

SYLLABUS

Islam and Politics (IR 507)

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Spring 2020: Tue/Thur 12:30-1:45pm, IRB 102
Office Hours: Tue 2:00pm-3:30pm, Wed 2:30-4:00pm, 156 BSR #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.”

- Gudrun Krämer, 1993. “Islamist Notions of Democracy,” *Middle East Report* 183, pp. 4.

Course Objectives

The Islamic revival is one of the most important developments of the twentieth and twenty-first century. This class is motivated by a set of interlocking questions designed to understand the political dynamics of the revival by focusing on Islamic, Islamist, and Jihadi movements in the Middle East, North Africa, Southeast Asia, and the United States. What are their intellectual origins? How should we understand their varied relationships to colonialism, nationalism, democracy, liberalism, development, ethnicity, and women and gender? How have these political movements evolved over time? How do transnational movements emerge, and how do they effect political change? We will explore these questions historically and in comparative perspective by drawing on scholarship from political science, Islamic studies, anthropology, and history. By the end of the course, students should possess an empirically grounded understanding of contemporary Muslim political movements as well as the analytical tools necessary to explain their behavior.

Course Requirements

Participation (20%): 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 questions that pertain to the readings.

Response Papers (4 x 5% =20%): Student will write four 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 **1/30, 2/20, 3/26, 4/16** and an optional makeup paper **4/28**. Response papers should respond to the readings assigned for the due date. All papers are due through Turnitin. A grade rubric is at the end of the syllabus.

Presentation (1 x 10% = 10%): Each student will be assigned to a two-person group, which will be responsible for a 10-15 minute presentation on current events regarding an Islamic organization. The presentation should explain the origins, membership, activities, beliefs, and evolution of the organization. Students will choose presentation dates in the first week of class. Topics must be approved by the professor. A grading rubric is at the end of the syllabus.

Midterm Exam (20%): Exam will be a combination of short answers and longer essays, held in class. The midterm exam will be on **3/5**.

Final Exam (30%): 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 **4/30** and must be returned via Turnitin by **noon on 5/7**.

Research Paper (5% +25% = 30%): In lieu of a final exam, graduate students will write a 15 page research paper. Students must meet with me the week of **March 23** to present an abstract and preliminary list of sources (5%). Papers are due via Turnitin by **noon on 5/7**.

Late Work: Late submission of response papers will incur an automatic 1-point grade deduction per day beginning with the deadline. Late submissions of the final exam or final paper will incur an automatic 5-point 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 and expulsion from BU.

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.

Fawaz A Gerges, 2016. *ISIS: A History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Thomas Hegghammer, 2010. *Jihad in Saudi Arabia: Violence and Pan-Islamism since 1979*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Su'ad Abdul Khabeer, 2016. *Muslim Cool: Race, Religion, and Hip Hop in the United States*. New York: New York University Press.

Peter Mandaville, 2014. *Islam and Politics* (2nd edition). New York: Routledge.

Dates and Readings

Jan 21: Introduction

- No reading

Jan 23: Our Framework

- Lisa Wedeen, 2003. "Beyond the Crusades." *Social Science Research Council* 4:2-3, pp. 1-6.
- Peter Mandaville, "Introduction," pp. 1-27, "Islam and Politics," pp. 28-56

Jan 28: Our Framework

- Robert Hefner, 1998. "Muslim Modernities: Christianity, Islam, and Hinduism in a Globalizing Age." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 27, pp. 83-104.
- Mahmood Mamdani, 2002. "Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: A Political Perspective on Culture and Terrorism." *American Anthropologist* 104:3, pp. 766-775

Jan 30: Jamal al-Din 'al-Afghani [RP1 due]

- Peter Mandaville, "Islamic Responses to Imperialism," pp. 56-63.
- 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.

Feb 4 Muhammad Abduh

- Yvonne Haddad, 2005. "Muhammad Abduh," in *Pioneers of 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.

Feb 6: Hasan al-Banna

- Euben and Zaman, "Hasan al-Banna," pp. 49-78.
- Mandaville, "State Formation and the Making of Islamism," pp. 64-97.
- VIDEO: Mustafa Elnemr, Muslim Brotherhood youth activist <https://youtu.be/Szp1gcLcTq4>

Feb 11: Sayyid Qutb

- Euben and Zaman, "Sayyid Qutb," pp. 129-152.
- Mandaville, "Sayyid Qutb," pp. 97-105.

Feb 13: The Protestant Ethic and the Muslim Brotherhood [RP2 due]

- Mandaville, "The Muslim Brotherhood as a proto-typical Islamist movement," pp. 105-108.
- 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.

*** Feb 18: NO CLASS (BU Monday) ***

Feb 20: Ruhollah Khomeini

- Euben and Zaman, "Ruhollah Khomeini," pp. 155-180.

- Mandaville, “Islam as the System,” pp. 203-207, pp. 245-265 (end of first paragraph).
- Asef Bayat, 2007. “Revolution Without Movement, Movement Without Revolution: Islamist Activism in Iran and Egypt, 1960s-1980s,” in *Making Islam Democratic*, pp. 16-48.

Feb 25: Saudi Arabia

- Hegghammer, Introduction – ch. 4 (pp. 1-98)
- Mandaville, “Saudi Arabia,” pp. 207-229.

Feb 27: Usama bin Laden

- Hegghammer, ch. 5 (pp. 99 – 129)
- Euben and Zaman, “Usama bin Laden,” pp. 425-459.
- Mandaville, “Radical Islamism and Jihad Beyond the Nation-State,” pp. 328-354.

March 3: Saudi Arabia

- Hegghammer, ch. 6– Conclusion (pp. 130-238)

March 5: Midterm Exam

- No reading

*** Spring Break ***

March 17: Foreign Fighters

- David Malet, 2010. “Why Foreign Fighters? Historical Perspectives and Solutions,” *Orbis* 54:1, pp. 97–114.
- Robyn Creswell and Bernard Haykel, 2017. “Poetry in Jihadi Culture,” in *Jihadi Culture: The Art and Social Practices of Militant Islamists*, pp. 22-41.

March 19: ISIS

- Gerges, Introduction – ch. 3 (p. 1 – 128)

March 24: ISIS [Meetings with students writing research papers]

- Gerges, ch. 4 – 6 (p. 129 – 201)
- Christoph Reuter, “The Terror Strategist: Secret Files Reveal the Structure of Islamic State,” *Der Spiegel* (April 18, 2015).

March 26: ISIS [RP3 due]

- Gerges, ch. 7 – Conclusion (p. 202 – 293)
- Robin Wright, “The Ignominious End of the ISIS Caliphate,” *The New Yorker* (Oct 17, 2017)
- VIDEO: Habib Ellouze of Tunisia’s Ennahda Party <https://youtu.be/H8BAObIxcg>

March 31: Democracy

- Euben and Zaman, “Yusuf al-Qaradawi,” pp. 224-245.
- Gudrun Krämer, 1993. “Islamist Notions of Democracy,” *Middle East Report* 183, pp. 2-8.
- Charles Kurzman and Didem Türkoğlu, 2015. “Do Muslims Vote Islamic Now?” *Journal of Democracy* 26:4, pp. 100-109.

April 2: Democracy

- Jeremy Menchik, 2016. “Communal Tolerance” (pp. 124-158) and “Religion and Democracy” (pp. 159-168) in *Islam and Democracy in Indonesia: Tolerance without Liberalism*.
- Alfred Stepan, 2000. “Religion, democracy, and the “twin tolerations,” *Journal of Democracy*, 11:4, 37-56.

April 7: Democracy

- Jeremy Menchik, 2019. “Moderate Muslims and Democratic Breakdown in Indonesia,” *Asian Studies Review*. 43:3, pp. 415-433.
- Jeremy Menchik, 2018. “Crafting Indonesian Democracy: Inclusion-Moderation and the Sacralizing of the Postcolonial State,” in *Democratic Transition in the Muslim World: A Global Perspective*, Alfred Stepan, ed., pp. 163-199.
- VIDEO: Amr Darrag, leading Muslim Brotherhood figure <https://youtu.be/yzCNPSUf3xI>

April 9: Gender [Guest Speaker Rachel Brulé]

- Readings TBD

April 14: Zaynab Al-Ghazali

- Euban and Zaman, “Zaynab Al-Ghazali,” pp. 275-301.
- Saba Mahmood, 2005. “Ch 2: Topography of the Piety Movement,” in *The Politics of Piety: The Islamist Revival and the Feminist Subject*, pp. 40-78.

April 16: Morocco [RP4 due]

- Euben and Zaman, “Nadia Yassine,” pp. 302-319.
- VIDEO: Abdelouahad Motaouakal, leader in Morocco’s Adl Wal Ihsane <https://youtu.be/veEJMgA8tiI>

April 21: Gender and Foreign Aid in Morocco [Guest Speaker Shamiran Mako]

- Reading TBD

April 23: United States

- Khabeer, Introduction – ch.2 (pp. 1 – 108)

April 28: United States [RPx due]

- Khabeer, ch.3 - Conclusion (pp. 109 - 233)

April 30: Closing Remarks

- No reading

***** Papers and Final Exam due via Turnitin by noon on May 7 *****

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. 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 movements. Presentation topics must be approved by the professor and be relevant to that week's themes.

2 pt. Clear and concise

2 pt. Relevant to course material

2 pt. Accurate based on scholarly sources

2 pt. Well-organized

2 pt. Engaging

10 pt. Total