

# RELIGION AND POLITICS IN MUSLIM SOCIETIES

**RELS 326/826**  
QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY

**Queen's University**  
School of Religion

**RELS 326/826**  
Fall 2014

**MacDonald Hall Room 2**  
Wednesdays 8:30-11:20

**Instructor:** Mehmet Karabela

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**Office Hours:** Mondays 3-4 pm & Wednesdays  
1-2 pm or by appointment via email

## Expanded Course Description

This course explores the role of religion in the politics of Muslim societies with particular attention to the modern period. It seeks to understand the origins, evolution and possible futures of what is commonly called "political Islam". The course begins by introducing students to key concepts and terms that will be necessary for understanding contemporary Islamic politics and political discourse. It then particularly examines the impact of key issues in the late nineteenth & the early twentieth centuries and the post-Cold War context, such as the emergence of constitutionalism (mashrutiyat), the rise of Islamism and political Islam, the debate on Islam and liberal democracy, and the concept of post-Islamism. The second part of the course illustrates these theoretical discussions with corresponding three case studies which provide insights into different trajectories of political Islam in Iran, Turkey and Egypt.

## Objectives

By the end of the course, students should possess

- the vocabulary and knowledge to discuss the role of religion in politics in Muslim societies
- a comprehensive account of main trends of political Islam in the Middle East
- a critical understanding of the place of Islamic movements and actors in the post-Cold War world politics
- an in-depth analysis of different scholarly approaches to political Islam, Islamism and post-Islamism

## Course Readings and Copyright of Course Materials

There is no textbook for this course. All weekly readings (book chapters and journal articles) will be posted on the Moodle website and books will be available on reserve at the Stauffer library. However, this material is designed for use as part of Religion and Politics in Muslim Societies course at Queen's University in Fall 2014 and is the property of the instructor unless otherwise stated. Third party copyrighted materials (such as book chapters and articles) have either been licensed for use in this course or fall under an exception or limitation in Canadian Copyright law. Copying this material for distribution (e.g. uploading material to a commercial third-party website) can lead to a violation of Copyright law. Find out more about copyright here: <http://library.queensu.ca/copyright>.

## Books for Consultation

- Asef Bayat, *Post-Islamism: The Changing Faces of Political Islam* (Oxford University Press, 2013)
- Asma Afsaruddin, *Islam, the State, and Political Authority* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2011)
- Bassam Tibi, *The Challenge of Fundamentalism: Political Islam and the New World Disorder* (UCP, 2002)
- Bernard Lewis, *Faith and Power: Religion and Politics in the Middle East* (Oxford University Press, 2010)
- Bobby Sayyid, *Fundamental Fear: Eurocentricism and Emergence of Islamism* (Zed Books, 2013)
- Bruce Rutherford, *Egypt After Mubarak: Liberalism, Islam and Democracy in the Arab World* (PUP, 2008)
- Carl Brown, *Religion and State: The Muslim Approach to Politics* (Columbia University Press, 2000)
- Carrie Wickham, *The Muslim Brotherhood: Evolution of an Islamist Movement* (Princeton Uni. Press, 2013)
- Cihan Tuğal, *Passive Revolution: Absorbing the Islamic Challenge to Capitalism* (SUP, 2009)
- Frederic Volpi (ed.), *Political Islam: A Critical Reader* (Routledge, 2011)
- Gerhard Bowering, M. Qasim Zaman, Patricia Crone (eds.), *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Islamic Political Thought* (Princeton University Press, 2012)
- Gilles Kepel, *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam* (Harvard University Press, 2002)
- John Esposito & Emad Shahin (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Islam and Politics* (OUP, 2013)
- Joshua Mitchell, *Tocqueville in Arabia: Dilemmas in a Democratic Age* (University of Chicago Press, 2013)
- Kamran Bokhari & Farid Senzai, *Political Islam in the Age of Democratization* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2013)
- Noah Feldman, *The Fall and Rise of the Islamic State* (Princeton University Press, 2008)
- Olivier Roy, *Failure of Political Islam* (I.B. Tauris, 1994)
- Peter Mandaville, *Islam and Politics* (Routledge, 2014)
- Richard C. Martin & Abbas Barzegar, *Islamism: Contested Perspectives on Political Islam* (SUP, 2009)
- Said Amir Arjomand, *After Khomeini: Iran under His Successors* (Oxford University Press, 2009)
- Ümit Cizre (ed.), *Secular and Islamic Politics in Turkey* (Routledge, 2008)

## Grading

**Assessment** will be based on:

- Mid-Term Exam** (30%): October 22, 2014 (in class).
- Presentation** (15%): An **article** or a **book chapter presentation** for undergraduate students and one **book presentation** for graduate students.
- Book Review** (15%) for undergraduate students handed in class on Oct. 8, 2014 (800-1200 words) **Annotated Bibliography** (%15) for graduate students handed in class on Oct. 29, 2014 (3 pages).
- Research Paper** (40%): Between 2500-3000 words for undergraduate students and 4000-5000 words for graduate students) Due date: December 12, 2014, between 3-4 pm in the Prof's office THEO 230.

Details of all assignments (presentations, book review, mid-term exam, and research paper) will be handed out in class.

## Late and Accommodation Policy

There is **no make-up mid-term exam** policy unless accompanied by a documented excuse. **Late papers** and **book reviews** will be marked down one full letter grade for each day after the due date.

If you have a physical, psychological, or learning situation that may require accommodations in this course, please contact immediately Queen's Health Counseling and Disability Services (HCDS), located in the LaSalle Building, 146 Stuart Street (613-533-6467), in order to receive documentation identifying needs requiring accommodation by the instructor. (<http://www.queensu.ca/hcdis>)

## Queen's Grading Scheme

All components of this course will receive numerical percentage marks. The final grade you receive for the course will be derived by converting your numerical course average to a letter grade according to Queen's Official Grade Conversion Scale:

Grade	Numerical Course Average (Range)	C+	67-69
A+	90-100	C	63-66
A	85-89	C-	60-62
A-	80-84	D+	57-59
B+	77-79	D	53-56
B	73-76	D-	50-52
B-	70-72	F	49 and below

## Academic Integrity

At Queen's, academic integrity is constituted by the five core fundamental values of honesty, trust, fairness, respect and responsibility (see [www.academicintegrity.org](http://www.academicintegrity.org)). These values are central to the building, nurturing and sustaining of an academic community in which all members of the community will thrive. Adherence to the values expressed through academic integrity forms a foundation for the "freedom of inquiry and exchange of ideas" essential to the intellectual life of the University (see the Senate Report on Principles and Priorities: <http://www.queensu.ca/secretariat/policies/senateandtrustees/principlespriorities.htm>).

Students are responsible for familiarizing themselves with the regulations concerning academic integrity and for ensuring that their assignments conform to the principles of academic integrity. Information on academic integrity is available in the Arts and Science Calendar (see Academic Regulation 1 [http://www.queensu.ca/artsci/academic-calendars/2011-2012\\_calendar/academic-regulations/regulation-1](http://www.queensu.ca/artsci/academic-calendars/2011-2012_calendar/academic-regulations/regulation-1)), on the Arts and Science website: (<http://www.queensu.ca/artsci/academics/undergraduate/academic-integrity>), and from the instructor of this course.

Departures from academic integrity include plagiarism, use of unauthorized materials, facilitation, forgery and falsification, and are antithetical to the development of an academic community at Queen's. Given the seriousness of these matters, actions which contravene the regulation on academic integrity carry sanctions that can range from a warning or the loss of grades on an assignment to the failure of a course to a requirement to withdraw from the university.

## COURSE SCHEDULE & SYLLABUS

**Session I: 8:30-9:45**

**Break: 9:45-10:00**

**Session II: 10:00-11:20**

### **Week 1 (September 10): INTRODUCTION AND A STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

General Introduction: Aims, Methods and Structure of the Course  
(Details about organizing presentations, mid-term exam, book reviews, and research papers)

**Note:** There are no assigned readings for the introductory class

## Week 2 (September 17): THE RELIGIOUS AND THE POLITICAL IN ISLAMIC HISTORY—KEY EVENTS & CONCEPTS

### SESSION I & II

#### Reading:

- Peter Mandeville, *Islam and Politics* (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 1-63.

## Week 3 (September 24): THE LATE NINETEENTH & EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES

### SESSION I

#### The Concept of Shura/Mashwara and Constitutional Struggles in the Muslim World

#### Readings:

- Ahmad ibn Abi Diyaf, *Consult them in the Matter: A Nineteenth-Century Islamic Argument for Constitutional Government*, Trans. by L. Carl Brown. (The University of Arkansas Press, 2005), pp. 1-31.
- Nader Sohrabi, *Revolution and Constitutionalism in the Ottoman Empire and Iran* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 1-30.
- Ali Suavi, "Democracy: Government by the People, Equality," in Charles Kurzman, *Modernist Islam* (OUP, 2002), pp. 138-143.
- Namik Kemal, "And Seek Their Counsel in the Matter [Qur'an, Sura 3, Verse 159], in Charles Kurzman, *Modernist Islam* (OUP, 2002), pp. 144-48.

### SESSION II

#### The End of an Era and the Post-Caliphate Muslim World Order

#### Readings:

- Ali 'Abd al-Raziq, "The Problem of the Caliphate," in *Modernist and Fundamentalist Debate*, ed. M. Moaddel & K. Talattof (Palgrave MacMillan, 2000), pp. 95-100.
- Hamid Enayat, "The Crisis over the Caliphate," *Modern Islamic Political Thought* (I.B. Tauris, 2005), pp. 52-68.
- Reza Pankhurst, *The Inevitable Caliphate?: A History of the Struggle for Global Islamic Union, 1924 to the Present*, pp. 31-62.
- Peter Mandaville, "State Formation and the Making of Islamism," in *Islam and Politics* (Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 64-88.

**DISTINGUISHED LECTURE:**  
**POPE OF COPTIC CHURCH, HIS HOLINESS POPE TAWADROS II**  
Pope of Alexandria and Patriarch of the See of St. Mark, Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate  
Donald Mathers Memorial Lecture in Grant Hall on Friday, 26 September, 2014, 1:30 pm.

## Week 4 (October 1): THE ORIGINS OF ISLAMISM AND POLITICAL ISLAM

### SESSION I

#### Approaches to Islamism

#### Readings:

- Salwa Ismail, "The Study of Islamism Revisited," in *Rethinking Islamist Politics: Culture, the State and Islamism* (I.B. Tauris, 2003), pp. 1-26.
- Meghnad Desai, *Rethinking Islamism* (I.B. Tauris, 2007), pp. 57-87.
- Susana Buck-Morss, "Critical Theory and Islamism," in *Thinking Past Terror: Islamism and Critical Theory on the Left* (Verso, 2003), pp. 41-62.
- Bobby S. Sayyid, *A Fundamental Fear: Eurocentrism and the Emergence of Islamism* (Zed Books, 2003), pp. 31-51.

<p><b>SESSION II</b></p> <p><b>Political Islam</b></p>	<p><b>Readings:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mohammed Ayoob, "Defining Concepts, Demolishing Myths," in <i>The Many Faces of Political Islam: Religion and Politics in the Muslim World</i> (University of Michigan Press, 2008), pp. 1-22.</li> <li>• Peter Mandaville, "Islam in the System: The Evolution of Islamism as Political Strategy," in <i>Islam and Politics</i> (OUP, 2014), 121-141.</li> <li>• Olivier Roy, <i>The Failure of Political Islam</i> (Harvard University Press, 1994), pp. 1-27.</li> </ul>
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**Week 5 (October 8): THE POST-COLD WAR CONTEXT**

<p><b>SESSION I</b></p> <p><b>The End of History and Clash of Civilizations Theses</b></p>	<p><b>Readings:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Francis Fukuyama, "End of History?" <i>The National Interest</i> 16 (Summer 1989): 3-18.</li> <li>• Francis Fukuyama, "Reflections on the End of History, Five Years Later," <i>History and Theory</i> 34/2 (1995): 27-43.</li> <li>• Samuel Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" <i>Foreign Affairs</i> 72/3 (Summer 1993): 22-49.</li> </ul>
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<p><b>SESSION II</b></p> <p><b>Muslim Responses to Francis Fukuyama and Huntington</b></p>	<p><b>Readings:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ahmet Davutoğlu, "The Clash of Interests: An Explanation of the World [Dis]order," <i>Intellectual Discourse</i> 2/2 (1994): 107-130.</li> <li>• Ali A. Mazrui, "Islam and the End of History," <i>The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences</i> 10/4 (1993): 512-535.</li> <li>• Abdelwahab El-Affendi, "Islam and the Future of Dissent after the 'End of History'," <i>Futures</i> 31 (1999): 191-204.</li> <li>• Turan Kayaoğlu, "Constructing the Dialogue of Civilizations in World Politics: A Case of Global Islamic Activism," <i>Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations</i> 23/2 (2012): 129-147.</li> </ul>
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**Week 6 (October 15): ISLAM AND LIBERAL DEMOCRACY**

<p><b>SESSION I</b></p> <p><b>Debates on the In/compatibility and the Muslim Democracy</b></p>	<p><b>Readings:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Nader Hashemi, "Islam and Democracy," <i>The Oxford Handbook of Islam and Politics</i>, ed. John Esposito (OUP, 2013), pp. 68-88.</li> <li>• Asef Bayat, <i>Islam and Democracy: What is the Real Question?</i> (Leiden: Amsterdam University Press, 2007), pp. 1-21.</li> <li>• Vali Nasr, "The Rise of "Muslim Democracy," <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 16/2 (2005): 13-27.</li> <li>• Joshua Mitchell, <i>Tocqueville in Arabia: Dilemmas in a Democratic Age</i> (The University of Chicago Press, 2013), pp. 137-178.</li> </ul>
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<p><b>SESSION II</b></p> <p><b>Perspectives on Post-Islamism</b></p>	<p><b>Readings:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Noah Feldman, <i>The Fall and Rise of the Islamic State</i> (Princeton University Press, 2008), pp. 1-15.</li> <li>• Gilles Kepel, "Islamism Reconsidered," <i>Harvard International Review</i> 22/2 (2000): 22-8.</li> </ul>
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- Asef Bayat, *Post-Islamism: The Many Faces of Political Islam* (Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 3-34.
- Peter Mandaville, "Towards Post-Islamism? Globalization and Muslim Politics," in *Islam and Politics* (OUP, 2014), pp. 369-398.

## Week 7 (October 22): MID-TERM EXAM (In Class)

## Week 8 (October 29): REVOLUTION IN IRAN AND THE ISLAMIC STATE

### SESSION I

#### Religion and Politics in the Reza Shah Era

#### Reading:

- Ali Mirsepassi, "The Crisis of Secularism and Rise of Political Islam," in *Intellectual Discourse and the Politics of Modernization: Negotiating Modernity in Iran* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 65-95.

### SESSION II

#### Making of the Islamic Revolution (Enghelābe Eslāmi)

#### Readings:

- Peter Mandaville, "Revolutionary Islam and the Clerical State," in *Islam and Politics* (OUP, 2014), pp. 245-265.
- Ayatollah Khomeini, "Islamic Government: Governance of the Jurists," (*Velayat-e Faqih*) in *Milestone Documents of World Religions: Exploring Traditions of Faith Through Primary Sources*, ed. David Fahey. Dallas: Schlager Group, 2011. pp. 1372-1387.
- Forough Jahanbakhsh, *Islam, Democracy and Religious Modernism in Iran 1953-2000: From Bâzargân to Soroush* (Brill, 2001), pp. 119-139.

## DISTINGUISHED GUEST: FRED REED (born 1939)

International Award-Winning Journalist and a Respected Specialist on Politics and Religion in the Middle East offers a firsthand account of the Islamic Revolution (in class)

## Week 9 (November 5): THE POST-REVOLUTIONARY IRAN

### SESSION I

#### Post-Khomeini Era (1989-1997)

#### Readings:

- Babak Rahimi, "Contentious Legacies of the Ayatollah," in *A Critical Introduction to Khomeini*, ed. Arshin Adib-Moghaddam (Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 291-305.
- Said Amir Arjomand, *After Khomeini: Iran Under His Successors* (Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 72-89.

### SESSION II

#### Reformists in Power (1997-2005): President Khatami and the Dialogue of Civilizations

#### Readings:

- Mohammad Khatami, Josef van Ess & Hans Küng, "Symposium: Islam, Iran and the Dialogue of Civilisations," *Global Dialogue* 3/1 (2001): 1-14.
- Forough Jahanbakhsh, *Islam, Democracy and Religious Modernism in Iran, 1953-2000* (Brill, 2001), pp. 140-171.
- Said Amir Arjomand, *After Khomeini: Iran Under His Successors* (Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 90-111.

## Week 10 (November 12): RELIGION AND POLITICS IN THE REPUBLICAN TURKEY

<p><b>SESSION I</b></p> <p><b>Atatürk and the Transformation of Politics in the Middle East</b></p>	<p><b>Readings:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Şükrü Hanioğlu, <i>Atatürk: An Intellectual Biography</i> (Princeton UP, 2011): 129-159.</li><li>• Mustafa Sabri Efendi (Ottoman Şeyhülislâm), "Islam, West and Democracy," in <i>Mawqif al-'Aql</i>, trans. Mehmet Karabela (Cairo: Dâr İhyâ' al-Kutub al-'Arabî, 1950), v. I, pp. 23-44.</li><li>• Orhan Arsal (Kemalist Legal Theorist), "The Dialectical Movement in Justice/Law," in <i>CHP Yayını: Konferanslar Seri 2, Kitap 4</i>, trans. Mehmet Karabela (Istanbul: Şişli Halkevi, 1938), pp. 7-21.</li><li>• Şükrü Hanioğlu, "The Historical Roots of Kemalism," in <i>Democracy, Islam and Secularism in Turkey</i>, ed. A. Kuru &amp; A. Stepan (Columbia UP, 2012): 32-60.</li></ul>
<p><b>SESSION II</b></p> <p><b>Post-Atatürk: Kemalist Secularism and Religion</b></p>	<p><b>Readings:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Bobby S. Sayyid, "Kemalism and the Politicization of Islam," in <i>A Fundamental Fear: Eurocentrism and the Emergence of Islamism</i> (Zed Books, 2003), pp. 52-83.</li><li>• Umut Azak, <i>Islam and Secularism in Turkey: Kemalism, Religion and the Nation State</i> (I.B. Tauris, 2010), pp. 61-84.</li><li>• Merve Kavakci Islam, <i>Headscarf Politics in Turkey: A Postcolonial Reading</i> (Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), pp. 41-79.</li></ul>

## Week 11 (November 19): RISE OF POLITICAL ISLAM AND THE MAKING OF THE AK PARTY IN TURKEY

<p><b>SESSION I</b></p> <p><b>Rise of Political Islam in Turkey</b></p>	<p><b>Readings:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Angel Rabassa &amp; F. Stephen Larrabee, <i>The Rise of Political Islam in Turkey</i> (Santa Monica: Rand Corporation, 2008), pp. 31-50.</li><li>• Peter Mandaville, "Turkey: Religion, Secular Nationalist Ideology, and the Rise of "Muslim Democracy"," in <i>Islam and Politics</i> (OUP, 2014), pp. 162-174.</li></ul>
<p><b>SESSION II</b></p> <p><b>Understanding Turkey's AK Party</b></p>	<p><b>Readings:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• İbrahim Kalın, "The AK Party in Turkey," in <i>The Oxford Handbook of Islam and Politics</i>, ed. John Esposito &amp; Emad El-Din Shahin (Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 423-439.</li><li>• Yasin Aktay, "The "Ends" of Islamism: Rethinking the Meaning of Islam and the Political," <i>Insight Turkey</i> 15/1 (2013): 111-125.</li><li>• İhsan Dağı, "Post-Islamism a la Turca," in <i>Post-Islamism: The Many Faces of Political Islam</i>, ed. Asef Bayat (OUP, 2013), pp. 71-108.</li><li>• Cihan Tuğal, "Nato's Islamists: Hegemony and Americanization in Turkey," <i>New Left Review</i> 44 (2007): pp. 5-34.</li></ul>

## Week 12 (November 26): ARAB SPRING AND BEYOND: MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN EGYPT

### SESSION I

#### Arab Spring and Islamists

#### Readings:

- Peter Mandaville, "Islam is the Solution: The Evolution and Expansion of the Muslim Brotherhood," in *Islam and Politics* (OUP, 2013), pp. 89-115.
- Carrie Wickham, *The Muslim Brotherhood: Evolution of an Islamist Movement* (Princeton University Press, 2013), pp. 154-195.
- Bruce K. Rutherford, *Egypt after Mubarak: Liberalism, Islam and Democracy in the Arab World* (Princeton University Press, 2008), pp. 77-130.
- Asef Bayat, "The Coming of a Post-Islamist Democracy," in *Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East* (Stanford University Press, 2013), pp. 305-315.

### SESSION II

#### Wrap-Up Session

#### Reflections on Religion & Politics:

The Future of Political Islam: What is Next?

**RESEARCH PAPERS: Due on December 12, 2014 between 3-4 pm. in the Prof's Office THEO Room 230**

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