



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH  
School of Social  
& Political Science  
2018 - 2019

# Political Islam

PLIT10089

Semester 1, Year 3

Course convenor: Dr Ewan Stein

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Chrystal Macmillan Building, Room 4.27

Guidance & Feedback Hours: Tuesdays 2.00 – 4.00

## Location

Lectures: Thursdays 10:00 – 11:00

Room:

Appleton Tower, 2.12 (WEEK 1)

South College Street, Newhaven Lecture Theatre (WEEK 2 – 11)

## Course tutors:

Wassim Mroue: [email tbc](#)

## Course secretary Team

Email: [spsUTO.team1@ed.ac.uk](mailto:spsUTO.team1@ed.ac.uk)

Chrystal MacMillan Building  
Undergraduate Teaching Office

## Assessment Deadlines

- Tutorial Participation: Throughout
  - Short essay: 12 noon TBC
  - Long essay: 12 noon TBC

## **Aims and Objectives**

The rise of political Islam across the Middle East, and beyond, has been one of the most consequential developments in regional politics for at least the last 40 years. In recent years violent Islamism, such as that of the Islamic State, has grabbed the headlines, but political Islam is a diverse and multifaceted phenomenon, most of whose adherents do not pursue violent strategies. This course examines political Islam, or 'Islamism', as a complex and contested political phenomenon. It provides a historical background to some of Islamism's most important manifestations in the Middle East before focussing on more contemporary developments and dynamics.

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## Learning Outcomes

By the end of the course, the students should have a clear understanding of the main trends of political Islam in the modern Middle East in relation to themes such as neoliberalism, democracy, revolution, resistance and civil war. They should be able to apply theoretical tools where appropriate and critically assess diverse scholarly approaches to the subject of political Islam.

## Teaching Methods

The course involves one weekly lecture and a tutorial (starting in week 2). Attendance at tutorials is mandatory and students are expected to have completed all required readings in advance in order to participate in the discussion. A vast literature on political Islam, as well as on the politics and history of the Middle East, exists and students are strongly encouraged to supplement the required readings with their own research in order to gain a more thorough appreciation of Islamism's political and historical contexts.

## Assessment

Students will be assessed by:

Assessment	Word count limit <b>Do not exceed the word limit or penalties will be applied</b>	Weighting	Submission date	Return of feedback
<b>Tutorial participation</b>	N/A	10%	N/A	End of semester
<b>Short Essay</b>	1500 words max (excluding bibliography)	30%	<b>TBD</b>	<b>TBD</b>
<b>Long Essay</b>	3000 words max (excluding bibliography)*	60%	<b>TBD</b> (all coursework is due at 12 noon on the date of submission)	<b>TBD</b>

**Note:** All coursework is submitted electronically through ELMA. Please read the School Policies and Coursework Submission Procedures which you will find [here](#).

### **Short Essay**

Students will prepare a written (up to 1500 words) review of **one** of the required readings for the course. The review should be based on a close reading of the text itself as well as other work dealing with the same issue or topic. Students are advised to consult other required readings and recommended readings as well as pursue their own independent research. The review should contain the following components:

1. A summary of the author's central argument(s) and findings.
2. Critical discussion of the theoretical and/or methodological underpinnings of the text. Be aware that often theory is 'implicit'!
3. Evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses of the author's argument in relation to others and the implication of the theoretical and methodological assumptions for the author's findings.
4. Identification of any dimensions of the subject the author neglects.
5. Reflection on the contemporary relevance or applicability of the text. Has it been overtaken by events? Become obsolete?

### **Long Essay Questions**

Please choose one of the questions below for your essay.

1. Islamism is an anachronistic political phenomenon out of touch with the modern world. Would you agree?
2. How did historical context shape the ideas of EITHER Hasan al-Banna OR Aboul Ala al-Mawdudi OR Sayyid Qutb?
3. Has political Islam helped or hindered the spread of neoliberalism in the Middle East?
4. How 'Islamic' is the Islamic Republic of Iran?
5. Why did Hamas and Hizbullah, groups long united in their resistance to Israel, back opposing sides in the Syrian civil war?
6. Political inclusion makes Islamist parties more 'moderate'. Assess the validity of this hypothesis with reference to EITHER Turkey OR Tunisia OR Egypt.
7. What explains the enduring appeal of Salafism AND/OR Jihadism? Illustrate your answer with reference to at least one state in the Middle East.
8. Neither the Syrian nor the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood have been able to consolidate power following uprisings in their respective countries. Is this evidence that political Islam has 'failed'?

## **Assessment Criteria**

The essays will be assessed according to the following criteria:

- Development and coherence of arguments
- Use of supporting evidence.
- Demonstration of an advanced and critical understanding of relevant key debates examined on the course.
- Degree of reflexivity and critical thinking in relation to arguments and evidence
- Drawing together major arguments by way of conclusion in relation to the assignment
- Formal presentation of report: correct referencing and quoting; spelling, grammar and style; layout and visual presentation.

Tutorial participation will be assessed according to the following criteria:

- Attendance
- Participation, including participation in discussion, evidence of having read the week's readings.
- Quality of Contribution, including showing a level of critical thinking and understanding, as well as collegial and productive responses to other people's remarks.

Please refer to the assessment and submission procedure information on our webpages which you will find in [appendix 2](#).

## **Attendance**

Attendance and participation in the lectures and tutorials are essential for developing an understanding of the topics.

## **Communications and Feedback**

You are strongly encouraged to use email for routine communication with lecturers. We shall also use email to communicate with you, e.g., to assign readings for the second hour of each class. All students are provided with email addresses on the university system, if you are not sure of your address, which is based on your matric number, check your EUCLID database entry using the Student Portal.

This is the ONLY email address we shall use to communicate with you. Please note that we will NOT use 'private' email addresses such as yahoo or hotmail; it is therefore essential that you check your university email regularly, preferably each day.

## **Readings and Resource List**

All of the required readings are available electronically via the library website, either as e-books or articles. If you have difficulty accessing them please alert the course organiser. You will also find a wealth of readings online. The latter should be treated with caution and used critically. One goal of the course is to enable students to evaluate often highly polemical reportage, and scholarship, on the topic of political Islam. Readings should always be subjected to critical analysis and not used as straightforward sources of facts. This applies to tutorial discussions and essays. The best way to develop critical insight is to read widely on a topic to gain an appreciation of the variety of perspectives available. Almost all aspects of Islamism are hotly debated and the course does not aspire to provide the 'right' answer to the manifold questions raised. Many viewpoints and interpretations are valid, so long as they are backed up by critically evaluated sources.

## Lecture Summary

Week	Day	Date	Lecture
1	Thursday	20 September	<b>Introduction to Political Islam</b>
2	Thursday	27 September	<b>The Emergence of Political Islam</b>
3	Thursday	4 October	<b>Islamism, Economy and Society</b>
4	Thursday	11 October	<b>Revolutionary Iran</b>
5	Thursday	18 October	<b>Between Armed Struggle and Political Action</b>
6	Thursday	27 October	<b>Islamism and Democracy</b>
7	Thursday	1 November	<b>Trajectories of Salafism and Jihadism</b>
8	Thursday	8 November	<b>The Rise and Fall of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood</b>
9	Thursday	15 November	<b>Islamism and the Syrian Civil War</b>
10	Thursday	22 November	<b>Islamism and the New Middle East</b>
	Reading Week & Office Drop-in Session (re: exam prep)		

# Course Lectures and Readings

## 1. Introduction to Political Islam

### **Required readings**

March, Andrew F. 2015. "Political Islam: Theory." *Annual Review of Political Science* 18 (1): 103–23.

### **Additional readings (general texts on political Islam)**

"Evolving Methodologies in the Study of Islamism." POMEPS Studies. Islam in a Changing Middle East. POMEPS, March 7, 2016.

Arat-Koç, Sedef. "Dance of Orientalisms and Waves of Catastrophes: Culturalism and Pragmatism in Imperial Approaches to Islam and the Middle East." *Third World Quarterly* 35(9): 1656–71, 2014.

Ayoob, Mohammed. *The Many Faces of Political Islam: Religion and Politics in the Muslim World*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009.

Ayoob, Mohammed. "Challenging Hegemony: Political Islam and the North-South Divide." *International Studies Review* 9(4): 629–43, 2007.

Ayubi, Nazih N. M. *Political Islam: religion and politics in the Arab world*. Abingdon: Routledge, 1991.

Bayat, Asef. *Post-Islamism the Many Faces of Political Islam*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Browers, Michaëlle L. "Islamic Political Ideologies." In Michael Freeden and Marc Stears (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Political Ideologies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Burgat, Francois, 'From national struggle to the disillusionments of "recolonization": the triple temporality of Islamism.' in Volpi, Frederic. *Political Islam: A Critical Reader*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010.

Burgat, François. *Face to Face with Political Islam*. London: I.B.Tauris, 2003.

Davis, E. 'The Concept of Revival and the Study of Islam and Politics'. In *The Islamic Impulse*, (ed. B.F. Stowasser). London: Croom Helm in association with Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, Georgetown University, 1987.

Denoeux, Guilain. 'The Forgotten Swamp: Navigating Political Islam.' *Middle East Policy* 9(2): 56–81, 2002. Also in Volpi, *Critical Reader*.

Eickelman, Dale F. and James P. Piscatori. *Muslim Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.

Halliday, Fred. *Islam and the myth of confrontation: religion and politics in the Middle East*. London: I.B.Tauris, 2003.

Hroub, Khaled (ed.) *Political Islam: Context Versus Ideology*. SOAS Middle East Issues. London: Saqi in association with London Middle East Institute, SOAS, 2010.

Ismail, Salwa. *Rethinking Islamist Politics: Culture, the State and Islamism*. I.B.Tauris, 2006.

Mamdani, Mahmood, "Good Muslim, bad Muslim: A political perspective on Culture and Terrorism' in Volpi, Frederic (ed.) *Political Islam: A Critical Reader*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010.

Mandaville, Peter. *Global Political Islam*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2007.

Roundtable: 'How do scholars study Islamist movements and how should we be studying them?', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. 43(1): 133-146, Feb. 2011.



- “Roundtable on The Future of Islamism: A Starting Point.” *Jadaliyya*. <http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/15112/roundtable-on-the-future-of-islamism-a-starting-po>.
- Roy, Olivier. *The Failure of Political Islam*. London: I.B. Tauris, 1994.
- Sadowski, Yahya. ‘Political Islam: Asking the Wrong Questions?’ *Annual Review of Political Science* 9(1): 215–240, 2006.
- Stein, Ewan. “Studying Islamism after the Arab Spring.” *Mediterranean Politics* 19(1): 149–52, 2014.
- Tibi, Bassam. ‘Political Islam as a Forum of Religious Fundamentalism and the Religionisation of Politics: Islamism and the Quest for a Remaking of the World’. *Totalitarian Movements & Political Religions* 10, no. 2 (June 2009): 97–120.
- Tibi, Bassam. *Islam in Global Politics: Conflict and Cross-Civilizational Bridging*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2012.
- Volpi, Frédéric. *Political Islam Observed: Disciplinary Perspectives*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2010.
- Volpi, Frédéric, and Ewan Stein. “Islamism and the State after the Arab Uprisings: Between People Power and State Power.” *Democratization* 22(2): 276–93, 2015.
- Wictorowicz, Quintan, “A genealogy of radical Islam” in Volpi, Frederic (ed.) *Political Islam: A Critical Reader*. Abindgon: Routledge, 2010.

## 2. The Emergence of Political Islam

### **Required readings**

- Brooke, Steven, and Neil Ketchley. 2018. “Social and Institutional Origins of Political Islam.” *The American Political Science Review* 112 (2): 376–94.
- Enayat, Hamid. *Modern Islamic Political Thought*. London: I.B.Tauris, 2005.  
Chapters 3 and 4

### **Additional readings**

- Esposito, John L., and John Obert Voll. *Makers Of Contemporary Islam*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Hourani, Albert H. *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798-1939*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962.
- Kepel, Gilles. *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam*. Revised edition. London: I.B. Tauris, 2006.
- Lia, Brynjar. *The Society of the Muslim Brothers in Egypt: the Rise of an Islamic Mass Movement 1928-1942*. Reading: Garnet, 1998.
- Mitchell, Richard P. *The Society of the Muslim Brothers*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Mura, Andrea. “A Genealogical Inquiry into Early Islamism: The Discourse of Hasan Al-Banna.” *Journal of Political Ideologies* 17(1): 61–85, 2012.
- Musallam, Adnan. *From Secularism to Jihad: Sayyid Qutb and the Foundations of Radical Islamism*. London: Praeger, 2005.
- Nasr, S.V.R. *Mawdudi and the Making of Islamic Revivalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Qutb, Sayyid. *Milestones*. Also translated as *Signposts on the Road*. Widely available online.
- Teitelbaum, Joshua. “The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria, 1945-1958: Founding, Social Origins, Ideology.” *Middle East Journal* 65(2): 213-233, 2011.
- Zollner, Barbara. “Prison Talk: The Muslim Brotherhood’s Internal Struggle During Gamal

Abdel Nasser's Persecution, 1954 to 1971." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 39(3): 411-433, 2007.

### 3. Islamism, Economy and Society

#### **Required Readings**

- Batatu, Hanna. "Syria's Muslim Brethren." *MERIP Reports*, no. 110: 12–36, 1982.
- Clark, Janine. "Social Movement Theory and Patron-Clientelism Islamic Social Institutions and the Middle Class in Egypt, Jordan, and Yemen." *Comparative Political Studies* 37 (8): 941–68, 2004.
- Sobhy, Hania. "Secular Façade, Neoliberal Islamisation: Textbook Nationalism from Mubarak to Sisi." *Nations and Nationalism* 21(4): 805–24, 2015.

#### **Additional Readings**

- Amin, Samir. "An Arab Springtime?" *Monthly Review: An Independent Socialist Magazine* 63 (5): 8–28, 2011.
- Azm, Sadiq Jalal. "Arab Nationalism, Islamism and the Arab Uprising." Transcript from London School of Economics Middle East Centre, 2011. <http://www2.lse.ac.uk/publicEvents/events/2011/20111130t1830vNT.aspx>.
- Baker, Raymond William. *Islam Without Fear: Egypt and the New Islamists*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006.
- Clark, Janine and Jillian Schwedler. "Who Opened the Window? Women's Activism in Islamist Parties." *Comparative Politics* 35(3): 293–312, 2003.
- Dalacoura, Katerina. "Islamism and Neoliberalism in the Aftermath of the 2011 Arab Uprisings: The Freedom and Justice Party in Egypt and Nahda in Tunisia." In Akçali, E. (ed.) *Neoliberal Governmentality and the Future of the State in the Middle East and North Africa*, 61–83. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
- Deeb, Lara. *An Enchanted Modern: Gender and Public Piety in Shi'i Lebanon*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006.
- Gole, Nilufer. "Islam in public: new visibilities and new imaginaries" in Volpi, Frederic. (ed.) *Political Islam: A Critical Reader*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010.
- Haddad, Yvonne Yazbeck, and John L. Esposito. *Islam, Gender, & Social Change*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Hatem, Mervat. "Gender and Islamism in the 1990s." *Middle East Report*, 222: 44–47, 2002.
- el-Husseini, Rola. "Is Gender the Barrier to Democracy? Women, Islamism, and the 'Arab Spring.'" *Contemporary Islam* 10(1): 53–66, 2016.
- Ilias, M. H. *Beyond Feminism and Islamism: Gender and Equality in North Africa*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2015.
- Kepel, Gilles. *The Prophet and Pharaoh: Muslim Extremism in Contemporary Egypt*. London: Al Saqi Books, 1985.
- El-Mahdi, Rabab. "Does Political Islam Impede Gender-Based Mobilization? The Case of Egypt." *Totalitarian Movements & Political Religions* 11(3/4): 379–96, 2010.
- Mahmood, Saba. 2005. *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Meneley, Anne. "Fashions and fundamentalisms in fin de siècle Yemen: Chador Barbie and Islamic Socks." *Cultural Anthropology* 22(2): 214-243, 2007.
- Moghadam, Valentine M. *Modernizing Women: Gender and Social Change in the Middle East*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2003

- Salh, Zahia Smail. *Gender and Violence in Islamic Societies: Patriarchy, Islamism and Politics in the Middle East and North Africa*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2013.
- Wickham, Carrie. *Mobilizing Islam: Religion, Activism, and Political Change in Egypt*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.
- Ziba. Mir-Hosseini. *Islam and Gender: The Religious Debate in Contemporary Iran*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2000.

#### 4. The Iranian Revolution

##### **Required readings**

- Matin, Kamran. 2013. "International Relations in the Making of Political Islam: Interrogating Khomeini's 'Islamic Government.'" *Journal of International Relations and Development* 16 (4): 455–82.
- Milani, Abbas, 'Iran's Paradoxical Regime', *Journal of Democracy*, 26, 52

##### **Additional readings**

- Abrahamian, Ervand. "Khomeini: Fundamentalist or Populist." *New Left Review*, 186: 102–119, 1991.
- Abrahamian, Ervand. *Khomeinism: Essays on the Islamic Republic*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
- Abrahamian, Ervand. "The 1953 Coup in Iran." *Science & Society* 65(2): 182–215, 2001.
- Dabashi, Hamid. *Theology of Discontent: The Ideological Foundation of the Islamic Revolution in Iran*. Piscataway: Transaction Publishers, 2006.
- Ehteshami, Anoushiravan and Mahjoob Zweiri (eds.) *Iran's Foreign Policy: From Khatami to Ahmadinejad*. Reading: Ithaca Press, 2008.
- Ehteshami, Anoushiravan. "Iran's Foreign Policy after the Election of Hassan Rouhani." *Global Policy*, 2014.  
<https://www.globalpolicyjournal.com/blog/08/01/2014/iran%E2%80%99s-foreign-policy-after-election-hassan-rouhani>.
- Esposito, John L (ed.) *The Iranian Revolution: Its Global Impact*. Madison: International University Press, 1990.
- Halliday, Fred. *Iran: Dictatorship and Development*. London: Penguin Books, 1979.
- Hunter, Shireen T. 'Iran and the Spread of Revolutionary Islam'. *Third World Quarterly* 10(2): 730–749, 1988.
- Karabell, Zachary. "Fundamental Misconceptions: Islamic Foreign Policy." *Foreign Policy*, 105(96): 77, 1996.
- Karasipahi, Sena. "Comparing Islamic Resurgence Movements in Turkey and Iran." *The Middle East Journal* 63 (1): 87–107, 2009.
- Kazemzadeh, Masoud. "Ayatollah Khamenei's Foreign Policy Orientation." *Comparative Strategy* 32(5): 443–58, 2013.
- Keddie, Nikki R., and Yann Richard. *Modern Iran: roots and results of revolution*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.
- Khomeini, Ruhollah. 'Khomeini: "We Shall Confront the World with Our Ideology."' *MERIP Reports* no. 88: 22–25, 1980.
- Moaddel, Mansoor. "The Social Bases and Discursive Context of the Rise of Islamic Fundamentalism: The Cases of Iran and Syria." *Sociological Inquiry* 66(3): 330-355, 1996.
- Monshipouri, M, and M Dorraj. "Iran's Foreign Policy: A Shifting Strategic Landscape." *Middle East Policy* 20 (4): 133–47, 2013.

- Moshaver, Ziba. "Revolution, Theocratic Leadership and Iran's Foreign Policy: Implications for Iran--EU Relations." *Review of International Affairs* 3 (2): 283–305, 2003.
- Mottahedeh, Roy. *The Mantle of the Prophet: Religion and Politics in Iran*. London: Oneworld, 2000.
- Rakel, Eva Patricia. "Iranian Foreign Policy since the Iranian Islamic Revolution: 1979-2006." *Perspectives on Global Development & Technology* 6 (1-3): 159–87, 2007.
- Rieffer-Flanagan, Barbara Ann. "Islamic Realpolitik: Two-Level Iranian Foreign Policy." *International Journal on World Peace* 26 (4): 7–35, 2009.
- Salamey, Imad and Zanoubia Othman, 'Shia Revival and Welayat Al-Faqih in the Making of Iranian Foreign Policy.' *Politics, Religion & Ideology* 12: 197–212, 2011.
- Zubaida, Sami. *Islam, the People and the State: Political Ideas and Movements in the Middle East*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2009.

## 5. Between Armed Struggle and Political Action

### **Required readings**

- Daher, Joseph. "Reassessing Hizbullah's Socioeconomic Policies in Lebanon." *The Middle East Journal* 70 (3): 399–418, 2016.
- Gunning, Jeroen. *Hamas in Politics: Democracy, Religion, Violence*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2009. Chapter 3
- El Hussein, Rola. 'Hezbollah and the Axis of Refusal: Hamas, Iran and Syria'. *Third World Quarterly* 31(5): 803–815, 2010.

### **Recommended readings**

- Akbarzadeh, Shahram. "Why Does Iran Need Hizbullah?" *The Muslim World* 106 (1): 127–40, 2016.
- Alagha, Joseph. *Hizbullah's Documents: From the 1985 Manifesto to the 2009 Manifesto*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010.
- Baconi, Tareq. "The Demise of Oslo and Hamas's Political Engagement." *Conflict, Security & Development* 15 (5): 503–20, 2015.
- Berti, Benedetta, and Beatriz Gutiérrez. "Rebel-to-Political and Back? Hamas as a Security Provider in Gaza between Rebellion, Politics and Governance." *Democratization* 23 (6): 1059–76, 2016.
- Chehab, Zaki. 2007a. *Inside Hamas: The Untold Story of Militants, Martyrs and Spies*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2007.
- . 2007b. *Inside Hamas: The Untold Story of the Militant Islamic Movement*. New York: Nation Books.
- Gleis, Joshua and Benedetta Berti. *Hezbollah and Hamas: A Comparative Study*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013.
- Hamzeh, Nizar. "Lebanon's Hizbullah: from Islamic revolution to parliamentary accommodation." *Third World Quarterly* 14(2): 321–337, 1993.
- El-Hokayem, Emile. "Hizbullah and Syria: Outgrowing the Proxy Relationship." *The Washington Quarterly* 30 (2): 35–52, 2007.
- Hourani, Najib B. "Lebanon: Hybrid Sovereignties and U.S. Foreign Policy." *Middle East Policy* 20 (1): 39–55, 2013.
- Hurūb, Khālid. *Hamas: A Beginner's Guide*. London: Pluto Press, 2006.
- Khatib, Lina. 2011. "Hizbullah's Political Strategy." *Survival* 53 (2): 61–76.
- Koss, Maren. n.d. "Flexible Resistance: How Hezbollah and Hamas Are Mending Ties." Carnegie Middle East Center. Accessed August 12, 2018. <https://carnegie->

[mec.org/2018/07/11/flexible-resistance-how-hezbollah-and-hamas-are-mending-ties-pub-76782](http://mec.org/2018/07/11/flexible-resistance-how-hezbollah-and-hamas-are-mending-ties-pub-76782).

- Norton, AR. "Hizbollah of Lebanon: Extremist Ideals versus Mundane Politics." New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1999. <http://www.cfr.org/religion/hizballah-lebanon-extremist-ideals-vs-mundane-politics-paper-muslim-politics-project/p8612>
- Levitt, Matthew. *Hamas: Politics, Charity, and Terrorism in the Service of Jihad*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.
- Milton-Edwards, Beverley. "Hamas and the Arab Spring: Strategic Shifts?" *Middle East Policy* 20 (3): 60–72, 2013.
- Milton-Edwards, Beverley, and Stephen Farrell. *Hamas: The Islamic Resistance Movement*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010.
- Mishal, Shaul, and Avraham Sela. *The Palestinian Hamas: Vision, Violence, and Coexistence*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006.
- Rougier, Bernard. *Everyday Jihad: The Rise of Militant Islam among Palestinians in Lebanon*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008.
- Roy, Sara. *Hamas and Civil Society in Gaza: Engaging the Islamist Social Sector*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011.
- Sadiki, Larbi. "Reframing Resistance and Democracy: Narratives from Hamas and Hizbullah." *Democratization* 17 (2): 350–76, 2010.
- Schanzer, Jonathan. *Hamas vs. Fatah: The Struggle For Palestine*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.
- Tamimi, Azzam. *Hamas: A History from within*. Northampton: Olive Branch, 2011.
- Tuastad, Dag. "Hamas-PLO Relations Before and After the Arab Spring." *Middle East Policy* 20 (3): 86-93, 2013.
- Qassem, Naim. *Hizbullah: The Story from Within*. London: Saqi Books, 2009.
- Saad-Ghorayeb, Amal. *Hizbu'llah: Politics and Religion*. London: Pluto Press, 2001.
- Saouli, Adham. "Hizbullah in the Civilising Process: Anarchy, Self-Restraint and Violence." *Third World Quarterly* 32 (5): 925–42, 2011.

## 6. Islamism and Democracy

### **Required Readings**

- Cavatorta, Francesco, and Fabio Merone. "Moderation through Exclusion? The Journey of the Tunisian Ennahda from Fundamentalist to Conservative Party." *Democratization* 20 (5): 857–75, 2013.
- Çınar, Menderes. 2018. "From Moderation to De-Moderation: Democratic Backsliding of the AKP in Turkey." In *The Politics of Islamism*, John L. Esposito, Lily Zubaidah Rahim and Naser Ghobadzadeh (eds.), 127–57. Cham: Springer International Publishing.

### **Recommended Readings**

- Abou El Fadl, Khaled. *Islam and the Challenge of Democracy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004. (Read the original essay; responses are optional)
- Albrecht, Holger. 'How Can Opposition Support Authoritarianism? Lessons from Egypt.' *Democratization* 12(3): 378–397, 2005.
- Atasoy Yildiz. *Islam's Marriage With Neoliberalism: State Transformation In Turkey*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Bayat, Asef. *Making Islam democratic: social movements and the post-Islamist turn*. Stanford University Press, 2007.



- Brown, Nathan. "A Struggle for Power: Islamism and Democracy." *The Middle East Journal* 69(3): 463–67, 2015.
- Cavatorta, Francesco, and Fabio Merone. "Moderation through Exclusion? The Journey of the Tunisian Ennahda from Fundamentalist to Conservative Party." *Democratization* 20 (5): 857–875, 2013.
- Çınar, Alev. "The Justice and Development Party: Turkey's Experience with Islam, Democracy, Liberalism and Secularism." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 43(3): 529–541, 2011.
- Coşar, Simten, and Aylin Özman, 'Centre-Right Politics in Turkey after the November 2002 General Election: Neo-Liberalism with a Muslim Face.' *Contemporary Politics*, 10: 57–74, 2004.
- Dalacoura, Katerina. 2011. *Islamist Terrorism and Democracy in the Middle East*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Eligür, Banu. *The Mobilization of Political Islam In Turkey*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Ennis, Crystal A., and Bessma Momani. 2013. "Shaping the Middle East in the Midst of the Arab Uprisings: Turkish and Saudi Foreign Policy Strategies." *Third World Quarterly* 34 (6): 1127–44.
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- Ghanem, As'ad, and Mohanad Mustafa. "Strategies of electoral participation by Islamic movements: the Muslim Brotherhood and parliamentary elections in Egypt and Jordan, November 2010." *Contemporary Politics* 17(4): 393-409, 2011.
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## 8. The rise and fall of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood

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## 10. Islamism and the New Middle East

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TBD

### **Additional Readings**

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## **Appendix 1 – General Information**

### **Students with Disabilities**

The School welcomes disabled students with disabilities (including those with specific learning difficulties such as dyslexia) and is working to make all its courses as accessible as possible. If you have a disability special needs which means that you may require adjustments to be made to ensure access to lectures, tutorials or exams, or any other aspect of your studies, you can discuss these with your Student Support Officer or Personal Tutor who will advise on the appropriate procedures.

You can also contact the Student Disability Service, based on the University of Edinburgh, Third Floor, Main Library, You can find their details as well as information on all of the support they can offer at: <http://www.ed.ac.uk/student-disability-service>

### **Learning Resources for Undergraduates**

The Study Development Team at the Institute for Academic Development (IAD) provides resources and workshops aimed at helping all students to enhance their learning skills and develop effective study techniques. Resources and workshops cover a range of topics, such as managing your own learning, reading, note-making, essay and report writing, exam preparation and exam techniques.

The study development resources are housed on 'LearnBetter' (undergraduate), part of Learn, the University's virtual learning environment. Follow the link from the IAD Study Development web page to enrol: [www.ed.ac.uk/iad/undergraduates](http://www.ed.ac.uk/iad/undergraduates)

Workshops are interactive: they will give you the chance to take part in activities, have discussions, exchange strategies, share ideas and ask questions. They are 90 minutes long and held on Wednesday afternoons at 1.30pm or 3.30pm. The schedule is available from the IAD Undergraduate web page (see above).

Workshops are open to all undergraduates but you need to book in advance, using the MyEd booking system. Each workshop opens for booking two weeks before the date of the workshop itself. If you book and then cannot attend, please cancel in advance through MyEd so that another student can have your place. (To be fair to all students, anyone who persistently books on workshops and fails to attend may be barred from signing up for future events).

Study Development Advisors are also available for an individual consultation if you have specific questions about your own approach to studying, working more effectively, strategies for improving your learning and your academic work. Please note, however, that Study Development Advisors are not subject specialists so they cannot comment on the content of your work. They also do not check or proof read students' work.

Students can book a study skills consultation <https://www.ed.ac.uk/institute-academic-development/undergraduate/services/quick-consultations>

Academic English support can also be accessed at <https://www.ed.ac.uk/english-language-teaching>



## Discussing Sensitive Topics

The discipline of Political Islam addresses a number of topics that some might find sensitive or, in some cases, distressing. You should read this Course Guide carefully and if there are any topics that you may feel distressed by you should seek advice from the course convenor and/or your Personal Tutor.

For more general issues you may consider seeking the advice of the Student Counselling Service, <http://www.ed.ac.uk/schools-departments/student-counselling>

## Honours Tutorial Allocation

For this course you will have been automatically assigned to a tutorial group and this group will appear on your personalised timetable at the beginning of week 1. This allocation is done using Student Allocator software which randomly assigns you to a suitable tutorial group based on your lecture timetable. It is important you attend the group on your personalised timetable, attending a different group will mean that you will not appear on the register making your attendance difficult to track which could lead to further difficulties for you.

Guidance on how to view your personal timetable can be found at <https://www.ed.ac.uk/student-administration/timetabling/personalised-timetables>

## Requesting a group change

If you are unable to attend the tutorial group you have been assigned, you can request a change via the '[Group Change Request](#)' form.

You can access the Group Change request form via the Timetabling webpages here <https://www.ed.ac.uk/student-administration/timetabling/personalised-timetables>

## Attendance Monitoring

In accordance with the University general degree regulations you are expected to attend all teaching and assessment events associated with all courses that you are enrolled on. The College of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences undertakes routine monitoring of attendance at tutorials and seminars for all students enrolled on courses delivered by Schools within our College. We undertake monitoring of attendance and engagement to enable us to identify where individual students may be experiencing difficulties and to ensure that timely and appropriate intervention can be delivered to provide support and guidance. We also undertake monitoring for sponsored students specifically to meet our obligations to the UKVI. If you miss one or more of your tutorials and/or seminars you may be contacted by your local Student Support Team and be asked to provide an explanation for your absence. All data is gathered and stored in line with the University policies and guidance on data handling and you can view the privacy statement at:

<https://www.ed.ac.uk/student-systems/use-of-data/policies-and-regulations/privacy-statement>

## Appendix 2 - Course Work Submission and Penalties

### Penalties that can be applied to your work and how to avoid them.

Below is a list of penalties that can be applied to your course work and these are listed below. Students **must** read the full description on each of these at:

[http://www.sps.ed.ac.uk/undergrad/current\\_students/teaching\\_and\\_learning/assessment\\_and\\_regulations/coursework\\_penalties](http://www.sps.ed.ac.uk/undergrad/current_students/teaching_and_learning/assessment_and_regulations/coursework_penalties)

Make sure you are aware of each of these penalties and know how to avoid them. Students are responsible for taking the time to read guidance and for ensuring their coursework submissions comply with guidance.

- **Lateness Penalty**

If you miss the submission deadline for any piece of assessed work **5 marks will be deducted for each calendar day that work is late, up to a maximum of seven calendar days (35 marks)**. Thereafter, a mark of zero will be recorded. There is no grace period for lateness and penalties begin to apply immediately following the deadline.

- **Word Count Penalty**

Your course handbook will specify the word length of your assessments. All coursework submitted by students must state the word count on the front page. All courses in the School have a standard penalty for going over the word length; if you are taking courses from other Schools, check with them what their penalties are.

If you go over the word length, you will receive a 5 mark penalty. These 5 marks will be deducted, regardless of how much you have exceeded the word count (whether it is by 5 words or by 500!). In exceptional circumstances, a Course Organizer may decide that, instead of a 5 marks penalty, any text beyond the word limit will be excluded from the assignment and be marked only on the text up to the word limit.

In most cases, appendices and bibliography are not included in the word count whilst in-text references, tables, charts, graphs and footnotes are counted. Make sure you know what is and what is not included in the word count

You will not be penalised for submitting work below the word limit. However, you should note that shorter essays are unlikely to achieve the required depth and that this will be reflected in your mark.



## **ELMA: Submission and Return of Coursework**

Coursework is submitted online using our electronic submission system, ELMA. You will not be required to submit a paper copy of your work.

Marked coursework, grades and feedback will be returned to you via ELMA. You will not receive a paper copy of your marked course work or feedback.

For details of how to submit your course work to ELMA, please see our webpages [here](#).

Please note that all submissions to ELMA should be formatted as a Word document (doc or.docx.). If you are permitted or required to submit in a different format, this will be detailed in your course handbook.

Any submission that is not in word format will be converted by the Undergraduate Teaching Office into word where possible. By submitting in any format other than word, you are accepting this process and the possibility that errors may occur during conversion. The UTO will do everything possible to ensure the integrity of any document converted but to avoid issue, please submit in Word format as requested.

## **Extensions**

If you have good reason for not meeting a coursework deadline, you may request an extension. Before you request an extension, make sure you have read all the guidance on our [webpages](#) and take note of the key points below. You will also be able to access the online extension request form through our [webpages](#).

- Extensions are granted for 7 calendar days.
- If you miss the deadline for requesting an extension for a valid reason, you should submit your coursework as soon as you are able, and apply for Special Circumstances to disregard penalties for late submission. You should also contact your Student Support Officer or Personal Tutor and make them aware of your situation.
- If you have a valid reason and require an extension of more than 7 calendar days, you should submit your coursework as soon as you are able, and apply for Special Circumstances to disregard penalties for late submission. You should also contact your Student Support Officer or Personal Tutor and make them aware of your situation.
- If you have a Learning Profile from the Disability Service allowing you potential for flexibility over deadlines, you must still make an extension request for this to be taken into account.

## Plagiarism Guidance for Students: Avoiding Plagiarism

Material you submit for assessment, such as your essays, must be your own work. You can, and should, draw upon published work, ideas from lectures and class discussions, and (if appropriate) even upon discussions with other students, but you must always make clear that you are doing so. **Passing off anyone else's work** (including another student's work or material from the Web or a published author) **as your own is plagiarism** and will be punished severely.

When you upload your work to ELMA you will be asked to check a box to confirm the work is your own. All submissions will be run through 'Turnitin', our plagiarism detection software. Turnitin compares every essay against a constantly-updated database, which highlights all plagiarised work. Assessed work that contains plagiarised material will be awarded a mark of zero, and serious cases of plagiarism will also be reported to the College Academic Misconduct officer. In either case, the actions taken will be noted permanently on the student's record. **For further details on plagiarism see the Academic Services' website:**

<http://www.ed.ac.uk/schools-departments/academic-services/students/undergraduate/discipline/plagiarism>

## Data Protection Guidance for Students

In most circumstances, students are responsible for ensuring that their work with information about living, identifiable individuals complies with the requirements of the Data Protection Act. The document, *Personal Data Processed by Students*, provides an explanation of why this is the case. It can be found, with advice on data protection compliance and ethical best practice in the handling of information about living, identifiable individuals, on the Records Management section of the University website at:

<https://www.ed.ac.uk/records-management/guidance/data-protection/dpforstudents>