¹ PhD of Political Science,
Florida International University,
USA.
E-mail: anama005@fiu.edu

RESEARCH ARTICLE

Political Behavior of Muslims in the US: Transition from Isolation to Political Participation

Ali Namatpour[1] (iD)

Abstract: Most of the researchers in American politics and public policy focus on the Presidency, Congress, and Judiciary as the main institutions in the U.S. and consider the relations and interactions among them. However, the relationship between these main institutions affected by interest groups which can be seen in the process of decision making and their contribution to the public sphere. In an attempt to consider the role of interest groups, this paper's main concern is to study the influence of interest groups on the public sphere in general, and particularly, the role of religious interest groups in the process of decision making for Muslim communities. The paper's assumption is that the mosque and other religious institutions in the U.S. have multifaceted roles to mobilize Muslims and push them for sociopolitical participation and on the other hand; they can affect legislative and executive branches in their process of decision making. I will review the literature of interest groups, religious organizations, and policy-making models to explain the process of decision making and the factors that affect these procedures. Then I consider the effect of these Muslim institutions on the process of decision making in the U.S. and explain the relationship between these interest groups and policymakers in the U.S.

Keywords: Muslim; institution; interest group; decision-making; the US Politics.

Introduction

Since the cold war, one of the most important challenges for the US is how to confront with Muslim issues inside and outside of America. For solving this problem many scholars try to frame this problematic issue and find the best explanation for it. Some scholars like Lewis suggest that Islam is in its essence tending to violence and has a confrontational nature. He argues that Muslims could not engage in the process of modernization (Lewis, 1994). Other scholars like Huntington talk about the clash of civilizations and warn Americans that this clash will happen between the Islamic and Western world (Huntington, 1993). These discussions led to establishing the new doctrines which affected the US administrations and guided them to be sensitive to the Muslim minority as a sign of the Islamic world inside the US. Moreover, this situation highlighted the problematic notions of security, terrorism, and conflict of identity for Muslim civilization.

This anti-Islamic environment in the national and international atmosphere has reinforced the Islamic consciousness and led them to shift to overemphasize religious identity as Muslims and critical views to the "others" (Jalalzai, 2009). Muslims as a religious minority confronted with lots of problems and they have not an equal chance for participating in the sociopolitical sphere in the US. In this situation, the institutionalization of Muslim groups can help them to increase their role in process of policymaking in the US. Moreover, these institutions help Muslims to become more involve in political competition and deal with the party system as rational actors to maximize their benefits.

Theoretical Framework

Institutions

Political institutions are organizations that make, impose, and apply laws. They can solve struggles, make governmental policy, and prepare representation for the People. They influence the process of decision-making and policymaking which has an essential impact on the law, economy, culture, and society. Lijphart in *Patterns of Democracy* and Norris in *Electoral Engineering* provide important insights about how institutions affect democratic performance. Lijphart claims that

many societies are confronted with deep ethnic, linguistic, religious, or ideological cleavages and these cleavages potentially could avoid minority's chance for participating in policymaking. Moreover, there is a lot of similarity between the minority's and the majority's interests in these societies, and the exclusion of minority might lead to violence. For solving this problem, Lijphart suggests the institutional solution and maximizes the incorporation of the minority to influence policies (Lijphart, 2012).

On the other hand, Norris argues about changes in party and electoral systems and how institutions affect the structure of competition. According to her, it is very important to know the structure of competition in the party system. She argues that the changes in that structure may affect the electoral system and it has some main consequences for a political party and its institutions. She considers and compares rational choice, institutionalism, and cultural modernization theories to understand the alternative approach for electoral behavior and political representation. She assumes that formal electoral rules affect the behavior of political actors (Norris, 2004).

Olson and Tsebelis also include institutional characteristics in their theoretical models. Tsebelis in *Nested Games* conducts his research by using the different system designs. He presumes that human activity is goal-oriented and instrumental. In this situation, actors try to maximize their aim and achievement by considering the requirements of rational behavior. He focuses on the institutional and partisan setting by using the game theory to consider the trend of decision makings in democratic countries and outcomes of the political institutions. Tsebelis considers the role of political institutions and their different impact on political actors and the trend of decisions (Tsebelis, 1990).

While Olson in *The Logic of Collective Action* studies about distributions of collective goods to the different groups and explains how this process accelerated or delayed the development of groups. Olson claims that individuals' tendency to act for their desires limited the participation for a collective good through collective action. He argues that public good belongs to all and should be distributed among all members of groups. Olson explains that based on the free ride problem, individuals

prefer to do not act to achieve the public good while they benefited from that collective good. For solving this problem, he suggests incentives (positive or negative) for the participation of all members of the group. However, he pays little attention to the role of motivation and aggregation at the individual level and its effect on the group (Olson, 1965).

All these authors emphasize institutionalism and explain how institutions cooperate in the sociopolitical sphere. The cooperation of these institutions is implemented in a situation established by other institutions and all these institutions are enforced by the wider atmosphere.

Interest Groups

There are lots of discussions among scholars to achieve a common definition of interest groups. With all of these debates, they agree with a minimal definition of interest groups as "the collections of people with essentially the same self-interest, about which they feel so strongly that they collectively form an organization to promote and defend it through the political process" (Holyoke, 2014, p 32). According to Holyoke, there is a difference

between interest groups and political parties. In political parties, leaders gain political power from voting which helps them to control law-making institutions. While, interest groups focus on a particular interest, represent only a small number of individuals and their influence is informal (Holyoke, 2014).

Interest groups have a very complex mechanism to make policies into practice. To increase the influence on the public policy, interest groups, focus their efforts on those institutions that have the most power and on which they can exert influence. One important point in this regard is the interaction between these interest groups and parties. This makes the relations between religious interest groups and executive agencies more complicated.

Religious Institutions

Some scholars focus on the role of religious institutions in the political mobilization in the religious communities (Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995; Calhoun-Brown, 1996; Jones-Correa & Leal, 2001; Tate, 1993; Wuthnow, 1999). According to them, church participation shows how these institutions mobilize people. Verba claims that religious

people who participate regularly in the church tend to involve in political activities. This institution has the ability to increase the level of civic skills, political participation, and sociopolitical knowledge among its members. He claims that the regularity of church participation increases the function of civic skills (Verba et al., 1995). Several types of research explain the role of churches in the political sphere (Greenberg, 2000; Peterson, 1992; Smidt, 1999). They suggest that religious institutions have an important role in mobilization directly. As Rosenstone and Hansen explain, "involvement in organizations… promotes political participation by making people susceptible to mobilization. Politically, organizations stand between national and local political leaders and ordinary citizens" (Rosenstone and Hansen, 1993, p. 87). In another word, these scholars try to show the direct influence of religious institutions on the political sphere and stand between national leaders and ordinary citizens (Djupe and Grant, 2001).

Moreover, Putnam claims that "religious institutions directly support a wide range of social activities well beyond conventional

worship… Churches provide an important incubator for civic skills, civic norms, community interests, and civic recruitment" (Putnam, 2000, p. 35). According to him, religious institutions in the US have an important role in training public participation.

Political Behavior of Muslims in the United States

Most scholars claim that religion has a significant role in US politics. They argue that religious factors affected the political behavior of voters in America. A new survey by Pew Research Center affirmed that religion and faith have been effective components in the U.S. presidential elections (Faith and the 2016 Campaign, January 27, 2016).

Religion is one of the important factors which affect individuals' private and public lives. According to scholars, religion has an essential influence on the political participation of the individual in two different ways. First religion can affect political participation through institutional effects. These institutions help people to increase their civic skills and political knowledge which lead to an increase in the political participation of

Muslims. Second, religion can affect political participation through attitudinal effects (Choi, Gasim, & Patterson, 2011). According to scholars, people who attend religious institutions can attach more easily to the group identity and this consciousness leads them to the common interest and participation in politics (see, e.g., Calhoun-Brown 1996; Harris 1994). Furthermore, these attitudinal effects can increase the political activities among members to involve in political action that encourages group interest.

Islam is growing very fast and become the second-largest religion in the US (Read, 2008) and because of that knowing about the sociopolitical behavior of Muslims is crucial. For confronting these situations, Muslims from isolation inside the Islamic communities' step by step try to involve in the sociopolitical sphere and increase their participation. They emphasized reinterpret Islam which related to their circumstances. In this situation, salient issues became more important than their race or different nationalities. I consider this trend of change from closed community to progressive participation in Muslim behavior and explain the trend of this transition and main elements that affect these changes in the US. For explaining this transition, I cover three levels of communication and consider the relation inside the Muslim community, interaction with American society, and the communication with Islamic World which is related to the outside of the US.

Muslim Isolation

During the 1950s the US was confronted with a new wave of Muslim immigration that mostly comes from wealthy families with a high level of educations. These new Muslim immigrants came to the US to pursue their education and return after they finished their studies. They resisted any cultural adaption and tried to isolate themselves from American society (Schumann, 2007). Some scholars argue that adaption is a hard process for immigrants because most of their sociopolitical characters are shaped at earlier ages and they resist changes (Merelman, 1986). These new Muslim immigrants were born outside the US and because of that their ideologies were affected by Muslim World and it shaped their identity. As a result, these new immigrants were reluctant

to connect with the new community and preferred to keep in touch with themselves.

Interaction with American Society

Muslims are a very diverse population in race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status. This diversity in Muslim background caused a variety of sociopolitical status and lack of unity in their interest to participate in political activities (Jalalzai, 2009). For solving this problem, they tried to improve their English as an important tool for communication with other Muslims from different countries and interaction with other Americans. The use of English helped Muslims with a different ethnicity to create common organizations for improving the communication inside Muslim communities and outside with Americans. The use of common language helps Muslims in the US to become unified and improve their organizations and institutions. This condition helped them to put aside sectarian, race, and national differences and focused on the salient issues. This Muslim generation brought many important concepts and ideologies to the US such as Arab nationalism and Islamic revivalism. Their goal was to preserve the Islamic identity for the Muslims who live in a non-Muslim country (Schumann, 2007).

In that period the protecting of Islamic identity which was affected by ideologies of the Islamic world became a salient issue for Muslims and they mobilized their members in mosques and other organizations to the preserved Islamic identity of Muslims. They believed that protecting the Islamic identity is important because they supposed the American environment could undermine the cultural and moral Islamic identity. For confronting with Western culture and resist against it some of the Muslim scholars articulated the concept of "abode of Islam" and "abode of disbelief" and separation between believers and non-believers to increase the unity within the Muslim community (Nasr, 2009). They created new organizations and magazines like MSA News and Islamic Horizons to bring a new feeling of activism inside Muslim communities and improve Islamic knowledge among them (Malinovich, 2006). The use of English as a common language in these new organizations and magazines pushed the Muslims to accept and use a new language for their communications

that led Muslims to become integrated and overcame to lack of unity that related to their different nationalities. This new strategy helped Muslims to improve their relationships inside the Muslim communities but at the same time it caused the boundary between "us" versus "others". This situation caused the separation of Muslim communities from others and became isolated from the rest of society in the US.

Communication with Islamic World
During the 1980s the sociopolitical discourse of the Muslims in the US changed. They need to engage more with American society and tried to improve their institutions like mosques and Sunday school (Haddad & Adair 1987). The most important factor that affects the political participation of Muslims was mosque institution and its role in increasing the ability of civic skills among Muslims. These associational memberships to mosques help Muslim individuals to improve their civic skills in the new community. Moreover, voluntary activity such as working in Sunday school is important because the civic skills gained from associational memberships in mosques can

help to compromise divisions in other resources (Jamal, 2005).

For solving the problem of isolation and increasing the Muslims' involvement in American society they compromise their ideologies and started to accept others as a part of their living experiences. The religious intellectuals began to justify the new notion that American culture was not bad for their cultural and moral behaviors. They started to criticize the previous framework about the Muslim identity and at the same time, they criticized the moral and identity issues in the Islamic World. In new discourse, there is not any place for the distinction between believers and nonbelievers. For instance, some scholars started to defend the US liberalism as a humanized approach and supported the notion of liberal values in daily life (Schumann, 2007). These scholars articulated the new framework for Islamic notions and tried to the localization of Islam in the US which was consistent with the context (Crane, 1997). With these compromises, they abled to shift from the concept of identity that the Islamic World suggested to the new Islamic identity

which was prepared for the American context (Poston, 1991).

Furthermore, they borrowed missionary ideas from Christianity and applied them to Muslim activities to increase the trend of organization and engagement within Muslim communities. They start some social activities such as feeding the poor; house the needy, fight oppression, and injustice (Haddad, 1987). Most of the elites in this era emphasized social activities and participation in American society but they were silent about political participation. In this situation, interaction with non-Muslims and involvement in the society was an important basis for the spread of knowledge of Islam and it was a salient issue for Muslims. In this environment, it was important for Muslim leaders to become an equal part of American society and American society accepted them as a part of society with a different identity.

After the 1990s the Muslims in the US tried to shape a new universal idea that helped them to empower the Muslim communities. According to resistance theory, immigrants prefer to keep their identity which gave from their home country (Marranci, 2004). In this

situation, for transferring a political interest, Muslim political leaders and intellectuals reached the point that exposure of Muslims with the sociopolitical environment in the US could be helpful to improve the concept of belonging, partisanship, and participation in politics (Jalalzai, 2009). In this condition, the mosque found an important position and become the place for Muslims for mobilizing, educating, and participating in sociopolitical events.

Socio-political Paradigm Shift: Muslim Awakening

The reaction since the 9/11 crisis has changed the daily lives of Muslims in the US. According to the data, after 9/11 Muslims in the US tend to participate in different political activities. This tendency increased after September 11 and Muslims were involved in the political sphere despite all problems that they confronted (Jamal, 2005). At the same time, Middle East events became more salient issues for majorities of Muslims. Muslims in the US are confronted with a pessimistic sense about their political situations because of the negative atmosphere against Muslims since September

11 and military invasions in Iraq and Afghanistan as Muslim countries. Instead of retreating from politics, this condition helps them to intensify their political engagement (Jalalzai, 2009). For instance, the increase in participation in the 2004 presidential election was affected by salient issues among Muslims. Indeed, the effect of the Iraq War on Muslims and its impact on their political participation was huge (Choi, Gasim, & Patterson, 2011).

Muslim scholars started to find the similarities between the American constitutions and Islamic values. In this situation, a shift happened from the priority of Islamic identity to the preference of values related to the context. This condition led Muslim scholars and ordinary Muslims to accept this paradigm shift and Islamic values became the center of the political discourse (Haddad, 2007). Mosques play an important role to mobilize Muslims into social action. Mosque participation is attended by greater contribution such as working with other Muslims for helping the poor and participation with the neighborhood or other communities.

Moreover, Muslim leaders have an essential role to encourage Muslims to political participation (Jamal, 2005). With new interpretations, Muslims accepted the American values not only because they were in their Islamic traditions, but also, they were guaranteed by the constitution. The religious intellectuals tried to find harmonies between Islamic values and the West and claim that the American constitution conformed to Islamic values. With these interpretations, they could solve the problem of Islamic identity in the US by emphasizing that "to be the best Muslim is to be a good American and, to be the best American is to be Islamic" (Crane, 1997, xix). These interpretations led American Muslims to become a part of society and have a better contribution to other Americans.

The progress in the concept of participation among Muslims was an important shift after September 11 and helps them to take an essential step toward involvement in the political sphere within the US political sphere (Schumann, 2007). The concept of partisanship becomes important for Muslims because it shaped their attitude constantly and gradually. According to the research, there is a relationship between education and political participation which led

to improving the various attitudes and effective political behavior (Jones-Correa & Leal, 2001).

These approaches led to the political awakening of Muslims in the US and involved them in the political sphere. These conditions accelerated the trend of re-Islamization of Muslim communities and increased using Islamic symbols like hijab (headscarf) in public areas in the US (Haddad, 2007). The leaders of Muslim communities encouraged Muslims to involve in the sociopolitical issues to contribute Islamic values and norms to the notion of American civilization and improve the situation of the Muslim community in the US with sociopolitical works (Schumann, 2007). They emphasize that if more Muslims tend to participate in the political sphere and organize in more unified groups, both parties' interest to pay more attention to the Muslim communities and their requests and interests (Jalalzai, 2009). The main issue was how these Muslim interest groups could participate in the decision-making process in the United States. How can they effectively enter the political arena and increase and maintain the interests of the Muslim community?

Models of Policy-making

To understand the role of interest groups in the process of decision-making, it is vital to consider the general models of policymaking and how they theorized their assumptions. One of these models is the rational model that provides direction on how to make optimal policy decisions (Caramani, 2008). In this model, the scholars assumed that the decision-makers understand the preferences and priorities of different goals and how they rank them in the process. They are also able to consider all alternative procedures which affect the process of decision making (Mintz & DeRouen, 2010). In this approach, making decisions are related to the amount of information that each actor has, if they have more reliable and comprehensive information, they can make a better decision. In this situation, interest groups who access to money and information can offer professional advice to the policymakers and have an important role in the process of decision-making.

The second model is the bureaucratic politics model which emphasizes the effect of organizational structure on the process of decision making (Mintz & DeRouen, 2010).

According to the scholar, bureaucratic politics is the process by which individuals within government administrative structures deal with each other on how to respond to policy problems (Hastedt, 2004). In other words, actors inside the system confront the problems and analyze them in different ways which related to their positions in the system of government and how they compromise their ideas to reach an agreement and make a decision.

The last model is the group model which emphasizes the role of interest groups and how the strength of each interest group affected the process of decision making. As Caramani explains, policies are the result of the balance achieved in group struggle (Caramani, 2008). In another word, this theory assumes that policymakers are regularly replying to group pressures, so the politicians are interested in "form majority coalitions for which they have the competence to define what groups are to be included" (Caramani, 2008).

Muslim Interest Groups and their Role in Decision-making in the US

Building on this literature, Muslim interest groups try to improve their role in the process of decision making and increase their power of lobbying with policymakers to achieve their goals and maximize their interests. Some scholars claim political participation among Muslims is related to the participation of Muslims in the mosque and other Islamic organizations. Participation with these institutions helps to increase the level of group consciousness among Muslims and improve the role of these institutions in the public sphere. In this situation these organizations become powerful and the interest groups related to those institutions can increase their roles in the sociopolitical sphere.

In the aftermath of September 11, 2001, American Muslims were confronted with racial and religious pressures. They are a victim of preconception and discrimination in the American public sphere. While they tried to set their characters as Americans in a post 9/11, they endeavored to save their Islamic identity. American Muslims resist marginalization and isolation and try to increase their participation in the sociopolitical sphere. They created professional organizations to participate in a different aspect of American society which covers varsities of ethnic, racial, cultural, and

professional groups such as ISNA, Zaytuna Institute, ASMA, MPAC, CAIR, AMA, CSID, FMC, and AIFD (Huda, 2006). After 9/11 these organizations found a position to consult with the government and offer alternative strategies to reconcile the relationship between Muslims and the American sociopolitical sphere. For reaching their goals, Muslims use all the resources such as financial and organizational infrastructure, affiliation in formal political parties, and informal social networks, lobbying, and communication media to achieve their goals (Bakalian & Bozorgmehr, 2005).

To achieve this goal, Muslims activated Islamic organizations such as mosques in the sociopolitical spheres. America has 1200 mosques which increased 62% since the 1980s (Jamal, 2005). Among these mosques, more than 20% have Islamic schools. According to data mosque attending has increased 75% in recent years with about 1625 Muslims related to each mosque (Bagby, Perl, &Froehle, 2001). Recently mosques have become important institutions for political activity and mobilization. They push Muslims to register for voting and motivate them to vote. They encourage Muslims to involve in political campaigns and support the candidates who have a benefit for Muslim communities. Muslims in the US see the American political system as a condition that helps them to express their opinions and goals. The poll shows that 93% of Muslims believe that they should actively participate in the US political system, and 77% declare that they were participating in social space such as helping the poor and homeless. Moreover, 66% reported that they were involved with a school or youth program (Jamal, 2005). These polls illustrate the civic engagement of Muslims in American social life through their mosques.

However, these interest groups have a competition together from opposite sides that causes the division between them. Some scholars explain these divisions and competition exists between interest groups (Holyoke, 2011). Finally, some scholars argue that lobbying is a two-way street between policymakers and Muslim interest groups. They believe that these groups need policymakers to support their requests and help them in the process of legislation and bureaucracy. On the other side, policymakers

need Muslim resources and their support during elections like campaign contributions and votes (Hook & Scott, 2012).

Conclusion

There are four ways for Muslims in America to express their requests and needs: public opinion, elections, interest group activity, and political protest (Hastedt, 2009). Some scholars claim that interest groups are the better way of supporting public interests because they have access to more information and knowledge in different professional fields. Moreover, these Muslim interest groups have a more constant and tangible relationship with the system, and they could transfer the real request and needs of different groups and communities than other ways such as periodic elections and infrequent public opinion polls. However, some scholars claim that Muslim interest groups have not an important influence in the process of decision making because there is a division of opinion within interest groups.

All in all, Muslim interest groups are able to have a pervasive and profound effect on the process of decision making. They have an important role in the process of decision making especially after 9/11. These groups are influential in the process of decision making and framing of issues in the system. They provide information and scholarly analysis to support policymaking and control the trend of applying and implementation.

In all of these sociopolitical activities, Islamic institutions have an essential role that reinforces civic participation among Muslims. For Muslims, these Islamic institutions are related to larger political activity, public participation, and group consciousness which serve as a multifunctional place and help them to express their requests and needs. This situation caused the main American parties to take the role of Muslims in the American political space seriously and to think of an association with them. Today, the candidates pay special attention to persuading and attracting the Muslim community in their campaign and seek to satisfy their desires and needs.

References

[1] Bagby, I.A.W., Perl, P.M. and Froehle, B., (2001). *The mosque in America, a national portrait: A report from the Mosque Study Project.* Washington, DC: Council on American-Islamic Relations.

[2] Bakalian, A. and Bozorgmehr, M., (2005). Muslim American Mobilization. *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies, 14*(1), pp.7-43.

[3] Brady, H.E., Verba, S. and Schlozman, K.L., (1995). Beyond SES: A resource model of political participation. *American political science review*, pp.271-294.

[4] Caramani, D., (2008. Party systems. *Comparative politics*, pp.318-347.

[5] Choi, J., Gasim, G. and Patterson, D., (2011). Identity, Issues, and Religious Commitment and Participation: Explaining Turnout among Mosque Attending M uslim A mericans. *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism, 11*(3), pp.343-364.

[6] Crane, R.D., (1997). *Shaping the Future: Challenge and Response.* Tapestry Press.

[7] Djupe, P.A. and Grant, J.T., (2001). Religious institutions and political participation in America. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 40*(2), pp.303-314.

[8] Haddad, Y.Y. and Lummis, A.T., (1987). *Islamic values in the United States: A comparative study.* Oxford University Press, USA.

[9] Haddad, Y.Y., (2007). The post-9/11 hijab as icon. *Sociology of religion, 68*(3), pp.253-267.

[10] Hastedt, G.P., (2014). *Encyclopedia of American foreign policy.* Infobase Publishing.

[11] Hastedt, G.P., (2017). *American foreign policy: Past, present, and future.* Rowman & Littlefield.

[12] Holyoke, T.T., (2020). *Interest groups and lobbying: pursuing political interests in America.* Routledge.

[13] Hook, S.W. and Scott, J.M. eds., (2011). *US foreign policy today: American renewal?* CQ Press.

[14] Huda, Q.U., (2006). Conflict prevention and peace-building efforts by American Muslim organizations following September 11. *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs, 26*(2), pp.187-203.

[15] Huntington, S.P., (2000). The clash of civilizations? In *Culture and politics* (pp. 99-118). Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

[16] Jamal, A., (2005). The political participation and engagement of Muslim Americans: Mosque involvement and group consciousness. *American Politics Research, 33*(4), pp.521-544.

[17] Jalalzai, F., (2009). The politics of Muslims in America. *Politics and Religion, 2*(2), pp.163-199.

[18] Jones-Correa, M.A. and Leal, D.L., (2001). Political participation: Does religion matter?. *Political Research Quarterly, 54*(4), pp.751-770.

[10] Lijphart, A., (2012). *Patterns of democracy: Government forms and performance in thirty-six countries.* Yale University Press.

[20] Lewis, B., (1993). *Islam and the West.* OUP USA.

[21] Malinovich, N., (2006). The americanization of islam in the contemporary United States. *Revue francaise detudes americaines*, (3), pp.100-112.

[22] Marranci, G., (2004). Multiculturalism, Islam and the clash of civilisations theory: rethinking Islamophobia. *Culture and Religion, 5*(1), pp.105-117.

[23] Merelman, R.M., (1986). Revitalizing political socialization. *Political psychology*, pp.279-319.

[24] Larson, D.W. and Mintz, K., (2012). Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making. *Perspectives on Politics, 10*(1), p.227.

[25] Nasr, S.H., (2009). *The heart of Islam: Enduring values for humanity.* Zondervan.

[26] Norris, P., (2004). *Electoral engineering: Voting rules and political behavior.* Cambridge university press.

[27] Mancur Jr, O., (1968). *The logic of collective action: Public goods and the theory of groups.*

[28] Poston, L.A., (1991). Da'wa in the West. *The Muslims of America*, pp.125-135.

[29] Putnam, R.D., (2000). Bowling alone: America's declining social capital. In *Culture and politics* (pp. 223-234). Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

[30] Read, J.N.G., (2008). Muslims in America. *Contexts, 7*(4), pp.39-43.

[31] Rosenstone, S.J. and Hansen, J.M., 1993. *Mobilization, participation, and democracy in America.* Longman Publishing Group.

[32] Tsebelis, G., (1990). *Nested games: Rational choice in comparative politics* (Vol. 18). Univ of California Press.

[33] http://www.pewforum.org/2016/01/27/faith-and-the-2016-campaign/

The
International
Journal of
Humanities

رفتار سیاسی مسلمانان در ایالات متحده: گذار از انزوا به مشارکت سیاسی

علی نعمت‌پور[1]

[1] دکتری سیاست و روابط بین‌الملل،
دانشگاه بین‌المللی فلوریدا، آمریکا
E-mail: anama005@fiu.edu

چکیده: بیشتر پژوهشگران سیاست و سیاست‌گذاری عمومی در آمریکا بر نهادهای اصلی مانند ریاست جمهوری، کنگره و قوه قضائیه در ایالات متحده متمرکز شـده و روابط و تعاملات میان این نهادها را مورد توجه قرار می‌دهند. بااین‌حال، نقش گروه‌های ذینفع در روابط بین این نهادهای اصلی بسیار مؤثر است که این تأثیر را می‌توان در فرآیند تصمیم‌گیری در سـاختار قدرت و مشارکت آنها در حوزه عمومی مشـاهده کرد. در تلاش برای بررسـی نقش گروه‌های ذینفع، دغدغه اصلی این مقاله بررسـی تأثیر گروه‌های ذینفع بر سیاسـت‌گذاری عمومی به‌طورکلی و به‌ویژه نقش گروه‌های ذینفع مذهبی در فرآیند تصـمیم‌گیری برای جوامع مسـلمان در آمریکا اسـت. فرض مقاله این اسـت که مسـجد و سـایر نهادهای مذهبی در ایالات متحده نقش‌های چند وجهی برای بسـیج مسـلمانان و تشویق آنها به مشارکت سیاسی-اجتماعی دارند. همچنین، این نهادهای مذهبی توانایی تأثیرگذاری در روند تصـمیم‌گیری در قوه مقننه و مجریه را دارند. در این مقاله، ابتدا به مرور ادبیات درباره گروه‌های ذینفع خواهیم پرداخت و سپس نقش سـازمان‌های مذهبی و مدل‌های سیاست‌گذاری را بررسی خواهیم کرد. سپس، با استفاده از تئوری‌های موجود تلاش می کنیم تا فرآیند تصمیم‌گیری و عوامل مؤثر بر این رویه‌ها را توضـیح دهیم. پس از آن، تأثیر این نهادهای مسـلمان را بر روند تصمیم‌گیری در ایالات متحده بررسی خواهد شد و رابطه بین این گروه‌های ذینفع و سیاست‌گذاران در ایالات متحده را توضیح می‌دهیم.

واژه‌های کلیدی: مسـلمانان، نهاد، گروه ذینفع، روند تصـمیم‌گیری، سـیاسـت در ایالات متحده آمریکا.