

CPO 4194 – EUS 4930

ISLAM AND EUROPEAN POLITICS

FALL 2015

INSTRUCTOR: Buket Oztas
(buket@ufl.edu)

M-W-F, 8:30am

Office Hours: M 9:30-10am,
W 9:30-11:30am, R 1-3pm, or by
appointment

Room: AND 134

Office: TBA

COURSE OVERVIEW

This course will investigate the complexity and diversity of Islam in Europe with the intention of creating a more nuanced understanding and deeper knowledge of the current place of Muslims in the region. After a brief introduction to the historical foundations of the Muslim presence in European countries, the course will first explore the predominantly Muslim countries of the Balkan region, with a particular emphasis on the socioeconomic, political and cultural processes have shaped these countries in comparison to their Christian counterparts. The second part of the course will look at the indigenous Islamic minorities of Eastern Europe and their strategies for co-habitation the majority religious and ethnic groups in their countries. The third part of the course will concentrate on the Muslim immigrant communities of Western Europe. In this part of the course we will focus on the interactions between Islamic groups and the larger state and society; the changing perceptions of Muslims in the aftermath of 9/11, and the development of Islamic institutions in host countries. In the light of current political events and controversies, the final part of the course will deal with the forces of –seemingly- unassimilable Islamic communities, prospects of integration and further democratization in Europe; and raises various questions on the compatibility of Islam and democracy as well as the future of the Muslim minorities in Eastern and Western Europe.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

There are no books for this course; and the class relies heavily on academic journals. The University IE-Reserve provides electronic access to all journals cited below. Please consult the platform for reading schedule and texts.

Engagement with course material and contribution to the class is critical for both individual and class success. Students are expected to do the assigned reading before the class, and discuss/critique/build on the readings. Because some of the readings present pretty dense material, students will not be held responsible for specific, detailed facts. Instead, they should be able to answer following questions: Why is this reading relevant to the course? What is the argument to the article? What do I think about these arguments? Which questions have I derived from this reading?

As one of the goals of this class is to create a more sophisticated view of Islam in Europe, we will also be talking about current developments in Islamic diaspora and European politics on a regular basis. You can keep up-to-date through a number of sources, including but not limited to The New York Times, The Washington Post, The Guardian, and The Economist.

1) Attendance and Participation: 15 % of your overall grade

Your attendance is crucial to your comprehension of the course materials. More than three unexcused absences will lower your grade. All students begin with an A; upon the fourth absence, this grade drops to an A-; the fifth, to a B+, the sixth, to a B, and so on.

Participation in class discussions is based on the notion of a good faith effort to contribute: you must make an effort to speak, and similarly, others must respect the class dynamic and not monopolize conversation.

2) Discussion Questions: 15 % of your grade

Each week students are required to submit three questions, which are generated by their reactions to that week's readings (15 submissions, 1 point each). Questions need to be typed and submitted at the beginning of class. Late questions will not receive any points. Points will be awarded on the basis of relevance, clarity, use of the readings, originality, critical thinking, and contribution to the theoretical discussion.

3) Essay #1: A five-page reaction paper /country comparison, which will count for 20 % of your grade.

Each student is expected to write a 5-page reaction paper (i.e. NOT descriptive analysis or summary of the readings), focusing on the situation of Muslim minorities in two (or three) European countries. Given the breadth of the topic, limit yourself to one (or two) aspect(s), focus on the differences, and remember to explain 'how' and 'why' it differs from one country to another. Further information and reaction paper guidelines will be discussed more in detail throughout the first few weeks, but students who wish to discuss their choice can talk to me during office hours or request an appointment by email. I stress that this report involves scholarly research of both books and scholarly articles.

4) Essay #2: A five-page essay, worth 20 % of your grade.

"Imagine you get a job as an intern on the magazine Charlie Hebdo back in 2011. While you are hanging out in the photocopy area with your coffee, Stephane "Charb" Charbonnier passes by. In his hand he is holding a manuscript of the weekly magazine, renamed "Charia Hebdo" (Sharia Weekly), featuring a cartoon of the Prophet Mohammed on its cover. His plan is to publish the cover on November 3 issue. But he is still considering whether it's a good idea or not. At one point in his monologue he looks at you and asks, "Do you think I should do it?" As you are trying to come up with a well-informed answer your mind is jumping from the Danish cartoon controversy and the image of a dead Theo van Gogh in the streets of Amsterdam, to the constant negative and unfair stereotyping of Muslims by right wing politicians, back to artists' concern about freedom of speech and self-censorship, and then to the lack of respect for people's feelings and beliefs."

Write an essay providing your opinion and defending your position in this debate, and give at least two good reasons for your choice of action. Make sure that you also point to one weakness or challenge that your advice will raise.

5) Final Research Paper: 10 + 20 % of your grade

A major component of the course evaluation will be a term research paper. All students will produce an original research paper on a topic chosen by the student in consultation with the instructor. Among other options, the paper can focus on a policy challenge concerning Muslim minorities in one or more country; examine an issue Muslims deem important but not covered in the course; or probe philosophical debates concerning the ethics of immigration, integration and religious rights. The goals of this project are to identify a significant research question, conduct analysis to address and answer that

question and produce a high quality manuscript by using the concepts and theories we learn in class. To help you along the way, we will spend some class time discussing your first drafts and the general research process. There is no expected length for research papers; however, double-spaced 15-20 pages are average size. Grading will be based on how argument has been developed rather than the length of the paper.

GRADE DISTRIBUTION

Final letter grades are to be assigned according to the following scale of points accumulated:

A = 92 or above, A- = 87-91
B+ = 84-86, B = 80-83, B- = 77-79
C+ = 74-76, C = 70-73, C- = 67-69
D+ = 64-66, D = 59-63, D- = 55-58
E = 54 or below

COURSE EXPECTATIONS AND POLICIES:

- As the instructor, I reserve the right to make changes to the course and syllabus as deemed necessary. Students are responsible for reading the syllabus thoroughly so that they are familiar with all policies and the consequences for violating these policies.
- Please understand that this course is intended for students interested in engaging the materials with the group in an extended conversation throughout the semester. **Regular and consistent attendance is mandatory**; if you do not like to come to class having done the readings each day, you should not enroll.
- If you have a legitimate reason for missing class i.e., illness, sick child, car troubles, athletic activities, death in the family and family responsibilities, please provide documentation when requesting to be excused from attendance.
- It is the policy of the university to excuse student absences that result from religious observance and to provide for a rescheduling of exams and course work that may fall on a religious holiday. Please tell me at least a week in advance of your intended absence due to religious observance so that accommodations may be made.
- Behavior such as arriving late, leaving early, browsing the Internet, texting, napping, etc. is considered offensive and not acceptable in this class. Phones and other electronic devices have to be turned off during class. The use of computers is permitted only to take notes.
- On the egalitarian principle that a deadline for one is a deadline for all, **late assignments will receive a substantial grade penalty**: Those turned in after the class, but before the noon that day, will be downgraded 5%. For any other work turned in after the deadline, the additional penalty will be 10% per day. **Please make sure to have my permission** if you have to submit your work late for situations beyond your control.
- All assignments, other than weekly discussion questions, will be submitted in hard copy to me and **electronically via turnitin.com**.
- Papers are to be typed, double-spaced, using a standard 12-point font with 1-inch margins. A five-page paper contains about 1500 words. Please stay reasonably within these guidelines.
- Academic Honesty: UF students are bound by The Honor Pledge, which specifies a

number of behaviors that are in violation of this code and the possible sanctions. It is my duty to report all violations of the Honor Code, and I take this duty quite seriously. I will impose the strictest possible punishments to students who plagiarize or cheat in any fashion, on any assignment, including a draft.

- As my twin goal is to provide assistance to students and to see everyone in the class succeed, students are encouraged to make an appointment with me during the first few weeks to discuss how to best address their needs. I will do all I can to work with you so that your chances of getting a good grade are supported.
- Students requesting accommodation in the classroom for any disability must first register with the Dean of Students Office and obtain a documentation, which needs to be presented to me within the first two weeks of the classes.
- I value the perspective of all students in my class and I look forward to the productive discussions we will have throughout the semester. On that note, please be advised that we may cover course material that challenges your viewpoint and beliefs. I ask that students be respectful to each other in the classroom to foster a comfortable space in which all students feel free to share their perspective throughout the semester.

COURSE SCHEDULE

Week 1 / August 26 - 28: Stakes, Issues, and Questions

Huntington, Samuel P. 1993. "The clash of civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs*. Vol. 72, 3.

Savage, Timothy. 2004. "Europe and Islam: Crescent Waxing, Cultures Clashing." *The Washington Quarterly*, Volume 27, Number 3, , pp. 25-50

Zubaida, Sami. 2003. "Islam in Europe." *Critical Quarterly*, Vol. 45, Issue 1-2, pp. 88-98.

Week 2 / August 31, September 2 - 4: Islam in Europe – A Historical Perspective

Akhavi, Shahrugh. 2003. "Islam and the West in World History." *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 3, pp. 545-562.

Al-Rodhan, Nayef R. F. 2012. "Introduction: A Thousand Years of Amnesia" in *The Role of the Arab-Islamic World in the Rise of the West: Implications for Contemporary Trans-Cultural Relations*. Ed. Nayef Al-Rodhan. London: Palgrave.

Fuller, Graham. 2008. "A World without Islam." *Foreign Policy*, No. 164 (Jan-Feb 2008), pp. 46-53.

Week 3/ September 9 -11: Ottoman Legacy and Muslims' Presence in Eastern Europe

Barkey, Karen. 2005. "Islam and Toleration: Studying the Ottoman Imperial Model" *International*

Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society, Vol. 19, No. 1/2, pp. 5-19.

Bieber, Florian. 2000. "Muslim Identity in the Balkans Before the Establishment of Nation States." *Nationalities Papers*, Vol. 28, No. 1. pp. 13-28.

Poulton, Hugh. 2000. "The Muslim experience in the Balkan States, 1919-1991." *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity*, 28:1, pp. 45-66.

Week 4/ September 14 ~ 16 ~ 18: Muslims in Eastern Europe: Current Trends and Debates

Ghodsee, Kristen. 2009. "The Changing Face of Islam in Bulgaria" in *Muslim Lives in Eastern Europe: Gender, Ethnicity and the Transformation of Islam in Postsocialist Bulgaria*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Zadrozna, Anna. 2013. "I am Muslim but I am the European One': Contextual Identities among Muslims from Western Macedonia in Everyday Practices and Narratives." *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures*, Vol. 22, No. 2. pp. 35-52.

Krasniqi, Gëzim. 2011. "The 'Forbidden Fruit': Islam and Politics of Identity in Kosovo and Macedonia." *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, Vol. 11, No.2. pp. 191-207.

Bougarel, Xavier. 2003. "Islam and Politics in the Post-Communist Balkans," in *New Approaches to Balkan Studies*, Eds. Dimitris Keridis, Ellen Ellis-Bursac and Nicholas Yatromanolakis. Dulles, VA: Brassey's.

Tsitselikis, Konstantinos. 2004. "The Legal Status of Islam in Greece." *Die Welt des Islams, New Series*, Vol. 44, No.3. pp. 402-431.

Week 5/ September 21 – 23 ~ 25: Immigration and the Islamic Diaspora in Europe: Foreigners within?

Zolberg, Aristide and Woon, Long Litt. 1999. "Why Islam is like Spanish: Cultural Incorporation in Europe and the United States." *Politics & Society*, Vol. 27. pp. 5-38.

Nuhoğlu Soysal, Yasemin. 1997. "Changing Parameters of Citizenship and Claims-Making: Organized Islam in European Public Spheres," *Theory and Society*, Vol. 26, No. 4. pp. 509-527.

Abid, Lise Jamila. 2006. "Muslims in Austria: Integration through Participation in Austrian Society," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Vol. 26:2, pp. 263-278.

Allievi, Stefano. 2007. "Sociology of a Newcomer: Muslim Migration to Italy – Religious Visibility, Cultural and Political Reactions." *Immigrants & Minorities: Historical Studies in Ethnicity, Migration and Diaspora*, Vol. 22, No. 2-3. pp. 141-154.

Triandafyllidou, Anna and Kouki, Hara. 2013. "Muslim Immigrants and the Greek Nation: The Emergence of Nationalist Intolerance." *Ethnicities*, Vol. 13, No.6. pp. 709-728.

**** COUNTRY REPORTS ARE DUE ON WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30****

Week 6/ September 28 -30, October 2: Islam and Arrangements of State, Nation and Religion

- Silvestri, Sara. 2009. "Islam and Religion in the EU Political System," *West European Politics*, Vol.32, No.6, pp.1212-1239.
- Soper, Christopher J. and Fetzer, Joel S. 2007. "Religious Institutions, Church-State History and Muslim Mobilization in Britain, France and Germany." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration studies*, Vol. 33, No. 6. pp. 933-944.
- Dolezal, Martin; Helbling, Marc and Hutter, Sven. 2010. "Debating Islam in Austria, Germany and Switzerland: Ethnic Citizenship, Church-State Relations and Right-Wing Populism," *West European Politics*, Vol.33, No.2, pp.171-190.
- Warner, Carolyn M. and Wenner, Manfred W. 2006. "Religion and the Political Organization of Muslims in Europe," *Perspectives on Politics*, Volume 4, Issue 3, pp. 457-479.
- Arigita, Elena. 2006. "Representing Islam in Spain: Muslim Identities and the Contestation of Leadership." *The Muslim World*, Vol. 96 No.4. pp. 563-584.

Week 7/ October 5 – 7 - 9: Secularism and the Islamic Challenge

- Pratt Ewing, Katherine. 2000. Legislating Religious Freedom: Muslim Challenges to the Relationship between "Church" and "State" in Germany and France." *Daedalus* Vol. 129, No. 4. pp. 31-54.
- Schuh, Cora; Burchardt, Marian and Wohlrab-Sahr, Monika. 2012. "Contested Secularities: Religious Minorities and Secular Progressivism in the Netherlands." *Journal of Religion in Europe*. Vol. 5, No. 3. pp. 349-383.
- Gole, Nilufer. 2011. "The Public Visibility of Islam and European Politics of Resentment: The Minarets-Mosques Debate." *Philosophy and Social Criticism*, Vol. 37 (n4), pp. 383-392.
- Weil, Patrick. 2009. Why the French Laicite is Liberal. *Cardozo Law Review*, Vol. 30, No. 6, pp. 2699-2714.

Week 8/ October 12 – 14 - 16: Islam in Contemporary Issues I: The Headscarf Debates

- Thomas, Elaine R. 2006. "Keeping Identity at a distance: Explaining France's New Legal Restrictions on the Islamic Headscarf," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 2, pp. 237-259.
- Weber, Beverly. 2004. "Cloth on her Head, Constitution in Hand': Germany's Headscarf Debates and the Cultural Politics of Difference." *German Politics and Society*, Vol. 22, No. 3. pp. 33-64.
- Saharso, Sawitri and Lettinga, Doutje. 2008. "Contentious Citizenship: Policies and Debates on the Veil in the Netherlands." *Social Politics*, Vol. 15, No. 4. pp. 455- 480.

Gresch, Nora, et al. 2008. "Tu felix Austria? The Headscarf and the Politics of 'Non-issues'," *Social Politics*, Vol. 15, No. 4. pp. 411-432.

Week 9/ October 19 – 21 ~ 23: Islam in Contemporary Issues II: Cartoon Controversies

Lægaard, Sune. 2007. "The Cartoon Controversy: Offence, Identity, Oppression?" *Political Studies*. Vol 55, pp. 481–498

Kahn, Robert A. 2010. "Flemming Rose, the Danish Cartoon Controversy, and the New European Freedom of Speech." *California Western International Law Journal*: Vol. 40: No. 2, Article 3.

Post, Robert. 2007. "Religion and Freedom of Speech: Portraits of Muhammad." *Constellations*, Vol. 14, No. 1. pp. 72-90.

Modood, Tariq, et al. 2006. "The Danish Cartoon Affair: Free Speech, Racism, Islamism, and Integration." *International Migration*, Vol. 44, No.5, pp. 3-62.

**** CARTOONS PAPER DUE ON MONDAY, OCTOBER 26 ****

Week 10/ October 26 – 28 ~ 30: Radical Islam and Securitization of Islam in Europe

Fekete, Liz. 2004. "Anti-Muslim Racism and the European Security State." *Race and Class*, Vol. 46, No. 1. pp. 3-29.

Roy, Olivier. 2003. "EuroIslam: The Jihad Within?" *The National Interest*. No. 71, pp. 63-73.

Leiken, Robert S. 2005. "Europe's Angry Muslims." *Foreign Affairs* 120, July- August 2005.

Dalgaard-Nielsen, Anja. 2010. "Violent Radicalization in Europe: What We Know and What We Do Not Know," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, Vol.33, No.9, pp. 797-814.

Nesser, Petter. 2011. "Ideologies of Jihad in Europe." *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 23, No. 2, pp. 173-200.

Neumann, Peter R. 2006. "Europe's Jihadist Dilemma." *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy*, Vol. 48, No. 2. pp. 71-84.

Week 11/ November 2 – 4: Islamophobia, Xenophobia and the Rise of Right-wing Populism in Europe: Sources and Consequences

Yesilyurt Gündüz, Zuhail. 2010. "The European Union at 50—Xenophobia: Islamophobia and the Rise of the Radical Right," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Vol. 30, No. 1, pp.35-47.

Wike, Richard and Grim, Brian. 2010. "Western Views Toward Muslims: Evidence from a 2006 Cross-National Survey." *Int. Journal of Public Opinion Research*, Vol. 22, No. 1. pp. 4-25.

- Hutchison, Paul and Rosenthal, Harriet E. S. 2011. "Prejudice against Muslims: Anxiety as a Mediator between Intergroup Contact and Attitudes, Perceived Group Variability and Behavioural Intentions," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol.34, No.1, pp. 40-61.
- Betz, Hans-Georg and Merez, Susi. 2009. "Revisiting Lepanto: The Political Mobilization against Islam in Contemporary Western Europe." *Patterns of Prejudice*, Vol. 43. No. 3-4, pp. 313-334.
- Zúquete, Jose Pedro. 2008. "The European extreme-right and Islam: New directions?" *Journal of Political Ideologies*, Vol. 13, No. 3. pp. 321-344.

Week 12/ November 9 – 13: The challenge of Muslim Integration in Europe

- Kortmann, Matthias. 2014. "Asking Those Concerned: How Muslim Migrant Organizations Define Integration?" *International Migration and Integration*, DOI 10.1007/s12134-014-0387-8.
- Jeldtoft, Nadia. 2011. "Lived Islam: Religious Identity with 'Non-organized' Muslim Minorities." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 34, No.7. pp. 1134-1151.
- Statham, Paul, et al. 2005. "Resilient or Adaptable Islam? Multiculturalism, Religion and Migrants' Claims-Making for Group Demands in Britain, the Netherlands and France." *Ethnicities*, Vol. 5, No.4. pp. 427- 459.
- Fukuyama, Francis. 2006. "Identity, Immigration and Liberal Democracy." *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 17, No.2. pp. 5-20.
- Nielsen, Johgen S. 2000. "Fluid Identities: Muslims and Western Europe's Nation States," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Vol.13, No. 2, pp. 212-227.

Week 13/ November 16 – 18 - 20: Dealing with Diversity: Multiculturalism and Its Critics

- Modood, Tariq and Ahmad, Fauzia. 2007. "British Muslim Perspectives on Multiculturalism." *Theory, Culture & Society*. vol. 24 no. 2. pp. 187-213.
- Lentin, Alana and Titley, Gavan. 2012. "The crisis of 'multiculturalism' in Europe: Mediated minarets, intolerable subjects." *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, Vol. 15 no. 2, pp. 123- 138
- Carlson, Aje. 2006. "An Empty Signifier: The Blue-and-Yellow Islam of Sweden." *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Vol. 26, No. 2, pp. 245-261.
- Vertovec, Steven and Wessendorf, Susanne. 2010. "Introduction: Assessing the backlash against multiculturalism in Europe," In *The Multiculturalism Backlash: European Discourses, Policies and Practices*. New York: Routledge. pp. 1-31.
- Aggestam, Lisbeth and Christopher Hill. 2008. "The Challenge of Multiculturalism in European Foreign Policy." *International Affairs*, Vol. 84, No.1. pp. 97-114.

Week 14/ November 23: Documentary (TBA)

****FIRST DRAFTS OF THE FINAL PAPER ARE DUE ON NOVEMBER 23****

Week 15/ November 30, December 2 - 4: European Islam – Euro-Islam?

Tibi, Bessam. 2008. "The European Diaspora of Muslim Migrants and the Idea of Europe: Could They Become Europeans by Choice?" in *Political Islam, World Politics and Europe: Democratic Peace and Euro-Islam versus Global Jihad*. New York: Routledge.

Roy, Olivier. 2013. "Islam in the West or Western Islam? The Disconnect of Religion and Culture." In *Political Islam: A Critical Reader*. Ed. Frederic Volpi. New York: Routledge.

Nielsen, Jorgen. 2007. "The question of Euro-Islam: restriction or opportunity?" in *Islam in Europe: Diversity, Identity and Influence*. Eds. Aziz Al-Azmeh and Effie Fokas. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bougarel, Xavier. 2005. "The Role of Balkan Muslims in Building a European Islam" EPC Issue Paper n 43.

Week 16/ December 7 – 9: Wrap Up: "Conflict" or "Collaboration?"

Salih, Ruba. 2004. "The Backward and the New: National, Transnational and Post-National Islam in Europe." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 5, pp. 995-1011.

Gole, Nilufer. 2006. "Europe's Encounter with Islam: What Future?" *Constellations*, Vol. 13, No. 2. pp. 248-262.

*****FINAL ESSAYS DUE BY 9:30 AM, DECEMBER 17, 2015 *****