Re-thinking Global Security: Politics and Religious Pluralism in Senegal

INTS 3000 (3 Credits / hours)

SIT Study Abroad Program:
Senegal: Global Security and Religious Pluralism

PLEASE NOTE: This syllabus represents a recent semester. Because courses
develop and change over time to take advantage of unique learning opportunities,
actual course content varies from semester to semester.

Course Description

Global insecurity, instigated by rising extremism, is destabilizing our world like never before. The attacks on the US Trade Center on September 11th 2001 epitomize this global insecurity, and since then a debate relating to its causes has raged in the popular media and in the academy. Popular media and the mainstream academy have, to put in rather quickly, framed the rise of this extremism in religious terms: radical Islamic groups are attacking a Christian or a secular west, they claim. Alternatively, critical scholars have offered explanations ranging from deepening global income inequality and social exclusion, to reckless wielding of military power by Western governments. And yet how present and future global leaders respond to the problem of rising global insecurity depends very much on how they define or explain or perceive it.

Senegal provides an excellent context in which one may critically assess the validity of these debates. As one of only a few African states never destabilized by a *coup d'état* since independence in 1960, Senegal has often been lauded as a model secular, multiparty African democracy. The Senegalese Armed Forces (known as the *Jambars*, Wolof for "warriors") have upheld a republican military ideal while Senegalese political passions have been tempered by a tradition of religious tolerance from Senegal's Sufi Muslim orders, the Catholic Church, and various polytheistic beliefs. How do the practices and perceptions of religion and politics in Senegal complicate or illuminate contemporary debates in global security studies? Why have the cracks in the edifice of the Senegalese nation not broadened into gaping holes threatening the stability of the state? How do the answers to this question change how we think about contemporary popular debates on global terrorism? How do understandings contributed by ethnographic spaces inform plausible remedies to rising extremism?

This seminar explores these questions through site activities, field research with state and non-state actors, cultural and religious institutions in Senegal and assigned readings, complementing these with

classroom based discussions. The seminar employs a creative synthesis of cross-disciplinary literature framed within major debates in security studies and ethnographic data emerging from students' cultural immersion in Senegal.

Learning Outcomes
By the end of the course, students will be able to:

- Assess the strengths and limitations of mainstream narratives on global security and terrorism;
- Explain how institutions of the nation state and religious orders may forge relations that foster stability in highly plural contexts; and
- Explain how Senegal's Sufi Muslim orders, the Catholic Church, and polytheistic religions have contributed to the formation of the Senegalese nation and its political stability over time.

Language of Instruction
This course is taught primarily in English, but some readings are in French. Thus, the ability to read French is required.

Required Books
The following books are required for this course:
1. Diouf, M. (Ed.). (2013). *Tolerance, democracy, and Sufis in Senegal*. New York: Columbia University Press.
2. Mamdani, M. (2004). *Good Muslim, bad Muslim: America, the Cold War, and the roots of terror*. New York: Pantheon Books.

All other readings will be provided by the instructor.

Course Schedule

> ***Please be aware that topics and excursions may vary to take advantage of any emerging events, to accommodate changes in our lecturers' availability, and to respect any changes that would affect student safety. Students will be notified if this occurs.**

Students are expected to have completed the readings listed below for each session. It is recommended, but not required, that students complete the required readings in the order listed.

Module 1: The contemporary global security challenge: mapping the contours of the debate
This module introduces students to contemporary global security challenges and the terms within which these global security challenges have been framed. Students explore security challenges in the post-Cold War context of West Africa's civil wars, and employ structured assignments in Dakar City and in homestay to explore the multiplicities and deepen their understanding of contested meanings of terrorism and global security.

Required Reading:
Huntington, S. P. (1996). *The clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order*. New York: Simon & Schuster. Part One.
Mamdani, M. (2004). *Good Muslim, bad Muslim: America, the Cold War, and the roots of terror*. New York: Pantheon Books. Introduction and Chapter One.
Aslan, R. (2011). *No god but God: the origins, evolution, and future of Islam*. Updated ed. New York: Random House. Prologue: The Clash of Monotheisms.
Watch Barack Obama Speech in Egypt: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B_889oBKkNU
Watch George Bush Speech to Congress: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0wPuY5hI96U

Module 2: Religious pluralism and politics
This module introduces the student to the diversity of Senegalese religious identities and their role in shaping contemporary Senegalese politics. Typically portrayed as a nation with a population more than 90% Muslim, Christianity and polytheism have also played influential roles in Senegalese society. This module investigates the contours of those influences while considering how Senegalese have used religion to negotiate their daily lives in particular socio-economic contexts.

Session 1: Islam in Senegal, Part I: An Introduction
This session focuses on the practice of Islam in Senegal, providing basic introduction to Senegal's various Sufi orders. The session draws upon site visits to the Grand Mosque of Dakar, the Mosque of the Divinity near Ouakam, and the Layenne Shrine in Yoff (Layenniyya).

Required Reading:
Diouf, M. (2013). Introduction: The Public Role of "Good Islam": Sufi Islam and the Administration of Pluralism. In M. Diouf (Ed.), *Tolerance, Democracy, and Sufis in Senegal* (pp. 1-24). New York: Columbia University Press.
Babou, C. A. (2013). The Senegalese 'Social Contract' Revisited: The Muridiyya Muslim Order and State Politics in Postcolonial Senegal. In M. Diouf (Ed.), *Tolerance, Democracy, and Sufis in Senegal* (pp. 125-141). New York: Columbia University Press.
Leichtman, M. (2014). Shi'i Islamic cosmopolitanism and the transformation of religious authority in Senegal. *Contemporary Islam*, 8(3), 261-283.

Session 2: Islam in Senegal, Part II: Islam and Senegalese Secularism
Complemented by trips to mosques and conversations with religious leaders in Tivaouane (the Tijaniyya) and Touba (the Muridiyya) this session examines Senegalese Islamic practice in the context of Senegal's traditional secular republicanism.

Required Reading:
Camara, F. K., & Seck, A. (2010). Secularity and freedom of religion in Senegal: Between a constitutional rock and a hard reality. *Brigham Young University Law Review, 2010*(3), 859-884.
Diagne, S. B. (2013). A Secular Age and the World of Islam. In M. Diouf (Ed.), *Tolerance, Democracy, and Sufis in Senegal* (pp. 36-48). New York: Columbia University Press.
Buggenhagen, B. (2013). Islam's New Visibility and the Secular Public in Senegal. In M. Diouf (Ed.), *Tolerance, Democracy, and Sufis in Senegal* (pp. 51-67). New York: Columbia University Press.

Session 3: Christianity in Senegal
This session examines the development and the practice of Christianity in Senegal, and how Senegalese Christians interpret their minority identity and their relations with Islam. The session draws upon site visits to and interviews with religious leaders in Joal-Fadiouth Island, where animists, Catholics, and Muslims practice their traditions in harmony. Following this visit the course then employs ethnographic data in a Christian dominated homestay in the Casamance region to further delve into religion and the practice of politics in Senegal.

Required Reading:
Foster, E. (2013). *Faith in empire: religion, politics, and colonial rule in French Senegal, 1880-1940* (pp. 1-18, 21-42, 141-167, 169-180). Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
Baum, R. M. (1990). The Emergence of a Diola Christianity. *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 60(3), 370–398.
Gifford, P. (1998). *African Christianity: its public role.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Session 4: The Persistence of Polytheism in Senegal
In spite of the spread of "world religions" like Islam and Christianity across Senegal over the last two centuries, "traditional" polytheistic beliefs still hold large sway in many parts of Senegal. How have

Senegalese learned to use and/or combine these beliefs? What does the persistence of polytheism reveal about the binary ways in which mainstream discourses portray religious pluralism?

Required Reading:
Gifford, P. (2016). Religion in Contemporary Senegal. *Journal of Contemporary Religion, 31*(2), 255-267.

Baum, R. M. (2004). Crimes of the Dream World: French Trials of Diola Witches in Colonial Senegal. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, *37*(2), 201–228.

Baum, R. M. (1993). Shrines, Medicines, and the Strength of the Head: The Way of the Warrior among the Diola of Senegambia. *Numen*, *40*(3), 274–292.

Module 3: National security context
Building upon a deep understanding of plurality of religious practice in module 2, this module asks: What is the relationship between the security apparatus of the state and religious pluralism in Senegal? How does the security apparatus navigate theses pluralities? This module draws upon a critical examination of the Senegalese Ministry of the Armed Forces, which provides the administrative and strategic oversight to the Senegalese Armed Forces (SAF) and the *Gendarmerie Nationale* (GN), how it has historically evolved its effectiveness in protecting Senegal national security.

Session 1: The Senegalese Armed Forces (SAF)
What roles have these security institutions played in enhancing security? Students visit Camp Dial Diop, the SAF Headquarters ("the Senegalese Pentagon") in Dakar for a briefing on the mission, organization, training, and education of the Senegalese Armed Forces (SAF) and a contemporary on the security threats and how they are mitigated.

Required Reading:
Seck, M. (2012). *Nécessité d'une Armée* (pp. 11-77). Dakar: L'Harmattan-Sénégal.

Session 2: The *Gendarmerie Nationale (National Police)*
This session examines the historical development of the Senegalese *Gendarmerie Nationale* and its role in Senegalese society.

Required Reading:
Sady, S. (2011). *La Gendarmerie nationale sénégalaise: son rôle dans la consolidation de l'État* (pp. 11-40). Paris: L'Harmattan.
Ginio, R. (2014). "Cherchez la femme": African gendarmes, quarrelsome women, and French commanders in French West Africa, 1945-1960. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies, 47*(1), 37-53.
Zoom sur les Méthodes des Services de Renseignements sénégalais. (2014, July 25). *Ndar Info*. Excerpt from Ndaw, A. A. (2014). *Pour l'honneur de la gendarmerie sénégalaise*. Paris: L'Harmattan. Retrieved from http://www.ndarinfo.com/Zoom-sur-les-Methodes-des-Services-de-Renseignements-senegalais_a9810.html

Session 3: Senegalese Intelligence
This session examines the historical development of the Senegalese intelligence services and their effect on Senegalese security and national cohesion, followed by visit to the *Délégation générale au Renseignement national* (DGRN) at the *Palais Présidentiel* in Dakar.

Required Reading:
Ndiaye, M. O. (2012, October 2012). Sénégal/Renseignements Généraux: Où sont passées nos « grandes oreilles » d'antan ? *Le Témoin N° 1102 – Hebdomadaire Sénégalais*. http://www.leral.net/Senegal-Renseignements-Generaux-Ou-sont-passees-nos-grandes-oreilles-d-antan_a61287.html

Boye, M. (2014, October 17). Révolution dans le Renseignement Sénégalais : Les différentes structures réunies en une seule. *Le Témoin (Hebdomadaire)*. http://www.seneplus.com/article/r%C3%A9volution-dans-le-renseignement-s%C3%A9n%C3%A9galais

Lutte contre le terrorisme : Dakar et Paris misent sur le partage du renseignement. (2016, March 31). *Agence de Presse Sénégalaise* (APS). http://www.aps.sn/actualites/societe/article/lutte-contre-le-terrorisme-dakar-et-paris-veulent-miser-sur-le-partage-du-renseignement

Module 4: Regional security and Senegalese religious pluralism
Sitting astride the Sahel and the Guinean forest zone, Senegal's regional security interests often overlap and commingle. This module examines how Senegalese policymakers have unraveled and defined these interests over time, the terms with which they are defined and why.

Session 1: The Sahel
This session examines Senegal's relations with its regional and international partners in West Africa's Sahel region. It also considers the impact of foreign intervention in recent conflicts and security challenges.

Required Reading:
Jourde, C. (2011). Sifting through the layers of insecurity in the Sahel: the case of Mauritania. *Africa Security Brief*, (15), 1-7.http://purl.fdlp.gov/GPO/gpo12631
Lacher, W. (2013). Organized Crime and Conflict in the Sahel-Sahara Region. In F. Wehrey & A. Boukhars (Eds.), *Perilous Desert: Insecurity in the Sahara* (pp. 61–85). New York: Carnegie Endowment for Int'l Peace.
Thurston, A. (2013). Mauritania's Islamists. In F. Wehrey & A. Boukhars (Eds.), *Perilous Desert: Insecurity in the Sahara* (pp. 145–163). New York: Carnegie Endowment for Int'l Peace.
Chivvis, C. S. (2016). *The French war on Al Qa'ida in Africa* (pp. 1-48, 93-111, 156-183). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Session 2: The Sufi Orders in Morocco: A comparative study
Drawing upon a comparative excursion to Morocco, this session examines the religious and political relations between Morocco's and Senegal's Sufi orders, and how their histories shaped the relations between religion and politics.

Required Reading:
Al-Tagi, Mohammad (2013). "Despite His 'Absence,' Moroccan King Maintains Total Authority". Al-Monitor
Spiegel, Avi Max (01/2015). "Young Islam: The New Politics of Religion in Morocco and the Arab World" in Young Islam: The New Politics of Religion in Morocco and the Arab World The New Politics of Religion in Morocco and the Arab World (1-4008-6643-X, 978-1-4008-6643-4), (p. 1).Princeton: PRINCETON UNIV PRESS.
Aksikas, Jaafar (2009). Arab Modernities: Islamism, Nationalism, and Liberalism in the Post-Colonial Arab World, p. 61.
Bahaji, Kassem (2011) Moroccan Islamists: Between Integration, Confrontation, and Ordinary Muslims. Middle East review of international affairs, Vol 15, 1, pp 1-6

Session 3: West Africa's Post-Cold War Civil Wars
This session examines the role of Senegal in regional civil wars such as those in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea-Bissau. Instructor leads discussion of required reading.

Required Reading:
Berkeley, B. (1992). Liberia: Between Repression and Slaughter. *The Atlantic Monthly*, December 1992, 270 (6), pp. 23-30. http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1992/12/liberia/376354/
Instant war: Guinea-Bissau. (1998, June 20). *The Economist, 347*(8073), 50.

Tired of war; Guinea-Bissau, Guinea and Sierra Leone. (2013, March 2). *The Economist*, *406*(8825), 5(US).

Vigh, H. (2006). *Navigating terrains of war: youth and soldiering in Guinea-Bissau* (pp. 39-63). New York: Berghahn Books.

Module 5: International security and Senegalese religious pluralism

This module considers Senegal's role in the international community as a partner against transnational terrorist networks. How, comparatively does Senegalese plural religious identities define and perceive their roles in international security concerns and responses? What accounts for the unanimity or differences in interpretation of the challenges posed by the contemporary global security context? What has Senegal brought to the table and how has Senegalese society been affected by international counter terrorism operations?

Session 1: Counter-Terrorism operations

This session examines Senegal's role in regional and international counter-terrorism efforts, especially its participation in the Trans-Sahara Counterterrorism Partnership (TSCTP) to counter the activities of Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM). This modules includes a security brief from the US embassy Regional Security Officer on national and international security concerns in the region. Where do the security interests of Senegal and the international community coincide? Where do they diverge? Why?

Required Reading:

Harmon, S. A. (2008). Radical Islam in the Sahel: Implications for U.S. Policy and Regional Stability. In A. Jalloh & T. Falola (Eds.), *The United States and West Africa: Interactions and Relations* (pp. 396–422). Rochester, New York: University of Rochester Press.

Boukhars, A. (2013). The Drivers of Insecurity in Mauritania. In F. Wehrey & A. Boukhars (Eds.), *Perilous Desert: Insecurity in the Sahara* (pp. 119–144). New York: Carnegie Endowment for Int'l Peace.

Session 2: Keeping the Peace: Senegalese Peacekeeping Operations (PKO)

Senegal has been a key player in United Nations, African Union and ECOWAS peace keeping missions in Mali, CONG, Angola, Rwanda, Uganda and several other countries in the region. What ethos, ethics and interests drive Senegalese peace keeping missions? What explains their success or failure and what insights can we draw for this model of peace keeping?

Required Reading:

Mortimer, R. A. (1996). Senegal's Role in ECOMOG: The Francophone Dimension in the Liberian Crisis. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 34(2), 293–306.

Rupert, J. (1997, September 26). U.S. troops teach peacekeeping to Africans. *The Washington Post*.

Victor, J. (2010). African peacekeeping in Africa: Warlord politics, defense economics, and state legitimacy. *Journal of Peace Research, 47*(2), 217-229.

Ismail, O. (2008). The United States and Security Management in West Africa: A Case for Cooperative Intervention. In A. Jalloh & T. Falola (Eds.), *The United States and West Africa: Interactions and Relations* (pp. 373–395). Rochester, New York: University of Rochester Press.

Coleman, K. P. (2011, December). Innovations in 'African Solutions to African Problems': The Evolving Practice of Regional Peacekeeping in Sub-Saharan Africa. *The Journal of Modern African Studies, 49*(4), 517-545.

Evaluation and Grading Criteria

Assignments (assignment mechanics and expectations will be provided at the beginning of the course):

Local perspectives on global security	25%
Reflection paper on visits to mosques	25%
Comprehensive take home essay	40%
Participation	10 %

<u>Grading Scale</u>

94-100%	A	Excellent
90-93%	A-	
87-89%	B+	
84-86%	B	Above Average
80-83%	B-	
77-79%	C+	
74-76%	C	Average
70-73%	C-	
67-69%	D+	
64-66%	D	Below Average
Below 64	F	Fail

Grading Criteria

An "A" grade for an assignment entails superior (not just "very good") performance in terms of structure and organization of assignments, analysis, logical argumentation and consistency, and the provision of factual, numerical and/or historical evidence. In terms of class participation, an "A" grade refers to full attendance, punctuality, evidence of having completed assigned readings, attentive listening and active engagement in all lectures, discussions, field visits and other activities. It also means polite and respectful behavior. The level, frequency, and quality of the students` participation will be monitored and taken into account

Expectations and Policies
Class Participation

Participation in class refers to attendance, punctuality, attentive listening and active engagement in all lectures, discussions, field trips and other activities. It also means polite and respectful behavior. In addition, the following are expectations of all participants:

- <u>Show up prepared</u>. Be on time, have your readings completed and points in mind for discussion or clarification. Complying with these elements raises the level of class discussion for everyone.
- <u>Have assignments completed on schedule, printed, and done accordingly to the specified requirements</u>. This will help ensure that your assignments are returned in a timely manner.
- <u>Ask questions in class. Engage the lecturer</u>. These are often very busy professionals who are doing us an honor by coming to speak.
- <u>Comply with academic integrity policies</u> (no plagiarism or cheating, nothing unethical).
- <u>Respect differences of opinion</u> (classmates', lecturers, local constituents engaged with on the visits). You are not expected to agree with everything you hear, but you are expected to listen across difference and consider other perspectives with respect.

Disability Services: Students with disabilities are encouraged to contact Disability Services at disabilityservices@sit.edu for information and support in facilitating an accessible educational experience. Additional information regarding SIT Disability Services, including a link to the online request form, can be found on the Disability Services website at http://studyabroad.sit.edu/disabilityservices.

Please refer to the SIT Study Abroad handbook for policies on academic integrity, ethics, warning and probation, diversity and disability, sexual harassment and the academic appeals process. Also, refer to the specific information available in the Student Handbook and the Program Dossier given to you at Orientation.