Citizenship, Security and Democracy

International Conference
Istanbul 1st – 3rd September 2006

Organised by
The Association of Muslim Social Scientists (AMSS UK)
The Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research (SETA)
OIC Youth Forum
Sponsored by
Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality

Cemal Reşit Rey Concert Hall and
Safir Hall, Grand Cevahir Hotel and Convention Centre

International Conference

Citizenship, Security and Democracy

Friday 1st September – Sunday 3rd September 2006
Istanbul, Turkey

Hosted by
Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality

Organised by
The Association of Muslim Social Scientists (AMSS UK)
The Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research (SETA, Turkey)
OIC Youth Forum (Turkey)

In Cooperation With
The Association of Muslim Social Scientists (USA)
The Association of Muslim Social Scientists (France)

Patron
The International Institute of Islamic Thought (USA, UK)

Venue
Friday 1st September: Cemal Reşit Rey Concert Hall
Saturday 2nd - Sunday 3rd September: Grand Cevahir Hotel and
Convention Centre

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

International Conference Committee

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Dr. Ibrahim Kalın, SETA, Turkey
Kamran Bokhari, AMSS US
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Introduction

The time for an international gathering of Muslim social scientists is at present a necessity. Global political upheavals have created an insatiable demand for studies, information and analysis of Islam and Muslims. The Muslim social scientist is not only being asked to be academic, objective and dispassionate about critical issues related to the Muslim experience, faith, culture and philosophy, but is also being called upon to "represent" a community misrepresented in monolithic terms. The inherent diversity of the Muslim experience across regional, national, ethnic, theological and social divides defies the homogenising logic of mass media, popular culture, and governmental politics.

The events of 9/11 in the US and 7/7 in the UK have created within circles of Muslim social scientists, especially in North America and Europe, an opportunity for research to explore the Muslim experience in multi-disciplinary and cross-disciplinary ways. We need now to create overlapping, synergistic discourse that will both examine the Muslim experience, and provide the necessary research, analysis and understanding to those who wish to enact social change. Social scientists must be acutely aware of the role they play in the future development of Muslim communities in the West and beyond. In this conference, we will begin to build a network of social scientists who understand the utility, applicability and importance of such research.

The notion of citizenship and security as they relate to democracy and freedom lie at the heart of discourses centred around the presence of significant Muslim communities in the West. In addressing these themes, we will consider these terms in their broadest way. The issue of 'citizenship' can represent a confluence of identities—legal, political, social, religious and spiritual. 'Security', in comparison, has legislative, policy, political, economic, theological and social implications, but can also be used to examine human rights, trust relations, community cohesion, social exclusion, and marginalisation. The new critical tendencies on the capacity of 'democracy' to safeguard the human rights of minorities and collective identities give us a framework for understanding and gauging the status of a pluralistic cultural identity. Further, if anything, the presence of significant Muslim minorities and the emergence of new Islamic discourses regarding modernity have begun to challenge the restrictive and exclusive notions of culture. We need to question 'for whom' these rights are.

Muslim social scientists need, therefore, to develop evidence-based and policy-oriented research that delineates and represents issues of concern to Muslims in current social and

foreign policies. This conference then, welcomes papers that are forward-looking and provide the basis for conceptual, critical and strategic thinking for the future.

Turkey is an ideal location to host this conference. Sitting along the presumed 'fault-line' between 'East and West', 'Christendom and Islam' and given its unique status as the only Muslim-majority country being able to make a case for inclusion in Europe, Turkey's internal and external struggles will provide a challenging and creative locus and a significant historical backdrop for a conference of Muslim social scientists.

Conference Themes

1) Citizenship: New Paradigms and Challenges

- Challenges of plural citizenship.
- Status of minorities in multicultural societies in a transnational world.
- Transnational Muslim organisations
- Political participation of Muslims in Europe and USA
- Muslim women citizenship, empowerment, and discrimination.
- From tolerance to recognition: The processes of integration within the integrity of collective identities.
- Faith and secularism.
- Muslim youth: Experiences, realities and challenges.
- Islamic ethics across multiple cultures in a global environment.
- European models of unity: cultural and political challenges.
- Turkey's cultural identity and EU membership.

2) Security, Violence and Peace

- Security, Integration and Muslim minorities.
- Alternatives to violence: Dissent in civil society.
- Communities' conflict and coexistence.
- Security and Islamophobia.
- Terrorism and extremism in Muslim societies.

- Violence : transnational and national.
- State violence and urban violence
- Islamophobia in the Muslim World?
- Intercultural and interfaith dialogue and the future of peace.
- The Muslim world and the West: New paradigms of communication based on mutual respect and human peace.

3) Democracy, democratisation: Prospects for Civil Society

- Unity without unification in future cross-cultural society.
- Models for peace in fundamental texts of faiths and cultures.
- Muslim scholars in the West: prospects for renewal and mediation.
- Imagining a Europe with Turkey.
- Revival and reform in a fragmented Muslim world
- Europe and the Middle East: Historical and strategic issues.
- The Nation-state and its Future.
- The experience (s) of democracy in Muslim countries.
- Democracy and democratisation: Imposition or persuasion?

Conference Programme

Day 1 • Friday 1st September 2006

18.00 – 18.30   RECEPTION

18.30 – 18.55   OPENING AND PLENARY SESSION
(Cemal Reşit Rey Concert Hall)
CHAIR: **Mehmet Asutay**

SPEAKERS
Ibrahim Kalın, Director, SETA
Anas Al-Shaikh-Ali, Chair, AMSS UK
Ekmeleddin Ihsanoğlu, Secretary General, OIC

18.55 – 19.00   PRESENTATION OF AMSS UK 2005 LIFE ACHIEVEMENT AWARD

19.00 – 20.30   PLENARY SESSION

Anwar Ibrahim
On Citizenship, Security and Democracy
Charles E. Butterworth
Blinkered Politics: The US Approach to Arabs and Muslims
Jeremy Henzell-Thomas
Beyond the Tower of Babel: A Linguistic Approach to Clarifying Key
Concepts in Islamic Pluralism.

20.30   *Dinner*

Day 2 • Saturday 2nd September 2006

08:00 – 09:00 *Registration*

09:00 – 10:45 SESSION 1A: (SAFIR HALL)

CHANGING DYNAMICS OF EUROPE–MUSLIM WORLD
RELATIONS AND DEMOCRATISATION
CHAIR: **Rafik Beekun**

SPEAKERS
John Madeley
Many Nations Under God: The Unsecular State of Europe
Gül Kurtoglu
European Politics, Muslim Countries, and the Development of Political Islam:
Synergy of the Opposites?
Louay Abdulbaki
Democratisation in Indonesia and the Arab World: Internal and External
Challenges

09:00 – 10:45 SESSION 1B: (OPAL HALL)

EXPLORING HUMAN RIGHTS, PLURALISM AND
MULTICULTURALISM IN ISLAM
CHAIR: **Ibrahim Kalın**

SPEAKERS
Kamran Hashemi
Human Rights and the Effects of Traditional Apostasy Rules on the Current
Muslim States' Practices: Distinguishing Between Conversion, Heresy and
Blasphemy
Hilal Kaplan and Süheyb Ögüt
An Authentic Critique of the Issue of Multiculturalism from the Islamic
Perspective
Ahmet Alibasic
The Place for Others in Islam

10.45 – 11.15   *Coffee Break (L1 Foyer)*

11:15 – 13:00   SESSION 2A: (SAFIR HALL)

DECONSTRUCTING 'THE ISLAM AND THE WEST'
DISCOURSE
CHAIR: **Fareena Alam**

SPEAKERS
Mohammed Ilyas
Islamist Groups, Occidentalist Discourse and the Muslim Ummah
Anas Al-Shaikh-Ali
The Shadow of the Classics: Islamophobic Discourse Masquerading as Art and
Literature
Salim Al-Hassani
1001 Inventions: A Discourse on Muslim Heritage in the Curriculum

11:15 – 13:00   SESSION 2B: (OPAL HALL)

RESPONDING TO VIOLENCE AND HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES:
HISTORICAL AND CURRENT TRENDS
CHAIR: **Kamran A. Bokhari**

SPEAKERS
Imad-ad-Dean Ahmad
Alternatives to Violence in Muslim History: Parallels to American Cases and
Prospects for Future Application
Raana Bokhari
Alternatives to Violence: Dissent in Civil Society
Layla M. El-Wafi
British Arab Muslims and the 'War on Terror': Perceptions of Citizenship,
Identity and Human Rights

13:00 – 14.30   *Lunch Break (Sultan Restaurant)*

14:30 – 16:15   SESSION 3A: (SAFIR HALL)

REVISITING THE PAST: IDEAS AND ACTORS FROM
HISTORY
CHAIR: **Gökhan Çetinsaya**

SPEAKERS
Riad Nourallah
For the Twain to Meet: Revisiting a Nineteenth-Century Proposal for Peace
and Partnership Between Europe and Islam
Hilal Ahmed
The Mind Map of a 'Muslim Indian': An Introduction to the Indo-Islamic
Liberalism of Syed Shahabuddin
Faruk Bozgöz
Democracy in the Middle East According to Abdurrahman Munif

14:30 – 16:15   SESSION 3B: (OPAL HALL)

GENDER, RACE AND EMPOWERMENT
CHAIR: **Abdul-Rehman Malik**

SPEAKERS
Zareen Roohi Ahmed
Pakistani Muslim Women in Britain in the Post 7/7 Era
Ülkü Güney
'We Are All Muslims, We Are All Black'

16:15 – 16:45   *Coffee Break (L1 Foyer)*

16:45 – 18:30   SESSION 4A: (SAFIR HALL)

ISLAMIC REVIVALISM AND IMAGINING STATE AND
DEMOCRACY
CHAIR: **Bobby Sayyid**

SPEAKERS
Abdelwahab El-Affendi
Islamic Revivalism and the Elusive Ethical State: Revisiting the "Damascus
Model" as a Key to Restoring Sanity to Muslim Politics

M. A. Muqtedar Khan
Beyond Theology and the Jurisprudence: The Promise of Political Philosophy of Islamic Democracy

16:45 – 18:30   Session 4B: (Opal Hall)

EDUCATION AND CITIZENSHIP: MUSLIM EXPERIENCES
Chair: **Seyfi Kenan**

Speakers
Musharraf Hussain
Traditional Approaches to Moral Education in a Muslim School
Farid Panjwani
Citizenship and the Quality of Religious Education: The Case of Education about Muslims
Jasmin Zine
Teaching and Learning in Times of War and Terror: Developing a Critical Framework for Anti-Islamophobia Education

19:00 – 19:30   Keynote Speech (Safir Hall)

AbdulHamid AbuSulayman
The Role of the Intellectuals in Shaping the Future

20:00   *Departure for Dinner & Boat Tour on the Bosphorus*

Day 3 • Sunday 3rd September 2006

09:00 – 10:45 SESSION 5A: (SAFIR HALL)

MUSLIMS IN EUROPE: CITIZENSHIP ISSUES
CHAIR: **Taha Özhan**

SPEAKERS
Mohamed Mestiri
Dynamics of Secularisation and Citizenship Process: Analysis and Prospective
on the Muslim Situation in France
H. A. Hellyer
From Tolerance to Recognition to Beyond
Ahmet Altunbas
Citizenship and Identity from a German Perspective

09:00 – 10:45 SESSION 5B: (OPAL HALL)

CITIZENSHIP AND PARTICIPATION
CHAIR: **Jasmin Zine**

SPEAKERS
Sonia James-Wilson and Rabia Hos
Preparing Refugees for Democratic Participation: Examining the Role of
Teachers, Resettlement Workers and Local Community Agencies
Lucy Michael
Securing Civic Relations in the Multicultural City
Abdul-Rehman Malik
You've Gotta Have Faith: The Muslim Voluntary Sector and Policy Process

10:45 – 11:15 *Coffee Break (L1 Foyer)*

11:15 – 13:00 SESSION 6A: (SAFIR HALL)

MULTICULTURALISM IN THE UK AND MUSLIM MINORITIES
CHAIR: **H. A. Hellyer**

SPEAKERS
Muhammad Arifin Kevin Brice
Assimilation and Alienation in a Multicultural Society – Non-Visible
Minorities: Lessons Learnt from Indigenous Converts to Islam in the United
Kingdom
Tahir Abbas
British Islamic Culture after 7/7: Ethnicity, Politics and Radicalisation
Mohammad Siddique Seddon
Global Citizenry Ancient and Modern: British Yemenis and Trans-local
Tribalism

11:15 – 13:00   SESSION 6B: (OPAL HALL)

DYNAMICS AND CHALLENGES OF DEMOCRATISATION
PROCESS
CHAIR: **M. A. Muqtedar Khan**

SPEAKERS
Kamran A. Bokhari
Democratisation, Post-Islamism, and Counter-Terrorism
Bobby Sayyid
Western Democrats, Oriental Despots
Mehmet Asutay
Trust and Formation of Social Capital for Enabling Citizens: Socio-Economic
Dimensions of Peace and Security

13:00 – 14.30   *Lunch Break (Sultan Restaurant)*

14:30 – 16:15   SESSION 7A: (SAFIR HALL)

TURKEY: EXAMPLE FOR EAST, CHALLENGE TO THE WEST
CHAIR: **Abdulhamit Kirmizi**

SPEAKERS
Berdal Aral
Is Turkey a Model for the Islamic World?
H. Tarik Oguzlu
Does the Way to Engage Turkey have any Relevance to Security 'Within the
West' and 'Between the West and the East'?

Jeremy Walton
Civil Society and Islamic Civilisation: The Case of Turkish Islamic CSOs

14:30 – 16:15   SESSION 7B: (OPAL HALL)

NATIONAL IDENTITY AND RELIGION: CASES FROM THE
MUSLIM WORLD
CHAIR: **Talha Köse**

SPEAKERS
Muratova Elmira Serverona
Crimean Tatars' Revival: National Identity and Islam
Rasim Özgür Dönmez and Ibrahim Kılınç
Trauma, Meta Identity and Sub-Identities in Turkey
Sami Zemni
Political Islam, Democracy and the Arab World: Exploring the Dilemmas and
Options of Contemporary Global Political Challenges for Islamist Parties and
Movements

16:15 – 16:45   *Coffee Break (L1 Foyer)*

20:00   *Dinner (Sultan Restaurant)*

Konferans Programı

1. Gün • 1 Eylül Cuma 2006

18.00-18.30   İKRAM

18.30-18.55   AÇILIŞ VE PANEL
               (Cemal Reşit Rey Konser Salonu)

               PANEL YÖNETİCİSİ: **Mehmet Asutay**

               KONUŞMACILAR
               İbrahim Kalın, SETA Genel Koordinatörü
               Anas Al-Shaikh Ali, AMSS İngiltere Başkanı
               Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, İKÖ Genel Sekreteri

18.55-19.00   AMSS, İNGİLTERE 2005 YAŞAM BOYU BAŞARI ÖDÜLÜ'NÜN SUNULMASI

19.00-20.30   AÇILIŞ PANELİ

               Anwar Ibrahim
               Vatandaşlık, Güvenlik ve Demokrasi İlişkisi Üzerine
               Charles E. Butterworth
               Göz Kırpma Politikaları: Amerika'nın Araplara ve Müslümanlara Yaklaşımı
               Jeremy Henzell-Thomas
               Babil Kulesi'nin Ötesi: İslami Çoğulculuğun Temel Mefhumlarına Dilbilimci bir Yaklaşım

20.30   *Akşam Yemeği*

2. Gün • 2 Eylül Cumartesi 2006

08:00-09:00 *Kayıt*

09:00-10:45 OTURUM 1A: (SAFIR SALON)

AVRUPA-İSLAM DÜNYASI İLİŞKİLERİ VE
DEMOKRATİKLEŞMEDE DEĞİŞEN DİNAMİKLER

OTURUM BAŞKANI: **Rafik Beekun**

KONUŞMACILAR
John Madeley
Tanrı Altında Muhtelif Milletler: Avrupa'da Seküler Olmayan Durum
Gül Kurtoğlu
Avrupa'da Siyaset, Müslüman Ülkeler ve Siyasi İslamın Gelişimi: Karşıtların
Sinerjisi mi?
Louay Abdulbaki
Endonezya ve Arap Dünyasında Demokratikleşme: İç ve Dış
Tehditler

09:00-10:45 OTURUM 1B: (OPAL SALON)

İSLAM'DA İNSAN HAKLARI, ÇOĞULCULUK VE ÇOK KÜLTÜRLÜLÜĞÜ
DÜŞÜNMEK

OTURUM BAŞKANI: **İbrahim Kalın**

KONUŞMACILAR
Kamran Hashemi
İnsan Hakları ve Müslüman Ülkelerde Geleneksel Din Değiştirme Kurallarının
Etkileri: İhtida, Sapıklık ve Küfür Arasında Ayrım Yapmak
Süheyb Öğüt ve Hilal Kaplan
İslami Perspektiften Çok Kültürlülüğün bir Kritiği
Ahmet Alibasic
İslam'da Öteki'nin Yeri

10.45-11.15 *Kahve Arası (L1 Fuaye)*

11:15-13:00 OTURUM 2A: (SAFİR SALON)

'İSLAM ve BATI' SÖYLEMİNİ YIKMAK

OTURUM BAŞKANI: **Fareena Alam**

KONUŞMACILAR
Mohammad Ilyas
İslamcı Gruplar, Oksidentalist Söylem ve Ümmet
Anas Al-Shaikh-Ali
Klasiklerin Gölgesi: Sanat ve Edebiyat Kisvesinde İslamofobik Söylem
Salim Al-Hassani
1001 (Binbir) Buluş: Eğitim Müfredatında Müslümanların Katkılarına İlişkin Söylem

11:15-13:00 OTURUM 2B: (OPAL SALON)

ŞİDDETE KARŞILIK VERMEK VE İNSAN HAKLARI İHLALLERİ: TARİHİ VE GÜNCEL TEMAYÜLLER

OTURUM BAŞKANI: **Kamran Bokhari**

KONUŞMACILAR
Imad-ad-Dean Ahmad
İslam Tarihinde Şiddete Alternatifler: Amerikan Tecrübesiyle Paralellikler ve Gelecek Uygulamalar İçin İhtimaller
Raana Bokhari
Şiddete Alternatifler: Sivil Toplumda İhtilaf
Layla M. El-Wafi
İngiltere'deki Arap Müslümanlar ve 'Teröre Karşı Savaş': Vatandaşlık, Kimlik ve İnsan Hakları Algılamaları

13:00-14.30 *Öğle Yemeği (Sultan Restaurant)*

14:30-16:15 OTURUM 3A: (SAFİR SALON)

GEÇMİŞE YENİDEN BAKIŞ: TARİHTEN DÜŞÜNCELER VE AKTÖRLER

OTURUM BAŞKANI: **Gökhan Çetinsaya**

Riad Nourallah
İkizlerin Buluşması İçin: Avrupa-İslam İşbirliği ve Barışı Hakkında bir 19.yy.
Önerisine Bakış
Hilal Ahmed
Hintli Bir Müslümanın Zihni: Seyyid Şahabuddin'in Hint-İslam
Liberalizmine Giriş
Faruk Bozgöz
Abdurrahman Münif'in Ortadoğu'da Demokrasi Üzerine Fikirleri

14:30-16:15   OTURUM 3B: (OPAL SALON)

CİNSİYET, IRK VE SELAHİYET

OTURUM BAŞKANI: **Abdul-Rehman Malik**

KONUŞMACILAR
Zareen Ahmed
7 Temmuz Bombalamaları Sonrasında İngiltere'de Pakistanlı Müslüman
Kadınlar
Ülkü Güney
Hepimiz Müslümanız, Hepimiz Zenciyiz

16:15-16:45   Kahve Arası (L1 Fuaye)

16:45-18:30   OTURUM 4A: (SAFİR SALON)

İSLAMİ DİRİLİŞ VE DEVLET-DEMOKRASİ MUHAYYİLESİ

OTURUM BAŞKANI: **Bobby Sayyid**

KONUŞMACILAR
Abdelwahab El-Affendi
İslami Diriliş ve Ahlaki Devlet: İslami Politikaya Aklı Başındalık Getirme
Yolunda "Şam Örneği"
M. A. Muqtedar Khan
Kelam ve Fıkhın Ötesi: İslami Demokrasi'nin Siyasi Felsefesi'nin Sundukları

16:45-18:30   OTURUM 4B: (OPAL SALON)

EĞİTİM VE VATANDAŞLIK: MÜSLÜMANLARIN TECRÜBELERİ

Oturum Başkanı: **Seyfi Kenan**

Konuşmacılar
Musharraf Hussain
Bir Müslüman Okulunda Ahlaki Eğitime Geleneksel Yaklaşımlar
Farid Panjwani
Vatandaşlık ve Dini Eğitimin Kalitesi: Müslümanlar
Hakkındaki Eğitim Üzerine
Jasmin Zine
Savaş ve Terör Dönemlerinde Eğitim-Öğretim: Anti-İslamofobi Eğitimi
Üzerine Eleştirel Bir Çerçeve

19:00-19:30   Onur Konuşması (Safir Salon)

AbdulHamid Abu-Sulayman
Entellektüellerin Geleceğin Şekillenmesindeki Rolü

20:00   *Boğaz Turu ve Yemek için Otelden Ayrılış*

3. Gün • 3 Eylül Pazar 2006

09:00-10:45 OTURUM 5A: (SAFIR SALON)

AVRUPA'DA MÜSLÜMANLAR: VATANDAŞLIK MESELELERİ

OTURUM BAŞKANI: **Taha Özhan**

KONUŞMACILAR
Mohammed Mestiri
Sekülerleşme Dinamikleri ve Vatandaşlık Süreci: Fransa'daki
Müslümanların Durumu Üzerine bir Değerlendirme ve Öneri
H. A. Hellyer
Hoşgörüden Tanımaya ve Daha Ötesine!
Ahmet Altunbaş
Alman Bakış Açısından Vatandaşlık ve Güvenlik

09:00-10:45 OTURUM 5B: (OPAL SALON)

VATANDAŞLIK VE KATILIM

OTURUM BAŞKANI: **Jasmin Zine**

KONUŞMACILAR
Sonia James-Wilson ve Rabia Hos
Mültecilerin Demokratik Katılım İçin Hazırlanması: Öğretmenlerin, Yardım
Çalışanlarının ve Yerel Cemaat Örgütlerinin Rolü
Lucy Michael
Çokkültürlü Şehirde Medeni İlişkileri Muhafaza Etmek
Abdul-Rehman Malik
İnançlı Olmak Lazım: İslami Gönüllü Teşekküller ve Siyasi Süreç

10:45-11:15 *Kahve Arası (L1 Fuaye)*

11:15-13:00 OTURUM 6A: (SAFIR SALON)

İNGİLTERE'DE ÇOK KÜLTÜRLÜLÜK VE MÜSLÜMAN AZINLIKLAR

OTURUM BAŞKANI: **H. A. Hellyer**

M. A. Kevin Brice
Çokkültürlü Toplumda Asimilasyon, Yabancılaşma ve Görünmez Azınlıklar:
İngiliz Muhtedilerden Öğrenilen Dersler
Tahir Abbas
7 Temmuz Bombalamaları Sonrasında İngiltere'de İslami Kültür: Etnisite,
Siyaset ve Radikalleşme
Mohammad Siddique Seddon
Kadim ve Modern Küresel Vatandaşlık: İngiltere'deki Yemenliler
ve Yerel Ötesi Kabilecilik

11:15-13:00   OTURUM 6B: (OPAL SALON)

DEMOKRATİKLEŞME SÜRECİNİN DİNAMİKLERİ VE MEYDAN OKUMALARI

OTURUM BAŞKANI: **M. A. Muqtedar Khan**

KONUŞMACILAR
Kamran A. Bokhari
Demokratikleşme, İslamcılık Sonrası ve Terör Karşıtlığı
Bobby Sayyid
Batılı Demokratlar, Doğulu Despotlar
Mehmet Asutay
Güven ve Vatandaşların Önünü Açmada Sosyal Kapitalin Ortaya Çıkışı: Barış
ve Güvenliğin Sosyo-Ekonomik Boyutları

13:00-14.30   *Öğle Yemeği (Sultan Restaurant)*

14:30-16:15   OTURUM 7A: (SAFIR SALON)

TÜRKİYE: DOĞUYA ÖRNEK, BATIYA TEHDİT Mİ?

OTURUM BAŞKANI: **Abdulhamit Kırmızı**

KONUŞMACILAR
Berdal Aral
Türkiye İslam Dünyası İçin Bir Model midir?
H. Tarık Oğuzlu
Türkiye'yi Sürece Dahil Etmenin "Batı İçindeki" ve "Doğu-Batı
Arasındaki" Güvenlikle İlgisi Var mı?

Jeremy Walton
Sivil Toplum ve İslam Medeniyeti: Türkiye'deki İslami Sivil Toplum Örgütleri Örneği

14:30-16:15   OTURUM 7B: (OPAL SALON)

ULUSAL KİMLİK VE DİN: İSLAM DÜNYASINDAN ÖRNEKLER

OTURUM BAŞKANI: **Talha Köse**

KONUŞMACILAR
Muratova Elmira Serverovna
Kırımlı Tatarların Dirilişi: Ulusal Kimlik ve İslam
Rasim Özgür Dönmez ve İbrahim Kılınç
Travma, Meta-Kimlik ve Türkiye'de Alt Kimlikler
Sami Zemni
Siyasi İslam, Demokrasi ve Arap Alemi: Küresel Siyasi Meydan Okumaların İslami Partiler ve Hareketler İçin İkilemleri ve Seçenekleri

16:15-16:45   *Kahve Arası (L1 Fuaye)*

20:00   *Akşam Yemeği (Sultan Restaurant)*

Conference Speakers

TAHIR ABBAS is Senior Lecturer and Director, University of Birmingham Centre for the Study of Ethnicity and Culture, United Kingdom. He has an Economics degree from Queen Mary, University of London, a MSocSc from University of Birmingham, and Phd in Ethnic Relations from the University of Warwick. His main area of expertise is race equality, ethnicity, multiculturalism, and British Muslims. He has published 18 single and joint authored articles in internationally respected journals and has written over 30 chapters, reviews, and newspaper and magazine articles. In 2004, his first monograph, *The Education of British South Asians: Ethnicity, Capital and Class Structure*, was published and in 2005, *Muslim Britain: Communities under Pressure*. He is writing his next monograph, *British Islam: The Road to Radicalism* and editing *Islamic Political Radicalism* both to be published in 2006.

LOUAY ABDULBAKI was born in Syria in 1965 and migrated to Australia in 1990. He is a PhD Candidate at Monash Asia Institute, Monash University (Australia) and a recipient of an APA scholarship award. He received his Pgrad. Dip. in Arts (Islamic studies), with 1st Class Honours, from The University of Melbourne, and BA (Politics) from Victoria University. Earlier he received his Islamic education from the Islamic Dawah College in Syria.
Louay is the author of two Arabic books: (titles translated) *The Roots of the Islamic Political Thought and the Stages of its Development* (al-Qalam, Beirut, 2004), and *Against Modernity?!.. Modern Concepts in Contemporary Arabic Discourse between Abstraction and Concrete Connotations*. He is a co-founder of the Maarifah Association (an educational organisation), former Co-ordinator of the Arabic Program at the Islamic Voice Radio (Melbourne). He has also authored and presented many radio programs and published many articles on contemporary Islamic and Arabic thought and Arab politics.

ABDULHAMID ABUSULAYMAN is President of the International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT) USA, President of the Child Development Foundation, USA, and former Rector of the International Islamic University, Malaysia. He holds a PhD in International Relations and an MA in Political Science. He is also former President of the AMSS (US), and former Chair of the Department of Political Science, Riyadh University, Saudi Arabia . He has authored numerous works in Arabic and English, among them in English: *Towards an Islamic Theory of International Relations, Crisis in the Muslim Mind* and *Marital Discourse*.

ABDELWAHAB EL-AFFENDI is a Senior Research Fellow at the Centre for the Study of Democracy, University of Westminster and Co-ordinator of the Centre's Democracy and Islam Programme. Educated at the Universities of Khartoum, Wales, and Reading, he is author of *Turabi's Revolution: Islam and Power in Sudan* (1991), *Who Needs an Islamic State?* (1991), *Revolution and Political Reform in Sudan* (1995), *Rethinking Islam and Modernity* (2001), *For a State of Peace: Conflict and the Future of Democracy in Sudan* (2002) and *The Conquest of Muslim Hearts and Minds: Perspectives on U.S. Reform and Public Diplomacy Strategies* (2005). He has also contributed to many leading journals, and is contributor or co-author of works including: *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (1998), *Social Science and Conflict Analysis* (1993), *Islam and Justice* (1997), *Islam and Secularism in the Middle East* (2000), *Islamic Thought in the Twentieth Century* (2003) *Understanding Democratic Politics* (2003), *American Power in the 21st Century* (2004), *The Arab Human Development Report* (2004), and *The Blackwell Companion to Contemporary Islamic Thought* (2006).

Dr. El-Affendi was a member of the core team of authors of the *Arab Human Development Report* (2004) and is a member of the Advisory Board and a contributor to the forthcoming report. He is also a member of the Commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia, member of the Board of Directors of Inter-Africa Group, and a trustee of the International Forum for Islamic Dialogue, and on the AMSS UK Advisory Board. He is the 2006 winner of the Muslim News Allama Iqbal Award for Creativity in Islamic Thought.

IMAD-AD-DEAN AHMAD graduated *cum laude* from Harvard in 1970 and in 1975 obtained a PhD in astronomy and astrophysics from the University of Arizona. He holds a position as senior lecture teaching honours courses in Religion and Progress at the University of Maryland in College Park, MD and this Fall begins teaching a course on Islam, Development and Science at Georgetown for the Center on Christian-Muslim Understanding. Dr. Ahmad is a frequent guest lecturer on Islam at the Foreign Services Institute and an adjunct lecturer for the Joint Special Operations University's Middle East Orientation Course. He is currently President of the Minaret of Freedom Institute, an Islamic think-tank in the Washington, DC area. He is the author of *Signs in the Heavens*, co-editor of *Islam and the West: A Dialog*, and co-author of *Islam and the Discovery of Freedom*.

HILAL AHMED is doing a PhD at the Department of Political and International Studies, School of Oriental and African studies (SOAS), University of London. His PhD is on the "Muslim Politics of Monuments and Memory in India". He will be submitting his thesis within a few months. He is interested in Muslim politics and Islamic political theory, though in a quite 'unconventional' manner. Instead of merely looking at the ideas and political vocabulary of Muslim politics/Islamic politics, he is more concerned about the concrete social, political

and intellectual realities that produce political ideas. In this sense, his focus has been on multiple Muslim modernities and their political reflections. This is the reason why his thesis examines the process of monumentalisation in colonial and postcolonial India to know the evolution of the idea of an 'Indian Muslim architectural heritage'.

ZAREEN ROOHI AHMED is Chief Executive Officer of the British Muslim Forum, a Midlands based organisation which represents 600 mosques and their Muslim communities around the UK through a range of innovative projects that empower people within Muslim communities to achieve social change. Born in the West Midlands and originally trained in design and marketing, Zareen's experience has included urban regeneration project management, charity fundraising and management of a national volunteering programme. Zareen's doctoral research relates to 'the lack of involvement of Muslim women in British society and its subsequent impact on neighbourhood renewal, regeneration issues and policy development'. On a voluntary basis Zareen is Chair of 'Regeneration and Renewal Committee' at The Muslim Council of Britain (MCB), Chairs an Islamic Arts organisation, 'SilverLeaf Arts', and a local 'Jobs, Education & Training' (JET) centre based in Derby's Muslim community. She is also an NLP Practitioner, Hypnotherapist and Diversity Trainer.

AHMET ALIBASIC is lecturer at the Faculty of Islamic Studies, University of Sarajevo, teaching History of Islamic Civilisation. He has a BA in Islamic Studies and Political Sciences from the International Islamic University Malaysia, MA in Islamic Political Institutions from the International Institute for Islamic Thought and Civilisation, Kuala Lumpur, and currently is a PhD Candidate at Sarajevo University. He has published dozens of articles and translated books and articles dealing with democratisation, opposition, legitimisation, church-state relations in Europe and USA, human rights, and Islamic history and civilisation. He is Deputy-President of the Association of Muslim Scholars of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

AHMET ALTUNBAŞ was born and brought up in Izmit, Turkey. He studied at the Technical University of Istanbul ITU and obtained a MSc in Information Management and Architecture. He lived in several countries and now resides in Cologne, Germany. He is a member of the Association of Muslim Social Scientists in Germany

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MEHMET ASUTAY is a lecturer in Political Economy at the School of Government and International Affairs, Durham University, UK. His current teaching includes Political Economy of the Middle East, Economic Development in Middle East and Islamic Economics and Finance. His research interests are mainly focused on political economy, development economics, public choice, institutional economics, political economy of Turkey and the Middle East; philosophy of social research. He is the managing editor of the *Review of Islamic Economics*, and is in the editorial board of the *Encounters: Journal of Intercultural Understanding*, and is a member of the Editorial Board of *Islamica*, a quarterly current affairs magazine.

KAMRAN A. BOKHARI is a Senior Analyst with Strategic Forecasting, Inc (Stratfor) – a private US intelligence firm based in Austin, TX and Washington, DC – appraising geopolitics in the Middle East and South Asia. He is also pursuing a doctorate in political science. Bokhari has published numerous analytical, scholarly, and theoretical articles related to politics of the Muslim world and has presented research papers in many academic forums. He has also been interviewed by a number of leading media outlets as well. His areas of specialisation include (but are not limited to) international affairs, security, terrorism, comparative political systems, Islam and democracy, modern Islamic political thought, and Islamist movements. Bokhari – a former Islamist activist – is also a member of the Washington, DC-based think tank Center for the Study of Islam & Democracy (CSID) and is the treasurer of the US-based international scholarly group, the Association of Muslim Social Scientists (AMSS). He is also the founder of the email based Political Islam Discussion List (PIDL), housed on the University of Texas at Austin server.

RAANA BOKHARI studied Law and practiced initially, she qualified as a lecturer and taught Law at a FE college. She then worked at Lancaster University in Educational Research as a Course Co-ordinator and Research Associate. Since completing an MA in Religious Studies at Lancaster University, she has started a PhD at Cambridge University in Theology, specifically Gujarati Muslim Women in Leicester and public space. She taught extensively on BA and MA programmes in Adult Education Religious Studies. She is also a qualified Muslim Chaplain. Most of her time these days is spent with her two young boys!

FARUK BOZGÖZ is Assistant Professor of Arabic Language and Literature, and chair of the Department of Eastern Languages and Literatures at the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Dicle University, Diyarbakır, Turkey. He teaches Modern Standard Arabic, Arabic Literature, Linguistics and Classical Arabic and is currently working on translations of some modern Arabic poems, novels and short stories into Turkish and writing about Middle East issues.

MUHAMMAD ARIFIN KEVIN BRICE graduated from University College London with a BA (Hons) Philosophy in 1989. He moved to Indonesia in 1991 where amongst other things he studied Indonesian law at Universitas Islam Al-Azhar (UNIZAR) for three years. In 2001 he moved back to the United Kingdom and began working in Higher Education. He is currently writing up a dissertation for the MA Islamic Studies at the Islamic College for Advanced Studies (ICAS). In September 2005 he presented a paper at the 2nd International Conference of the International Institute for the Study of Englishness entitled "An English Muslim in Search of an Identity". He is a member of the editorial panel of the journal *Identity, Self & Symbolism* and is also involved in the independent publishing house Open House Press. He is conducting research into converts to Islam in the United Kingdom, looking specifically at converts from the "White British" ethnic group.

CHARLES E. BUTTERWORTH is Professor of Government and Politics at the University of Maryland, College Park. He specialises in medieval Arabic and Islamic political philosophy. Professor Butterworth's publications include critical editions of most of the Middle Commentaries written by Averroes on Aristotle's logic; translations of books and treatises by Averroes, al-Farabi, and al-Razi, as well as Maimonides; and studies of different aspects of the political teaching of these and other thinkers in the ancient, medieval and modern tradition of philosophy. He has also written monograph analyses of the political thought of Frantz Fanon and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. He is a member of several learned organisations and past president of the American Council for the Study of Islamic Societies (ACSIS) as well as of the Société Internationale pour l'Étude de l'Histoire de la Philosophie et la Science Arabe et Islamique (SIHSPAI).

RASIM ÖZGÜR DÖNMEZ is an Assistant Professor in the School of Economic and Administrative Sciences, Abant Izzet Baysal University, Turkey. He focuses on issues of Europeanisation and Turkey, conflict resolution, identity politics and the role of ethnicity in Turkish political tradition.

ÜLKÜ GÜNEY is a final year PhD student at the University of Essex department of Sociology. She studied at the University of Hamburg where she completed her M.A. in Sociology. Her PhD thesis is concerned with identity transformations among British Asian Muslim Youth in the wake of the 'race-riots' in northern England in 2001 and the 9/11 events. She is a woman of Turkish background with experiences of immigration in Germany. Prior to her studies in Sociology she trained as a Social Youth Worker in an academy in Munich. She worked several years in various refugee camps in Munich and in young refugees housing units in Hamburg. She is currently at the Middle East Technical University (METU) in Ankara as a visiting PhD candidate.

KAMRAN HASHEMI is currently undertaking a PhD in international law at the Irish Centre for Human Rights, National University of Ireland, Galway. He has authored several publications in Persian and English including: *Terrorist Threats: Preparing for an Effective and Joint Response, International Law and Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage, Islamic Law and International Terrorism, The Right of Minorities to Identity: Study on the Effects of Traditional Muslims' Dhimmah on Current States' Practices, and Religious Legal Traditions, Muslim States and the Convention on the Rights of the Child* (which won the Third Best Paper Award at the 34th Annual Conference of AMSS, October 2005).

H. A. HELLYER is a research consultant based as an Associate Fellow at the University of Warwick, UK. With degrees in Law and International Political Economy, he read for his doctorate at the University of Warwick under the supervision of Professor Muhammad Anwar, one of the most prolific authors on Muslims in Europe. His research interests include European Muslim communities, European social policy, political philosophy multiculturalism/integration/citizenship) and the interplay between Islam and modernity, including the rise of radical extremism. In the aftermath of the 7th July bombings in London, he was nominated to be the Deputy Convenor of the UK Government's Home Office work stream on 'Tackling Extremism and Radicalisation'. He continues his work as an independent research consultant to various sections of international civil society, including various parts of the civil service, think tanks such as DEMOS, and community organisations. He has published widely, including chapters in a volume on Muslim radical extremism (due to be released in 2006) and a volume entitled *The State We are In: Identity, Terror and the Law of Jihad* (2006). *The European Other: Muslims and Islam in the European Union* (to be published October 2006) which examines the position of European Muslim communities with regards to law, Muslim jurisprudence (fiqh), history, and political philosophy. *The Guardian,* opendemocracy.net, islam-online.net and the BBC have sought his expertise in his field, and he has written for a number of publications including *The Independent, Q-News,* and *The Muslim World Review.*

JEREMY HENZELL-THOMAS is Executive Director of the Book Foundation, a registered UK charity whose objects include the publication of key Islamic texts, the sponsorship of Islamic art, and the development of educational resources designed to revive the finest elements of the Islamic tradition. He was the first Chair of FAIR (UK Forum Against Islamopho-bia and Racism) from 2001-2003 and has served as an Executive Committee member of the AMSS UK and is currently on the AMSS UK Advisory Board. He holds a PhD in Linguistics from the University of Lancaster and has worked at many levels in education both in the UK and overseas, as a teacher, academic director, schools inspector, university lecturer, higher degree research supervisor and educational consultant. He speaks widely on educational issues and

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MUSHARRAF HUSSAIN is Director of the Karimia Institute, Principal of Nottingham Islamia School and Chief editor of *The Invitation* (Muslim family Magazine), President of the Christian Muslim Forum UK and Honorary Fellow of Staffordshire University. He is also a member of the AMSS (UK) Advisory Board.

ANWAR IBRAHIM is a former Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister of Malaysia. He is also one of the founders, together with the late Prof. Ismail al-Faruqi, of the IIIT (International Institute of Islamic Thought). In 1998 Newsweek International named him Asian of the Year. He is currently a senior associate member of St. Anthonys, Oxford University and visiting professor in the Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding, Georgetown University, USA. Anwar Ibrahim has published two books *Menangani Perubahan* (Managing Change, Berita Publishing 1988), and *The Asian Renaissance*, (Times Publications, Singapore, 1997), and more than a dozen articles including: "The Ardent Moderates", *Time* magazine, August 1996; "Who Hijacked Islam?" *Time* magazine, October 2001; "We Muslims Must Reform our Own Politics", *The Asian Wall Street Journal*, October 2003; "There is So Much to Do" *Time* magazine, September 2004; and recently "The Quest for Social Justice" *Global Agenda* magazine (of the World Economic Forum Annual Meeting) January 2005.

MOHAMMED ILYAS is a student at Goldsmiths College, Department of Sociology, University of London. He is currently undertaking a PhD in the emergence of Islamist groups in Europe. The research is a comparison between the UK, France and Germany. The research aims to understand the politics and ideologies of Islamist groups and their members and their subsequent influences on Muslims across Europe. This research raises a number of important questions for Muslims, non-Muslims and Europe in general.

SONIA JAMES-WILSON is an Assistant Professor and Director of the Urban Teaching and Leadership Program, a comprehensive approach to recruiting, preparing and providing professional development for urban teachers and administrators based on her research. She has worked in the field of education as a classroom teacher, administrator, consultant to K-12 schools and colleges and teacher educator in both Canada and the United States. Her research examines the ways in which social, economic, cultural and physical difference contribute to inequity

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IBRAHIM KALIN is an Assistant Professor of Religious Studies at the College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, MA and the Director of the SETA Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research, Turkey. At Holy Cross, he teaches a number of courses on Islam including Introduction to Islam, Introduction to the Qur'an, Islamic Philosophy and Theology, Sufism, Islam and the West, and Islam in the Modern World. His field of concentration is post-Avicennan Islamic philosophy with research interests in Ottoman intellectual history, Islamic scientific tradition, interfaith dialogue, mysticism, and comparative philosophy. He has contributed to several encyclopedias including *MacMillan Encyclopedia of Philosophy* 2nd Edition and *Encyclopedia of Religion* 2nd Edition. He has published widely on Islamic philosophy and the relations between Islam and the West. His recent publications include "Organisation of the Islamic Conference: A Voice for the Muslim World?", *ISIM Review*, No 17 (Spring 2006), and "The Sun Rising from the West: The Influence of American Islamic Thinkers on Turkey" in *Muslims in the United States: Identity, Influence, Innovation*, ed. by Philippa Strum (Washington DC: The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2005).

HILAL KAPLAN graduated from Istanbul Bilgi University, Department of Psychology. She has worked as a Pyschological Consultant at several medical centres, been involved in several projects, and has been continuing her studies as an independent researcher.

M. A. MUQTEDAR KHAN is Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science and International Relations at the University of Delaware, starting Fall 2005. Prior to that he was Chair of the Department of Political Science and the Director of International Studies at Adrian College. He is a non-resident Fellow at the Brookings Institution. Dr. Khan is also associated with the Center for the Study of Islam and Democracy and the Institute for Social Policy and Understanding. He has been the President, Vice President and General Secretary of the Association of Muslim Social Scientists. He is the author of *American Muslims: Bridging Faith and Freedom* (2002), and *Jihad for Jerusalem: Identity and Strategy in International Relations* (2004). His forthcoming books are titled *Beyond Jihad and Crusade: Rethinking US policy in the Muslim World* (2006) and *Islam, Democracy and Political Theory* (2005). Dr. Khan frequently comments on BBC, CNN, FOX and VOA TV, NPR and other radio and TV networks. His political commentaries appear regularly in newspapers in over 20 countries.

IBRAHIM KILINÇ is in the final stages of completing his PhD thesis, at The Catholic Univer-

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GÜL KURTOGLU is an Assistant Professor in the Department of International Relations at Dokuz Eylül University, Izmir, Turkey. She teaches international relations, comparative politics and the Middle East. Her research areas include political Islam, ethnic and religious clashes, democratisation, and political parties.

JOHN MADELEY is a Lecturer in Government at the London School of Economics and Political Science and recently co-edited and contributed to the volume *Church and State in Contemporary Europe: the Chimera of Neutrality* (2003).

ABDUL-REHMAN MALIK is Contributing Editor of *Q-News* magazine and an educator with a wide variety of professional, community and media experiences. He is also Contributor and Freelance Consultant to various media organisations, and frequent on-air contributor and consultant to CBC Radio, CBC Television, The Toronto Star, TV Ontario, Canadian Press and The New York Times among others. He has a MSc on the developing Muslim Voluntary Sector from the LSE, and holds a B.A. Hons. in Political Science and Middle East and Islamic History with distinction from the University of Toronto. He has written for *The Observer*, opendemocracy.net as well as contributing analysis and comment to the BBC, Channel 4, RTE and many other media organisations around the world. He is also currently a project manager on the Radical Middle Way Project, a community led initiative to engage young Muslims on issues of extremism and radicalisation. He is a member of the AMSS UK Executive Committee.

MOHAMED MESTIRI holds a doctorate in Islamic Ethical Philosophy from the Sorbonne. He studied Islamic Theology at the Zitouna University, Tunisia and is currently Professor of Usul and Contemporary Islamic Thought at the Institut des Sciences Islamiques, Paris, France, as well as Director of the research institute, Institut Supérieur d'Etudes Civilisationnelles (ISEC). He is also the editor of *Roua*, a bimonthly magazine focusing on intellectual issues, and the Director and Academic Adviser of the Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT) in France.

LUCY MICHAEL is a PhD student in the Research Institute for Law, Politics and Justice at Keele University. She graduated in law from University College Dublin and then went on to complete a postgraduate degree in criminology at Keele University. She is currently writing up her doctoral project based on research in the Pakistani communities of Stoke-on-Trent and Manchester. Lucy's research explores the nature and performance of leadership within ethnic

minority communities facing problems of conflict and cohesion. The project has been supported by the Economic and Social Research Council UK, Office of the Deputy Prime Minister and Keele University.

RIAD NOURALLAH is Senior Lecturer, Deputy Director and Module Leader ('Diplomacy in Islam' and 'Research Methodology') at the Diplomatic Academy of London, University of Westminster. He has written on literary, cultural and diplomatic themes and has contributed to such publications as *Arabian Studies, Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, and the *International Journal of Arabic Studies*. His recent works include *The Fire of the Northern Rose* (1996) and *The Messenger* (1998). He is also a member of the AMSS (UK) Advisory Board.

SÜHEYB ÖGÜT is a graduate of the Department of Political Science at Istanbul Bilgi University. He is an independent researcher focusing on East-West relations and on the tensions between Islamic and Western civilisations.

H. TARıK OGUZLU is an Assistant Professor in the Department of International Relations at Bilkent University, Ankara, Turkey. He has been researching and publishing on Turkish-Greek relations, International Relations Theory, the Turkish experience in international organisations, and transatlantic relations.

FARID PANJWANI has a range of teaching, training and work experience in the fields of Islamic Studies and Education. Much of his recent experience stems from hands-on research and reflects his work in the areas of curriculum development and teacher education. He is currently working at the Institute for the Study of Muslim Civilisations, London, and undertaking a doctorate in the philosophy of education at Oxford University. His latest publication is: "Agreed Syllabi and Un-agreed Values: Religious Education and Missed Opportunities for Fostering Social Cohesion" in the *British Journal of Educational Studies*, (September 2005).

BOBBY SAYYID is a political theorist and the author of *A Fundamental Fear: Eurocentrism and the Emergence of Islamism*. He is currently a University Research Fellow in Postcolonialism at the University of Leeds and a member of the AMSS UK Executive Committee.

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MURATOVA ELMIRA SERVERONA is currently Docent, Department of Political Science, Tavrida National Vernadsky University, Ukraine. She holds a PhD in Political Science, on the topic of Political Analysis of Islam's Revival in the Crimea. Her main research and teaching interests include, Religion and Politics, Islam and Politics, Political Islam, Islam in the post-soviet regions, the Islamic World in Modern Politics (Middle East), Inter-ethnic Relations, and Dialogue between Religions and civilisations. She was also awarded a second place Diploma from the Ukrainian Center of Islamic Studies (2005) in a competition on scientific works about Islam and the Ukraine.

ANAS AL-SHAIKH-ALI is an Academic Advisor to the International Institute of Islamic Thought and Director of its Translation Department, London Office. He is also Chair of the Association of Muslim Social Scientists (AMSS UK) and Chair of the Forum Against Islamophobia and Racism (FAIR). Dr. Anas has a PhD in American Studies and has taught Literature and Translation at universities in the Middle East. He is a Trustee of FED 2000 UK (for Education and Development). He is Executive Director of Legacy Publishing and on the Editorial Board of the American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences. His current research interests: Islam in Western Popular Culture, Islam and the Media, Muslim Education in Europe and Muslim Discourse in Europe. He is writing a book on *Islam in Contemporary Popular Fiction Since 1970.* He is on the Advisory Board of *Islamica Magazine.*

LAYLA M. EL-WAFI has a BA in Human Services and Sociology from The George Washington University in Washington DC in (2001) and a MA in Globalisation and Development from the University of Westminster, London (2003). She has worked with community based organisations in America as well as for international development organisations such as UNICEF and Women for Women International in the Middle East. She currently resides in London where she works for Amnesty International and studies law.

JEREMY WALTON is a PhD candidate in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Chicago, currently conducting research for his dissertation in Istanbul, with support from the Fulbright Hayes Foundation. His research focuses primarily on the relationship between

Turkey's *vakiflar* (NGOs or charitable foundations) and evolving notions of Turkish secularism. Specifically, he is conducting indepth fieldwork with many of the most active Islamic *vakfys* based in Istanbul, including the Türkiye Gazeteciler ve Yazarlar Vakfy and the Türkiye Gönüllü Tepekküller Vakfy.

SAMI ZEMNI is Professor of Political Sciences at the University of Ghent (Belgium). He is Director of the Centre for Islam in Europe (CIE, www.flwi.ugent.be/cie/CIE/index.htm) based at the University of Ghent and Co-ordinator of the Middle East and North Africa Research Group (MENARG, http://www.psw.ugent.be/menarg/). His current research interests include political Islam (Islamism), jihadi-movements, patterns of Islamic mobilisation in comparative perspective and Islam in Europe (institutionalisation, image-building, etc). He has published extensively in books, national and international journals as well as media outlets.

JASMIN ZINE is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Sociology at Wilfrid Laurier University. She has co-authored three books in the area of anti-racism education and has completed a book manuscript on Islamic schools in Canada. She also has several refereed journal articles in the area of Muslims and education in Canada and in the field of Muslim women's studies. As part of a post 9/11 initiative sponsored by the federal Multiculturalism Program and Department of Canadian Heritage, Dr. Zine has co-developed multimedia curriculum resources for anti-Islamophobia education for MENTORS (Muslim Educational Network, Training and OutReach Services). This initative won the Anti-Bias Curriculum Award from the Canadian Federation of Elementary School Teachers and the J.S. Woodsworth Human Rights Award.

Conference Abstracts

BRITISH ISLAMIC CULTURE AFTER 7/7: ETHNICITY, POLITICS AND RADICALISATION
Tahir Abbas

The tragic events of 7/7 have placed the subject of British Muslims at the centre of public policy, debate and rhetoric. Based on ongoing ethnographic research on the British South Asian Muslim community in Birmingham, this paper explores the changing religio-culture nature of Muslim identities. First, the demographic and socio-economic profile of the British Muslim population is elaborated upon. Second, discussions of multiculturalism, integration and segregation and how they have informed the perceptions towards and the experiences of British Muslims are contextualised. Third, the sociological drivers of Islamic political radicalism are interpreted, exploring the ways in which the local and global contexts are inextricably linked in the formation of extremist identities. Finally, the ways in which government policy has developed in the light of the strengthening of anti-terrorist legislation and its impact on civil liberties and the political, cultural and intellectual mobilisation experienced at grassroots level are analysed. This paper argues that British South Asian Muslims are at an important crossroads in their lives in this country, with important ramifications for political, intellectual and theological leadership impacting on developments to civil society and urban governance.

DEMOCRATISATION IN INDONESIA AND THE ARAB WORLD: INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL CHALLENGES
Louay Abdulbaki

The urgent need for Democratisation in the Muslim world has been felt by both domestic and international actors as radicalism and te rrorism have become increasingly associated with authoritarianism and repressive non-democratic environments. However, the rise of political Islam has prompted many intellectuals and Western policy-makers to advocate the exclusion of the Islamist groups from the political process. This exclusionist stance has been justified by some studies based on assumptions that associate Islam with the rejection of certain liberal ideals. Other studies have been more attentive to the rich diversity of Islamic applications and

conceptions of politics, law and human rights issues. The paper aims to examine the following two questions: If Islam influences a particular form of political development, why has Democratisation become a strong impulse in Indonesia and remained effectively a non-existent in the Arab world? What conditions and factors, internal and external, have contributed to the success or failure of Democratisation in Indonesia and the Arab world?

ISLAMIC REVIVALISM AND THE ELUSIVE ETHICAL STATE: REVISITING THE "DAMASCUS MODEL" AS A KEY TO RESTORING SANITY TO MUSLIM POLITICS
Abdelwahab El-Affendi

The recent difficulties experienced by Islamic regimes such as those of Iran or Sudan, and the crises faced by many modern Islamic movements, has been described by some analysts as an indication of the "failure of political Islam" (Roy, 1994). This was in turn seen as a function of chasing an impossible dream of establishing the virtuous state in this world. This paper tries to reposition the debate on this issue by simultaneously re-examining the caliphate model which revivalist movements seek to create, and also the theoretical foundations of the modern state in order to shed new light on the key questions involved. The paper argues that the collapse of the Medina model of the Righteous Caliphate needs to be seen in the broader context of the failure of pre-modern republican regimes, and is due to objective conditions that made the model of the city state republic impractical for imperial regimes. On the other hand, the problem of modern revivalism can also be seen in the wider context of the problem of the autonomy of politics. The problem is not just specific to the impracticality of the Islamic state as such, but the ethical state in general. The paper argues that the democratic solution to this predicament has important lessons for Islamic political thought which need to be drawn and elaborated upon to solve the problem of the elusive ethical state.

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE IN MUSLIM HISTORY: PARALLELS TO AMERICAN CASES AND PROSPECTS FOR FUTURE APPLICATION
Imad-ad-Dean Ahmad

The paper will examine the alternatives to violence in Muslim history. Examples are the unauthorised pilgrimage to Makkah that led to the treaty of Hudaibiyya, Abu Kalam Azad's role in the Indian resistance against the British occupation, and the first Palestinian intifada.
We consider the parallels between the Muslim examples to the best-known Western cases:

Thoreau's resistance to the taxes supporting slavery and the Mexican War, the American civil rights movement, and the Vietnam War protests. These parallels include the role that religion played in these movements, the formation of alliances, how the movements dealt with issues of provocation, the role of publicity, and the role of the threat of violence. We conclude by considering policy applications in the near future with regard to current issues such as restrictions on Islamic dress, responses to insults to Islam in the European press, and final status negotiations between the Israelis and the Palestinian Authority.

THE MIND MAP OF A 'MUSLIM INDIAN': AN INTRODUCTION TO THE INDO-ISLAMIC LIBERALISM OF SYED SHAHABUDDIN
Hilal Ahmed

This paper examines the political ideas of Syed Shahabuddin, one of the most prominent Muslim political leaders in postcolonial India, who is described as an anti-secular radical Muslim politician. Unlike his controversial public image, Shahabuddin's political writings are focused and organised. He is concerned about Indian constitutionalism, possibilities of an 'India' specific secularism and the rights of marginalised groups. In fact, he attempts to conceptualise the 'Muslim issues' in the wider context of democracy and citizenship. The paper focuses on three crucial aspects of Shahabuddin's political writings: (a) identities and institutions (b) 'contextual' secularism and (c) the politics of 'Muslim Indians' and the agenda of social justice. I argue that Shahabuddin's political ideas on Islam and secular politics challenge the conventional and rigid understanding.

PAKISTANI MUSLIM WOMEN IN BRITAIN IN THE POST 7/7 ERA
Zareen Roohi Ahmed

Pakistanis account for 43 per cent of Britain's Muslim population, constituting the largest and dominant group. Characteristics of the British Muslim population are predominantly those of the Pakistani community. Since the 7/7 London bombings and realisation that most perpetrators were British born Pakistanis, this community has been under scrutiny. The ensuing discourse highlighted Muslim Women as a potential means to solving problems of extremism, social cohesion, and democracy within the Muslim community. Many spontaneous initiatives were launched by Muslim politicians and organisations; but these were focused on already engaged, professional women. The paper focuses on "the exclusion of Pakistani Muslim Women in British society and how this impacts on social regeneration, community, citizenship,

family challenges". The study includes:

- Mapping Muslim women 'post 7/7' activity,
- focus groups involving inner-city Pakistani Muslim women,
- analysis from a nationwide survey of 5000 Pakistani Muslim women,
- analysis from government projects relating to Muslim women,
- interviews with policy makers/influencers.

THE PLACE FOR OTHERS IN ISLAM
Ahmet Alibasic

The first part of the presentation deals with the general Islamic principles and precedents that make up the "liberal ethos of Islam," such as the primacy of justice over religious formalism, and the messenger Muhammad's acceptance and magnanimous reciprocation of the good deeds of non-Muslims. The second part deals with the norms of Islamic law that concern non-Muslims. The aim is to show how contemporary Muslim scholars find sufficient ground for the solid justification of co-existence with a high level of tolerance between Muslims and non-Muslims even in classical Islamic law without far-fetched interpretations. The presentation concludes with the thesis that the Islamic sources might leave no room for religious indifference, agnosticism, or moral relativism in its extreme forms, but that Islam has that dose of relativism that is necessary for the normal functioning of multi-religious societies.

CITIZENSHIP AND IDENTITY FROM A GERMAN PERSPECTIVE
Ahmet Altunbaş

Germany has today between 3.2-3.5 million Muslims who came mainly as migrant workers from the early sixties of the last century till today. For the first time in 1998 the German government changed its policy towards this migrants heading to integrate them to the German society better. The challenges and difficulties connected to the presence of this minority have been in the focus of numerous studies and research projects in the last years. The target of this paper is to present an overview about what has been done in this field and to open up perspectives for the future developments.

IS TURKEY A MODEL FOR THE ISLAMIC WORLD?
Berdal Aral

The assertation that Turkey is a model for the Islamic world, as sometimes expressed at some particular western political centres are based on the thesis that Turkey is a model country that can set an example for the Islamic world as a secular, democratic, nation-state model that is in harmony with the West. These people accept the AK Party, which has been in power since 2002, one of the strongest evidence of the reconciliation of Islam with secularism and democracy: the AK Party accepts secularism in spite of the fact that most of the party founders and supporters are religious Muslims.

This paper will firstly answer the question of why Turkey is described as a model for the Islamic world by the dominant powers of the world. In this context these powers desire to break resistance points and also prevent the unification tendencies of the Islamic world, will be particularly emphasised. Based on this analysis, the paper will claim that Turkey infact does not set an example for the Islamic World in this context. The basic reasons being that: 1) The historical break, which occurred in the early years of the Turkish Republic, caused a serious identity crisis in Turkish society. 2) The official ideology which surrounds state and public fields as a result of the unhealthy citizen-state relation in Turkey. 3) The hysterias of official ideology may be felt in both the constitution and laws. Furthermore, the legal and actual influence of military and civil bureaucracy on the system is continuing. Consequently, the claim that Turkey is a democratic law state is not realistic. 4) Turkey is not a state that reconciles Islam and secularism. It is a state which abstracts religion from the public field by compressing Islam to within iman (faith), worship and morality triangle. Moreover, one of the aims of education policy, which is still under the responsibility of state, is not to raise "religious Muslims". Finally, the argument that Turkish society has tolerance and inclines to pluralism does not have a strong base. This will be evidenced by an analysis of some public surveys.

TRUST AND FORMATION OF SOCIAL CAPITAL FOR ENABLING CITIZENS: SOCIO-ECONOMIC DIMENSIONS OF PEACE AND SECURITY
Mehmet Asutay

The discourse and strategies of economic development have shifted in the last two decades from macro perspectives to micro foundations, as it has become clear that governments have failed to develop their societies through their macro policies. This follows the wisdom articulated by Sen with his 'development as freedom approach', in which he explains that policies should aim to help 'functioning' and 'enabling' people; to provide them with their dignity in

their search to overcome economic hardship, without which economic development cannot take place. As a result, social capital, which includes human development, has become an important element of developmentalism. An important factor in social capital development is 'trust', which lacks terribly in developing societies, due to political, social, ethnic, and ideological conflicts. This paper, thus argues, that trust could be developed into social capital with the objective of enabling and functioning individuals beyond all these conflicts prevailing developing countries, as trust has been an important centrepiece of human relations, which has influenced economic, social and political performance of societies. This is also related to citizenry process, because with the development of social capital and trust being part of this process, individuals as citizens would have stakes in the economic, political and social life of their societies. Hence, it is expected that stability will prevail in such societies and individuals as functioning and enabled citizens would work to enhance peace, security and stability.

DEMOCRATISATION, POST-ISLAMISM, AND COUNTER-TERRORISM
Kamran A. Bokhari

Three distinct political forces – Democratisation, Islamism, and jihadism – are driving geopolitics in many Muslim states. The outcome of the interaction between these will shape the future socio-political direction of the Islamic world. As the incumbent authoritarian structures begin to wither away under the pressures of the US push for political reform, Islamist forces are being brought to the fore, but Washington's war against terror and the ongoing transition from autocratic political structures to democratic systems is also providing a window of opportunity for extremist and terrorist Muslim elements to advance their agenda. The purpose of this paper is to examine the current state of geopolitics in the Muslim world and offer prescriptions on how to prevent the volatile global political climate and the situation of flux within Muslim states from providing radical and militant Islamist forces the opportunity to exploit the atmosphere of change to further their objectives. This will be accomplished by making the case that Muslims need to develop an anti-extremism and counter-terrorism ethic. Another important element that will aid in preventing the transition of Muslim states from secular authoritarianism to Islamist totalitarianism is the need for Muslim political actors from all across the political spectrum to commit themselves to forging a social contract rooted in the rule of law and commitment to the democratic process. Finally, the need to usher in an era of post-Islamism where Muslim religious democratic forces strike a balance between ideology and pragmatism will be discussed.

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE: DISSENT IN CIVIL SOCIETY
Raana Bokhari

In a world of increasing political, economic and social changes, the questions of security and citizenship, loyalty and nationality are being revisited under a new light. The task of the polity in the Western world, to weigh these concerns against the prevailing need for individual rights and liberties, is of paramount concern. In the light of this discussion, what is more pressing is the manner in which global politics affects peace, co-existence, and forms of dissent. This paper explores the practice of dissent as an alternative to violence, and as a form of protest aimed at affecting social and political change. This will be done by studying the dissenting voices of Muslim and non-Muslim women, working actively, in alliance in Leicester, UK. Leicester is a model multi-cultural city, where the Hindu population accounts for 14% of the population, and the Muslim population comprising 11%. Community cohesion is exemplary. Despite this, however, global and national politics affect the local scene: how do the Muslim women express their dissent? Can we draw generic conclusions from this about women's ways of knowing and dissenting, that is about women's epistemology and ontology?

DEMOCRACY IN THE MIDDLE EAST ACCORDING TO ABDURRAHMAN MUNIF
Faruk Bozgöz

Abdurrahman Munif was born in 1933 in Jordan's capital Amman to a Saudi father and Iraqi mother. Following his studies on oil politics, he authored several novels and books in which he argued oil has been "a curse rather than a blessing" for Middle Eastern people. Accordingly, he articulated that the solution for the region lied upon "*ed-Dimukratiyyetu Evvelen ve'd-Dîmukratiyyetu Daimen*/Democracy; First and Forever" principle. However, there existed many obstacles before establishment of democracy in the region. Most crucial, according to Munif, of these obstacles was the West who brought to the fore "*Aklaniyye*/Rationality" in the west; while bringing the "*ellâ Aklaniyye*/Irrationality" to the fore in the Middle East. On the other were the happy-little Petro-Islamic minority states and tyrannical and repressive Middle Eastern regimes. Other obstacles on the way to democracy in the "Middle East which was transformed into a huge prison" were Arab Nationalism, modern looking though tribal petro-Islamic states, untransformed agrarian societies, desert prisons and once Britain's, now America's powerful ally Israel, who with its very existence, continually humiliated Arabs. In this paper I shall present ideas of Abdurrahman Munif, who has discussed transformation in Arab societies through oil, thus reputed to be the oil-novelist and was without a place in the huge

Arab world because of his ideas on democracy and the Middle East, which he longed for and thought to be indispensable for the region.

ASSIMILATION AND ALIENATION IN A MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY – NON-VISIBLE MINORITIES: LESSONS LEARNT FROM INDIGENOUS CONVERTS TO ISLAM IN THE UNITED KINGDOM
Muhammad Arifin Kevin Brice

Following 9/11 and the London bombings, the Muslim community in the United Kingdom has come under increased scrutiny and suspicion. The visible "otherness" of the Muslim community, expressed through their ethnicity and culture, is highlighted and calls are made for Muslims to assimilate or integrate into "mainstream" society. "White British" converts to Islam, unlike the non-indigenous Muslim, are a non-visible minority. They have chosen to assimilate a non-indigenous religious identity and this often results in a rejection of the majority culture. The case of "White British" converts helps highlight the need to revisit the thinking behind demands that Muslims should assimilate into the majority culture. Having assimilated a non-indigenous religion, what sense can be made of suggestions that they should assimilate the culture of the majority once more? In this paper I shall look at some of the lessons that can be learnt about assimilation and alienation in multicultural Britain by studying "White British" converts.

BLINKERED POLITICS: THE US APPROACH TO ARABS AND MUSLIMS
Charles E. Butterworth

Much like a draft horse of a bygone era, prevented by fixed blinkers from sidewards glances, the US trudges through current crises in the Middle East its attention fixed in one direction. Pulling a cart laden with the policies and prejudices of a single country and people, it ignores all others or reduces them to trivia. Those citizens who dare decry such policies are repulsed as naive, if not as traitors. Such is the tyranny of the majority against which no less a thinker than Tocqueville warned. This attitude weakens the US economically and runs against its self-interest, but remains ascendant. My goal here is to buttress these claims, to indicate how the US has come to pursue policies so harmful to itself, and to suggest how others – especially Arabs and Muslims – might help the US draft horse lose its blinkers and learn to look around in praiseworthy freedom.

CURRENT TRENDS IN NATIONALITY LEGISLATION AND CITIZENSHIP TRAUMA, META IDENTITY AND SUB-IDENTITIES IN TURKEY

Rasim Özgür Dönmez
Ibrahim Kılınç

The aim of the study is to analyse why sub-identities in Turkey are constructed by antagonism against other sub-identities and the Meta identity in the political and public sphere. The traumatic formation of the Turkish state, born from the ashes of the Ottoman Empire led the Turkish Republican elite to design a Turkish Meta identity based on a single religious and ethnic interpretation. This Meta identity imagination was complemented by strict implementation by the elite which suppressed these sub-identities and caused trauma to befall them. The bi-polar world order leading these identities melted into the politics of the left and right between the 1920's to the 1980's easing to a great extent the situation of these groups. The demolition of the Soviet Bloc led these groups to perform recognition politics in the public sphere. However, these traumatised groups or sub-identities have begun to define themselves against the State – Meta Identity – and other sub-identities. In this context, the study claims that the fuel of ethnic and religious outrage cannot simply rely on the State and Meta identity. Rather, this antagonistic relationship between the traumatised Meta and sub-identities can be defined as a vicious circle in the sense that they are located antagonistically against each other and that analyses should be conducted in a two-way-approach. In this sense not only the state but also the internal structure of these sub-identities should be evaluated. The first section of the study plans to evaluate the concept of societal trauma and its effects on the society and identities. The second section will elaborate on the relationship between trauma and the formation of the Turkish nation state. This section sheds light on how and why the State suppressed these sub-identities, including minorities. The last section will examine the outcomes of the suppression of these identities and its effects on Turkish politics.

'WE ARE ALL MUSLIMS, WE ARE ALL BLACK'
Ülkü Güney

In my paper I will explore the complex processes of identity formations of Muslim Asian youth in Britain within the social categories of 'race' and religion in the wake of two significant occurrences in 2001 – "race riots" (2001) and the events – of September 11th. Globalisation has a significant impact in shaping, re-shaping and transforming identities. Localisation – as an accompanying process of globalisation – is very often discussed within the frame of national, regional or indigenous spatial spaces. In the light of those ambiguous processes of globaliza-

tion/localisation I intend to examine the identity formations of British Asian Muslim youth and the implications that these contradictory developments bring about.

My paper aims to trace particularly the link between the significance of the local space in constructing identifications and the sense of belongingness. Further I will look at the ways in which those youth relate their identification with the imagined global community of Muslims (Ummah) to their local community.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE EFFECTS OF TRADITIONAL APOSTASY RULES ON THE CURRENT MUSLIM STATES' PRACTICES: DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN CONVERSION, HERESY AND BLASPHEMY
Kamran Hashemi

The Muslim Legal Traditions on Apostasy (MLTA) have affected the situation of human rights in some Muslim countries. By distinguishing the three different phenomena of MLTA, i.e. conversion, heresy and blasphemy, this paper examines in separate parts the effects of each phenomenon on the current practices of Muslim states. Each part includes, among others, legislation, case law, and the formal position of respected States.

On the other hand, while freedom of religion and expression are broad issues that can be widely discussed under the relevant provisions of international human rights instruments, this paper addresses only those aspects of the issues that are in direct link with the effects of MLTA. In this sense, the main focus of the paper is on intra-religious freedoms, or freedoms of followers of a religion within their religious community. Finally, by comparing the experiences of different states with regard to each phenomenon, some practical suggestions will be afforded in each part for a better consideration of human rights standards.

FROM TOLERANCE TO RECOGNITION TO BEYOND
H.A. Hellyer

The citizenship debate has followed from the multiculturalism debate in Europe and elsewhere, bringing us to the point where Muslim communities, particularly in the 'West' are trying to cope with what Islam offers as guidance on the issues of 'belonging' and patriotism. However, the Muslim community has not yet fully examined what the full weight of Islamic teachings has borne down on the concepts and values of the citizenship debate, as well as the integration debate; a more thorough deconstruction of these areas is required before comprehensive understanding can be begun.

BEYOND THE TOWER OF BABEL: A LINGUISTIC APPROACH TO CLARIFYING KEY CONCEPTS IN ISLAMIC PLURALISM

Jeremy Henzell-Thomas

The Qur'an is unique among the revealed scriptures of the world in the explicit manner in which it divinely ordains religious diversity and enjoins dialogue between adherents of different faith-communities. My purpose in this paper is not to repeat what is already well known but to attempt to develop a focused linguistic approach which can begin to build a nuanced terminology in English for understanding key Islamic concepts of Unity and Diversity.

One essential need is to exercise the defining power of *'aql* in distinguishing authentic concepts from their distortions and counterfeits and thus avoid being taken in or manipulated by ideological labels. We must distinguish Identity from tribalism, Diversity from division, and Unity from uniformity and the curse of standardised mono-cultural attitudes which dichotomise reality into competing unilateral or unipolar worldviews and ultimately into the isolating pathologies of civilisational narcissism and cultural autism. At the same time we need to distinguish Conformation to a divine pattern from uncritical conformity to human constructions; the Authority of divine revelation which liberates the human soul from the authoritarianism imposed by narrow human formulations which imprison it; and the existence of Absolute and timeless truths from the tyranny of an absolutism which obliterates all context. The process can be carried further to distinguish Community from communalism, Relationship from relativism, and Individuality from individualism and solipsism.

Awareness of distinctions such as these can help us towards the positive embodiment of the pluralistic Qur'anic vision of Unity within Diversity, but not through passive acknowledgement of the existence of plurality, or by mere tolerance of the "other", but by following the divine injunction to "know one another", and to explore the best of all traditions through respectful co-existence, mutual recognition, active engagement, and transforming love.

TRADITIONAL APPROACHES TO MORAL EDUCATION IN A MUSLIM SCHOOL

Musharraf Hussain

The raison d'etat of Muslim Schools is often stated as preserving and transmitting the traditional moral virtues. This paper examines the various styles of teaching morality ranging from didactic instructions to story telling. The author argues that the best way of developing children's morality is through role models: peers, leaders and teachers. The paper then compares these and other approaches with Ghazzali's approach to moral development. This is based on

Ghazzali's *Disciplining the Soul and Refining the Character and Curing the Sickness of the Heart.* Ghazzali's work is re-organised into seven stages;

(1) Setting the goal
(2) Understanding the nature of morality
(3) You can change
(4) Self examination
(5) Renunciation
(6) 3 methods of developing good character
(7) Reviewing the progress.

The merits of this traditional approach are discussed in light of modern programmes of moral education in Britain and America.

ISLAMIST GROUPS, OCCIDENTALIST DISCOURSE AND THE MUSLIM UMMAH
Mohammed Ilyas

As identities have become pluralised in a globalised world, the 'local' and the 'global' are widely understood to have a new kind of relationship. It is in this context that trans-national religious groups have emerged in Europe to both challenge national, class, ethnic based identities and represent/provide their respective communities with a political discourse.

Political Islamist discourse has emerged as a vital instrument in the construction of Muslim identities across Europe. Consequently self-identity is no longer constructed by local identity politics but by religious global politics. This has resulted in many cases local identities that are based on ethnic, national politics being made redundant. Moreover Identity in this conceptualisation is constructed in opposition to ontological 'others'. And in the case of Islamist groups the other is the west. These groups offer their members and other Muslims a source of stability and recognition through a political discourse and a framework to think through which I argue is Occidentalism. Given this the 'other' is constructed as something that is in complete opposition to the group and Muslims as community. Within this framework members and Muslims in general are asked to commit and embody a set of clear ideas and practices, which define inclusion and exclusion.

This paper is based on interviews with members of Islamist groups (Hizb ut-Tahrir, Saviour sect, and al-Ghurabaa), and Muslims from the UK. However these groups are not only influential in the UK but are also prevalent in mainland Europe. It aims to look underneath the

ready-made frameworks of understanding – provided by Islamist groups, western media representation of Muslims and geo-politics where Muslims are concerned. Through this process the paper aims to argue two things; firstly that Islamist groups are creating a politics for their members and non-members based on a binary opposite of Orientalism, which is Occidentalism and secondly they use this as a yard stick to measure the west.

PREPARING REFUGEES FOR DEMOCRATIC PARTICIPATION: EXAMINING THE ROLE OF TEACHERS, RESETTLEMENT WORKERS AND LOCAL COMMUNITY AGENCIES
Sonia James-Wilson

This paper will provide a qualitative case study of Muslim refugees from Africa and the Middle East in an urban elementary school in Western New York. These families were sponsored by a Catholic resettlement agency supported by school-based workers and a local community agency. Attaining U.S. citizenship and the opportunity to experience 'democracy' are two goals that each of these entities have for both the children and the families they work with. This paper will discuss the ways in which each of the agencies and stakeholders understand and take up the notions of 'citizenship' and 'democracy' in their work with these Muslim refugee communities and will also address the strategies children and families use to absorb, negotiate and resist new identities as 'English as a Second Language students', 'low-wage workers', 'consumers' and as 'the Other' in the post 9/11 America.

AN AUTHENTIC CRITIQUE OF THE ISSUE OF MULTICULTURALISM FROM THE ISLAMIC PERSPECTIVE
Hilal Kaplan and Süheyb Öğüt

Multiculturalism, which is an extension of the homogenizing discourse of Enlightenment that promotes standardising under the concept of citizenship, has been criticised in several ways. One additional criticism should be against the message that the concept of multiculturalism conveys: All differences, including religious ones, are cultural. In this paper, the inconveniences of such an anthropomorfic perspective will be discussed. Another problematic is how cosmopolitan ethics can be sustained in a society deprived of substantial rationality. Another question should be how a social contract, seemingly between several sides, can function if the content of that contract is insisted only by one side. Within this framework, views of Habermas, Taylor and Rawls from political theory and conceptualizations of Nancy, Derrida and Levinas

on "otherness" and "sameness" will be discussed. Most importantly, how Islam constitutes the "other" and what it can offer to form universal ethics to actualise combivencia will be discussed on a factual basis.

BEYOND THEOLOGY AND THE JURISPRUDENCE: THE PROMISE OF POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF ISLAMIC DEMOCRACY
M. A. Muqtedar Khan

It is my contention that the Muslim World in general and the Middle East in particular can become part of the global cosmopolis only by finding an empowering way to democratise without de-Islamization or Islamise through Democratisation. The Muslim World needs a systematic political theory that articulates and illustrates the harmony between Islamic and democratic principles and finds a way to transcend the dichotomy between the sovereignty of reason and the sovereignty of revelation, and the debilitating juxtaposition of Islam as the past and modernity as the future. An Islamic democracy will make both Islam and modernity the present for Muslims. Identity implicates epistemology and underpins theory. Islam is the source of Muslim identity; there can be no Muslim modernity without Islam playing a foundation role. Therefore a systematic theory of Islamic democracy is necessary to open the door to Muslim modernity. The widespread claim that the object of an Islamic state is to impose/apply the Shari'ah is the biggest barrier to theory development in general and to Islamic democracy in particular. This claim exposes political theory to the tyranny of legalism and the limits on thought imposed by Islam's jurisprudential heritage rendering extant Islamic political thought impotent. There will be no Islamic democracy as long as jurists command an *a priori* authority. Essentially the content of law in an Islamic democracy should be a democratically negotiated conclusion emerging in a democratic society. In the absence of this free and open negotiation, Islamic democracy will be a procedural sham that confines voting mechanisms to secondary matters. This paper makes a case for the development of Islamic political philosophy and argues that Democratisation in the Muslim World will only be procedural until a theory of Islamic democracy is developed.

EUROPEAN POLITICS, MUSLIM COUNTRIES, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL ISLAM: SYNERGY OF THE OPPOSITES?
Gül Kurtoglu

This study compares the approaches on political Islam in Europe and Muslim countries in

recent years. Against the existing explanations, it specifically underlines the following three points. First, political Islam has not always been uniformly and completely repressed in all parts of the Muslim world. Second, while democratic, the European approach toward Islamist activism has not been without restrictions. Finally, political actions undertaken in Europe and Muslim countries concerning Islamist activism have mutually affected its development in both realms in ways formerly unanticipated by all actors. The paper uses general findings on numerous European and Muslim countries to further support these arguments.

MANY NATIONS UNDER GOD: THE UNSECULAR STATE OF EUROPE
John Madeley

The political resurgence of the religious factor across the world has had its counterpart in Europe, only recently renowned as the *locus classicus* of Secularisation trends which the rest of the world could eventually be expected to follow as night follows day. This paper argues that few of the many nations of Europe were ever as secular as reputed and that in particular state Secularisation, unlike the Secularisation of society or even religion itself, has typically fallen well short of the sort of strict separation of religion and the state that the US constitution, for instance, mandated. The European model of church-state-society relations has always privileged religion and might yet, if properly managed and regulated, provide for an accommodation of minority faiths such as the various branches of Islam and New Religious Movements which could set an example to the rest of the world.

YOU'VE GOTTA HAVE FAITH: THE MUSLIM VOLUNTARY SECTOR AND POLICY PROCESS
Abdul-Rehman Malik

The terrorist attacks on London's transport system on 7 July 2005 focused the attention of policy makers, pundits and public opinion on Britain's Muslim communities. In the midst of the widespread shock at the revelation that such acts were committed by British citizens, there was intense pressure on British Muslims to tackle what was termed the 'evil' in their midst. It was assumed that the problem was coming from within Muslim communities and they had somehow failed to address and confront 'extremism', 'preachers of hate' and an aberrant theology that supported violence and 'jihad' against the 'West'. Similar to the response after September 11, 2001 incidents in New York and Washington, the government was eager to show that it was engaging with Muslim communities. Given the government's social policy rhetoric on the

importance of voluntary sector and faith communities it was unusual that little public consultation was done with or attention paid to Muslim Voluntary Sector Organisations (VSOs) up to this time. The current security situation (which preceded the 7 July incidents), the emergence of a robust Muslim self-identity and the growing social policy emphasis on both the voluntary sector and faith communities raise a fundamental question: To what extent do Muslim faith-based VSOs participate meaningfully in the policy process?

This research study looks at this question by examining a single Muslim woman's VSO, which has a twenty year history of engaging with issues of faith at advocacy level and providing services to its client communities. Through face-to-face interviews, document analysis and a review of archival material, the perspective of one active Muslim faith-based VSO is used to give a starting point for further research. Is engagement (or lack of engagement) a function of being 'Muslim' or a 'faith-based organisation', or is it due to other factors?

DYNAMICS OF SECULARISATION AND CITIZENSHIP PROCESS: ANALYSIS AND PROSPECTIVE ON THE MUSLIM SITUATION IN FRANCE
Mohamed Mestiri

Since Napoleon's agreement with the church in 1801 called "Concordat", French secularism has started the spirit of secularisation as a process of mediation and negotiation between the State and different partners in civil society. Paradoxically the secularisation process has been before the secularism law of French "Laicité" in 1905. Therefore, secularisation has been a methodology of negotiating the place of the cultural and religious specificities in a common and a collective citizenship. It has and continues to have an influence on private education, cultural identities and spiritual tradition's representation. However, Muslim presence in the public sphere through different expressions, human rights, religion, politics, culture..etc, is a new phenomenon. Since the Arab demonstration in 1984 called "La marche des beurs", Muslim's identities in the secular citizenship process have been in permanent crisis, especially with the veil affair from 1989 till the censorship law of 2004, and the issue of training Imams since 2003. The negotiation potential of French secularism seems to be marginalised in order to privilege the logic of prohibition and punishment in the name of the strict application of secularism law. This paper seeks to understand the different reasons of the mediation weakness in French secularism regarding Muslim's citizenship specificities, and to propose a prospective vision under the light of new dynamics of secularisation better adapted to the Islamic factor within the European context.

SECURING CIVIC RELATIONS IN THE MULTICULTURAL CITY
Lucy Michael

Community cohesion and social inclusion programmes have demanded new alliances across old divides established by historical processes of exclusion and marginalisation which have visibly ordered the 'multicultural' city along ethnic and religious lines.

Drawing on analyses of interviews and observations conducted across Muslim communities in Manchester and Stoke-on-Trent (UK), this paper looks at the evolving community-level systems of formal and informal representation and collective action that operate within and alongside institutions of local governance, and reflects on their capacity to manage conflict, cohesion and civility within those communities, and improve their capacity to access public institutions and mobilise effectively for a 'fair' share of social resources.

It also reflects on how those issues of security and participation are presented by community representatives to institutions of local governance, and within the new alliances which they have formed, and the consequences of these portrayals in ameliorating the position of their communities.

FOR THE TWAIN TO MEET: REVISITING A 19TH-CENTURY PROPOSAL FOR PEACE AND PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN EUROPE AND ISLAM
Riad Nourallah

The paper examines a proposition made in 1882 by a former British diplomat to establish a new relationship between Europe and Islam based on mutual respect and recognition and the renunciation of policies and ideologies of conquest and conversion. The proposition was made by W.S. Blunt in his book *The Future of Islam*, which was published in the wake of a series of travels made by Blunt in various parts of the Muslim world, including Ottoman Turkey. The historical context and the hostility but also adulation which met Blunt's proposition provide an interesting perspective on the exceptional and pioneering nature of that proposition and its value and practicality for more recent times. Its relevance is further highlighted and assessed by comparing and contrasting it with opposite and analogous messages and theories as well as policies in both Europe and the Muslim world since its issuance but more urgently during the past five years.

DOES THE WAY TO ENGAGE TURKEY HAVE ANY RELEVANCE TO SECURITY "WITHIN THE WEST" AND "BETWEEN THE WEST AND THE EAST"?

H.Tarık Oguzlu

What I want to examine in this paper is the relationship between the mode of citizenship in a particular country/region and the degree of security felt by the inhabitants there. In doing so, first, the paper will try to define what kind of societies exist in the EU area and the United States, monocultural or multicultural, modern or post-modern. Then, it will try to analyse the degree of societal security that different religious and ethnic groups feel in these different geographies. It will then attempt to measure the promise of each model contributing to security in other parts of the globe, particularly in the Middle East. The assumption here is that the EU and the United States aim at enhancing their security by projecting their citizenship model/societal values to the places from where they suspect threats to their security emanate. The transformation of other places in their own image is constructed here as a security strategy. In order to assess the credibility of the US and EU models, I will pay particular attention to the nature of the relationship between these parties on the one hand and Turkey on the other. The way these actors want to construct a relationship with Turkey, a predominantly Muslim society but a secular state aspiring to join the West, will shed a light on the promise of their respective models to contribute to security. What kind of an image each has of Turkey will certainly impact upon their relations not only with the Muslim commnunities living in the West but also the Middle Eastern region. I will assume that while the way Turkey is placed within the Greater Middle Eastern Project testifies to the essentials of the American way of engaging the Muslim world, Turkey's placement in the EU accession process points to the European way of dealing with the Muslim world. The question is whether these two different projects are compatible with each other and, if not, which of them has more promise in contributing to security between "the West and the Middle East", "the Muslim communities living in the West and the Western people", and "the West and Turkey".

CITIZENSHIP AND THE QUALITY OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION: THE CASE OF EDUCATION ABOUT MUSLIMS

Farid Panjwani

Simon Chambers's comment, "voice rather than votes is the vehicle of empowerment", captures the recent shift in attention of theorists from voting process to public discussions in a polity. Also called the 'deliberative turn', the idea here is that democratic institutions cannot work effi-

ciently nor lead to increasing fairness if they work only with numbers (votes) while disregarding deliberations, debates and discussions. This calls for individuals to have the virtue of public reasonableness, ability to not only state preferences but also to provide public reasons for them. Yet, the sources of preferences or opinions thus debated in public space can be private, including religo-cultural. In fact, if the thesis of religious resurgence in recent decades is valid, peoples' religo-cultural beliefs are increasingly a source of their opinions and preferences. The quality of education through which they come to understand their religo-cultural tradition thus acquires immense importance. Hence, an intimate link between the quality of education about one's religion and culture and one's exercise of public reasonableness and participation in democratic deliberation is visible. Within the above theoretical context, the paper will take education about Islam in the schools of England as a case study to examine its contribution to the making of pupils' perception about their religious-cultural tradition. After exploring the characteristics of education about religion most likely to prepare students for an active, responsible and critical citizenship, the paper will investigate to what extent these characteristics are found in teaching about Islam.

WESTERN DEMOCRACTS, ORIENTAL DESPOTS
Bobby Sayyid

The article examines the relationship between political forms and cultural identity. It sets out to examine the way in which notions of 'democracy' and despotism are associated with distinct cultures. The identity of a political regime is less a matter of its political practices and procedures and more a function of the extent to which it can be considered to be 'western' or 'Islamic' (i.e oriental). Given this intimate relationship between democracy and western identity, the paper examines some of the conceptual difficulties with articulation of Islam with 'democracy' in the context of the global dirty war – the so-called war on terror.

GLOBAL CITIZENRY ANCIENT AND MODERN: BRITISH YEMENIS AND TRANS-LOCAL TRIBALISM
Mohammad Siddique Seddon

In the modern age it is no longer necessary to associate a specific culture with a specific place as a symbolic guarantee of belonging and the processes of migrations to new social domains have transformed traditional identity constructions. Instead, within the developing local/global communications nexus establishing 'virtual' boundaries around a distinct culture distin-

guishes it from others. Whilst the traditional culture of Yemen is experiencing fragmentation under the influence of global consumerism, Yemeni diaspora communities in Britain are able to tap into the 'homeland' via global communication networks. And, while Yemeni Muslims can embrace the ummatic dimensions of their religious identity, their syncretic tribal identities still appear to be distinctly 'local', even anachronistic. However, as globalisation promotes hegemonic Western cultures, 'local' cultures like those of Yemeni tribesmen are also able to reach out beyond the confines of their traditional 'space' and 'place'. As a result, British Yemenis are able to transcend the apparent limitations of their parochial tribalisms in a completely different cultural and social environment. This paper will explore facets of diasporic Yemeni identity by examining their trans-local social networks and how this community preserves its distinct religious and cultural traditions in modern Britain, raising some interesting questions regarding the expectations of the social integration, citizenry and 'belongingness' of minority Muslim communities.

CRIMEAN TATARS' REVIVAL: NATIONAL IDENTITY AND ISLAM
Muratova Elmira Serverona

The history and modern development of Crimean Tatars is really unique. This small Muslim nation was able to survive under difficult conditions in the past and to find possibilities for peaceful coexistence with other nations and religions in modern Ukraine. In my opinion, there are two things which helped them to do this: national identity and religion.
In the beginning of the 1990s, when Crimean Tatars began to return to their homeland from deportation, many analysts predicted the possibility of ethnic and religious conflicts in Crimea, the vast majority of the population there being Orthodox. But after more than fifteen years of coexistence there have not been any serious conflicts. Many scholars believe that this is a result of the Crimean Tatars' contribution who, despite numerous provocations and misjudgments, are trying to establish harmony and peace in their homeland. I think that the experience of this small Muslim nation will be very useful for other Muslim communities who try to survive and save their identity and religion.

THE SHADOW OF THE CLASSICS: ISLAMOPHOBIC DISCOURSE MASQUERADING AS ART AND LITERATURE
Anas Al-Shaikh-Ali

Tracing the seeds of modern-day Islamophobia to the mid to late Victorian era the paper will

examine a selection of "classical" literary works including poetry, travel literature, paintings and sculptures to investigate this very early use of public culture propaganda as a tool to mould and effect public opinion. The paper will examine modern attempts to incite morality-laden anger and volatile insecurity amongst the general public and intelligentsia. There will be a slide show depicting historical and contemporary examples of the latter to show their relevance to the current situation. The paper will also touch upon the importance of education in equipping pupils and students with the tools of critical thinking and socio-spiritual-cultural "awareness of the other" to generate a society of citizens who can think for themselves and can combat the sophistries of emotional manipulation and the "agenda laden opinions" of others.

BRITISH ARAB MUSLIMS AND THE 'WAR ON TERROR': PERCEPTIONS OF CITIZENSHIP, IDENTITY AND HUMAN RIGHTS
Layla M. El-Wafi

Counter terrorism policies, practices and human rights abuses in the context of the 'war on terror' have disproportionately affected and targeted Muslims. Authority figures have argued for the necessity of profiling and derogation from human rights standards as necessary for security. Such derogations include secret abductions, interrogations and extra-judicial transfers, indefinite/arbitrary detentions and the use of torture, inhumane and degrading treatment. It is worth noting that Muslims are already amongst the most socially, economically and politically dis-empowered groups in Europe. Potential problems may arise from Muslim minorities in the West who are being encouraged on the one hand to 'integrate' and declare their loyalty while at the same time may be subject to double standards with respect to their legal rights. Using evidence from Amnesty International, this paper will examine the legal issues and human rights compromises in the 'war on terror' to assess whether a double standard is being created that disproportionately affects Muslims. The paper will summarise how Western governments are responding to human rights laws and, through the use of secondary data, will also explore the perceptions of those minority groups who are most likely to be affected by security measures in the wake of 9/11.

A comparison between attitudes towards 'British-ness' or 'American-ness' for example, of Western Muslims before and after 9/11 will be considered where possible. Drawing on the available data this paper will argue that compromises on human rights will not achieve long-term benefits for security and democracy, and with regard to Muslim citizens will lead in some cases to further dis-enfranchisement and reduced levels of civic participation.

CIVIL SOCIETY AND ISLAMIC CIVILISATION: THE CASE OF TURKISH ISLAMIC CSOs
Jeremy Walton

As the title of this conference suggests, one of the most urgent contemporary crises of Islam as a set of transnational political, cultural, and religious beliefs and practices is the seeming lack of a vibrant Islamic 'Civil Society'. In particular, North Atlantic discussions of the so-called 'Clash of Civilisations' – and, more colloquially, Islamic terrorism – typically contain an explicit or implicit assumption that 'Civil Society' is one of the definitive characteristics of 'Western CIVILISATION'. Concomitantly, Civil Society also serves to define 'Islamic CIVILISATION' negatively, by virtue of its lack. This paper argues against such simplistic dichotomies through a focus on the institution of the *vakıflar* (charitable foundations) in contemporary Turkey. Based on research conducted with several specific vakıflar, such as the Istanbul Ilim ve Kültür Vakfı, the Türkiye Gazeteciler ve Yazarlar Vakfı and the Türkiye Gönüllü Tesekküller Vakfı, this paper will serve as both an introduction to the diverse Islamic "Civil Society" that exists today in Turkey, and, thereby, as a critique of the Occicentric notion of "Civil Society" itself.

POLITICAL ISLAM, DEMOCRACY AND THE ARAB WORLD: EXPLORING THE DILEMMAS AND OPTIONS OF CONTEMPORARY GLOBAL POLITICAL CHALLENGES FOR ISLAMIST PARTIES AND MOVEMENTS
Sami Zemni

Caught between the hammer of authoritarian regimes, the anvil of jihadi-violence and the pressure of contemporary international politics, Islamist political parties and movements have to elaborate new political strategies. Especially since 9/11 Islamist movements and parties face a growing impact of global (political, military and/or cultural and ideological) forces. Considering the impact of the 'War on Terror' and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, I will discuss the different political strategies available to the 'mainstream' (i.e. non-violent, legalistic) Islamist movements. The dramatic and violent changes in the contemporary Arab and Islamic world constitute – from the perspect ive of policy, scholarship and citizenship alike – interesting opportunities to address several questions. In this article I will address the different challenges Islamist movements are facing. I will analyse the impact of global and regional developments on the Islamist movements. By describing different possible political scenarios for the Arab region and Central-Asia, I will discuss the different policy and ideological predicaments and options that Islamist movements and parties will necessarily have to confront and deal with. In doing so, I will engage with the ongoing debate on the democratisation of the Arab-Islamic

world, and shed light on the role Islamist parties might play in this.

TEACHING AND LEARNING IN TIMES OF WAR AND TERROR: DEVELOPING A CRITICAL FRAMEWORK FOR ANTI-ISLAMOPHOBIA EDUCATION
Jasmin Zine

This paper will address the challenge of developing an epistemological and pedagogical framework for anti-Islamophobia education in Canada following the 9/11 attacks. The tragedy and aftermath of 9/11 has created deep consequences for the local realities of Muslims living in the West. By as early as September 12th, peace-loving citizens were being viewed as potential enemies and terrorists by virtue of their race, ethnicity, and religious identity. As a result, we have witnessed the narratives of citizenship, nationalism, and security become inextricably linked in public discourse and policy-making in ways that disproportionately target Arab, Afghani, and Muslim communities as potential threats to public safety. Numerous incidents of racism, hate crimes and xenophobic anti-Arab and anti-Muslim sentiments have been documented across North America and Europe. Children and youth are the most vulnerable in these situations and yet have been the least supported in learning how to understand and cope with the challenges of this new global world order. Schools serve as important sites where critical perspectives can be developed and nurtured to help children and youth become active agents in anti-oppression struggles. As important cultural sites, schools can create learning environments that promote social justice and equity by engaging in transformative pedagogical strategies.