

Contents

Articles

Randi Deguilhem and H el ene Claudot-Hawad

- Introduction: Words, Actions and Images for Shaping
Public Opinion 125–135

I Imagining the Other: Fashioning Opinion 136

Svetlana Kirillina

- Imagining the Arab-Ottoman World in Modern Russia:
Narratives of Russian Pilgrims to the Holy Land
of Christianity (16th–18th Centuries) 137–157

The Russian experience in the Middle East left a fascinating record in a wealth of travel accounts of the Arab-Ottoman world. Russian pilgrims' narratives contributed in Russia towards knowledge about the Middle East from the pre-modern era when they were a major source of information about the area. From the sixteenth century, the scope of the pilgrims' interest became wider and more versatile. Nearly all Russian pilgrims who left written travel accounts concentrated not only on the customary phenomena related to pilgrimage but they also paid tribute, albeit in various degrees, to secular issues. Pilgrims' writings appealed to all strata of Russian society as "edifying reading" about the Holy Land and as entertaining reading aimed at stirring readers' curiosity about the alien world outside their homeland's boundaries. This literature contributed in Russia towards the formation of the image of the Orient: pilgrims eagerly supplied readers with first-hand evidence about the *realia* of the Arab-Ottoman world and they also proliferated Orientalist myths and stereotypes.

Keywords: Russia – Russian pilgrims – Orthodox church – travel literature – Holy Land
– Arab-Ottoman world

Carter Vaughn Findley

- L'opinion publique dans l'Empire ottoman :
deux grands courants en concurrence pour faire l'histoire 159–165

For the past two centuries, the history of the Ottoman Empire and, subsequently, that of the Turkish Republic has largely been constructed from a dialectical engagement between two principal currents, each one representing a trend in public opinion and, at the same time, the

result of an ensemble of institutions, practices and sociability. While the secularizing current was principally composed of the diplomatic elite, military personnel and intellectuals, the Islamizing one mostly attracted merchants and landowners. This signifies that in the proto-bourgeois Ottoman society, those endowed with intellectual capital often gravitated towards the secularizing groups whereas those who acquired economic capital more often allied themselves with Islamizing movements. Speaking of a dialectic engagement means that there were not only conflicts between these two currents but also moments of synthesis. Indeed, the importance of Islam in the definition of Turkish identity is at the base of this synthesis.

Keywords: Ottoman Empire – Turkish Republic – Islam – secularizing movements
– Islamizing movements – Turkish identity

Yoshiko Sugiyama

Comment inculquer la modernité aux jeunes musulmanes
tunisiens sous le protectorat français (1896–1908) 167–182

The Khaldūniyya, an educative and cultural institute located in the proximity of the Zaytūna Grand Mosque, was established in Tunis on 22 December 1896. The creation of this institute fits into the context of the French policy of “association”, i.e. acculturating and colonial structures in relation to French ones. In this case, the alliance is between liberal Republicans working for the French Protectorate and progressive reformist Tunisians who believed in modern education. Nonetheless, their objectives are different. In 1910, the Zaytūna students went on strike not only against the conservative ulama but also against the the educational and cultural policies of the French Protectorate. This contribution places the creation of the Khaldūniyya not only within the local context but also within the larger politico-cultural history of colonial Tunisia and in relation to the reformist thought of certain Tunisian intellectuals. The attitude of these Tunisians with regard to their colonized compatriots, transmitted via teaching, is also examined here.

Keywords: Khaldūniyya – Zaytūna – Tunis – Tunisia – French Protectorate
– reformist movements

Julie Boukobza

Une figure cairote entre marginalité, légitimité et authenticité :
la danseuse orientale 183–190

“Oriental” dancers in Cairo are part of festivities that take place in hotels, night-clubs and late at night in the streets. The way that they use their body in the dance is quite specific: by accentuating body movements and by strongly involving the public in the dance, these dancers behave differently from other women in such social contexts. Egyptian society and government made many efforts throughout history to condemn the peculiar behaviour of the professional “belly dancers”. Nonetheless, their performances attract a large Egyptian audience whether on stage or on television as well as in current and older films. But since

the audience in Cairo related to international tourism is currently declining, another kind of international public inclined towards folk culture has been developing for about a decade. To answer this new demand, a professional group of Egyptian “folk” dancers organizes events for these consumers, building a new cultural industry in Cairo. This contribution studies foreign apprentices going to Egypt to learn this type of dance who arrive there with preconceived ideas about “Oriental” dancing and “Oriental” femininity, allied to the tradition of Edward Said’s Orientalism.

Keywords: Egypt – Cairo – Oriental dancers – Orientalism – Edward Said
– belly dancers – femininity – body – folk dance

Matthieu Jeanne

La mise en scène de l’esclavage dans l’espace saharo-sahélien :
discours, actions et profits de l’association Timidria au Niger ... 191–206

Within the context of an emerging civil society in Niger urged forwards by the promotion of democratic models, this study analyses the ways by which public opinion vis-à-vis the question of slavery is reconstructed, resulting in a viewpoint which breaks with that of local societal representations. Since the beginning of the 1990s, the Timidria association led the way on the debate in Niger concerning the existence and forms of slavery. Initially oriented towards community development, since 1998, Timidria has invested itself in the defense of human rights specializing in the struggle against slavery in Niger. Its discourse has largely been constructed on a colonial reading of Tuareg society as well as in comparison with the history of black slavery, the Afro-American struggle and apartheid in South Africa. Correspondingly, Timidria has the support of transnational networks such as USAID, Anti-Slavery, OXFAM, etc., but its legitimacy within the interior of Niger has declined. This contribution studies how the radicalization of the discourse promoted by Timidria responds to current political and economic contexts, ensuing in a stigmatisation of the Other.

Keywords: Timidria – transnational networks – Niger – Tuareg – slavery – colonial
perception – human rights – Other

Julien Gaertner

L’image de l’ « Arabe » dans le cinéma français
de 1970 à nos jours 207–221

The study of films in France from the 1970s up to the present reveals a transformation in the stereotype regarding the identity of the “Arab” in French consciousness. Studying these films also reveals numerous elements by which one may analyze the economic and artistic roles of French citizens of North African origin in France. These artists went beyond the stereotypical image to work instead on themes related to exile, cultural uprooting and questions of belonging to one’s country of citizenship but also towards the country of origin. These topics became progressively recognized in French cinema as legitimate spheres of inquiry, becoming part and parcel of the French *exception*. Moreover, a new sociology

developed in relation to a public which is responsive to the market economy. If the depiction of a film character is successful, then this type of film becomes popular and creates a new image among the movie-going public. This contribution studies these questions in tandem with the following idea: while the dominant political discourse in France stays rigidly focused on immigration, the depiction in the cinema of French citizens of North African origin shows a wide professional and sociological diversity of this population, thereby opening the debate.

Keywords: Arabs in French film – French cinema – Algeria – stereotype – immigration – cultural uprooting – movie-going public – French *exception*

II Emblematic Figures Impacting Opinion 222

Sabine Saliba

A la tribune avec une pionnière damascène :
 Marie Ajami (1888–1965) 223–241

This contribution studies the activities and ways by which the Syro-Lebanese journalist and intellectual, Marie Ajamai (1885–1965), impacted public opinion in her homeland and in the larger region. One of the first women journalists in Syria, Marie Ajamai established, in 1910, the first newspaper in Syria specifically intended for women. This prominent and pioneering figure in the Syro-Lebanese intellectual milieu divided her time between various activities. She spent many years teaching, in both educational establishments and the private sector, as well as in writing numerous articles, prose and poetry which were both published and spoken before different groups in the public or private sphere such as in universities and clubs in Syria, Lebanon and Palestine. In addition to this, Marie Ajami founded or co-founded clubs and literary associations, such as the *Club féminin littéraire de Damas*. During her entire life, she worked for the emancipation and education of women in her country and also for the political and intellectual liberation of the Arab nation, first from the Ottoman occupant and then from the French one.

Keywords: Marie Ajami – Syria – Lebanon – woman intellectual – newspaper – literary club – political engagement – Ottoman – French Mandate

Hélène Claudot-Hawad

Révolutionner l’opinion touarègue : les stratégies novatrices
 de Kawsen contre la colonisation du Sahara
 (début du XXe siècle) 243–258

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the large political centers in the Tuareg regions in the central Sahara were conquered by the French colonial military forces and their allies. Out of this defeat, a new resistance movement emerged as well as a new way of constructing society. Kawsen, a nobleman and revolutionary leader, directed these movements. From 1916 to 1918, he led an armed uprising in the Aïr (in the north of today’s Niger) among

the Tuareg, an uprising which he had prepared while in exile for over fifteen years. He established guerilla military strategies and he recruited fighters from all social categories which signified a transformation in political and social thought for Tuareg society. In order to convince Tuareg opinion to move towards these changes and indeed, to revolutionize opinion, Kawsen intervened in several different sectors such as in the realm of military action, theatre representations, correspondence, speeches, poetry, etc., resulting in an upheaval of social roles, especially concerning the political and military organization of Tuareg society. These changes left a permanent trace in Tuareg life and created new values.

Keywords: Kawsen – Tuareg revolution – central Sahara – Niger – Aïr
– French colonial military politics – anti-colonial resistance movement

Mikhail Meyer

An Islamic Perspective in Russian Public Opinion:
The Russian Tatar Thinker Abdurrashid Ibrahim (1857–1944) .. 259–272

The life of Abdurreshid Ibrahim was eventful and turbulent, similar to the life experience of many Russian Islamic public figures involved in revolutionary events in the early twentieth century. Tatar by birth and a native of Tobolsk (Siberia), Abdurreshid Ibrahim received his primary religious education in Kazan before studying in Istanbul, Mecca and Medina. Upon his return to Russia, he became an ardent advocate of the Jadidi movement, visiting major centers of the Muslim world from India to Egypt with a goal towards popularizing pan-Islamic ideas. He also spent two years (1902–1903) in Japan for this goal where the local intelligence group, *Black Dragons*, contacted him with the objective of obtaining secret information about Russia. After his return to Russia where he was jailed for his anti-state activities and then released during the Russian revolution of 1905, Abdurrashid participated in the organization of congresses of Muslim populations in Russia and, in 1906, was elected president of the central executive committee. He also played a central role as chief coordinator in Russia of the intelligence service of the Young Turks. This contribution focuses on these and other aspects of Abdurrashid Ibrahim's life.

Keywords: Abdurrashid Ibrahim – Jadidi movement – Russian Revolution – Young Turks
– Russia – Turkey – Japan – India – Egypt

Dimitry R. Zhantiev

Making Opinion at the Summit. A Northern Caucasian
Nobleman in the Ottoman-Turkish Ruling Elite:
Bekir Sami-bey Kundukh (1865–1933) 273–276

The dramatic life of Bekir Sami-bey Kundukh reflects the contradictory situation in which many Ottoman officials of North Caucasian origin found themselves during the pivotal period between the demise of the Ottoman Empire and the birth of the Turkish Republic. It was during this period that Bekir Sami-bey Kundukh, a prominent figure in the history of Turkish diplomacy of the early Kemalist period (before 1923) and, later, one of the first

opponents of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, reacted more as a politician than a diplomat. Born into the family of Musa Kunduhov (Musa Pasha), a leader of the Muhajirin movement among North Caucasian Muslims, Bekir Sami had a brilliant career as an Ottoman official and diplomat, especially in the Ottoman Arab vilayets of Beirut and Aleppo on the eve and during World War I. However, his later career and activities represent a dramatic contradiction between his former Ottoman identity and the new ideas of Turkish nationalism. Similar to other non-Turkic members of the new Turkish government led by Atatürk, the shift in the national identity and their attempts to react to new challenges symbolize a painful transformation of the former poly-ethnic Ottoman elite towards one of either accepting Turkish nationalism or leaving the political scene completely.

Keywords: Bekir Sami-bey Kundukh – Mustafa Kemal Pasha – Atatürk – Ottoman Empire – Turkish Republic – North Caucasian Muslims – identity politics

Götz Nordbruch

« Dieu est grand » et la Révolution française. L'appel à la résistance antifasciste à la veille de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale, à travers l'œuvre de Ra'if Khūrī 277–293

During the late 1930s and early 1940s, liberation from political oppression and the realisation of individual rights were central goals discussed in the public space in Arab regions. In the decisive years of the anti-colonial struggle, Arab intellectuals engaged in a passionate search for historical and ideological justifications for these ambitions. While European intellectual history was a possible reference, the central claim of authenticity in Arab nationalist and early Islamist thought posed an obstacle for borrowing too openly from European sources. Defying this, the Lebanese intellectual and political activist Ra'if Khoury (1913–1967) explicitly placed the French Revolution at the core of his writings. For Khoury, this revolution was French only in a mere geographical sense. As an intellectual and political achievement, it was a universal expression of a global longing for liberation. For him, the intellectual sources of secularism, freedom, human rights and progress but also of fascism, authoritarianism and imperialism cannot be reduced to a distinct European culture. Rejecting the contemporary nationalist imaginations of “Arab particularities”, Khoury places Arab societies within the global context of their time.

Keywords: Ra'if Khoury – French Revolution – Lebanese intellectual – individual rights – anti-colonial struggle – secularism – freedom – fascism – authoritarianism – imperialism

III Moving Opinion through the Media 294

Philippe Bourmaud

Experts at large: Physicians, Public Debate and the Press
in Late Ottoman Palestine 295–305

The purpose of this presentation is to compare the authority assumed by physicians in the public space with the one which they commanded in their relations with their patients as well as in their relations with administrative bodies. In this context, it is relevant to focus on Palestine since a political debate has already structured the public space along clear fault lines prior to World War One. At that time, the central public debate moved away from the issue of reform which allowed physicians to speak in the name of public interest towards one focused on a conflict about nationality. On the part of physicians, is the assumption of non-partisan authority undermined by this context? How does such authority translate itself in public expression? Is the role assumed by physicians in the public space congruent with their real work as physicians or “experts”? The kind of authority that transpires through the writing of physicians in Palestine and elsewhere in the Middle East mostly comes out as a projection of their professional practice, not unlike a medical prescription. Those physicians, however, tended to separate the realm of medicine as an element of public debate and their opinions about the political conflict: in this manner, they underline the connection between health and Jewish colonization in Palestine.

Keywords: Palestine – Jewish colonization in Palestine – physicians – medical authority
– health and public debate – physicians as experts in society

Baudouin Dupret and Jean-Noël Ferrié

« Miroir, Mon Beau Miroir ». Quand trois chaînes satellitaires
arabes se donnent un profil 307–326

The landscape of Arab media was dominated for a long time by the monopoly of national television channels. This contribution does not reconstruct its history, it will suffice simply to underscore that this era has passed. National borders have been erased, first to the profit of satellite channels broadcasting in English and in French and, later, to those modeled after al-Jazeera, the television channel based in Qatar which began broadcasting in Arabic. Thus, members of the Arabic-speaking public who have a satellite connection at their disposal have begun to gain access to a pluralistic and transnational media world. The extreme reticence of the satellite television channels broadcasting in Arabic concerning the identity of their anonymous partners, moneylenders and financial backers is equaled only by their verbosity concerning the profile they aim to give themselves and, therefore, the type of audience that they aim to attract by the very reason of this profile. In this article, the authors describe the practical deployment of this self-production and the production of the virtual audience to which these three channels picked up by the satellite “Arabsat” are delivered. This production operates mainly through membership categorization of the audience which these channels aim to reach but also through affiliations that supposedly characterize them.

In other words, the spots in which these different channels present themselves participate in the production of an ongoing typology of their own identity and the identity of their supposed viewers.

Keywords: Arab media – al-Jazeera – satellite “Arabsat” – satellite television channels
– media typologies – Arabic-speaking public

Blandine Chelini-Pont

La naissance d’une opinion publique musulmane
aux Etats-Unis après le 11 septembre ? 327–334

In order to study Muslim public opinion, post 9/11, in the United States, this contribution begins by presenting a panorama of Muslim communities in the United States. Particular emphasis is given here to available statistics mostly derived from surveys which give an analysis of Muslim communities in the country according to their place of origin, ethnic and racial background, income brackets, professions, etc. The author then studies the types of organizations which represent Muslim communities in the United States and the kinds of events which precipitate the establishment of representative organizations whose purpose is defend the interests of this community as a specific group in society. The effects of this type of mobilization as well as the culture of lobbying in the United States as an accepted practice is also taken into account in this contribution. The conclusions reveal that Muslim public opinion in the United States, as it is organized within associations, has begun to take shape in the country, especially over the past decade and in turn, exerts pressure on the general society as well as increasingly on the government in its domestic policies but also within

Keywords: Muslim public opinion – United States – 9/11 – surveys
– culture of lobbying – associations

Contributors 335–338