

**Islam and Politics**  
POLI-3020-01, 3 credits  
Fall 2020  
MWF 9:45-10:30am, Lavin-Bernick Center (Kendall)

***Contact Information***

Dr. Drew H. Kinney

Office Hours: MW 10:45am-12:45pm, by [appointment](#) (via Zoom)

Phone: TBD

Email: [dkinney@tulane.edu](mailto:dkinney@tulane.edu)

Course site: [Canvas](#)

***Course Description.*** The Islamic revival is one of the most important developments of the twentieth century. This class interrogates a series of intertwined questions in order to understand the political dynamics of the revival by focusing on Islamic political movements in the Middle East and North Africa, as well as Central and Southeast Asia. What are the intellectual origins of these movements? How should we understand their relationship to colonialism/imperialism, nationalism, democracy/authoritarianism, liberalism, development politics, and women and gender? How have Islamic political movements evolved over time? We will answer these questions in historical and comparative perspective with reference to scholarship in political science, history, Islamic studies, sociology, and anthropology.

***Learning Objectives.*** Upon completion of this course, students will possess:

- 1) an empirically grounded understanding of contemporary Islamic movements;
- 2) the analytical tools to understand the behavior of Islamic movements.

***Program-Level Outcomes.*** This course addresses the following program outcomes:

- 1) students will become better writers and thinkers by receiving critical feedback on their prose and analysis;
- 2) students will gain research skills and use the proper methodologies necessary to write a research paper in the discipline of political science;
- 3) students will learn to communicate effectively and persuasively on ideas of cross-cultural significance;
- 4) students will gain advanced knowledge of the principal debates about the relationship between Islam and Middle Eastern and global politics.

## ***Course Requirements and Evaluation:***

### **Break-down of course grades:**

Midterm Exam (due Oct. 2)	25%
Reaction Papers (see below)	30%
Final Exam (due Dec. 2)	25%
Participation	20%

***Participation.*** Individual participation is worth 20% of your grade. Simply showing up for class is not sufficient to earn participation points. You are expected to attend classes regularly and participate in discussions. I want you to talk so that you engage with the material and your classmates. It is not any more complicated than that. You are free to ask about current events, readings you did not understand, et cetera. This way we can learn interactively.

***Reaction Papers.*** You will submit three 2-page reaction papers (each worth 10% each for a total of 30% of your grade) on all sections minus the two sections (II & VI) in which we take the midterm and final exams. You have a ***choice*** as to which topic you would like to discuss in the third paper. These papers are critical summaries of the main themes for each corresponding section. Here is a [rubric](#) that explains in more detail how to complete this assignment. All must be turned in via Canvas by 11:59 pm on the due date.

Paper 1: Islam & Modernity (due Sept. 9)

Paper 2: Islam & Extremism (due Oct. 29)

Paper 3: Women & Islam (due Nov. 10) ***or*** U.S. Foreign Policy (due Nov. 17)

***Midterm Exam.*** The midterm exam covers most of the first two units. The exam will be an open-note, open-book take-home exam. This means that I expect answers to be of higher quality than in-class responses. Answers will be typed into an existing Word.docx, which I will provide. You will then submit your exam via Canvas by 11:59 p.m. on October 2nd. Exams are to be completed alone, not through consultation with classmates.

***Final Exam.*** The final exam will cover units three through five. The exam will be an open-note, open-book take-home exam. This means that I expect answers to be of higher quality than in-class responses. Answers will be typed into an existing Word.docx, which I will provide. You will then submit your exam via Canvas by 11:59 p.m. on December 2nd. Exams are to be completed alone, not through consultation with classmates.

### ***Course Grading Policies***

**Makeup exams.** You are not automatically entitled to a makeup examination, which are only given in cases of compelling and well-documented excuses, e.g., acute illness, religious observances, athletic events. Oversleeping is not included on that list. You must also have documentation from a physician (not a nurse) or the appropriate administrator at the College. If you have sufficient cause to warrant a makeup exam, I will determine the date and time of the exam.

**Late submissions.** If you submit work late, I reserve the right to fail you (with a 0) on that particular assignment. If you need more time to complete assignments, please proactively contact me via email and ask for an extension.

**Grading.** I encourage you to come see me if you have questions about a grade for an assignment. However, I do ask that you wait one week (a cooling off period). During that time, please re-read your assignment and be prepared to defend your position by incorporating relevant course materials.

**Computers & cell phones.** If you bring a laptop to class, it should be used only for taking notes or consulting assigned readings. It is both distracting and disrespectful to me and your colleagues if you are web-surfing, etc. when you are supposed to be participating in classroom discussion. I do notice, and it will affect your participation grade. Cell phones should be silent and put away, and texting should be minimized. I will disallow the use of electronics if this policy is abused.

**Readings.** You are responsible for all reading assignments. Come prepared to discuss them, and please make sure to have them handy during class. All readings are available through the syllabus via links, which are marked in blue (below). Clicking on the Further Reading “doc” will bring you to a Google Doc of additional readings on each course topic. These links will remain active beyond the length of the course, so you can use them for independent research, capstones, and the like. Clicking “Notes” brings you to a Google Doc that raises general and specific questions related to the readings for each topic. Ideally, you will click this link before you read for class. “Notes” also serve as your study guide for exams.

**Nota Bene.** It is essential that you complete all course readings. If it becomes apparent the class is not keeping up with readings, I reserve the right to administer surprise quizzes. If this occurs, I will redistribute the relative weight of course assignments.

**Course Feedback.** Aside from the formal evaluation at the end of the term, I welcome and encourage feedback throughout the semester on course structure, readings, lectures, et cetera. If you would like to see additional topics covered, please let me know and I will give it consideration. Comments, suggestions, and criticisms will have no bearing (positive or negative) on your grade. You may leave anonymous feedback via Google Forms by: 1) signing in to the course Canvas site; 2) clicking the “Modules” tab; 3) clicking “Course Feedback” tab.

**Attendance.** Attendance is a requirement if you wish to do well in this course. In-class notes, discussion, and lecture material are the basis for the course’s exams.

I give you two allowed absences, no questions asked. You will be responsible for course material and discussion content for days that you miss. For absences beyond the given two allowed absences, you must provide some sort of documentation, excluding in certain circumstances as discussed with me. Missing more than three courses without good cause, e.g., illness, religious holidays, family deaths, will result in a 2% grade reduction per absence. It is possible to earn a failure due to absence (FA) in this course.

**COVID-19 Guidelines.** Faculty and students must comply with University policies on COVID-19 testing and isolation, which are located here. Faculty and students must wear face coverings in all common areas, including classrooms, and follow social distancing rules. Failure to comply is a violation of the Code of Student Conduct and students will be subject to University discipline, which can include suspension or permanent dismissal.

**ADA/Accessibility Statement.** Any students with disabilities or other needs, who need special accommodations in this course, are invited to share these concerns or requests with the instructor and should contact Goldman Center for Student Accessibility: <http://accessibility.tulane.edu> or 504.862.8433.

**Code of Academic Conduct.** The Code of Academic Conduct applies to all undergraduate students, full-time and part-time, in Tulane University. Tulane University expects and requires behavior compatible with its high standards of scholarship. By accepting admission to the university, a student accepts its regulations (i.e., [Code of Academic Conduct](#) and [Code of Student Conduct](#)) and acknowledges the right of the university to take disciplinary action, including suspension or expulsion, for conduct judged unsatisfactory or disruptive.

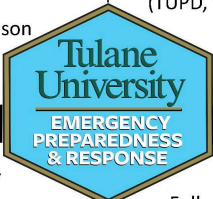
**Religious Accommodation Policy.** Per Tulane's [religious accommodation policy](#), I will make every reasonable effort to ensure that students are able to observe religious holidays without jeopardizing their ability to fulfill their academic obligations. Excused absences do not relieve the student from the responsibility for any course work required during the period of absence. Students should notify me within the first two weeks of the semester about their intent to observe any holidays that fall on a class day or on the day of the final exam.

**Title IX.** Tulane University recognizes the inherent dignity of all individuals and promotes respect for all people. As such, Tulane is committed to providing an environment free of all forms of discrimination including sexual and gender-based discrimination, harassment, and violence like sexual assault, intimate partner violence, and stalking. If you (or someone you know) has experienced or is experiencing these types of behaviors, know that you are not alone. Resources and support are available: you can learn more at [allin.tulane.edu](http://allin.tulane.edu). Any and all of your communications on these matters will be treated as either "Confidential" or "Private" as explained in the chart below. Please know that if you choose to confide in me I am mandated by the university to report to the Title IX Coordinator, as Tulane and I want to be sure you are connected with all the support the university can offer. You do not need to respond to outreach from the university if you do not want. You can also make a report yourself, including an anonymous report, through the form at [tulane.edu/concerns](http://tulane.edu/concerns).

Confidential	Private
Except in extreme circumstances, involving imminent danger to one's self or others, nothing will be shared without your explicit permission.	Conversations are kept as confidential as possible, but information is shared with key staff members so the University can offer resources and accommodations and take action if necessary for safety reasons.
Counseling & Psychological Services (CAPS)   (504) 314-2277 <i>or</i> The Line (24/7)   (504) 264-6074	Case Management & Victim Support Services   (504) 314-2160 <i>or</i> <a href="mailto:srss@tulane.edu">srss@tulane.edu</a>
Student Health Center   (504) 865-5255	Tulane University Police (TUPD)   Uptown: (504) 865-5911   Downtown: (504) 988-5531
Sexual Aggression Peer Hotline and Education (SAPHE)   (504) 654-9543	Title IX Coordinator   (504) 314-2160 <i>or</i> <a href="mailto:msmith76@tulane.edu">msmith76@tulane.edu</a>

### *Emergency Preparedness & Response.*

EMERGENCY NOTIFICATION SYSTEM: TU ALERT	RAVE GUARDIAN
<p>In the event of a campus emergency, Tulane University will notify students, faculty, and staff by email, text, and phone call. You were automatically enrolled in this system when you enrolled at the university.</p> <p>Check your contact information annually in Gibson Online to confirm its accuracy.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Download the RAVE Guardian app from the App Store</li> <li>• Communicate with dispatchers silently by selecting "Submit Tip" feature in the app</li> <li>• Use the Safety Timer feature to alert your "guardian" (TUPD, family, friend) when travelling alone at night</li> </ul> <p>For more information, visit <a href="http://publicsafety.tulane.edu/rave-guardian">publicsafety.tulane.edu/rave-guardian</a></p>
<b>ACTIVE SHOOTER / VIOLENT ATTACKER</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>RUN</b> – run away from or avoid the affected area, if possible</li> <li>• <b>HIDE</b> – go into the nearest room that can be locked, turn out the lights, silence cell phones, and remain hidden until all-clear message is given through TU ALERT</li> <li>• <b>FIGHT</b> – do not attempt this option, except as a last resort</li> </ul> <p>For more information on Active Shooter emergency procedures or to schedule a training, visit <a href="http://emergencyprep.tulane.edu">emergencyprep.tulane.edu</a></p>	<b>SEVERE WEATHER</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Follow all TU Alerts and outdoor warning sirens</li> <li>• Seek shelter indoors until the severe weather threat has passed and an all-clear message is given</li> <li>• Do not attempt to travel outside if weather is severe</li> <li>• Monitor the Tulane Emergency website (<a href="http://tulane.edu/emergency/">tulane.edu/emergency/</a>) for university-wide closures during a severe weather event</li> </ul>



**Tulane University**  
EMERGENCY PREPAREDNESS & RESPONSE

## Course Schedule

### **August 19, Course Introductions**

#### **I. Islam and Modernity.**

*Further Reading, Notes*

### **August 21, Intro to Political Islam**

Hamid, Shadi, and Rashid Dar. 2016. "Islamism, Salafism, and jihadism: A primer." *Brookings*. July 15.

### **August 24, Intro to Political Islam**

Dale F. Eickelman, 1992. "Mass Higher Education and the Religious Imagination in Contemporary Arab Societies." *American Ethnologist* 19(4), 643-655.

### **August 26, Islam & Modernity**

Lisa Wedeen, 2003. "Beyond the Crusades." *Social Science Research Council* 4(2/3), 1-6.

### **August 28, Jamal al-Din 'al-Afghani**

Sayid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and Abdul-Hādī Hā'irī. 1971 [1890s]. "Afghānī on the Decline of Islam." *Die Welt des Islams* 13(1/2), 121-125.

### **August 31, Muhammad Abduh**

Scharbrodt, Oliver. 2007. "The Salafiyya and Sufism: Muhammad Abduh and his *Risalat al-Waridat* (Treatise on Mystical Inspirations)." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, 70(1), 89-115.

Roxanne L. Euben. 1999. "A View Across Time: Islam as the Religion of Reason," (ch. 4) in *Enemy in the Mirror: Islamic Fundamentalism and the Limits of Modern Rationalism*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

***September 2, Hasan al-Banna***

Mura, Andrea. 2012. “[A genealogical inquiry into early Islamism: the discourse of Hasan al-Banna.](#)” *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 17(1), 61-85.

***September 4, Sayyid Qutb***

Mandaville, “[Sayyid Qutb](#),” (pp. 97-105).

***September 7, Labor Day***

***September 9, Jahaliyya & the Culmination***

Adam Curtis. 2004. “[The Power of Nightmares.](#)” *British Broadcasting Corporation*.

**II. Islam & Democracy.**

*Further Reading, Notes*

***September 11, Islam & Democracy I***

Brandon Kendhammer. 2016. *Muslims Talking Politics: Framing Islam, Democracy, and Law in Northern Nigeria*. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press  
(read preface, pp. ix-xii & ch. 1).

***September 14, Islam & Democracy II***

Brandon Kendhammer. 2016. *Muslims Talking Politics: Framing Islam, Democracy, and Law in Northern Nigeria*. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press  
(read ch. 5).

***September 16, Islam & Democracy III***

Jeremy Menchik. 2016. “[Communal Tolerance](#),” (pp. 124-158). In *Islam and Democracy in Indonesia: Tolerance without Liberalism*. Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press.

Jeremy Menchik. 2016. “[Islamic State: Lessons from Indonesia.](#)” *USA Today*.  
January 20.

***September 18, Islam & Democracy IV***

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

Charles Kurzman and Ijlal Naqvi. 2010. "Do Muslims Vote Islamic?" *Journal of Democracy* 21(2), 50-63.

***September 21, Islam & Democracy V***

Alfred Stepan. 2000. "Religion, democracy, and the 'twin tolerations.'" *Journal of Democracy* 11(4), 37-56.

Charles Kurzman and Didem Türkoğlu, 2015. "Do Muslims Vote Islamic Now?" *Journal of Democracy* 26(4), 100-109.

***September 23, Liberal Islam***

Charles Kurzman. 1999. "Liberal Islam: Prospects and Challenges." *MERIA Journal* 3(3), 1-8.

***September 25, Liberal Islam: An Exchange***

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.

Saba Mahmood. 2003. "Questioning Liberalism, Too." *Boston Review*. April/May.

***September 28, Tunisia***

Rached Ghannouchi. 2016. "From Political Islam to Muslim Democracy: The Ennahda Party and the Future of Tunisia." *Foreign Affairs*. September/October.

\*Skype meeting with Ennahda leader (to be confirmed).

***September 30, Midterm Review***

***Midterm***<sup>1</sup>

October 2

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<sup>1</sup> Midterm exams due via Canvas by 11:59 p.m.



**October 5, Egyptian Revolution**

Frontline. 2013. "[Egypt in Crisis](#)." *Public Broadcasting Service*. September 17.

**October 7, The Islamic Revolution in Iran**

Asef Bayat, 2007. "[Revolution Without Movement, Movement Without Revolution: Islamist Activism in Iran and Egypt, 1960s-1980s](#)," (read pp. 16-48). In *Making Islam Democratic: Social Movements and the Post-Islamist Turn*. Palo Alto, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

**October 9, After the Revolution**

Charles Kurzman, 2001. "[Critics Within: Islamic Scholars' Protests against the Islamic State in Iran](#)." *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 15(2), 341-359.

**III. Islam & Extremism.**  
*Further Reading, Notes*

**October 12, Transnational Islamists**

David Malet, 2010. "[Why Foreign Fighters? Historical Perspectives and Solutions](#)." *Orbis* 54(1), 97-114.

Thomas Hegghammer, 2011. "[The Rise of Muslim Foreign Fighters: Islam and the Globalization of Jihad](#)." *International Security* 35(3), 53-94.

**October 14, Osama bin Laden**

Euben and Zaman, "[Usama bin Laden](#)" (pp. 425-459). In *Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought: Texts and Contexts from al-Banna to Bin Laden*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

**October 16, Saudi Arabia**

Stephane Lacroix, 2011. *Awakening Islam: The Politics of Religious Dissent in Contemporary Saudi Arabia* (ch. 1 & conclusion). Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

**October 19, The Islamic State**

Audrey Kurth Cronin. 2015. "[ISIS Is Not a Terrorist Group: Why Counterterrorism Won't Stop the Latest Jihadist Threat](#)." *Foreign Affairs*.

**October 21, Iraq & Syria**

BBC News. 2015. "What is 'Islamic State'?" *British Broadcasting Company*.  
December 2.

Toby Dodge. 2012. "Assessing the Future of Iraq." *Adelphi Series* 52(434-435),  
13-30.

**October 23, Palestine**

Thomas Hegghammer. 2013. "Abdallah Azzam and Palestine." *Die Welt des Islams*  
53(3/4), 353-87.

**October 26, Securitization of Islam**

Luca Mavelli. (2013). "Between Normalisation and Exception: The Securitisation of  
Islam and the Construction of the Secular Subject." *Millennium*, 41(2),  
159-181.

**October 28, Review**

**IV. Women & Islam.**  
*Further Reading, Notes*

**October 30, 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), 783-790.

**November 2, Islam, Nation, Women II**

Rachel Rinaldo. 2008. "Envisioning the Nation: Women Activists, Religion and the  
Public Sphere in Indonesia." *Social Forces* 86(4), 1781-1804.

**November 4, Islamic Feminism**

Saba Mahmood. 2005. "Topography of the Piety Movement," (pp. 40-78). In *The  
Politics of Piety: The Islamist Revival and the Feminist Subject*. Princeton, N.J.:  
Princeton University Press.

***November 6, Zaynab Al-Ghazali***

Roxanne L Euben and Muhammad Qasim Zaman. 2009. “[Zaynab Al-Ghazali](#),” (read pp. 275-301). In *Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought: Texts and Contexts from al-Banna to Bin Laden*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

***November 9, Leila Ahmed***

Leila Ahmed. 1992. *Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots to a Modern Debate*. Yale University Press (introduction).

**V. US Foreign Policy.**  
*Further Reading, Notes*

***November 11, US Foreign Policy & Islam***

Daniel Pipes. 1995. “[There are No Moderates: Dealing with Fundamentalist Islam](#).”

***November 13, US Foreign Policy Post-9/11***

Mahmood Mamdani. 2002. “[Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: A Political Perspective on Culture and Terrorism](#).” *American Anthropologist* 104(3), 766-75.

***November 16, US Foreign Policy Post-9/11***

Robert Malley and Jon Finer. 2018. “[The Long Shadow of 9/11: How Counterterrorism Warps U.S. Foreign Policy](#).” *Foreign Affairs*. July/August.

**VI. Course Summary.**  
*Further Reading, Notes*

***November 18, Thinking about the Arab Spring***

Alfred Stepan and Juan J. Linz. 2013. “[Democratization Theory and the ‘Arab Spring.’](#)” *Journal of Democracy* 24(2), 15-30.

***November 20, Exam Review***

***November 23, Course Summary***

***Final Exam***<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Final exam due via Canvas by 11:59 p.m.