

Muslims & Arabs in Western Politics

Indiana University

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Bios of Contributors

Zahid Bukhari

Dr. Zahid H. Bukhari is currently working as Director, American Muslim Studies Program (AMSP) at the Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding (CMCU), Georgetown University, Washington, DC. From 1999-2004, he also worked as Director Project MAPS: Muslims in American Public Square, which examined the role and contribution of the Muslim community to the American public life. The Pew Charitable Trusts awarded a grant of \$1.25 million for this purpose. Dr. Bukhari is also serving as Executive Director of the Center for Islam and Public Policy (CIPP). Dr. Bukhari's research interests focused on religion and politics in the United States and South Asia. He has a vast experience in all aspects of survey research. From 1978-1983, he worked as executive director of the Pakistan Institute of Public Opinion (PIPO), Islamabad, a member of Gallup International. He has published and presented papers on Islam and development, Muslim public opinion in the US and other related topics in national and international forums. He is also editor of two volumes of the Project MAPS: Muslims' Place in the American Public Square: Fears, Hopes and Aspirations and Muslim in America: Engaging Polity and Society in Post 9/11 Era (forthcoming). Dr. Bukhari has a Masters in Economics from the University of Karachi and Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Connecticut.

Jocelyne Cesari

Visiting Associate Professor of Islamic Studies, Harvard Divinity School. Jocelyne Cesari has been a research associate in the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at Harvard University since spring 2001. Before coming to Harvard, she served as an Associate Research Scholar and Adjunct Professor at Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs. At Harvard, she has served as a chair of the Seminar "Islam in the West," co-sponsored by the Center for European Studies and the Law School, and as coordinator of the Provost Interfaculty Program on Islam in the West. Her book, *When Islam and Democracy Meet: Muslims in Europe and in the United States* was published by Palgrave in 2004. She has published multiple articles in European and American books and journals. Cesari received her PhD in political science from the University of Aix-en-Provence in France and has served as a Senior Research Fellow and Associate Professor at the French National Center for Scientific Research at the Sorbonne, Paris, since fall 1992. Her areas of expertise include the sociology of religion and Islam, Muslim minorities in Europe and America, and Islam and politics in North Africa. She has received grants to write the reports "Islam and Fundamental Rights" and "The Religious Consequences of September 11, 2001, on Muslims in Europe" for the European Commission.

David Cole

David Cole is a professor at Georgetown University Law Center, a volunteer staff attorney for the Center for Constitutional Rights, the legal affairs correspondent for *The Nation*, and a commentator on National Public Radio's *All Things Considered*. A graduate of Yale University and Yale Law School, he clerked for Judge Arlin Adams on the Third Circuit. He has litigated many First Amendment cases, including *Texas v. Johnson* and *United States v. Eichman*, which extended First Amendment protection to flagburning. New York Times columnist Anthony Lewis has called him "one of the country's great legal voice for civil liberties today," and former CIA Director James Woolsey has called David's new book,

Enemy Aliens: Double Standards and Constitutional Freedoms in the War on Terrorism (2003), “the essential book in the field.” In 2004, *Enemy Aliens* was awarded an American Book Award and the Hefner First Amendment Prize. David’s first book, *No Equal Justice: Race and Class in the American Criminal Justice System*, was named Best Non-Fiction Book of 1999 by the Boston Book Review, best book on an issue of national policy in 1999 by the American Political Science Association, and awarded the Alpha Sigma Nu prize from the Jesuit Honor Society in 2001. He has received numerous awards for his public interest advocacy, including from the National Lawyers Guild, the ABA Section on Individual Rights and Responsibilities, the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, the American Muslim Council, and Trial Lawyers for Public Justice.

Anja Dalgaard-Nielsen

Dr. Anja Dalgaard-Nielsen is Senior Fellow at the Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS) and non-resident Fellow at the Center for Transatlantic Relations, Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Washington DC. She holds a Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins University SAIS. Dr. Dalgaard-Nielsen has published on a number of topics including homeland security, counter-terrorism, transatlantic relations, American foreign policy, and German security policy. She is a regular commentator on issues of foreign and security policy in Danish electronic and printed media.

Yvonne Haddad

Yvonne Haddad, Ph.D., is Professor of the History of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations at the Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding. Professor Haddad's fields of expertise include twentieth-century Islam; intellectual, social and political history in the Arab world; and Islam in North America and the West. Currently, Professor Haddad is conducting research on Muslims in the West and on Islamic Revolutionary Movements. She also teaches courses on Muslim-Christian Relations and Arab Intellectuals. Professor Haddad authored and edited more than twenty one books, including Yvonne Haddad, Ron Geaves, Tom Gabriel, Jane Smith, ed. *Islam and the West Post 9/11*: Ashgate, 2004; Yvonne Haddad. *Not Quite American? The Shaping of Arab and Muslim Identity in the United States*, An Edmonson Historical Lecture: Baylor University Press, 2004. Yvonne Haddad, Jane Smith and John Esposito, ed. *Religion and Immigration: Christian, Jewish, and Muslim Experiences in the United States*. Lanham, MD: Altamira Press, 2003. Yvonne Haddad, Jane Smith, ed. *Muslim Minorities in the West: "Visible" and "Invisible"*. Lanham, MD: Altamira Press, 2002; and Yvonne Haddad, ed. *Muslims in the West: From Sojourners to Citizens*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Amaney Jamal

Amaney Jamal (PhD 2002) is an assistant professor of politics at Princeton University where she teaches courses on comparative politics and the Middle East. Her current research focuses on democratization and the politics of civic engagement in the Arab World. Her first book “Democratic Citizens in non-Democratic Nations: Civic and Associational Life in the Arab world,” (under review) explores the role of civic associations in promoting democratic effects in the Arab world. Her second book project, “Citizenship before Democracy” examines patterns of political engagement in Arab authoritarian settings. Jamal extends her research to the study of Muslim and Arab Americans, examining the pathways that structure their patterns of civic engagement in the US. She is currently working on an edited volume with Nadine Naber (University of Michigan) which examines Arab American racialization processes. Jamal is principal investigator of "Mosques and Civic Incorporation of Muslim Americans,"(2003) funded by the Muslims in New York Project at Columbia University; co-PI of the "Detroit Arab American Study," (2003) a sister survey to the Detroit Area Study, funded by the Russell Sage Foundation, and co-PI of the “Arab Barometer Project.”(2005) In April 2005, Jamal was named a Carnegie Scholar. Her work has appeared in *Comparative Political Studies*, *American Politics Research*, *Middle East Journal*, and the *Journal for Middle East Women’s Studies*.

Jorgen S. Nielsen

BA in Arabic and MA in Middle East area studies, specialising in Islamic law and history at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. PhD in Arab history at the American University of Beirut. From 1974 worked as a researcher at the Institute for Palestine Studies, Beirut, compiling and editing the annual *International Documents on Palestine*. In early 1978 became Lecturer in Islam at the Centre for the Study of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations (CSIC) at Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham, United Kingdom. Developed research and publication on Muslims in Europe, publishing numerous articles in the field. Director of the Centre from 1988 till 2001. In 1996 was made an Honorary Professor in the Department of Theology of the University of Birmingham and appointed Co-Director of the University of Birmingham Network for Research in Theology and World Religions. Appointed Professor of Islamic Studies, University of Birmingham, in August 1999 as CSIC was integrated into the Department of Theology of the University as part of a new Graduate Institute for Theology and Religions. Director of the Graduate Institute from September 2001 till August 2004. Regularly lectures and participates in conferences in various parts of the world, including Jordan, Egypt, Lebanon, Iran, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Malaysia, the Philippines, the United States and various European countries. Has worked as consultant to the Council of Europe on religious minorities, and to various bodies of the European Union and the UK and Swedish foreign ministries on Islam and Europe. Trustee and Board member of the International Center for Minorities and Intercultural Relations (IMIR), Sofia, Bulgaria, since 1992. Current research is concentrating on the Islamic debate on religious pluralism and relations with the West, in addition to the continuing work on Muslims in Europe.

Apart from over one hundred articles in various journals on subjects relating to Muslims in Europe, Middle Eastern affairs, Arab history and Christian-Muslim relations, publications include:

- *International Documents on Palestine*, general editor, volumes for 1972-76 (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1974-78)
- *Secular Justice in an Islamic State: Mazalim under the Bahri Mamluks* (Leiden: Netherlands Institute for the Near East, 1985)
- *Muslims in Western Europe* (Edinburgh University Press, 1992, 2nd ed. 1995)
- *Religion and Citizenship in Europe and the Arab World*, as editor (London: Grey Seal, 1992)
- *Christian Arabic Apologetics during the Abbasid Period* edited jointly with S.K.Samir (Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1994)
- *Relations of compatibility and incompatibility between Christians and Muslims in Bulgaria*, jointly ed. with A. Zheliazkova and G. Kepel (Sofia: IMIR, 1995)
- *The Christian-Muslim Frontier*, as editor (London: I.B.Tauris, 1998)
- *Arabs and the West: Mutual Images*, joint ed. S. Khasawnih (Amman: University of Jordan, 1998)
- *Towards a European Islam* (London: Macmillan, 1999)
- *Ethnology of Sufi orders: theory and practice*, joint ed. A. Zheliazkova (Sofia: IMIR, 2001)
- *Convergences musulmanes: Aspects contemporains de l'islam dans l'Europe élargie*, ed. jointly with F. Dassetto and B. Maréchal (Louvain: Academia Bruylant, 2001)
- *Summary report on Islamophobia in the EU after 11 September 2001*, jointly with C. Allen (Vienna: EUMC, 2002).
- *Muslim networks and transnational communities in and across Europe*, ed. jointly with S. Allievi (Leiden:Brill, 2003).
- *Muslims in the enlarged Europe*, ed. jointly with B. Maréchal, S. Allievi and F. Dassetto (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

Erik C. Nisbet

Erik C. Nisbet is a member of the Media & Society Research Group (MSRG) at Cornell University and a senior research associate at the Cornell Survey Research Institute (SRI). His primary research interests are comparative political communication and public opinion, specializing in the Near East and Africa. For

the institute he manages several ongoing statewide and national polling efforts. Erik has been an author on journal publications appearing in the *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, *Journal of Political Communication* and the *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*. He recently co-authored with James Shanahan a journal article on the impact of television news on anti-Americanism within the Islamic World and several reports on anti-Islamic sentiment within the United States based on national polling data collected by SRI. Most recently, Erik and James Shanahan were awarded a grant by the United States Institute for Peace (USIP) to quantitatively examine the relationship between mass media and anti-Americanism worldwide. Erik is also a doctoral student in the field of communication at Cornell University.

Kent Roach

Kent Roach is a Professor of Law at the University of Toronto with cross appointments in criminology and political science. He has written 8 books and over 80 articles published in a wide variety of countries. They include *Constitutional Remedies in Canada* (winner of the 1997 Owen Prize for best law book), *Due Process and Victims' Rights: The New Law and Politics of Criminal Justice* (short-listed for the 1999 Donner Prize for best public policy book), *The Supreme Court on Trial: Judicial Activism or Democratic Dialogue* (short-listed for the 2001 Donner Prize), *September 11: Consequences for Canada* (named one of the five most significant books of 2003 by the *Literary Review of Canada*) and (with Robert J. Sharpe) *Brian Dickson: A Judge's Journey* (winner of the 2004 J.W. Dafoe Prize for best contribution to the understanding of Canada). Since 1997, Professor Roach has been editor-in-chief of the *Criminal Law Quarterly*. In 2002, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada by his fellow academics.

In recent years, Professor Roach has focused much of his work on anti-terrorism law and policy. He is the co-editor of two collections on anti-terrorism law and policy: *Global Anti-Terrorism Law and Policy* to be published by Cambridge University Press in November, 2005 and *The Security of Freedom: Essays on Canada's Anti-Terrorism Bill* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001). He is also the author of *September 11: Consequences for Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queens Press, 2003) and numerous other articles on anti-terrorism law including the 2002 McGill Law Journal Lecture. He has appeared before the Canadian Senate and Indonesia's working group on anti-terrorism law on matters relating to anti-terrorism laws. With Stanley Cohen (one of the drafters of Canada's anti-terrorism law), he taught an innovative seminar at the University of Toronto on Comparative Anti-Terrorism Law and Policy. He has been a special lecturer at the University of Auckland, the University of Cape Town, the National University of Singapore, New York University and the University of Siena on comparative anti-terrorism law. His articles on anti-terrorism laws have been published in Canada, Hong Kong, the Netherlands, Italy, Singapore, South Africa and the United States and have been translated into Chinese and Russian. He is presently serving on a five member advisory panel for the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the actions of Canadian Officials in Relation to Maher Arar. The advisory committee will offer expert advice about an independent review process with respect to the national security activities of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

Abdulkader Sinno

Abdulkader Sinno is an Assistant Professor of Political Science and Middle Eastern Studies at Indiana University, Bloomington. He received his PhD from UCLA and was a CISAC Postdoctoral Fellow at Stanford University. His current book project, titled *Organizing to Win: How Organizational Structure Affects the Outcome of Civil War*, is currently under review at a major academic press. It develops a new theory to explain the evolution and outcomes of civil wars, ethnic strife and other territorial conflicts. He uses synergistic methodologies in this research project—involved studies of consecutive Afghan conflicts anchored in his field research and a statistical study of all conflicts from North Africa, the Middle East and Latin America. He is a fluent speaker of Arabic and French and has some knowledge of Hebrew and Farsi. He has researched and traveled extensively in the Middle East and North Africa. He is currently organizing a fall 2005 conference to be held at Indiana University on Muslims in Western Politics and

preparing for a new book project on the role of outsiders in state building. He teaches graduate and undergraduate courses on Middle Eastern politics, Muslims in the West, conflict processes and state building, research design, and comparative politics.

Paul M. Sniderman

Paul M. Sniderman is professor of political science at Stanford University. He has done work on the psychology of political choice, the politics of race in America, democratic theory, and, most recently, the interplay of prejudice and politics in Europe. His work has won, among other honors, the Woodrow Wilson Foundation Prize, 1992, for best book published in political science; the Gustavus Meyers Center Award, Outstanding Book on the subject of Human Rights, 1994; the Harold D. Lasswell Award, 1998, International Society of Political Psychology, for distinguished scientific life-time contribution to the study of political psychology; and the Gladys M. Kammerer Award, 1998, American Political Science Association, for the best political science publication in the field of U.S. national policy

Chris Soper

Chris Soper is the Frank R. Seaver Professor of Political Science and the Executive Director for the Center for Faith and Learning at Pepperdine University in Malibu, California. He received his Ph.D. from Yale University in 1992 (political science), his M.Div. from Yale University Divinity School in 1986 (theology), and his B.A. from the University of Washington in 1983 (political science). Soper is the co-author of *Muslims and the State in Britain, France, and Germany* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), *The Challenge of Pluralism: Church and State in Five Western Democracies* (Rowman and Littlefield, 1997) and the forthcoming *Enabling Those in Need* (Georgetown University Press); the co-editor of *Equal Treatment of Religion in a Pluralistic Society* (Eerdmans, 1998); and the author of *Religious Beliefs and Political Choices: Evangelical Christianity in the United States and Great Britain* (New York University Press, 1994) and of numerous essays and articles in scholarly journals.

James J. Zogby

Dr. James J. Zogby is founder and president of the Arab American Institute (AAI), a Washington, D.C.-based organization which serves as the political and policy research arm of the Arab American community. Since 1985, Dr. Zogby and AAI have led Arab American efforts to secure political empowerment in the U.S. Through voter registration, education and mobilization, AAI has moved Arab Americans into the political mainstream. For the past three decades, Dr. Zogby has been involved in a full range of Arab American issues, and has also been personally active in U.S. politics for many years. Dr. Zogby was elected a co-convenor of the National Democratic Ethnic Coordinating Committee (NDECC), an umbrella organization of Democratic Party leaders of European and Mediterranean descent. On September 24, 1999, the NDECC elected Dr. Zogby as its representative to the DNC's Executive Committee. Dr. Zogby received his doctorate from Temple University's Department of Religion, where he studied under the Islamic scholar Dr. Ismail al-Faruqi. He received a Bachelor of Arts from Le Moyne College. In 1995, Le Moyne awarded Dr. Zogby an honorary doctoral of laws degree, and in 1997 named him the college's outstanding alumnus. Dr. Zogby is married to Eileen Patricia McMahon and is the father of five children.