Syllabus **Islam and Politics (IR 507)**

Jeremy Menchik
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Spring 2014: Tuesday 1:00 – 4:00pm in IRC 220 (152 Bay State Rd.)
Office Hours: Wed/Thur 2:00 – 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 politics of modern 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, theology, 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

<u>Participation (20%):</u> 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, each of you should come to class prepared with 2-3 discussion questions that pertain to the readings.

Response Papers (5 x 5% = 25%): Student will write five short (2-3 pages, double-spaced, 1 inch margins) analytical response papers (RP) over the course of the semester. I will provide the paper prompt before they are due via email by 7pm the evening before class on 2/4, 2/18, 3/4, 4/1, and 4/15. A grade rubric is at the end of the syllabus.

<u>Presentation (2 x 5% = 10%):</u> Each seminar participant will make two presentations. The presentation should be an analytical summary and critical evaluation of one of the readings. The presentation should raise issues that the student believes will be useful for discussion. The presentation will be no more than fifteen minutes in length, to be followed by questions and discussion. A grade rubric is at the end of the syllabus.

<u>Final Exam (Undergraduates Students: 45%):</u> 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 **4/29** and must be returned via email by **noon on 5/6**.

Research Paper (Graduate Students: 45%): In lieu of a final exam, graduate students are required to write a 20-page research paper. Students must meet with me the week of **March 3** to present an abstract and preliminary list of sources. Papers are due via email by **noon on 5/6.**

<u>Late Work:</u> Late submission of assignments will penalize your grade by incurring 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/

<u>Special Needs:</u> 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.

<u>Academic Misconduct:</u> 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/

<u>Electronic Communications in Class:</u> 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

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

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.

Peter Mandaville, 2007. Global Political Islam. New York: Routledge.

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

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

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

Recommended

Roxanne L Euben, 1999. Enemy in the Mirror: Islamic Fundamentalism and the Limits of Modern Rationalism. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Roxanne L Euben, 2006. *Journeys to the Other Shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge*. Princeton: Princeton 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]

Frédréric Volpi, 2010. Political Islam Observed. New York: Columbia University Press.

Carrie Wickham, 2013. *The Muslim Brotherhood: Evolution of an Islamist Movement* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Week One (Jan 21): Our Framework

- Lisa Wedeen, 2003. "Beyond the Crusades." Social Science Research Council 4:2-3, pp. 1-6.
- Peter Mandaville, "Introduction," pp. 1-23, "Islam and Politics," pp. 24-48, in *Global Political Islam*.
- 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.

Recommended:

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

Week Two (Jan 30 not Jan 28): Justice and Reconciliation in Islam (led by Daniel Philpott)

- Laurence Rosen, 2010. "Islamic Concepts of Justice," in *The Justice of Islam: Comparative Perspectives on Islamic Law and Society*, Oxford Scholarship Online, pp. 1-31.
- Daniel Philpott, 2012. "Reconciliation as a Concept of Justice," pp. 48-73, and "Reconciliation in the Islamic Tradition," pp. 151-167, in *Just and Unjust Peace: An Ethic of Political Reconciliation*.

Week Three (Feb 4): Jamal al-Din 'al-Afghani and Muhammad Abduh [RP1]

- Nikkie R Keddie, 2005. "Sayyid Jamal al-Din 'al-Afghani," in *Pioneers of the Islamic Revival*, pp. 11-29.
- Yvonne Haddad, 2005. "Muhammad Abduh," in *Pioneers of the Islamic Revival*, pp. 30-63.
- Talal Asad, 2003. "Reconfiguration of Law and Ethics in Colonial Egypt," in *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity*, pp. 205-256.

Recommended:

• Roxanne L. Euben, 1999. "A View Across Time: Islam as the Religion of Reason," in *Enemy in the Mirror*, pp. 96-117.

Week Four (Feb 11): Sayyid Qutb

- Euben and Zaman, "Sayyid Qutb," in *Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought*, pp. 129-152.
- Roxanne L. Euben, 1999. "A View from Another Side: The Political Theory of Sayyid Qutb," in *Enemy in the Mirror*, pp. 49-96.
- Mandaville, "State Formation and the Making of Islamism," pp. 49-95.

Recommended:

- Euben and Zaman, "Hasan al-Banna," in *Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought*, pp. 49-78.
- 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 Five (Feb 18): Political Party Moderation [RP2]

• Stathis N. Kalyvas, 1998. "From Pulpit to Party: Party Formation and the Christian Democratic Phenomenon," *Comparative Politics* 30:3, pp. 293-312.

- Jillian Schwedler, 2011. "Can Islamists be Democrats: Rethinking the Inclusion-Moderation Hypothesis," *World Politics* 63:2, pp. 347-376.
- Carrie Rosefsky Wickham, "The Brotherhood and the Egyptian Uprising," pp. 154-195, "The Muslim Brotherhood in (Egypt's) Transition," pp. 247-288, in *The Muslim Brotherhood: Evolution of an Islamist Movement*.

Recommended:

• Carrie Rosefsky Wickham, 2004. "The Path to Moderation: Strategy and Learning in the Formation of Egypt's Wasat Party," *Comparative Politics*, 36:2, pp. 205-228.

Week Six (Feb 25): Ruhollah Khomeini and the Islamic Republic of Iran

- Mandaville, "Islam as the System," pp. 179-197.
- Euben and Zaman, "Ruhollah Khomeini," pp. 155-180.
- Asef Bayat, 2007. "Revolution Without Movement, Movement Without Revolution: Islamist Activism in Iran and Egypt, 1960s-1980s," in *Making Islam Demoratic*, pp. 16-48.

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.
- 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.

Week Seven (March 4): Saudi Arabia [RP3]

• Lacroix, Awakening Islam. [Entire book]

Week Eight (March 20 not March 18): Sectarianism (led by Toby Matthiesen)

• Matthiesen, Sectarian Gulf. [Entire book]

Week Nine (March 25): Usama bin Laden's Al-Qaeda

- Mandaville, "Radical Islamism and Jihad Beyond the Nation-State," pp. 237-274.
- Euben and Zaman, "Usama bin Laden," pp. 425-459.
- Daniel L Byman, 2003. "Al-Qaeda as an Adversary: Do We Understand Our Enemy?" *World Politics* 56:1, pp. 139-163.

Week Ten (April 1): Zaynab Al-Ghazali and Islamic Feminism [RP4]

- Euben and Zaman, "Zaynab Al-Ghazali," pp. 275-301.
- Rinaldo, *Mobilizing Piety*. [Entire book]

Week Eleven (April 10 not April 8): Religious Freedom (led by Beth Shakman Hurd)

- Berkley Center for Religion, Peace & World Affairs, 2013. Video, "Religious Freedom: A
 Conversation with Rick Warren, Robert P. George, and John DiIulio,"
 http://youtu.be/wPEW8AoPeQk
- Thomas F. Farr, 2012. "America's International Religious Freedom Policy," in *Rethinking Religion and World Affairs*, pp. 262-278.
- Thomas F. Farr, 2011. "The Trouble with American Foreign Policy and Islam," *The Review of Faith & International Affairs*, 9:2, pp. 65-73.

- Elizabeth Shakman Hurd, 2013. "Religious Difference and Religious Freedom," blogpost at http://blogg.uio.no/prosjekter/plurel/content/religious-difference-and-religious-freedom
- Elizabeth Shakman Hurd, 2013. "What's wrong with promoting religious freedom?" *Foreign Policy*, http://atfp.co/13CZ7x6
- Saba Mahmood, 2012. "Religious freedom, minority rights, and geopolitics," blogpost at http://blogs.ssrc.org/tif/2012/03/05/religious-freedom-minority-rights-and-geopolitics/
- Saba Mahmood, 2006. "Secularism, Hermeneutics, and Empire: The Politics of Islamic Reformation," *Public Culture* 18:2, pp. 323-347.

Recommended:

- Robert Hefner, 2012. "Varieties of Religious Freedom and Governance," blogpost at http://blogs.ssrc.org/tif/2012/04/20/varieties-of-religious-freedom-and-governance/
- Tamir Moustafa and Asia Quraishi-Landes, 2012. "Paradoxes of 'religious freedom' in Egypt," blogpost at http://blogs.ssrc.org/tif/2012/04/16/paradoxes-of-religious-freedom-in-egypt/
- Website of the US Commission on International Religious Freedom: http://www.uscirf.gov/

Week Twelve (April 15): Democracy I [RP5]

• Bayat, Making Islam Democratic. [Entire book except ch. 2]

Week Twelve (April 22): Democracy II

- Euben and Zaman, "Yusuf Al-Qaradawi," pp. 224-245.
- Jeremy Menchik, 2014, "Productive Intolerance: Godly Nationalism in Indonesia." *Comparative Studies in Society in History*, 56:X, pp. 1-45.
- Bruce Rutherford, 2006. "Moderate Islam and the Rise of Islamic Constitutionalism." *Middle East Journal* 60:4, pp. 707-731.

Week Thirteen (April 29): US Foreign Policy [RPX]

- Andrew Higgins, 2009. "As Indonesia debates Islam's role, U.S. stays out: Post-9/11 push to boost moderates gives way," *The Washington Post*, October 25, 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.
- 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
- Mahmood Mamdani, 2002. "Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: a Political Perspective on Culture and Terrorism." *American Anthropologist* 104:3, pp. 766-775.
- Daniel Pipes, 1995. "There are No Moderates: Dealing with Fundamentalist Islam," *The National Interest*, pp. 1-8.

Grading Rubric – Response Papers

- 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** 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 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** 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 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.

Grading Rubric – Presentations

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