

**NES 696Y: NATIONALISM AND ISLAM - Spring 2009**  
**Department of Near Eastern Studies**  
Mondays, 3-5:30p.m., Marshall 451

Instructor: Maha Nassar, Ph.D., Assistant Professor

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Office hours/location: Tuesdays 2-4pm, Thursdays 3-4pm; Marshall 453

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**Course description:**

The goal of this course is to explore the dynamics of the modern collective identities that have dominated the Middle East in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries – nationalism and Islam. How, when and why do they become powerful mobilizing ideologies? What are the dynamics of secular and religious movements? Students will explore the formation of national and Islamist sentiment through theoretical readings and works on various Middle Eastern contexts.

**Course expectations:**

This is a seminar-style course in which we will discuss in depth the course readings. Students are expected to attend all class sessions, read all assignments and engage in class discussions.

In addition, students will design and carry out original research projects. The resulting product should be the nucleus of an article length work that is potentially presentable at a scholarly conference or published as an article. The final product should be original research in primary sources that engages other scholarly work in its field in a dialogue informed by important questions in the secondary literature. The research project will consist of: 1) a project proposal focusing on a specific nation-state or movement; 2) an annotated bibliography reviewing the secondary literature for their research project; 3) a first draft of the paper; 4) a class presentation of their project, and 5) a final paper.

The weights of the grades are as follows:

1. Attendance, class participation (including presentations on readings) (15%)
2. Project proposal (25%)
3. Annotated bibliography and first draft paper (25%)
4. Final presentation and final paper (35%)

**Required Texts:**

Benedict Anderson. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso 2006 (1991).

Dale Eickelman and James Piscatori, *Muslim Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004 (1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1996).

Geoff Eley and Ronald Suny, eds. *Becoming National: A Reader*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996. [*Becoming*]

Albert Hourani. *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age (1798-1939)*. Cambridge UP, 1983.

James Jankowski and Israel Gershoni, eds. *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East*. New York: Columbia UP, 1997. [*Rethinking*]

Roschanack Shaery-Eisenlohr, *Shi'ite Lebanon: Transnational Religion and the Making of National Identities*. New York: Columbia UP, 2008.

Outline and Readings:

*Jan. 26: Introduction - Overview of syllabus; goals and expectations*

Anderson, *Imagined Communities*

*Questions to discuss:*

What is a nation? What is a nation-state? What is nationalism?

What is the relationship between religion and statecraft in the Middle East?

How does this relationship change over time?

What are the ways in which collective identity is shaped?

*Feb. 2: How Applicable are Theories of Nationalism to the Middle East?*

Renan, "What is a Nation?" and A. Smith, "The Origins of Nations" (in *Becoming*)

Gershoni and Jankowski, "Introduction" (in *Rethinking*)

Khalidi, "Arab Nationalism: Historical Problems in the Literature," *American Historical Review* 96, no. 5 (December 1991), 1363-1373.

Chatterjee, "Nationalism as a Problem in the History of Political Ideas," in *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World*

Hobsbawm, "Introduction," *Nations and Nationalism since 1798*

Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (selections)

*Feb. 9: Ottomanism, Turkish and Arab Nationalism in the Late 19<sup>th</sup>/Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century*

Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age*, ch. 1-4

Antonius, *The Arab Awakening*, ch. 5, 10, 12

Cleveland, "The Arab Nationalism of George Antonius Reconsidered" (in *Rethinking*)

Piterberg, "The Tropes of Stagnation and Awakening in Nationalist Historical Consciousness: The Egyptian Case" (in *Rethinking*)

Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (selections)

Kedourie - "The End of the Ottoman Empire" (online)

Dawn, *From Ottomanism to Arabism* (selections)

*Feb. 16: Religious Reform and Renewal: The Early Salafi Movement*

Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age*, ch. 5-9

Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition*

Eickelman and Piscatori, "The Invention of Tradition in Muslim Politics" and "What is Muslim Politics?"

Commins, *Islamic Reform: Politics and Change in Late Ottoman Syria* (selections)

Cleveland, *Islam Against the West: Shakib Arslan and the Campaign for Islamic Nationalism* (selections)

Kayali, *Arabs and Young Turks: Ottomanism, Arabism and Islamism* (selections)

*Feb. 23: Inventing Nations: Empire, State, Institutions, Symbols*

Balibar, "The Nation Form: History and Ideology" (in *Becoming*)

Reid, "Nationalizing the Pharonic Past: Egyptology, Imperialism and Egyptian Nationalism, 1922-1952" (in *Rethinking*)

Simon, "The Imposition of Nationalism on a Non-Nation State: The Case of Iraq"

During the Interwar Period, 1921-1941" (in *Rethinking*)  
 Zerubavel, "The Zionist Reconstruction of the Past," in *Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the Making of Israeli National Tradition*.  
 Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (selections)  
 Massad, "Cultural Syncretism or Colonial Mimic Men" in *Colonial Effects*  
 Dodge, "Rural and Urban" and "Using the Shaykhs" in *Inventing Iraq*

*March 2: Imagining Nations: The Rise of Print and the Middle Class*

Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age*, ch. 8-13  
 Charles D. Smith, "Imagined Identities, Imagined Nationalisms: Print Culture and Egyptian Nationalism in Light of Recent Scholarship." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 29, no. 4 (1997).  
 Ami Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East* (selections)  
 Ami Ayalon, *Reading Palestine* (selections)

*March 9: Gendering Nations: The Symbol of "Woman" in Nationalist Discourse*

Stoler, "Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers" (in *Becoming*)  
 Baron, "Nationalist Iconography: Egypt as Woman" (in *Rethinking*)  
 Eickelman and Piscatori, "The 'Firmest Tie' and the Ties that Bind: The Politics of Family and Ethnicity"  
 Baron, *The Women's Awakening in Egypt: Culture, Society and the Press* (selections)  
 Kanaaneh, *Birthing the Nation: Strategies of Palestinian Women in Israel* (selections)  
 Thompson, *Colonial Citizens* (selections)

*March 16: Spring Break*

*March 23: Nasserist Secularism and the Goal of Arab Unity*

Kerr, *The Arab Cold War*  
 Jankowski, *Nasser's Egypt, Arab Nationalism and the United Arab Republic* (selections)  
 Zaynab al-Ghazali, *Return of the Pharaoh* (selections)

*March 30: Nationalism and Islamism: Complementary or Clashing Paradigms?*

Eickelman and Piscatori, "Protest and Bargaining in Muslim Movements"  
 Budeiri, "The Palestinians: Tensions Between Nationalist and Religious Identities" (in *Rethinking*)  
 Sivan, "Arab Nationalism in the Age of Islamic Resurgence" (in *Rethinking*)  
 Esposito, *The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality?* (selections)  
 Abu-Amr, *Islamic Fundamentalism in the West Bank and Gaza* (selections)

*April 6: Women and the Nationalist-Islamist Paradigm*

Shehadeh, *The Idea of Women in Fundamentalist Islam* (selections)  
 Mahmood, *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject* (selections)  
 Hudson, "Coming of Age in Occupied Palestine: Engendering the Intifada," in *Reconstructing Gender in the Middle East: Tradition, Identity, Power*  
 Deeb, *An Enchanted Modern* (selections)

*April 13: Dynamics of Resurgent Shi'ism*

Shaery-Eisenlohr, *Shiite Lebanon*

Mottahedeh, *The Mantle of the Prophet: Religion and Politics in Iran* (selections)

Keddie and Cole, eds., *Shi'ism and Social Protest* (selections)

Abboushi, "Hizballah's Virtual Civil Society" in *Television and New Media*, 2, no. 1 (2001).

Vali Nasr, *The Shia Revival* (selections)

*April 20: The De-territorialization of Militant Sunni Islamism*

Held, "The Decline of the Nation State" (in *Becoming*)

Toloyan, "The Nation State and its Others" (in *Becoming*)

Gerges, "The Rise of Transnationalist Jihadis and the Far Enemy" in *The Far Enemy: Why Jihad Went Global*

Bergen, *Holy War, Inc.* (selections)

*April 27: Presentations*

*May 4: Presentations and wrap-up*

**Bibliography of Assigned Readings:**

Abu Amr, Ziad. *Islamic Fundamentalism in the West Bank and Gaza*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994.

Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1991.

Ayalon, Ami. *The Press in the Arab Middle East: A History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Ayalon, Ami. *Reading Palestine: Printing and Literacy, 1900-1948*. Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 2004.

Baron, Beth. *The Women's Awakening in Egypt: Culture, Society and the Press*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.

Bergen, Peter, *Holy War, Inc. Inside the Secret World of Osama Bin Laden*. New York: Free Press, 2001.

Berkes, Niyazi. *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*. New York: Routledge, (1964) 1998.

Chatterjee, Partha. *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986.

Cleveland, William. *Islam Against the West: Shakib Arslan and the Campaign for Islamic Nationalism*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985.

Commins, David Dean. *Islamic Reform: Politics and Change in Late Ottoman Syria*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Dawn, C. Ernest, *From Ottomanism to Arabism: Essays on the Origins of Arab Nationalism*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973.

Deeb, Lara. *An Enchanted Modern: Gender and Public Piety in Shi'i Lebanon*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2006.

- Dodge, Toby. *Inventing Iraq: The Failure of Nation Building and a History Denied*. New York: Columbia UP, 2003.
- Esposito, John. *Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality?* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Gerges, Fawaz. *The Far Enemy: Why Jihad Went Global*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth Reality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- , and Terence Ranger, eds. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Hudson, Leila. "Coming of Age in Occupied Palestine: Engendering the Intifada." In *Reconstructing Gender in the Middle East: Tradition, Identity, Power*. Fatima M. Gocek and S. Balaghi, Editors. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994.
- Jankowski, James. *Nasser's Egypt, Arab Nationalism and the United Arab Republic*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2001.
- Kanaaneh, Rhoda A. *Birthing the Nation: Strategies of Palestinian Women in Israel*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
- Kayali, Hasan. *Arabs and Young Turks: Ottomanism, Arabism and Islamism*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
- Keddie, Nicki and Juan Cole, eds. *Shi'ism and Social Protest*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986.
- Kerr, Malcolm. *The Arab Cold War, 1958-1964: A Study of Politics and Ideology*. London: Oxford University Press, 1965.
- Mahmood, Saba. *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.
- Massad, Joseph. *Colonial Effects: The Making of National Identity in Jordan*. New York: Columbia UP, 2001.
- Mitchell, Timothy. *Colonising Egypt*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988.
- Mottahedeh, Roy. *The Mantle of the Prophet: Religion and Politics in Iran*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985.
- Nasr, Vali. *The Shia Revival: How Conflicts within Islam Will Shape the Future*. New York: Norton, 2006.
- Shehadeh, Lamia Rustum. *The Idea of Women in Fundamentalist Islam*. Gainesville, Univ. of Florida, 2003.
- Smith, Charles D. "Imagined Identities, Imagined Nationalisms: Print Culture and Egyptian Nationalism in Light of Recent Scholarship." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 29, no. 4 (1997).
- Thompson, Elizabeth. *Colonial Citizens: Republican Rights, Paternal Privilege and Gender in French Syria and Lebanon*. New York: Columbia UP, 2000.
- Zerubavel, Yael. *Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the Making of Israeli National Tradition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.