Scholars Program

a five-year review of scholarship on Islam 2005 — 2009



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Carnegie Corporation of New York was created in 1911 by Andrew Carnegie to promote "the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding." The Corporation seeks to carry out Carnegie's vision of philanthropy, which he said should aim to do "real and permanent good in this world," by building on Mr. Carnegie's major concerns: supporting international peace and advancing education and knowledge.

Acknowledgments: Carnegie Corporation of New York gratefully acknowledges the dedicated and invaluable assistance of the members of the Carnegie Scholars External Selection Committee who helped the Corporation identify and support the most outstanding scholars and projects out of the great many high quality submissions we received. The Corporation also wishes to thank its Board of Trustees as well as the Corporation staff members who reviewed scholarship proposals and those who helped administer the Carnegie Scholars Program. A special note of appreciation for the talents of Susan Lapinski, whose curiosity, ability to listen and interviewing skills brought both the personal stories and the areas of scholarship alive in the chapters focused on profiles of a selection of Carnegie Scholars that are the centerpiece of this volume. She worked closely with Eleanor Lerman, the Corporation's editor, whose respect for the Corporation's values and history were a valuable contribution to this volume. This report and the one that preceded it, documenting the first five years of the Corporation's Scholars Program (2000 to 2004), consolidates a decade of commitment to scholarship—a key value for Vartan Gregorian, President of Carnegie Corporation of New York. Susan King, the Vice President charged with disseminating the ideas supported in this Gregorian decade, led the effort to make sure history could judge the importance and impact of ten years of the Carnegie Scholars Program.

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PART ONE

FOREWORD

by Vartan Gregorian President, Carnegie Corporation of New York

"Knowledge is now so various, so extensive, so minute, that it is impossible for any man to know thoroughly more than one small branch." That brief quote is one I find myself returning to time and again, not only because it is certainly rings true, but also because its relevance seems to defy the barriers of time—especially when one considers the fact that the words belong to Andrew Carnegie and that they were published in the year 1902.

More than a century later, the struggle to navigate the heights and depths of humanity's accumulated knowledge is like trying to find pathways through a seemingly infinite library that adds more rooms every day—or perhaps it would be more accurate to say, every minute, every second. The reason that we, as individuals and as members of societies and citizens of nations continue that struggle, of course, is the need to distill real wisdom from vast tracts of unaggregated facts and information. Often, we overlook those who can be among our most useful guides in this endeavor: scholars.

Throughout its nearly century-long history, Carnegie Corporation of New York has funded research and scholarship in support of the mandate that Andrew Carnegie gave this institution: to promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding. In the year 2000, we established the Carnegie Scholars Program as a direct outgrowth of this mission, with the goal of providing financial and intellectual support to scholars and thinkers who were addressing some of the most critical research questions of our time. Over its decade-long history, fellowships awarded by the program have provided up to \$100,000 in support over a two-year period. For the first five years of the program, we funded exemplary scholars and their work on a range of issues that covered the entire scope of the Corporation's programs, including education, sub-Saharan Africa, democracy, and international peace and security.

Beginning in 2005, however, we decided to focus the program on one specific

¹ The Empire of Business by Andrew Carnegie (Doubleday, Page and Company, 1902).

area of vital importance: Islam. Our goal was to expand the range of scholarship in order to promote knowledge and understanding about Islam as a religion and about the cultures and communities of Muslim societies both in the United States and abroad. This was an important element in a comprehensive strategy aimed at increasing public knowledge about the diversity of thought and cultures that both arise from and comprise Islam and Muslim communities, including those in the U.S. Our decision was, in part, a response to an increased demand since September 11, 2001, by cultural institutions, thinks tanks, elected officials, policymakers and journalists for a richer, deeper understanding of Islam as a religion, about Islamic civilizations, and about Muslim states and societies. But it was also informed by a growing realization that there was—and continues to be—a disconnection between many of our public conversations about Islam, which are often troubling, and a true understanding of its history, development, and contributions to humankind. After all, Islam is a religion of diverse expressions and societies with more than 1.3 billion practitioners worldwide. In the U.S. alone, estimates are that the Muslim population ranges from 5-to-7 million. We must be able to better equip Americans to engage with various Muslim communities in our midst as well as those abroad.

As with our original cohort of scholars, Corporation fellowships in support of the study of Islam have been specifically awarded to those individuals who are dedicated to the concept of public scholarship, meaning that their work is intended not only for the pages of journals or the desks of their peers but for wide dissemination. Our interest has always been in helping to forge connections between excellent scholarship and the formation of public policy as well as to add energy and insight to our national conversations about Islam as well as to international dialogue about Islam and Muslim societies. The wide range of subjects and issues addressed by the 101 Carnegie Scholars who have engaged in Islam-related research and scholarship from 2004 to 2009 has produced a rich body of work that will continue to have an impact for years to come as the scholars carry on with analyzing their findings, publishing their work, and creating new linkages between individuals, disciplines, and institutions.

Today, it is even more critical than ever for all American citizens to make wise and informed decisions about our present actions and future directions if our exceptional nation, in this exceptional and unsettled age, is to thrive both domestically and on the world stage. In that connection, Carnegie Corporation of New York is pleased to publish this report on five years of scholarship on Islam. We expect that the work of these scholars of vision and purpose will do much to knit together the fabric of diversity that is the hallmark of our changing times.

INTRODUCTION

Reflections on the Carnegie Scholars Program on Islam and Muslim Societies by Shibley Telhami

Editor's Note: Shibley Telhami is the Anwar Sadat Professor for Peace and Development at the University of Maryland, College Park, and non-resident senior fellow at the Saban Center at the Brookings Institution.

It is not surprising that the tragedy of 9/11 provided a prism of pain through which many Americans looked at Arabs and Muslims. In times of pain, people are drawn to those aspects of the other that relate to their pain and fear. Despite the early attempt to separate between the attackers who carried out their horror in the name of religion from the vast majority of Muslims around the world, the national discourse rapidly moved to associate the Islamic religion and culture with the issues that have been in the center of our debates, from terrorism, to the scarcity of democracy in Muslim societies, to sectarianism, and even local conflicts such as the Arab-Israeli issue, and internal conflict in the Sudan and Lebanon. In the American public arena, there were suddenly a large number of "experts" who were offering narratives and advice about everything that was wrong in Muslim-majority countries and in Muslim societies—often based on limited knowledge and armed-chair reflections.

Even in the arena of scholarship, by virtue of the way national resources were pooled as the focus became terrorism and Muslim communities, it became tempting for many scholars who had not worked on these issues in the past to reframe their work and tap into available research funds. A new discourse emerged that framed the Muslim communities as constituting a "Muslim world" as if the Islamic characteristic of Islamic societies trumps all else—even though few would accept the notion of a Christian world that refers to all Christian-majority countries. And the clash of civilization thesis, popularized before 9/11 by the late professor Samuel Huntington, acquired new adherents.

In some ways, the tendency to focus on obvious religious and cultural differences as explanatory variables in times of conflict is natural, as they provide easy answers. Certainly there are both religious and cultural differences between the US and the West broadly and societies in Muslim majority countries. But such differences have always been there, through good and bad relations, and they rarely provide the answer for the trend in relations. In the big picture, the religious differences between Islam and Christianity and between some Islamic cultures and Western cultures are dwarfed by the differences between, say, Hinduism, Buddhism and Christianity, and between Indian, Chinese, and American cultures. Despite the religious and cultural gap between India and the US, relations have remained strong, even at the level of public perception, including in the past decade of global anger with American foreign policy. If strategic conflict between India and the US should emerge in the future, it is almost certain that many will scrutinize the substantial religious and cultural differences and attribute conflict to them.

Certainly, there were those who took issue with the emerging paradigm and with the clash of civilization thesis in the scholarly and public discourse, starting even before the 9/11 tragedy. Vartan Gregorian, among others, wrote an important book whose very title "Islam: A Mosaic, Not a Monolith," is reflective of a different take on Islamic societies. But the post-9/11 paradigm was particularly stubborn. Even among many of those who were more generous about Islamic societies and critical of our foreign policy toward Muslimmajority states, the language of the "Muslim world" took hold; for many, the issues are how to interpret this "world" and how best to deal with it.

The problem in the discourse was not how people interpreted the "Muslim world" but that the very language of a "Muslim world" elevated the importance of the Islamic characteristic as an explanatory variable in many of the important issues of the day to a point that our understanding of these issues was distorted. There was already much evidence for this. Just as our discourse, for example, was focused on a clash of values, public opinion polls in Arab and Muslim countries consistently showed that majorities of Arabs and Muslims were mostly angered by American foreign policy, particularly in Iraq and toward the Palestinian-Israeli conflict—not by an Islamic allergy to American values. In Arab countries in particular, the most admired leaders have not been Islamic religious leaders, or even leaders from Arab and Islamic countries, but the likes of France's Jacques Chirac and Venezuela's Hugo Chavez.

Even among regional leaders, those admired went against the prevailing narrative. At a time when Shiite-Sunni sectarianism was a focal point of our discourse, largely because of the internal conflicts in Iraq and Lebanon, Hassan Nasrallah, the leader of the Lebanese Shiite group, Hezbollah, was more popular in Sunni-majority countries such as

Morocco, Egypt, and Jordan, than any Sunni leader. As one of the distinguished scholars profiled in this collection, Vali Nasr, showed in his work, there is a Sunni-Shiite divide (and there have always been differences among Shiites and Sunnis) that is certainly relevant to understanding the dynamics in several countries. But one cannot automatically leap to conclude that most Arabs and Muslims view the important issues of the day primarily through the prism of this divide.

Religion is of course important, sometimes central in many Muslim communities around the world. It is an integral part of society, in the way people live their daily lives, and often in their politics. Its import is sometimes underestimated—as it is in the case of many religions in many parts of the world, from India to the United States. Sometimes the role of religion is understudied by social scientists. And certainly, there is much room to examine and understand the multiple aspects of diverse Muslim communities around the world. The problem however is that one cannot leap from this observation about the import of religion, to seeing religion as the central variable explaining the central political and social issues that these societies are confronting.

In that sense the elevation of the role of religion itself in understanding society and politics in Muslim-majority countries often misinformed more than it informed. It distracted from scholarly works that linked the scarcity of democracy in the Middle East in particular more to political economy than to culture and to credible works that linked the gender gap in Muslim societies in the work force and in politics more to oil economies than to religious beliefs. These are of course debatable questions and should be subject to serious investigation—but that is just the point.

The Carnegie's Scholars Program on Islam, which was envisioned even before 9/11¹ and the subsequent national and international attention on Islam, provided an enormous service to both the scholarship on Muslim societies and to the public discourse. It helped broaden the picture of Muslim societies beyond the narrow prism through which they were viewed especially after 9/11. There were five things that were particularly striking about this program.

First, it empowered leading experts on multiple aspects of Islamic societies and the Islamic religion in a manner that added to a critical mass in both the scholarly and the public discourse, and in that sense, served as an important information-based dimension to our national conversation.

¹ For a discussion of the evolution of the Corporation's focus on Islam, please see the Afterword on page 63.

Second, it was interdisciplinary in scope and included outstanding scholars from the social sciences, to scholars of law and religion, to historians, artists, and journalists—but all with substantive strengths on aspects of Islam and Islamic societies.

Third, while Islam was a central theme, the program was structured to avoid the narrow focus on religion as such, although that too was addressed, but instead to focus on issues of society and politics broadly; in this way, there was a clear attempt to avoid automatically attributing the phenomena studied to Islam itself.

Fourth, by virtue of the diversity and the strength of the expertise of the Carnegie Scholars, alternative and diverse explanations that are grounded in scholarship emerged on the many issues that had risen to the top of our national attention and interest.

Fifth, while scholarship was always a central criterion of scholar selection, the projects themselves were also viewed—but not narrowly—through their prospect of dissemination in the public discourse arena and to policy makers. In that sense, the project was to be grounded in excellent scholarship, but projected beyond the world of scholarship.

From the outset of the process in which I was involved, there was an effort to hear authentic voices while assuring a diversity of views and approaches. Thus, the emerging products from the Carnegie Scholars, by design, provide less of a coherent whole and more of a rich literature that is thoughtful, information-based, representative of multiple disciplines, and often with differing conclusions. But as a whole, the works that were produced and the outstanding scholars who were supported provide collective weight and a literature that cannot be ignored in addressing Islam, society, and politics.

In this volume, there is but a snapshot of the type of scholars the program has supported and of the work that they have produced. But even in this small snapshot one gets a picture of the diversity of the community of the Carnegie scholars and of their fields and methodologies. Amaney Jamal is a young social scientist who partly relies on quantitative methods, who was supported by the Corporation early, and who is emerging as a young and influential star. Vali Nasr has been a credible voice in carefully articulating the Sunni-Shiite divide and has projected his work onto the public and policy arena as he later was appointed adviser to the U.S. Department of State. Bruce Lawrence reflected the breadth of the program in researching Religious Minorities as Secular Citizens in Ethiopia, Egypt, the Philippines and Indonesia. Jen'nan Read focused on Muslim identity in America in a manner that was designed to be accessible to the public arena. Noah Feldman, whose work on Islamic jurisprudence received much national attention, broadened his work and touched on themes of the day including a changing Iraq. And Brian Edwards

sought to study how a new world of cultural globalization operates in the Middle East.

The impact of the program has already been felt through the individual contributions of the Carnegie scholars. But perhaps the most lasting impact will be in enhancing a community of knowledge that, collectively, adds substance and authoritative reflection in the battle of ideas that is constantly waged both in the policy world and in the academy. When the project started, it was with the thought that ideas matter, that better knowledge of the cultural, social, economic, and political realities in Muslim societies will enhance the ideas and debates on issues that have become central nationally and globally. It's hard to measure success, but there is no doubt that the project produced new ideas that are grounded in credible scholarship and that will have weight in the continuing battle of ideas pertaining to Islam and Muslim societies.

PART TWO



Profile: Brian Edwards A Scholar Assesses How Culture Goes Global

What is the relationship between American culture and the United States as a political entity? According to Dr. Brian T. Edwards, associate professor of English, Comparative Literary Studies and American Studies at Northwestern University, "One moves fluidly through the world, consumed with relish by those who otherwise reject the politics of its source. The other trods heavily, yet wonders how it might harness the soft power of culture to win hearts and minds in a part of the world resistant to its policies."

Given the fresh and even surprising ways that popular culture now circulates globally, cultural critics and State Department policymakers alike are hard-pressed to interpret what their own takeaway about the intertwining of culture and foreign relations should be. To address this idea deficit, Dr. Edwards sought to study how a new world of cultural globalization operates in the Middle East. "The Internet allows local and international communities to form and interact," he observes. "Cybercafes have become complex social sites where gender, class and status are renegotiated. And on campuses in the Middle East, Islamic studies compete with English language and American studies as means by which to comprehend and enter the world." As a result of such new cultural migrations, very little is known about the "Arab street" or how American culture is consumed and received by young populations in intellectual hotspots like Cairo, Fez and Tehran. "It is time," he concludes, "for a full-scale reassessment of how we imagine the role of culture and understand its global operation." It is this reassessment of cultural migration, and its impact on thoughtfully selected Middle Eastern locales, that Dr. Edwards set out to pursue and fulfill as the focus of his Carnegie Corporation studies.

Dr. Henry S. Bienen, president of Northwestern University, spoke of Dr. Edwards' qualifications for exploring such complex issues when he wrote a letter nominating him to be a Carnegie Scholar. "Brian works at the intersection of international relations and cultural study," Dr. Bienen wrote. "He brings to bear a background in American Studies and the Arab world with excellent language skills. He is interested in public diplomacy. He can inform us on critical issues of cultural clash and foreign policy."

Dr. Edwards was selected as a Carnegie Scholar in 2005 to conduct research for his forthcoming book, *After the American Century: American Culture in Middle Eastern Circulation*. The book recognizes that the populations of North Africa and the Middle East are overwhelmingly young, and that circuits of communication and social interaction have altered dramatically in this digital age. Accordingly, Dr. Edwards' book takes the reader onto campuses and into cybercafes, chatrooms, cinemas, literary salons, and neighborhoods of the region. It deepens public and scholarly discussions about the role of American culture in the world by providing evidence based on research and firsthand observation; makes policy recommendations about the efficacy and design of cultural programs; and attempts to further open up channels of cross-cultural communication. "Brian is a great example of a new generation of scholars in the humanities and non-quantitative social sciences who simply refuse to be boxed in by the boundaries that their putative disciplines create," says Dr. Andrew Wachtel, dean of Northwestern University's graduate school and former director of its Roberta Buffett Center for International and Comparative Studies.

While After the American Century is indisputably the centerpiece of Dr. Edwards' Carnegie Corporation-supported studies, "so many other things have resulted from my research," he says, including teaching at Northwestern and other campuses; speaking to both academic and general audiences; and writing for scholarly as well as popular publications. "From Noah Feldman and other Carnegie Scholars," he continues, "I've learned how important it is to share the lessons learned along the way with different audiences."

Dr. Edwards' cutting-edge work is prized for its originality and distinctive approach, says Patricia Rosenfield, director of Carnegie Corporation's Scholars Program. "Brian Edwards is one of the few scholars who is carefully examining the field of American studies in foreign universities," Rosenfield explains, "as well as studying the relationship of scholarship and real-world opinions through in-depth research in the countries, their institutions and with their young-adult populations. His transnational focus reveals the complexity of intercultural communication, especially between the United States and different Muslim societies."

Members of Carnegie Corporation's selection committee who reviewed Dr. Edwards' research proposal expressed confidence in his ability to meet the challenges inherent in his project. One reviewer called Dr. Edwards' research plan "a wonderfully audacious proposal by a scholar who seems perfectly suited to pull it off with great success. His writing style is particularly lively and engaging, and his observations about current federal approaches to propaganda seem right on target." A second reviewer was also optimistic, describing the proposal as "imaginative and ambitious" and predicting that nuanced findings would be the welcome result. And a third called Dr. Edwards "an impressive young scholar with ambitious plans" and looked forward to "a fascinating discussion of ideas about the U.S. and how they are circulated in the media and through the cyber culture and education."

Dr. Edwards' imaginative work is well known to Dr. Wai Chee Dimock, who collaborated with him on the Globalizing American Studies project that has brought a new generation of American-studies scholars to the Northwestern campus. Dr. Dimock, herself a specialist in transnational trends, is the William Lampson Professor of English and American Studies at Yale University. "No other Americanist has the fluency in Arabic that Professor Edwards does," Dr. Dimock observes. "The fluency is reflected not only in his ease in the language but also in his immersion in a mental universe radically different from that of the English-speaking world."

A fascination with different worlds began early for Brian Edwards. Not that his family of origin was given to cruising the Nile or crossing the Sahara on camelback. Dr. Edwards describes, instead, a traditional American upbringing. His birthplace was Brooklyn, New York. The family eventually settled in Greenwich, Connecticut, where Brian went to public schools.

It was through his family that he got an early start on enjoying popular culture. His parents had chosen a photo of each of their three sons to feature prominently on a photo wall in the family home. Brian's eight-by-ten photo, taken when he was about nine, captures him posed as Luke Skywalker of *Star Wars* in a white judo outfit. Though he remembers feeling mildly dissatisfied with the homemade outfit at the time, "I see now that it correctly brought together an Arab look, a martial art, and a World War II rifle in ways that [film-maker George] Lucas had himself joined east Asia, North Africa, and the 1940s with the Zen qualities of *The Force*, an epic Sahara, and Darth Vader and the storm troopers," Dr. Edwards wrote decades later in "Kiddie Orientalism," an essay about *Star Wars* in a post-9/11 world that was published in the avant-garde cultural journal *The Believer*.

When he was 15, his family took a tour of Europe. From Spain, they ferried to

Tangier. Young Brian was mesmerized by the exotica of Morocco. "I was entranced with the different kinds of clothes, the medina, everything," Dr. Edwards recalls. His younger brother bought a silver dagger there and Brian later bartered with him to make it his own. Laying claim to that dagger was an early harbinger of things to come. Morocco was to become both a wellspring of inspiration for his scholarly work and "a part of the world I cherish."

Another source of inspiration was Yale University, which he attended both as an undergraduate and graduate student, beginning in 1986. The decision to go to Yale was easy for a young man drawn both to literature and drama. "In the late 1980s, Yale was an epicenter of literary studies and had a renowned theater school," Dr. Edwards recalls. "It had a prominent faculty and a distinctive way of approaching literature." He was encouraged by his professors to think about how literature reflects the larger society. "My interest in literature made me want to study American culture." He earned a B.A. in English, *magna cum laude*, with distinction in English, as well as the Lloyd Mifflin Award for a Senior Essay in English, in 1990. Two years later he was back at Yale to begin graduate work in American studies.

As a Yale undergraduate he had written some plays and, during the two years between college and graduate school he co-founded the Year Zero Theater Group in Brooklyn, New York, for which he was both a playwright and a producer. To pay the bills he worked as an editor in book publishing. He also contributed interviews he had conducted with literary luminaries to a nonfiction book, *In the Vernacular*, published in 1991.

Among those luminaries was Eudora Welty, who spent time with him in her book-filled home in Jackson, Mississippi, and folk artists and musicians whom he tracked down at their homes, sometimes many miles off the paved roads of the state. Like the earlier family trip to Morocco, Dr. Edwards still remembers the southern road trip as helping him become the cultural scholar he is today. "Eudora Welty and Mississippi's folk artists gave me a rich context for thinking about all kinds of art in conversation with each other," Dr. Edwards recalls appreciatively.

He was a 24-year-old graduate student when he returned to that earlier source of inspiration, Morocco. "During graduate school I spent time in Morocco—first a few weeks, then a summer, then a year," Dr. Edwards recalls. "Not a usual course for an American studies graduate student, as my dissertation director commented on more than one occasion, but he encouraged me. At first I was interested in how Morocco was viewed through the familiarizing frames of literary, artistic and cinematic portraits by outsiders—in some ways I was trying to deconstruct my own fascination with Tangier as a 15-year old and come to

terms with the misrepresentation of Arab culture and history by U.S. media and pop culture during the 1990-91 Gulf War. But as I became familiar with Morocco, studied Arabic and had conversations with Moroccan academics and graduate students, I became increasingly interested in the complicated and sometimes unpredictable ways in which Moroccans responded to, or re-coded, American portraits of their country and culture." He gives as an example the film *Casablanca*, which, he observes, has little to do with the city itself. "I was surprised at the pride many Moroccans took in the film, as well as the interesting ways in which they played with outsiders' fascination about it."

He began extensively researching the theme of cultural migration to and from Morocco as his dissertation topic. Using his language skills in Arabic, both standard and colloquial, and French, he conversed with hundreds of students and faculty and presented his findings in a number of seminars, lectures and colloquia in North Africa. He says he particularly benefitted from discourse with a dynamic group of Moroccan scholars who ran an active center for cultural studies at Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdallah University in Fez.

In Fez, the prevailing stereotype to be found in both American literature and contemporary travel writing was that in entering the Fez medina "you step back into the Middle Ages," Dr. Edwards comments. But during his time as a scholar there, he observed the visible signs of modern and foreign culture as well. "I kept seeing the intrusion of the latest New York Yankee cap, the McDonald's restaurant, the Western-style supermarket, even donuts, and wondered why that didn't make it into the travel section of the newspaper or Hollywood films."

He was named a Fulbright Fellow to Morocco in 1995 and received additional research grants from the American Institute of Maghrib Studies (AIMS). Maghrib (sometimes spelled "Maghreb") is the Arabic name for both Morocco and northwest Africa, although there is more to say on the subject. "In English, Morocco orients itself around the French word (*Maroc*)"—itself derived from the city of Marrakech—"and more importantly around the idea that Morocco is as much the land of French colonialism as it is the land of Moroccans," Dr. Edwards has written. "The name for the country in Arabic, *al-Maghrib*, means the farthest west, the land of the setting sun." He explains that the importance of the distinction is that "the Arabic name of Morocco, *al-Maghrib*, orients itself around a different center: namely, the rest of the Arab world to the East."

Dr. Edwards completed his Ph.D. in American Studies in 1998. His research on American representations of North Africa was published in 2005 by Duke University Press as *Morocco Bound: Disorienting America's Maghreb, from Casablanca to the Marrakech*

Express. As its title suggests, the book's cultural sweep includes everything from Hollywood films sparked by General Patton's military campaign in North Africa to visits by the hippies of the Vietnam era who escaped to the Maghreb to forget the disillusionment at home.

Dr. Edwards brought an encyclopedic knowledge and critical acumen to *Morocco Bound*, says Dr. Ali Behdad, who chairs the department of comparative literature at the University of California-Los Angeles and worked with him on the Globalizing American Studies Project. "*Morocco Bound* is a lucid text which clearly defines its critical terms, powerfully substantiates its theoretical claims, and often delights its readers with apt and insightful formulations," Dr. Behdad continues. "Given its important critical interventions, it should be a required text for a broad range of readers and scholars in the fields of American studies, post-colonialism, comparative literature and Middle Eastern Studies."

The richness of the Maghreb, its complexities and contradictions, continues to influence Dr. Edwards' scholarly work and had an effect on his family life as well, once he had children of his own. He and his family spent a summer living in the Fez medina so that his three young children could experience Moroccan culture for themselves. "I wanted them to feel the particular space formed by the urban architecture of the Maghreb and the way walking through a medina, or sitting around a big dish of couscous, reaching in and grabbing the moist grains with your fingers, makes you feel part of a community larger than yourself," Dr. Edwards has written.

Dr. Edwards joined the Northwestern academic community in 2000 and has taught courses there on Comparative Orientalism, Cold War culture, representations of World War II, globalization and diaspora, among others. He is also a core faculty member in the Middle East and North African Studies group, an interdisciplinary faculty working group he cofounded, and directs the Globalizing American Studies Project there. A multi-year initiative, the project features a series of annual symposia that has brought an international network of scholars to Northwestern. Essays by Yale's Dr. Dimock, UCLA's Dr. Behdad and other scholars will appear in a book to be published by the University of Chicago Press in fall 2010, bearing the name of the project—*Globalizing American Studies*—co-edited by Dr. Edwards.

His love of literature continues to be a major influence on his scholarship, framing the way he approaches his work as an Americanist, Dr. Edwards says. His scholarly writing "leaves some things up to readers—which is what literature does, too." But there is nothing ambiguous about Dr. Edwards' regard for the influence and importance of popular culture, a cornerstone of the research he has conducted both in North Africa and the Middle East with Carnegie Corporation support. "One of the promises of this work," says Dr. Edwards, "is

that it shows how our culture moves through the world. Not just our movies and literature and music, but our higher education as well. Contemporary culture is the meeting place. It is in the realm of culture that there is the most potential for understanding each other."

Dr. Edwards' Corporation-supported research recognizes that U.S. culture does not flow uni-directionally but rather is responded to, and remade, by Arab and Iranian artists, intellectuals and youth within their own idiom for their own projects. As Dr. Edwards explains, "Young Arabs and Iranians, savvy in the workings of the digital technologies of globalization and consumers of multiple global cultures, American culture primarily among them, take on elements of American culture and borrow from, remake, or recode them for their own local—national—purposes. These purposes are often surprising and sometimes unintelligible to most Americans, as elements of American culture circulate along unpredicted pathways." Moving beyond the simple formulations familiar from post-9/11 journalism, Dr. Edwards' forthcoming book is groundbreaking in its firsthand examination of the ways American culture is received, and reformulated, in the Middle East.

His research for the new book is built on the bedrock of his earlier findings in Morocco. But Carnegie Corporation's support has allowed him to "extend his work much further in terms of region, approach, and by moving it into the complex conditions of globalization," Dr. Edwards notes.

Figuring out how far to extend those boundaries was, in itself, a project for Dr. Edwards. During the summer of 2005, he recalls making significant progress in deciding about the interdisciplinary range of materials—historical, theoretical, sociological—in which American culture circulates. "Intrigued by the parallels between Cold War ideas about public and cultural diplomacy and those in the post-9/11 environment, I did research on the Cold War period as well as in materials on the present," he says.

There was also field work to do. Dr. Edwards says he wanted to study dynamic social and learning centers in North Africa and the Middle East that would provide "a cross-section of the region and a range of possibilities and responses to America." And as if that were not challenging enough, he also sought "key cities of the next decade, at various levels of stability, with societies that range from moderate to hostile in their relationships to the U.S." His early choices were Fez (Morocco), Cairo (Egypt), and Tehran (Iran) and, to a lesser extent, Beirut (Lebanon) and Tunis (Tunisia). However, Dr. Edwards found it extremely difficult to keep all five research sites simultaneously in play, even before factoring in the political volatility of Lebanon and Iran. He therefore eventually tightened his focus to concentrate on Fez, Cairo and Tehran.

His success in these cities relied on some creative strategies. In Fez, he established a vital research team by mentoring students there. In Tehran, he created a similar student network and built on his great interest in contemporary Iranian cinema. In Cairo, conversations with a new generation of Egyptian writers at an avante garde publishing house revealed that U.S. comics and graphic novels were among their inspirations. And during the summer of 2006, he developed an interactive web site, Global Culture in Local Circulation (http://www.wcas.northwestern.edu/projects/globalization/), linking students at Tehran University, the University of Fez, and Northwestern University.

In addition to the web site, Dr. Edwards' project was enriched by many sources of information, including ethnographic observation, interviews, and primary research in media, cinema, contemporary literature and in classrooms. "As I became increasingly persuaded that that the rise of American Studies in the region was an important component of this book project, I had the additional challenge of researching a cultural phenomenon in motion," Dr. Edwards recounts.

The project took his language skills in a new direction as well. Dr. Edwards has taken the time to study Persian (Farsi) at Northwestern and at the University of Chicago since being awarded the Carnegie Corporation fellowship, and added a second dialect of Arabic (Egyptian) to his knowledge of Moroccan Arabic.

Wide dissemination of the findings from his rich multiple sources is very important to Dr. Edwards, who says he is "totally committed" to public scholarship, especially after receiving the communications training provided to Carnegie Scholars by the Corporation's Dissemination Program. Along the way, he says, he "developed a voice and writerly tone to bring in a larger audience for this research." In that regard, he adds, "I have lectured to both academic and non-academic audiences on this research, including the Women's Foreign Policy Group at the Cosmos Club in Washington, D.C.; the Yale Club of Chicago; the Annenberg School at USC in Los Angeles, where the audience included numerous people from the entertainment industry and the school of public diplomacy at USC; as well as on public radio and Internet radio. Alongside my scholarly publications I have written a number of essays and op-eds for [print and online publications] including *The Believer*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Foreign Policy* and *Huffington Post*." Dr. Edwards speaks enthusiastically about the first of these publications as an especially influential venue that brings new audiences to public scholarship on the Arab world: "It's a wide-circulation monthly culture magazine that is extremely popular with, and highly esteemed by, Generation Y."

He also speaks energetically about bringing a portfolio of work by young Egyptian

writers to the pages of *A Public Space*, a well-regarded New York City-based literary journal, for which he guest edited and introduced a 50-page portfolio of new Egyptian fiction, literary nonfiction, and an original comic. This project involved not only field research and interviews, but also commissioning translations from both literary and Egyptian colloquial Arabic. (Edwards did several of the Arabic translations himself.)

In his introduction to the Cairo portfolio, Dr. Edwards calls the new generation "Cairo 2010"— writers and artists who have emerged on the Egyptian literary scene since the disappointment of "Kefaya," the short -lived political protest in 2004-05. His work here is a first taste of a longer chapter that is part of After the American Century. In his introduction to the portfolio in A Public Space, published in the fall of 2009, he notes: "These writers are a generation that came of age with (sometimes after) the massive arrival of the Internet and digital technologies in Cairo, and in the wake of the shift in global discourse about big words like democracy, Islam, and war. And while many of the topics they address in their work seem much smaller—a sexual liaison, street children stealing fruit, women calling on each other for tea, two boys playing a video game—these are not writers unconcerned with the social or the political. Rather, their work is conceived differently in relation to the big questions. Perhaps it is the enormity of Cairo, expanding at asymptotic rates via apparently uncontrollable urbanization, or the response to its social and political zahma [blockage]; or perhaps they echo others in their generation internationally who have become cynical about what art and writing can do and seek something different. But the big pronouncements here are more muted or ironic...and sometimes they are even refused."

In sharing his findings, Dr. Edwards has extensively taught and lectured abroad—in Egypt, India, Iran, Lebanon, Morocco and Tunisia. In winter 2007 he was a visiting faculty member at the University of Tehran's Institute for North American Studies, an experience he wrote about in "American Studies in Tehran," an essay published in the prestigious scholarly journal *Public Culture* (his essay was subsequently selected as a "Notable Essay of 2007" in *The Best American Essays 2008*, the first time the journal had garnered such a coveted honor). In the spring of 2007, he taught at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS) in Paris. During 2008-09, as a recipient of a New Directions Fellowship from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, he was on leave to pursue training in socio-cultural anthropology and Middle Eastern studies, as well as advanced Arabic and Persian, at the University of Chicago. And in 2009 he traveled to Cairo as a Fulbright Senior Specialist to help develop American Studies programs at Cairo University-Giza.

Dr. Edwards' many scholarly successes stem in part from his willingness to

experiment with research methodologies in anthropology and Arabic studies that colleagues with backgrounds in history or English would not necessarily attempt, according to Northwestern's Dr. Wachtel. "His research project for Carnegie Corporation showcases all that he has been able to put together," Dr. Wachtel says. "The result will be, I think, to show us in exceptionally fresh ways what it means to 'study America,' and how powerful that desire is, even in venues where we would least expect to find it going on."



Profile: Noah Feldman Illuminating the Deep History of Shari'a

Perhaps no legal system has ever had worse press than shari'a. This term, which is often defined as Islamic law, "conjures horrors of hands cut off, adulterers stoned and women oppressed," writes Dr. Noah Feldman, Bemis Professor of International Law at the Harvard Law School and an adjunct senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations. But according to Dr. Feldman, shari'a is *not* just a set of legal rules. "To believing Muslims," he continues, "it is something deeper and higher, infused with moral and metaphysical purpose. At its core, shari'a represents the idea that all human beings—and all human governments—are subject to justice under the law." Indeed, Dr. Feldman makes the point that for most of its history, Islamic law offered "the most liberal and humane legal principles available anywhere in the world."

When he was nominated to become a Carnegie Scholar, Dr. Feldman's stated goal was to study the Islamic state that began with the Prophet Muhammad, ended with the Ottoman Empire, and is again on the rise. A professed believer in the lessons of deep history, he sought to trace the traditional Islamic constitution from its noble beginnings to its later downfall. His research proposal included studying the development of constitutional ideas under Western imperial expansion, as well as the complicated interplay of ideas and players related to constitutional change in the contemporary Islamic world. Whether today's new Islamic states will succeed over time depends, Dr. Feldman says, on their ability to establish effective human institutions, "recreating a state that combines the best of the old while coming to terms with the new." With his experiences both as a constitutional advisor to the Iraq Coalition Provisional Authority and a litigator of constitutional cases before the federal

Photo: Phil Farnsworth

courts, Dr. Feldman was uniquely positioned to illuminate shari'a and constitutional change in modern majority-Muslim countries as a Carnegie Scholar.

Dr. Richard L. Revesz, New York University's dean and Lawrence King Professor of Law, described Dr. Feldman as "one of the leading experts on Islam and democracy today" in his letter of recommendation to Carnegie Corporation's selection committee. Dr. Feldman was eminently qualified to be a Carnegie Scholar, Dr. Revesz wrote, because "he is an academic superstar who combines admirable talent for analytic scholarship with genuine concern for how to make that scholarship useful to the development of public policy."

After being selected as a Carnegie Scholar in 2005, Dr. Feldman authored *The Fall and Rise of the Islamic State* (Princeton University Press, 2008) with the Corporation's support. Praised for its clarity and consummate scholarship, the book provides an essential context for understanding the current relevance of the decline of the Ottoman Empire and the rebirth of the Islamic State since the 1920s. His discussion elucidates the complex interplay of legitimizing constitutions with the promulgation of shari'a in the modern Islamic state. At a time when this nation is scrambling to develop strategies for helping emerging democracies in the Middle East, the book advances Dr. Feldman's goal of applying his scholarship to the shaping of public policy.

"I want to propose an interpretation of the Islamic constitution in its old and new forms that will help clarify where we are today and where we are going with respect to government in the Muslim world," Dr. Feldman writes in the Introduction to *The Fall and Rise of the Islamic State*. In his view, the future of the Islamic state is very much under formation, and Dr. Feldman says he takes seriously the arguments of those Muslims who are trying to reconstruct an Islamic state that will succeed in the face of contemporary conditions. For them, he says, the past of the Islamic state is "not some dead hand but the living, breathing material from which the future will be built." The call for Islamic law, he insists, is in important ways *a call for the rule of law*.

Dr. Feldman is often commended for his compelling voice and lucid writing, particularly in the service of helping Americans better understand Islam and the Muslim world. "He writes persuasively about complicated constitutional issues for the public and policymakers alike," says Patricia Rosenfield, director of the Carnegie Corporation Scholars Program. She calls Dr. Feldman "an intellectual risk-taker who succeeds in reaching the highest levels of policymaking with his research findings."

Carnegie Corporation's selection committee was in agreement that Dr. Feldman met its members' highest expectations. "His accomplishments are already legion, including

advising the interim Iraqi government about writing a constitution. He brings knowledge of Islamic and Western law as well as direct experience to bear on fascinating legal developments in the Middle East. This project will be a *tour de force*," predicted one committee member. Dr. Feldman's selection as a Carnegie Scholar would surely result in "a scholarly and, most likely, widely read book on the more contemporary tensions between different sources of constitutional change," said another. Still other members of the committee praised Dr. Feldman for being "extremely knowledgeable and fluent," "learned in the best sense," and "someone we will hear much about in the future."

That future was set in motion by Dr. Feldman's parents, who provided him with living examples of scholarship and service as he was growing up with two brothers in Cambridge, Massachusetts. "My parents were academics and social scientists and they had an interest in Islam and the Middle East," he recalls. Early in Noah Feldman's life, his father was a Fulbright visiting professor at Hebrew University in Jerusalem. His father also served as a Ford Foundation grantee in Afghanistan, studying the effectiveness of U.S. aid in that country. His mother, too, has applied her scholarship to policy issues. As vice president of the Visiting Nurse Service of New York in recent years, she directed its center for home-care policy and research.

Another part of Dr. Feldman's legacy was the primary and secondary education his parents chose for him at the Maimonides School in Brookline, Massachusetts. A Jewish day school for children from kindergarten through grade 12, Maimonides has the philosophy that "the child is the true keeper of our faith." Accordingly, the school begins teaching its students Hebrew in first grade, and works hard to transmit Jewish tradition and values. "The fact that I had a religious background in Judaism was pretty positive for me, relative to Islam," he reflects. "Their histories are so closely linked." Knowledge of one Abrahamic faith led to his respect for, and scholarly interest in, another.

By 15, he'd decided to add Arabic to his language skills, and attended summer school at Harvard University to do so. He'd traveled in Israel during his thirteenth year, and spent time there during his sixteenth summer as well. "The Middle East was always a factor in our family," he says. "I was very lucky," he continues, "to have the opportunities I had, especially in languages."

In his last year at Maimonides in 1988 he was named a United States Presidential Scholar, one of the nation's highest honors for high school students. The award is based on SAT/ACT scores and other academic achievements as well as personal qualities, leadership and service activities. Young honorees from all over the nation, numbering approximately

150 annually, meet with government officials and receive a medallion at a ceremony sponsored by the White House. For young Noah, it was one of many academic accolades to come.

At Harvard University he got off to a swift start, winning the Jacob Wendell Prize for being the most promising freshman scholar. By junior year he'd been elected to Phi Beta Kappa and was also named a Harry S. Truman Scholar. This award from the Truman Foundation provides graduate school scholarships and recognizes college juniors with exceptional leadership potential who are committed to career fields including government, education and public service. "Noah's selection as a Truman Scholar in 1990 was an investment that has paid great dividends for the public good," says Frederick G. Slabach, the foundation's executive secretary. "His work in government and academia further President Truman's vision that 'free and inquiring minds, with unlimited access to the sources of knowledge, can be the architects of a peaceful and prosperous world.""

In 1992 Noah Feldman graduated *summa cum laude* from Harvard with a bachelor's degree in Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, a concentration that mirrored his youthful interests in Arabic, Hebrew and the Middle East. He won the Sophia Freund Prize for highest GPA in the graduating class, and was named a Rhodes Scholar. Next stop, Oxford University.

But first, a summer that he'd never forget. "I was 22 and it was my first government job," Dr. Feldman recalls. "I wanted to add real-world, on-the ground experiences to being a scholar." He got a State Department job as a political/economic intern at the Consulate General's office in Jerusalem, where he did spot and analytical reporting on Palestinian affairs and the peace process. His boss, Molly Williamson, spoke Arabic and Hebrew, as he did, and she impressed young Noah with her success at opening up channels of communication with Palestinians in the West Bank. Of his duties that summer, he says, "I had the opportunity to travel all over the West Bank. It was an extraordinary experience, seeing things I could never have seen on my own."

He followed that peak experience with still another as a Rhodes Scholar pursuing Oriental Studies at Christ Church, Oxford University. Dr. Feldman credits Oxford with deepening his thinking during his two years there. "I was given tremendous freedom to do my own scholarly research," he recalls. His dissertation, *Reading the Nichomachean Ethics with Averroes*, explored the work of an Islamic religious philosopher of the 12th century whose interpretation of Aristotelian ethics influenced both the Islamic world and Europe for centuries afterward. When Dr. Feldman left Oxford in 1994 with a D. Phil. degree in Islamic political thought, he took with him the conviction that Averroes' ethical grounding, as well

as other religious and cultural traditions important in Islamic history, continue to influence people in the Middle East. "I believe in deep history," Dr. Feldman says, "the idea that things that happened centuries ago still have deep consequences today."

After Oxford, Dr. Feldman found himself at decision point. "Should I get a job in Islamic studies, or pick a path that would lead to academia and political affairs? I went with the latter," he says, "because although I wanted to be an academic, I also wanted a set of skills that would allow me to get involved in government." That decision led him to go to Yale Law School. He was the book reviews editor, and Olin Fellow in Law & Economics, before receiving his J.D. degree from Yale in 1997.

As a young lawyer Dr Feldman clerked for Justice David Souter of the Supreme Court between 1998 and 1999. Then, following that distinction, he was chosen as a junior fellow of the prestigious Society of Fellows at Harvard University. The purpose of the Society is to give men and women at an early stage of their scholarly careers a chance to pursue studies in a department of their choice, free from formal requirements. Between 1999 and 2002, Dr. Feldman used his Harvard fellowship to conduct research on legal theory and history.

A year later, in 2003, Dr. Feldman was asked to serve as constitutional advisor to the Coalition Provisional Authority in Iraq, and subsequently advised members of the Iraqi Governing Council on the drafting of the nation's interim constitution. He was only 33. "It was a once-in-a-lifetime chance to take my academic interests and see how those ideas met up with real-world issues," Dr. Feldman enthuses. He came away from this life-altering assignment with the opinion that "constitutional and Islamic studies have a lot to learn from Iraq." And as for himself, Dr. Feldman says he learned much from his work there as well. "It made me a different kind of academic. I now know more about how academic ideas work out in public policy."

Dr. Feldman says it was satisfying to witness the emergence of an Iraqi constitution that was both democratic and Islamic, as well as widely accepted by the population. Also impressive, he notes, was the fact that its framing was accomplished at a time in Iraq's history when so many other things in the country had gone awry. Being one of the framers of such a worthwhile effort helped Dr. Feldman recognize how much he enjoyed being actively involved in policymaking and then discussing and explaining what he'd learned. "In government," he says, "you're forced to make hundreds of decisions and you're not always able to sit back and reflect on them—as you can in academia."

Following his experience in Iraq, academia offered Dr. Feldman some of its choicest opportunities. He joined the faculty of New York University School of Law in 2001 and

was a visiting professor at both the Yale and Harvard law schools during the 2004-05 academic year. He subsequently joined the Harvard Law Faculty in 2006 and became its Bemis Professor of International Law in 2007.

"Noah Feldman is one of the stars of his generation," Elena Kagan, then dean of Harvard Law School and now Solicitor General of the United States, said at the time of his appointment. "He is a brilliant thinker and writer who has produced a remarkable body of work while still early in his career. From his on-the-ground knowledge of lawmaking in Iraq to his historical research on religious freedom in the United States, his range is as wide as any in the legal academy. He will add depth to our already great constitutional law faculty, and enhance the richness and dynamism of the Harvard Law community in innumerable ways. "

Dr. Feldman's scholarly focus on complex and controversial topics has enriched the Harvard community as well as the public discourse. "I never undertake a project unless I think it can be *transformative*," he says. And certainly that has been true of his writing, both scholarly and popular. Throughout law school and clerking he had been thinking and writing about constitutional issues. And after the events of 9/11 he decided to collect his thoughts in a book on democracy in the Islamic world. The result was *After Jihad: America* and the Struggle for Islamic Democracy (Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2003). In his review, Harold Hongju Koh, professor of international law at Yale Law School, praised *After Jihad* for being rich in political history, cultural analysis, religious understanding and comparative law. Dr. Koh added that Dr. Feldman's was the first book he had read since September 11th that "gives me hope that there may be light at the end of the war against terrorism."

Dr. Feldman's second book, *What We Owe Iraq: War and the Ethics of Nation Building* (Princeton University Press, 2004), included his memories of being an advisor in Baghdad. Fareed Zakaria, editor of *Newsweek International*, said the book "illuminates America's mission in Iraq, and much more." Kenneth Pollack, director of research for the Brookings Institution's Saban Center for Middle East Policy, described it as timely and thought-provoking and said Dr. Feldman "elevates the debate on this issue above the platitudes of the politicians." And in *The New York Times Book Review*, Robert Kagan of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace described the book as "powerful and important."

In his third book, Dr. Feldman shifted his focus to the home front, analyzing America's battle over law and religious values in *Divided by God: America's Church-State Problem and What We Should Do About It* (Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2005). A review in *The New Yorker* called the book "an agile account of church-state relations, from the creation of the First Amendment to the 2003 Supreme Court ruling against a public display of the Ten

Commandments." The book was also welcomed by *The Washington Post's* reviewer, E. J. Dionne, who described the book as "indispensable" and said, "In an arena so contested and contentious, it's a blessing to have an honest voice stating uncomfortable truths...."

Dr. Feldman's fourth book and the one he wrote as a Carnegie Scholar, *The Fall and Rise of the Islamic State*, has likewise won attention and acclaim—including being named one of *The Economist's* best books of the year—for its analysis of uncomfortable truths about shari'a, the law of the traditional Islamic state. The very term shari'a has become radioactive for the purposes of public discussion, he observes. Yet the reality of shari'a is much more nuanced and considerably more complicated.

A century ago, forward-looking Muslims thought of shari'a as "outdated, in need of reform or maybe abandonment," Dr. Feldman explains. Yet today 66 percent of Egyptians, 60 percent of Pakistanis and 54 percent of Jordanians say that shari'a should be the lone source of legislation in their countries. Islamist political parties make the adoption of shari'a the most prominent plank in their political platforms. Indeed, the message of shari'a resonates so well that Islamists tend to win almost as many seats as their governments allow them to vie for. The Islamist movement is the fastest growing in the Muslim world, Dr. Feldman reports, and "shari'a is its calling card."

Sharia's comeback in the Middle East understandably alarms Westerners, sometimes for good reason. As Dr. Feldman himself acknowledges, some of shari'a's rules, such as those that treat men and women unequally, are old-fashioned and harsh. But as his breakthrough book explains, even many Muslim women flock to the safe harbor of shari'a. The reason: for believing Muslims of both genders, shari'a connotes a connection to the divine, a set of unchanging beliefs and principles that order life in accordance with God's will, Dr. Feldman writes. And for oppressed people in the Middle East, those unchanging beliefs and principles can loom as lighthouses in the storm. "For many Muslims today, living in corrupt autocracies, the call for shari'a is not a call for sexism, obscurantism or savage punishment," he explains. What shari'a offers them instead, Dr. Feldman makes clear, is "an Islamic version of what the West considers its most prized principle of political justice—the rule of law."

For the cool-headed logic he brought to such explosive subject matter, Dr. Feldman has been much praised. Leslie H. Gelb, president emeritus of the Council on Foreign Relations, has called Dr. Feldman "just the kind of scholar who can work through the tensions between theology and power." The Association of American Publishers named the book a 2008 Prose Award winner in the Government & Policy category. *The New York Times Magazine* published a much-discussed excerpt, entitled "Why Shariha?" And that maga-

zine's editor, Gerald Marzaroti, recommended the book highly to a gathering of New York journalists when he moderated a press briefing with Dr. Feldman on March 19, 2008, at the Council on Foreign Relations.

The Fall and Rise of the Islamic State drew other responses as well. Dr. Feldman's scholarly work has at times turned him into something of a lightning rod, particularly regarding the subject of shari'a. At the Council on Foreign Relations press briefing, for example, he was accused by a reporter of advocating for the Islamic rule of law, including its treatment of women. Dr. Feldman's response: "Nowhere in the book am I saying that I, Noah Feldman, am advocating for shari'a. What I'm doing is talking about a social movement—the most powerful and effective social movement anywhere in the Arab-speaking world and arguably in the whole of the Muslim world now. I'm trying to explain where it's coming from in as fair-minded a way as I can, so that we can ask the question, 'What should secular people in the Arab or Muslim world, or people in the West, do about it?'"

One of the many illuminating things about Dr. Feldman's work for Carnegie Corporation is that it challenges Westerners to get past their misconceptions and myths regarding the Islamic rule of law—and this nation's legal system as well. "The extremes of our own legal system—like life sentences for relatively minor drug crimes, in some cases—are routinely ignored," Dr. Feldman has written. "It sometimes seems as if we need shari'a as Westerners have long needed Islam: as a canvas on which to project our ideas of the horrible, and as a foil to make us look good."

With such provocative and compelling observations, it's no wonder that Dr. Feldman holds sway as a public scholar in many spheres. He is a contributing writer for *The New York Times Magazine*, where the publication of his piece on Mitt Romney's Mormonism, and its implications for Romney's electability, stirred great interest during the last presidential campaign. He lectures at the Council on Foreign Relations, where he is an adjunct senior fellow. He is a faculty director of New York University School of Law's Center on Law and Security, which is committed to promoting an informed understanding of the legal and security issues defining the post 9/11 era. And he is a frequent media commentator, interviewed by Charlie Rose, Stephen Colbert and others.

When it comes to public scholarship, Dr. Feldman says he decided a long time ago to extend his reach beyond the scholarly realm. "Only ten people may read one of my academic books carefully," he says lightly. "But TV watcher s and *New York Times* readers—those are important audiences, too." In keeping with the encouragement that Carnegie Corporation routinely gives its scholars to go public with their findings, he says, "I am grateful

to be able to write a serious book and then go on Stephen Colbert's show to talk about it."

Dr. Feldman makes a point of saying that he became a Carnegie Scholar at a crucial time in his career, just two scant years after being granted tenure as a law professor. "Carnegie Corporation's help," he declares, "has been hugely significant to me." Dr. Feldman urges other philanthropies to follow the Corporation's lead and support the scholarly work of not only big names or dominant figures in academia, but rising stars as well. "This will be one of the legacies of Carnegie Corporation," Dr. Feldman predicts, "to look back 20 years later at the people they helped on their way up."



Profile: Amaney Jamal Avid Interpreter of Islam and Democracy

After the tragic events of 9/11, people around the world began to suspect the average Muslim Arab of endorsing more such attacks on the United States. "Exacerbating this misrepresentation has been the absence of Arab democratic institutions to vouch for the democratic and civil nature of Arab polities," says Dr. Amaney A. Jamal, assistant professor of politics at Princeton University and a term member of the Council on Foreign Relations. "Under these circumstances, it is vital to understand the ways in which the world of Islam and politics figures into the ordinary lives of Arab Muslim citizens."

The relationship between democracy and Islam has often been analyzed by scholars who focus on the institutions of the state, democratic processes such as voting, or the more abstract concepts of rule of law. Dr. Jamal, on the other hand, seeks to know how ordinary citizens in the Middle East make sense of their own political environment. According to Christopher L. Eisgruber, Princeton's provost, her highly original approach "helps us understand the political beliefs of the men and women on whom any successful democratic experiment in the Middle East must ultimately rest—namely, the general public."

In a letter nominating her for a Carnegie Scholar fellowship, Dr. Eisgruber expressed confidence that Dr. Jamal would be able to connect and communicate with Arab Muslims in a way that many scholars would be hard pressed to do. "She is a native speaker of Arabic, a Muslim, and someone who has already taken the pulse of Arab populations in both the United States and the Middle East," he wrote. "With the support of Carnegie Corporation, she will be able to advance the efforts of scholars and policymakers to resolve the 'conundrum of democratization' in the Arab world, wherein popular support for democracy

Photo: Ricardo Barros

is very high but democratic movements are few and far between."

After being nominated for the fellowship by Dr. Eisgruber, Dr. Jamal was selected as a Carnegie Scholar in 2005. With Carnegie Corporation support she has been able to research her topic of choice, "Citizenship, Political Agency and Democracy in the Arab World: The Mediating Effects of Islam" in Jordan and Kuwait. Dr. Jamal employed her extensive contacts in both countries to interview hundreds of average citizens face to face. "I spent hours on end listening and talking to people," she recalls. Looking back on the interviews, which often took 90 minutes or even longer, Dr. Jamal remembers the sessions as being mutually respectful and deeply informative.

"They invited me for coffee. They invited me for tea. They saw that I cared about their point of view, and they took the opportunity to go on the record. It was really refreshing for them to be able to communicate their opinions," she says. "They saw that their opinions *mattered*."

Dr. Jamal asked such thought provoking questions as, "Do you think Islam and democracy are compatible?" and "Do you think the voices of the people are heard in your country?" As her interviewees expressed appreciation for aspects of both democracy and shari'a, or Islamic law, Dr. Jamal remembers thinking, "How interesting! They see justice as part of democracy *and* they see justice as part of Islam. People in the West see democracy and Islam as being diametrically opposed. But the people I interviewed see justice as part of *both*."

Dr. Jamal says the interviews helped her to understand "the trajectory between citizens and the state from the ground up—how citizens see themselves as agents of the system." And as her interview subjects talked about their own political agency, how influential or powerless they felt as citizens, "I saw them become comfortable as political beings."

Dr. Jamal's network of contacts in the region, including her close working relationships with local scholars there, is among her many strengths, says Patricia Rosenfield, director of Carnegie Corporation's Scholars Program. "She is a first-class analytical scholar with a deep grasp of theory, history and politics as well as on-the-ground knowledge."

Members of the Corporation's selection committee who reviewed Dr. Jamal's proposal predicted significant results from her project. "Dr. Jamal is uniquely suited to conduct this straightforward and compelling project, and she is well-positioned to bring the findings to influential audiences," said one. "Her proposal suggests she is unwilling to accept the conventional explanations for the democratic deficit in the Islamic world and is looking for religious and social phenomena that will help to explain it," said another. "This is an emerging young scholar who is comfortable with quantitative methods and the Middle East. It is

a good proposal that should add to our knowledge of how Muslims are engaged—or not engaged—in politics," a third reviewer pointed out. And finally, a fourth reviewer wrote that her research "could prove very helpful in advancing debate on what form of democracy is best suited to Arab countries at this stage of their cultural and political development."

Eager to advance the debate regarding Islam and democracy, Dr. Jamal says she was "very much invested" in researching the topic. She applied for a "competitive, challenging, prestigious" Carnegie Scholars fellowship. "Carnegie Corporation is committed to gaining empirical knowledge," she notes. "And when I come together with the other scholars at Corporation network meetings, I know I am meeting the most prominent scholars in their fields, sharing the most up-to-date empirical findings. I'm experiencing the best of the best!"

Dr. Jamal's commitment to growing and sharing her knowledge of the Middle East, Muslim Arabs and Muslim Americans stems from her family background as well as experiences during her childhood. Her parents were Palestinians who came to this country for its many opportunities. She was born in the San Francisco Bay area but the family also lived in central and southern California during her early years. Her father, Ahmad (Jimmy) Jamal, who died in 1991, was a clothing store owner. He worked hard and his business prospered, according to Dr. Jamal. The family was assimilating right on cue, their American dream apparently on track.

But something was amiss. Multiculturalism and pride in one's immigrant heritage were not particularly encouraged in this country during the 1960s and 1970s, Dr. Jamal observes. At age 10, she spoke English, not Arabic, and had much to learn about her religion, which was Islam.

What happened next was life changing. As Dr. Jamal remembers it, her father more or less woke up one day and realized his children knew nothing about their own roots. His solution was a dramatic one. He moved the family to Ramallah, a cosmopolitan Palestinian city near Jerusalem.

Looking back on her father's pivotal decision, Dr. Jamal says she continues to admire him for it. And the decision did change the course of her scholarly life. "My upbringing in Palestine sparked my political consciousness," she says. "I became very devoted to issues pertaining to justice and human rights for both Palestinians and Israelis. As a teenager, I remember being proud of myself for always thinking about global events. My friends and I believed we were cool because we understood that we knew more than average teenagers elsewhere."

The decision to move to Ramallah was transformative in other ways. She met her

future husband, now an emergency-room physician, in Palestine. And life there appears to have shaped the way she lives her life as a modern Muslim-American woman today. She speaks fluent Arabic, wears a *hejab*, or head covering, prays five times daily, worships at a mosque and sends her own three children to Islamic day school. (Her fourth child is currently attending Princeton.) She is her father's daughter.

Ahmad Jamal's decision to move his family back to Palestine did have some worrisome consequences for young Amaney, however. "I was a senior in high school when the first Palestinian Intifada commenced in 1988-1989," she recalls. Intifada, the Arabic word for "shaking off," is the familiar name for Palestine's uprising against the Israeli occupation. "During that year the Israeli military closed down all educational institutions from kindergartens to universities."

"Determined to continue my education," Jamal says, "I began sneaking around Ramallah and Jerusalem, taking courses in different houses or civic associations, where our teachers were volunteering their time to help us graduate. I graduated as the valedictorian of my high school that year," she says. "I knew then that nothing would stop me from accomplishing my educational pursuits."

Those pursuits brought her to this country, the next stop on her scholarly journey. "I came back to the U.S. that summer with a high school diploma in hand and began my undergraduate education at Cal-Poly, Pomona and then the University of California-Los Angeles," Dr. Jamal recalls. Her return coincided with the end of the Cold War. Much of the world was transfixed by new prospects of the spread of democracy. But that trend was not necessarily taking root in the Middle East, she knew from living there. What were the prospects for democracy in the Middle East? She decided to study political science because she saw it as her gateway to acquiring the skills she needed to pursue her quest. She graduated cum laude from UCLA in 1993.

That summer she worked as a translator at the Women's Research Center in Jerusalem, another step in her budding career as a scholar of Islam, and then returned to this country to begin graduate studies at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, known for the rigor of its public-opinion research. "Amaney is a gem," says Dr. Mark Tessler, the Samuel J. Eldersveld College Professor in the Department of Political Science and the University of Michigan's vice provost for International Affairs, as well as Carnegie Scholar 2009. He remembers working with her and six other colleagues on a groundbreaking study of Muslim Americans in Dearborn, Michigan in the wake of 9/11. "There were all these stereotypes about Arabs and Muslims. The country needed this information. We wanted the community

to speak for itself. We tried very hard to connect with them in a meaningful way."

The study's research team needed to possess a range of skills including intellectual grounding, training in quantitative methods, knowledge of the Arab-American community, language ability, collegiality and professionalism. "All of this comes together in a person like Amaney," Dr. Tessler says appreciatively.

Dr. Tessler subsequently teamed up with Dr. Jamal again when they were co-principal investigators of the Arab Barometer Project, the first systematic cross-national survey gauging democratic attitudes and behaviors in the Arab world. It was funded by the Middle East Partnership Initiative, with survey data collected in seven Arab states. The results were released in 2006. Dr. Tessler says he and Dr. Jamal are committed to updating the Arab Barometer Project every two to three years.

The superb training that equipped Dr. Jamal to research these and other studies came from the University of Michigan's Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR). There she learned how to integrate methodological strategies with the sorts of theoretical and practical concerns that may arise while researching substantive social issues. She now uses her considerable research skills to discover "with a certain degree of precision why people feel as they do. It's inspiring to be in the field learning and analyzing the political ramifications of what people believe."

Another source of inspiration is the classroom—"I really enjoy teaching"—where she says she is often the first Muslim whom many students meet in person. Her teaching experiences began during her graduate school days at the University of Michigan, where she designed the curriculum for a course on the Arab-Israeli conflict and taught an introductory course in comparative politics. She won the Outstanding Graduate Student Instructor award in 1998 and completed her Ph.D. there in 2003.

She went on to become the principal investigator of a study of Muslims in Brooklyn, New York, funded by the Muslims in New York Project, at Columbia University in 2003. That same year she left Columbia and joined the faculty at Princeton, where she has a reputation for leading evenhanded classroom discussions regarding even such heated topics as the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. "Amaney has the quality of mind and temperament to lead students, colleagues and readers across borders of all sorts," says Dr. Nancy Bermeo, Nuffield Professor of Comparative Politics at the University of Oxford in England. Dr. Bermeo, who overlapped with Dr. Jamal for several years at Princeton before accepting her current position, was acting chair of the department of politics there and speaks of Dr. Jamal as a great asset to the Princeton community at large.

Since joining the Princeton community, Dr. Jamal has continued doing significant research studies. In addition to her work with Dr. Tessler on the Arab Barometer Project, she became the senior project advisor of a national survey on religion in public life among Muslim-Americans in the U.S., ,conducted by the Pew Research Center in 2006. She has been a prolific contributor to *The Journal of Democracy, Comparative Political Studies, Journal of Politics*, and other scholarly publications, as well as producing several research driven books.

One of those books, *Barriers to Democracy: The Other Side of Social Capital in Palestine and the Arab World*, was published by the Princeton University Press in 2008, and won the Best Book Award from the American Political Science Association that year. "The committee was impressed with the force and import of Jamal's arguments and the truly impressive empirical data and research she brought to bear on her analysis," committee members wrote. "The study represents comparative politics at its best."

Another of her books, *Citizenship and Crisis: Arab Detroit after 9/11*, published by the Russell Sage Foundation in 2009, reported on the important studies of Muslim-Americans by the University of Michigan team including Drs. Jamal and Tessler. And her current book manuscript, *Of Empires and Citizens: Authoritarian Durability in the Arab World*, is based on her research as a Carnegie Scholar in Jordan and Kuwait, with additional survey data from the Arab Barometer project.

Even before its publication, *Of Empires and Citizens* is already attracting much attention, according to Dr. Jamal. She has been asked to share her findings with audiences at the United States Institute of Peace, University of California at Berkeley, University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign, Columbia University, Harvard University and Oxford University. "In conversations with ordinary citizens across the region, I found significant pockets of support for existing authoritarian regimes, even among citizens who were most disaffected by such dictatorial rule," she tells her audiences. "Despite greater appreciation for democracy and advancements in human and economic development, the Arab world remains one of the last bastions of authoritarian rule across the globe." She calls this state of affairs, "one of the more pervasive puzzles of Arab politics."

How does Dr. Jamal approach this puzzle? "Any examination of the reasons behind citizens' continued support of existing leaderships in the Arab world must take into account the way citizens assess the *strategic utility* of existing authority in relation to a country's position in the international system," she explains. Arab countries are highly dependent on the United States for security and, in the cases of Jordan, Morocco, Egypt

and Palestine, for aid. And even while they simultaneously resent the United States, citizens across the region "understand the necessity of their regime's relationship with the United States for longevity and stability." Thus, citizens leverage their support toward existing authoritarian rule according to their assessment of the *strategic utility* of existing leadership in maintaining the status quo with the United States. As a result of her Carnegie Corporation-supported research, Dr. Jamal says, "I can talk about what creates conducive conditions for promoting democracy."

Oxford's Dr. Bermeo was among those in attendance when Dr. Jamal discussed the research findings that underlie her latest book. "I witnessed her lecture to a tough minded group of Oxford University faculty. She mesmerized the lecture hall," Dr. Bermeo reports. "She is as effective with senior scholars from around the world as with 18-year-old United States undergraduates."

Her speaking abilities have won Dr. Jamal invitations to address a wide range of audiences. She has answered the question "Who Are the Democrats in the Arab World?" for the American Political Science Association; participated in Harvard University's Islam in America conference; and discussed "Palestinian Women and the Intifada" at the request of the Association of Muslim Social Scientists, among many such appearances.

Her sophisticated analysis of empirical data has also attracted many requests for media appearances. Her list of interviews includes the Associated Press; Al-Jazeera English; CNN *Nightly News* and *The Washington Post*. "Being a Carnegie Scholar," says Dr. Jamal, "enhances my credibility as a public scholar."

Dr. Jamal expects to continue her public scholarship by giving talks and presenting her findings in academic settings and policy circles. She continues on, as well, as an advisor to the Council on Foreign Relations, to whose Religious Advisory Committee she was named in 2006. "It takes a whole day to travel to D.C.," she says of the effort involved in being a public scholar, "but I'm needed there."

The fierce intelligence she brings to studying misunderstood and understudied groups is needed as well, and will continue to distinguish Dr. Jamal as a scholar among scholars. "In both the classroom and in her scholarly work," says Oxford's Dr. Bermeo, "she joins literatures and ideas in innovative ways, challenging hard-held ideas about both separation and superiority."



Profile: Bruce Lawrence Scholar of Islam with Sweeping Vision

A nation's treatment of its minority citizens reveals much about that nation itself. "Since 9/11, multi-confessional nationalism, once a weathervane of social comity, seems at risk throughout Africa and Asia, in Muslim-Christian states as well as in Christian-Muslim states," says Dr. Bruce B. Lawrence, Duke University's Nancy and Jeffrey Marcus Humanities Professor, professor of Islamic Studies and inaugural director of the Duke Islamic Studies Center. "Among unnoted victims of the 'war on terror'," he continues, "are indigenous minorities, not recent refugees or stateless migrants but groups who for centuries have been the standard bearers of deep pluralism within several African and Asian nation-states."

Among these standard bearers are the Copts of Egypt, who strive to maintain a Christian loyalty within the largest Sunni polity of the Arab/Muslim world; the Oromos and Hararis of Ethiopia, Muslim minority groups in a majority Christian state; the Kristens and Katolics of Indonesia, who try to project a Christian presence in the world's largest Muslim country; and the Moros of the Philippines, a beleaguered Muslim minority in Mindanao, the southernmost island of that nation.

"Each of these countries—Egypt and Ethiopia, Indonesia and the Philippines—has its own history and its own trajectory," Dr. Lawrence continues. "Yet together they reflect patterns of portentous change beyond their national or regional context. On a global plane one cannot assess the future of Muslim-Christian relations unless, or until, one confronts both minority fears and majority paranoia in real life, by looking at the experiences of

Christians with Muslims in Egypt and Indonesia, and Muslims with Christians in Ethiopia and the Philippines."

A letter describing Dr. Lawrence's interest in researching these minority groups was written by Dr. Richard Brodhead, the president of Duke University, to nominate him for a Carnegie Corporation Scholars fellowship. "Among contemporary scholars of Islam, few can claim the breadth, depth and productivity of the scholarship of Bruce B. Lawrence," Dr. Brodhead wrote. "In a career spanning nearly four decades, Dr. Lawrence has pioneered cutting-edge interdisciplinary scholarly work on Islam and Muslim societies with disciplinary synergies in the humanities, social sciences, law and theology. His monographs and research collaborations, which are superior examples of scholarly rigor and methodological innovation combined with theoretical insight, have shaped the field of Islamic studies in particular and the study of religion more generally."

That nomination resulted in Dr. Lawrence becoming one of 20 new Carnegie Scholars in 2008. He is using the two-year fellowship to research "Pious Patriots: Religious Minorities as Secular Citizens in Ethiopia, Egypt, the Philippines and Indonesia." This study across four significant yet diverse nations will allow Dr. Lawrence to explore why religious minorities remain a crucial index to the success, or failure, of deep pluralism and social comity. His work will also analyze how location—whether in Africa or Asia—produces not only different narratives but also variable outcomes for minority and majority religious communities. And he will cast helpful light on the dynamics that compel ideologues to claim religion as the major explanation for both policies and actions that, in fact, have little to do with religious beliefs or practices.

Dr. Lawrence's multi-faceted project draws on his years of fieldwork and scholarly analysis to address "complicated ideas in key places," says Patricia Rosenfield, director of Carnegie Corporation's Scholars Program. "He also presents a distinctive and welcome plan for nurturing the next generation of scholars in these countries where he will be working. He will help to build vital intellectual networks in support of his research themes."

Members of the reviewing committee who read Dr. Lawrence's proposal for "Pious Patriots" wholeheartedly agreed. "An excellent proposal on religious minorities, their roles and prospects by an accomplished scholar," said one. "The fact that the author examines the question of challenges to multi-creedal nationalism—not only from the perspective of Christian minorities in Muslim-majority countries but also Muslim minorities in Christian-majority countries of Asia and Africa—adds to its value," said another.

To meet the challenge of such a far-reaching project, Dr. Lawrence will employ

the intellectual and intuitive skills he has honed over many scholarly years. As Duke's Dr. Brodhead points out, Dr. Lawrence's ability to juxtapose the commonalities and differences in each culture he is studying will provide new insights on a topic of increasing geopolitical and scholarly importance.

"He is intellectually fearless, diving into the oceans of new knowledge," says fellow Carnegie Scholar Dr. Omid Safi, a former doctoral student of Dr. Lawrence's who is now professor of Islamic studies at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. "While many academics mark a territory and do not venture far outside it, Bruce moves with ease and grace from pre-modern South Asia to contemporary theories of modernity, from Indonesia and Africa to Europe and North America."

Such is Dr. Lawrence's breadth of vision that going to divinity school and becoming an Episcopal clergyman only spurred him to learn more about another Abrahamic faith. "I am an Anglo-Mohammedan," he says, "a Christian who believes in the Qur'an."

What turned a New Jersey boy into an Islamic scholar? As one formative factor, Dr. Lawrence points to an early experience both with loss and with the influential legacy of an intellectually accomplished father. "My father died when he was only 54," he recalls. An ethnic German who migrated from Hungary to the U.S. in 1902, the late Mr. Lawrence overcame many obstacles to become the first in his family to attend college. A graduate of Princeton, he was also economics instructor there. He authored four books on money and banking, then continued to write and lecture widely on contemporary economic issues after leaving Princeton to become chief economist and investment officer for a small New York bank. He is described by Dr. Lawrence as "one of the fiercest, and most intellectually engaged, of the critics of Keynesian economics."

A direct result of the family's loss was that his overburdened mother was left to raise four sons on her own. Young Bruce, a native of Newton, New Jersey, was sent away to school in New England sooner than he'd expected. First he went to a junior boarding school, the Fay School, and then to Phillips Exeter Academy, where he chose to study Middle Eastern history—in part for the sheer challenge of learning about such a complex, pivotal region of the world.

As an Exeter senior, he also competed for a chance to be in a distinctive sort of religion course. It was specifically tailored to students who looked askance at religion as "transcendental gobbledygook," Dr. Lawrence recalls with a smile. He took up the challenge by writing a one-page essay on why there is no God. (His favorite creed remains Wallace Stevens' lyrical conundrum: "We believe without belief, beyond belief.") The essay

became his ticket of admission to that particular religion course—and indirectly, to so many of the scholarly choices he has since made.

Looking back on this period of his life, Dr. Lawrence says that the untimely death of his father may well have helped spark a lifelong interest in spirituality and search for meaning. Many years later, he dedicated his book, *New Faiths, Old Fears*, to "Joseph Stagg Lawrence, my father, a Hungarian immigrant, the marvel and mainstay of my own immigrant imagination."

That imagination was kindled at his undergraduate school, Princeton University, where he was the youngest member of his class. Carrying over an earlier interest from Exeter, he began the study of Arabic, and took a course on Islamic philosophy with the late Dr. James Kritzeck, an assistant professor of the department then known as Oriental Studies.

A scholar of Islam specializing in Islamic literature and its translation, Dr. Kritzeck traveled through much of the Muslim world to do research during his academic career. He published groundbreaking books including *Anthology of Islamic Literature* in 1964. The book appears on the Muslim Literary Society's list, Classic Literature in Islam, and was described as an "arabesque of words" by *The New York Times*.

"James Kritzeck hired me as a student assistant for his *Anthology of Islamic Literature* project" Dr. Lawrence recalls. "He was a truly inspiring teacher and mentor." The title of another of Dr. Kritzeck's books, *Sons of Abraham: Jews, Christians and Moslems*, published in 1965, hints at why its author became such a catalyst in Dr. Lawrence's own scholarly career.

His mentor's influence can also be seen in some of the choices he made soon after graduating from Princeton *magna cum laude* in 1962. First there was a two-year, stateside stint in the Navy. Then he studied for a master's degree at Episcopal Divinity School. Three years later, he was The Reverend Bruce Lawrence. But rather than become a parish priest, he decided to continue on the journey he had found so intellectually stimulating at Princeton. A Kent Fellowship from the Danforth Foundation smoothed his way to pursue further studies of Islam and other religions.

From 1967 to 1972, he studied at Yale for his doctorate in the History of Religions: Islam & Hinduism. "I was trained to engage the large swath of Asia known as West and South Asia, with particular references to the cultures and languages, the history and religious practices marked as Muslim," he says. But he also pursued the study of non-Muslim religious traditions in Asia, especially Hinduism and Buddhism, Sikhism and Jainism. And he was able to explore, as well, the "turbulent reconnections of Europe to Asia that were forged in

colonial, then post-colonial encounters." His intellectual curiosity had found its niche.

"Bruce has one of the quickest minds I know of," says Dr. Robert C. Gregg, the Moore Professor in Religious Studies Emeritus at Stanford University. "His chosen studies have given him a big-picture framework, a breadth of vision."

Throughout his academic career Dr. Lawrence has added fluency in one language after another. At Princeton he studied Turkish as well as Arabic. In seminary he learned Hebrew and Greek. At Yale he studied Sanskrit and Syriac. And after joining the faculty at Duke in 1971, Dr. Lawrence added fluency in Persian, as well as in Urdu/Hindi, which he learned while studying in northern India during the mid-70s. All the while he applied his working knowledge of French and German to his scholarly projects. Chapel Hill's Dr. Safi remembers being dazzled by a description of Dr. Lawrence's language proficiency during his freshman-year orientation at Duke.

"At the freshman convocation they introduced him as a professor of Islamic studies who was fluent in Arabic and Persian and Urdu and more," Dr. Safi recalls. "I went up and introduced myself, and so began an abiding friendship, now in its third decade. Bruce is the most brilliant person I've ever met and the most genuinely pluralistic."

Dr. Lawrence's language skills, combined with his national and international reputation as a scholar, have helped provide unique access to diverse networks both within and beyond the Muslim world. Such special access gave him the ability to study worldwide religions in his own innovative way—through the lens of history. "I do religion as comparative history," he says. "If you can do economic history or communications history, why not religious history?"

Why not, indeed? Some thirty-seven years since he chose this path, Dr. Lawrence has contributed to no fewer than 15 books, including nine that he authored or co-authored and six that he edited or co-edited. Many are considered major contributions to the field of Islam and public policy. *Shattering the Myth: Islam Beyond Violence*, published in 1998, was translated into Arabic in 2003 and twice nominated for the Grawemeyer Award in Religion. *Messages to the World* (Verso, 2005), Dr. Lawrence's translation of the statements of Osama bin Laden, led government leaders to seek him out as a policy advisor. And *The Qur'an: A Biography* (Atlantic Monthly Press, 2007) part of the Press' series on "Books that Changed the World," is considered a seminal work that has been described as helping to explain "why the Qur'an *is* Islam." Hailed by *Publishers Weekly* as "a lovely read for any spiritual person, Muslim or not," it has been translated into 18 languages and also recorded as an audiotape.

Dr. Lawrence says he draws on the strength of the Qur'an in his own life because "it is a very satisfying and calming book. I love its lyrical yet bracing quality." And although he chose not to become a parish priest after going to divinity school, "I think of myself as a clergyman," Dr. Lawrence says. He still sometimes preaches at St. Matthew's, the Episcopal Church in his North Carolina hometown.

Dr. Lawrence received tenure at Duke in 1973, one year after earning his doctorate from Yale. During the 80s and 90s he helped the university become a leader in the study of Islam as a global religion. There were no other Islamic study centers in the country when, in 1997, Dr. Lawrence and colleagues at Emory University and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill founded the Carolina-Duke-Emory Institute for the Study of Islam (CDESI). This pioneering effort for the first time allowed students at the three schools to receive broad and in-depth graduate training in the history of religions with a specialization in the Islamic tradition. It continues to function today under the umbrella of its three founding institutions.

In 2002, CDEISI also became incorporated into a much more expansive unit located primarily at Duke and called the Center for the Study of Muslim Networks (CSMN). This time Dr. Lawrence was assisted by two Duke colleagues, fellow Carnegie Scholar Dr. Ebrahim Moosa and Dr. miriam cooke (who married Dr. Lawrence in 1983). Among CSMN's accomplishments is the UNC Book Series, *Islamic Civilizations and Muslim Networks*, which has published eleven titles, including several award winners. One of its books for a general audience, *Muslim Networks from Hajj to Hip Hop*, was co-edited by Drs. Lawrence and cooke.

In 2005, CSMN evolved into the Duke Islamic Studies Center (DISC), a diverse community of scholars and students that offers a unique certificate program for undergraduates and expands partnerships with universities in Muslim-majority countries. DISC is engaged in interdisciplinary teaching, interactive learning and cutting-edge research about Islam and Muslims. Its faculty comes from many backgrounds and disciplines and includes—in addition to Drs. Lawrence and Moosa—two other Carnegie Scholars who have worked on Islam-related projects, Dr. Engseng Ho and Dr. Jen'nan Ghazal Read.

The work of DISC is significant in the way it complements many of the university's top priorities, including advancing the undergraduate experience and promoting the internationalization of scholarship, according to Duke Provost Peter Lange, the university's top academic official. For Dr. Lawrence, DISC's launch has been "almost a dream come true." He is its inaugural director and its most senior faculty member.

"All my professional life," he says, "I have been involved in trying to make religion in general, and Islam in particular, more accessible to multiple audiences outside the academy." As part of this commitment he runs DISC conferences on Islamic art and other topics. He also delivers dozens of speeches to all kinds of audiences, ranging from book-fair goers in Goteberg to officers at the Naval Academy to students at his alma mater, Exeter. His footprint is large in the media as well. Dr. Lawrence has been interviewed on CNN by Christiane Amanpour; quizzed about the Qur'an on NPR; and profiled in *The New Yorker*. And throughout his career he has been honored for his body of work. He received two Harry F. Guggenheim fellowships, in 1991 and 1993, two Fulbright scholarships, in 1995 and 2006; and an honorary Th.D. from the Virginia Theological Seminary in 2006. He was selected as a Carnegie Corporation Scholar of Islam in 2008.

Carnegie Corporation's commitment to enhancing public understanding—and replacing myths about Islam with facts —is what drew Dr. Lawrence to apply to its Carnegie Scholars Program, he says. He likens the work of changing public perception on Islam to "moving a boulder uphill" but says, "we have to keep pushing."

Many associate Islam with terrorism but in fact, terrorists actually represent less than .01 percent of all Muslims, Dr. Lawrence reminds visitors to the DISC web site in his director's message. The fact that his research focuses on everyday Muslims and Muslim communities in Africa and Asia, including groups nearly ignored by academia and the media alike, is of great interest to the Scholars Program.

Dr. Lawrence has already presented early findings from the study to scholarly audiences at Harvard and Yale, to whom he explained some of the decision-making underlying his project. He is focusing on the Muslim minorities of Ethiopia and the Philippines because "neither Oromos nor Moros have attracted attention, either scholarly or popular, except in those instances where the 'war on terror' can identify an insurgent protest group as Muslim and terrorist." As for the Christian minorities of Egypt and Indonesia, there are many studies of both, and even several Internet sites that highlight their activities. "Yet neither the Copts of Egypt nor the Kristens and Katolics of Java have been subjected to a critical, broad-scale analysis. So in my Carnegie Scholars project, I propose to do a trans-regional comparative analysis on minority citizenship."

Among the central questions Dr. Lawrence intends to answer are: How does religion play out in the public square? And how do the Copts, Kristens, Hararis and Moros embrace their roles in communities where they have been defined as minorities and often restricted, either constitutionally or empirically, from enjoying full citizenship rights?

Too often, members of Dr. Lawrence's four groups have been marginalized and relegated to second-class citizenship, he notes. Yet members of these groups strive to be both devout believers and pragmatic secularists, despite religious nationalists in their countries who deny both pluralism and the rights of religious minorities.

"Astonishing" is the way Dr. Lawrence describes the resilience of young people in these minority groups. "They yearn," he says, "to reclaim the future of deep pluralism for themselves, their community and their nation." And even as these young people affirm their own identities, they also show the way to cooperation and good will. The findings of this and other portions of the study will be published in several articles and then a major monograph in 2011.

Stanford's Dr. Gregg, who co-taught a course in religion at Duke with Dr. Lawrence in the 1980s, calls him a "great intellect" and predicts that his wide lens and sweeping vision will capture the panorama of his Corporation-supported project. "When I was teaching the history of Christianity, Bruce would walk my theology students through readings of the Qur'an," Dr. Gregg recalls. "He is passionate about Islam, and the need to understand its core elements as well as its contemporary profile."



Profile: Vali Nasr State Department Scholar of the Muslim World

It was his first day on the job and already Dr. Vali Nasr was feeling the heat. "Write a memo," Richard Holbrooke, the State Department's Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan, directed his new senior advisor, Dr. Nasr, following a meeting in which they'd just discussed the alarming advance of the Taliban in and beyond Pakistan's Swat Valley.

"By when?" Dr. Nasr asked.

"Late tonight," Mr. Holbrooke replied.

Dr. Nasr met his tight deadline and produced the memo, in which he expressed his view on the Taliban's takeover of swaths of territory in Pakistan. The next afternoon, Mr. Holbrooke had copies of Dr. Nasr's four-page memo in hand for his 3:45 meeting with Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. Secretary Clinton scanned its contents while standing just outside the Oval Office. Once inside, she gave copies to President Obama and his senior officials.

"The first memo I wrote went right to the President," Dr. Nasr says with satisfaction of that day's (and night's) labors. And the President's response? It was a vote of confidence. "I agree with Vali Nasr," said President Obama, according to a *New Yorker* article that reported on Mr. Holbrooke and his newly assembled team of advisors, including Dr. Nasr's first day on the job.

That auspicious beginning is one of many successes in Dr. Nasr's scholarly career. The son of Iranian immigrants who lost everything after the fall of the Shah, he weathered those tumultuous times to become a prolific scholar, a best-selling author and a valued resource on the Muslim world to presidential administrations, policymakers, lawmakers, and his adopted country at large.

Before joining the State Department Dr. Nasr had already distinguished himself as a Professor and Associate Chair of Research at the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey and more recently, as a Professor of International Politics at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy of Tufts University. He is also a life member of the Council on Foreign Relations, and senior fellow of the Dubai Initiative run by the Harvard's Kennedy School of Government. And while his academic articles have been widely translated and disseminated, he likewise has the facility for walking the general public through a thicket of complicated political and economic issues. He has therefore won himself a far wider audience, with opinion pieces in the most prominent newspapers and media appearances everywhere from *Meet the Press* to Jon Stewart's *Daily Show* and *The Colbert Report* on the Comedy channel.

It was his stellar turn in book publishing that was particularly cited when Dr. Nasr was nominated to be a Carnegie Scholar by Alane Salierno Mason, senior editor at W.W. Norton, an independent book publisher. In her letter of nomination she wrote that W. W. Norton had been pleased to publish Dr. Nasr's book, *The Shia Revival: How Conflicts within Islam Will Shape the Future* (W.W. Norton, 2006), because of Dr. Nasr's "depth of knowledge, clarity of thought, and eloquence of presentation."

From her perspective as his book editor, Alane Mason praised Dr. Nasr for his "enormous lucidity and purpose" and for his original thinking on the Middle East. Dr. Nasr looks at the region through "a new lens that transcends our nation's commonly held view, which always seems to focus our understanding of events in the Middle East on relations with the United States and Israel," she observed. And while this commonly-held view may neglect any comprehension of intra-Islamic history and politics, she noted that Dr. Nasr is capable of providing "urgently needed guidance as we tread the shaky ground of current affairs and cultural relations."

In his proposal seeking to become a Carnegie Scholar, Dr. Nasr said that he wanted to research and write a book that would gauge the prospects for democratization in the broader Muslim world. His stated purpose was to go beyond a snapshot of Muslim political preferences in order to track broader trends over time. "Such trends," Dr. Nasr wrote, "suggest the shape of things to come [in Muslim societies]."

Dr. Nasr's proposal was welcomed by Patricia Rosenfield, director of the Carnegie Corporation Scholars Program. By analyzing multiple cultural and political settings across the Muslim world for his Carnegie Corporation project, Dr. Nasr will "deepen understanding of the basic concepts and approaches to democracy," Rosenfield says. "He is shaping

a nuanced analysis that will be critically important for American foreign policy as well as public understanding."

Carnegie Corporation's Selection Committee likewise welcomed Dr. Nasr's proposal. "Since ultimately the establishment of democracy in the Muslim world will depend on Muslims' ability to translate this concept into their own cultural medium, the question of Islamic democracy is worthy of sustained study. This proposal can make a significant contribution," one committee member wrote. "He challenges the conventional wisdom and has an impressive publishing record," observed another. "He's a real public scholar—practical, not ideological," said a third.

Becoming a scholar was, in fact, something of a natural choice for Vali Nasr, given his family background. "My father spent time in America and went to school here," he says of his scholarly legacy. Born in Tehran of a prominent family, his father, Seyyed Hossein Nasr, was sent to an American preparatory school and became the first Iranian undergraduate student at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Seyyed Hossein Nasr stayed in this country for graduate studies also, earning a PhD in the history of science and learning at Harvard. But despite a job offer to teach at Harvard, he chose to return to Iran. By age 39, he'd been named president of Aryamehr University by the Shah. A year later, in 1972, another great honor: the Empress appointed him the first president of the Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy. He built a great library at this important new learning center and engaged the participation of distinguished scholars from both the East and the West.

Then, in 1979, everything turned upside down. The Shah was deposed. The Nasr family had to flee. "There was no going back to Iran. We were refugees of the revolution. We were uprooted. It was a very tough time," Vali Nasr recalls. The family's long, proud Iranian story had a sudden and painful end. Dr. Nasr's grandfather had been educated in Europe, served as physician to the Iranian royal family, and worked to improve health care for average Iranians. His father had achieved swift and rarified success as an Iranian intellectual. But now Seyyed Hossein Nasr would have to reset his academic career in a country not his own. And his son, named Seyyed Vali Reza but known as Vali, would see his impending college plans upended virtually overnight.

Of that unsettling post-revolution period, Dr. Nasr observes, "It decided the way I was educated. I would have studied in England. I had already taken the Oxford and Cambridge exams. I wasn't expecting to be here." That challenging time is described by Dr. Nasr today as "very transformational" for himself and his family. "It put a lot of pressure on us to rescue our heritage, our religion," he recalls. Some Americans sympathized with the Shah

and some did not, he observes. "We had lost our country and our standard of living. We were in a very lonely place."

His immediate family, including his mother, father and younger sister, left many relatives behind in Iran when they emigrated. Some of their kin eventually settled in Europe. Others have since died. "There are only a few relatives there now," Dr. Nasr says. "That connection has whittled away."

What helped to keep the Nasrs moving through so much sadness and loss? "My father was at home in the West, and his opinions and advice were invaluable," Dr. Nasr recalls. His familiarity with the U.S. was also helpful to his family and himself. With his strong academic credentials, Seyyed Hossein Nasr was able to land teaching positions first at the University of Utah, then at Temple University, and in 1984, at George Washington University, his academic home ever since.

"Because my father was a scholar, I inherited his love of learning and understood the importance of studying even the smallest details, minutiae. It was part of my early education," Dr. Nasr reflects. And since he went to Tufts University as an undergraduate, he spent time in Boston, a dedicated college town with grand libraries and scholarly traditions. "I saw the world through the lens of academics. It was not out of the ballpark," he adds lightly, "for me to become a scholar."

Indeed, he was such a prodigy that he made an indelible impression on one of his professors as an undergraduate at Tufts University. "Except for Vali Nasr, I have never had another freshman tell me what books have recently been published and should be read," recalls Dr. Leila Fawaz, who is herself a Carnegie Scholar of Islam, Class of 2008, and the Issam M. Fares Professor of Lebanese and Eastern Mediterranean Studies at Tufts. "There used to be a great bookstore in Harvard Square called Asian Books, which Vali seemed to check regularly," Dr. Fawaz continues. "He was intellectually curious, *exceptionally* curious about all aspects of the modern Middle East, including the history and politics of the Semitic, Turkic, Persian and Urdu speaking worlds."

Dr. Nasr counts Dr. Fawaz among the highly influential professors who mentored him and encouraged him to seek an academic career. So after graduating *summa cum laude* from Tufts in 1983 as a member of Phi Beta Kappa, he continued his studies at the same university's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, where he resumed working with Dr. Fawaz. "He was the best teaching assistant I ever had, brilliant at making complicated material accessible to a general audience, without sacrificing nuances or textured interpretations," she recalls. "He did it with depth, great subtlety and a commitment to rising above the details—

which he mastered so well—to portray a broader comparative picture which put events in the Middle East in a larger framework." That encyclopedic knowledge of the Middle East paved his way to a master's degree in law and diplomacy from the Fletcher School in 1984. Then he headed to his father's alma mater, MIT, to pursue a doctoral degree and research one of the oldest and most influential Islamic revival movements. "Those years," observes Dr. Nasr, "made me an expert on political Islam and an expert on Pakistan."

Dr. Nasr's stellar record at MIT would forever raise the bar for his scholarly successors. Indeed, the caliber of his scholarship was such that his unique potential was unmistakable even then, says Dr. John Esposito, University Professor and Founding Director of the Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding at Georgetown University. Dr. Esposito, himself the author of 35 books on Islam and another of Dr. Nasr's influential mentors, was a member of his dissertation committee.

"Unlike any case I am aware of, Vali's first-rate dissertation yielded *two* books," notes Dr. Esposito. The books to which he refers are *The Vanguard of the Islamic Revolution: The Jama'at-I Islami of Pakistan* (University of California Press, 1994) a rare and welcome book-length investigation of an influential Islamic group; and *Mawdudi and the Making of Islamic Revivalism* (Oxford University Press, 1996), a carefully researched examination of the life and philosophy of one of the first and most important Islamic theological thinkers. Both volumes had Middle Eastern translations—the first book translated into Turkish and Urdu, the second into Turkish.

Showing all the signs of being a rising star, Dr. Nasr rocketed out of MIT's Department of Political Science with his doctoral degree in 1991. "My dissertation was very well received and I published two books as a result," he remembers. "MIT qualitatively changed my ability as a scholar. But it didn't help me find a job!"

Just ahead of him, Dr. Nasr faced the young scholar's typical challenge of trying to gain a foothold at the base of the academic mountain. He started teaching at a small college, the University of San Diego, as an assistant professor of political science in 1992. Then, reflecting his interest in public policy as well as Islamic studies, he changed jobs in 2003 and became professor of Middle East and South Asia Politics and associate chair of research, Department of National Security Affairs, at the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, California. Mandated by Congress just after World War II, the Naval Postgraduate School educates this country's naval officers, offering them courses tailored to the direct needs of national and global security—needs which Dr. Nasr was well positioned to address. It was at that time that he also joined the Council on Foreign Relations as adjunct senior fellow for

the Middle East, and also became an advisor to government and business leaders, a frequent speaker at think tanks and a familiar voice in media.

Four years later, in 2007, Dr. Nasr heeded another call to be of service, this time to his alma mater. He responded by joining the faculty at Tufts' Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. The Fletcher School emphasizes policymaking and Dr. Nasr became its professor of international politics and associate director of the Fares Center of Eastern Mediterranean Studies. And until joining the State Department in the fall of 2009, he devoted much of his time and energy to working with his students there. For Dr. Nasr, coming home to Tufts and combining teaching and writing with public scholarship and policymaking has been consistent with his own stated commitment to "push the boundaries of knowledge."

Dr. Nasr notes that some of his university colleagues prefer to focus their efforts more singularly on their scholarly work and doing detailed, meticulous academic writing. "It's a personal choice," Dr. Nasr acknowledges. "Some don't enjoy policymaking or media interviews. They don't find those things as gratifying as focusing on scholarly work. As for himself, "I didn't begin as a public scholar. But now I think it's important for knowledge to get out there in a timely way. Otherwise, it is lost. There's a wealth of knowledge locked up in our universities. It is important for scholarship to flow into policymaking."

His two most recent books certainly fit that description by contributing to the flow of important ideas that can shape and change the nation's course. The first of the two, *The Shia Revival: How Conflicts within Islam Will Shape the Future* (W.W. Norton, 2007), analyzes the mindset of the Shiite Muslims, who in recent years have become central players in the Middle East's power game, flexing their might at Israel, the U.S. and the Sunni Arab States. Dr. Nasr calls this trend the "Shiite revival," and his book goes far in explaining the ancient and inflammatory rift between the Shiites and another Muslim sect, the Sunnis. The rift began long ago, in 632 AD, the year the prophet Muhammad died. The Shiites began blaming the Sunnis for picking the wrong successor to Muhammad. Traditional Sunnis, for their part, began regarding Shiites as heretics with pagan beliefs. The fallout from many centuries of Sunni-Shiite enmity is most apparent in Iraq, according to Dr. Nasr. But his book predicts that more clashes between the two sects may inevitably be on their way. "In the coming years, Shiites and Sunnis will compete over power, first in Iraq but ultimately across the entire region," Dr. Nasr writes in *The Shia Revival*. "The overall Sunni-Shiite conflict will play a large role in defining the Middle East as a whole and shaping its relations with the outside world."

The Shia Revival became a New York Times best-seller, widely viewed as a groundbreaking book. Its original interpretation of Middle Eastern conflicts was praised, and its fresh findings welcomed, by the media, citizens and statesmen alike. As a result of *The Shia Revival* Dr. Nasr headed a symposium on the "Emerging Shia Crescent" at the Council on Foreign Relations. He was profiled on the front page of *The Wall Street Journal*. And he was asked to testify several times before Congress, in the course of which he won himself some high-profile admirers.

Richard Land, a Southern Baptist leader and powerful conservative, was among them. "That was among the most coherent, in-depth and incisive discussions of the religious situation in the Middle East that I've heard in any setting," he told Dr. Nasr in 2006, after meeting with him in a small group of academics and policymakers that was reported on by *The Wall Street Journal*. And there was similar praise from the other side of the political spectrum. Vice President Joseph Biden, who in 2006 was Senator Biden and the ranking Democrat on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, called Dr. Nasr's testimony the most "concise and coherent" views on Iran he had ever heard. Foreign-policy aides from the Bush administration began attending Dr. Nasr's speeches, and he was asked to brief President George W. Bush and Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice. Senator John Kerry read from *The Shia Revival* on the floor of the Senate as he explained the violence in Iraq to his colleagues, and recommended the book to leaders he met on his visits to the Middle East. The book would be read widely by world leaders and opinion makers, and would shape their understanding of the challenges they confronted in the Middle East. Dr. Nasr had arrived in Washington and *The Shia Revival* was his calling card.

Following the success of *The Shia Revival*, Dr. Nasr wanted to write another book, this time focusing on the phenomenon of Muslim democracy—and it was this project that ultimately received Corporation support through a Carnegie Scholars fellowship. "The findings of this project will provide a new approach to studying politics in the Muslim world," Nasr predicted in his proposal to the Corporation. By broadening the debate on the future of democracy in the Muslim world, Dr. Nasr also saw himself aligning with the Corporation's goals. "Carnegie Corporation is pushing us to think out of the box, get past stereotypes," says Dr. Nasr, who was selected as one of its Scholars of Islam in 2006. And in fact, as his Corporation project deepened and ripened, he moved past the familiar ground of the cultural wars to new intellectual territory. "My focus began to shift," he notes. Instead of accentuating the differences inherent in Muslim societies, he found common ground by identifying a burgeoning "critical middle" of highly modern Muslims who could transform their world the way the middle class has transformed the modern West.

Notably, Dr. Nasr's focus on the Islamic middle class comes at a time when this

country's own middle class is losing ground. Lessons about the importance of middle-class vitality can therefore be applied in both places, here and in the Muslim world. "We associate stability and prosperity with the middle class," Dr. Nasr observes, "and that is true both here and there."

"Muslims are no different from other people," Dr. Nasr continues. "They're just in a different place economically." His focus on the Muslim middle class has taken his discussion of Islam and democracy in a new direction that resonates with great insight.

Dr. Nasr elaborates on his thesis with many compelling examples in *Forces of Fortune: The Rise of the New Muslim Middle Class and What It Will Mean for Our World* (Free Press, 2009), the book he wrote as a Carnegie Scholar. With the Corporation's support he was able to take leave from his teaching and administrative duties and do field work in Bangladesh, Indonesia, Malaysia, Pakistan, Turkey and, to a lesser extent, Egypt and Morocco. To his already deep understanding of Islamic history he added extensive on-the-ground reporting that allowed him to reveal a new and more capitalistic Muslim world, one that is sure to take many Westerners by surprise.

In this new world, Islam is a powerful supporter of the drive to modernity, and Muslims want heaven later—and wealth in the meantime, Dr. Nasr writes. He describes new classes and business elites that are "elbowing their way higher" and changing religious, social, and political life along the way.

Among the surprises: piety, of all things, is serving to drive consumption in the Middle East. Dr. Nasr offers a number of intriguing examples that bring his thesis to life. He describes the many ways that Muslims are demanding Islamic goods—"not just *halal* food and headscarves, but Islamic housing, banking, education, entertainment, media, consumer goods…and even vacations—Islamic cruises are a growth industry in Turkey."

Dr. Nasr cites Turkey as perhaps the best example of a Muslim country that has moved in the direction of having a stable middle class. The opening of Turkey to global markets, beginning in 1980, integrated it into the global economy. The result: A whole new generation of Turkish businessmen who are creating wealth and jobs in their country today. "The businessman is the change agent," Dr. Nasr declares. "The solution is globalization."

Turkey is not the only country in the Muslim world where capitalism is alive and thriving in the Middle East, according to Dr. Nasr. Nor is it the only place where Muslims are enjoying the effects of globalization. Iranians are Web- and mobile-savvy and Iran boasts the most bloggers per capita anywhere in the world. Beirut has glitzy malls full of shoppers buying the latest electronic equipment. And satellite television—280 channels

strong—can be found in any Arab city, pleasing the people and annoying the politicians and censors. There is even a boom in Islamic finance, which Dr. Nasr says is "integrating the economics of the Muslim world and the global economy." The rise of a new business-minded middle class is building a vibrant new Muslim world economy, one that Dr. Nasr believes could ultimately transform the future of the Muslim world.

"It is a hopeful book," Dr. Nasr says of *Forces of Fortune*. And although not everyone shares his optimism about the ability of capitalism to trump terrorism, a number of his book's high-profile reviewers applaud his new way of thinking about Iran, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Turkey and the United Arab Emirates state of Dubai. "Vali Nasr masterfully articulates his argument through comprehensive research and vivid reporting. A must read," said Senator John Kerry. "Take American chips away from the endlessly hypocritical and fruitless diplomatic games and rhetoric, our weakest hand, and put the chips on our strength—helping Middle Eastern and Muslim countries with economic growth. That's the way to ultimately defeat the terrorists, build the middle classes, loosen ties to Arab autocrats, and develop democracies. That's Vali Nasr's brilliant message. It's the only way to rescue U.S. foreign policy from disasters," said Leslie Gelb, president emeritus of the Council on Foreign Relations, in an endorsement of the book that appears on the Council's web site.

To those plaudits, add Dr. Nasr's current role as Richard Holbrooke's senior advisor and President Obama's approbation of his first memo. These votes of confidence, along with his many scholarly and newsstand articles and media interviews with Charlie Rose, Anderson Cooper, Stephen Colbert and others, are among the frequent reminders of Dr. Nasr's impact as a policymaker and public scholar.

"I've found a home in the State Department," says Dr. Nasr, a statement that has poignancy for those who know of the loss of his Iranian homeland years ago. Colleagues familiar with Dr. Nasr's American story say that he has adapted gracefully to the rhythms of life in this country.

"Vali has combined being an impressively productive and well-traveled scholar, a best-selling author, a professor at a distinguished university, and an advisor to Richard Holbrooke, with a full partnership with his wife and her career and the raising of their children," says Georgetown's Dr. Esposito.

"Vali succeeded by combining a natural talent to be a learned person with very hard work," says Tufts' Dr. Fawaz. "He inspired his students—and he also inspired his teachers—with his enthusiasm for learning, his creativity, and his grasp of the Islamic world from one end of it to the other."



Profile: Jen'nan Read A Public Scholar Emerges

During the 2008 presidential campaign when Barack Obama was falsely accused of being a foreign-born Muslim, news organizations ranging from the Kuwait News Agency to *The New York Times* to BeliefNet.com called on a young sociology professor to help explain the implications for his candidacy and for America. "I was taken by surprise," says Dr. Jen'nan Ghazal Read of the intensity of the controversy she was drawn into as a cultural commentator virtually overnight.

The smear campaign included the distribution in electoral swing states of an inflammatory DVD called *Obsession: Radical Islam's War on the West.* The video was filled with scenes of Muslims flying planes into buildings, bombing people, burning American flags and screaming with homicidal rage, according to Dr. Read. It landed on citizens' doorsteps along with their newspaper, free of charge.

Watching this campaign within a campaign unfold, "I saw the need for real information in the public arena," says Dr. Read. "I'd been doing research on Muslim Americans for a long time and I realized I should share what I knew more widely. I needed to be more of a public scholar. It was now or never."

An associate professor of sociology and global health at Duke University, Dr. Read was named a Carnegie Scholar in 2006 to study "Multiple Identities and Muslim-American Political Incorporation." She was among 20 scholars named that year, all of whom received grants earmarked for Muslim-centered studies during the program's second year of focusing on Islam.

"I've always had a deep interest in understanding why people do what they do,"

Dr. Read says. Her passion for studying people, as well as the research funding and media training she received from Carnegie Corporation, have positioned her to replace a muddle of myths and misunderstandings about Muslim Americans with factual clarity and a calming voice.

At a time when national polls continue to show that Americans have an unfavorable view of Islam, Dr. Read has quickly become a leading authority on Muslim Americans and Arab Americans. At 36, she is already well established as a public scholar and an academic star.

Jen'nan Read was born in the U.S. to an American mother and a Libyan father who had met in college. Her first name is "somewhat Arabic," according to Dr. Read: "Jenna in Arabic loosely translates into 'garden in heaven." Although not a Muslim American herself, she is half-Arab and reads, speaks and writes in Arabic. Her family background, life experiences and scholarly research all contribute to her nuanced understanding of Muslim Americans and Arab Americans.

As a child, she spent time both in the Middle East, where her father was a businessman, and with her mother's family in Texas. "I grew up on an airplane," Dr. Read says, only half-jokingly.

At 14, she was living with her parents and younger brother on an oil compound in Libya when the Reagan administration bombed Tripoli in retaliation for suspected terrorist activities. "It was terrifying," she recalls. "I saw explosions. I couldn't go to school. There were nightly blackouts. We tried to figure out what was going on by listening to the Voice of America on shortwave radio."

After fleeing Libya, the hub of her world became Texas, where she went to undergraduate school at Midwestern State University in Wichita Falls. As a freshman scrambling to pay her own way through college, she worked three jobs while remaining ardent about her studies, especially sociology classes taught by her mentor, Dr. Emily LaBeff.

"Jen'nan took off like a rocket," recalls Dr. LaBeff, who currently chairs Midwestern State University's sociology department. "I had her for a few courses, including Introduction to Sociology and Sociological Theory. She fell in love with sociology. She was already talking about researching Arab Americans. By sophomore year, she knew she was getting her Ph.D. The president of the college—*everyone*—knew this girl was special. We didn't do much more than just stand by and applaud."

After graduating summa cum laude as Midwestern State University's class president in 1995, she chose the University of Texas at Austin for her doctoral studies. There,

fueled by her interest in Arabic, she pursued her interest in researching Muslim Americans and Arab Americans. Women's labor trends and lifestyle choices—and how culture influences both—were among her areas of inquiry. "I went in open-minded," Dr. Read says of her research approach. "I was eager to discover the real stories behind the stereotypes. Graduate school gave me the tools and the confidence."

For her master's thesis, Dr. Read interviewed 24 devout Muslim women in Austin, half of whom wore veils and half of whom did not, for her case study of identity negotiation entitled "To Veil Or Not to Veil?" published in the scholarly journal *Gender & Society* in 2000. The women talked candidly about their decision, citing a wide range of influences. The veiled women spoke of faithfulness to theological edicts, a desire to avoid unwanted male attention, and a sisterhood of the veil (their friends were veiled so they were too). Some of the unveiled women questioned whether veiling was a religious requirement and even voiced feminist wrath about rules foisted on them by men. The women felt free to talk to her, Dr. Read says, "because their community was open to a scholar asking questions. I had the right credentials."

Her illuminating studies of veiling and other Muslim American topics became more relevant than ever in 2001, the year she received her doctorate. As Dr. Read herself has written, national awareness and interest in Muslim Americans skyrocketed after the terrorist attacks on September 11.

Yet despite all the media attention surrounding Muslim Americans, who are thought to number somewhere between four to six million, their fellow citizens continue to conflate Arab ethnicity with Muslim religion—and Muslim religion with Islamic fundamentalism. This is worrisome for all Muslim Americans and can be even more so for veiled women, who are highly visible and therefore vulnerable to racial profiling and discrimination.

Dr. Read's studies continued at Rice University, where she was a postdoctoral fellow in sociology and health from 2001 to 2003. Dr. Read says she has always been interested in how inequality affects people. Her studies at Rice helped her better understand how inequality works because "health is arguably the ultimate indicator of inequality," she observes. Investigating the health issues of Arab women living in the United States and Middle Eastern countries is among her continuing research interests.

In her current faculty position at Duke University, Dr. Read is valued for her interdisciplinary focus in both sociology and global health. "Her scholarship cuts across boundaries," says Michael Schoenfeld, Duke University's vice president for public affairs

and government relations. "Jen'nan is an intellectual who helps connect disciplines that might not have been connected before."

What made her want to study politics as a Carnegie Scholar? "It was an outgrowth of my interest in wanting to know where Muslim Americans fit into the larger American landscape," Dr. Read replies.

That breadth of vision did not escape the notice of Carnegie Corporation's external and internal reviewers as they read "Multiple Identities and Muslim American Political Incorporation," Dr. Read's proposal for becoming a Carnegie Scholar in 2006. "The reviewers focused on both the high quality of the proposal and the remarkable track record of this young scholar," says Patricia Rosenfield, director of the Corporation's Scholars Program.

"A terrific project, both sensible and sophisticated, and a very impressive scholar," said one reviewer. "Read's approach is intelligent, penetrating and competent," said another. Looking at Muslim-Americans' political participation through the lens of their personal religiosity, as Dr. Read had proposed, would surely shed new light on an important subject, a third reviewer declared.

Dr. Read's recent works, written with Corporation support, have appeared in a range of publications, from scholarly journals to newspaper opinion pages to the blogosphere. Perhaps her most significant contribution has been the seminal article "Muslims in America," which appeared in the American Sociological Association's journal, *Contexts*. Dr. Read was the first to systematically use information from two large, nationally representative data sets on Muslim Americans to examine racial and ethnic differences in their political participation.

Her *Contexts* article accomplishes the double purpose of delineating and deciphering the factors affecting the political assimilation of Muslim Americans today. "Being a Muslim is less important for politics than how Muslim you are, how much money you make, whether you're an African-American Muslim or an Arab-American Muslim, and whether you're a man or a woman," Dr. Read writes. It's one of many examples of how she conveys crucial information in a crisp and engaging way.

Dr. Read has won many awards for her work over the years, from the Southwestern Social Science Association's Best Graduate Student Paper Award to grants from foundations including Russell Sage, Annie E. Casey, and Borchard. "Jen'nan is a star," says Duke's Schoenfeld. "She's persuasive and articulate without pushing a particular point of view—an ideal citizen and scholar."

Of her leap from academic writer to international commentator, Dr. Read says,

"It's been exciting to get out of my safety zone." She credits Carnegie Corporation with helping to hone her communications skills during a Corporation-sponsored media training workshop she attended in Washington, D.C. "The workshop brought different Carnegie Scholars together with the media," she recalls. "I used to be hesitant about disseminating my views anywhere but in academic journals. But the media doesn't read those journals."

To reach a wider audience, Dr. Read says she is willing to make the sacrifices involved in being a public scholar. "I learned about give and take—that a two-hour interview may only result in a single quote," she explains. "The phone calls with reporters can be exhausting and distracting. But they are worth it."

With encouragement from both Duke University and Carnegie Corporation, her public scholarship continues to take many forms, from writing articles to being interviewed on the BBC. "She gives powerful speeches and has a talent for writing op-ed pieces," says Rosenfield. Duke University's news office has assisted Dr. Read with media outreach efforts with the aid of a Corporation grant.

Also exciting, says Dr. Read, is the "opportunity to educate on a personal basis my work colleagues, my neighbors. I have the basic facts. I can provide a richer understanding in lay terms."

Her studies underline the fact that sweeping generalizations about Muslim Americans simply don't fit very well. The U.S. Muslim population is the most ethnically diverse in the world, Dr. Read notes. Contrary to popular belief, most are not Arab: About one-third are South Asian, one-third are Arab, one-fifth are U.S.-born black Muslims (mainly converts) and a small but growing number are U.S.-born Anglo and Hispanic converts. Roughly two-thirds are immigrants to the United States, but an increasing segment comprises second- and third-generation U.S.-born Americans. The vast majority of Muslim immigrants have lived here for 10 years or more.

Some live in poverty and have poor English language skills, but most do not. U.S. Muslims tend to be highly educated, politically conscious, and fluent in English. On average, they share similar socioeconomic characteristics with the general U.S. population: one-fourth have a bachelor's degree or higher; one-fourth live in households with incomes of \$75,000 a year or more, and the majority are employed.

U. S. Muslims resemble their fellow Americans in another way: They are not uniformly religious. Like American Christians and Jews, Muslims living in the United States range from ultra-conservative to ultra-liberal and from devout to non-practicing. They are, in fact, far from being members of a monolithic faith.

Perhaps most important, Dr. Read's studies reveal that Muslim Americans dream the same dreams for their children as do other Americans. They want to be part of the democratic process of a great nation and, increasingly, they are contributing to that process as volunteers, voters and lawmakers. "It's time," says Dr. Read, "for politicians and the rest of the American public to see Muslim Americans as they are."

PART THREE

AFTERWORD

The Carnegie Scholars Program, 2005-2009: A New Vision of Study and Outreach for Scholarship on Islam by Patricia Rosenfield, Director, Carnegie Scholars Program

The profiles in this volume bear witness to the promise and progress of the last five years of the Carnegie Scholars Program. Particularly since 9/11, national and global developments have posed significant and sobering challenges to our society. One way that Carnegie Corporation responded was by funding a significant cohort of scholars who can make—and in many cases, have already made—a critical difference in helping us understand the complex issues that we face in the present as well as those likely to confront our nation in the future. It is notable that for the last half of this decade, the Carnegie Scholars Program was the only broad-based national fellowship program that focused exclusively on scholarship related to Islam and the modern world. Among its top goals: excellence. Scholarship free of constraints. Supporting work that could make an impact on national policy and decision making. And creating a platform for sharing information with the public.

How were these vital goals met? Here are some insights into the Corporation's inner workings and guiding principles:

Excellence. The fluidity and speed with which information is presently conveyed within and across societies demands that scholarship be innovative, fresh and creative. As Vartan Gregorian, president of the Corporation notes earlier in these pages, his founding of the Scholars Program in 2000 was meant to continue the Corporation's long-standing support of gifted individuals in their ability to address pressing problems facing modern society. The more relevant and creative the scholarship produced by these exceptional individuals, the greater the likelihood that their findings will be important and consequential to American foreign policy and public understanding alike.

The Corporation identified the first step in achieving excellent scholarship as selecting and funding creative, innovative scholars whose work addressed essential themes surrounding the study of Islam in today's world, such as *jihad*, Islam and law, gender, civic participation and religious minorities. Hence, external and internal members of Carnegie's

Selection Committee were particularly drawn to scholar candidates who demonstrated commitment to sustained study that promised to far surpass surface understanding. These individuals embodied the best potential for addressing critical issues, meeting intellectual demands, tracking broader trends and producing excellent work. As Shibley Telhami writes in his introduction, the Scholars Program has changed the vista of this country by helping to broaden the picture of Muslim societies beyond the narrow prism through which they have been viewed in recent years.

An excellent example of this is seen in the Carnegie Scholars' widening scope of influence. Many of the fellowship recipients are linked to scholarly networks in Europe, the Muslim world, and across the United States. A notable example of this kind of collaboration was a three-day meeting in Moscow, held in 2007, that brought together over 60 Russian participants drawn primarily from the Corporation-supported Centers for Advanced Study and Education based at a number of Russian universities with a group of Carnegie Scholars for discussions that included a focus on issues related to Islam.

In addition, a number of Carnegie Scholars have reached out to share insights and information with influential, non-scholarly groups such as Philanthropy New York (formerly the New York Regional Association of Grantmakers), the Peace and Security Funders Group and the Women's Foreign Policy Group. Some scholars have worked with the FBI and local police departments to reduce the negative impact of profiling on citizens in their communities. And several have been responsible for starting programs of Islamic Studies in their universities. One such example is Bruce Lawrence who, with his colleagues at the University of North Carolina—as noted earlier in this volume—started the first Islamic Studies Center in the U.S. in 1997. These study centers are helping to sustain excitement and dynamism around the study of Islam and encourage expansion of similar programs. Significantly, Islamic study centers also promote the interaction of younger scholars with their more senior colleagues. Rippling outward from these study centers, then, will come new generations of scholars who have been influenced and inspired by Carnegie Corporation's commitment to excellence.

Scholarship free of constraints. The pressures of tenure and continual fundraising impose major restrictions on scholars all along their intellectual journeys. The Carnegie Scholars Program was therefore designed to support the work and aspirations of a wide range of scholars, including both independent scholars and those based in traditional academic settings and think tanks. It allowed these gifted scholars to pursue their research without institutional or departmental constraints. It freed them from time and resource worries, giving them the means to independently pursue innovative perspectives, get additional language training,

track cultural trends, and meet firsthand with members of Muslim societies.

Younger scholars were the beneficiaries of an uplift in their status. Senior scholars were free to shift the focus of their scholarship, retool, and address new issues. Is it any wonder, then, that these scholars are building a body of thoughtful and original scholarship?

Making an impact on national policy and decision making. The profiles in this volume—along with the list of the 101 Carnegie Scholars who focused on Islam over the past five years and the descriptions of their projects—attest to the active involvement of fellowship recipients in shaping the critical thinking of our time. Vali Nasr, for example, writes memos to President Obama in his new job in the State Department. Amaney Jamal, amongst several of the scholars including Nasr and Feldman, is an advisor to the Council on Foreign Relations. Noah Feldman was among those who framed the transitional Iraqi constitution. Many Carnegie Scholars continue to advise or testify before Congress and share ideas with policymakers in organizations such as the Center on Law and Security at the New York University School of Law. Younger scholars report that as a result of attaining a Carnegie fellowship, they are now invited to high-level policy meetings that once would have been closed to them.

As this nation charts its course toward the future, there is more of a need than ever for the involvement of first-class analytical scholars with a deep grasp of history, economics, politics, culture, religion, gender, international law and other areas of study. In that regard, Carnegie Scholars have taken the pulse of Muslim societies here and abroad They are the antithesis of the glib instant experts with "arm-chair reflections" who sprang up after 9/11 and now seem to appear nightly on the cable television stations and talk radio. In this environment, the Carnegie Scholars bring a clarity and depth of knowledge that is as welcome as fresh air.

A platform for sharing information with the public. Often working in tandem with the Corporation's Dissemination Program, the Carnegie Scholars Program emphasized efforts to help provide its fellowship awardees with a platform for continuing outreach. Winning "The Carnegie" has in itself been a good start because the award has come to be widely recognized in both academic and policymaking circles and has opened many doors for its recipients. As a result, several have reported receiving tenure, a promotion, or being selected for a new position as a result of their heightened visibility and achievements as Carnegie Scholars. Individual success, however, was only part of the goal: more specifically, each scholar was expected to produce a book or series of articles stemming from Carnegie Corporation's support. The Corporation, in turn, worked to ensure that each scholar's output

was disseminated as widely as possible, including beyond the academic realm.

The Corporation has actively encouraged Carnegie Scholars to share their ideas across many platforms including film, blogging, webinars and other new uses of electronic media. Corporation-sponsored communications workshops have also brought the scholars together to share strategies and gain new skills such as writing opinion pieces. For example, Brian Edwards in particular—as noted in his profile—has honed his abilities as a public scholar and is also sharing public dissemination strategies with colleagues in Egypt to help them develop more visibility and achieve wider outreach.

Indeed, Carnegie Scholars are well represented in the pages of prestigious publications such as *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*. They often speak to the public via panels, bookstore appearances, television and radio. Jen'nan Read, for example, became a bridge between Muslim-Americans and the rest of America during the last presidential election, when she was often called on by the media to address questions about Muslim-Americans' actions and aspirations.

Overall, the Corporation and the staff of the Carnegie Scholars Program recognize what a rare privilege it has been to identify and assist outstanding individuals in the pursuit of their intellectual passions. Our contribution has been to support work that has opened up an all-too-rare but necessary intersection between those passions and ideas that may present solutions to some of the most contested problems of our time. We are proud of our part in this undertaking and prouder, still, of the rich body of knowledge about Islam and the diverse mosaic of Muslim societies that our Carnegie Scholars have helped to create.

PART FOUR

Scholars

Editor's Note: Scholars' affiliations may have changed since their fellowships were awarded.

Class of 2005

Khaled M. Abou El Fadl

Professor of Law

University of California, Los Angeles

Title: Reconstituting Jihad: From Making War to Constructing Peace

Abou El Fadl's project is the first systematic study of the theology and jurisprudence of *jihad* in Islam. He will trace the evolving debates regarding the meanings and functions of *jihad* from the pre-modern to the modern periods, exploring, in particular, the tension between certain meanings of *jihad* and the *Qur'anic* mandate requiring human beings not only to know each other, but also to cooperate and co-mingle. A respected expert on Islamic and Middle Eastern law, Abou El Fadl presents a normative argument for reconstructing the theology of *jihad*, i.e., human beings reaching out to fulfill the unrealized potential placed by God in existence, and using this reconstituted theology as an ideology of state building and as an ethic supporting the constituting of pluralist societies within a nation state. The book resulting from this project is expected to become a comprehensive reference source for students of Islam, comparative religions, international law and policymakers.

Asma Afsaruddin

Associate Professor of Arabic and Islamic Studies

University of Notre Dame

Title: Striving in the Path of God: Discursive Traditions on Jihad and the Cult of Martyrdom

Afsaruddin proposes to uncover the semantic content of the term *jihad* from its earliest *Qur'anic* reference as a spiritual struggle over the carnal self and verbal and physical resistance to injustice to its current meaning of religiously mandated combat. She will accomplish this by tracing the historical and political evolution of the term and exploring how *jihad* came to be inextricably associated with *shahid* (martyr) and *shahada* (martyr-

dom). Using primary sources, including the *Qur'an*, early *hadith* compilations and selected *fada-il* literature, Afsaruddin will examine the trajectory of meanings assigned to the term over time and link the narrowing of its definition to specific socio-political circumstances along the way. The research aims to offer scrupulous and significant challenges to assertions that political belligerence and militancy is divinely sanctioned. Afsaruddin's research will be published as a monograph; it will also result in a series of related articles.

John R. Bowen

Dunbar-Van Cleve Professor in Arts & Sciences

Washington University of St. Louis

Title: Shaping French Islam

Muslims living in non-majority Muslim countries are challenged to adapt their religious institutions and practices to secular laws and traditions. Bowen's project will examine how French Muslims strive to build a base for their religious lives in a society that views these practices as incompatible with national values. Focusing on Muslim public reasoning and the activities of Muslim public intellectuals in France, Bowen will analyze the arguments and justifications that French Muslims use when discussing Islamic issues, e.g., marriage, divorce and dress prohibitions. Bowen asserts that these discourses, addressing the question of how to be at once a good Muslim and a French citizen, reveal how Islam is being adapted within Western culture. Bowen's book complements earlier research of French support for laws against displaying religious signs, which was published in a book, called *In Preparation: Why the French Don't Like Headscarves*. His current work is expected to make an important contribution to understanding how Middle Eastern Islamic values, particularly in respect to gender equality, are transformed by secular ideology and jurisprudence, offering fresh insight into Islam's future in Europe and the West.

Brian T. Edwards

Assistant Professor of English and Comparative Literary Studies

Northwestern University

Title: After the American Century: Globalization and the Circulation of "American Civilization" in North Africa and the Middle East

Edwards is involved in a firsthand examination of ideas about America in North Africa and the Middle East and the means by which they are circulated, e.g., media, cyberculture, material culture and education. Edwards, who has worked extensively in this region, focuses on four sites—Fez, Cairo, Beirut and Tehran—to investigate cultural aspects of global confrontation. Recognizing that circuits of communication have changed dramatically within the globalization of media and economies, Edwards concentrates on communications venues used by the young (the most populous age group in the area), such as cybercafes, campuses and social centers. Arguing that cultural understanding is the foundation of long-term international peace and security, Edwards' goal is to understand how and where American culture circulates and what meanings Arabs and Iranians make of American "civilization" in the supposedly de-politicized realm of culture. Results of this research will be published in a book.

Noah R. Feldman

Professor of Law

New York University

Title: Constitutional Change in the Islamic World

Feldman's project will examine recurring themes and features that appear in constitutional initiatives underway in highly diverse majority-Muslim countries, including Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, Bahrain and Nigeria. The study is expected to chart the contours of constitutional change in the contemporary Islamic world by studying the complex interplay of liberal and Islamic constitutional ideas and players. It also promises to provide historical context by examining the classical Islamic tradition of constitutional thought, which Feldman asserts is pragmatic about engagement with non-Muslims and open to assimilation of outside legal norms. Careful consideration will be given to the development of Islamic constitutional ideas under the conditions of Western imperial expansion, both as a product of concessions demanded by Western powers who held governments, e.g., the Ottomans, in debt as well as domestic movements instigated by foreign-educated elite from within. By showing that Islamic constitutional thought has historically encountered and synthesized foreign constitutional ideas, Feldman intends to show how contemporary processes of constitutional change may be conceived as the latest sites of ongoing engagement, rather than battles in a clash of civilizations.

Michael M.J. Fischer

Professor of Anthropology and Science and Technology Studies

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Title: Emergent Forms of Life, Deep Play, and Ethical Plateaus in the Social and Technosci-

entific Infrastrctures Shaping Muslim Democratic Futures

Despite two centuries of scholarly research on the Muslim world and a half century of focused "area studies" research, little attention has been given to the contemporary technological infrastructures and technoscientific capacities that support the Muslim society. Fischer's research will involve ethnographic forays into four focal areas of the Muslim world—the Middle East and North Africa, Persian and Turkish-speaking societies, India-Pakistan and the area encompassing Indonesia, Maylasia and the Philippines—to examine scientific technologies that are reshaping the possibilities for deliberative democracy, expanded legitimacy of governance and education. Noting a lack of contemporary scholarship on technological infrastructures in the Islamic world, Fischer's examination goes beyond demographic and statistical abstractions to explore technoscientific institutions and the network of scientists and engineers who cross political divisions to maintain the technological framework and the educational system. The book resulting from Fischer's current research will be of interest to educators, policymakers and the broader public.

Sohail H. Hashmi

Associate Professor of International Relations

Mount Holyoke College

Title: Islamic International Law and Public International Law: Convergence or

Dissonance?

Hashmi's research explores the current status of Islamic international law in light of the formal accession of Muslim states to public international law. Classical Islamic civilization developed a rich body of laws intended to govern the Islamic state's relations with Muslims and non-Muslims. The theory behind these laws was based on two opposing spheres: *dar al-Islam*, practiced in Islamic states and grounded in interpretations of Islamic texts and precedents, and *dar al-harb*, which included non-Muslim legal systems from states and political entities that were conjoined to the Islamic empire as it expanded. Today, these aspects are debated by those who argue that Muslim states should abide by Islamic principles, in effect, a Muslim alliance formed as a subset within the broader global community. Others, the majority, generally accept prevailing international norms in theory and practice. Hashmi proposes that Islamic values provide a normative framework that informs Muslim political culture and shapes domestic and international politics, and that Islam's fundamental moralistic principles may be invoked for the consolidation and support of positive international law rules with the goal of achieving justice and promoting

humanity throughout the world. By analyzing how the universal precepts of international law correlate to Muslim concepts and values, Hashmi is expected to break new ground in understanding parallels between Islamic international law and public international law.

Bernard Haykel

Associate Professor, Department of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies

New York University

Title: Saudi Arabia and the Global Salafi Movement

Haykel's project is a study of the Salafi (aka the Wahhabiyya) movement from the 1960s to the present. By focusing on a network of scholars and activists in Saudi Arabia and other countries where Salafis have established a strong foothold, he will trace how and why the Salafis, under Saudi Arabia's patronage, have become one of the most influential intellectual and political groups in the Islamic world. Saudi Salafis are proselytizers who preach a literalist interpretation of Islamic sources of revelation, e.g., the Qur'an, claiming the path of Salafis is a certain path of God because their teachings are the most faithful to the pure Islam of the Prophet's time. A particular focus of this project will be the examination of Salafi devotion, devoid of emotional and affective expression—in Haykel's words: "punctilious adherence to the teachings and examples of the Prophet guarantees salvation." Without knowledge of whether Salafism is monolithic or multi-factioned, with conflicting sects and ranges of opinion, it is difficult to understand how effectual its role is within the Islamic world. Because Osama bin Laden is a member of a radical fringe of the Salafi movement, Salafism/Wahhabism has been generally vilified. The book resulting from Haykel's work will make an important contribution to the very limited English-language scholarship available on Salafism.

Ayesha Jalal

Professor of History

Tufts University

Title: Partisans of Allah: Meanings of Jihad in South Asia

Jalal's project explores the ethical connotations of *jihad* over the course of time by examining political battles within the Muslim community as well as imperatives of conquest by secular rulers in the name of Islam. Today, *jihad*, which actually means "to strive for a worthy and ennobling cause," is commonly thought of as "holy war" against non-Muslims. By injecting historical dimension and restoring the analytical distinction between

the temporal and sacred, Jalal places the concept of *jihad* within the framework of Islamic ethics from the earliest Muslim period forward. Spatial and temporal contours of the analysis focus on the Muslim presence in South Asia before, during and after the Raj. The region, home to one out of three of the 1.3 billion Muslims in the world, is an excellent backdrop for studying a millennium of both intra- and extra-Muslim relationships. Jalal's scholarship aims to provide fresh insights into political and intellectual developments within Islam, and more importantly, place the notion of *jihad* into historical context, making a misunderstood, yet crucial concept intelligible at a time when international attention is riveted by terrorism in the name of *jihad*. Jalal's research and the resulting book should stand as an example of the ways in which historical scholarship can contribute to normative political theory and contemporary public policy.

Amaney A. Jamal

Assistant Professor of Politics

Princeton University

Title: Citizenship, Political Agency and Democracy in the Arab World: The Mediating Effects of Islam

To understand when political institutions are successful, it is imperative to understand when and under what conditions citizens begin to believe that formal institutions take on broader political significance. Jamal's project centers on the current debate about the compatibility of Islam and democracy. However, instead of emphasizing aspects of Islam that limit meaningful linkages to formal political institutions, Jamal focuses on the mechanisms by which Islam mediates patterns of citizenship at the individual level, e.g., the type of "political agency" Islam produces among ordinary citizens in the Arab world. Examining ways in which the multiple frames of Islam shape levels of civic and political engagement, Jamal proposes that different frames of Islam, observance, political Islam and involvement in Islamic social service organizations shape levels of civic engagement among Arab citizens according to their socioeconomic status. The goal of Jamal's research, which will culminate in a book publication, is to enhance global understanding about the Islamic influence on views held by Arab citizens about government and democratic institutions, and to broaden knowledge about which types of formal political institutions are best equipped to meet the demands of citizens within the Arab world.

Adeeb Khalid

Associate Professor of History

Carleton College

Title: Understanding Soviet Islam: The Roots of Contemporary Central Asia

Khalid, a leading expert on Central Asia, is engaged in a sustained historical study of the transformation of Islam and Islamic knowledge within Central Asia during the Soviet era. His work focuses on both the Soviet destruction of Islamic institutions in the region between 1927 and 1938 and the modern-day consequences resulting from it. Situating Central Asia at the intersection of Islamic and Soviet history, he proposes to bring disparate literatures in history, anthropology and religious studies to bear on materials from various sources, including the Russian State Archives for Sociopolitical History and the State Archives of the Russian Federation in Moscow. The strategic importance of post-Soviet Central Asia can scarcely be exaggerated. Lying astride the boundaries of the Middle East, China and Russia, the region plays a critical role in the "war on terror." Khalid's research will expand knowledge of contemporary Islam in Central Asia, a region largely unknown to experts in Islamic studies. Results of the project will be disseminated through a book and academic articles.

Ebrahim E.I. Moosa

Associate Research Professor of Religion

Duke University

Title: Inside Madrasas: The 'Ulama Search for Authenticity

Since the September 11 attacks, much has been written about the influence of the 'ulama, traditional Islamic scholars, and madrasas, the educational institutions where they preside. Most of this literature presents the 'ulama and madrasas stereotypically as a bane of contemporary Islam, an image that prevails not only in the West, but among Muslim elite as well. Moosa, who attended madrasas in India during his youth, will use his vantage point as an insider to develop a comprehensive and nuanced analysis of the 'ulama and their institutions that is at once scholarly and autobiographical. To gain a broader perspective, he will return to the madrasas in India at which he studied, then visit their equivalents elsewhere: a pesantran in Indonesia, a hawziya in Iran and other 'ulama centers in Africa. By describing the range of 'ulama institutions and practices, he expects to demonstrate that the 'ulama retain and transmit a rich and complex intellectual tradition, imbued with moral authority, at the same time the traditions and practices they pursue are being transformed by moder-

nity. The book resulting from Moosa's cultural translation will offer a rare view of a world hidden from public gaze and emphasize the critical need for a deeper understanding of this important Islamic tradition.

Lawrence Rosen

William Nelson Cromwell Professor of Anthropology

Princeton University

Title: Everyday Muslim Thought and Its Encounters

Rosen's distinguished career bridges his specializations in anthropology, law and Middle Eastern studies, including nearly four decades of extensive research and fieldwork in Morocco and North Africa. His project focuses on the importance of understanding the contrast between Western democratic values and systems and Islamic cultural concepts, and the critical need for Westerners to understand the significance of interpersonal relationships and obligations in the Muslim world, especially when policy decisions affecting the region are being made. Rosen's research will culminate in the publication of two books. The first, *Drawn from Memory: Arab Lives Unremembered*, will present the intellectual lives of four knowledgeable Moroccan men whose assumptions, experiences and actions are rooted in cultural associations built on interpersonal relationships and obligations. The second publication, *Re-Presenting Islam: Western Encounters with Muslim Experience*, will analyze specific Islamic issues that Westerners frequently find puzzling but are necessary to understanding the Muslim world.

Abdulaziz Sachedina

Francis Ball Professor of Religious Studies

University of Virginia

Title: Islam and Human Rights: A Clash of Universalisms

Sachedina asserts that human rights discourse in the Muslim world is faced with an internal crisis resulting from the refusal of some Muslim factions to recognize the religious validity of the secular document known as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), a keystone of the United Nations that sets minimum international standards for the protections of the rights and freedoms of the individual. While the universal claim has been opposed, both as a Western hegemonic imposition on Muslim peoples and an affront to the religiously derived claim to independent universality, Sachedina argues there is a universal character to human rights that can be globally embraced. His goal is

to initiate a substantial theoretical discussion of an inclusive foundational conception of human rights that will appeal to the traditional authorities in the Muslim world, and to propose a foundational theory of human rights based on some of the pluralistic features of Islam and its culture. Sachedina's new work, which is expected to be published in book form, expands on earlier research that resulted in the publication of *The Islamic Roots of Democratic Pluralism*.

Elizabeth F. Thompson

Associate Professor, Department of History

University of Virginia

Title: Seeking Justice in the Modern Middle East

Thompson argues that all Middle Eastern social movements since the beginning of the 20th century have drawn upon a common repertoire of Islamic values and text that have been shaped by transnational influences and anti-colonial revolutionary ideologies. Her aim is to wed two methodologies—cultural analysis and social science—to examine how contemporary Islamist groups are heirs to the struggles for justice waged decades earlier by common people who acted against social and political injustice. Framed around the life stories of these people, Thompson's work focuses on former Ottoman territories that became the nation-states of Turkey, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Israel and Egypt as well as Iran, and encompasses the critical roles played by America, Europe and the Soviet Union in supporting or undermining the political movements toward justice. Thompson carefully refrains from equating "democracy" with "justice" to avoid the European dichotomy of the West being "modern" and the East/Islam as "backward." Instead, she prefers to examine how particular individuals come to formulate notions of justice through feelings of grievance, misfortune or violation. This original interpretation will result in a book for students, specialists and the general public.

Muhammad Qasim Zaman

Associate Professor of Religious Studies

Brown University

Title: Internal Criticism and Religious Authority in Modern Islam

Discussions of social, political and religious "reform" in the Muslim world are seldom guided by a sophisticated understanding of how Muslim scholars and activists have themselves argued about reform. Zaman proposes to examine particular conceptions

of the Islamic tradition that are at stake in these arguments and how religious authority is challenged and reconfigured through them. He'll do this by focusing on modes of internal criticism among the 'ulama, traditionally educated religious Islamic scholars, of the Middle East and South Asia from the late 19th century to the present and by comparing the 'ulama's reactions to external critics, particularly the modernists and Islamists, but also from the non-Islamic world. Zaman's study aims to provide a deeper understanding of key debates among Muslims on reform and religious authority and a context for understanding issues relating to religious and political change for the global community. The book resulting from this research succeeds an earlier study and publication by Zaman called 'Ulama in Contemporary Islam, which focuses on modern Islamic religious scholars.

Class of 2006

Abbas Amanat

Professor of History Yale University New Haven, CT

Title: Defying Islamic Conformity: Skeptics, Heretics and Rebelling Dervishes

Chair of the Council on Middle East Studies of the Yale Center for International and Area Studies for the past 10 years, Amanat will concentrate on the study of nonconformity in the Muslim world through a historical assessment of Muslim societies, dissenters and heretics in the period between the 15th and 20th centuries in the eastern Muslim world, with particular attention on Anatolia, Central Asia, Iran and South Asia. Furthering this goal, he will endeavor to explain how Muslim societies allocated space to skeptics, agnostics, heretics and political dissenters in a seemingly immutable Islamic paradigm. His analysis will focus on individuals and movements as well as on intellectual and popular trends with the aim of analyzing their rich humanistic and libertarian dimensions. By highlighting the open space given in Muslim societies to social dissenters, the study will demonstrate the historical absence of a monolithic Islam. Furthermore, it will examine how the state and religious authorities were often unwilling or unable to oppose these trends of openness. Amanat intends to produce a book that reaches a wide audience beyond the academic community.

Said Amir Arjomand

Distinguished Service Professor of Sociology

State University of New York, Stony Brook

Stony Brook, NY

Title: Islam and Constitutional Reconstruction in the Middle East: A Historical and Comparative Perspective

Arjomand has worked extensively in the realm of Islam and is a widely regarded expert in the sociology of constitutionalism. His expertise, most recently, has been called upon to help advise the UN Assistance Mission to Afghanistan during the drafting of their constitution. He was also selected to be the inaugural Martin & Kathleen Crane Fellow at Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Law and Public Affairs. Arjomand's project will raise the level of debate on Islam and constitutionalism through a historical and institutional examination of the constitutional history of the Middle East. His research will further define issues in the relationship between Islam and constitutionalism by studying the intersection of global trends and the revolutionary and evolutional processes of the Middle East. A range of historically significant settings for constitution-making and constructional change, such as Turkey/Iran and Afghanistan/Iran, will be compared. Revolution, military conquest, and Islamicization based on ideological constitutions will be compared with existing types of legal systems of civil law and common law. Furthermore, Arjomand will examine the transition from the era of ideological constitutions, with the state as social transformer, to a new constitutionalism of the rule of law and human rights, with the law as the protector of civil society. Through a historical sociology of constitutional law in the Islamic Middle East, Arjomand intends to produce a book that moves beyond the current ideological debate, while also providing guidance to policymakers for constitutional reform and institution-building in the Muslim world. He intends to disseminate his book to the general public both in the United States and the Middle East.

Raymond Baker

Professor of International Politics

Trinity College

Hartford, CT

Title: The Contemporary Islamic Wassatteyya (Mainstream): Understanding the Resilience and Appeal of Islam in a Global Age

A scholar, lecturer, educator and leader in the field of Middle-Eastern studies,

Baker has done much to promote understanding of the region and Islam both in the United States and abroad. Currently based in Cairo, he serves as president of the International Association of Middle East Studies and is a Board Member of the World Organization of Middle East Studies. Baker's project will address the following questions: How has the Islamic Awakening become such a force and what are the implications for the West? Through a study of the Wassatteyya, a cultural/institutional configuration that emerged from a unique Islamic historical transition during the Islamic Awakening of the 1970s, Baker will examine how this mainstream centrist movement is a sustaining force of Islamic renewal in the world today. He will explore the mechanisms by which Islamic centrists have formed a network to gain control of leadership while situating themselves in the new globalized world. He will explore how this centrist network can play a positive role in the Islamic Awakening, rejecting violent extremism and forming positive relationships with the globe's dominant powers. Through his research, Baker intends to guide efforts to prompt a more approachable form of dialogue and cooperation between the West and the Islamic world. He will publish a book accessible to the public and policy makers and share his findings at international and national policy forums.

Eva Bellin

Associate Professor of Political Science

Hunter College

New York, NY

Title: Arbitrating Identity: High Courts and the Politics of Islamic-Liberal Reconciliation in the Muslim World

A younger scholar, Bellin is regarded as one of the most outstanding scholars in the United States today in the study of the politics of the Middle East, publishing scholarly papers in some of the most competitive peer-reviewed journals in her discipline. She has become a critical participant in the study of politics in Northern Africa and the Middle East. Bellin's research, which should culminate in a book, aims to explore the roles that high courts play in those states in the Muslim world whose foundational institutions are informed both by their religious identity and their liberal democratic values. She will situate her case studies in Egypt and Pakistan, two countries where the courts play an activist role in reconciling liberal and Islamist traditions. She will investigate the strategies employed by the courts in reconciling these two traditions, as well as explore the institutional, sociological and international factors that help define the justices' innovative rulings. Bellin aims to elucidate the role that

legal elites and institutions may play in forging new paths of cultural reconciliation. With her book, she intends to reach the academic, policymaking and general audiences.

Zvi Ben-Dor Benite

Assistant Professor of History/Middle East and Islam

New York University

New York, NY

mid ri id r

Title: Islam and the Emergence of Modern China

Ben-Dor Benite is a recognized younger scholar, having received several awards and honors, among them, a Fulbright Fellowship, an Edmond Safra Pioneering Student Award and a post-doctoral Fellowship at the Center for Historical Analysis at Rutgers University. Drawing on his rich academic background and on the significant body of work by Chinese Muslim intellectuals, Ben-Dor Benite will explore models for framing and understanding the presence of large Muslim populations in historically and demographically non-Muslim lands. He will also examine to what extent the systems of non-Muslim lands shape the way Muslims are able to integrate into the larger, non-Muslim society. Ben-Dor Benite will provide a fresh lens for the study of Islamic diasporas. He will look at how modern Chinese Muslim intellectuals simultaneously redefined Islam and carved out a new space in the post-imperial context through a careful examination of text and interviews by the students of Pang Shiqian, who translated the Qur'an into Chinese, and Ma Jian, a Confucian scholar turned Islamic Jurist. Ben-Dor Benite's intended book will reach non-academic audiences, including Muslim diasporas in the United States, Europe and China.

Devin DeWeese

Professor of Central Eurasian Studies

Indiana University, Bloomington

Bloomington, IN

Title: Historical and Critical Perspectives on Islam in Central Asia

DeWeese's work is uniquely informed by his knowledge of the primary languages of Central Asia, as well as the modern languages of Uzbek and Russian. DeWeese will illuminate the fundamental assumptions, theories and approaches regarding Islam in Central Asia that have shaped U.S. policies toward that region. He will focus on Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan, as well as on Afghanistan and the Xingjian province of China. DeWeese aims to inform the discussion of Islam in this region

by examining the following three essential deficiencies in the field thus far: the inadequate analysis of Islam as a religion and social system, the lack of attention paid to the specific religious history of Central Asia, and the uncritical acceptance of the frameworks developed for characterizing the religious life that developed under the Soviet establishment.

Marwa Elshakry

Assistant Professor of the History of Science

Harvard University

Cambridge, MA

Title: Science and Secularism in the Arab World after Darwin

Elshakry has been awarded numerous prestigious grants and fellowships, including the Sultan Postdoctoral Fellowship from the University of California at Berkeley and a grant from the British Academy for research in Syria, Lebanon and Egypt. With this fellowship, she will continue her research by exploring how Muslim thinkers in Egypt and Greater Syria approached Western science after Darwin. The translations of the new evolutionary sciences prompted debate among Muslim thinkers and the emerging Arab press: they served to catalyze change on numerous social fronts, including religion, social development, cultural advancement, and political struggle. Elshakry will illustrate how Darwinism fostered a spirit of interdisciplinary knowledge-sharing among many Muslim thinkers, as part of the larger incremental debate between science—ilm—and secularism—ilmaniyya. Elshakry will pose three main questions: how did the translation of modern concepts of science reconfigure epistemological and social categories in the Arab world? What were the responses to Darwin's ideas about the relationship of religion to science and how do they help us understand notions of secularism in this region? And, lastly, how did the discussion of evolutionary science and progress change Muslim thinkers perceptions of Arab society and politics in the recent past? Elshakry will prepare a book and write articles for both scholarly and public audiences.

Fawaz A. Gerges

Christian A. Johnson Chair in International Affairs and Middle Eastern Studies Sarah Lawrence College

Bronxville, NY

Title: The Intra-Jihadist War

With this Carnegie Scholars award, Gerges, the noted author of books and articles

on the Middle East will explore the ways in which the global jihad survives given the intensification of intra-jihadist struggles. Gerges will examine the durability of the larger jihadist movement launched by bin Laden and Zawahiri within the broader Jihad movement in the Middle East. By analyzing the Arab media, jihadi literature, correspondence between jihadis, and interviews with Islamist and jihadi leaders, much of which will be translated into English for the first time, Gerges will assess the future global prospects of the movement. Gerges will illuminate the schisms within the current jihadi movement and explore the shifting perceptions of those who might support or censure it. He will prepare articles for academic journals, newspapers, and magazines and produce a book.

Kambiz GhaneaBassiri

Associate Professor of Religions and Humanities

Reed College

Portland, OR

Title: A History of Islam in America since the Colonial Period

GhaneaBassiri will explore the role of Islam in America and how Muslims proactively participated in the history and pluralism of the United States. GhaneaBassiri will approach Islam in America from a historical, humanistic perspective, examining how Muslims, informed by their historical context, have created American Islamic institutions and how other non-Muslim institutions have been changed by contact with this population. GhaneaBassiri plans research committed to a plain-language view of history focusing on actual events and experiences and will look at the positive interaction between Muslims and non-Muslims as they construct their lives in a common democracy. It is GhaneaBassiri's hope that by highlighting the agency of Muslim Americans in history, this project will develop a new analytical vocabulary and historical framework that could change the way Islam and modernity are taught.

Ellis Goldberg

Professor of Political Science

University of Washington

Seattle, WA

Title: Sovereignty, Community and Citizenship in Contemporary Arab Political Thought

Goldberg is an expert on Egypt and the relationship between Arab Muslim societies and political movements. His scholarship has been published, in numerous prestigious

and influential journals around the world, including the Arab language journal, Abwa. He has continuously engaged communities of intellectuals both in the United States and the Middle East with the aim of mutual understanding. With this fellowship Goldberg will continue to explore the issues of national sovereignty, community and citizenship in the current Arab world by examining how three influential intellectuals, from Egypt (Tariq al-Bishri); Morocco (Muhammad Abid al-Jabari); and Lebanon (Ridwan al-Sayyid) have wrestled with this debate in the context of the modern state. Additionally, the ideas of the sovereign state and the role of citizenship will be discussed in light of their European origin and the impact of these discussions on the modern Arab world. Goldberg will bring to Western audiences as yet untranslated works of these three who advised leaders of opposition movements and have attracted widespread public readership throughout the Arab world.

Aziz Huq

Associate Counsel

The Brennan Center

New York University

New York, NY

Title: Counter-Terrorism, Speech Regulation and Muslim Minorities in the West

Huq's past clerkship with Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg and his work with Muslim, Sunni and Shi'ite communities around the world, including some of the most challenging areas of Afghanistan and Pakistan, have well positioned him to take on this challenging research topic. Recent terrorist assaults have resulted in more stringent applications of European and North American legal regimes. Such mechanisms, which have been principally used against Muslim minorities, include stricter regulations on freedom of speech and association. Huq will analyze post-September 11th legislation in the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, and France by describing the new counterterrorism powers within legal, historical and political contexts and by examining whether this new legislation accomplishes the goal of curtailing radicalism or instead further marginalizes Muslim minority communities. Huq's scholarship will combine analysis of the lawfulness of counterterrorist tactics with research on the dynamics of radicalization and religious identity among Muslim minorities. His work will contribute to the current debate by illuminating new understanding of the consequences of legal regulations on minority groups' speech and association.

Marion Holmes Katz

Associate Professor of Middle Eastern and Islamic Study

New York University

New York, NY

Title: Contesting the Mosque: Debates over Muslim Women's Ritual Access

Katz will use her Carnegie Scholars award to explore the participation of Muslim women in public congregational prayer and their access to mosques. The research will examine three areas: the fact that Islamic law excludes women from the mosque; Islamic law excludes women from the mosque, but its authoritative sources permit them; and Islamic law permits women access to the mosque, but custom and convenience keep them away. The debate reveals the vigor with which issues of women's ritual participation have been contested and the complexity of the process by which normative Islamic ritual has been produced. Katz will explore how fitna, a term describing the dangers that may result from feminine powers of seduction, has been used in Islamic legal reasoning in different social and historical contexts. Katz's research will postulate that Islamic law has been more accommodating to women's agency than was previously recognized.

Clark Lombardi

Assistant Professor

University of Washington

Seattle, WA

Title: Muslim Judges as a New Voice in Islamic Discourse

Lombardi, a professor in Islamic Studies and practicing lawyer, will analyze the ways in which influential judges have interpreted Islamic law informed by civil, common or legal reasoning. Building on his previous research on the evolution of different judicial theories of Islamic laws, Lombardi will examine judicial opinions as expressions of contemporary legal theory in three non-Arab Muslim countries: Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Malaysia. He will explore how modern judges trained in the Western legal systems interpret and apply Islamic laws. The following three questions will be considered: What sources influence judicial understanding of Islam? How does training affect the approach to Islamic legal interpretations? And what factors cause judges to take a more nuanced approach to the interpretation of shari'a and its relationship to other legal traditions? In addition to producing a book, Lombardi will develop a website and give public talks to disseminate the findings of his scholarship.

Farzaneh Milani

Professor of Persian and Women Studies

University of Virginia

Charlottesville, VA

Title: Re-Mapping the Cultural Geography of Iran: Islam, Woman and Mobility

The past three decades have produced an unprecedented amount of writing about Islam in the West in which the Muslim woman is often a central character. In a familiar story of captivity recast now for a present-day audience, she is incarcerated in segregated spaces and trapped in her veil. And yet, as Milani points out, Muslim women have been very much on the move—a moderating, modernizing force in most Muslim societies. Seeking to analyze the complexities of women's role in modern Muslim societies, Milani, a recognized scholar of Persian literature and culture, will research the competing narratives of mobility and confinement in Iranian literature. Borrowing from Eastern and Western theories, Milani will employ a cross-cultural, interdisciplinary perspective to pinpoint women's struggle for freedom/mobility as a concept for social transformation and modernization. The resulting book will provide a study of women's mobility and its effects on the social structure of modern-day Iran.

Yitzhak Nakash

Associate Professor of Middle Eastern Studies

Brandeis University

Waltham, MA

Title: Governance and Leadership in Modern Islam

Building on his previous work on Shi'ism in the modern Arab world, Nakash, an expert on the modern history of the Iraqi Shi'ites, will examine the greater success of Shi'i clerics in providing religious and sociopolitical leadership to Muslims in Iraq, Egypt and Saudi Arabia since the rise of the modern state in the 20th century. By comparing works of Muslim clerics on state and government in Islam, Nakash will discuss Muslim politics at a time when shifts in geopolitics are challenging clerics' leadership. His scholarship will explore how Shi'i clerics are better positioned today than their Sunni counterparts to provide leadership to followers, inspire religious and sociopolitical reform in the Arab world, and combat the radicalism of militant Islamists. Nakash's work will result in a book that illuminates the diverse nature of Muslim politics, the complexity of political Islam, and the capacity of Shi'i and Sunni clerics to act as a force for moderation and reduce tension between Islam and the West.

Vali Nasr

Professor of Middle East and South Asia Politics Department of National Security Affairs Naval Post Graduate School,

La Jolla, CA

Title: Gauging the Prospects for the Rise of "Muslim Democratic" Political Parties and Platforms in Muslim Democracies

Nasr, an expert on political and social developments in the Muslim world, will research the following questions: What will be the shape of democracy in the Muslim world? Who will be the likely spokespeople of Islam in the political process? Nasr posits that the "strategic middle," a term used to describe a new trend of secular political agendas and pragmatic Islamic concerns, will likely dominate Muslim societies. This rise of Muslim democracy reflects the compatibility of Muslim values and ethics with practical election strategies in a democratic setting. Nasr's project will analyze the make-up of this "strategic middle" by questioning the factors and actors that matter in defining its shape. His preliminary findings suggest that the "strategic middle" in the political arena is created in the context of electoral competition and, although it appeals to Muslim values, is neither defined nor controlled by Islamist forces. Through case studies in Bangladesh, Indonesia, Malaysia, Pakistan and Turkey, with supportive data from Iran, Egypt and Morocco, Nasr's scholarship, which will result in articles and a book, will move beyond the study of Islamic actions and ideas to include the forming of democratic arenas and the prospects for democratization in the broader Muslim world.

Jen'nan Ghazal Read

Assistant Professor of Sociology University of California, Irvine

Irvine, CA

Title: Multiple Identities and Muslim American Political Incorporation

A scholar of U.S. Muslims and Arab Americans, Read, using the only nationally representative data on Muslim Americans to date, will examine factors that affect the political incorporation of Muslim Americans in the United States across racial and ethnic lines. Her project will address the following three questions: To what extent do South Asian, Arab, and African American Muslims differ in their political attitudes and behaviors? To what extent do socioeconomic, demographic and cultural differences between these groups explain

variations in their political integration? And, to what extent do the facts that produce differences between groups generate differences within each group? She will also assess how different dimensions of Muslim religious identity influence political engagement, providing a textured discussion of the Muslim American experience. Her work will aim to inform public debate about policies that intend to increase the democratic inclusion of these groups, as well as contribute to the distinction between political attitudes toward U.S. domestic policy and those toward U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East. This study will culminate in a book aimed at scholarly, policy and public audiences.

Heather J. Sharkey

Assistant Professor of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies

University of Pennsylvania

Philadelphia, PA

Title: Christian Evangelism and Western Imperialism in the Modern Middle East: The Long-Term Consequences of American Missionary Encounters with Muslims

An historian of the Middle East specializing in colonial Africa, the early Islamic world, and modern Islamic thought, Sharkey will examine how Christian missionary work in the 19th and 20th century Middle East contributed to local, regional, and global social changes and affected regional politics. The missionary encounter became a catalyst for the transfer of knowledge and ideas that still can be seen today. In Egypt, for example, the efforts to educate women contributed to a reconfiguration of gender relations. Missionary activity also inadvertently galvanized anti-colonial nationalist Islamist sentiment. Sharkey's research will also assess the impact of the missionary experience on U.S. Protestant culture, the politics of American churches, and the shaping of Muslim-Christian relations. Her scholarship will result in articles and a book that will illuminate the mutual and ongoing transformations prompted by Christian missionary activities.

Elora Shehabuddin

Assistant Professor of Humanities and Political Science

Rice University

Houston, TX

Title: Women at the Muslim Center: Islamist Ideals and Democratic Exigencies

Drawing on a combination of ethnographic research, open-ended interviews and critical textual analysis, Shehabuddin, an expert on gender and Islam, will investigate wom-

en's political and social efforts to reshape Islamist politics. She will explore how women have compelled a rethinking of traditionally conservative and rigid positions on gender issues by studying two self-avowedly Islamist parties in formal democratic political systems: Lebanon's Hezbollah (Party of God) and Bangladesh's Jamaat-I Islami (Party of Islam). As these parties vie for central billing on their country's respective political stage, women have leveraged their voting powers. Central to Shehabuddin's analysis is the notion that Islamist politics are mutable and can be shaped by external and internal pressures, such as a women's movement. This scholarship, which will result in a book, builds on Shehabuddin's previous work on impoverished Bangladeshi women and their involvement in Islamism and secularism. Shehabuddin's also intends her work to contribute to the understanding of Islam and politics, and the role of increasingly mobilized female citizenry in changing the priorities of Islamist movements.

Madhavi Sunder

Professor of Law

University of California, Davis

Davis, CA

Title: The New Enlightenment: How Muslim Women are Bringing Religion and Culture Out of the Dark Ages

A scholar of human rights, legal theory and Islam, Sunder will examine, through case studies of the transformational information-sharing and solidarity network Women Living Under Muslim Laws and the archives of Muslim women's human rights education manuals, how women in the Muslim world have demanded democracy and rights within religious and cultural communities, not just outside of them. Premised on a centuries-old Enlightenment compromise that establishes reason in the public sphere but tolerated religious despotism in the private sphere, law continues to define religion in the 21st century as a sovereign, extralegal jurisdiction in which inequality is not only accepted, but expected. Sunder conceptualizes the "New Enlightenment" movement based on women's right to seek reason, equality, democracy, and liberty not only in the public sphere but also in the private spheres of religion, culture, and family. Sunder's scholarship will produce a book that applies Enlightenment theory and strategy to constitutional conflicts between Islam and women's rights and explores a new framework for operationalizing modernity and freedom within culture and community.

Class of 2007

Lila Abu-Lughod

Professor of Anthropology

Columbia University

New York, NY

Title: Do Muslim Women Have Rights? The Ethics and Politics of Muslim Women's Rights in an International Field

Abu-Lughod will address the ethical and political dilemmas posed by the internationalization of discourse on Muslim women's rights. Her research will focus on pivotal questions about how the rights of Muslim women can be discussed without contributing to arguments common in today's debates about the "clash of civilizations" and associated political, economic and military agendas. Drawing on her nearly 30 years experience as an anthropologist studying Muslim women in the Arab world, she will analyze the way that arguments couched in language of women's rights tend to become compromised in the global political and culture fields in which they are discussed. She will explore questions such as: Do Muslim women need saving? What is the relationship between religion and women's rights? Who has the power to define women's rights? How do those definitions circulate globally? How do new feminist legal categories, such as the "honor crime" so often associated with Muslim societies, come to frame social phenomena, highlighting certain issues and occluding others? Using ethnographic, literary, and historical research, Abu-Lughod will aim to answer these questions, conducting fieldwork in Egypt, Jordan, and the United States. Her scholarship will result in a book intended to reach both scholarly and public audiences.

Beth Baron

Professor of History

City College and Graduate Center

City University of New York

New York, NY

Title: In Their Own Image: Americans and Middle Eastern Muslim Women

Baron will explore a trajectory of American proselytizing, modernizing, and democratizing projects that targeted Middle Eastern girls and women over a century-and-a-half. Baron contrasts this with Muslim women's responses to these projects and their own activist agendas. She will examine how attempts by American missionaries and experts to

remake Middle Eastern Muslim women in a Western image resulted in a mixed record, at times generating a backlash that undermined their limited successes. Building on her past research on women's movements and nationalism in Egypt, Baron will look at the encounter of Americans with Middle Eastern Muslim women around the specific issues of education, family planning, and empowerment in countries across the Middle East. She will use integrative and comparative historical research techniques to produce a book for practitioners, policymakers, and the general public who are interested in an analysis of American interventions in the Muslim world.

Ahmad Dallal

Associate Professor of Arabic and Islamic Studies

Georgetown University

Washington, DC

Title: Islam, Science and the Challenge of History

Dallal will examine the ways in which the past is used in the construction of modern Islamic discourse on the relationship between science and religion. By juxtaposing modern views to historical traditions, Dallal will trace the evolution of the contemporary Islamic attitude towards science and elucidate some of the factors shaping this process in modern times. The first part of his research will analyze Islamic articulations of the relationship in such fields as theology, Quranic exegesis, classification of the sciences, and philosophy. Dallal will also examine classical scientific and religious texts to illuminate how the sciences were classified in order to separate them from the religious disciplines, and will trace discontinuities between the classical and modern articulations of the relationship between Islam and science. Dallal will prepare a book aimed at reaching historians of Islamic culture and a larger audience interested in learning more about the ethical and epistemological dilemmas and challenges Muslims face regarding modern scientific and technological developments.

Eric Davis

Professor of Political Science

Rutgers University

New Brunswick, NJ

Title: Islam and the Formation of Political Identities in Post-Ba'thist Iraq: Implications for a Democratic Transition. Davis will explore the rise of radical Islamist movements and sectarian politics in post-Ba'thist Iraq, especially since the 1990s, giving particular attention to the causes underlying both support for and opposition to sectarianism among prominent clerics, tribal leaders and political actors. He will also analyze the attitudes and behavior of Iraqi youth to determine whether the new generation supports sectarianism and to better comprehend its understandings of Islam. Davis aims to make an in-depth, multi-variate contribution to the understanding of the rise of sectarian identities in Iraq, hypothesizing that sectarian violence is due more to institutional and economic collapse than "ancient hatreds." He intends to develop a conceptual framework based on concepts of religion and ethnicity, which will incorporate ideas promoted by clerics who support moderate interpretations of Islam, and which will be used to examine attitudes on the relationship between Islam and politics among clerics in the Sunni and Shi'i Arab and Kurdish communities. Davis' work will provide a more analytical basis for understanding the level of support for sectarian identities among high-ranking Iraqi officials, clerics, and youth. His research will result in a book aimed at academic audiences and the broader public in the Middle East and non-Western world as well as the West.

Finbarr Barry Flood

Assistant Professor of Art History New York University

New York, NY

Title: The Trouble with Images: "Cartoon Wars" in Context

Flood, an assistant professor in the Department of Fine Arts, has authored *The Great Mosque of Damascus*, and *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and "Hindu-Muslim" Encounter; 800-1200.* He has been a research fellow at the Smithsonian Institution, the National Gallery of Art and the Getty Research Institute. As a Carnegie Scholar, he will write a history of debates over the nature and status of images in the Islamic world. Flood will explore the impact of these debates on the production and reception of images in the Islamic world, combining textual analysis with empirical study of ceramics, metalwork, inscriptions, and manuscripts in order to consider the ways in which artists have negotiated questions of artistry, agency, and proscription. A particular concern of the study will be the ways in which the relationship between Islam and images has figured in Euro-American representations of Islam. This historical survey will provide a context for analyses of contemporary instances of image destruction in Afghanistan and Iraq, as well as the recent controversy over the Danish caricatures of the Prophet Muhammad.

Frank Griffel

Associate Professor of Islamic Studies

Yale University

New Haven, CT

Title: The Continuation of the Philosophical Tradition Within Muslim Theology

Griffel's research will critically examine the role philosophical learning played in the period of Muslim history after the "Golden Age." Griffel's research will build on recent research challenging the belief in Western scholarship that Islam had abandoned philosophical thinking during the late Middle Ages. He will explore how the teaching tradition of philosophy, *falsafa*, became an integral part of mainstream Muslim theology and its legal discourse. The focus of his work will be on the earliest period of integration of philosophy into Muslim theology and legal thought during the 12th and early 13th centuries in the Muslim Middle East. Through an analysis of primary texts, Griffel will reconstruct the theological and philosophical systems during the period from 1100 to 1258 and evaluate how philosophical scholarship during that period shaped the whole Islamic tradition. His research findings will be drawn together into a book that aims to bring modern understanding to the ways Western intellectuals perceive Islam, its history and its future developments.

Robert W. Hefner

Professor of Anthropology Boston University

Boston, MA

Title: Islamic Education and Democratization in Indonesia

Hefner will focus his research on the educational dynamism of Islam in Indonesia, the world's most populous Muslim-majority country. His research will examine the ways in which social and political developments since 1990 have given rise to rival varieties of Islamic education, including the largest mass-based program for civic and democratic education in the Muslim world. He will analyze how these rival models of religious schooling present issues of pluralism, gender, and democracy. He will also examine the implications of the Indonesian example for political and educational reform in the broader Muslim world. The research is based on classroom, ethnographic and survey materials gathered during research visits to Indonesia since 1999. The resulting book is intended to reach both the academic and public audiences, as well as policy analysts working on issues of pluralism, education, and democratization.

Charles Hirschkind

Assistant Professor of Anthropology University of California, Berkeley

Berkeley, CA

Title: The "Moorish Problem" and the Politics of Multiculturalism in Spain

Hirschkind's project is a study of the different ways in which Europe's Islamic past inhabits its present, unsettling contemporary efforts to secure Europe's Christian civilizational identity. Taking southern Spain as his focus, Hirschkind will analyze the social and political processes that mediate and sustain an active relation to Europe's Islamic heritage, and the potential impact these processes have on forms of cooperation and responsibility linking Muslim immigrants, Spanish converts, and Andalusian Catholics as subjects of Europe. Hirschkind's research involves both historical analysis of the political and legal frameworks regulating the status of religious minorities in contemporary Spain, as well as ethnographic fieldwork with Andalusian officials, lawyers, activists, Spanish converts to Islam, and Muslim immigrants residing in and around the city of Granada. By exploring some of the fissures within contemporary narratives of Europe's Judeo-Christian identity, this project contributes to the contested place assigned to Islam and Muslims in contemporary debates about religious pluralism in western societies.

Engseng Ho

Frederick S. Danzinger Associate Professor of Anthropology and of Social Studies Harvard University

Cambridge, MA

Title: Empires through Diasporic Eyes: The U.S., Militant Islamism, Indian Ocean Precedents

It is widely believed that the current challenge posed by militant Islamism to the U.S. is without precedent; thus history provides no guide to the new world of globalized guerrilla warfare that is jihad, and states need new laws, weapons, powers and ideas. Yet over the past half-millennium of Western predominance, successive hegemonic powers—the Portuguese, Dutch, English, and now Americans— have been opposed by Muslims led or inspired by diasporic Arabs originating from Arabia. Ho's project seeks to understand the broader social basis of these episodic contests by assessing how and when local grievances against specific instances of imperial expansion came to be expressed and represented in international Islamic terms by diasporic Arab Muslims. The research will focus on leading

figures such as Zayn al-Din al-Malibari, Sayyid Fadl, Abd al-Rahman al-Zahir and Usama bin Ladin, interpreted in the context of long-term relations between diasporic Arab Muslims and western empires across the Indian Ocean. The project frames the ongoing conflict between the United States and militant Islamist groups led or inspired by Usama bin Ladin within this history of both contest and co-operation, thus questioning the assumption that the current challenge posed by militant Islamism to the U.S. is without precedent. Ho's study will result in a book intended for the academic, public and policymaking communities.

Jytte Klausen

Associate Professor of Politics Brandeis University Waltham, MA

Title: European Muslims and the Secularization of Islam

Klausen's research will identify overlapping areas of consensus and dissent between Muslim faith groups and public policy makers in Britain, France, Germany and Belgium, countries that pursued policies designed to achieve a measure of control over the teaching of Islam, mosque management, and the role of imams in the mosque and society. Her study focuses on recent experiments in the development of new legal and funding frameworks for Islamic faith institutions and the perceived attempt to secularize Islamic religious expression. She will also examine the European requirement that Muslim faith communities marginalize radical and extremist theology, a particularly contested issue. Klausen's study will incorporate a cross-national comparison of the ongoing dialogues between mosque associations and the governments of each of the four countries. The resulting book will reach a wide audience of scholars, policymakers and the public.

Ricardo René Larémont

Professor of Political Science and Sociology State University of New York at Binghamton Binghamton, NY

Title: Islamic Law and Politics in Nigeria, 1804-2007

Laremont will examine Islamic law and political movements in Nigeria in order to address the larger question of how to create a stable polity in religiously mixed societies. His research will focus on the role of Islam and Islamic law in three important political issues: the conferral of partial or total legitimacy to governments; mass mobilization of the popula-

tion for political action; and the possibilities for intra-religious and inter-religious reconciliation within the state. His study will analyze and critique prevailing work on the meaning of Islam and other religious experiences within the context of Nigerian politics. He will also address the broader question of whether Nigeria's attempts at inter-religious convivencia can provide lessons that can be applied to societies and states beyond Nigeria, such as the Sudan, Kosovo or East Timor. The resulting book will help inform public policy debates on Muslim-Christian rapprochement as well as institution building across religious divides.

Saba Mahmood

Associate Professor of Anthropology University of California, Berkeley Berkeley, CA

Title: Defining the Secular in the Modern Middle East

Mahmood's research is a comparative study of how secularism has been promoted and contested in two Muslim majority societies, Lebanon and Egypt, in the post-colonial period. In both these contexts, secularism has increasingly come to be seen as a prophylaxis against the ascendance of religious strife and political struggle. Despite this widely held consensus, it is unclear what secularism means within these two national contexts, both conceptually and practically, given their distinct demographic, political, and religious profiles. Mahmood's historical and ethnographic study will analyze: (a) how secularism has come to be understood differentially in light of the state's regulation of religious life in these two societies; and (b) how Muslim religious scholars and ordinary believers have come to both accommodate and challenge various ethical and political dimensions of the secularization process. Her work will result in a series of articles and a book that aim to provide a nuanced and in-depth analysis of different traditions of Muslim secular politics in the Middle East.

Khalid M. Medani

Assistant Professor of Political Science and Islamic Studies

McGill University Quebec, Canada

 ${\bf Title: \it Joining \it Jihad: A \it Comparative \it Political \it Economy \it of \it Islamist \it Militancy \it and \it Comparative \it Political \it Economy \it of \it Islamist \it Militancy \it and \it Comparative \it Political \it Economy \it of \it Islamist \it Militancy \it and \it Comparative \it Political \it Economy \it of \it Islamist \it Militancy \it and \it Comparative \it Political \it Economy \it of \it Islamist \it Militancy \it and \it Comparative \it Political \it Economy \it of \it Islamist \it Militancy \it Comparative \it Militancy \it Militancy \it Comparative \it Militancy \it Milit$

Recruitment

Medani's research will focus on the economic and political conditions that have led to the rise of different forms of mobilization and recruitment of Islamic fundamentalists and militants in Egypt, Sudan and Somalia. His work will examine the informal institu-

tional arrangements that have given rise to new, and variable, forms of Islamist politics in the context of declining state capacity. The research will concentrate on the expansion of the *hawwalat*, unregulated Islamic welfare organizations, and the role of *Ahali*, or private mosques, in providing an environment conducive for recruitment of young militants under very specific contexts. Through an historical institutional analysis, building upon two-anda-half years of ethnographic research, Medani will show how and why informal institutions and networks have oriented social and economic relations around Islamist, as well as ethnic, loyalties across different cases. By examining the precise local socioeconomic and cultural conditions that give rise to militant recruitment in a comparative fashion, Medani's work will contribute to the understanding of what attracts young Muslims to these organizations in a way that does not begin with a monolithic view of Islam as the explanation, and broadens our knowledge about which specific types of informal networks are (or are not) conducive to the rise of militancy. The resulting book is intended to reach the academic and policymaking communities.

Ali Mirsepassi

Professor of Middle Eastern Studies

New York University

New York, New York

Title: Western Influence on Political Islam

Mirsepassi will examine the Western intellectual trends, specifically the work of Nietzsche and Heidegger, that have shaped the principle ideological formation of the Islamist critique of modernity, arguing that it is exclusively secular and inherently hostile to non-secular ideas. He will explore the emphasis that has been placed on the religious quality of political Islam, which has led to a scholarly blindness concerning "non-Islamic ideas" in the development of Islamist ideology. By highlighting the historical diversity of intellectual trends in the West, he will seek to offer an alternative democratic narrative of modernity by looking in-depth at models of democratic social change that incorporate religious and cultural sensibilities. With a special focus on Iranian intellectuals, Mirsepassi will situate the rise of political Islam in contemporary social and cultural contests in a way that may be relevant for modeling alternative paradigms for Islamic democracy in the contemporary world.

Tamir Moustafa

Assistant Professor of Political Science

University of Wisconsin, Madison

Madison, WI

Title: Islamic Law and Legal Contention in Egypt, Pakistan and Malaysia

In the 1970s and early 1980s, Egypt's Anwar Sadat, Pakistan's Zia ul-Haq, and Malaysia's Mahathir Muhammad introduced new constitutional provisions to Islamize their states. In what is now a familiar pattern throughout the Muslim world, the three leaders sought to harness the legitimating power of Islamic symbolism and discourse in order to bolster the religious credentials of their regimes vis-à-vis emerging Islamist movements. But rather than shoring up state legitimacy and national unity, the introduction of new constitutional provisions opened a new forum of political contestation. Constitutional provisions enshrining both Islamic law and secular, liberal rights protections lay the seeds for legal friction, and courtrooms quickly became important sites of contention between groups with competing visions for their states and societies. Moustafa will study how these high-profile cases generate transformative effects far beyond the courtroom by sparking national debates and shaping public perceptions. He seeks to understand how Islamist litigation provokes and shapes competing conceptions of national/religious identity, resolves or exacerbates contending visions of Islamic law, and ultimately bolsters or undermines public perceptions of government legitimacy. The project will result in a book aimed at both the public and policymaking communities, in addition to engaging scholars interested in the intersection of comparative law, politics and religion.

David S. Powers

Professor of Near Eastern Studies

Cornell University

Ithaca, NY

Title: Wifely (Dis)obedience in Muslim Societies

Powers will analyze the religio-cultural notion of *nushuz* or wifely (dis)obedience in Muslim societies. Using his background as an historian, he will explain how the understanding of domestic relations, with special attention to domestic violence, has varied across time and space in different Muslim societies. His study will focus on three time periods: the emergence of *nushuz* in the Qur'an, sayings of the Prophet Muhammad, and legal texts; historical practices relating to this concept as documented in court cases and fatwas issued

between 1200 and 1800; and contemporary debates relating to wifely (dis)obedience. In the book that results from his study, Powers will situate the contemporary debate over wifely (dis)obedience in it historical context, thereby demonstrating how the study of the past can not only enrich our understanding of the present but also qualify or dispel claims and stereotypes about the status of Muslim women today.

Megan Reid

Assistant Professor of Religion University of Southern California

Los Angeles, CA

Title: Punishment and Appropriate Justice in Islamic Societies

Reid's research will investigate concepts of punishment in Sunni Islam within the context of their sacred beginnings. Because certain punishments have sacred authority, it is assumed that violent forms of punishment are inherent to Islamic society. Reid will study the logic behind these forms of punishments and the ways in which the level of shock they inspire relates to their symbolic value. She will examine how religious punishments have been implemented to different degrees over time in Islamic communities. Reid argues that the case for violent justice cannot be found in Qur'anic passages but rather in successive generations of those who interpret Islamic legal texts, resulting in evolving and fluid notions of appropriate justice. Her analysis will include the study of past and present attitudes of Muslim judges and legal scholars regarding corporal and capital punishments as well as the imagery of those punishments and their capacity to shock and satisfy. Reid will collaborate with scholars in the Islamic world who work in law, sociology and criminal justice to discuss modern ideas of proportional punishment She intends that her research, which will form the basis of a book, will shed light on how Islamic societies today understand changing conceptions of fair punishment and also notions of clemency.

Omid Safi

Associate Professor of Islamic Studies

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Chapel Hill, NC

Title: Reforming Islam in the "Axis of Evil": Contesting Islam in Post-Revolutionary Iran

Through this research endeavor, Safi aims to raise the level of American public knowledge and scholarly engagement with the role of Islam in post-revolutionary Iran,

which offers a holistic view of a modern, pluralistic Muslim society. His native fluency in Persian and Arabic and deep understanding of the reformist debate in Iran today inform his work in mapping the intellectual heirs of the Iranian reform movement situated against the context reaching from Khomeini to Ahmadinejad. The dominant themes pursued by Safi will include pluralism, hermeneutics, gender debates, and democracy. His research will focus on recent and contentious debates between Abdolkarim Soroush, the current intellectual face of reform in Iran, and more conservative thinkers. He will also go through the important reformists (Kadivar, Shabestari, Ebadi), etc., who have emerged after Soroush. Through interviews with some of the country's most significant contemporary thinkers, Safi will bring to light the distinctive features of their writings and speeches to provide a more nuanced insight into their intellectual and religious worldviews. His research will culminate in a book that will reach both academic and public audiences.

Kristen A. Stilt

Seattle, WA

Assistant Professor of Law The University of Washington

Title: "Islam is the Religion of My State": A Study of the Competing Interpretations of a Widespread Constitutional Provision in the Muslim World.

Stilt will study how political actors view, and seek to implement, the relationship between Islam and the state in three countries: Morocco, Egypt, and Malaysia. As in many countries in the Muslim world, the constitutions of the three countries she will study include the provision that "Islam is the official religion of the state." This clause, which Stilt calls the "establishment clause," is a significant rhetorical site for debates about the place of Islam in the state. She will address the crucial question of how actors articulate and advance their agendas with the use of the establishment clause as legal authority. Stilt intends to reach scholars and policymakers both in the United States and the countries she is studying.

Leonardo A. Villalón

Associate Professor of Political Science

The University of Florida

Gainesville, FL

Title: Negotiating Democracy in Muslim Contexts: Political Liberalization and Religious Mobilization in the West African Sahel Villalón will focus his research on the establishment of democratic regimes in the context of Muslim societies in the Sahelian West African countries of Mali, Senegal and Niger. The study of these cases will consider the following question: How can states with an official ideology of secularism, and led by a Francophone elite strongly committed to that notion, govern Islamic and increasingly religious and mobilized populations within the parameters of democratic political institutions? His research will analyze the intersection of political reforms via the formulation of new legal and institutional frameworks with the mobilization of religious movements attempting to shape these processes. His research will examine how the democratic debate is framed, pursued and negotiated in a context of discussion and negotiation with religious groups on various points of contention in each case. Villalón's scholarship builds on his previous research on the politics of Islam and on democratization in West Africa, and will result in a book accessible to the public, policy-makers and the academic community.

Ibrahim A. Warde

Adjunct Professor of International Business

Tufts University

Medford, MA

Title: Financial Practices and Networks in Islamic Countries: Implications for the Financial War on Terror

Warde will research a cluster of savings and credit practices related to elucidating the economic and financial dimensions of terrorist networks. The cluster will cover such aspects as formal, informal, and underground economies, including those of refugee camps and charities, smuggling routes, and financial and other networks. He will examine the financial systems in Islamic countries covering Africa, the Middle East and Southeast Asia. His underlying assumption is that financial and regulatory cultures in the Islamic world are embedded within religious institutions as well as political and cultural contexts that cannot be changed overnight. Warde will investigate how strict financial controls regimes can be so easily circumvented in the attempts to stymie terrorist and other nefarious activities aided by such systems. His research will result in a book that will be accessible to the public and academic community.

Class of 2008

Hussein Agrama

Assistant Professor of Anthropology

University of Chicago

Chicago, Illinois

Title: State Power and Islamic Authority: A Comparative Ethnography of the Fatwa

Agrama, a cultural anthropologist, will focus on Islamic authority by examining the uses of the fatwa under the distinctive legal systems and regulatory policies of two very different states: Egypt, where Islam is the state religion, and France, where secularism is official policy. Because fatwas are a primary means of exercising Islamic authority, Agrama's examination of how they are actually practiced will bring to light the unintended and often counterintuitive ways that state law and regulatory policies shape and enable religious authority within the daily lives of Muslims. His book aims to broaden the public's knowledge of what sustains and gives vitality to contemporary Islamic movements, as well as help policymakers better understand the implications of their regulatory policies.

Hisham Aidi

Lecturer

Columbia University

New York, New York

Title: Identity, Inclusion and Muslim Youth

Aidi, a political scientist, will examine the cultural and political responses of Muslim youth in America and Western Europe in the aftermath of September 11, 2001 and the different initiatives Western states have adopted to integrate Muslim communities within their borders. Aidi's research will explain how Muslim youth, in their bid for social inclusion, are becoming racially and politically conscious, and are producing new diaspora identities and movements. The study will also analyze the rise of Islam in peripheral urban areas in the Americas and Europe, the growing influence of Islam and Middle Eastern art forms on American and European popular culture, and the reactions of non-Muslims to the growing Muslim communities in their midst. Aidi's book and his related outreach efforts should help connect conversations taking place on both sides of the Atlantic.

Anna Bigelow

Assistant Professor

North Carolina State University

Raleigh, North Carolina

Title: Holy Ground: Strategies of Sharing Islamic Sacred Space

Bigelow, a religion scholar, will study shared sacred sites in India and the Middle East where, despite the possibility of conflict, violence does not occur. Bigelow seeks to identify and analyze the day-to-day work involved in establishing and maintaining interreligious peace between Muslims and non-Muslims at the local level. This analysis will provide an important corrective to both scholarship and journalism on shared sites, which tend to focus on explosive sites such as Jerusalem or Ayodhya, India, leaving nonviolent, pluralistic communities comparatively neglected. Bigelow's balanced approach will make it possible to analyze factors that exacerbate or mitigate peace and conflict. In articles lectures and a book, Bigelow will explore how multi-religious communities establish and maintain stable shared sacred and civic spaces. Her work will identify effective grassroots strategies and tactics applicable to other situations, offering to policymakers new options for reducing or preventing destructive conflict.

Laurie Brand

Professor

University of Southern California

Los Angeles, California

Title: Islam v. Nationalism in Arab Post-Independence Narratives

Brand, a political scientist, will study the evolution of national narratives in post-independence Algeria, Egypt, Jordan and Lebanon. She will examine the interplay of religion and nationalism in the development and refinement of these countries' official histories and seek to explain the processes by which they were written (or re-written) to repress or co-opt competing "stories" about religion and political power. In her book, Brand intends to offer new insights into the complex relationship of Islam to the Arab state and to national identity. Her analysis aims to contribute to the ongoing conversation regarding the apparent intractability of authoritarianism in the region, a characteristic that is routinely attributed to Islam. Brand's work will add to a deeper understanding of how repressive regimes often employ religion as part of their strategy for securing power and battling their enemies.

Kanchan Chandra

Associate Professor

New York University

New York, New York

Title: Islam and Democracy: The Effect of Institutions

Chandra, a political scientist, will address the effect of the mobilization of Muslim political identities on democracy. Using a cross-national dataset on the mobilization of ethnic identities by political parties around the world and a series of ethnographic studies, Chandra will test a hypothesis that suggests that the relationship between Islam and democracy may be determined less by the doctrine or practice of Islam and more by the institutional context within which Islam is practiced. Her multi-disciplinary approach will yield a deeper understanding of the institutional structures that are most likely to produce a benign relationship between Islamic parties and democratic stability. Not only will Chandra prepare a book drawing together the results of her country-specific and cross-national analyses, she also aims to reach broad audiences through newspaper and popular journal articles.

Nora Colton

Professor

Drew University

Madison, New Jersey

Title: The Migration of Islamist Militancy to Urban Poverty Belts in the Middle East

Colton, an economist, will examine the association between the spread of militant Islamic ideology and poverty in urban areas in the Arab world. She will document the shift in the role that religion plays in the lives of poor people to understand why they are increasingly embracing militant Islam. Her research will articulate, for example, how the Islamist message is packaged for the urban poor and will analyze the foreign policy repercussions of the relationship between poverty and Islam. Colton expects that her research, including a book and articles for the popular media, will provide policymakers in the Middle East and the West with the detailed analysis to more adequately address the complex causes of poverty and inequality in the Middle East.

Edward E. Curtis IV

Associate Professor

Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis

Indianapolis, Indiana

Title: The Transnational History of African American Islam

Curtis, a religious studies scholar, will explore the influences of foreign and immigrant Muslims on the development of Islam as a twentieth-century African American religious tradition. His work will challenge the notion that African American Muslims have been vulnerable to the ideals of Muslim radicals. African American Muslims, Curtis will argue in his book, have shaped a transnational Islam that has been a resource for spiritual, political, and cultural autonomy. He will show how African American Muslim study, travel, and pilgrimage in the Islamic world have led to the incorporation of Islamic practices and material culture into a distinctly American religious tradition. Curtis's research will address the concerns of policy makers that overseas Muslims are leading American Muslims toward anti-Americanism, and confront doubts by foreign and immigrant Muslims about the authenticity of African American Islam.

Leila Fawaz

Professor

Tufts University

Medford, Massachusetts

Title: The Experience of War: Muslims in the Middle East and South Asia, 1914-1920

Fawaz, an historian, will examine the globalizing influences of the First World War on Islamic identities. To do so, she will draw on the perceptions of the British colonial army's more than one million South Asian soldiers, many serving in the Ottoman-controlled Middle East. Fawaz's research will focus on connections between the Middle East and South Asia as well as the complex relationship of Muslim and Hindu soldiers fighting for a colonial power against the leader of the largest Muslim territorial empire of the day, and of Muslim soldiers siding with non-Muslims against their own leaders. Fawaz's book will result in a deeper understanding of the complex issues of power and identity that continue to impact the Muslim world today.

Michael Gasper

Assistant Professor

Yale University

New Haven, Connecticut

Title: Re-Thinking Secularism and Sectarianism in the Lebanese Civil War (1975-1990)

Gasper, an historian, will examine the intersection of religion and politics around the questions of identity and national history through the lens of the Lebanese Civil War. By developing an understanding of the complex motivations of the militias, Gasper will critique the notion of sectarianism as the predominant narrative explaining the country's history. The research is especially timely and important in that it will contribute to policymakers' comprehension of what has been referred to as the "Lebanonization" of Iraq—an idea that holds that Iraq will devolve into the same kind of kind of confessional strife that marked Lebanon during its civil war. Thus his book should have wide appeal for policymakers and others seeking to better understand current conditions in the Middle East.

Susannah Heschel

Professor

Dartmouth College

Hanover, New Hampshire

Title: The Monotheistic Triangle: Judaism and Islam in the Modern Christian World

Heschel, a religion scholar, will examine the prominence of Jews in European scholarship on Islam during the 19th and 20th centuries, prior to World War II, to demonstrate how the Jewish fascination with Islam shaped Jewish self-understanding and theology. Building upon her earlier work on the history of Jewish scholarship on Jesus and Christian origins, Heschel will, in her new book, demonstrate the ways both Judaism and Islam are affected by Christianity's attitudes toward religious pluralism and its role in antisemitism and Islamophobia. Stressing points of similarity between Muslim and Jewish experiences of assimilation into Europe and the United States and the modernization of their respective religions, Heschel's scholarship will suggest ways Jewish historical experience affects Muslim self-understanding, and how tensions between Christians and Muslims in Europe and the United States might be overcome. She further intends to offer points of theological and political commonality between Muslims and Jews.

Bruce B. Lawrence

Professor of Islamic Studies

Duke University

Durham, North Carolina

Title: Christian and Muslim Minorities as Secular Citizens in Africa and Asia

Lawrence, a scholar whose work compares religion across different societies, will investigate how Egypt and Ethiopia, Indonesia and the Philippines have contended with challenges posed to multi-creedal nationalism by religious nationalists who deny both pluralism and the rights of religious minorities. He will explore why religious minorities remain a crucial index to the success, or failure, of deep pluralism and social comity. Lawrence's work will also analyze how location, whether in Africa or Asia, produces not just different narratives but also diverse outcomes for minority and majority religious communities. Academics and political observers alike will benefit from Lawrence's work. His book will throw welcome light on the dynamics that compel ideologues to claim religion as the major explanation for both policies and actions that, in fact, have little to do with religious beliefs or practices. Lawrence will contrast these ideologues with indigenous pluralists who, in their opposition to ideologues, strive to be both devout believers and pragmatic secularists.

Miriam R. Lowi

Associate Professor

The College of New Jersey

Ewing, New Jersey

Title: Islam and Oil: The Economy of Meaning

Lowi, a political scientist, will examine the relationship between Islam and oil: how interpretations of Islam have shaped the exploitation of oil and allocation of oil revenues, and how the latter have influenced adherence to and the practice of Islam. She suggests that a disjuncture exists in the Middle East and North Africa between Islamic norms and expectations about public resources, on the one hand, and state policy and practices, on the other, and that this disjuncture is a source of instability in the region. To explore the relationship and elucidate the disjuncture, Lowi will study the writings of Muslim thinkers, Islamist organizations, and the popular Arab media, to understand how Muslims think their oil wealth should be exploited. She will investigate state policies financed by oil to learn how elites have exploited oil wealth, both within and outside the state, and their effects on

Muslim publics. Lowi's research will culminate in a book-length manuscript on a relationship that is vital, yet has remained uncharted.

Susan Moeller

Associate Professor

University of Maryland

College Park, Maryland

Title: Framing Islam: How Media Cover Muslims & Terrorism—and Why That Matters

Moeller, a historian and former foreign correspondent, will investigate the "stories" American and British media tell about Islam and terrorism. When terrorists are depicted by the media as a monolithic enemy, argues Moeller, rather than as distinctive actors intent on achieving specific political ends, terrorism becomes inexplicable. Moeller will examine when and why the U.S. and British governments' priorities as well as their narratives have become the media's conventional wisdom. Moeller will investigate how media report on the context of terrorism, distinguish the perpetrators, listen to other voices, and consider its victims. The book that will result from her research will inform policymakers, journalists and the general public about how both government and the media "frame" terrorism for our consumption, too often leaving us fearful, but not well informed.

Tahera Qutbuddin

Assistant Professor

University of Chicago

Chicago, Illinois

Title: Classical Arabic Oratory: The Politics and Rhetoric of Public Address in the Islamic World

Qutbuddin, a scholar of Arabic literature, intends to analyze classical Arabic speeches and sermons. Qutbuddin's will be one of the first substantial studies on the earliest and arguably most influential genre of Arabic prose in order to demonstrate that this tradition of oratory has permeated and given shape to the language and concepts of politics in the contemporary Islamic world. By examining the roots of Islamic oratorical discourse from a non-Western conceptual framework, Qutbuddin's work, which will result in a book aimed at academic and public audiences, will foster better understanding of its resonance with present-day Muslim audiences; enhanced appreciation of the declamatory traditions in-

herited by Muslim clergy and politicians; and more nuanced interpretations of the linguistic and rhetorical symbols of public address in the Islamic world.

Sadiq Reza

Professor of Law

New York Law School

New York, New York

Title: Due Process in Islamic Criminal Law

Reza, a legal scholar, will identify the essentials of criminal due process in classical Islamic legal theory and modern-day Islamic criminal jurisprudence. His research addresses the absence of an established system of "Islamic" criminal procedure—rules governing how criminal suspects are investigated and prosecuted—to correspond with and regulate the enforcement of Islamic criminal law today. By identifying these essentials, Reza's work will suggest a framework for bringing contemporary Islamic criminal practice into closer conformity not only with international standards of criminal due process, but with Islamic rules and principles of justice as well. Reza will publish his findings in a series of articles and a book aimed at legal scholars, policymakers and the public.

Amr A. Shalakany

Assistant Professor

The American University in Cairo

Cairo, Egypt

Title: The Redefinition of Shari'a in Modern Egyptian Legal Thought: 1798-Present

Shalakany, a legal scholar, will trace the changing definition of Shari'a or Islamic law in modern Egyptian thought. The significance of 1883, considered a transitional moment from "Islamic" to "Western/secular" law, will be challenged by Shalakany's research. He will argue that legal secularism existed in Egypt prior to the 1883 reforms, a thoroughly pre-colonial variant of secularism whose legitimacy rested on Ottoman and even Shari'a sources. Moreover, he will further argue that the significance of 1883 lies more in the transformation of Islamic jurisprudence triggered by the legal reforms adopted that year, rather than merely in the transplantation of French courts and codes to Egyptian soil. By connecting Egyptian legal thought across two centuries, Shalakany will demonstrate how the contemporary notion of Shari'a promoted by jurists affiliated with Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood movement is itself a modern invention, deeply influenced by the jurispru-

dence of Western Europe. Shalakany's research will lead to a book manuscript that will be translated into Arabic.

Paul A. Silverstein

Associate Professor

Reed College

Portland, Oregon

Title: The Ethnic Politics of Muslim Secularism: North Africa at the Crossroads

Silverstein, an anthropologist, will focus on how claims to indigenous secularism and non-orthodox religious practice by minority Muslim ethnic groups have gained new political currency. By tracing the intersection between Berber-speaking secularists and Islamic politics in the transnational space linking countries across the western Mediterranean, Silverstein will investigate how the Berber Diaspora in secular Western states influences new developments in ethnic and religious affairs in their Muslim-majority countries of origin. The project, which will culminate in a book-length study written equally for scholars, policymakers, and a general informed public, will contribute to a deeper understanding of the intersection of ethnic and religious politics within the Islamic world.

Monica Duffy Toft

Associate Professor

Harvard University

Cambridge, Massachusetts

Title: Religion, Islam and Civil Wars

Toft, a political scientist, will investigate the role of religion in civil wars—particularly the involvement of Muslim-majority states, which are presently involved in a disproportionate number of conflicts. Toft will introduce and test a general explanation of the conditions under which religion becomes a central issue in civil war. The model, which she will continue to refine, holds that religion is more likely to become a central issue in a civil war when political elites compete in evoking religious doctrine and beliefs in an effort to maintain or attract domestic and international support. Toft will apply this model to resolve the puzzle of why Islam has been so over-represented in religious civil wars from 1940 to 2000. The book resulting from her research will help scholars and practitioners answer important questions about how faith and practice impact the likelihood of organized large-scale violence.

Muhammad S. Umar

Associate Professor

Northwestern University

Evanston, Illinois

Title: Pragmatism and Pluralism in the Traditional Islamic Thought of al-Shaykh Ibrahim Saleh of Nigeria

Umar, a religion scholar, will analyze the writings of al-Shaykh Ibrahim Saleh, a contemporary Nigerian public intellectual, who articulates Islamic arguments for pragmatism on topical issues such as pluralism and peaceful coexistence. One of modern Islam's paradoxes is that the most vocal proponents of militancy have been mostly those trained in modern secular education rather than those steeped in traditional Islamic learning. Umar's analysis of Saleh will help address the question of what intellectual capital classical traditions of Islamic learning provide for supporting pragmatic solutions to problems of contemporary Muslim societies. His work aims to advance the compatibility of Islam with tolerance, pluralism and peace. And, in particular, Umar's scholarship will result in a book, providing an important opportunity for fruitful dialogue on Islam among Nigerians, while also shedding light on the intellectual trends within contemporary Islamic thought more broadly.

Ashutosh Varshney

Professor

University of Michigan

Ann Arbor, Michigan

Title: Ethnocommunal Conflict, Civil Society and the State

Varshney, a political scientist, will examine the determinants of ethnocommunal violence and attempt to identify the conditions under which ethnocommunal peace endures. To do so he will build upon his earlier work in India by examining ethnic and communal relations in 15 cities across four countries all of which are, or were at one time, prone to violence. In the cities and countries involved in the research, Varshney seeks to demonstrate that Islam as a religion does not have an integral relationship to violence. In these countries, whether Muslims get involved in repeated and large-scale riots is not a function of Islamic religiosity per se, but of the kinds of links built between them and the other communities, and the role of the state. The volume which Varshney intends to publish as a result of his work will serve as a guide for public policymakers and academics and will facilitate a deeper understanding of ethnocommunal peace and violence.

Class of 2009

Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im

Professor

Emory University School of Law

Atlanta, Georgia

Title: Enhancing Citizenship: American Muslims and American Secularism

Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im, a legal scholar, will investigate the theoretical and practical underpinnings of American secularism as the basis for encouraging American Muslims to participate more actively in civic life. He will present this as a framework for addressing issues of concern to American Muslims including education, family relations, foreign policy and social and economic advancement. To build a case for this deeper engagement and to demonstrate that Muslims are equal partners in the negotiation and adaptation of American secularism, An-Na'im will clarify how secularism ensures respect and protection of Muslims' fundamental rights. He will explore these dimensions with American Muslim leaders and activists, civil society organizations, scholars, the media and the broader public. An-Na'im will be preparing scholarly background papers, holding workshops and discussion groups, conducting interviews and engaging in outreach via his project website and blog. The resulting book, along with the outreach activities, have the potential to bring Muslims and non-Muslims together in common recognition of their shared American values, as well as building mutual respect for their differences.

Nathan Jude Brown

Professor

George Washington University

Washington, DC

Title: Islamist Movements in Arab Politics

Brown, a political scientist, will analyze the impacts of increased participation by Islamist groups in electoral politics on both the movements themselves and the political systems in which they operate. Recognizing that Islamist movements and authoritarian rule are both deeply entrenched in the Arab world, Brown will not ask how these movements could operate if circumstances were different and democratic rules faithfully observed. Instead, his comparative work will probe inside the movements focusing on why they enter politics in such an unfriendly environment, how they do so and how it affects them as well

as the societies in which they operate. In the resulting book and articles, Brown seeks to develop a nuanced understanding of the significance of these groups and their likely impact on the future of the Middle East. Brown also intends to share the findings with scholars and activists in the region.

Richard Bulliet

Professor

Columbia University

New York, New York

Title: Islam and Military Rule

Bulliet, a historian, will explore the historic and contemporary relationships between Islam and the military institutions that play a leading role in so many Muslim societies today. To gain deeper insight into the current situation, he will examine the historical model of the mamluks, non-free warriors who came from outside mainstream society and ascended to the highest positions of power. He hypothesizes that modern authoritarian regimes are neo-mamluk in character. Though often comprised of devout Muslims, they perceive Islamic political movements as mortal threats to their power. Bulliet believes that the instability, violence and oppression common in many Muslim countries is rooted in the historical Muslim religio-political discourse, not in a confrontation with modernity and the West. The Columbia University historian will compare the cases of Egypt, Syria and Turkey with Iran to delineate the nature of this confrontation and illuminate its historical evolution in order to diminish its dangers, and more positively, lead to greater political participation of civilian populations.

Robert Crews

Assistant Professor

Stanford University

Stanford, California

Title: Muslims without Borders: Empires, States and Transborder Communities from the Caucasus to the Hindu Kush

Historian Robert Crews's project seeks to understand how the mobility and interconnectedness of Muslims have intersected with the politics of empires, states, nations, and locales. His research challenges predominant American frameworks for understanding Muslim identities of an undifferentiated "Muslim world" on one hand, and the nation-state

on the other hand. Crews will explore how Muslim networks have been entangled since the early 18th century with struggles over state consolidation, the construction of borders, the politics of citizenship, control over resources, and great power hegemony. Emerging from his work—which will investigate flows and exchanges across state borders and regions of merchants, scholars, pilgrims, information, and commodities—will be an alternative geography for understanding how these flows have connected the experiences of Muslims across time and place from the deep past to the present. Crews' book will be written to reach a broad audience, with special appeal for undergraduate students.

Dale Eickelman

Professor

Dartmouth College

Hanover, New Hampshire

Title: Mainstreaming Islam: Taking Charge of the Faith

Eickelman, an anthropologist, will explore the impact educated Muslims are having on rethinking Islamic thought and practice. He argues that profound transformations in the Muslim world today are occurring through the actions of middle class professionals and religious intellectuals. This process of "mainstreaming"—which includes tolerance of other faiths and accommodation of alternative Muslim religious ideas and practices—presents Islam as a part of civic life requiring concrete skills and aptitudes. Through a better understanding of these skills using fieldwork and his past research in Indonesia, Jordan, Morocco, Oman, Turkey and the United Arab Emirates, Eickelman's work will present a more complex analysis of those reformers who are rethinking religion outside of traditional boundaries, or are shaping new social movements. Through his resulting book and participation in related activities, Eickelman will reach a wide audience of the public and policy makers interested in and shaping Muslim world developments.

Mona El-Ghobashy

Assistant Professor

Barnard College

New York, New York

Title: Petition and Protest in Authoritarian Egypt

El-Ghobashy, a political scientist, will explore how ordinary citizens represent their interests, secure public services, and defend their rights while living under an unac-

countable authoritarian regime. She argues that citizens of multiple religions use court petitions and street protests to demand that government restore essential services and protect religious rights. El-Ghobashy aims to reconceptualize citizen mobilization not as "resistance" to the state but as a bottom-up attempt to hold public officials accountable. The resulting book will contribute to the understanding of Islam in the modern world by demonstrating how Islam and other religions are mobilized by citizens with no access to free and fair elections or other means to represent their interests.

Hussein Anwar Fancy

Assistant Professor

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Ann Arbor, Michigan

Title: Medieval Violence and Modern Tolerance

Hussein Anwar Fancy, a medieval historian, will offer a novel perspective on religious violence in the Middle Ages that challenges and redirects contemporary debates about tolerance. His research will center on a virtually unknown history of the Crusades in which thousands of Muslim and Christian soldiers were traded to serve in kingdoms of the other faith: Christian soldiers in service of North African sultans and Muslim soldiers in service of Catalan kings. These curious exchanges paradoxically reinforced religious violence, rather than acting to diminish them. Fancy argues that the language of tolerance, grounded in assumptions about medieval religion, has impeded both the understanding of the historical past and the mitigation of conflict. His work will examine unpublished archival material from the 13th century in an effort to bring to light rules and limits to the use of violence in the context of the Crusades and jihad across the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa. In the resulting articles and books, aimed at audiences in the United States and abroad, the University of Michigan historian will offer a revised understanding of violence and religion in order to re-focus debates on values such as justice and equality, notions that have long been obscured by the language of tolerance and intolerance.

John Ghazvinian

Senior Fellow, Center for Programs in Contemporary Writing

University of Pennsylvania

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Title: Children of the Revolution: Iran and America from the Mayflower to the Mullahs

John Ghazvinian, a historian, will write the full story of America's relationship with Iran. Unlike most historical accounts, Ghazvinian's will not begin with an examination of the 1979 Iranian Revolution, nor will he start with the CIA-backed coup in 1953. Instead, he will begin his narrative in the early 1600s, when English ships set sail for Hormuz and Roanoke. By moving beyond headlines and placing U.S.-Iran relations in a much broader timeframe, Ghazvinian will argue that, paradoxically, Iran is in many ways America's most natural ally in the Middle East. His research will draw on archival material in the U.S. and Iran including periodicals, newspapers, and other primary data sources. As the United States enters into a new and possibly decisive relationship with Iran, the book resulting from Ghazvinian's research will aim to answer a perplexing yet fundamental question about U.S.-Iran relations, which only sporadically enters the public discourse, that is: How exactly did we get here?

Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad

Professor

Georgetown University

Washington, DC

Title: Sayyid Qutb: From Village Boy to Islamist Martyr

Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, a historian of religion, will analyze the impact of Western theological and political discourse on Islamic thought and Muslims through a reexamination of the life and works of Sayyid Qutb, an Egyptian whose writings represent the most radical interpretation of Islam. Qutb, whose thinking has influenced revolutionary and terrorist movements, underwent a transformation from a liberal to neo-conservative revolutionary during and following his stay in the Untied States from 1949-1951. While much has been written about this transformation, Haddad will situate it in the context of American educational philosophy prominent at the time and Qutb's exposure to American religiosity. She will expand the analysis by placing Qutb's work within the intellectual and religious context of Egypt in the 1930s as well as his exposure to various influential Western writings. With Qutb's transformation as context, Haddad will provide insight into the influence of contemporary Western ideas on Muslim youth in the West, thus offering a more nuanced understanding of the impact of American values on American Muslim youth as they cope with racism and alienation.

Valerie Hoffman

Associate Professor

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Champaign, Illinois

Title: Islamic Sectarianism Reconsidered: Ibadi Islam in the Modern Age

Religion scholar Valerie Hoffman will explore the impact of globalization on Ibadism, a neglected strand of Islam that is distinct from the Shi'a and Sunni denominations. Hoffman will examine how Ibadism, which exists mainly in Oman and isolated pockets in the Maghreb and East Africa, challenges conventional academia's mutually exclusive categories. In a seeming contradiction, the fundamentalist sect embraces rational theology, mystical practice and liberal tolerance toward outsiders. Hoffman's exploration of Ibadism's responses to globalization will shed light on the potential for a rigid, closed sect to embrace the diversity of the global age. The resulting book will fill a significant gap in the field and enhance both academic and public understanding of the distinctive nature of modern Ibadism.

Asim Ijaz Khwaja

Associate Professor

John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University

Cambridge, Massachusetts

Title: The Hajj: Islam's Global Gathering

Economist Asim Khwaja's project will examine how the pilgrimage to Mecca affects individual pilgrims' economic, social, ethical and cultural outlooks. His preliminary work, based on data from a survey of 1600 Pakistani pilgrims, or *Hajjis*, suggests that they are more religious as a result of their pilgrimage. Yet the same data reveals that pilgrims also return with an increased desire for peace and tolerance—both towards fellow Muslims and non-Muslims. Given the increasing global concern about intolerance and religiously-motivated violence, Khwaja's research on the impact of the *Hajj* will offer a unique perspective on social interaction among Muslims. In what some observers may consider a departure from accepted knowledge, Khwaja will examine how mixing across the lines of ethnicity, nationality, sect and gender may result in deeper feelings of equality and harmony even towards outsiders. By combining survey data with in-depth interviews of *Hajjis*, Khwaja intends to produce a monograph and articles aimed at policy and academic audiences that will enrich and deepen the current debate about Islam from the perspective of religion and tolerance.

Ussama Makdisi

Professor

Rice University

Houston, Texas

Title: A Mutual Concern: A History of U.S.- Arab Relations

Historian Ussama Makdisi's project will reshape the understanding of U.S. Arab relations during the 19th and early 20th century. Makdisi's account will challenge most histories written about American-Arab relations, which focus primarily on oil, the Cold War, the Arab-Israeli conflict and, more recently, terrorism and Iraq. These conventional histories often ignore an earlier American cultural involvement with the Arab world, an involvement marked by missionary encounters with the Muslim and Christian inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire beginning in the 1820s, major American-led higher education efforts in the 1860s, and Arab nationalists' embrace of Wilsonian self-determination in 1919. Ussama Makdisi's book-length history will go beyond ideological assumptions about Americans and Arabs to tell a story of mutual interaction and transformation that has clear ramifications for contemporary dialogue between Americans and much of the Arab world.

Tarek Masoud

Assistant Professor

John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University

Cambridge, Massachusetts

Title: Electoral Ecologies of Political Islam: Islamist Parties and their Rivals

Tarek Masoud, a political scientist, aims to explain why political parties that demand the application of the Islamic holy law have emerged as the principal opponents of the authoritarian regimes that dominate the Middle East. The conventional wisdom holds that Islamists win elections because Muslims are somehow inherently receptive to political appeals that harness the rhetorical power of the faith. But the assistant professor of public policy suggests that we should instead focus on the electoral terrain in which Islamic parties and their opponents must operate. He contends that Islamists score electoral victories not because of their broad appeal, but rather due to adaptive advantages that render them particularly suited to elections held under authoritarian conditions. At a time when efforts to promote democracy in the Middle East have stalled on fears of Islamist takeover, Masoud's research—drawing on cases in Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, and Yemen—will examine whether those fears may be unfounded. He intends to produce a book that is both scholarly and ac-

cessible to a broad readership, and will disseminate his findings here and to Arabic-speaking audiences in the Middle East.

Asifa Quraishi

Assistant Professor

University of Wisconsin Law School

Madison, Wisconsin

Title: Lost in Non-translation: What's Missing When We Say Shari'a

Legal scholar and activist Asifa Quraishi's work aims to explore how a more complex and careful understanding of shari'a may lead to workable compromises between Islamic law and international rights norms, thereby changing the current paradigm of often irreconcilable absolutes. Quraishi argues that the concept has become dangerously politicized in recent years, as questions arise as to how a devotion to Islamic law can exist in harmony with more secular principles of human rights. By offering a comprehensive framing for shari'a—one which acknowledges that it is composed of two interdependent realms of law, divine revelation and public good—she seeks to cultivate a workable consensus around this new framing. Through her publishing and via discussions with scholars and the public in the United States and Muslim audiences around the world, Quraishi aims to alter the global debate about *shari'a* so that it is more informed and nuanced.

Intisar A. Rabb

Princeton University

Princeton, NJ

Title: Islamic Law and Legal Change: The Internal Critique

Intisar Rabb, a legal scholar trained in Islamic and U.S. law, will examine Muslim juristic debates about modern legislation and implementation of classical Islamic criminal law. Her work will focus on these distinctly "internal" critiques—balancing them, and those who present them, against critical assessments of Islamic law offered by human rights activists who argue with respect to international legal norms. To better inform such critiques, Rabb will survey criminal law practices—not all of which are "Islamic"—in the 27 countries that have incorporated Islamic law into their constitutions or allow for a jurisdiction of Islamic criminal law. Rabb's survey findings will populate a public, online database aimed at legal and other scholars, nongovernmental organizations and government policymakers. She will also conduct a comparative study of judicial debates in Iran and Saudi Arabia, with reference to Pakistan. These are countries with constitutional legal systems drawing on Islamic law as the main source of law, and legal and governmental actors in each have turned increased attention to their criminal law regimes in recent years. The legal scholar's resulting book is intended for use by international lawyers, scholars, the media and the public.

Samuel J. Rascoff

Assistant Professor

New York University School of Law

New York, New York

Title: Understanding How the U.S. Government Understands Islam

Samuel Rascoff, a specialist in national security law and counterterrorism, will focus on how the U.S. government acquires knowledge and sets policy in the area of Islamic thought and practice. The government's concept of Islam, which the New York University professor refers to as "official Islam," is enormously consequential. Unlike strictly academic accounts, official Islam reverberates throughout society as a function of the policies to which it gives rise. His exmination of official Islam will draw on comparisons with the Sovietology of a previous generation, as well as with current policies in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. Through the resulting monograph, articles and talks, Rascoff aims to disseminate his findings to a wide audience of academics and policymakers as well as to members of the military, law enforcement and intelligence communities. He intends to offer recommendations on how the U.S. approach to acquiring and analyzing information on Islam might be improved.

Kishwar Rizvi

Assistant Professor

Yale University

New Haven, Connecticut

Title: Ideology and Architecture: Transnational Mosques in the Middle East

Art historian Kishwar Rizvi's project will offer a nuanced study of the role of contemporary mosques in the construction of modern Muslim identity by examining their political, religious and architectural history. The mosque reflects the choice of architect, institutional patronage, and religious networks, and as Rizvi contends, is an important lens though which to understand the ways in which Islamic culture defines itself. However unique and specific a mosque's symbolic meanings and formal relationships are to the local

Muslim context, they are conceptually and, sometimes architecturally, related to religious buildings throughout the world. Through examination of the architectural networks emanating from Iran, Saudi Arabia and Turkey, Rizvi will focus on mosques' underlying connections—sometimes harmonious but sometimes in conflict—within the modern Muslim world in particular, but also the world at large. Rizvi will collect primary documentary evidence and conduct interviews. Her findings will result in a book that fills a significant gap in the historical study of architecture and religious ideology in the contemporary Middle East. She will also disseminate her work through a website of photographic and architectural documents for practitioners, students and scholars in the Middle East and the United States.

George Saliba

Professor

Columbia University

New York, New York

Title: The Encounter between Modern European Science and Islamic Societies

George Saliba's project explores the conundrum of why science in the Islamic world, after contributing to the rejuvenation of science in Europe during the Renaissance and subsequently giving rise to modern science, did not continue to flourish in modern times. The Columbia University historian's research into the emergence of modern science in Europe—and its failure to catalyze similar developments in the Islamic world—will focus on the effects of established legal monopolistic systems like patents and grants which tied science directly to investment and eventually a source of capital production. Saliba will also analyze the impact of science-promotion institutions as well as scientific competitions, which balanced the mercantile nature of science with that of developing new knowledge. Saliba's findings will be drawn together in a monograph aimed not only at historians of science but also at science decision makers in governments, investors and the general public. His findings will be shared in articles, opinion pieces and the popular media.

Samer Shehata

Assistant Professor

Georgetown University

Washington, DC

Title: Islamist Electoral and Parliamentary Participation: Egypt, Morocco and Kuwait

Samer Shehata, a specialist in Arab politics, will examine why Islamists parties par-

ticipate in elections in semi-authoritarian regimes, the reasons behind their electoral success, as well as the particular policies they adopt once they enter parliament. Through ethnography, interviewing and close analysis of official records, the Georgetown University professor will also illustrate the degree to which participation in electoral politics has an effect on the character of legislative institutions in these regimes. What will be the consequences, asks Shehata, of Islamist electoral and parliamentary activity on Middle East politics? The resulting monograph will contribute to the fields of regional studies and political science, and Shehata's work will also help inform United States' foreign policy in the region.

Abdulkader Sinno

Assistant Professor Indiana University, Bloomington Bloomington, Indiana

Title: Muslims in Western Parliaments

Abdulkader Sinno, a political scientist, will examine the dynamics of Muslim representation in North American and West European parliaments; a phenomenon that current social and demographic trends suggest will become more important over the next 20-30 years. His research sets forth a series of questions including the nature of political platforms adopted by elected Muslims, their support of assimilation—or protection of their minority identities—and their roles in civil rights debates. These and other questions will illustrate how—and if—Muslim representatives in Western parliaments are different cross-nationally and from their non-Muslim counterparts. Sinno's work could play a constructive role in conflict resolution and preemption. And, by bolstering the rights of Western Muslim minorities, his work may contribute to greater stability of the Western liberal democracies in which they reside. In addition to a book, Sinno will write articles for academic journals as well as more accessible pieces for informing policy debates.

Denise Spellberg

Associate Professor

University of Texas at Austin

Austin, Texas

Title: Thomas Jefferson's Qur'an: Islam and the Founders

Historian Denise Spellberg's project will reveal the little known story of how Thomas Jefferson and several other "founding fathers," including George Washington and Richard Henry Lee, opposed dominant negative views of Islam as a threat to the ideals underlying the new state they envisioned. Her work will bring to light how the rights of Muslims were part of broader national debates about religious freedom and the separation of church and state. The rights of Muslims in early America were then debated only in theory; today, they are tested daily in practice. Spellberg intends for her research—drawing on American political, religious and legal history—to recast/reframe the current discussion of the relationship of American democracy, tolerance, rights and pluralism to include Muslim communities. The University of Texas historian hopes that the book project will challenge false dichotomies about Islam in America as un-American. And instead, lead to wide understanding that the rights of Muslim citizens were at the heart of our founding history and part of our most cherished founding American ideals.

Shirin Tahir-Kheli

Independent Scholar

Bala Cynwyd, Pennsylvania

Title: Foreign Policy in an Age of Madness: America and the Muslim World after 9/11

Ambassador Shirin Tahir-Kheli, an international relations specialist, served three Republican administrations in senior positions in the White House and State Department, including during the George W. Bush administration. Combining an insider perspective with her foreign policy background and her scholarship on engagement with the Muslim world, Tahir-Kheli will analyze the formulation of U.S. foreign policy in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. The U.S. government's use, during this period, of democracy promotion as a means of undercutting support for terrorism has been widely discussed and critiqued. However, most of this discussion has occurred in the absence of information about the tensions and issues that shaped the decision processes. Tahir-Kheli will offer nuanced details drawing on interviews, documents and personal experiences to describe the terms by which these issues were debated within the administration. In addition to examining the interplay between the war on terror and outreach to the Muslim world, Tahir-Kheli will assess America's ability—via changes in its current and projected role—to influence international political development, including bridging the divide between government policy and the messages it conveys to the Muslim world.

Mark Tessler

Professor

University of Michigan

Ann Arbor, Michigan

Title: Popular Conceptions and Preferences Relating to the Place of Islam in Political Life: Insights from Cross-National and Longitudinal Survey Research in the Arab World

Drawing upon 22 representative national surveys conducted in eleven Arab countries since 2002, political scientist Mark Tessler will explore the preferences of ordinary Arab citizens relating to the place of Islam in political life, building on earlier work that suggests citizens in many Arab countries are not content with their relative lack of democracy. These surveys, designed and conducted with participation by scholars in the region, have yielded data on political attitudes and behaviors, including factors explaining why different individuals come to different conclusions about how their countries should be governed. These data fill a missing dimension in political science research in and about the Arab world. Tessler will merge the data from the different surveys, build the conceptual measures, analyze the survey data, and disseminate his findings in a monograph and articles for use by scholars, the public and policymakers in the United States, the Arab world and elsewhere. Along with the monograph, the merged data set will be placed in the public domain for use by others.

Malika Zeghal

Associate Professor

University of Chicago

Chicago, Illinois

Title: Sacred Politics: The Contemporary Arab State, Secularity and Islam

Malika Zeghal, a social scientist, is challenging the conventional interpretation of secularity as a Western phenomenon—one that is closely associated with democratic practices—in a comparative analysis of the role of Islam in Middle Eastern modern authoritarian states and in France's secular democracy. Through in-depth examination of Egypt, Morocco, Jordan, and Tunisia, and their relationship to Islam, she will also shed new light on the emergence of Islamist movements in these countries. The University of Chicago professor's work will explore the important affinities between Islamist political movements and Muslim theologians, or *ulama*. Across the Middle East both of these groups are advocating for Islam's role as a political and ethical force in society. In the project's resulting

publications, Zeghal will demonstrate to what extent Islamist movements are a byproduct of state theologies and state regulation of religion, an articulation that will contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the use of religious concepts in protest against state power.

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