

Islamic Movements

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1. Course Overview

This course will review and analyze the increasing trend of Islamic movements (IM) and Islamic parties (IP) around the world in the global age of capitalism and the contemporary Muslim world. In the course, we focus on IM and IP and their relationship with global capitalism, democracy, free speech, human rights, inequality, colonialism/imperialism, modernity, secularism and governance. All of these concepts are directly related with the conditions of modernity which have been created by the free market economy; therefore, I perceive Political Islam (IM and IP) as a product of modern conditions, such as urbanization, the emergence of a manufacture-based economy, the increased availability of higher education, women's participation in education and the workforce, and the elimination of traditional social values. The conditions of modernity created the concept of democracy in the modern world. Christianity and Judaism have consequently been struggling to redefine themselves under the new rules and regulations – not revelations - for over 200 years; whereas in Muslim Societies, the conditions of modernity challenge Islam and Muslims. Therefore, Muslims will be forced to decide between the expression and practice of Din/Religion and the material world in their daily life. There is therefore an ongoing struggle between the observance of God and the pursuit of material conditions.



Although Political Islam could be seen as a direct reaction to modern politics, Islam is actually an inherently political religion that rules and regulates every aspect of a believer's daily life, much in the same way as economic conditions do. This course examines the roots and traces the development of IM and IP in North Africa, the Middle East, Central Asia and South East Asia.



We will look at Islam from an ideological and identity point of view – not from the theological perspective, and will seek to understand what Islam means to Muslim populated countries and societies. Islam plays a major role in world politics today, especially following the collapse of the Soviet Union. Islamic movements and parties have also occupied the public and political sphere more noticeably from the 1980s until the present time. Today, Islam is the religion of one fifth of the World's population, and is one of the fastest growing religions. Muslims live in regions located from Morocco to Indonesia. The contribution of Islam to world civilization is undeniable, however in the last one hundred years, Muslims have faced economic underdevelopment, dictatorship, colonialism/exploitation/imperialism, and most importantly modernity. What does modernity mean for Muslims? Will there be an Islamic renaissance? How about an Islamic reformation? In relation to these questions, what are today's Islamic movements and parties trying to achieve? Unlike in the past, Islamic movements and parties have been very successful in democratic elections in the Muslim world, such as the case of Hamas in Israel/Palestine, the Justice and Development Party in Turkey, Hizbullah in Lebanon, the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, and Al-Nahda in Tunisia. In this course, we seek to understand the motivation of these movements, the reasons for their broad social and

political popularity and relevance, and their unique hierarchical structures. This course does not concern itself with Al-Qaida or other terrorist organizations, but does familiarize students with IM and IP more generally.

As described, Islam is not just a religion, but is also likely to manifest as a socio-economic and political structure; therefore, one must understand the socio-historical background and the origin of Islamic belief systems as well as their underpinning theoretical basis from thinkers such as:

- Ibn Taymiyya - <http://www.muslimphilosophy.com/ip/rep/H039.htm>
- Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani - <http://www.cis-ca.org/voices/a/afghni.htm>
- Hasan Al-Banna - http://web.youngmuslims.ca/online_library/books/tmott/
- Sayyid Qutb – http://web.youngmuslims.ca/online_library/books/milestones/
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0SMYu00xmUc&feature=related>
- Sayyid Abul Ala Mawdudi - <http://www.abulala.com/>
- Ali Shariati - <http://www.shariati.com/>
- Fazlur Rahman - http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fazlur_Rahman

2. Course Objectives

The course objectives are 1) to acquaint students with both traditional and contemporary literature and research on Islamic movements, and 2) to introduce students to the historical and ideological basis of Classical and Contemporary Islamic Political Thought.

3. Course Materials

Required Books:

This course will use sections from the following books and articles:

1. Augustus Richard Norton. 2007. *Hezbollah: A Short History*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. <http://press.princeton.edu/titles/8363.html>
2. Khaled Hroub. 2006. *Hamas: A Beginner's Guide*. Pluto Press. http://www.plutobooks.com/display.asp?K=9780745329727&st1=hamas&sf1=keyword_index%2Cpublisher&sort=sort_pluto&m=1&dc=1
3. Roel Meijer. *Global Salafism: Islam's New Religious Movement*. Columbia University Press, 2009. <http://cup.columbia.edu/book/978-0-231-15420-8/global-salafism>
4. *When Victory Is Not An Option: Islamist Movements in Arab Politics* by Nathan J. Brown. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2012.

<http://www.cornellpress.cornell.edu/book/?GCOI=80140100465990>

5. Humeira Iqtidar. 2011. *Secularizing Islamists? Jama'at-e-Islami and Jama'at-ud-Da'wa in Urban Pakistan*. The University of Chicago Press.

<http://www.press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/book/chicago/S/bo11017672.html>

ISBN: 9780226384689

Recommended Books:

1. Fazlur Rahman. 2002. *Islam*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
<http://www.press.uchicago.edu/presssite/metadata/epl?mode=synopsis&bookkey=3632939>
2. Tugrul Keskin, *The Sociology of Islam: Secularism, Economy and Politics*. Ithaca Press, 2011. ISBN: 978-0-86372-371-1
<http://www.ithacapress.co.uk/book/sociology-islam>
3. Fredric Volpi. *Political Islam Observed*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2010.
4. Mohammed Zahid. *The Muslim Brotherhood and Egypt's Succession Crisis: The Politics of Liberalisation and Reform in the Middle East*. I. B. Tauris, 2012.
<http://www.ibtauris.com/Books/Humanities/History/Regional%20national%20history/Asian%20history/Middle%20Eastern%20history/The%20Muslim%20Brotherhood%20and%20Egypts%20Succession%20Crisis%20The%20Politics%20of%20Liberalisation%20and%20Reform%20in%20the%20Middle%20East.aspx>

Required Articles:

1. Islamic Way of Life by Syed Abul A'ala Mawdudi
2. Between Yesterday and Today by Hasan Al-Banna
3. Enjoining Right and Forbidding Wrong - By Ibn Taimia
4. Milestone by Sayyid Qutb
5. Islamic Mobilization: Social Movement Theory and the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood Ziad Munson
6. Mawdudi and the Transformation of Jama'at-e-Islami in Pakistan by Abdul Rashid Moten
7. Hamas as Social Movement by Glenn Robinson
8. Islamism in Turkey: beyond instrument and meaning by Cihan Tugal
9. Hizbullah and the Theory of Social Movement by Mohammed Bamyeh
10. Political Dimensions of Religious Conflict in Malaysia Abdul Fauzi Abdul Hamid
11. Indonesia, Islam, and the Prospect for Democracy by Mark R. Woodward
12. Islamic Revivalism: The Case of the Tablighi Jamaat by JAN ALI
13. Justice and Development Party at the Helm: Resurgence of Islam or Restitution of the Right-of-Center Predominant Party? by Ersin Kalaycioglu
Jihad vs. McWorld, Benjamin R. Barber, The Atlantic Online | March 1992

Recommended Additional Reading:

1. Nasr, S. V. R. 1994. The Vanguard of the Islamic Revolution: The Jama'at-i Islami of Pakistan. Berkeley, University of California Press.
<http://www.ucpress.edu/books/pages/6278.php>
2. Humeira Iqtidar. 2011. Secularizing Islamists? Jama'at-e-Islami and Jama'at-ud-Da'wa in Urban Pakistan. The University of Chicago Press.
<http://www.press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/book/chicago/S/bo11017672.html>
3. Asef Bayat. 2007. Making Islam Democratic: Social Movements and the Post-Islamist Turn. Stanford University Press.
<http://www.sup.org/book.cgi?id=10420>
4. Mohammed Zahid. 2010. The Muslim Brotherhood and Egypt's Succession Crisis: The Politics of Liberalisation and Reform in the Middle East. I.B.Tauris. ISBN: 9781845119799
5. Fouad Zakariyya and Ibrahim M. Abu-Rabi. 2005. Myth and Reality in the Contemporary Islamist Movement. Pluto Press.
<http://www.plutobooks.com/display.asp?K=9780745322469&>
6. Gunning, Jeroen. 2008. Hamas in Politics: Democracy, Religion, Violence. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
7. Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori. 2004. Muslim Politics. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. <http://press.princeton.edu/titles/5838.html>
<http://cup.columbia.edu/book/978-0-231-70044-3/hamas-in-politics>
8. Fouad Zakariyya and Ibrahim M. Abu-Rabi. 2005. Myth and Reality in the Contemporary Islamist Movement. Pluto Press. ISBN: 9780745322469
<http://www.plutobooks.com/display.asp?K=9780745322469&>
9. Azza Karam. 2004. Transnational Political Islam: Religion, Ideology and Power. Pluto Press. ISBN: 9780745316253
<http://www.plutobooks.com/display.asp?K=9780745316253&>
10. Amr G. E. Sabet. 2008. Islam and the Political Theory, Governance and International Relations. Pluto Press. ISBN: 9780745327198
<http://www.plutobooks.com/display.asp?K=9780745327198&>
11. Edmund Burke and Ira Lapidus (Ed.), Islam, Politics and Social Movements, Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1988.
12. Oliver Roy, Globalized Islam, New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2004.
13. Quintan Wiktorowicz (Ed.), Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach, Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004.
14. Graham E. Fuller, The Future of Political Islam, New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003.
15. Amina Wadud, Qur'an and Woman: Reading the Sacred Text from a Women's Perspective, New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1999.
16. Bassam Tibbi, Islam between Culture and Politics, New York, NY: Palgrave, 2001.
17. Carl Ernst, Following Muhammad: Rethinking Islam in the Contemporary World, Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.
18. Charles Kurzman (Ed.), Liberal Islam, New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1998.

19. Charles Kurzman (Ed.), Modernist Islam, 1840-1940. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2002.
20. Fatma Mernissi, Beyond the Veil: Male-Female Dynamics in a Modern Muslim Society, Indiana University Press.
21. Mansoor Moaddel. 2005. Islamic Modernism, Nationalism and Fundamentalism: Episode and Discourse, Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
22. Walid Abdelnasser. The Islamic Movement in Egypt: Perceptions of International Relations 1967-1981.
23. Hala Haber. 1997. Hezbollah: Born with a Vengeance. Columbia University Press.
24. Abdessalam Yassine. 2000. Winning the Modern World for Islam. Iowa City, Iowa: Justice and Spirituality Publishing.
25. Ahmed Rashid. 2002. Jihad: The Rise of Militant Islam in Central Asia. New York, NY: Penguin Books.
26. Ahmed Rashid. 2001. Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in central Asia. Yale University Press.
27. John Esposito. 1999. The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
28. Joel Beinin and Joe Stork. Political Islam: Essays from the Middle East Report.
29. John Esposito. 1983. Voices of Resurgent Islam. New York, NY: The Oxford University Press.
30. Moten, Abdul Rashid. 2002. Revolution to Revolution: Jama'at-e-Islami in the Politics of Pakistan. Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia Islamic Book Trust.
31. Nazih Ayubi. 1993. Political Islam: Religion and Politics in the Arab World. New York, NY: Routledge.
32. Anthony Black. 2001. The History of Islamic Political Thought: From the Prophet to the Present. New York, NY: Routledge.
33. Hamid Enayat. 1982. Modern Islamic Political Thought. University of Texas Press.
34. Nikki R. Keddie, Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution. Yale University Press, 2003.
35. James L. Gelvin, The Modern Middle East: A History. Oxford University Press, 2007. ISBN13: 9780195327595.
36. William L. Cleveland. A History of the Modern Middle East. Westview Press, 2004. ISBN: 9780813343747

Recommended Websites

- <http://www.pbuh.us/>
- <http://www.muhammad.net/>
- <http://www.al-islam.org/>
- <http://www.lastprophet.info/>
- <http://www.islamworld.net/>
- <http://www.islamicity.com/>

Recommended Qur'an Websites:

- <http://quran.com/>
- <http://www.quranexplorer.com/quran/>
- <http://www.quran.net/>
- <http://www.quranflash.com/en/quranflash.html>
- <http://www.quranreading.com/>
- <http://quran.al-islam.org/>
- <http://www.englishtafsir.com/>

Recommended Documentaries:

1. *Muhammad: Legacy of a Prophet* 2005 a film by Michael Schwarz
<http://www.pbs.org/muhammad/>
<http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=-5588678537059723932#>
2. *Inside Islam* – History Channel
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hAjsu1ATrts>
3. *Traditional Islamic Prayers*
<http://www.history.com/videos/traditional-islamic-prayers#who-was-muhammad>
4. *30 Days as a Muslim*, a 2006 film by Morgan Spurlock

Mosques, Masjids, and Organizations – Portland:

1. Masjed As-Saber - <http://www.assaber.com/>
2. Bilal Masjid - <http://www.bilalmasjid.com/>
3. Muslim Community Center of Portland - <http://mccpdx.org/>
4. Mehdi Center (Islamic Center of Portland) - <http://www.icop.org/>
5. Muslim Educational Trust - <http://www.metpdx.org/>

4. Course Philosophy:

The goal of this course is to enable students to write a theoretically guided and empirically rooted research paper. I expect you to become familiar with the social, political and economic underpinnings of Islam and Islamic movements. Islam is a social structure, and Muslims are the agents of this structure.

The success of this course depends on your continued and sustained reading and participation. The course will be based on a four-dimensional method of learning, and this includes inquiry and critical thinking; communication; the diversity of human experience; and ethics and social responsibility. First, I would like you to critically analyze what you learn in this class or have learned so far through the media and education, because in today's world, truth is a relative concept. Throughout human history, critical thinking is one

of the most important factors that has contributed to human development. In order to become active, self-motivated, empowered learners and future leaders, you will need to have the ability to think critically, and therefore your criticism, feedback and suggestions are necessary. Second, I would like you to enhance your writing and oral communication skills in this course. Therefore, it is important to clearly elaborate your arguments in the class discussion as well as in the written assignments

Third, we are each part of the human mosaic, and all have different experiences based on our social, political and economic differences. We can all learn from and respect each other and benefit from our diversity. Please try to learn from and understand those with different perspectives than you. Lastly, we need to learn that we are all part of this intellectual community and larger society, and all have social and ethical responsibilities to our family, community, classmates, and humanity. We live in a globalized world and therefore, we need to be aware of events in our community, and the world today. In order to enhance our knowledge, we must critically examine our social, political and economic environment in order to apply this knowledge to our experience.

5. Course Requirements:

Reflection papers:

The reflection papers will include an open book essay that will determine what you have learned in class each week. I will ask you two or three questions regarding the same week's class subject and discussion.

Weekly Presentations:

Each week, three or four students will be assigned a weekly topic from the readings. These students will summarize the readings and prepare an outline and 4-6 questions for class, in order to come prepared to lead the class discussion. Each student must always read the course materials before they attend class, and I expect you to participate actively in the class discussion.

Newspaper Articles:

During the semester, you can bring 4 newspaper articles related with our class subjects. You cannot bring more than one article in the same week. You will have to summarize these articles verbally in class. Please bring the first page of the printed/hard copy of the article to class. Some of the recommended newspapers include The Guardian, Al-Jazeera, Democracynow.org, Financial Times, The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal and the Economist. You can only bring an article on Mondays.

Final Paper:

This will be a group project. Each group of three or four students will select a recommended Islamic Movement, party or tariqah (Islamic Orders), which you will analyze within a theoretical framework from this class. The paper will be a research paper and you can use other sources as well, however you should clearly use citations. You will present a draft version of your paper in the Islamic Movements Students Conference at the last week of class, Thursday March 14. This mini-student conference will be open to the public. The final paper is an empirical paper of at least 40 pages in length, Times New Roman font, 12 point, doubled spaced. I must approve your paper topic and plan ahead of time. The final paper proposals are due as MS Word attachments emailed to me by Friday, February 7th. The last day to submit your final paper is Sunday March 17th. All of these papers will be published in the next issue of the Sociology of Islam and Muslim Societies newsletter.

Recommended Islamic Movements and Parties:

- Hezbollah - Lebanon
- Jama'at-e Islami of Pakistan
- Prosperous Justice Party of Indonesia
- Hizb-ut Tahrir
- Islamic Action Front of Jordan
- The Fethullah Gulen Movement of Turkey – Hizmet Movement
- Muslim Brotherhood -- Al---Ikhwan al-Muslimeen
- Hamas - Ḥarakat al--Muqāwamat al--Islāmiyyah
- Nahdatul Ulama of Indonesia
- Renaissance Party of Tunisia (Al- Nahda)
- Justice and Development Party of Morocco
- Justice and Development Party of Turkey (Adalet ve Kalkinma Partisi, AK Parti)
- Islamic Salvation Front of Algeria (Al-Jabhat Al-Islamiyya lil-Inqad, FIS)
- The Tablighi Jamaat
- Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party (Parti Islam Se Malaysia, PAS)
- National Salvation Party of Turkey (Milli Gorus)
 - National Order Party (Milli Nizam Partisi)
 - National Salvation Party (Milli Selamet Partisi)
 - Virtue Party (Fazilet Partisi)
- Nur Movement of Turkey (Said-i Nursi)
- Al-Noor Party - Salafi Movement of Egypt
- The Muslim Brotherhood of Syria

Grades:

Your grade for this course will be based on your performance on the following components, shown with their dates and respective weights:

<u>Item</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Weight (%)</u>
6 Reflection Papers	Every Sunday	60.0
Final Paper		20.0
Attendance		4.0
Class Participation		4.0
Newspaper Articles		4.0
Weekly Presentation		8.0

The grading system in this class is as follows:

<u>A</u>	<u>95-100</u>
<u>A-</u>	<u>90-94</u>
<u>B+</u>	<u>86-89</u>
<u>B</u>	<u>85</u>
<u>B-</u>	<u>80-84</u>
<u>C+</u>	<u>76-79</u>
<u>C</u>	<u>75</u>
<u>C-</u>	<u>70-74</u>
<u>D+</u>	<u>66-69</u>
<u>D</u>	<u>65</u>
<u>D-</u>	<u>60-64</u>
<u>F</u>	<u>(Failure)</u>

6. Course Overview:

First Week:

- A Brief Introduction to the Course and Overview of the Syllabus
- What is an Islamic Movement and party?
- "The America I Have Seen": In the Scale of Human Values (1951) By Sayyid Qutb
- Islam Brochure: Introduction to Islam *you should read this brochure by Wednesday*
- The Power of Nightmares: Part I: Baby It's Cold Outside
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/3755686.stm>

Second Week:

- Enjoining Right and Forbidding Wrong - By Ibn Taimia
- Review of Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani, Muhammad Abduh, Said Nursi and Rashid Rida
- Chapter-1 On the Nature of Salafi Thought and Action (Global Salafism)
- 1. Partially Political Movements in Semiauthoritarian Systems (Brown)

Third Week:

- Between Yesterday and Today by Hasan Al-Banna
- Milestone by Sayyid Qutb
- Chapter-8 Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong as a Principle of Social Action (Global Salafism)
- Islamic Mobilization: Social Movement Theory and the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood Ziad Munson
- 2. Running to Lose? Elections, Authoritarianism, and Islamist Movements (Brown)

Fourth Week:

- Islamic Way of Life by Syed Abul A'ala Mawdudi
- Chapter-5 Salafism in Pakistan (Global Salafism)
- Mawdudi and the Transformation of Jama'at-e-Islami in Pakistan by Abdul Rashid Moten
- Islamic Revivalism: The Case of the Tablighi Jamaat by Jan Ali
- 3. Beyond Analogy Mongering: Ideological Movements and the Debate over the Primacy of Politics (Brown)
- The Power of Nightmares: Part II: The Phantom Victory
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/3755686.stm>

Fifth Week:

- NATO'S Islamists: Hegemony and Americanization in Turkey Cihan Tugal -
<http://newleftreview.org/?view=2657>
- Fethullah Gulen's Grand Ambition Turkey's Islamist Danger by Rachel Sharon-Krespin - <http://www.meforum.org/2045/fethullah-gulens-grand-ambition>
- Justice and Development Party at the Helm: Resurgence of Islam or Restitution of the Right-of-Center Predominant Party? by Ersin Kalaycioglu
- 4. The Model and the Mother Movement (Brown)
- The Power of Nightmares: Part III: The Shadows in the Cave
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/3755686.stm>

Sixth Week:

- Hezbollah: A Short History by Augustus Richard Norton
- Hizbullah and the Theory of Social Movement by Mohammed Bamyeh
- Chapter-16 The Islamist Movement in Syria (The Sociology of Islam)
- 5. The Model in Practice in Four Semiauthoritarian Settings (Brown)
- Introduction and Secularism in Pakistan: A Failed Experiment? (Secularizing Islamists)

Seventh Week:

- Hamas: A Beginner's Guide by Khaled Hroub
- Hamas as Social Movement by Glenn Robinson
- Chapter-9 Salafi Formation in Palestine (Global Salafism)
- 6. Can Islamists Party? Political Participation and Organizational Change (Brown)
- The Islamic Salvation Front in Algeria
- One - Colonial Secularism and Islamism in North India: A Relationship of Creativity? (Secularizing Islamists)

Eighth Week:

- Political Dimensions of Religious Conflict in Malaysia Abdul Fauzi Abdul Hamid
- Chapter-7 Ambivalent Doctrines and Conflicts in the Salafi Movement (Global Salafism)
- 7. Ideological Change: Flirtation and Commitment (Brown)
- Indonesia, Islam, and the Prospect for Democracy by Mark R. Woodward
- Two - Jama'at-e-Islami Pakistan: Learning from the Opposition (Secularizing Islamists)

Ninth Week:

- Chapter-2 Between Revolution and Apoliticism (Global Salafism)
- Chapter-6 Salafi Critique of Islamism (Global Salafism)
- Chapter-13 The Local and the Global in Saudi Salafi Discourse (Global Salafism)
- Chapter-14 How Transnational is Salafism in Yemen? (Global Salafism)
- Chapter-15 Growth and Fragmentation (Global Salafism)
- Three - Competition among Allies: JD and JI in Urban Lahore (Secularizing Islamists)
- 8. Arab Politics and Societies as They Might Be (Brown)

Tenth Week:

- Four - Harbingers of Change? Women in Islamist Parties (Secularizing Islamists)
- Conclusion: Islamists and Secularizing *and* Liberal? (Secularizing Islamists)
- Jihad vs. McWorld, Benjamin R. Barber, The Atlantic Online | March 1992 - <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1992/03/jihad-vs-mcworld/3882/>
- 9. Islamist Parties and Arab Political Systems as They Are (Brown)