- Burke III, Edmund "Mohand N'Hamoucha: Middle Atlas Berber" in Burke III, Edmund and David N. Yaghoubian, David N. Eds. 2005. *Struggle and Survival in the Modern Middle East*. University of California press, pp. 100-113
- El Mansour, Mohammed. "Salafis and Modernists in the Moroccan Nationalist Movement" in Ruedy, John. Ed. 1994. *Islamism and Secularism in North Africa*. New York: St. Martin's, pp. 53-71
- Lust-Okar, Ellen ed. "Special Issue on Enduring Authoritarianism: Lessons from the Middle East for Comparative Theory". *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 36, No. 2, January 2004
- Maghraoui, Abdeslam M. *Liberalism without Democracy: Nationhood and Citizenship in Egypt, 1922-1936*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006, chapter 4
- Maghraoui, Driss. 2002. "Nos Goumiers Berberes: The Ambiguities of Colonial Representations in French Military Novels". In *The Journal of North African Studies*, Volume 7, Issue3, Autumn 2002, pp. 79-100
- Maghraoui, Driss. 2000. "The Moroccan Colonial Soldiers: Between Collective Memory and Selective Memory", in Ali Ahmida (ed.). *Beyond Colonialism and Nationalism in North Africa: History, Culture and Politics*. London: St. Martin Press, 2000
- Massad, Joseph A. *Colonial Effects: The Making of National Identity in Jordan*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2001, chapter 3

- McDougall, James *History and the Culture of Nationalism in Algeria*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006, chapter 3
- *Special Issue: Democratization in the Muslim World: Changing Patterns of Power and Authority*, *Democratization*, June 2006, Vol. 13, No. 3
- Wickham, Carrie. *Mobilizing Islam: Religion, Activism, and Political Change in Egypt*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2002, chapter 7

SESSIONS (3 hrs each)

Session 1: History, Orientalism and the Politics of Knowledge

1. Hourani, "The History of the Arab Peoples", chapters 4-5
2. Burke, "Theorizing the Histories", pp.17-34.

Issues:

- *Questions of religious authority*
- *History of States and Dynasties*
- *Muslim Arabs & "others"*

Session 2: History, Orientalism and the Politics of Knowledge

1. Brown & Le Gal, "The Maghrib in Question", chapters 4 & 7
2. Maghraoui. "The Moroccan Colonial Soldiers"
3. Lockman, "Contending Visions of the Middle East", chapters 2-4
4. Eickelman & Piscatori, "Muslim Politics", chapters 2 & 3

Issues:

- *History of Colonialism and Nationalism*
- *Parameters of French & Moroccan colonial Histories*
- *Islam & the West*

Session 3: The Imperial Encounter

1. Hourani, "The History of the Arab Peoples", chapters 18-19-21
2. Ruedy, "Modern Algeria", chapters 3-4
3. Prochaska, "Making Algeria", chapters 6 & 7

Issues:

- *European imperialism in MENA, the reconstruction of social order and the emergence of a colonial culture*
- *Post-colonial period: Reforms vs. continuity of Islamic tradition*

Session 4: The Imperial Encounter

1. McDougall, "History and the Culture of Nationalism in Algeria", chapter 3
2. Maghraoui, "Nos Goumiers Berberes", pp. 79-100.
3. Clancy-Smith, "Rebel and Saint", chapters 3-7

Issues:

- *Survival of saints cult*
- *Cultural representations of colonies in French military novels*

Session 5: Contending Visions of Nationalism

1. Hourani, "The History of the Arab Peoples", chapters 24-25
2. Göçek, "Social Constructions of Nationalism in ME", chapters 4-9
3. Khalidi, "Palestinian Identity", chapters 2-3
4. Maghraoui, "Liberalism without Democracy", chapter 4
5. Massad, "Colonial Effects", chapter 3
6. El Mansour, "Salafis and Modernists", chapter 4, pp. 53-71.
7. Burke, "Mohand N'Hamoucha", chapter 6, pp. 100-113.

Issues:

- *The rise & fall of "Arab" Nationalism*
- *The making of national Identity: Palestine & Jordan*
- *The Power of Salafi Ideology in Morocco: Sate & Religion*

Session 6: The Cultural Basis of Political Authority in Morocco

1. Hammoudi, "The Reinvention of Dar al-mulk", pp. 129-175.
2. Bourqia, "Cultural Legacy of Power in Morocco", pp. 243-258
3. Munson, "Religion and Power in Morocco", chapters 2 & 4
4. Kably, "Legitimacy of State Power", pp. 17-26
5. Gregg, "Themes of Authority", pp. 215-242

Issues:

- *The inscribing of kinship in relations with Power in Morocco: "Makhzan" vs. "Zcmiyas"*
- *The cultural legacy of power and the evolution of the political role of Islam in Morocco*

Session 7: Islamic Movements between Radicalism and Moderation

1. Brown, "Religion and State", chapters 13-14
2. Roy, "Globalized Islam", chapters 6-7 & 8

Issues:

- *The movement of Islam beyond traditional borders and the assertion of westernized Muslims' identity in a non-Muslim context*
- *Islamism vs. secularism*

Session 8: Islamic Movements between Radicalism and Moderation

1. Wickham, "Mobilizing Islam", chapter 7
2. Wiktorowicz, "Islamic Activism", chapters 1-2 & 8

Issues:

- *The relationship between the changing nature of state power and patterns of Islamic activism*
- *The rise of Islamic activism among Egypt's university-educated youth*

Session 9: The Rise of an Active Civil Society in the MENA

1. Brynen, "Political Liberalization: Democratization in the Arab World"
2. Norton, "Civil Society in the Middle East", Vol.1, chapters 4-5 & 6
3. Norton, "Civil Society in the Middle East", Vol.2, chapters 2 & 4

Issues:

- *Reform strategies in the Arab world*
- *The formation of Civil Society: Iran, Israel, Algeria & Sudan*

Session 10: The Rise of an Active Civil Society in the MENA

1. Norton, "Civil Society in the Middle East", Vol. 2, chapter 7
2. Sater, "Civil Society In Morocco", chapters 4-5
3. Pratt, "Democracy and Authoritarianism", pp. 68-87

Issues:

- *The role of civil society in the normalization of authoritarianism in the Middle East and the challenges that new organized groups pose to well-established Arab regimes, and the varying ways in which those regimes are responding*
- *Social Mobilization in Morocco and the State's consolidation of civil society in the 1990's*

Session 11: The Middle East between Authoritarianism and Liberalization

1. Diamond, "Islam and Democracy", chapters 23-29
2. Salamé, "Democracy Without Democrats", chapters 2-4 & 9
3. Posusney, "Authoritarianism in the Middle East", chapters 3

Issues:

- *Autocracy and the challenge of secularization in the Arab world*
- *Socio-economic change in the Maghreb and its political implications on democratization*

Session 12: The Middle East between Authoritarianism and Liberalization

1. Posusney, "Authoritarianism in the Middle East", chapters 5 & 7
2. Pratt, *Democracy and Authoritarianism*, chapters 1-5
3. Special Issue: Democratization in the Muslim World: Changing Patterns of Power and Authority, *Democratization*, June 2006, Vol. 13, No. 3.
4. Lust-Okar, editor, Special Issue on Enduring Authoritarianism: Lessons from the Middle East for Comparative Theory, *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 36, No. 2, January 2004.

Issues:

- *The role of non-state actors in the maintenance of or resistance to the discourse that underpins authoritarian politics*

Session 13: The Arab Revolts and the Prospects for Democracy in the MENA

Because this is part of the very recent events, the readings will be assigned as they appear from more scholarly sources which will be more readily available as we approach the beginning of the semester.

Issues:

- *The uprising of youth: the end of authoritarianism & beginning of true democracy?*
- *Tunisia & Egypt: Ben Ali's Ousting and the fall of Mubarak regime*
- *Morocco: the King's initiation to constitutional reforms*

Session 14: The Arab Revolts and the Prospects for Democracy in the MENA

Because this is part of the very recent events, the readings will be assigned as they appear from more scholarly sources which will be more readily available as we approach the beginning of the semester.

Issues:

- *Current development of protests*
- *Post-Ben Ali & Mubarak*
- *What's next?*

