



Module Code: 6SSPP317
Teaching Period: Term 1
Level: 6
Credit Value: 15

POLITICAL ISLAM

MODULE CONVENER INFORMATION

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MODULE DESCRIPTION AND AIMS

This module introduces students to key debates about the nature and characteristics of “political Islam”. While grounded in a political science approach, it draws on a variety of other disciplines (including history, anthropology, sociology, religious studies and international relations) to provide a diverse set of analytical tools for making sense of this complex and multifaceted phenomenon. The course is structured around a set of themes which are central to understanding the relationship between Islam and contemporary politics. The choice of themes takes in debates about the role of Islam in regard to the state, political ideology, popular political activism, and political violence. At the same time, the chosen themes also account for the ways in which Islam may be implicated in politics as it plays out in other dimensions of social life, including gender relations, the market and identity construction. Along the way, the course will examine key Islamist movements and currents, and students will be invited to engage directly with works authored by influential Islamist thinkers of recent decades. The course concludes by considering possible future trajectories of political Islam, at a moment in history which has seen some influential social scientists insisting that Islamism is essentially a spent project even as a self-declared Islamic State came to rule territory spanning Syria and Iraq. The module rejects simplistic readings of political Islam, instead seeking to open up critical questions about the diverse, complex and shifting ways in which Islam may intersect with politics in today’s world.

Using comparative contextual analysis this course explores the nature and characteristics of political Islam, with particular reference to the contemporary Middle East. Specifically, the module is designed to:

- help students obtain a critical awareness of diverse approaches to the study of the relationship between Islam and politics
- provide students with the ability to critically differentiate between variant ideological currents of Islamist thought and to situate them within contemporary intellectual debates and political contexts
- provide in-depth historical analysis of key Sunni and Shi'i Islamist movements
- situate these case studies within broader scholarly debates over jihad, *takfir*, revolution, international terrorism, Western interventionism, political participation and democratization
- examine and explore the relationship between Islamist ideology and the state in comparative perspective, analysing state building failures and challenges to the state by Islamist movements
- provide students with the intellectual tools to address the theoretical discourse pertinent to academic debates concerning Islamism, violence and political power
- continue to develop the student's analytical, research and writing capacities
- give students the opportunity to develop oral skills through class participation, group work and presentations

LEARNING OUTCOMES

By the end of the module, students should be able to demonstrate transferable intellectual and practicable skills appropriate to a level 6 module and in particular will be able to:

- critically assess the major scholarly debates concerning contemporary political Islam in its militant and non-militant forms
- apply rigorous theory to comparative case studies of political Islam
- develop a capacity to ask relevant, substantive and probing questions of political Islam in relation to the state, regional politics, and Western policy and interventionism
- develop and strengthen a range of relevant skills – including empirical and normative research abilities, the capacity to engage critically with primary sources, and analytical and written skills – through the discussion and presentation of original work

- demonstrate a capacity to form opinions through comparative analysis and discourse analysis regarding Islamism

MODES OF TEACHING, LEARNING & COMMUNICATION

The course is taught in the form of a one-hour weekly lecture and a one-hour weekly seminar. Attendance at both is compulsory. You are expected to have engaged thoroughly with all of the required readings, and to have reflected critically on their content, in advance of each seminar and to contribute to group discussion.

Please check your personal timetable to see which seminar group you are scheduled to attend.

KEATS is an essential repository for this course. On KEATS you will find a copy of the module syllabus, required readings for the seminars, some further readings and resources that may be useful for essays or seminars, a section for announcements and a class discussion board. Departmental communication will be via email, so please check your King's inbox regularly.

The module convener and GTAs will be glad to meet with you individually during our office hours to offer advice on preparing essays, to give feedback on your marked essays, or to discuss any other issues relating to the module.

READINGS

Required readings will be posted on KEATS. If you have any difficulty accessing ebooks or other online readings, please contact me immediately – broken links are not a valid excuse for not having done the reading if you haven't been in touch to seek a solution!

None of the readings included in this syllabus are beyond criticism and none should be taken as offering unassailable truths about the history and politics of Islamism; rather, they offer perspectives and arguments which you can and should approach with a critical eye. Throughout the course, you are expected to actively question and critique the premises, evidence, arguments and conclusions that you find in the scholarly literature. You are advised to refer to the "Critical Reading Checklist" posted on KEATS as a framework for drawing up your own list of questions and critiques in relation to each item on the required reading list, in order to help you to actively steer seminar discussions. Students are also encouraged to read widely, using the further readings and other materials.

I appreciate that most of you will be studying political Islam – and indeed, any topic relating to Islam – for the first time. This isn't a problem; the module is designed to cater to students in exactly this position, whilst also providing opportunities for those who do have some background knowledge

to develop their thinking further. However, if you would like to expand your background knowledge of Islam and political Islam, the following works offer useful ways into the subject:

- Ruthven, Malise. *Islam: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford Paperbacks, 2000. (an accessible introduction to key themes in the study of Islam; note that this is not an academic work and is not suitable for citing in essays)
- Mandaville, Peter. *Global Political Islam*. London: Routledge, 2007. (an accessible, textbook-style overview of key themes in the study of political Islam)
- Volpi, Frédéric. *Political Islam Observed*. London: Hurst and Co., 2010. (a valuable account of the diverse ways in which social scientists have approached the study of political Islam, and how these approaches have evolved in recent decades)

A number of blogs, or other websites with RSS feeds, offer useful ways of keeping up to date with relevant academic debates and current affairs:

- [Jadaliyya](#): Excellent online magazine on society, culture and politics in the Middle East. It would be especially worth keeping an eye on their [Critical Currents in Islam](#) page, which includes (amongst other things) a weekly roundup of media stories relating to this theme.
- [Jihadica](#): Strapline "Documenting the Global Jihad."
- [The Immanent Frame](#): Theoretically-minded blog on "secularism, religion and the public sphere." Contributors include many prominent academic experts on Islam.
- [The Arabist](#): On Middle East society and politics, sometimes including analysis of Islamist politics.
- [Informed Comment](#): On Middle East society and politics, sometimes including analysis of Islamist politics. Particularly good on Iran.
- Al Monitor: Middle East news. (www.al-monitor.com)

MODULE SCHEDULE

Session	Topic
Week 1	Conceptualising Political Islam
Week 2	The Rise of Political Islam (Case Study: The Egyptian Muslim Brothers)
Week 3	Islamic States (Case Study: The Islamic Republic of Iran)
Week 4	Transnationalism (Case Study: Salafism)
Week 5	Electoral Politics
Week 6	READING WEEK – no lecture or seminars
Week 7	Islamism in Geopolitics (Case Study: al-Qaeda and the “War on Terror”)
Week 8	Political Violence (Case Study: Islamic State)
Week 9	Gender
Week 10	Sectarianisation (Case Study: “The Sunni-Shi’a Divide”)
Week 11	Towards Post-Islamism?

MODES OF ASSESSMENT

Assessment will be based on:

- **Seminar attendance and participation (counts towards 10% of your final grade).** Seminar participation will be assessed according to the “Department of Political Economy Participation Marking Criteria”, which are available on the module page on KEATS. It is important to note that any unexcused absence will result in a grade of 0 for the week in question. If you need to miss a seminar, please email your seminar leader in advance or as soon as possible afterwards with a brief explanation for your absence.
- **A 2,500-word essay (counts towards 90% of your final grade).** In preparing your final essay, you must select one of the essay questions from the list included in this syllabus (see below). To check the deadline for this assessment, please consult the “Module Assessment” area of the module KEATS page. You will also find other useful materials there, including an “Essay FAQs” document which includes responses to common questions and guidance on essay writing.

In advance of submitting your final essay, you will be invited to submit a **non-assessed 500-word formative essay**. This is an important opportunity for you to outline your ideas for the final essay and receive feedback. You may present the formative essay in prose or bullet points. You will benefit much more from this exercise if you are able to include thorough references to readings. That said, I appreciate that when you submit your formative essay, you may not yet have had the time to do all of your reading.

In preparing your coursework, please note the following:

- Essay questions can be found below.
- Formative and summative assignments must be submitted on KEATS. Please familiarise yourself with the submission process on KEATS before the deadline. When submitting your coursework, please include a completed coursework cover sheet (available on KEATS) as the first page of the document.
- You must submit your work on time. For policies regarding late submission, please consult the DPE Undergraduate Student Handbook (accessible via a link in the "Course Overview" section of the module KEATS page).
- You must use a recognized citation system.
- Essays must contain a bibliography of works cited, formatted in accordance with your chosen citation system.
- Your essay should not exceed the word limit. The department's word count policy can be found in the DPE Undergraduate Student Handbook linked on KEATS. Please check details, such as the inclusion of footnotes in the word count.
- Make sure you understand the College rules regarding plagiarism. A plagiarism detection system (Turnitin) is built into the KEATS submission process. Detailed information about plagiarism is available on the College website and in the DPE Undergraduate Student Handbook.
- Coursework will be assessed with reference to the King's Undergraduate Generic Marking Criteria and the Department of Political Economy Marking Criteria (available in the "Assessment" section of the module KEATS page).
- Any mitigating circumstances request must be submitted through the online system. For details, see

<https://www.kcl.ac.uk/aboutkings/quality/academic/assessment/mitigatingcircumstances/index>

- Copies of marking criteria documents, information about referencing, and DPE policies on word count, late submission and other such matters are available in the DPE Undergraduate Student Handbook (available in the "Course Overview" section of the KEATS page).

*****Please note that if you do not attend a seminar and do not contact the module convener to explain your absence, your attendance and participation will be marked as 0 for that week.*****

ESSAY QUESTIONS

Note that each of these questions corresponds to a topic on the module, in the same order as they are taught on the module. Below, you will find a full reading list (including required and further readings) for each topic.

- How useful are rational actor approaches as a framework for understanding Islamist activism?
- What explains the rise of organised political Islam in Egypt in the interwar period?
- What have been the most important challenges faced by actors who have aspired to establish "Islamic states" in the modern period? Discuss with reference to one or more case studies.
- How have transnational connections contributed to shaping modern Salafism?
- Does participation in elections have the effect of "moderating" Islamist movements?
- What is the relationship, if any, between "global jihad" and globalization?
- Is there anything exceptional about the ways in which Islamist movements employ violence? Discuss with reference to Islamic State.
- How should we evaluate women's agency within the context of Islamist political projects?
- Are sectarian dimensions of contemporary Islamist politics a manifestation of age-old hatreds?

- Is the post-Islamism thesis still valid?

LECTURE INFORMATION & READING LISTS

WEEK 1

CONCEPTUALISING POLITICAL ISLAM

How should we define “political Islam”? What role does religion play in motivating or shaping Islamist politics? What role does “rationality” play in motivating or shaping Islamist politics?

REQUIRED READING

Ismail, Salwa. “Is There an Islamic Conception of Politics?” In *What Is Politics?: The Activity and Its Study*, edited by Adrian Leftwich, 147–65. Oxford: Polity, 2004.

Wiktorowicz, Quintan, and Karl Kaltenthaler. “The Rationality of Radical Islam.” *Political Science Quarterly* 131, no. 2 (2016): 421–48.

Euben, Roxanne. *Enemy in the Mirror: Islamic Fundamentalism and the Limits of Modern Rationalism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999. Chapter 2, “Projections and Refractions: Islamic Fundamentalism and Modern Rationalist Discourse”

Siddiqui, Sohaira. “Beyond Authenticity: ISIS and the Islamic Legal Tradition.” *Jadaliyya*, February 24, 2015.
http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/20944/beyond-authenticity_isis-and-the-islamic-legal-tra.

FURTHER READING

Anjum, Ovamir. 2007. “Islam as a Discursive Tradition: Talal Asad and His Interlocutors.” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 27 (3): 656–72.

Asad, Talal. *The Idea of an Anthropology of Islam*. Occasional Papers Series. Washington, DC: Georgetown University, Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, 1986.

al-Azm, Sadiq Jalal. “Orientalism and Orientalism in Reverse.” *Europe Solidaire Sans Frontières*, October 1, 1980. <http://www.europe-solidaire.org/spip.php?article20360>.

Bayat, Asef. “Islamism and Social Movement Theory.” *Third World Quarterly* 26, no. 6 (2005): 891–908.

Çavdar, Gamze. "Islamist Rationality: An Assessment of the Rational Choice Approach." *Politics and Religion* 5, no. 3 (December 2012): 584–608.

Eickelman, Dale F., and James P. Piscatori. *Muslim Politics*. 2nd ed. Princeton, N.J.; Princeton University Press, 2004.

Euben, Roxanne. "When Worldviews Collide: Conflicting Assumptions about Human Behavior Held by Rational Actor Theory and Islamic Fundamentalism." *Political Psychology* 16, no. 1 (1995): 157–78.

"Evolving Methodologies in the Study of Islamism." POMEPS Studies. Washington: Project on Middle East Political Science, March 7, 2016. https://pomeps.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/POMEPS_Studies_17_Methods_Web.pdf.

Gilsenan, Michael. *Recognizing Islam: Religion and Society in the Modern Middle East*. Rev. ed. London: I.B. Tauris, 2008.

Hegghammer, Thomas. "Jihadi-Salafis or Revolutionaries? On Religion and Politics in the Study of Militant Islamism." In *Global Salafism: Islam's New Religious Movement*, edited by Roel Meijer, 244–266. London: Hurst & Co, 2009.

Hirschkind, Charles. "What Is Political Islam?" *Middle East Report*, no. 205 (October 1997): 12.

Ismail, Salwa. *Rethinking Islamist Politics: Culture, the State and Islamism*. London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2003. Chapter 1, "The Study of Islamism Revisited."

Kurzman, Charles. 2019. 'Sociologies of Islam'. *Annual Review of Sociology* 45(1): 265–77.

Meijer, Roel. "Taking the Islamist Movement Seriously: Social Movement Theory and the Islamist Movement." *International Review of Social History* 50, no. 2 (August 2005): 279–91.

Rock-Singer, Aaron. "Practices of Piety: An Alternative Approach to the Study of Islamic Movements." *Religions* 11, no. 10 (October 2020): 520.

Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. Penguin Classics. London: Penguin, 2003.

Sarhan, Sa'ud ibn Salih, ed. *Political Quietism in Islam: Sunni and Shi'i Practice and Thought*. Bloomsbury: London, 2020.

Sayyid, S. *Recalling the Caliphate: Decolonisation and World Order*. Second edition. London: Hurst & Company, 2022.

Volpi, Frédéric. *Political Islam Observed*. London: Hurst and Co., 2010. Including Ch. 2, "From Criticizing Orientalism to Framing Islamism".

Wagemakers, Joas. "Making Definitional Sense of Islamism." *Orient*, 2021.

Wiktorowicz, Quintan. "Introduction: Islamic Activism and Social Movement Theory." In *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach*, edited by Quintan Wiktorowicz. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004.

WEEK 2

THE RISE OF POLITICAL ISLAM (CASE STUDY: THE EGYPTIAN MUSLIM BROTHERS)

What factors contributed to the rise of organized political Islam in interwar Egypt? To what extent was it an outcome of scholarly debates about Islamic reform? To what extent was it a product of wider social and political transformations? How did the Egyptian Muslim Brothers transform from a small community of activists into a mass movement?

REQUIRED READING

Commins, David. "Hasan Al-Banna." In *Pioneers of Islamic Revival*, edited by Ali Rahnama. London: Zed, 2005.

Brooke, Steven, and Neil Ketchley. "Social and Institutional Origins of Political Islam." *American Political Science Review*, February 2018, 1–19.

Munson, Ziad. "Islamic Mobilization: Social Movement Theory and the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood." *The Sociological Quarterly* 42, no. 4 (October 1, 2001): 487–510.

Primary source: al-Banna, Hasan. "Toward the Light." In *Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought: Texts and Contexts from Al-Banna to Bin Laden*, edited by Roxanne Euben and Muhammad Qasim Zaman, 56–78. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.

FURTHER READING

al-Banna, Hasan. *Five Tracts of Hasan al-Banna (1906–1949)*. Translated from the Arabic and annotated by Charles Wendell. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978.

Baron, Beth. *The Orphan Scandal: Christian Missionaries and the Rise of the Muslim Brotherhood*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014.

Beinin, Joel, and Zachary Lockman. *Workers on the Nile: Nationalism, Communism, Islam, and the Egyptian Working Class, 1882-1954*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1998. Ch. XI, "The Muslim Brothers and the Egyptian Workers' Movement".

Cole, Juan. "Printing and Urban Islam in the Mediterranean World, 1890-1920." In *Modernity and Culture from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean*, edited by Leila Tarazi Fawaz and C. A. Bayly, 344-364. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.

Gershoni, Israel, and James P. Jankowski. *Redefining the Egyptian Nation, 1930-1945*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. Ch. 4, "Egyptian Islamic Nationalism".

Ghyoot, Mathias. 2025. *Brothers Behind Bars: A History of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, 1948-1975*. Oxford University Press.

Iqtidar, Humeira. "Conservative Anti-Colonialism: Maududi, Marx and Social Equality." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 32, no. 2 (April 2022): 295–310.

Ketchley, Neil, Steven Brooke, and Brynjar Lia. "Who Supported the Early Muslim Brotherhood?" *Politics and Religion* 15, no. 2 (June 2022): 388–416.

Kourgiotis, Panos. "Understanding Egyptian Capitalism through the Muslim Brotherhood's Eyes: The Quest for an 'Islamic Economy' in the 1940s and Its Ideological and Social Impact." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 45, no. 3 (May 27, 2018): 464–79.

Kurzman, Charles. *Modernist Islam, 1840-1940: A Sourcebook*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. "Introduction: The Modernist Islamic Movement", pp. 3-27.

Langohr, Vickie. 2005. "Colonial Education Systems and the Spread of Local Religious Movements: The Cases of British Egypt and Punjab." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 47 (1): 161–89.

Lefevre, Raphael. *Ashes of Hama: The Perilous History of Syria's Muslim Brotherhood*. London: Hurst, 2013. Part I, "Politicizing Islam (1860-1963)".

Lia, Brynjar. *The Society of the Muslim Brothers in Egypt: The Rise of an Islamic Mass Movement 1928-1942*. Reading: Garnet, 1998.

Mandaville, Peter. *Global Political Islam*. London: Routledge, 2007. Ch. 3, "State Formation and the Making of Islamism".

Mitchell, Richard. *The Society of the Muslim Brothers*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Moaddel, Mansoor. "Discursive Pluralism and Islamic Modernism in Egypt." *Arab Studies Quarterly* 24, no. 1 (2002): 1-29.

Moaddel, Mansoor. *Islamic Modernism, Nationalism, and Fundamentalism: Episode and Discourse*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2005.

Robinson, Francis. "Technology and Religious Change: Islam and the Impact of Print." *Modern Asian Studies* 27, no. 1 (1993): 229-51.

WEEK 3

ISLAMIC STATES (CASE STUDY: THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN)

What was distinctively "Islamic" about Khomeini's theory of the state? What distinguishes self-proclaimed "Islamic states" from other contemporary states? How do self-proclaimed "Islamic states" differ from each other and what do they have in common? Is it analytically useful to categorise Iran as an "Islamic state"? What aspects of Iranian politics can this help to illuminate and what may it obscure?

Required Reading

Ayoob, Mohammed. *The Many Faces of Political Islam: Religion and Politics in the Muslim World*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007. Chapter 3, "Self-Proclaimed Islamic States."

Abrahamian, Ervand. *Khomeinism: Essays on the Islamic Republic*. University of California Press, 1993. Chap. 1, "Fundamentalism or Populism?"

Tabaar, Mohammad. *Religious Statecraft: The Politics of Islam in Iran*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2019. Read Ch. 8, "The Factional Battle Over Khomeini's *Velayat-e Faqih*".

Primary source: Khomeini, Ruhollah. "Islamic Government." In *Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought: Texts and Contexts from Al-Banna to Bin Laden*, edited by Roxanne Euben and Muhammad Qasim Zaman, 163–80. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.

Further Reading

Adelkhah, Fariba. *Being Modern in Iran*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.

Adib-Moghaddam, Arshin. *A Critical Introduction to Khomeini*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Ahmad, Irfan. "Genealogy of the Islamic State: Reflections on Maududi's Political Thought and Islamism." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 15 (May 1, 2009): S145–62.

Alimagham, Pouya. *Contesting the Iranian Revolution: The Green Uprisings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.

Arjomand, Said Amir. "Shi'ite Jurisprudence and Constitution Making in the Islamic Republic of Iran." In *Fundamentalism and the State*, edited by Martin Marty and S. Appleby. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1993.

Al-Atawneh, Muhammad. "Is Saudi Arabia a Theocracy? Religion and Governance in Contemporary Saudi Arabia." *Middle Eastern Studies* 45, no. 5 (September 1, 2009): 721–37.

Bohdan, Siarhei. "'They Were Going Together with the Ikhwan': The Influence of Muslim Brotherhood Thinkers on Shi'i Islamists during the Cold War." *The Middle East Journal* 74, no. 2 (2020): 243–62.

Cole, Juan Ricardo. *Sacred Space and Holy War: The Politics, Culture and History of Shi'ite Islam*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2002. Ch. 11, "The Modernity of Theocracy".

Crone, Manni. "The Disenchantment of an Islamic State: Perspectives on Secularism in Iran." *Nordic Journal of Religion and Society* 19, no. 2 (2006): 29–42.

Hallaq, Wael. *The Impossible State: Islam, Politics, and Modernity's Moral Predicament*. New York N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 2012. If you read Hallaq's book, I'd strongly encourage you to also consult [Perspectives on](#)

[Politics 12, no. 4](#) (2014). Here, you'll find a section titled "Review Symposium: The Impossible State" which includes three short pieces by Iza Hussin, Nathan J. Brown and Neguin Yavari reflecting on Hallaq's arguments.

Iqtidar, Humeira. "Theorizing Popular Sovereignty in the Colony: Abul A'la Maududi's 'Theodemocracy.'" *The Review of Politics* 82, no. 4 (ed 2020): 595–617.

Kurzman, Charles. "Critics within: Islamic Scholars' Protests against the Islamic State in Iran." *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 15, no. 2 (2001): 341–59.

Mandaville, Peter. *Global Political Islam*. London: Routledge, 2007. Ch. 5, "Islam as the System: Islamic States and 'Islamization' from Above".

Martin, Vanessa. *Creating an Islamic State: Khomeini and the Making of a New Iran*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2003.

Moaddel, Mansoor. *Class, Politics and Ideology in the Iranian Revolution*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.

Nasr, Seyyed Vali Reza. *Islamic Leviathan: Islam and the Making of State Power*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Salomon, Noah. *For Love of the Prophet: An Ethnography of Sudan's Islamic State*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016.

Tabaar, Mohammad. *Religious Statecraft: The Politics of Islam in Iran*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2019.

Zaman, Muhammad Qasim. "The Sovereignty of God in Modern Islamic Thought." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 25, no. 3 (2015): 389–418.

Zubaida, Sami. "Is Iran an Islamic State?" In *Political Islam: Essays from Middle East Report*, edited by Joel Beinin and Joe Stork. London: I.B. Tauris, 1997.

Zubaida, Sami. *Islam, the State and the People*. London: I.B. Tauris, 1991. Chapter 1, "The Ideological Preconditions for Khomeini's Doctrine of Government."

WEEK 4

TRANSNATIONALISM (CASE STUDY: SALAFISM)

How have transnational connections contributed to shaping modern Salafism? How have transnational connections facilitated cross-fertilisation between Salafism and other forms of Islamism? Is Salafism, as found in contexts across the globe, an “export version of Wahhabism”?

Required Reading

Haykel, Bernard. “On the Nature of Salafi Thought and Action.” In *Global Salafism: Islam’s New Religious Movement*, edited by Roel Meijer, 33–57. London: Hurst, 2009.

Lacroix, Stéphane. *Awakening Islam: The Politics of Religious Dissent in Contemporary Saudi Arabia*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2011. Ch. 2, “The Development of the Sahwa.”

Al-Rasheed, Madawi. 2007. *Contesting the Saudi State: Islamic Voices from a New Generation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Ch. 3, “Struggling in the Way of God Abroad: From Localism to Transnationalism”.

Farquhar, Michael. *Circuits of Faith: Migration, Education, and the Wahhabi Mission*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016. Read pp. 1-5 (first sub-section of introduction), pp. 8-18 (sub-section titled “The Economy of Wahhabi Expansion”), and Ch. 7 (“Leaving Medina”).

Further Reading

Adraoui, Mohamed-Ali. *Salafism Goes Global: From the Gulf to the French Banlieues*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020.

Al-Rasheed, Madawi. 2007. *Contesting the Saudi State: Islamic Voices from a New Generation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Al-Rasheed, Madawi. “The Local and the Global in Saudi Salafi-Jihadi Discourse.” In *Global Salafism: Islam’s New Religious Movement*, edited by Roel Meijer, 301-320. London: Hurst, 2009.

Bonnefoy, Laurent. *Salafism in Yemen: Transnationalism and Religious Identity*. London: Hurst, 2011.

Bonnefoy, Laurent. “How Transnational Is Salafism in Yemen?” In *Global Salafism: Islam’s New Religious Movement*, edited by Roel Meijer, 321–41. London: Hurst, 2009.

Bowen, John R. "Beyond Migration: Islam as a Transnational Public Space." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 30, no. 5 (2004): 879–94.

Cavatorta, Francesco, and Fabio Merone, eds. *Salafism After the Arab Awakening: Contending with People's Power*. Hurst & Co, 2017.

Farquhar, Michael. *Circuits of Faith: Migration, Education, and the Wahhabi Mission*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016.

Hasan, Noorhaidi. "The Salafi Movement in Indonesia: Transnational Dynamics and Local Development." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 27 (1) (2007): 83–94.

Lacroix, Stéphane. *Awakening Islam: The Politics of Religious Dissent in Contemporary Saudi Arabia*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2011.

Mandaville, Peter G. *Wahhabism and the World: Understanding Saudi Arabia's Global Influence on Islam*, 2022.

Meijer, Roel. "Yusuf al-Uyairi and the Transnationalisation of Saudi Jihadism." In *Kingdom Without Borders: Saudi Political, Religious and Media Frontiers*, edited by Madawi al-Rasheed, 221–243. London: Hurst and Co, 2008.

Meijer, Roel, ed. *Global Salafism: Islam's New Religious Movement*. London: Hurst, 2009.

Pall, Zoltan. *Lebanese Salafis between the Gulf and Europe: Development, Fractionalization and Transnational Networks of Salafism in Lebanon*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2013.

Pall, Zoltan. "Can the Umma Replace the Nation? Salafism, Home-Making and the Territorial Nation-State." *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 14, no. 1 (March 1, 2024): 120–35.

Rock-Singer, Aaron. *In the Shade of the Sunna: Salafi Piety in the Twentieth-Century Middle East*. University of California Press, 2022.

Vertovec, Steven. *Transnationalism*. London; New York: Routledge, 2009.

WEEK 5

ELECTORAL POLITICS

Why have Islamist movements performed well at the ballot box in some Muslim-majority contexts? How may participation in electoral politics contribute to shaping the discourse, behaviours and/or goals of Islamist movements? Can Islamist movements be a force for democratization?

REQUIRED READING

El-Ghobashy, Mona. "The Metamorphosis of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 37, no. 3 (2005): 373–95.

Masoud, Tarek. *Counting Islam: Religion, Class, and Elections in Egypt*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013. Especially ch.s, 1 and 3.

Gunning, Jeroen. *Hamas in Politics: Democracy, Religion, Violence*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2008. Chapter 7, "Hamas and Democratisation."

FURTHER READING

Brooke, Steven. 2019. *Winning Hearts and Votes: Social Services and the Islamist Political Advantage*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Cammett, Melani, and Pauline Jones Luong. "Is There an Islamist Political Advantage?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 17, no. 1 (2014): 187–206.

Cavatorta, Francesco. "Civil Society, Islamism and Democratisation: The Case of Morocco." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 44, no. 2 (June 2006): 203–22.

Cavatorta, Francesco. "Salafism, Liberalism, and Democratic Learning in Tunisia." *The Journal of North African Studies* 20, no. 5 (October 20, 2015): 770–83.

Cavatorta, Francesco, and Fabio Merone. "Moderation through Exclusion? The Journey of the Tunisian Ennahda from Fundamentalist to Conservative Party." *Democratization* 20, no. 5 (2013): 857–75.

Grewal, Sharan. "From Islamists to Muslim Democrats: The Case of Tunisia's Ennahda." *American Political Science Review* 114, no. 2 (May 2020): 519–35.

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Kurzman, Charles, and Ijlal Naqvi. "Do Muslims Vote Islamic?" *Journal of Democracy* 21, no. 2 (2010): 50–63.

Massad, Joseph. *Islam in Liberalism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015. Ch. 1, "The Democracy Offensive and the Defenses of 'Islam'."

Nasr, Seyyed Vali Reza. "The Rise of 'Muslim Democracy.'" *Journal of Democracy* 16, no. 2 (2005): 13–27.

Pahwa, Sumita. "Pathways of Islamist Adaptation: The Egyptian Muslim Brothers' Lessons for Inclusion Moderation Theory." *Democratization* 24, no. 6 (September 19, 2017): 1066–84.

Schwedler, Jillian. *Faith in Moderation: Islamist Parties in Jordan and Yemen*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Schwedler, Jillian. "Can Islamists Become Moderates? Rethinking the Inclusion-Moderation Hypothesis." *World Politics* 63, no. 2 (2011): 347–76.

Schwedler, Jillian. "Islamists in Power? Inclusion, Moderation, and the Arab Uprisings." *Middle East Development Journal* 5, no. 1 (January 1, 2013).

Wickham, Carrie Rosefsky. "The Path to Moderation: Strategy and Learning in the Formation of Egypt's Wasat Party." *Comparative Politics* 36, no. 2 (2004): 205–28.

Wickham, Carrie Rosefsky. *The Muslim Brotherhood: Evolution of an Islamist Movement*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013. Chapters 3 ("The Brotherhood's Foray into Electoral Politics"), 7 ("The Brotherhood

and the Egyptian Uprising”), and 9 (“The Brotherhood in (Egypt’s) Transition”).

WEEK 6

READING WEEK – NO LECTURE OR SEMINARS

WEEK 7

ISLAMISM IN GEOPOLITICS (CASE STUDY: AL-QAEDA AND THE “WAR ON TERROR”)

What led some Islamist movements like al-Qaeda to advocate a shift in focus, from targeting domestic regimes in Muslim-majority states to targeting Western powers? What led to the rise of Islamist “foreign fighters” joining conflicts like the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina? What is the relationship, if any, between “global jihad” – involving the mobilisation of volunteers to engage in conflicts or attacks on civilian targets far from their own countries of origin - and globalization? What is the relationship between “global jihad” and *local* political dynamics?

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Wiktorowicz, Quintan. “A Genealogy of Radical Islam.” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 28, no. 2 (February 16, 2005): 75–97.

Roy, Olivier. *Globalized Islam: The Search for a New Ummah*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004. Ch. 7, “On the Path to War: Bin Laden and Others”.

Li, Darryl. “Jihad in a World of Sovereigns: Law, Violence, and Islam in the Bosnia Crisis.” *Law & Social Inquiry* 41, no. 2 (2016): 371–401.

Filiu, Jean-Pierre. “The Local and Global Jihad of Al-Qa’ida in the Islamic Maghrib.” *The Middle East Journal* 63, no. 2 (April 1, 2009): 213–26.

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FURTHER READING

Al-Rasheed, Madawi. 2009. "The Local and the Global in Saudi Salafi-Jihadi Discourse." In *Global Salafism: Islam's New Religious Movement*, edited by Roel Meijer. London: Hurst.

Barber, Benjamin R. *Jihad vs. McWorld*. London: Corgi, 2003. "Introduction" and Ch. 14, "Essential Jihad: Islam and Fundamentalism". (If you're engaging with this, it's highly recommended that you also read the article below by Timothy Mitchell, titled "McJihad: Islam in the U.S. Global Order").

Devji, Faisal. *Landscapes of the Jihad: Militancy, Morality, Modernity*. London: Hurst & Company, 2005.

Devji, Faisal. *The Terrorist in Search of Humanity: Militant Islam and Global Politics*. Crises in World Politics. New York: Oxford University Press, 2020.

Gerges, Fawaz A. *The Far Enemy: Why Jihad Went Global*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Hegghammer, Thomas. *Jihad in Saudi Arabia: Violence and Pan-Islamism since 1979*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. Including Ch. 4 ("Opportunities for Global Jihad") and Ch. 5 ("Al-Qaida and Saudi Arabia").

Hegghammer, Thomas. *The Caravan: Abdallah Azzam and the Rise of Global Jihad*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.

Li, Darryl. 2011. "'Afghan Arabs,' Real and Imagined." MERIP. August 19, 2011. <https://merip.org/2011/08/afghan-arabs-real-and-imagined/>.

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Mamdani, Mahmood. "Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: A Political Perspective on Culture and Terrorism." *American Anthropologist* 104, no. 3 (2002): 766–75.

Mandaville, Peter. *Global Political Islam*. London: Routledge, 2007. Ch. 7, "Radical Islamism and Jihad Beyond the Nation-State" (up to p. 265).

Mitchell, Timothy. "McJihad: Islam in the U.S. Global Order." *Social Text* 20, no. 4 (2002): 1–18.

Phillips, Sarah G. "Making Al-Qa'ida Legible: Counter-Terrorism and the Reproduction of Terrorism." *European Journal of International Relations* 25, no. 4 (December 1, 2019): 1132–56.

Robinson, Glenn E. *Global Jihad: A Brief History*. Stanford University Press, 2020.

Thurston, Alexander. *Jihadists of North Africa and the Sahel: Local Politics and Rebel Groups*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.

WEEK 8

POLITICAL VIOLENCE (CASE STUDY: ISLAMIC STATE)

Why do some Islamist movements employ violence? How does the use of violence by Islamic State compare with the ways in which other Islamist movements have used violence (e.g. in terms of targets, rationales, justifications, goals and methods)? How does the use of violence by Islamist movements compare with the use of violence by non-Islamist movements? What, if anything, is exceptional or distinctive about the ways in which Islamist movements employ violence?

REQUIRED READING

Dallal, Ahmad S. *The Political Theology of ISIS: Prophets, Messiahs, and "the Extinction of the Grayzone."* Tadween Publishing, 2017.

Euben, Roxanne L. "Spectacles of Sovereignty in Digital Time: ISIS Executions, Visual Rhetoric and Sovereign Power." *Perspectives on Politics* 15, no. 4 (December 2017): 1007–33.

Kalyvas, Stathis N. "Jihadi Rebels in Civil War." *Daedalus* 147, no. 1 (January 1, 2018): 36–47.

Primary source: Naji, Abu Bakr. *The Management of Savagery: The Most Critical Stage Through Which the Umma Will Pass*. Translated by William McCants, 2006. <https://azelin.files.wordpress.com/2010/08/abu-bakr-naji-the-management-of-savagery-the-most-critical-stage-through-which-the-umma-will-pass.pdf>. Especially sub-section titled "Using Violence".

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Asad, Talal. *On Suicide Bombing*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.

Bunzel, Cole. "From Paper State to Caliphate: The Ideology of the Islamic State." Washington: Brookings, 2015.

<https://www.brookings.edu/research/from-paper-state-to-caliphate-the-ideology-of-the-islamic-state/>.

Cook, David. *Understanding Jihad*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015. <http://www.ucpress.edu/book.php?isbn=9780520287327>. (In addition to discussion of the history of the concept of jihad, this work also includes translations of key texts produced by militant movements since the 1990s.)

Euben, Roxanne L. "Killing (For) Politics: Jihad, Martyrdom, and Political Action." *Political Theory* 30, no. 1 (2002): 4–35.

Friis, Simone Molin. "'Behead, Burn, Crucify, Crush': Theorizing the Islamic State's Public Displays of Violence." *European Journal of International Relations* 24, no. 2 (June 1, 2018): 243–67.

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Goldberg, Ellis. "Sacrificing Humans." *Jadaliyya*, February 23, 2015. <http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/20934/sacrificing-humans>.

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Hafez, Mohammed M. *Why Muslims Rebel: Repression and Resistance in the Islamic World*. Boulder, Co.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2003.

Hegghammer, Thomas, ed. *Jihadi Culture: The Art and Social Practices of Militant Islamists*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

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Kalyvas, Stathis N. "Wanton and Senseless? The Logic of Massacres in Algeria." *Rationality and Society* 11, no. 3 (August 1, 1999): 243–85.

Li, Darryl. "A Jihadism Anti-Primer." *Middle East Report* 276 (Fall 2015). <http://www.merip.org/mer/mer276/jihadism-anti-primer>.

Matesan, Ioana Emy. *The Violence Pendulum: Tactical Change in Islamist Groups in Egypt and Indonesia*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2020.

Mello, Brian. "The Islamic State: Violence and Ideology in a Post-Colonial Revolutionary Regime." *International Political Sociology* 12, no. 2 (June 1, 2018): 139–55.

Revkin, Mara Redlich, and Elisabeth Jean Wood. "The Islamic State's Pattern of Sexual Violence: Ideology and Institutions, Policies and Practices." *Journal of Global Security Studies*, no. 38 (November 2, 2020).

Roy, Olivier. *Jihad and Death: The Global Appeal of Islamic State*. London: C. Hurst & Co., 2017.

See also the two following special journal issues on ISIS, each of which contains multiple contributions from a variety of perspectives:

- *Middle East Report* 276 (2015)
(<https://www.jstor.org/stable/i40191471>)
- *Perspectives on Terrorism* Vol. 9, No. 4 (2015)
(<https://www.jstor.org/stable/e26297407>)

WEEK 9

GENDER

How should we understand women's support for Islamist projects which many would see as being inimical to their own interests as women? Can participation in Islamist projects empower women? What are the prospects for the articulation of a truly emancipatory "Islamic feminism"?

REQUIRED READING

Moghadam, Valentine. "Islamic Feminism and Its Discontents." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 27, no. 4 (2002): 1135-1171.

Mahmood, Saba. "Feminist Theory, Embodiment, and the Docile Agent: Some Reflections on the Egyptian Islamic Revival." *Cultural Anthropology* 16, no. 2 (2001): 202–36.

Ben Shitrit, Lihi. "Women, Freedom, and Agency in Religious Political Movements: Reflections From Women Activists in Shas and the Islamic

Movement in Israel." *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 9, no. 3 (November 1, 2013): 81–107.

Primary source: Mernissi, Fatima. "A Feminist Interpretation of Women's Rights in Islam." In *Liberal Islam: A Source Book*, edited by Charles Kurzman, 112–26. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

FURTHER READING

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Ahmed, Leila. *Women and Gender in Islam*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992. Especially Ch. 10, "Divergent Voices" and Conclusion.

Al-Rasheed, Madawi. *A Most Masculine State: Gender, Politics and Religion in Saudi Arabia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

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Moallem, Minoo. *Between Warrior Brother and Veiled Sister: Islamic Fundamentalism and the Politics of Patriarchy in Iran*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.

Peletz, Michael G. 2021. "Hegemonic Muslim Masculinities and Their Others: Perspectives from South and Southeast Asia." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 63 (3): 534–65.

Rock-Singer, Aaron. *Practicing Islam in Egypt: Print Media and Islamic Revival*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019. Ch. 5, "Beyond Fitna: The Emergence of Islamic Norms of Comportment".

Roose, Joshua M. *Political Islam and Masculinity: Muslim Men in Australia*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

Selim, Samah. "Book Review: Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject by Saba Mahmood." *Jadaliyya*, October 13, 2010. <http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/235/politics-of-piety-the-islamic-revival-and-the-femi>.

Tadros, Mariz. *The Muslim Brotherhood in Contemporary Egypt: Democracy Redefined or Confined?* London: Routledge, 2012. Ch. 7, "The Sisters of the Brotherhood and the Woman Question" and Ch. 8, "The Gender Agenda: Reformed or Reframed?"

WEEK 10

SECTARIANISATION (CASE STUDY: "THE SUNNI-SHI'A DIVIDE")

What are the historical roots of the sectarian discourses employed by some Islamist movements and self-proclaimed Islamic states? Is sectarianism an age-old phenomenon? In what ways are contemporary manifestations of sectarianism novel? Why has the prominence of sectarianism as a dimension of Islamist politics varied between contexts and over time?

REQUIRED READING

Steinberg, Guido. "Jihadi-Salafism and the Shi'is: Remarks about the Intellectual Roots of Anti-Shi'ism." In *Global Salafism: Islam's New Religious Movement*, edited by Roel Meijer. London: Hurst, 2009.

Phillips, Christopher. "Sectarianism and Conflict in Syria." *Third World Quarterly* 36, no. 2 (February 1, 2015): 357–76.

Yadav, Stacey Philbrick. "Sectarianization, Islamist Republicanism, and International Misrecognition in Yemen." In *Sectarianization: Mapping the New Politics of the Middle East*, edited by Nader Hashemi and Danny Postel, 185–98. London: Hurst & Co., 2017.

FURTHER READING

Al-Rasheed, Madawi. 2011. 'Sectarianism as Counter-Revolution: Saudi Responses to the Arab Spring'. *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 11(3): 513–526.

Anzalone, Christopher. "In the Shadow of the Islamic State: Shi'i Responses to Sunni Jihadist Narratives in a Turbulent Middle East". In *Jihadism Transformed: Al-Qaeda and Islamic State's Global Battle of Ideas*, edited by Simon Staffell & Akil N. Awan, 157–182. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.

Bohdan, Siarhei. "'They Were Going Together with the Ikhwan': The Influence of Muslim Brotherhood Thinkers on Shi'i Islamists during the Cold War." *The Middle East Journal* 74, no. 2 (2020): 243–62.

Colgan, Jeff D. "How Sectarianism Shapes Yemen's War." *Washington Post*, April 13, 2015, sec. Monkey Cage.
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2015/04/13/how-sectarianism-shapes-yemens-war/>.

García, Luz Gómez. "Post-Islamism, the Failure of an Idea: Regards on Islam and Nationalism from Khomeini's Death to the Arab Revolts." *Religion Compass* 6, no. 10 (October 2012): 451.

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Matthiesen, Toby. *Sectarian Gulf: Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, and the Arab Spring That Wasn't*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013.

Valbørn, Morten. "Bringing the 'Other Islamists' back in: Sunni and Shia Islamism(s) in a sectarianized new Middle East." In *New Analyses of Shia Politics* (POMEPS Studies 28, December 2017), pp. 52–57. Available at https://pomeps.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/POMEPS_Studies_28_NewAnalysis_Web.pdf

Valbjørn, Morten. 2020. "Beyond the beyond(s): On the (Many) Third Way(s) beyond Primordialism and Instrumentalism in the Study of Sectarianism." *Nations and Nationalism* 26 (1): 91–107.

Valbjørn, Morten, and Jeroen Gunning. "Bringing in the 'Other Islamists': Beyond Sunni-Centric Islamism Studies in a Sectarianized Middle East." *Mediterranean Politics* 26, no. 4 (August 8, 2021): 476–83.

Wagemakers, Joas. "The Enduring Legacy of the Second Saudi State: Quietist and Radical Wahhabi Contestations of *al-Wala wa-l-Bara*." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 44, no. 01 (2012): 93–110.

Wagemakers, Joas. "Sectarianism in the Service of Salafism: Shiites as a Political Tool for Jordanian Salafis." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 49, no. 2 (March 15, 2022): 341–59.

Wehrey, Frederic. *Sectarian Politics in the Gulf: From the Iraq War to the Arab Uprisings*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2016.

The following two websites also include useful collections of short pieces on sectarianism in the contemporary Middle East:

- The "Sectarianism, Proxies and De-sectarianisation" project at Lancaster University (<https://www.sepad.org.uk/reports>)
- "The Comparative Politics of Sub-State Identity in the Middle East" series on the blog of the LSE Middle East Centre (<http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/mec/2018/09/10/the-comparative-politics-of-sub-state-identity-in-the-middle-east/>)

WEEK 11

TOWARDS POST-ISLAMISM?

Is political Islam a failed project? Do we find ourselves today in an era of "post-Islamism"? How do such claims hold up in light of the rise and fall of Islamic State and other transformations in Islamist politics since 2011?

REQUIRED READING

Bayat, Asef. "Post-Islamism at Large." In *Post-Islamism: The Many Faces of Political Islam*, edited by Asef Bayat, 3–32. Oxford University Press, 2013.

Cavatorta, Francesco, and Fabio Merone. "Post-Islamism, Ideological Evolution and 'La Tunisianité' of the Tunisian Islamist Party Al-Nahda." *Journal of Political Ideologies* 20, no. 1 (January 2, 2015): 27–42.

Read the short contributions by Peter Mandaville and Michaelle Browers in "Rethinking Islamist Politics." POMEPS Studies, 6. Project on Middle East Political Science, February 11, 2014. Available at https://pomeps.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/POMEPS_Studies6_IslamistPolitics.pdf.

FURTHER READING

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

Burgat, François. *Face to Face with Political Islam*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2003. Read pp. 180–185, "The Hidden Assumptions of 'Post-Islamism'" and "Beyond Islamism".

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Mandaville, Peter. *Islam and Politics*. London: Routledge, 2014. Ch. 8, "Towards Post-Islamism? Globalization and Muslim Politics".

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Roy, Olivier. *The Failure of Political Islam*. London: I.B. Tauris, 1994. Especially Introduction, Chapters 2 ("The Concepts of Islamism"), 4 ("The Impasses of Islamist Ideology") and 5 ("Neofundamentalism: From the Muslim Brotherhood to the Algerian FIS").

Roy, Olivier. *Globalized Islam: The Search for a New Ummah*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004. Ch. 2, "Post-Islamism".

Volpi, Frédéric. "Postface: Islamism Is Dead, Long Live Islamism." In *Whatever Happened to the Islamists? Salafis, Heavy Metal Muslims and the Lure of Consumerist Islam*, edited by Olivier Roy and Amel Boubekur, 247–53. London: Hurst and Company, 2012.