

**Rutgers**  
**SAS- Department of Political**  
**Science**

**COURSE SYLLABUS**  
**Islam and Democracy**  
**01-790-367-02**  
**Cross-listed with 685/357-1**  
Fall 2020

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## **Introduction**

This course will examine the ongoing debate over the reasons behind the reluctance of the Muslim majority nations of the Middle East to embrace democracy following the third wave of democratization that engulfed Latin America, the former Soviet Union and East Europe and many parts of Africa during the 1990s and after. It will analyze why most authoritarian regimes collapsed, except in the Middle East. It will primarily focus on the role Islam has been playing in the modern political, cultural and economic discourse. It will explore if this predicament related to the culture, the economy, the absence of civil society, the marginalization of women, the nature of the regimes in power, the oil or a combination of these variables. The course will also analyze the correlation between Islam and democracy and the different discourses of Islamic movements in the Arab world. The course will shed some light on the Arab Revolt of 2011 that started in Tunisia and the regression it has seen in Egypt, Syria, Libya and Yemen.

### **Course Objectives:**

At the end of the course students will be able to:

- 1- Understand and analyze what is democracy, types of democratic regimes and nondemocratic regimes;
- 2- Analyze why most authoritarian regimes collapsed, except in the Middle East;
- 3- Explore the role that Islam plays in modern political, cultural, and economic discourse;
- 4- Analyze the different variables that affect modern Arab/Muslim states;
- 5- Understand root causes for the Arab Spring of 2011 and the regression it encountered.

### **Methods of Instruction:**

This course is Interactive Web-based and will include several mandatory virtual in-class meetings as we begin class every Thursday at 3:55 p.m. Methods employed include active learning methodologies such as: discussion, web-based instruction, group assignments, video screening followed by discussion, midterm exams, reading presentations, computerized learning modules, student projects and presentations and use of the internet.

### **Further Instructions:**

My first class starts on September and ends December 5, 2020 followed by exams. Class has a set schedule that starts 3:55 p.m. every Thursday. We will be connected through Zoom. You must have

access to zoom and must log in at least 10 minutes before the class starts. Once we all log in, I will automatically take note of attending students and make those who arrive late or absent. We will remain together until I distribute the assignments for next class. We will be together between 90-120 minutes. The rest of the time will be designated for your independent work as individuals or in groups.

### **Class structure:**

As this a class taught remotely, thus materials is divided in small chunks to ensure maximum attention and engagement. Materials are posted in Canvas. Please familiarize yourself with Canvas and zoom. Each zoom class will start by checking attendance and introductory remarks, followed by a short video to kick off discussion. Following that, students will present the readings and discussions will follow. Finally, review of the class and assignments will be distributed for next class. Be informed that Quizzes are normally conducted in the beginning parts of the class.

### **Text Books: Required**

This course requires serious readings. Literature is vast and diverse. I divided the books into three categories: required, strongly recommended and further readings. Please consult with me if you need assistance.

Required Readings:

Diamond, Larry, *Islam and Democracy in the Middle East*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University, 2003  
 Armajani, Jon, *Modern Islamist Movement*, 2012, Wiley-Blackwell, UK.

Esposito, John and Voll, John, *Islam and Democracy*, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1996

- Esposito, John, Tamara Sonn and John Voll, *Islam and Democracy After the Arab Spring*, Oxford University 2016.

Grinin, Leonid, Andrey Korotayev Arno Tausch- *Islamism, Arab Spring and the Future of Democracy*, Springer- Switzerland 2018.

Hass Mark L., and David W.Lesch- *The Arab Spring- The Hope and Reality of the Uprisings*, Westview Press, 2017.

[file:///C:/Users/USER/Downloads/Islamism Arab Spring and the Future of D%20\(2\).pdf](file:///C:/Users/USER/Downloads/Islamism Arab Spring and the Future of D%20(2).pdf)

Brooking Institution: The Arab Awakening - America and the Transformation of the Middle East- Brooking Institution Press- 2011

### **Strongly Recommended Books - Available at Alexanders Library**

Abou El Fadl, Khaled - *Islam and the Challenge of Democracy*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004

Khatab, Sayed, and Gary Bouma, *Democracy in Islam*, Routledge, London and NY, 2011

Mernissi, Fatima, *Islam and Democracy: Fear of the Modern World*, Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1992)

Salame, Ghassan, *Democracy Without Democrats? The Renewal of Politics in the Muslim World*, London: I.B Tauris, 1994

Council on Foreign Relations: The New Arab Revolt (2011) an excellent collection of Articles dealing with the Arab Spring.

Dahl, Robert, Polyarchy, *Participation and Opposition*, Yale University Press 1973.

### **Further Suggested Readings:**

The following Books are recommended for expanding knowledge and Mastery of the issues:

Ahmed, Leila, *Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a Modern Debate*, New Haven, CH: Yale University Press 1993

Aslan, Reza, *No God but God: The Origins, Evolution and Future of Islam*. New York: Random House, 2005  
Barakat, Halim, *The Arab World: Society, Culture, and State*, Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1993

Charrad, Mounira, *States and Women=s Rights: Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2001

Davis, Eric- *Memories of State: Politics, History and Collective Identity in Modern Iraq*, Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 2005.

Esposito, John, *The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality*, Oxford University Press, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, 1999  
*Unholy War: Terror in the Name of Islam*, Oxford University Press, 2002

George, Alan, *Syria: Neither Bread nor Freedom*, London: Zed Books, 2003  
Hafez, Mohammed, *Why Muslims Rebel: Repression and Resistance in the Islamic World*, Lynne Rienner Publishers; 2003

Hefner, Robert, ed., *Remaking Muslim Politics: Pluralism, Contestation, Democratization* , Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005

Kramer, Martin, *Ivory Tower on Castle Sand: The Failure of Middle Eastern Studies in America*, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2002

Lapidus, Ira, *A History of Islamic Societies*, Cambridge University Press, second edition, 2002

Lewis, Bernard, *What Went Wrong? The Clash Between Islam and Modernity in the Middle East*, Oxford University Press-NY-2003)

Lijphart, Arend, *Patterns of Democracy, Government Forms and the Performance of Thirty-Six Democracies*, New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 1999

Mansour, Fawzi, *The Arab World: Nation State and Democracy*, United Nations University Press-Tokyo, 1992  
Peretz, Don, *The Middle East Today*, Westport, CN: Prager, 6<sup>th</sup> ed., 1994)

Pratt, Nicola, *Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Arab World*, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007

Posusney, Marsha Pripstein and Michele Penner Angrist, *Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Regime and Resistance*, Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005

Sabbagh, Suha, *Arab Women Between Defiance and Restraint*, (NY-2003)

Said, Edward, *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World*, New York: Vintage Press, 1997

Sisk, Timothy, *Islam and Democracy*, Washington, DC: US Institute of Peace, 1992.

### **Course Assignments/Assessments:**

The online course will include discussions, presentations, assignments, quizzes, exams, and research papers.

The learning outcomes of this course is assessed by how much students will absorb the concepts and are able to express the views of the scholars, analyze their argument and present their opinions in a logical and will articulated manner either in writing or through oral presentation. Assessment will be an ongoing process class by class which will include: Assignments, discussions, participation, quizzes and Exams and research papers.

### Course Requirements:

Course Requirements	Percentages
1. Assignment/Discussion, presentations of readings and participation	20%
2. quizzes (3 quizzes)	15%
2. Mandatory web (zoom or webinar) attendance (three or more unjustified absences may lead to grade reduction or failure)	5%
3. Midterm Exam	30%
4- Final research paper/ take-home exam	30%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

## **Course Schedule:**

Module 1- The first meeting of the course will be dedicated to Introducing the course- the materials, the requirements and overall goal of the course.

By the end of this module you will be familiar with the materials, requirements, text books, scholastic articles and the major argument the course is based upon: Are Islam and Democracy compatible or incompatible. Assignments for next class. Reading on: What is Democracy.

### Week 1 (Sept. 3)

Introduction: course overview

Definitions of concepts and terms: Arab World, Middle East, Muslim World, Islam, and differing definitions of the concept of democracy/authoritarianism; discussion of the classroom simulation

Power point presentation (PPT): Islam and Democracy? Concepts, Questions and Stereotypes@

Required readings:Diamond, Introduction, IX-XXVI

### Module 2

Goal: What is Democracy?

Discussion what is Democracy

Presentation of the readings:Dahl,Tilly and Huntington

Short video- Discussion

Lecture PP-

Assignment and self-study.

### Week 2 (Sep. 10):What is democracy?

Required readings:

Robert Dahl, What is Democracy? 1-25

Charles Tilly, Democracy, 1-24

Seymour Martin Lipset, Some Social Prerequisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy,@ American Political Science Review, 53 (Mar. 1959): 69-105

Samuel Huntington, The Third Wave: Democratization in the Twentieth Century, 3-30

### Module 3

Goal: What is non-democratic regimes? Authoritarianism, Totalitarianism, Sultanic States

Quiz # 1- On Democracy

## Discussion on non-democratic regimes

Presentation of the readings: Linz Juan (a must read), Fish, Bellin

Short video- Discussion

Lecture PP- Types of non-democratic Regimes

Assignment and self-study.

Week 3 (Sep. 17): Understanding Authoritarianism

### Required readings:

Bellin, Eva, The Reins of Power - Coercive Institutions and Coercive Leaders, @ in Marsha PripsteinPosusney and Michael Penner Angrist, Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Regime and Resistance, 21- 41 (Canvas)

Linz, Juan, Totalitarianism and Authoritarianism Regimes, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 259-262 (Canvas)

Fish, M. Steven, "Islam and Authoritarianism," World Politics, 55/1 (Oct. 2002): 4-37 (Canvas)

## Module 4

Goal: What is Islam and Islamic Sharia and Islamic system

Discussion on Islam and video about Islamic faith

Presentation:Aslan, Sisk, lapidus

Short video- Discussion

Lecture PP- PPT: Models of Islam and Politics

Assignment and self-study.

Week 4 (Sep. 24): Understanding Islam, Shari'a and the Islamic System of Government.

### Required readings:

Cleveland, William, A History of the Modern Middle East, 3rd. ed., 1-35 (Canvas)

Aslan, No God but God, Chronology of key events, xxxi-xxxii, 3-106

Sisk, Islam and Democracy, xv-32

Lapidus, A History of Islamic Society- Chapter: The Preaching of Islam- 18-30

### Recommended readings:

Davis Eric, ASectarianism, Historical Memory and the Discourse of Othering: The Mahdi Army, Mafia, Camorra and Ndrangheta, @ in Chris Toensing and Mimi Kirk, Uncovering Iraq: Trajectories of

Disintegration and Transformation, Washington, DC: Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, Georgetown University, 2011, 67-114.

Film: Islam (1987 – History and culture))

## Module 5

Goal: Understanding the views of those scholars who believe that Islam and Democracy are incompatible

Quiz # 2- On Non-democratic regimes and sources of Islamic law

Discussion on non-democratic regime

Video on Clash of civilization

Presentation of the readings: Bernard Lewis, (3 articles), Huntington (2 articles)

Short video- Discussion

Lecture PP- Why Islam and Democracy re incompatible?

Assignment and self-study.

Week 5 (Oct. 1): Hypothesis: Islam and Democracy are incompatible

### Required readings:

Lewis, Bernard, A Historical Overview, in Diamond, Islam and Democracy in the Middle East, 208-219 (Canvas)

Lewis, Bernard, What Went Wrong? The Clash Between Islam and Modernity in the Middle East, New York: Oxford University Press, 2003) 3-17, 151-160 Read the whole book (Canvas)

The Roots of Muslim Rage- The Atlantic On Line- 1990 (must read)

Huntington, Samuel, The Clash of Civilizations, 207-218, 254-265 (Sakai)

Will more Countries become Democratic? Political Science Quarterly, 99/ 2 (summer 1984): 193-218

Extra readings

Kramer, Martin, Ivory Towers on Sand: the Failure of the Middle Eastern Studies in America US Studies, 120-130.

Brynen, Korany and Noble, Political Liberalization, "Introduction," 3-55.

Esposito and Voll, Islam and Democracy: Heritage and Global Context- Chap. One, 11-33 (Canvas)

Salame, Ghassan, "Where are the Democrats?" in Saleme, Democracy Without Democrats, Introduction, pp. 1-20

## Module 6

**Goal: Understanding the views of those scholars who believe that Islam and Democracy are compatible**

**Discussion on non-democratic regimes**

**Presentation of the readings: AbouElfadl, William Quant, Eagid El-Solh, Lisa Anderson.**

**Short video- Discussion**

**Lecture PP-Islam and Democracy- though not identical but they are compatible**

**Assignment and self-study.**

**Week 6 (Oct. 8): Hypothesis: Islam and Democracy are Compatible**

Required readings:

Abou El Fadl, Khaled, Islam and the Challenge of Democracy, 3-43 (Canvas)

Quandt, William, Islam is not the Problem,@ in Abou El Fadl, Islam and the Challenge of Democracy, 101-105 (Canvas)

El-Solh, Ragid, "Islamist Attitudes Towards Democracy: A Review of the Ideas of Al-Ghazali, Al-Turabi and Amara," British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies, 20/1 (1993): (Canvas)

Anderson, Lisa, Democracy in the Arab World: A Critique of the Political Culture Approach, in Brynen et al, Political Liberalization, 77-92

**Module 7**

**Goal: Trying to understand some of the reasons why Islamic states did not embrace democracy- First theory is the nature of post-colonial regimes.**

**Discussion on the types of Arab Regimes: Monarchies, republics and Emirates (Rentier states)**

**Presentation of the readings: Talbi, Filali, Bellin,**

**Short video- Discussion**

**Lecture PP- The Arab regimes- Kings, Presidents and Emirs for life**

**Assignment and self-study.**

**Week 7 (Oct. 15): Hypothesis: the Real Predicament is not Islam, rather the Nature of Political Regimes**

Required readings:

Talbi, Mohamed, A Record of Failure,@ in Diamond, Islam and Democracy, chap.1 pp. 3-12

Filali-Ansari, Abdou, Muslims and Democracy, in Diamond, Islam and Democracy, 193-207

Bellin, Eva, The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East, Comparative Politics, 36/2 (Jan. 2004): 139-157 (Canvas)



Bayat, Asef, The "Street" and the Politics of Dissent in the Arab World (Middle East Report No 226, Spring 2003)

Week 8 (Oct. 22): Review and Midterm Examination

### Module 8

Goal: Understanding the role of oil in hindering democracy

Discussion on Arab oil producing/ exporting oil. Rentier states.

Presentation of the readings: Anderson, Ross, Luciani (2 articles)

Short video- oil and its impact

Lecture PP- Oil and its role in hindering Democracy

Assignment and self-study.

Week 9 (Oct. 29): Does the Middle East suffer from an oil curse? Rentierism and democracy in the Middle East

#### Required readings:

Anderson, Lisa, Peace and Democracy in the Middle East: The Constraints of Soft Budgets, *Journal of International Affairs*, 49/1 (Summer 1995): 25-44

Yousif, Bassam and Eric Davis, Iraq: Understanding Autocracy - Oil and conflict in a historical and socio-political context, @ in Ibrahim Elbadawi and Samir Makdisi, eds., *Democracy in the Arab World: Explaining the Deficit*, New York: Routledge, 2011, 227-255; <http://fas.polisci.rutgers.edu/davis/research.html> .

Luciani, Giacomo, "Resources, Revenues, and Authoritarianism in the Arab World: Beyond the Rentier State?" in Brynen et al, Chap. 11

Luciani, Giacomo, The Oil Rent, the Fiscal Crisis of the State Democratization, in Salame, *Democracy Without Democrats*, 130-155

Ross, Michael, "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?," *World Politics*,

### Module 9

Goal: Understanding the role of civil society and a condition to stable democracy

Discussion on non-democratic regimes

Presentation of the reading on civil society: Al-Sayyed, Ibrahim, Kubba, Norton, Musleh

Short video-

Lecture PP-Role of civil society in stable Democracy

Assignment and self-study.

Week 10 (Nov. 5): The Relationship between Democracy and Civil Society; First Simulation exercise

Required readings

Al-Sayyed, Mustapha Kamal, The Concept of Civil Society and the Arab World,@ in Brynen et al, . Political Liberalization, 131-147

Ibrahim, Saad Eddin, "Liberalization and Democratization in the Arab World: An Overview,@ in Brynen et all, Political Liberalization, 29-55

Kubba, Laith, The Awakening of Civil Society, in Diamond, Plattner and Brumberg, Islam and Democracy, 28-34

Recommended readings:

Norton, Augustus Richard, "The Future of Civil Society in the Middle East," Middle East Journal, 47:2 (Spring 1993), 205-216

Muslih, Muhammad, Palestinian Civil Society, Middle Eastern Journal, 47/2, Spring 1993

**Module 10**

Goal: Understanding the role of women in enhancing of derailing democracy

Quiz # 3- On Oil and Civil Society

Short Video on the debate on the role of women in the Arab Wolrd

Discussion on non-democratic regimes

Presentation of the readings: Charrad, Mernissi, Coleman

Lecture PP- Women in the Arab/ Musilm World

Assignment and self-study.

Week 11 (Nov. 12): Marginalization of Women: an Impediment to Democracy

Required readings:

- Tessler, Mark, "Do Islamic Orientations Influence Attitudes Towards Democracy in the Arab World?," in Ronald Inglehart, ed, Islam, Gender, Culture and Democracy, 6-22 (Canvas)
- Charrad, Mounira, States and Women's Rights: Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, Berkeley Ca, 2001), Introduction, PP.1-13, and Conclusion, pp. 233-241 (Canvas)
- Coleman, Isobel, "Women, Islam, and the New Iraq," Foreign Affairs, 85/1. (Jan./Feb. 2006): 24-38 (Sakai)
- Hatem, Mervat, "Political Liberalization, Gender and the State," in Brynen, et al, Political Liberalization, 187-208.
- Mernissi, Fatima, Islam and Democracy, 149-171 (Canvas)
- Sabbagh, Suha, Arab Women between Defiance and Restraint, New York: Olive Branch Press, 2003, 137-161 (Canvas)

**Module 11**

**Goal: Modern Arab Democratic movements: The Arab Spring 2011**

**Film on the Arab Spring**

**Discussion of the film**

**Presentation of the readings: Arabi Spring in Tunisia, Julia Clancy Smith, Egypt: Jeanne Sowers et al.**

**Libya, Karim Merzan et al. and Syria, David Lesch.**

**Lecture PP- Arab Spring Part 1- Root causes and Developments**

**Assignment and self-study.**

**Week 12(Nov 19): The Arab spring- Root Causes and Developments**

**The Arab Spring and the prospects for Democracy – first Four Chapters: Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Syria**

**The Arab Spring- The hope and Reality of the Uprising**

**The New Arab Revolt book compiled by Council on Foreign Relations 2011**

**The Arab Awakening- Brookings 2011**

**Week 13- (Tuesday Nov. 26) Thanksgiving Holiday (to be replaced)**

**Module 12**

**Goal: Arab Spring-Part II- Counter Revolution**

**Film**

**Discussion on the developments of the Arab Spring**

Presentation of the readings: Esposito, Ajami, Alqubti, Hamid

Lecture PP-

Assignment and self-study.

Week 14 (Dec. 3)

Transition to Democracy:

Esposito's book: Islam and Democracy After the Arab Spring:

Chapters: 2, 3, 7 and 8 (Turkey, Iran, Tunisia , Egypt)

A. Tunisia, Libya: Angrist, Henry and Springborg, Shehata

B. Egypt: Ajami, Cook, Whikhman, Hass :Arab Revolt

Shadi Hamid: The Prize- Arab Awakening

C. Palestine, CFR interview with Rashid Khalidi

D. Jordan, Danin (Arab Revolt) - Shaikh: An Imperfect State (Arab Awakening)

E. Yemen, Al-Qubati (Arab Revolt) - Sharqieh- The Search for Stability andDevelopment (Arab Awakening)

F. Libya, Abram Elliott, Hunter, Robert, Doyle, Michael. Al-Turk, Akram: From Revolt to State Building-  
(Arab Awakening)

G. Syria, Broning, Michael- Doran, Michael and Salman Shaikh- The Ghost of Hama (Arab Awakening)

**Classes end 5 December.**

**Endo of Term take-home Exams.**

