

# GOVT 323 - Muslims in Europe: Conflict and Conciliation

*Fall 2008*

*Tuesdays 10:15-12:05*

*ICC 203*

Instructor: Sara Wallace Goodman

Email: sbw7@georgetown.edu

Office Hours: Tuesdays, 2pm-4pm, and by appointment

## Course Description

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The tension between Muslim and Western Europeans has proved to be the most indelible consequence of large-scale immigration. From Ireland to Germany, and perhaps most notably in the Netherlands, France and the UK, the rise of self-sustaining Muslim communities have tested national conceptions of tolerance, levels of social cohesion, and compatibilities between religious and liberal values. The importance of these growing communities has also thrown into sharp relief the role of ethnicity as a renewed marker of identity in what has been optimistically described as a postnational era.

This course will examine the dynamic relationship between Muslim and European societies by addressing a series of questions from both perspectives: How have/do Western European countries react to growing Muslim populations? How have Muslims reacted to life in Europe? Which factors exacerbate Euro-Muslim tensions? What role should the state play in facilitating faith-based identities and communities? Does European history make for unique circumstances in which to approach religion in the public sphere? To examine these questions, and follow the status shift of Muslim populations from “post-colonial minorities” to a contemporary, European “Other,” we will draw on interdisciplinary sources, including political science and sociology texts as well as literature by European Muslims. By looking into the most profound demographic and cultural change in recent European history, students will hold the liberal state as its object of analysis to consider the status, consequences, and utility of national belonging given this important and challenging population.

## Course Requirements

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This course is a seminar for upper-classmen. Students are expected to **attend class, participate** in discussion, and **complete weekly readings**. Each of these expectations goes into your cumulative participation grade. There will be three writing assignments over the semester: two **short papers**, which are five, double-spaced pages on a given prompt, and a final **research paper** of approximately fifteen pages. As part of this final research paper, students are required to submit a short paper proposal, bibliography and outline at assigned dates prior to the final deadline.

These writing assignments are structured with three goals in mind:

- Cultivate a specific area of individual interest (*e.g.*, Turkish culture, Mosque architecture, social capital in immigrant communities, political participation)
- Promote good writing and research skills
- Relate popular knowledge of course themes to the academic literature

There are no in-class exams, but I reserve the right to administer a pop quiz if there is any indication that readings are not being completed with diligence. And, finally, students will be asked to **lead discussion** by preparing discussion questions and facilitating dialogue.

Grades will be based on the following assignments:

Discussion leading	15%
Participation	15%
Short papers	30% (15% each)
Final Paper	40%

All deadlines are marked on the syllabus. In principle, deadlines cannot be changed. However, allowance will be made for cases in which genuine emergencies prevent students from completing work on time. Such emergencies might include medical treatment or bereavement. Having a time-consuming internship, impending deadlines for other courses, or extracurricular commitments are not emergencies. Students should let the instructor know as far in advance as possible about any potential problems or conflicts.

Georgetown University is an honor-code school. Cases of suspected academic dishonesty will be handled according to the university's honor code guidelines, available at:  
<http://www12.georgetown.edu/undergrad/bulletin/regulations6.html>

## Readings

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The following texts are available for purchase at the Georgetown University Bookstore in Leavy. Books are also available on reserve at Lauinger Library:

- John Bowen, *Why the French Don't Like Headscarves* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007)
- Joel S. Fetzer and J. Christopher Soper, *Muslims and the State in Britain, France and Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)
- Ian Buruma, *Murder in Amsterdam: Liberal Europe, Islam, and the Limits of Tolerance* (New York: Penguin Press, 2006)

All other readings are available in PDF format on the Blackboard [Bb] website, under "Course Documents." Additional readings may be assigned and distributed occasionally.

## Course Schedule

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### ~ PART ONE: HISTORICAL AND CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND ~

#### September 2: Introduction

#### September 9: Identifying the “Problem”

1. Noah Feldman, “The New Pariahs?” *New York Times Magazine*, June 22, 2008. [Bb]
2. Timothy M. Savage, “Europe and Islam: Crescent Waxing, Cultures Clashing,” *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (2004), pp. 25-50. [Bb]
3. Robert Leiken, “Europe’s Angry Muslims” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol.84, No. 4 (Jul/Aug2005), pp.120-135. [Bb]
4. Liat Radcliffe Ross, “Europe’s Divided Muslims,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 85, No. 1 (Jan/Feb2006). [Bb]

#### September 16: Migration and Settlement

1. Steven Vertovec and Ceri Peach, “Introduction: Islam in Europe and the Politics of Religion and Community,” in *Islam and Europe*, (1997) ch. 1 (pp.3-47). [Bb]
2. Randall Hansen, “Migration to Europe since 1945: Its History and its Lessons,” *Political Quarterly* Vol. 74, No. 1 (2003), pp. 25-38. [Bb]
3. Barbara Schmitter Heisler, “Immigrant Settlement and the Structure of Emergent Immigrant Communities in Western Europe,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 485, No. 1 (1986), pp. 76-86. [Bb]

*Optional:* William Safran, “Islamization in Western Europe: Political Consequences and Historical Parallels,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 485, No. 1 (1986), pp. 98-112

#### September 23: Religion and the State

1. Fetzer and Soper, Ch. 1, 5
2. Nancy Foner and Richard Alba, “Immigrant Religion in the U.S. and Western Europe: Bridge or Barrier to Inclusion?,” *International Migration Review*, Vol. 42, No. 2 (2008), pp. 360-392.[Bb]
3. Peter Ford, “What place for God in Europe?” *Christian Science Monitor*, 22 Feb 2005 (read all three parts) [Bb]

#### September 30: Integration Patterns and Problems [RESCHEDULE]

1. Thomas F. Pettigrew, “Reactions toward the New Minorities of Western Europe,” *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 24 (1998), pp. 77-103. [Bb]
2. Aristide R. Zolberg, “Immigration and Multiculturalism in Industrial Democracies;” Joseph H. Carens and Melissa S. Williams, “Muslim Minorities in Liberal Democracies: The Politics of Misrecognition,” in *The Challenge of Diversity: Integration and Pluralism in Societies of Immigration* (1996) [bb]

~ PART TWO: MUSLIMS IN SOCIETIES – A CASE STUDIES APPROACH ~

**October 7: Germany – [Short Paper #1 Due]**

1. Fetzer and Soper, Ch. 4
2. Barbara Freyer Stowasser, “The Turks in Germany: From Sojourners to Citizens,” in *Muslims in the West: From Sojourners to Citizens* ( 2002), pp. 52-71. [Bb]
3. Excerpts from “Writing Back: Literature and Multilingualism,” in *Germany in Transit: Nation and Migration* ( 2007), pp. 385-424. [Bb]

*Optional:* Ruud Koopmans, “Germany and Its Immigrants: An Ambivalent Relationship,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 25, no. 4 (1999): 627 – 47.

**October 14: France**

1. Bowen, *Why the French Don’t Like Headscarves*
2. Fetzer and Soper, Ch. 3

*Optional:* Elaine R. Thomas, “Keeping Identity at a distance: Explaining France's new legal restrictions on the Islamic headscarf,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol.29, Issue 2 (March 2006), pp. 237-259. [Bb]

Movie: *La Haine* (“Hate”)

**October 21: The Netherlands**

1. Ian Buruma, *Murder in Amsterdam: The Death of Theo van Gogh and the Limits of Tolerance* (New York: Penguin Press, 2006)
2. Ayaan Hirsi Ali, *Infidel*, pp. 237-282. [Bb]

Movie: *Submission*

**October 28: Great Britain**

1. Fetzer and Soper, Ch. 2
2. Tariq Modood, “Reflections on the Rushdie Affair: Muslims, Race, and Equality in Britain,” in *Multicultural Politics: Racism, Ethnicity and Muslims in Britain* ( 2005) [Bb]
3. Monica Ali, *Brick Lane*, pp.76-79 [Bb]

Movie: *Immigration: An Inconvenient Truth* (Channel 4, UK)

~ PART THREE: POLICY AND CONSEQUENCES ~

**November 4: Freedom of Speech: The Mohammad Cartoons - [Short Paper #2 Due]**

1. Tariq Modood, Randall Hansen, Erik Bleich, Brendan O’Leary, & Joseph Carens “The Danish Cartoon Affair: Free Speech, Racism, Islamism, and Integration,” *International Migration* 44, 5, December 2006: 3-62. [Bb]

*Happy Election Day!! Go vote! ☺*

**November 11: Security, Terrorism, and Islamophobia - [Paper Proposal Due]**

1. Walter Laqueur, "The Terrorism to Come," *Policy Review*, Issue 126 (Aug/Sept 2006), pp. 49-64. [Bb]
2. Christopher Allen, "Endemically European or a European Epidemic? Islamophobia in a post 9/11 Europe," in *Islam & The West*, edited by Ron Geaves, et. Al (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 130-145. [Bb]
3. Timothy Garton Ash, "Our New Guernica," *The Guardian*, 10 March 2005. [Bb]
4. European Monitoring Center on Racism and Xenophobia, "Muslims in the European Union: Discrimination and Islamophobia," (2006), skim, but especially pp. 60-67. [Bb]

*Optional:* Center for Strategic and International Studies, "Muslim Integration: Challenging Conventional Wisdom in Europe and the United States" (Sept 2007)

**November 18: Islam in Europe, or a European Islam?**

1. Nezar Alsayyad, ed. *Muslim Europe or Euro-Islam*, Introduction, ch.1-2 [Bb]
2. Tariq Ramadan, *Western Muslims and the Future of Islam* (2004), ch. 10, Conclusion. [Bb]
3. Malise Ruthven, "The Islamic Optimist," *The New York Review of Books*, Vol. 54, No. 13 (2007) [Bb]

**November 25: European Relations with the Muslim World – [Paper Outline and Biblio. Due]**

1. "British Exceptionalism," *The Economist*, 19 August 2006. [Bb]
2. Richard Youngs, "European approaches to security in the Mediterranean," *The Middle East Journal* Vol. 576, No. 3 (Summer 2003) [Bb]
3. Frank Schimmelfennig, "EU political accession conditionality after the 2004 enlargement: consistency and effectiveness," *Journal of European Public Policy* Vol. 15, No. 6 (2008), pp. 918-937. [Bb]

**December 2: Moving Forward**

1. Bassam Tibi, "A Migration Story: From Muslim Immigrants to European 'Citizens of the Heart?'" in *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs* (Winter 2007). [Bb]
2. Fouad Ajami, "The Summoning," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 72, No. 4 (1993), pp. 1-8. [Bb]

**December 11: FINAL PAPER DUE by 11am**