

# SYLLABUS

## Islam and Politics (IR 507)

Jeremy Menchik, menchik@bu.edu

Assistant Professor of International Relations

Fredrick S. Pardee School of Global Studies, Boston University

Fall 2014: Tuesday/Thursday 12:30-2:00pm in IRB 102 (154 Bay State Rd.)

Office Hours: Tuesday/Thursday 3:00 – 4:00pm or by appointment, 156 Bay State Rd., #403

“Contrary to much of the literature on the subject, it is not possible to talk about Islam and democracy in general but only about Muslims living and theorizing under specific historical circumstances.”

- Gundrun Krämer, 1993. “Islamist Notions of Democracy,” *Middle East Report* 183, pp. 2-8.

### Course Objectives

The Islamic revival is one of the most important developments of the twentieth century. This class is motivated by a set of interlocking questions designed to understand the political dynamics of the revival by focusing on Islamic political movements in the Middle East, Central Asia, and Southeast Asia. What are their intellectual origins? How should we understand their relationship to colonialism, nationalism, democracy, liberalism, development, and women and gender? How have Islamic political movements evolved over time? We will explore these questions historically and in comparative perspective by drawing on scholarship from political science, Islamic studies, sociology, anthropology, and history. By the end of the course, students should possess an empirically grounded understanding of contemporary Islamic movements as well as the analytical tools necessary to explain their behavior.

### Course Requirements

Participation (15%): The course will be run as a seminar. This format requires students to attend regularly, read diligently, and participate actively in class discussions. Each week, students should come to class prepared with 1-2 discussion questions that pertain to the readings.

Response Papers (3 x 5% = 15%): Student will write three short (2-3 pages, double-spaced, 1 inch margins) analytical response papers (RP) over the course of the semester. I will provide the paper prompts before they are due in class on **9/11**, **10/9**, and **11/20**. A grading rubric is at the end of the syllabus.

Presentation (1 x 5% = 5%): Each student will be assigned to a two-person group, which will be responsible for one 10-minute presentation on current events regarding an Islamic organization. Students will choose presentation dates in the first week of class. Presentation topics must be approved by the professor and be relevant to that week’s themes. A grading rubric is at the end of the syllabus.

Midterm Exam (25%): Exams will be a combination of short answers and two longer essays, held in class. The midterm exam will be on **10/16**.

Final Exam (40%): The final exam is a take-home essay, 7-8 pages in length. The exam will be handed out at the end of class on **12/9** and must be returned via email by **noon on 12/16**.

Research Paper (40%): In lieu of a final exam, students may choose to write a 15-page research paper. Students must meet with me the week of **Oct 27** to present an abstract and preliminary list of sources. Papers are due via email by **noon on 12/16**.

Late Work: Late submission of assignments will incur an automatic full-grade deduction per day beginning with the assignment deadline.

Explanation of Letter Grades: <http://www.bu.edu/reg/grades/explanation-of-grades/>

Special Needs: If you have any special needs or circumstances, such as a learning disability or health concern, please do not hesitate to speak with me and we can discuss suitable accommodations and assistance. If there is a religious holy day that will require your absence, please notify me no later than the first two weeks of class so that we can make arrangements for your absence. If a student misses class due to an unexcused absence, their absence may be reflected in their participation grade.

Academic Misconduct: Plagiarism and cheating are serious offences and will be punished in accordance with BU's Academic Conduct Code (<http://www.bu.edu/academics/resources/academic-conduct-code/>). Cases of scholastic dishonesty will be referred for disciplinary action and penalties, including but not limited to failure in the course.

Electronic Communications in Class: Please do not use laptop computers, cell phones, or any other electronic devices during the seminar. These are serious distractions to your learning.

**Required Texts**: The following books are required for the class and may be purchased at the BU bookstore or online. They will also be placed on reserve at Mugar Memorial Library. Article and chapter-length readings can be accessed through the course Blackboard site.

Roxanne L Euben and Muhammad Qasim Zaman, 2009. *Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought: Texts and Contexts from al-Banna to Bin Laden*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Stephane Lacroix, 2011. *Awakening Islam: The Politics of Religious Dissent in Contemporary Saudi Arabia*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. [Available through ebrary]

Peter Mandaville, 2014. *Islam and Politics*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New York: Routledge.

Toby Matthiesen, 2013. *Sectarian Gulf: Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, and the Arab Spring that Wasn't*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press. [Available through ebrary]

Jenny White, 2013. *Muslim Nationalism and the New Turks*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. [Available through ebrary]

### **Recommended**

Asef Bayat, 2007. *Making Islam Democratic: Social Movements and the Post-Islamist Turn*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.

Saba Mahmood, 2005. *The Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. [Free through ACLS Humanities E- Book]

Rachel Rinaldo, 2013. *Mobilizing Piety: Islam and Feminism in Indonesia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

## Dates and Readings

### Week One (Sep 2): Introduction

- Peter Mandaville, "Introduction," pp. 1-27, "Islam and Politics," pp. 28-56, in *Global Political Islam*.

### Week One (Sep 4): Our Framework

- Talal Asad, 1986. "The Idea of an Anthropology of Islam," *Occasional Papers Series*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, pp. 1-17.
- Lisa Wedeen, 2003. "Beyond the Crusades." *Social Science Research Council* 4:2-3, pp. 1-6.

#### Recommended:

- Dale F. Eickelman, 1992. "Mass Higher Education and the Religious Imagination in Contemporary Arab Societies." *American Ethnologist* 19:4, pp. 643-655.
- Robert W. Hefner, 1998. "Muslim Modernities: Christianity, Islam, and Hinduism in a Globalizing Age." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 27, pp. 83-104.

### Week Two (Sep 9): Jamal al-Din 'al-Afghani

- Peter Mandaville, "Islamic Responses to Imperialism," pp. 56-63, in *Global Political Islam*.
- Nikkie R Keddie, 2005. "Sayyid Jamal al-Din 'al-Afghani," in *Pioneers of the Islamic Revival*, pp. 11-29.
- Sayid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and Abdul-Hādī Hā'irī, 1971 [1890s]. "Afghānī on the Decline of Islam," *Die Welt des Islams*, New Series, 13:1/2, pp. 121-125

### Week Two (Sep 11): Muhammad Abduh [RP1 due]

- Yvonne Haddad, 2005. "Muhammad Abduh," in *Pioneers of the Islamic Revival*, pp. 30-63.
- Roxanne L. Euben, 1999. "A View Across Time: Islam as the Religion of Reason," in *Enemy in the Mirror*, pp. 105-117.

### Week Three (Sep 16): Hasan al-Banna

- Euben and Zaman, "Hasan al-Banna," in *Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought*, pp. 49-78.
- Mandaville, "State Formation and the Making of Islamism," pp. 64-97.

### Week Three (18): Sayyid Qutb

- Mandaville, "Sayyid Qutb," pp. 97-105.
- Euben and Zaman, "Sayyid Qutb," in *Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought*, pp. 129-152.
- Ellis Goldberg, 1991. "Smashing Idols and the State: The Protestant Ethic and Egyptian Sunni Radicalism," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 33:1, pp. 3-35.

### Week Four (Sep 23): The New Islamists

- Bruce Rutherford, 2006. "Moderate Islam and the Rise of Islamic Constitutionalism." *Middle East Journal* 60:4, pp. 707-731.
- Mandaville, "State formation and the making of Islamism," pp. 105-120.

### Week Four (Sep 25): The Modern Muslim Brotherhood

- Euben and Zaman, "Yusuf Al-Qaradawi," pp. 224-245.

- Mandaville, “Islam in the system,” pp. 121-159, and “Authorities old and new,” pp. 379-387

**Week Five (Sep 30): Ataturk’s Turkey**

- White, ch. 2-3 (pp. 24-79)

**Week Five (Oct 2): Erdogan’s Turkey [Guest Lecture by Jenny White]**

- White, ch. 4-5 (pp. 80-135)

**Week Six (Oct 7): The Islamic Revolution**

- Mandaville, “Islam as the System,” pp. 203-207, pp. 245-257 (end of first paragraph).
- Asef Bayat, 2007. “Revolution Without Movement, Movement Without Revolution: Islamist Activism in Iran and Egypt, 1960s-1980s,” in *Making Islam Demoratic*, pp. 16-48.
- Euben and Zaman, “Ruhollah Khomeini,” pp. 155-180.

**Week Six (Oct 9): After the Revolution [RP2 due]**

- Mandaville, “Islam as the System,” pp. 257-265.
- Charles Kurzman, 2001. “Critics Within: Islamic Scholars’ Protests against the Islamic State in Iran.” *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 15: 2, pp. 341-359.

Recommended:

- Houchang E. Chehabi, 2001. “The Political Regime of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Comparative Perspective.” *Government and Opposition* 36:1, pp. 48-70.

\*\*\* No Class on Oct 14 (BU Monday) \*\*\*

**Week Seven (Oct 16): Midterm Examination**

**Week Eight (Oct 21): Saudi Arabia**

- Lacroix, ch. 1-3 (pp. 1-121)

**Week Eight (Oct 23): Saudi Arabia**

- Lacroix, ch. 4- Conclusion (pp. 122-270)

**Week Nine (Oct 28): Usama bin Laden**

- Mandaville, “Radical Islamism and Jihad Beyond the Nation-State,” pp. 328-354.
- Euben and Zaman, “Usama bin Laden,” pp. 425-459.

**Week Ten (Oct 30): The Origins of Sectarianism**

- Matthiesen, ch. 1 – 4 (pp. 1-71)

**Week Ten (Nov 4): Exporting Sectarianism**

- Matthiesen, ch. 5-7 (pp. 72-130)

**Week Nine (Nov 6): Transnational Islamists**

- David Malet, 2010. “Why Foreign Fighters? Historical Perspectives and Solutions,” *Orbis* 54:1, pp. 97–114.

- Thomas Hegghammer, 2011. "The Rise of Muslim Foreign Fighters: Islam and the Globalization of Jihad," *International Security* 35:3, pp. 53-94
- The New York Times, July 7, 2014. "The Iraq-ISIS Conflict in Maps, Photos and Video: A visual guide to the crisis in Iraq and Syria." <http://nyti.ms/1pOUv3k>

**Week Eleven (Nov 11): Ahmad Hassan and Kartosuwiryo in Indonesia**

- Howard Federspiel, 1977. "Islam and Nationalism." *Indonesia* Vol. 24, pp. 39-84.
- Chiara Formichi, 2010. "Pan-Islam and Religious Nationalism: The Case of Kartosuwiryo and Negara Islam Indonesia." *Indonesia* Vol. 90, pp. 125-146.

Recommended:

- Sidney Jones, 1980. 'It Can't Happen Here': A Post-Khomeini Look at Indonesian Islam. *Asian Survey* Vol. 20, No. 3: 311-323.

**Week Eleven (Nov 13): Islam and Nation Reconsidered**

- Anies Baswedan. 2004. Political Islam in Indonesia: present and future trajectory. *Asian Survey* 44:5, pp. 669-690.
- Jeremy Menchik, 2014. "Productive Intolerance: Godly Nationalism in Indonesia." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*. 56:3, pp. 591-621.

**Week Twelve (Nov 18): Islam, Nation, Women**

- Lila Abu-Lughod, 2002. "Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving? Anthropological Reflections on Cultural Relativism and Its Others," *American Anthropologist* 104:3, pp. 783-790
- Rachel Rinaldo, 2008. "Envisioning the Nation: Women Activists, Religion and the Public Sphere in Indonesia." *Social Forces* 86:4, pp. 1781-1804.

**Week Twelve (Nov 20): Zaynab Al-Ghazali and Islamic Feminism [RP3 due]**

- Euban and Zaman, Chapter 11: Zaynab Al-Ghazali, 275-301.
- Saba Mahmood, 2005. "Ch 2: Topography of the Piety Movement," in *The Politics of Piety: The Islamist Revival and the Feminist Subject* (Princeton University Press), pp. 40-78.

**Week Thirteen (Nov 25): Liberal Islam**

- Charles Kurzman 1999, "Liberal Islam: Prospects and Challenges" *MERIA Journal* 3:3 p. 1-8
- Khaled Abou El Fadl 2003. "Islam and the Challenge of Democracy: Can individual rights and popular sovereignty take root in faith?" *Boston Review* April/May, <https://www.bostonreview.net/forum/khaled-abou-el-fadl-islam-and-challenge-democracy>
- Saba Mahmood, 2003, "Questioning Liberalism, Too" *Boston Review* April/May

**Week Fourteen (Dec 2): Islamist Parties and Political Change in Comparative Perspective**

- Stathis N. Kalyvas, 1998. "From Pulpit to Party: Party Formation and the Christian Democratic Phenomenon," *Comparative Politics* 30:3, pp. 293-312.
- Charles Kurzman and Ijlal Naqvi, 2010. "Do Muslims Vote Islamic?" *Journal of Democracy* 21:2, pp. 50-63.
- Mandaville, "Toward Post-Islamism?," pp. 369-376

**Week Fourteen (Dec 4): US Foreign Policy [RPX due]**

- Daniel Pipes, 1995. "There are No Moderates: Dealing with Fundamentalist Islam," *The National Interest*, pp. 1-8.
- Saba Mahmood, 2006. "Secularism, Hermeneutics, and Empire: The Politics of Islamic Reformation," *Public Culture* 18:2, pp. 323-347.
- Andrew Higgins, Oct 25, 2009. "As Indonesia debates Islam's role, U.S. stays out: Post-9/11 push to boost moderates gives way," *The Washington Post*, pp. 1-4.
- Peter Krause and Stephen Van Evera, 2009. "Public Diplomacy: Ideas for the War of Ideas." *Middle East Policy*, 16:3, pp. 106-134.

**Final Week (Dec 9): Review & Distribute Final Exam**

**\*\*\* Exam due via email by noon on Dec 16 \*\*\***

## Response Papers – Grading Rubric

**5/5** Answers the prompt in a coherent manner. Makes creative *links* between the reading, authors and concepts. Goes *beyond* the assigned content to draw fresh insights and analysis. Demonstrates *mastery* of the material and engages in independent thinking. Avoids making claims unsupported by evidence and/or reasonable judgment, or making fallacious claims including equivocation. Writing is exceptionally lucid.

**4.5/5** Answers the prompt in a coherent way. Makes *links* between the cases, concepts or authors. Demonstrates a *solid* understanding of the material and goes beyond simple regurgitation, even if all claims are not convincingly established. Avoids being vague, making claims unsupported by evidence and/or reasonable judgment. Writing is clear and concise.

**4/5** Answers the prompt in a coherent way although lacks creativity and depth. Demonstrates more than cursory understanding of the material. Tends toward vagueness but does not make claims unsupported by evidence and/or reasonable judgment. Writing is good.

**3.5/5** Answers the prompt. Provides examples of cases, concepts or authors but fails to effectively connect evidence to the prompt. Makes claims unsupported by evidence and/or reasonable judgment. Writing itself is acceptable but needs improvement.

**3/5** Unclear answer to the prompt. Fails to lay out the answer with evidence from the cases concepts, and/or fails effectively connect evidence to the argument. Tends toward vagueness, makes claims unsupported by evidence and/or reasonable judgment. Writing itself is poor.

**2.5 -** States an unclear claim. Fails to lay out the argument with evidence from the texts and fails to demonstrate knowledge of the material itself. Vague, makes claims unsupported by evidence and/or reasonable judgment. Writing itself is unacceptable or incoherent.

## Presentations – Grading Rubric

Each student will be assigned to a two-person group, which will be responsible for one 10-minute presentation on current events regarding an Islamic organization in Egypt, Turkey, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Iraq, Indonesia, Afghanistan, or the United States. The aim of this assignment is two-fold: (1) to provide presenters with an opportunity to improve their oral presentation skills, and (2) to increase students' understanding of various aspects of contemporary Islamic political movements. Presentation topics must be approved by the professor and be relevant to that week's themes.

- 1 pt.** Clear and concise
- 1 pt.** Comprehensive
- 1 pt.** Logical
- 1 pt.** Accurate
- 1 pt.** Imaginative
- 5 pt.** Total