

# International Studies 381

## Political Islam in Comparative Context

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Spring 2015

Monday & Wednesday: 0830-1000

Classroom: Maathai 303

Office: Maathai 310



### THE COURSE

The above images represent divergent visions of Islam and politics. On the left is a representation of the Arab Spring, in which Islamists and other activists overthrew a series of tyrants. On the right is a billboard from Aceh, Indonesia, which communicates gendered social norms enforced by Sharia Law. How can a popular movement demanding freedom exist alongside efforts to enforce conservative, patriarchal visions of society? How can political Islam be simultaneously so progressive and conservative? How does it play out in societies as diverse as those in Africa, the Arab world, the Caucasus, Asia, and the West?

INTS 381, Political Islam in Comparative Context, provides a multidisciplinary glimpse into the various ways that Islam manifests itself politically around the world. Part One looks to the faith—the beliefs, scripture and organization of Islam. Part Two looks to the rise of Islamic politics in the post-colonial world. Part Three looks at some key themes in the study of Political Islam. Then, the course will shift to discuss four manifestations which speak to the Janus-faced, conservative and progressive, nature of Political Islam: armed conflicts, Sharia Law, social justice, and human rights. The course concludes by considering democracy in the ongoing evolution of Political Islam.

The primary objective of this course is to help students understand the fragmented, even contradictory nature of Political Islam. Even terms such as ‘jihad’ or ‘sharia’ contain diverse messages, from demanding violence to promoting education. Students are expected to overcome images of Islam as monolithic, and instead to look to Islam as a living religion, one struggling with the same social issues facing all world faiths.

## **POLICIES**

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First: I place great emphasis on constructive participation. The classroom is a place to share ideas and to challenge each other, but always respectfully: listen to classmates; communicate effectively regarding assignments; arrive on time; avoid gender, racial, or religious insensitivities; and complete the readings. So challenge—vigorously—but never offend. The best participation tends to come in the form of insightful questions. Quantity is not always the same thing as quality.

Second: Teacher-student communication. I am always available via email, but if you have a general question, other students may want to hear the answer, so ask it in class to gain the participation mark that you deserve. For assignments, email is no substitute for face to face chats. So come and talk to me. In the event of an illness or personal emergency, you must contact me before a given deadline. Late assignments will be deducted 5% per day, including weekends, beginning at the end of class. Lateness is *haram!*

Third: I expect professionalism in all assignments. Avoid casual internet sources (i.e. wiki), avoid contractions (a'ite?), include page numbers, and present a clear argument. Essays must include a clear, formal research question. Students should consult with the instructor regarding the research question, argument, and organization of major written assignments.

Fourth: The course has a considerable online presence via Angel. Here, you will find the syllabus (which may be updated), a course calendar, and links to useful pages. Under the 'Material' tab, you will find links to all readings as well as overviews of previous days' lectures.

Fifth: All written assignments must be submitted to the instructor in hard and electronic copies, as well as submitted to Turnitin via Angel. I actually do not like turnitin, but also see plagiarism as a serious academic offense. I hope turnitin can be seen as an educational tool, helping students understand the different between citation, paraphrasing, and plagiarism.

## **GRADING**

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Soka grading is organized in terms of letter grades: A, B+, C-, etc, as well as a 0-4 grade point average. This is how the percentage points in this course will translate into these scales:

90-100	A+	4.0	65-69	B-	2.7
85-89	A	4.0	60-64	C+	2.3
80-84	A-	3.7	55-59	C	2.0
75-79	B+	3.3	50-55	C-	1.7
70-74	B	3.0	>50	F	1.0

## **READINGS**

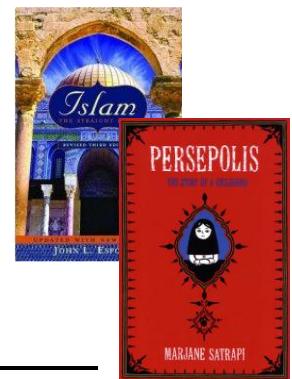
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Students are required to purchase two books:

John L. Esposito, *Islam: The Straight Path* (London: Oxford University Press, 1991)

Marjane Satrapi, *Persepolis: The Story of a Childhood* (New York: Pantheon, 2003)

Other course readings include a variety of academic journal articles and book chapters, which are available electronically through the Angel.



## EVALUATION

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20%	Participation	Ongoing
10%	Book Review	Ongoing
10%	Ummah Presentations	25 February (Wednesday)
20%	Mid-Term	11 March (Wednesday)
10%	Israel Discussion	30 March (Monday)
30%	Research Paper	18 May (Monday)

**Participation:** 20% of your grade will be earned through respectful participation. This means asking insightful questions, engaging with colleagues, punctuality, attendance, being attentive, and communicating with me regarding assignments. **Evaluation ongoing**

**Book Review:** 10% of your grade will be earned through a 2-4 page book review, preferably based on the books noted in the class syllabus. Remember, a book review should be more than a summary—it should also analyze key themes or shortfalls. Books are on a first-come, first-serve basis. The reports are due on the day of the relevant class, and students are expected to present their book in class. **Evaluation Ongoing**

**Ummah Presentations:** 10% of your grade will be earned through a class presentation on **Wednesday, 25 February**, in which students will present on some aspect of a Muslim community, so that as a class, we get a sense of how Islam varies around the world. Students will be present as regional groups.

**Mid-Term Examination:** 20% of your grade will be earned through a mid-term exam. Students will select 10 of 12 multiple choice questions and 1 of 3 short answer questions. **Wednesday, 11 March**

**Israel / Palestine Discussion:** A good friend once told me that friends do not let friends talk about Israel and Palestine. Another told me that I should not dare to talk about Palestine in the United States under any circumstance. So I am making *you* do it, and I will keep quiet. 10% of your grade will be earned through your performance in a class discussion on **Monday, 30 March** over various debates emanating from the Israel / Palestine issue. Students are expected to come prepared, so read up on newspaper articles and books.

**Research Paper:** 30% of your grade will be earned through a comparative research paper (10-12 pages) on the challenges in contemporary Islam. Potential topics include, but are not limited to, struggles between moderates and radicals, Islamic minorities in the west, Islamic political parties, contemporary Sufism, Islam in China, Islamic syncretism, and the Arab-Israeli conflict. Optional draft due on **Wednesday, 22 April**. Final paper due **Monday, 18 May**.

# CALENDAR

 = In Ikeda Library


 = Professor Copy

<b>02 Feb</b> Monday Session 01	<b>Introduction</b> What is Political Islam?
<i>Readings</i>	Mahmood Mamdani, " <a href="#">Whither Political Islam?</a> " <i>Foreign Affairs</i> (2005); pp. 148-155. Graham E. Fuller, " <a href="#">The Future of Political Islam,</a> " <i>Foreign Affairs</i> (2002); pp. 48-60.

## The Faith

<b>04 Feb</b> Wednesday Session 02	<b>The Basics: Scripture &amp; Ritual</b> <i>Mohammad, the Koran, the Hadiths, Five Pillars, endogamy, diet, calligraphy</i>
<i>Readings</i>	Esposito, <i>Islam: The Straight Path</i> , Chapter One Esposito, <i>Islam: The Straight Path</i> , Chapter Three





<b>09 Feb</b> Monday Session 03	<b>Organization</b> <i>Ulama and Imam, Caliphates and Sultanates</i>
<i>Readings</i>	Malika Zeghal, " <a href="#">Religion and Politics in Egypt: The Ulema of Al-Azhar, Radical Islam, and the State (1952-94),</a> " <i>International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies</i> 31 (1999); pp. 371-399
<i>Books</i>	Muhammad Qasim Zaman, <i>The Ulama in Contemporary Islam: Custodians of Change</i> (Princeton University Press, 2002)

<b>11 Feb</b> Wednesday Session 04	<b>Schools and Sects</b> <i>Sunni, Shia, Sufi, jurisprudence (Fiqh), Wabbabis, modernists and traditionalists</i>
<i>Readings</i>	Febe Armanios, " <a href="#">Islam: Sunnis and Shias,</a> " <i>CRS Report</i> (23 February 2004); pp. 1-6
<i>Books</i>	John R. Bowen, <i>Muslims through Discourse</i> (Princeton University Press, 1993)  Ebrahim Moosa, <i>Ghazali &amp; the Poetics of Imagination</i> (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005)

**\*\*\*Monday, 16 February: Presidents' Day, No Classes\*\*\***

**\*\*\*Wednesday, 18 February: Class to be Rescheduled\*\*\***

## Context

<b>23 Feb</b> Monday Session 05	<b>Early History</b> <i>From Tribes to the Caliphate; the Crusades</i>
<i>Readings</i>	Esposito, <i>Islam: The Straight Path</i> , Chapter Two Elie Kedourie, " <a href="#">The End of the Ottoman Empire,</a> " <i>Journal of Contemporary History</i> 3:4 (October 1968); pp. 19-28
<i>Books</i>	Matthew Gordon, <i>Islam: Origins, Practices, Holy Texts, Sacred Persons, Sacred Places</i> (London: Oxford University Press, 2002)   Omid Safi, <i>The Politics of Knowledge in Premodern Islam: Negotiating Ideology and Religious Inquiry</i> (University of North Carolina Press, 2006)  

<b>25 Feb</b> Wednesday	<b>Modern History</b> <i>Anti-colonialism, secularism, purification, modernism</i>
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Session 06	
Readings	Esposito, <i>Islam: The Straight Path</i> , Chapter Four
Books	Clifford Geertz, <i>Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco &amp; Indonesia</i> (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968) ☞ John O. Voll, <i>Islam, Continuity, and Change in the Modern World</i> (Syracuse University Press, 1994) ☞
<b>***Student Presentations: Muslim Societies Around the World***</b>	

## Themes

<b>02 March</b> Monday Session 07	<b>Orientalism</b> <i>Bernard Lewis vs Edward Said, how we study Islam</i>
Readings	Edward Said, " <a href="#">Orientalism Once More</a> ," <i>Development &amp; Change</i> 35:5 (2004); pp. 869-879 Bernard Lewis, " <a href="#">The Question of Orientalism</a> ," <i>The New York Review of Books</i> (24 June 1982)
Books	Edward Said, <i>Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World</i> (New York: Knopf, 1997) ☞ Edward Said, <i>Orientalism</i> (New York: Vintage Books, 1979) ☞ Ibn Warraq, <i>Defending the West: A Critique of Said's Orientalism</i> (Amherst: Prometheus, 2007) ☞

## **\*\*\*Trip to Orange County Islamic Foundation (Wed, 04 March)\*\*\***

<b>04 March</b> Wednesday Session 08	<b>Islam and Education</b> <i>Tarekat, Madrasah, Ulama</i>
Readings	SVR Nasr, " <a href="#">The Rise of Sunni Militancy in Pakistan: The Changing Role of Islamism and the Ulama in Society and Politics</a> ," <i>Modern Asian Studies</i> 34:1 (February 2000); pp. 139-180
Books	Ebrahim Moosa, <i>Ghazali &amp; the Poetics of Imagination</i> . Reviewed by Kenichi Keiko Sakurai and Fariba Adelkhah, <i>The Moral Economy of the Madrasa: Islam &amp; Education Today</i> (Routledge, 2011) ☞ Robert W. Hefner, editor, <i>Making Modern Muslims: The Politics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia</i> (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2009) ☞ Robert W. Hefner & Muhammad Qasim Zaman, editors, <i>Schooling Islam: The Culture and Politics of Modern Muslim Education</i> (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007) ☞

<b>09 March</b> Monday Session 09	<b>The Islamic Resurgence</b> <i>Palestine, The Iranian Revolution, Afghanistan, Political Islam</i>
Readings	Sena Karasipahi, " <a href="#">Comparing Islamic Resurgence Movements in Turkey and Iran</a> ," <i>The Middle East Journal</i> 63:1 (Winter 2009); pp. 87-107 Fred Halliday, " <a href="#">Review Article: The Politics of Islam: A Second Look</a> ," <i>British Journal of Political Science</i> 25:3 (July 1995); pp. 399-417
Books	Francois Burgat, <i>Face to Face with Political Islam</i> (London: IB Taurus, 2002) ☞ Robert W. Hefner, editor, <i>Remaking Muslim Politics: Pluralism, Contestation, Democratization</i> (Princeton: Studies in Muslim Politics, 2005) ☞ Olivier Roy (with Carol Volk), <i>The Failure of Political Islam</i> (Harvard University Press, 1996) ☞

<b>11 March</b> Wednesday Session 10	<b>Mid-Term Exam</b>
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## **\*\*\*Spring Break (16-20 March 2015)\*\*\***

## Political Manifestations

<b>23 March</b> Monday Session 11	<b>Violence 01</b> <i>Islam means peace? Terrorism, Jihad, Terrorism Studies</i>
<i>Readings</i>	Hilal Khashan, " <a href="#">The New World Order and the Tempo of Militant Islam</a> ," <i>British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies</i> 24:1 (1997); pp. 5-24 <b>AND</b> Michael K. Connors, " <a href="#">War on Error and the Southern Fire: How Terrorism Analysts Get It Wrong</a> ," <i>Critical Asian Studies</i> 38:1 (2006); pp. 151-175
<i>Books</i>	Zachary Abuza, <i>Political Islam and Violence in Indonesia</i> (Routledge, 2007) 📖 Daniel Pipes, <i>Militant Islam Reaches America</i> (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003) 📖
<b>25 March</b> Wednesday Session 12	<b>Violence 02</b> <i>Islam and War: A Micro-level Perspective</i>
<i>Readings</i>	Shane Joshua Barter, " <a href="#">Islam, the State, and War: Community Islamic Leaders in the Aceh Conflict</a> ," <i>Contemporary Islam</i> 5 (2011); pp. 19-36
<i>Books</i>	Thomas McKenna, <i>Muslim Rulers and Rebels: Everyday Politics and Armed Separatism in the Southern Philippines</i> (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998) 📖
<b>30 March</b> Monday Session 13	<b>Violence: Israel / Palestine</b> <i>Discussing key issues in Israel / Palestine</i>
<i>Readings</i>	*Students are expected to conduct independent research for this class
<b>01 April</b> Wednesday Session 14	<b>Violence: The Iranian Revolution &amp; Iraq</b> <i>Living an Islamic Revolution; a modern theocracy; regime durability</i> Optional screening of <i>Persepolis</i>
<i>Readings</i>	Marjane Satrapi, <i>Persepolis: The Story of a Childhood</i> (New York: Pantheon, 2003)
<i>Books</i>	Daniel Brumberg, <i>Reinventing Khomeini: The Struggle for Reform in Iran</i> (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001) 📖
<b>06 April</b> Monday Session 15	<b>Sharia Law 01</b> <i>Sharia Courts and capital punishment</i> Optional screening of <i>Divorce Iranian Style</i>
<i>Readings</i>	Allan Christelow, " <a href="#">Islamic Law and Juridical Practice in Nigeria: An Historical Perspective</a> ," <i>Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs</i> 22:1 (2002); pp. 185-204 <b>AND</b> Richard Dowden, " <a href="#">Death by Stoning</a> ," <i>New York Times</i> (27 January 2002)
<i>Books</i>	Khaled Abou el Fadl, <i>Rebellion &amp; Violence under Islamic Law</i> (Cambridge University Press, 2001) Karima Bennoune, <i>Your Fatwa Does Not Apply Here: Untold Stories from the Fight against Muslim Fundamentalism</i> (New York: Norton and Co, 2013) 📖
<b>08 April</b> Wednesday Session 16	<b>Sharia Law 02</b> <i>Family law, banking, legal pluralism</i>
<i>Readings</i>	Saiful Azhar Rosly and Mohd Afandi Abu Bakar, " <a href="#">Performance of Islamic and Mainstream Banks in Malaysia</a> ," <i>International Journal of Social Economics</i> 30:12 (2003); pp. 1249-1265 <b>AND</b> Cedric Barnes and Harun Hassan, " <a href="#">The Rise and Fall of Mogadishu's Islamic Courts</a> ," <i>Journal of Eastern African Studies</i> 1:2 (July 2007); pp. 151-160

<i>Books</i>	Clement C. Henry & Rodney Wilson, eds, <i>The Politics of Islamic Finance</i> (Edinburgh Press, 2004) ☞ Angelo M. Venardos, <i>Islamic Banking and Finance in Southeast Asia: Its Development and Future</i> (Hackensack NJ: World Scientific, 2005) ☞
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<b>13 April</b> Monday Session 17	<b>Social Justice in Theory</b> <i>Islamic Human Rights?</i>
<i>Readings</i>	Heiner Bielefeldt, " <a href="#">Western versus Islamic Human Rights Conceptions? A Critique of Cultural Essentialism in the Discussion on Human Rights,</a> " <i>Political Theory</i> 28:1 (2000); pp. 90-121
<i>Books</i>	Sayyid Qutb, <i>Social Justice in Islam</i> (1949) ☞

<b>15 April</b> Wednesday Session 18	<b>Social Justice in Action</b> <i>The Brotherhood, AKP, PKS</i>
<i>Readings</i>	Sana Abed-Kotob, " <a href="#">The Accomodationists Speak: Goals and Strategies of the Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt,</a> " <i>International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies</i> 27:3 (1995); pp. 321-339 <b>AND</b> Murat Somer, " <a href="#">Moderate Islam and Secularist Opposition in Turkey: Implications for the World, Muslims, and Secular Democracy,</a> " <i>Third World Quarterly</i> 28:7 (2007); pp. 1271-1289
<i>Books</i>	Richard P. Mitchell, <i>The Society of the Muslim Brothers</i> (London: Oxford University Press, 1969)

<b>20 April</b> Monday Session 19	<b>Rights: Women 01</b> <i>Islamic Feminism: Oppression or Opportunity?</i>
<i>Readings</i>	Valentine M. Moghadam, " <a href="#">Islamic Feminism and Its Discontents: Toward a Resolution of the Debate,</a> " <i>Signs: A Journey of Women in Culture and Society</i> 27:4 (2002); pp. 1135-1171
<i>Books</i>	Ayaan Hirsi Ali, <i>The Caged Virgin: An Emancipation Proclamation for Women and Islam</i> (New York: The Free Press, 2004) ☞ Christina Jones-Pauly, <i>Women under Islam: Gender, Justice, and the Politics of Islamic Law</i> (New York: IB Taurus, 2011) ☞

<b>22 April</b> Wednesday Session 20	<b>Rights: Women 02</b> <i>What does it mean to cover up? Jilbab vs hijab vs chador; Iranian Boregheb</i>
<i>Readings</i>	Nancy J. Smith-Hefner, " <a href="#">Javanese Women and the Veil in Post-Suharto Indonesia,</a> " <i>The Journal of Asian Studies</i> 66:2 (May 2007); pp. 389-430 <b>AND</b> Julia Suryakusuma, " <a href="#">Jilboobs: A Storm in a D-Cup!</a> " <i>Jakarta Post</i> (20 August 2014)
<i>Books</i>	Lamia Rustom Shehadeh, <i>The Idea of Women in Fundamentalist Islam</i> (University of Florida, 2007) Joan Scott, <i>The Politics of the Veil</i> (Princeton University Press, 2007) ☞

**\*\*\*Essay Rough Draft Due (Wednesday, 22 April)\*\*\***

<b>27 April</b> Monday Session 21	<b>Rights: Muslim Minorities</b> <i>Europe: Swiss Minarets, USA: Ground Zero Mosque, Little Mosque on the Prairie, Charlie Hebdo</i>
<i>Readings</i>	Robert S. Leiken, " <a href="#">Europe's Angry Muslims,</a> " <i>Foreign Affairs</i> (2005) <b>AND</b> Riva Kastoryano, " <a href="#">Religion and Incorporation: Islam in France and Germany,</a> " <i>International Migration Review</i> 38:3 (Fall 2004); pp. 1234-1255
<i>Books</i>	John R. Bowen, <i>Can Islam be French? Pluralism and Pragmatism in a Secularist State</i> (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010)

	Jorgen Nielson, <i>Towards a European Islam</i> (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999) ☞
<b>29 April</b> Wednesday Session 22	<b>Indonesia</b> <i>Liberal democracy, Abdurrahman Wahid, Amien Rais</i>
<i>Readings</i>	Sunny Tanuwidjaja, " <a href="#">Political Islam and Islamic Parties in Indonesia: Critically Assessing the Evidence of Islam's Political Decline</a> ," <i>Contemporary Southeast Asia</i> 22:1 (2010); pp. 29-49
<i>Books</i>	Robert Hefner, <i>Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia</i> (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000) ☞ ☞
<b>04 May</b> Monday Session 23	<b>Essay Workshop (9-10)</b>
<b>06 May</b> Wednesday Session 24	<b>The Arab Spring</b> <i>Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, ISIS and ISIL</i>
<i>Readings</i>	Lisa Anderson, " <a href="#">Demystifying the Arab Spring: Parsing the Differences Between Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya</a> ," <i>Foreign Affairs</i> (2011); pp. 2-7. <b>AND</b> Michael Hoffman and Amaney Jamal, " <a href="#">Religion in the Arab Spring: Between Two Competing Narratives</a> ," <i>Journal of Politics</i> 76:3 (2014); pp. 593-606. <b>AND</b> Michael Pregent and Robin Simcox, " <a href="#">ISIS on the Run: The Terrorist Group Struggles to Hold On</a> ," <i>Foreign Affairs</i> (9 February 2015).
<i>Books</i>	Asef Bayat, <i>Making Islam Democratic: Social Movements and the Post-Islamist Turn</i> (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007) ☞
<b>11 May</b> Monday Session 25	<b>Conclusions &amp; Review</b> <i>How do Muslims view the West?</i>
<i>Readings</i>	Steve Coll, " <a href="#">Comment: Days of Rage</a> ," <i>New Yorker</i> (01 October 2012); pp. 21-22 <b>AND</b> Tim Winter, " <a href="#">America as a Jihad State: Middle Eastern Perceptions of Modern American Theopolitics</a> ," <i>The Muslim World</i> 101:3 (September 2011); pp. 394-411

**\*\*\*Research Papers Due (Monday, 18 May)\*\*\***