



Islamic Thought
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A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL ISLAM...

S. I. SHEIKH

Ph.D

2018

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL ISLAM:

TRAJECTORIES, RESISTANCE AND DISCOURSES

Sajid I. Sheikh

13002163012

Doctor of Philosophy in Islamic Thought and Civilization

Supervised by: Dr. Muhammad Tahir Mustafa



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**A Critical Analysis of Political Islam:
Trajectories, Resistance and Discourses**

Sajid Iqbal Sheikh

13002163012

Submitted in the partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of
Philosophy in Islamic Thought and Civilization, University of Management and Technology,
Lahore.

Supervised by: Dr. Muhammad Tahir Mustafa



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Abstract

Discourses on Political Islam may be divided into two mounting phases. First one has occurred after Iranian Revolution in 1979 and second one has appeared as a result of Arab Spring wave in 2011. A critical analysis of these discourses in terms of their trajectories and resistance is needed to be found out for strategies of future policy orientations. This doctoral dissertation aims to unfold genealogical notions backing political Islam related discourses and attempts to search out its complementation or contradiction with Islamic political theory as perceived in original Islamic texts. Primarily, the study focuses on holistic and theoretical view of political Islam. The study also aims to analyze the basic theory and current strategies of Islamic political movements which may be considered the vanguard of Islamic revolution. These movements have created a certain discourse of political activism that is one of the matters of hottest debate in the contemporary academic and political world. Discourse analysis method with its approach of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has been used and qualitative data collected from specific and relevant strata will be analyzed. The study argues that conspiracy theory is one of the key factors involved in offending political Islam and apparently, a valued segment of scholars concerned to the subject believe that Islamic political theory must not be perceived as the source of violence and a root for terrorism discourses. Thus, the present study attempts to introduce a new specific term “Conscious Muslim Polity” (CMP) to ascertain elements of better political strategy considering pluralistic emergence of present global society. Cutting edge political climate of Tunis and Malaysia is going to be presented as model for rest of the world Islamic movements.

Keywords: post-islamism, political hegemony, islamic political theory, muslim democrats, political harmony, pluralism, post-arab spring, islamic resurgence movements. conscious muslim polity

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Dedication

I dedicate my PhD dissertation to **Dr. Hasan Sohaib Murad** (1959-2018), founder of University of Management & Technology and ILM trust. I learnt lot of Quranic knowledge and Islamic spirit from the writings of his father **Khurram Murad**, who was a mainstream leader of Jamaat-e-Islami, Pakistan. Undoubtedly, without his mentoring, scholarly input, appreciation and guidance, the milestone of doctoral research would not have been possible to achieve. May Almighty Allah shower His eternal blessings on his soul and keep him in His special paradise of Firdous! Ameen.

Sajid Iqbal Sheikh

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Acknowledgment

With countless blessings of ALLAH Almighty, special prayers of my parents and teachers, continuous support of my colleagues, friends and well-wishers, great sacrifice of my family and relatives, ALHAMDULILLAH, the time now I am very close to the destination of my doctorate.

Credit goes to my late mother who passed away in 2003 but her eternal prayers are always with me. My Father, who is my teacher since childhood till present day, Haji Faqir Ullah, has always stimulated me to get par excellence in Islamic knowledge. My brothers, Amer Iqbal Sheikh, Majid Iqbal Sheikh, my sister Rabia Khurram, her husband Khurram Shahzad and other family members who has been source of appreciation and help for my destinations. My caring wife, Saima Sajid, my son Abdurrehman Sajid and my daughter Tooba Sajid who tolerated my less attention and time and supported me to go beyond. I also remember, on this occasion, my father in law Prof. Sheikh Zafar Iqbal (late), who was a committed academic personality and role model for me. My mother in law, Mrs Zafar Iqbal, whose motherly prayers are very much helpful in all walks of life. I also thank brothers Muhammad Saqib Zafar, Muhammad Atif Zafar, Hafiz Muhammad Nauman Zafar Advocate. They have always given me best wishes, prayers, and helped me enough to complete this journey, which was not an easy task.

My life took paradigm shift at the time of admission at UMT. The person, who welcomed, patronized, mentored, nurtured and predicted me at the place where I am now after almost 10 years is none other than Respected Dr. Muhammad Tahir Mustafa, without his long parental attitude and inspiration to achieve the highest goals, this milestone would not have been possible for me to achieve. He also supervised my dissertation and always introduced me as his asset.

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I also acknowledge my University classmates and colleagues at UMT Lahore, UMT Sialkot Campus and Dar-e-Aqam. They always helped me enough and provided me appropriate climate to complete my research work. I am unable to mention all of them by names, but significant cooperation of Mr. Shahid Latif, Muhammad Rafiq Awan, Saleem Sheikh, Abdul Rauf Monga, Dr. Ali Abdullah, Dr. Abdul Aleem, Dr. Naseem Mahmood, Mr. Asjad Ali, Zohaib Awan, was matchless and I have no words to pay thanks to them all.

I want to thank Prof. Dr. Tahira Basharat Chairperson, Department of Islamic Thought and Civilization for her gratitude and motivation for shifting me back to Lahore from Sialkot and to submit my thesis without delay.

Sajid Iqbal Sheikh

List of Acronyms**Commented [SA28]:** Level 1 heading is Centered, Bold Face, Headline-style Capitalization

ABIM	Malaysian Islamic Youth Movement — (<i>Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia</i>)
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CMP	Conscious Muslim Polity
DA	Discourse Analysis
FDA	Faucauldian Discourse Analysis
IIUM	International Islamic University Malaysia
ISTAC	International Institute of Islamic Thought & Civilization
JI	Jamaat-e-Islami
JUI	Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam
MB	Muslim Brotherhood
MENA	Middle East & North Africa
PAS	Party of Islam, Malaysia
UMNO	United Malays National Organization
UMT	University of Management and Technology

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Islam, both in theory and practice, seems varied between distinctive and historical schools of Muslim thought as well as in socio-political climates of different Muslim populated regions. It is all about unity in diversity. Particularly, in the era of “War on terror” the term generally perceived to masses of Muslims as “War against Islam” and according to many scholarly circles, the significant role of political Islam in a particular context and boundaries may be thought of as same applicable to other settings. This perception of unity rather diversity regarding political Islam theories and practices might be a cause of heterogeneous view of the issue of Islamic polity in the present age. Such type of thoughts is making the scenario more challenging and the assumptions more damaged because ceremonial aspect of political Islam is not necessarily the same in theory and practice in very Muslim populations.

Among others, one of the main consequences of Islamic revolution of Iran in 1979 “Political Islam” or “Islamism” has been the core point of academic debate among researchers, scholars, policymakers, and rest of the concerned personals. Hypothetically much has been written and supposed with respect to Islamism as a political and good/moral pattern; however insufficient consideration is paid to its progressing advancement. There is currently a developing affirmation inside the academic circles that Islamism is in the throes of change. Furthermore, coinage of “Post-Islamism” unite researchers and activists from diverse parts of the Muslim and Western world to talk about their insights on the changing discourses and practices of Islamic resurgence movements and Islamic regimes to a great extent in the Muslim countries. These developments have been termed as 'Post-Islamism,' characterized both as a condition and a task described by the combination of religiosity and rights, confidence and flexibility, faith and freedom. According to the contemporary thinkers on “Post-Islamism” it accentuates rights as opposed to simply commitment, majority rather than particular legitimate voice, trustworthiness as opposed to the settled traditions, and the future rather than the past.

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After the end of the Cold war, Arab uprisings (2010-11) are considered one of the most significant political transformations of the world. Commencing from Tunisia and impacting Egypt and Yemen, decades old dictators were forced to be ousted whereas Libya, Bahrain and Syria were the worst example of peripheral intrusion in shape of Iranian and Saudis role to protect their allies. Tunisia set a democratic model as compare to other countries where military coups diverted *spring* into *autumn*. Alongside Iraq, Libya, Bahrain and Syria leaped into nastiest civil war and facing risk of state collapse at its peak.¹

Arab Spring and its aftershocks again attracted the world to the emerging patterns of Political Islam. Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Yemen and their neighboring states were facing a new and decisive pattern of agitation against the long ago family aristocracies. Simultaneously, the whole scenario was challenging for ruling regimes and Islamic resurgence movements. Muslim Brotherhood (MB- *Al-khwan-ul-Muslimun*, which was considered backbone of Arab Spring) possesses considerable support in these countries along with its ideological associated movements including Al-Nahdah in Tunisia. Ikhwan-ul-Muslimun (MB) and Al-Nahdah achieved a considerable victory in elections just after the wave of Arab Spring. Although, they could not sustain their victory, but their significant role in the political scenario is prevailing. Ikhwan (MB) has reasonable political weightage in these countries. Most of the ruling regimes were forced publically to lose their offices during Arab Spring likewise in Egypt, Tunisia, Yemen and Libya and rest of them were succeeded to save their offices. Islamic movements entered into a new phase of strategic turn as aftershocks of Arab Spring. During the agitation, they strive their best not to encircle them directly with plotters of Arab Spring, but their presence in whole scenario was widely considered. These few years of fluctuations during the Arab Spring observed dramatic transitions from historic family authoritarian rule towards an urge of democracy. Some drastic social problems like poverty, corruption scandals, unemployment, political unrest, hegemony of external powers especially Israel and US developed strong feelings of anger in the youth of Arab countries. As a result of aguish explosion commenced from 2011 some of the strong regimes of Tunis, Liya, Yemen and Egypt. Rests of the countries are not in state of peace like Syria which is in situation of civil war. These incidents are being called Arab spring due to two

¹. Bennett Clifford, Dustin Gilbreath and Justine Louis. "Politics and Turkey-EU Relations: Drivers from the Southern and Eastern Neighborhoods." (2017).4.

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reasons, (1) because most of happenings were observed in spring season of 2011 and (2) initiated by young ones who were in swing of spring in terms of age and socially well linked through emergence of social media.

Ahmed Ibrahim Abushouk, the author of *The Arab Spring: A Fourth Wave of Democratization* describes the situation and figures its historical link as under,

The Arab Spring is seen as the representation of the public feelings and desires to achieve democracy, exactly like the European widespread revolutions of 1848 which were known as the "Springtime of People" that were essentially democratic, and the liberalization movements in Czechoslovakia after World War II, known as "Prague Spring" which were a strong attempt to grant additional rights to the citizens of Czechoslovakia.²

Post Arab spring scenario and emergence of ISIS (Islamic State in Syria and Iraq) again focused the view on the discourses of Political Islam, because the terms like "Islamic State" and "Caliphate" (Khilafah), Sharia (The Islamic Law) are common terminology being used in the significant texts of Political Islam specialists, like Abul'ala Mawdudi Founder of *Jamaat-e-Islami*, Syed Qutab, the most significant thinker from Egypt, the Islamic movement of Tunisia, Khursheed Ahmed and Khurram Murad the academic adherents of Maulana Mudoodi from Pakistan and many others...

Furthermore, some more terms like "Islamism" and "Post-Islamism" were introduced by the contemporary writers of the area to confine "political centered" activism of Islamic resurgence. "Islamism" is more precise and focused term as prescribed by a renowned political analyst Guilain Denoex "a form of instrumentalization of Islam by individuals, groups and organizations that pursue political objectives".³ "The homogeneity of viewpoints regarding the role of Islam in politics" is the focal point differentiating between the terms Political Islam and Islamism.

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². Ahmed Ibrahim Abushouk, "The Arab Spring: A Fourth Wave of Democratization?" *Digest of Middle East Studies*, 25, no.1 (Spring 2016): 52-69.

³. Uilain Denoex, "The Forgotten Swamp: Navigating Political Islam," *Middle East Policy*, no.9 (June 2002):61.

The author of “Political Islam failure and experience of Muslim Brotherhood” Ardovini Lucia expresses the term and its diversity in the following words;

While a definition of what the term “Political Islam” suggests is indeed useful when beginning to approach the subject. Political Islam often referred to as Islamism, can be understood as a collection of views and practices sharing the belief that the Islamic faith should guide political, personal, and social life. Being a religious ideology that supposedly provides both practical and spiritual guidance, it follows that while its core components are universal, its interpretation and implications vary depending on the geographical location and political context, therefore generating tensions.⁴

The author also links his thesis with the framework of Historical Sociology and identifies the term in more depth and illustrates that, This is why Historical Sociology provides an effective analytical framework for the purpose of this study, as it moves away from the traditional understanding of “Islam” or the “Arab mind” as explanatory elements of the region’s geopolitics, and instead focuses on how religious and social institutions are established and maintained in a variety of different national contexts. The belief that politics should be an extension of faith causes a fascinating overlap between the secular and the religious spheres, hence the adoption of the term “Political” is extremely useful in demonstrating how social activities linked to Islam still have to act within the political domain and are often restricted by state-based “secular” institutions. Once again, it follows that practices of *da’wa*, “preaching” or “invitation to Islam”, the application of the Islamic law (*shari’a*) and similar activities are widely influenced by the socio-political context in which they find themselves”.⁵...

Features of Islamic Political System

It seems indispensable to overview the fundamental features of Islamic political system from the original sources of sacred Muslims texts. In Muslim tradition, first and ultimate source of law and divine wisdom is the Holy Qur’an...

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⁴. Lucia Ardovini. *"The failure of Political Islam?: The Muslim Brotherhood's experience in government."* PhD dissertation. Lancaster University, 2017. p. 35

⁵. Lucia Ardovini. *"The failure of Political Islam?."* 36

Sovereignty Rests with Allah Almighty Alone

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“Sovereignty belongs to Allah” is considered primary and basic value of Islamic polity as prescribed in the Holy Qur’an. The Qur’an expresses the concept of the Sovereignty right from its start to end in very clear way and explicit manner. As an example we are quoting some of them.

First of all we see the ideology of “Sovereignty” in these words:

قُلِ اللَّهُمَّ مَالِكَ الْمُلْكِ تُؤْتِي الْمُلْكَ مَنْ تَشَاءُ وَتَنْزِعُ الْمُلْكَ
مِمَّنْ تَشَاءُ وَتُعِزُّ مَنْ تَشَاءُ وَتُذِلُّ مَنْ تَشَاءُ ۗ بِيَدِكَ الْخَيْرُ ۗ إِنَّكَ
عَلَىٰ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ⁶

“Say: Oh Allah! Owner of Sovereignty! Thou give sovereignty unto whom Thou wilt, and Thou withdraws sovereignty from whom Thou wilt. Thou exaltest whom Thou wilt, and Thou abasest whom Thou wilt. In Thy hand is the good. Lo! Thou art able to do all things”

The above mentioned verse, absolutely, dictates occupancy of the sovereignty of Allah. The ALLAH almighty gives sovereignty to those that they come under consideration of place. The explanation of this statement is very logical. This sovereignty shift to people and people try to maintain its position. It proves that God owns sovereignty and human beings empowered the virtue of the sovereignty of their people. Now it depends upon human trust that how much they freely act upon to recognize the fact of responsibility. According to the statement of the Sahih Bukhari,

عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عُمَرَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا، أَنَّ تَلْبِيَةَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ
عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: «لَبَّيْكَ اللَّهُمَّ، لَبَّيْكَ، لَبَّيْكَ لَا شَرِيكَ لَكَ لَبَّيْكَ، إِنَّ
الْحَمْدَ وَالنُّعْمَةَ لَكَ وَالْمُلْكَ لَا شَرِيكَ لَكَ⁷

“I respond to your call, O Allah, I respond to your call, and I am fully obedient to your orders, you have no partner, I respond to your call, all the praise and blessings are for you, all the sovereignty is for you, and you have no partners”...

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⁶ Qur’an, 26

⁷ The translation of Sahih Al-Bukhari. V. 2, Book 26, Number 261.

Chapter 2

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Literature Review

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In this chapter, we are commencing the debate with a short history of political literature, theory and doctrine to understand the background and process of development in the nature of political theory and practice. Moving ahead, there is a central theme of the chapter where emergence of political Islam through its ideologies, like Maulana Mawdudi and others are being introduced briefly with their academic and pragmatic role in the fields of academia and political arena.

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Simultaneously, the term political Islam was getting place in concerned literature by the researchers of the time. From this theoretical base the suggested strategic term as an outcome and contribution to the body of existing knowledge “Conscious Muslim Polity” (CMP) is an attempt to fill the gap found in the literature and pave the way for further policy related issues both for Islamic Movements within and external clouts without.

History of Political Literature

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Political doctrine is considered to be an interdisciplinary effort and its central theme lies in the humanity paradigm of political science. It has varied styles, traditions and approaches but this field is thought to be united in sphere of theorizing, critique and diagnosing different norms and practices and political action at our places or anywhere else of past and present time. Those who are political theorists share their concerns with regard to justice demands along with fulfillment, y and nature of public goods and among many other associated areas. Commitment to studying politics from the humanistic outlook is also shared by political theorists with some substantial disagreements too.⁸

In recent couple of years especially in United States of America, politics study has seen formal and quantitative aspects on an increasing scale. Those who understand political theory properly, consider that formal theory has geared exclusively towards political phenomena explanation and this explanation is exhibited on natural sciences and also framed in patterns and causal explanations of human world events.

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⁸.Robert E Goodin, ed., *The Oxford handbook of political science* (Oxford University Press, 2009) 2.

There are certain challenges for these approaches on qualitative and interpretive behalf like more recent is by the *Perestroika* movement.⁹ Location of political theory lies at one remove from the debate of quantitative and qualitative and this theory sits between normative philosophy and empirical politics world. There has been a challenge regarding productive positioning of political theory in three locations: relating to academic areas of history, philosophy and political science; between political world and abstract level of theory; between established theory of politics and fresh resources like discourse analysis,. There is a production association between those who think of this as political scientists and those who consider as political theorists. When there is talk of constitutional law and foundations of normative nature then connectivity of law is considered to be strongest one.¹⁰

Most of the portion of political doctrine and political theory is comprised of normative component despite of the fact that whether theory follows systematic or diagnostic nature, focuses on textual or cultural aspects, methodological aspects of critical, analytical, ancestral or deconstructive, follows ideal or piecemeal procedures and take on socialism, liberalism or conservatism in its political sense. So this field accepts all these approaches mentioned previously...

Tablighi Jamaat

Jamaah Tabligh or Tableeghi jammah is considered one of the worldwide Islamic daawah movements.¹¹ It is most likely the most far reaching Islamic movement on earth despite the fact that the real number cannot be confirmed because of the extremely casual nature of the movement. Jamaah Tabligh was established at 1926 in India by Muhammad Ilyas Al-Kandhlawi. Jamaah Tabligh has its practice as it was a compulsory part of Islam. Jamaah Tabligh is a non-political party and has dependably been so. They proclaim that with a specific end goal to change

⁹. Kristen Renwick Perestroika: *The raucous rebellion in political science*. (Yale University Press, 2005).11.

¹⁰. Sunstein, Cass. "Democracy and the problem of free speech." *Publishing Research Quarterly* 11, no. 4 (1995): 58-72.

¹¹ Shahbaz Ahmad Cheema, "Problematizing the Religious Basis of Mawdudi's Political Theory," *Studies on Asia Series IV* 3, no. 2 (2013).

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the society and as a result the government and other societal institutes, we initially need to change the single person.

Small groups of *Jamaah Tabligh* go out to different mosques to practice daawah. There, they fundamentally read *Tableegi Nisab*¹², help one another to remember the Sunnah and go around the mosque population to ask individuals to come to the mosque for a discussion in which they essentially discuss *Emaan* (إيمان). *Jamaah Tabligh* has a tradition to go out for 3, 7, 10 and 40 days or 4 months. They finance themselves and have no enrollment or participation expenses or any formal ties. *Jamaah Tabligh* just contact Muslims. Generally, Non-Muslims are not their target population. They believe that first of all Muslims should build their character as role model, and then we can preach disbelievers on ease. *Jamaah Tabligh* does not help any sort of political plan or agenda because their ultimate focus is on basic changes in Muslim individuals in Islamic perspectives. *Tableeghi Jamaat* role in Islamization of Malaysian society is pivotal. Although, they are not favoring any political agenda but their trained people ultimately support Islamic parties...

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¹². *Tableeghi Nisab* is a book authored by Maulana Zikria (R.A.) one of the founders of *Tableeghi Jamaat*. The book comprises different Ahadees and narratives about importance of good deeds. (فضا ئل اعمال)

Chapter 3

Research Design, Strategy and Methods

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This dissertation employs qualitative research methodology, which embraces discursive interpretation, adductive research strategy and critical discourse analysis. To begin with, the methodology of this study is qualitative, involving an interpretative, naturalistic approach to the concept of political Islam and how it relates to its trajectories, resistance modes and discourses. This methodology draws the researcher into the phenomenological complexity of the participants' world where situations unfold, and connections, causes and correlations can be observed as they occur over time.¹³ It implies a study of phenomenon in their natural settings and attempts to interpret the events in terms of the meaning, people bring to them. Therefore, this methodology examines people's words and actions in narrative and descriptive ways more closely representing the situation as experienced by participants.¹⁴

Moreover, the research design in this study involves discursive interpretation. This form of interpretation is most pronounced in its opposition to positivism and absolute universal truisms.¹⁵ It focuses the importance of the context in which interaction, political or otherwise, takes place, stating that, this is critical for accurate analysis, rather than assuming that data collected in one context can be generalized beyond it, discursive analysis focuses on ways in which people make sense of their interaction, of themselves or their own mental states in that context.¹⁶ Simply, discursive interpretation explores 'how the ways in which we come to talk about and account for our own mental states actually provide the resources for managing and experiencing the world and our own mental states'?

Furthermore, this study utilizes an abductive research strategy that focuses "Trajectories" of political Islam. An abductive research strategy has often been described as inductive yet this largely

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¹³. Louis Cohen, Lawrence Manion, and Keith Morrison. *Research methods in education*. (London: Routledge: 2002). 23.

¹⁴. Pamela Maykut and Richard Morehouse. *Beginning qualitative research: A philosophic and practical approach*. (London: The Falmer Press, 1994) 2.

¹⁵. Norman Blaikie. *Designing social research*. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009). 13-18.

¹⁶. Simeon Yates. *Doing social science research*. (New York: Sage Publications, 2003). 242.

misrepresents the complexity of the analytical task involved. Paralleling the inductive method, it begins by observing the social world and the social actors under investigation.

However the abductee research strategy emphasizes the social actors' construction of reality, their ways of conceptualizing and giving meaning to their social world and their tacit knowledge.¹⁷ This particular goal can only be accurately discovered from the account that the social actors provide. The reality of the social actors under study, the method and manner in which they have constructed and interpreted their own activities, is embedded in their discourse. These social scientific typical situations provide an understanding of the activities and may, then, become ingredients in more systematic explanatory accounts.

Clearly, the abdicative research strategy is based on interpretation and understanding, utilizing interpretive ontological and epistemological elements such as critical theory. Such a strategy involves constructing a theory that is derived from social actors' language, meaning and theories, or is grounded in everyday activities. Abduction is the process used to produce social scientific accounts of social life by drawing the concepts and meaning used by social actors, and the activities they engage. The particular strength of this strategy is both logical and innovative...

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Sampling Strategy

As discussed earlier that this current study has incorporated qualitative research approach so under this approach certain sampling techniques are available. To fulfilling current research objectives and answer research questions, purposive sampling technique has been utilized for sample selection. For selection of those Islamic scholars who are knowledgeable regarding political Islam. This purposive sampling is used in a condition where participants are selected deliberately who can provide the required information¹⁸. Central issue of current study revolves around discourses of political Islam so in order to get rich information on the subject, those scholars are selected who can give rich and detailed information...

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¹⁷. Farhan Mujahid Chak. *Islam and Pakistan's Political Culture* (London:Routledge, 2014), 6.

¹⁸. Alan Bryman. "Social research methods' (4th ed.)." (2012).

Chapter 4

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Results/ Findings

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Major Muslim Discourses on Political Islam

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Trajectories of Muslim Political Thinkers and their Perspectives

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In recent years, debate on political Islam within Muslim academic circles is taking very diverse and steady turns. “*Rethinking political Islam*” one of the latest works on the topic, covers the cutting edge issues of Islamic Movements while catching better role in power spectrum especially in Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco.¹⁹ Book editors revive direct insights from the second line leadership of the movements as well as observe critically their redefined role in Muslim polities in rapidly growing climate by some external writers.

Muslim academic circles can be viewed and assessed in different categories. Most of them exist in Muslim population including fundamentalists, traditionalist, modernists, revivalists and others.²⁰ Islamic regime of late Erabkan has lost his vote bank as converted to AK party in recent election of Turkey on June 24, 2018, and MENA (Middle East and North Africa) considers political struggle and leadership change as core value and obligation of Islamic doctrine as perceived by their present and past thinking hubs like Maulana Mawdudi, Hasan al-Banna, Syed Qutb, Hasan Turabi, Khurshid Ahmad, Yousef Al-Qarzawi and Rashad Ghanushi. Oxford handbook on Islam and politics adds more names from Iran like, Ali Shariati, Ayat Ullah Kumaini and Khatmi.²¹

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- Only the last name of the author, or of the editor or translator if given first in the full reference, is needed in the short form.
- The most common short form consists of the last name of the author and the main title of the work cited.
- If a work has two or three authors, give the last name of each; for more than three, the last name of the first author followed by et al.

Muslim traditionalist approach in the leadership of *Deobandi* school of thought in Pakistan and Indian Muslim majority and their long rooted *Ulema* wings round the world

¹⁹. Hamid. *Rethinking Political Islam*.7.

²⁰ Cheryl Benard. "Civil Democratic Islam. Partners, Resources, and Strategies RAND." *National Defense Research Institute* (2003).

²¹ Briefings, P. O. M. E. P. S. "Rethinking Islamist Politics." (2014).P.31

appreciate to be an active participant in electoral power politics considering politics as focused in Islam as other aspects of Islamic system. They consider politics a field of struggle and contribution but not as crucial like above mentioned Islamic groups like *JI* and *MB* but as perceived by *JUI (Jamiat Ulema e Islam)* etc.

Another developing approach in Islamic world is modernist one which is itself not an easy task to comprehend. There are slight boundary lines in modernist approach in Muslim academia like Javaid Ahmad Ghamdi, a Pakistani based scholar does believe that Islamic revivalist and resurgence movements has no more right to broadcast Muslim mind of 21th century to stand forth against the Western dominance.²²

Maulana Wahid ul Din Khan is considered as the commandant of academic Sufi orders of Muslim scholarship in terms of political Islam perspective. His major work on the issue was published well before time in 1963 in India as response to Mawdudi approach of *Iqamat e Deen*, titled "*Tabeer ki Ghalti*" (Folly of Interpretation). Until today this prescribed work of Maulana Khan is considered the fundamental source of maximum modernist and academic Sufi Muslim scholars who are arguably, not in the favor of respective political activism of Islamic groups like *JI* and *MB*. Before that few more like, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, an Indian based modernist educationist and Muslim leader argued that Islam advises its believers to be loyal to the respective state and government, what they are part of and they should desire no concern with their belief system etc. Another scholar from Egypt Ali Abd Raziq generated a healthy debate to strengthen his argument of separation between state and religion in the Middle East.²³ On the

²² A semi structured interview was conducted with him by me in May 2018 at kualalampur, Malaysia on the said topic. His detailed thoughts will be the part of this dissertation in coming pages.

²³. Irfan Ahmad. "Genealogy of the Islamic state: reflections on Mawdudi's political thought and Islamism." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 15, no. s1 (2009):146.

same lines another Egyptian scholar Al-Ashmawy raised his questions on the fusion ideology of religion and state. Both Maulana Wahid din Khan and Al Ashmawy picked out their arguments from the Qur'an and Hadith.

If we observe all above mentioned Muslim scholars' way of argumentation, we will see that all of them, strive their best to prove their stance from the basic sources of Islam especially The Qur'an and simultaneously from The Hadith, Fiqh and *Sahaba's* traditions. Maulana Mawdudi quoted hundreds of Qur'anic verses in his famous work *Khilafat u Malukiat*, with the title of political teachings of the Qur'an.²⁴ He proves famous 'fusion framework' as perceived by Irfan Ahmad.²⁵ In contrary, Maulana Wahid ul din who favors 'anti fusion framework' in almost all pages of his works on the topic. Irfan Ahmad concludes this debate in these words,

Explicitly, core outcome of this debate is to decrypting meanings of the keywords often used in the text of Muslim resources regarding political injunction as like, *Khilafah, dawla, hukuma, amir*, etc. Barnard Lewis' famous work "The political language of Islam"²⁶ explores basic terminology of political Islam along with other Latin and Hebrew traditions along with Islamic one. He is of the view that fusion framework of state and religion in Islam is the right interpretation of the issue. We can observe the same textual approach in the works of anti-fusionist scholars such as Maulana Wahid ul din Khan and Al-Ashmawy.²⁷

Here we are quoting the primary data of the study, derived from in-depth qualitative interviews by the scholars of repute on political Islam. Their categorization has been made just to comprehend their perspectives only.

²⁴ Abul Aala Mawdudi. *Islam's Political Order: The Model, Deviations and Muslim Response* (al-Khilafah wa al-Mulukiyah)(Islamabad: IPS Press, 2018): 2.

²⁵ Irfan Ahmad. "Genealogy of the Islamic state: reflections on Mawdudi's political thought and Islamism". 148.

²⁶ Bernard Lewis. *The political language of Islam*. (University of Chicago Press, 1991).

²⁷ Irfan Ahmad. "Genealogy of the Islamic state: reflections on Mawdudi's political thought and Islamism".148.

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Politics as Core of Islamic Doctrine

- The term of Political Islam has emerged in late 20th century and is purely based upon typical Western thought. Dr. Shabbir Akhtar, a Pakistani intellectual, has studied Qur'an in depth and has given worldview to comprehend different concepts pertaining to philosophy of Islam. He has published a book regarding Political Islam because currently this has now entered into highly researched subject. When notion of Kalima arrived that there is no God but Allah then Quraish-e-Makkah knew that it was very strong base which is sufficient to demolish their existing system.

Furthermore, in the academic tradition of Islamic history, the term of Mazhab (Hanafi, Maliki, Shafai and Hambli) has been introduced when principles of jurisprudence has been developed by different scholars. Our religion doesn't circle around just to worship Allah and performing certain rituals, rather is a complete code of life, which provides guidance individually as well as collectively [...]

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- Basically, there is no basis for this term 'political Islam'. It means it has been introduced here in our society carrying concepts of Western scholars as Islam has different editions and phases. By producing different versions of Islam, they wish Muslim Ummah to be in multiple divisions for instance, Sufi Islam; liberal Islam etc. there are all baseless divisions. According to the Holy Qur'an, Islam is just sole religion and there are no editions in it.

Factually, if we put our understanding that Islam just revolves around few rituals then we are limiting its concepts. Islam is complete code of life which provides guidance in every aspects of life. For instance, in case of prayer, any Muslim can perform with Jamaat or in isolation. But important thing is that it provides the comprehensive social system. When Hazrat Abu Bakar (R.A) was appointed as Caliph, he was asked to do lead (*Imamat*) prayer and it was an indication of state's Imam and it was considered as a justification. The society will capture all aspects which are present in a leader of state. For example, if any king of state has been fond of multiple marriages, it was thought of having depiction in society. But after the arrival of Hazrat Umer Bin Abdul Aziz, society was completely changed. This is the basic message which has also been given by Molana Mawdudi and Hassan al-Banna etc, that Islamic doctrine should be the driving force which brings the societal change. But this has not been acceptable by

Western culture, so many world powers making their efforts best to remove concept of Jihad in Islam and to present different versions as I mentioned earlier...

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- The term 'political Islam' has been coined by the Western mind. We have no evidence of using this term in Muslims Scholars like Mawdudi and Al-Banna and others. All movements led by Muslim scholars are named as political Islam by the Western writers. Later on, all Islamic movements were added in this category. Original or mainstream Islamic movements have the aptitude to spread Islam via peace and preach and want to bring prosperity in the society. On the other side, another term like militant Islam has also been used for movements like TTP (*Tehreek-e-Taliban, Pakistan*). Movements that are spreading extremism have no association with Islamic principles because they are violating these canons.

Political Islam is not a reactionary term rather it is a planned term. When Khilafat was ended then question was rose in Muslim mind regarding governing the collective life. As a result of this, these Islamic movements came forward and political Islamic movements are just those which want to bring Islamic principles into society and law peacefully and through legal and democratic process...

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Chapter 5

Discussion and Conclusion

Research Question 1

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How can Islamic political theory be framed in historical context and after the emergence of political Islam?

The term of ‘Political Islam’ has been incorporated by the Western thoughts and it has passed through various minds. Most of the scholars are of the view that this term has put into usage by well-crafted minds with certain specific background. Even Islam has not put some bifurcations regarding division of this term. It seems that even context has been created for connotation of this term with reference to Muslims efforts in different particular contexts.

“Term of Political Islam has certain wrong interpretations. It reveals certain aims of some media because this term is utilized with specific background. If we analyze Islamic teachings, there is no room for political and nonpolitical division of Islam” Dr. Tanoli

There is a question as why wrong interpretation has been associated with this self-introduced term. There might be two highly debated points here. This term is created purposefully for attaching Islam with that questionable context having no association with true teachings of Islam. On the other side, wrong elucidations were attached to it. It reveals the nature of hatred of Western mind against religion which has tried to malign Islam. Historically, Muslims have endeavored for Islamic rules implementation which is in itself an unacceptable move from Western culture.

“The term of Political Islam has been emerged in late 20th century and is purely based upon typical Western thought” Dr. Absar

One of the Islamic scholars explained that we have no evidence of using political Islam as a term in Muslims which is the clear indication of Western thought. In Muslim Context, efforts have been misanalysed by those who had stakes in dissemination of wrong perceptions and extreme behaviors

against Islam. Movements of Political Islam were based upon the needs of Muslims to practice Islam by all means at state level.

“This term ‘political Islam’ has been coined by Western society. We have no evidence of using this term in Muslims Scholars like Mawdudi and Al-Bana. All movements led by Muslims are named as political Islam by the West. Later on, all those movements which believe extremism were added in this category.” Asif Luqman Qazi

Islam has given the concept of *Khilafat* which is considered as the part of Islamic teachings and was a specific sort of government system just after the demise of the last prophet (PBUH). As opposed to Western government system, Islam distinguishes the requirement of society and all its dimensions so it explains all the affairs and organs of the state. This well-defined governance system of Islam poses a threat to Western system which appears in a way of nervousness against Islamic rubrics and concocts the term ‘Political Islam’. In recent historical context, Molana Mawdudi and Hassan al-Banna have initiated their movements for implementing Islamic principles at state level. Western mindset discerned it with fear that if Islamic rulings were implemented, Western governance structure would be negated. Western mindset had also been involved in developing confusions among Muslims regarding governance system of Islam.

We have examples in which religion has been separated from governing system as in French revolution. Due to this Khilafat in Turkey was demolished in 1924. There is a huge difference found in understating of roles. Islam provides comprehensive guidance in governance system at state and societal level and has mediations in every aspect of life. On the other side, West has put separate ways and considered religion as an individual choice and to detach state governance from religion. The revolution of Iran is based upon Islamic thought which has erupted in a gigantic revolution and it was seen against the Kingdom system. Power just belongs to Almighty Allah and nobody has right to claim that supremacy except Allah. Iran revolution is significant in a way that it has involved intense efforts against Western powers and mindset and has never shaken against all odds. Spectrum of Political Islam has been widened after these incidents. It has always been the aberrant behavior of Western mindset against all these Islamic

movements. Theory of Political Islam has involved huge interventions by the Western thought which is highly biased towards these movements in historical perspective.

“History has some facts like in 1790 during French revolution, religion was removed from political setting and same was the case in Turkey. Now they are not absorbing the separate state ‘Pakistan’ came into existence in 1947 in the name of Islam.” Molana Zahid-ul-Rashidi

To me, it is rightly mentioned by Molana Zahid-ul-Rashidi means this issue was in progress from removing religion from political setting. It appears the dual standards of Western thought. Firstly they removed religion from political affairs and later on attached politics with Islam in terms of new term ‘Political Islam’. This reveals their malevolent designs for slandering Islam. There is a question why the emphasis is on Political Islam despite existence of other religions like Christianity, Hinduism etc. We do not have such terms like Political Christianity, Political Hinduism or Political Judaism etc. Just like all these terms are not used so to introduce ‘Political Islam’ purposefully is not acceptable as said by Dr. Hammad Lakhwi

“According to my viewpoint, term of political Islam is not appropriate. While discussing something such as democracy and relate it to Islam is not right. Islam has its own nature, when democracy portrays the same nature then there are chances that we relate democracy to Islam so it is not suitable. So once we segment Islam on the basis of politics then it is as Political Islam”.

Political efforts were there at the time of Prophet Mohammad (P.B.U.H.) due to which *Riasat-e-Madinah* (state of Madinah) came into existence. All these efforts were just in case of proliferation of Islam. Religion provides strong guidance and gives principles for running a state. Much of the Western literature was of the view that Islam was established as a political entity. From the accounts of different eminent scholars, Islam cannot be separated or put into categories based upon different conceptions like politics, economics etc. It seems that there is a friction between different opinions of Muslim scholars and Western scholars. Theory of political Islam is being debated at large level but to put it a unified frame might be difficult as different subjectivities are involved in it. Yet political theory of Islam can be applied on the basis of principles given by Islam. Because, in different eras, political stance of Islam has been

misinterpreted, as it is evident from different accounts of scholars. Political version of Islam presented by Western thought is completely rejected by all participants. So from the viewpoint of different school of thoughts, consensus is seemed to be developed in their opinions. Another aspect explained by Dr. Hammad Lakhwi was that Islamic scholars are available just to highlight and eradicate social evils so having little or no role in political aspect. It is evident when an Islamic scholar holds the rope of political aspect then there are high chances to implement true Islamic jurisprudence provided selected candidate fulfills all necessary requirements given by Islam.

One of the Egyptians scholars was also of the view that Islam cannot be subcategorized based upon political concepts. An important point, which he explained that up to seventies of past century, Islam was alien to majority of the people in the region of Egypt. Later on, people were turned towards basics of Islam. These arguments manifest the awareness level regarding religion and on the other side movements regarding Islamic laws implementation were on surge. so it can be further explained that the more the knowledge of religion people have, there are high chances of indulgence of people in true effort of Islamic laws implementation provided that intentions are to be pure behind this. This is manifested in history as well because true leaders of Islamic movements have preached these teachings to their masses whether it the case of Iran revolution, or 9/11 incident.

“To me, Pakistan is one of those countries in which Jamaat-e-Islami is considered to be in mainstream movement although they are not much successful in political scenario. In Libya, we see Ikhwan ul Muslimun which has been in mainstream movements. Likewise, in Turkey, Malaysia, Tunis all these have top leadership in this perspective” Asif Luqman Q

When wrong version of Islam was presented by anti-Islamic factors, scholars had really defended this owing to which political Islamic theory has seen diversion in right direction yet bifurcation on political aspect basis is rejected by all participants. After the emergence of Islam in political sense, the political Islam theory can be framed by highlighting the true aspects of political matters in Islam. The concept of state need to be presented in true sense and term ‘political Islam’ is to be revisited so that concept of politics in true sense could be implicated.

Research Question 2

How can we categorize the perceptions of political Islam and its theoretical responses in the East and the West?

Understanding of perceptions of Political Islam is considered significant. As explained earlier that Political Islam in capacity of separate and distinct term has been rejected by eminent scholars. The reason for rejection has been elucidated and based upon those principles as highlighted in Islamic injunctions. Islam has certain rules regarding successive governance of state and politics. But perception of Political Islam which has been developed was occurred in world politics because of the exertions of Muslim groups in different countries. West has put some challenges against Political Islam and introduced their own understanding. It means conception of Political Islam in east was seen friction in sight of west. Many scholars including Javed Ahmad Ghamidi explains Islam in non-political way in order to ensure the Islamic dominance while challenging the political version of Islam presented by the Western scholars. In Western perspective, one perception is to associate extremism with political Islam in terms of Islamic Movements. In political efforts of Muslim, perceptions are not based upon any specific mindset because guidance is present in terms of scriptures like Qur'an and Hadith...

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•Bibliography must be ordered alphabetically by surname of the first author or title if no author is identified.
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- Invert only the first author's name e.g. surname, first name.
- For two to three authors or editors, write out all names in the order they appear on the title page of the source in both your notes and bibliography.
- Chicago style only includes the issue number (e.g. no. 12)
- For four to ten authors, write out all names in the bibliography but use just the first author's name and "et al." in the notes.

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Appendices

Appendix A

List of Scholars for in Depth, Semi-Structured/Open Ended Interviews

- | | |
|------------------------------|--|
| 1. Maulana Zahid-ul-Rashidi, | Renowned scholar, Deobandi school of thought |
| 2. Dr. Qibla Ayaz | Chairman, Islamic council of Ideology, Government of Pakistan |
| 3. Dr. Hammad Lakhwi | Professor, Connected to Salfi School of thought |
| 4. Javaid Ahmad Ghamdi | Renowned scholar, represents modern approach in Islamic thought |
| 5. Ammar Khan Nasir | Prolific writer on political Islam |
| 6. Asif Luqman Qazi | Represents Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan, Author of an article about Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan in "Rethinking political Islam" |
| 7. Abdul Ghaffar Aziz | Director, Foreign affairs, Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan.
Member International Union of Islamic Scholars |
| 8. Dr. Absar Ahmad | Chairman Tanzeem-e-Islami Pakistan |
| 9. Allama Ameen Shaheedi | Renowned Scholar, Shia School of Thought |
| 10. Dr, Tahir Hameed Tanuli | Renowned scholar on <i>Iqbaliat</i> Iqbal Studies |
| 11. Ahmad Hamdy (Egypt) | Egyptian scholar, currently, based in Japan |

Commented [SA83]: •If a paper has one appendix, label it "Appendix".
 •If a paper has more than one appendix then write e.g., "Appendix A", "Appendix B".
 •Place the appendix label and title in bold and centered on separate lines at the top of the page.
 •Use title case for the appendix label and title.

Appendix B

Additional Information about Chicago Manual 2017

Bahadur, Gaiutra. *Coolie Woman: The Odyssey of Indenture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014. First published 2013 by C. Hurst (London).

Commented [SA84]: •Reprint editions

Beiser, Frederick C. *After Hegel: German Philosophy, 1840-1900*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014.

Commented [SA85]: •Dates in titles of cited works.

Bonds, Mark Evan. *Absolute Music: The History of an Idea*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199343638.001.0001>.

Commented [SA86]: •Books consulted online.

Bonnefoy, Yves. *New and Selected Poems*. Edited by John Naughton and Anthony Rudo! Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Commented [SA87]: •Editor in addition to author.

Byrne, Muriel S t. Clare, e d. *The Lisle Letters*. 6 vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.

Commented [SA88]: •Citing a multivolume work as a whole.

Cullen, John B. *Old Times in the Faulkner Country*. In collaboration with Floyd C. Watkins. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961.

Commented [SA89]: •Other contributors listed on the title page.

Feydeau, Georges. *Four Farces by Georges Feydeau*. Translated by Norman R. Shapiro. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970.

Commented [SA90]: •Translator in addition to author.

Franklin, Benjamin. *Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*. Edited by John Bigelow. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1868.

Commented [SA91]: •Author's name in title. The bibliography entry, however, should begin with the author's name, even though it is repeated in the title

Pirumova, Natalia Mikhailovna. *Zemskoe liberal'noe dvizhenie: Sotsial'nye komi I evoliutsiia do nachala XX veka* [The zemstvo liberal movement: Its social roots and evolution to the beginning of the twentieth century] . Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka," 1977.

Commented [SA92]: •Translated titles of cited works.

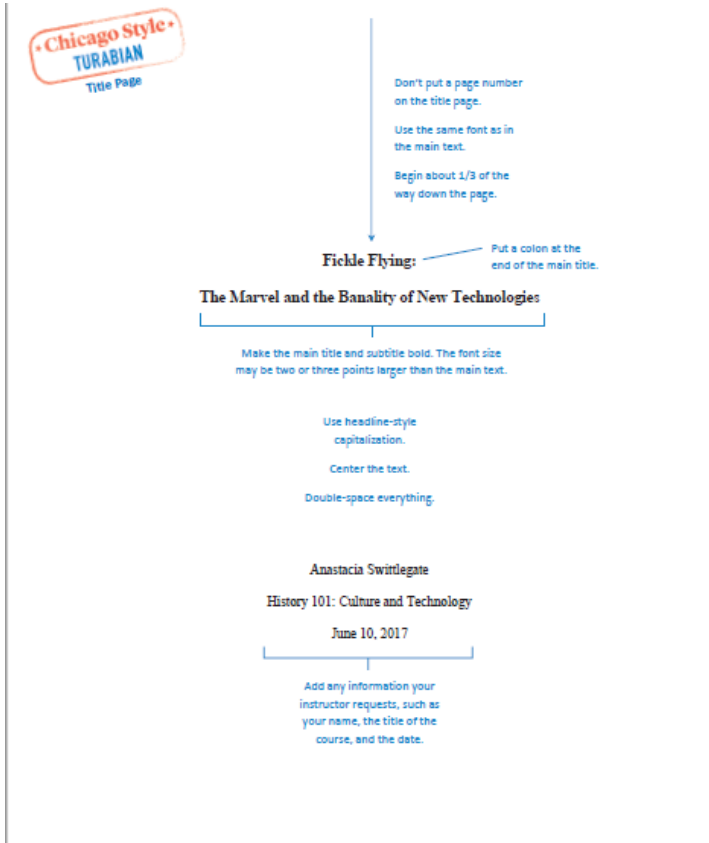
University of Chicago Press. *The Chicago Manual of Style*. 17th ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017.

Commented [SA93]: •Organization as author

Appendix C

Sample Pages Chicago Manual 2017

- Title Page



Chicago Style
TURABIAN
Title Page

Don't put a page number on the title page.
Use the same font as in the main text.
Begin about 1/3 of the way down the page.

Fickle Flying: Put a colon at the end of the main title.

The Marvel and the Banality of New Technologies

Make the main title and subtitle bold. The font size may be two or three points larger than the main text.

Use headline-style capitalization.
Center the text.
Double-space everything.

Anastacia Switdegate
History 101: Culture and Technology
June 10, 2017

Add any information your instructor requests, such as your name, the title of the course, and the date.

• Contents Page

**Chicago Style
TURABIAN**
Table of Contents

Place the title Contents at the top of the first page, centered.

↑ Leave two blank lines between the title and the first item.

↓

Begin the list with items that follow the contents page.

Place page numbers flush right, with leader dots if you wish.

Acknowledgments		v
↑ Two blank lines ↓		
Introduction	Episodes of Central Europe	1
↑ One or two blank lines ↓		
Chapter 1	Central Europe as Intellectual Space	15
↑ One blank line ↓		
Chapter 2	The Rise and Fall of the Self: A Genealogy of Germanophone Philosophy	47
↑ One blank line ↓		
Chapter 3	Aesthetic Selves: Literature as Philosophy	119
↑ One blank line ↓		
Chapter 4	Towards an Aesthetic Self: Rilke's Creation of Malte the Creator	163
↑ One blank line ↓		
Chapter 5	Gombrowicz's Gombrowicz: The Self Among	194
↑ One blank line ↓		
Chapter 6	Noodles in a Tin: Hrabal's Aesthetics of History	232
↑ One or two blank lines ↓		
Conclusion	<i>Vita Nuova</i> , or Hrabal's Aesthetic Legacy	264
↑ Two blank lines ↓		
Bibliography		272

↑ Single-space each item, and add a blank line between items.

↑ Use the same tab stop for each chapter title.

↑ Before and after the list of chapters (including any introduction and conclusion), leave two blank lines.

↑ Also leave two blank lines between numbered parts (not shown here).

↑ Either one or two blank lines can intervene between an introduction and the first chapter or between the last chapter and a conclusion.

↑ Use roman numerals for front matter page numbers, at the top right or bottom center, half an inch from the edge of the page.

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• Introduction Page

Chicago Style
TURABIAN

Margins and Page Numbers

Set margins of at least 1 inch from the edge of the page on all sides (except above a page number in the header or below a page number in the footer).

1 in.

Introduction

Place page numbers at the top right or bottom center, half an inch from the edge of the page.*

1/2 in.

2

1 in.

1 in.

1 in.

Modern air passengers are unhappy about flying. Rather than marvel at traveling safely through the air at 30,000 feet, they complain of delays, small seats, and baggage fees. Instead of celebrating the ability to start one's day in Boston and end it in London, passengers complain of achy legs and long for a good hot meal. Why do travelers today focus on the problems of air travel instead of its wonders? How have we lost sight of the magic of stepping into a flying machine to transport us across continents and oceans?

It turns out that such disillusionment is not specific to the airplane. In fact, initial wonder at technological feats—from the radio, to the automobile, to the television—is almost always eventually lost, usually at a moment when the technology has become accessible enough to lose its aura of exclusivity.

From Awe to Struggs

Airplanes were a technological triumph, but in the early years of commercial flight they also demanded an imaginative leap on the part of anyone contemplating a trip, as Clara Lanahan explains in *The Psychology of Flying*. "Flying through the air, with nothing but a few inches of metal below, was a difficult concept to comprehend," Lanahan writes.¹ Airplane travel required humans to accept the idea that they belonged not only on the ground, but in the air. The idea of flying thus evoked feelings of wonder and awe, which airlines capitalized on in their advertisements.

Other scholars have taken up the idea that flight is so unnatural to humans that we must think in profoundly new ways before we adapt to the technology. For instance on his piloting blog *Way Up There*, Jackson T. Afertapian writes that "the human mind cannot fully reconcile

Don't put a page number on the title page, but count it in the page numbering.

In papers that include front matter numbered with roman numerals, the title page counts as page i. Otherwise, it counts as page 1.

1 in.

*In a thesis or dissertation, page numbers have traditionally been placed (1) in the footer for front matter pages and pages in the text and back matter that have titles (such as a chapter opener) and (2) in the header for all other pages. However, most schools now require a consistent placement of page numbers throughout a paper.

- Tables Format

Chicago Style
TURABIAN
List of Tables or Figures

Put the list in the front matter after the contents page.

Align table (or figure) numbers at the left margin.

Use the same tab stop for each title.

Place the title Tables (or Figures) at the top of the first page, centered.

Leave two blank lines between the title and the first item.

Table (or figure) titles may be shortened for the list.

Place page numbers flush right, with leader dots if you wish.

Use roman numerals for front matter page numbers, at the top right or bottom center.

	Tables	
1.1	Refrain songs in Fascicle XI of <i>F</i>	18
1.2	Refrain songs in Fascicle X of <i>F</i>	25
1.3	Contents of <i>Tours</i> 927.....	29
1.4	Latin refrain songs in <i>Tours</i> : 927.....	30
1.5	Additional musical works in <i>Tours</i> : 927.....	32
1.6	Refrain songs in <i>St. Victor Miscellany</i> with French refrain tags.....	38
1.7	Musical items with refrains in the Sens Feast of the Circumcision (ca. 1222), <i>Sens</i> 46.....	48
1.8	Rhetorical <i>figuræ</i> in Vinsauf's <i>Poetria nova</i> and <i>Documentum de modo et arte dictandi et versificandi</i>	89
1.9	Garlandia, <i>De mensurabili musica</i> , <i>Colores</i> from chapters in F-Pn lat. 16663, folios 66r–76v.....	98
2.1	Biblical references to <i>Cantica nova</i>	117
2.2	Poetic scheme of Latin <i>rithmus</i> , <i>Vocis tripudio</i> , <i>F</i> , folio 465v.....	147
2.3	French and Latin refrain. <i>St. Victor Miscellany</i> , folio 183v.....	179
2.4	Latin and Catalan songs in the <i>Liibre vermell</i> and their rubrics.....	180
2.5	Comparison of thirteenth-century French and Latin <i>rondeaux</i>	245
3.1	Grammatical structuring of <i>Annus novus in gaudio</i>	329
3.2	Grammatical structuring of <i>Dies ista colitur</i>	331
3.3	<i>Cum animadverterem</i> , refrain with person and number, tense, voice, and mood.....	346
3.4	Hymn borrowings in <i>F</i>	370
3.5	First three strophes of <i>Ave maris stella</i> , <i>F</i> , folio 373r, and the hymn <i>Ave maris stella</i>	372

xi

Important! Directions from your teacher, instructor, or dissertation office overrule these guidelines. For more details and examples, see Kate L. Turabian, *A Manual for Writers of Research Papers, Theses, and Dissertations* (Turabian.org) or *The Chicago Manual of Style* (ChicagoManualofStyle.org). © 2018 University of Chicago.

- **Figures Format**

TURABIAN
Figure and Figure Caption

Place a figure either immediately after the paragraph that first mentions it (on the same page or the next) or just before the first mention (but on the same page, as shown here).

136



Place the caption below the figure.

Figure 3.1. *Helpers in a Georgia Cotton Mill*. Photograph by Lewis W. Hine, January 19, 1909. The National Child Labor Committee Collection, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC. LC-DIG-nclc-01581.

Add at least one blank line between the caption and any text below it.

percent of the total.²¹ In both regions, mill children as young as six or seven were engaged in “doffing,” spinning, and other forms of casual labor.²² To compensate for their shorter height, child doffers would stand on top of electric looms to reach the top shelf, where spindles were located (fig. 3.1). The first contact children usually had with mill labor was while accompanying older siblings or parents as they worked. Typically, very young children would begin an informal training whereby they would “help” their relatives, but this regular assistance would soon

Single-space the caption.

Leave the right margin “ragged.”

Use regular text or smaller for the caption.

- Main Text

Chicago Style
TURABIAN
Main Text

Use a widely available, legible font, such as 12 pt. Times New Roman (as shown here) or Calibri, or 11 pt. Arial (some fonts will appear larger than others, even at the same point size). 320

←→ The DPP was successful in attracting an important number of votes in the 1990s, during the first rounds of multiparty elections in Taiwan. Those DPP candidates who campaigned in favor of the country's independence and sovereignty were the most successful ones: "In 1989, eight members of the New Tide Faction joined together to form the pro-independence New National Alliance to contest seats in the December legislative election. All eight were elected, a stunning accomplishment" (Rigger 2001, 124). The party was successful in "stealing" votes from the dominant KMT: in 1991 the DPP obtained 23.9 percent of the vote for the National Assembly elections, and by 1996 this percentage had increased to 29.8 (data in Taiwan-Communiqué 1996). Following the logic of the theory of programmatic capacity, I end this section noting that in the 1990s the KMT adopted many of the policies advocated by the DPP:

By the mid-1990s, all of the concrete items on the DPP's reform agenda had been achieved, and the party was forced to find new issues to attract members and voters.

←→ ... *The KMT has tended to co-opt DPP issue positions that prove popular with voters,* including domestic policy proposals such as national health care and foreign policy initiatives such as the U[nited] N[ations] bid. (Rigger 2001, 151; emphasis added)

Turkey's Democrat Party

←→ Mustafa Kemal founded the Republican People's Party (RPP) in 1923, an organization that would dominate Turkish politics for a quarter of a century. The RPP was, like the PRI in Mexico, a conglomerate of different political groups, including the urban middle class, the state bureaucracy, landowners, and army officers (Ahmad 1977, 1–2). However, unlike the Mexican dominant party, the RPP was never able to develop a structure capable of effectively fostering elite collective action or incorporating the population—via corporatist arrangements—into the party organization. The reason for this was that, contrary to what Calles did in Mexico in 1929, Kemal "felt little need to develop the party organization. The [RPP] leaders did not devote considerable energy to opening up branches across the country. . . . Throughout the 1920s, the

Double-space the main text.
Leave the right margin "ragged."
Quotations of five or more lines should be indented as a block.
Single-space block quotations, and apply a left indent of half an inch.
Leave a blank line before and after the block (but at least two blank lines before a subhead).
Put one space between sentences, not two.

Indent the first line of each new paragraph half an inch.

• Chapter Opening Page

Chicago Style
TURABIAN
Chapter Opening Page

Separate the chapter title from the subtitle (if any) by a colon.

Center the chapter number and chapter title at the top of the first page.
One blank line follows the chapter number, and two blank lines follow the chapter title.

Chapter 5
↑ One blank line
↑ Two blank lines

Libertas Decembrica: Singing Songs in the Christmas Season

Everyone has some liking for those curiously-fashioned little songs which come into brief prominence for a season at the end of the year. . . . In the multitudinous choice of carols it is disconcerting to note how the same stock-pieces crop up year after year, to the exclusion of other and better things. We are too easily put off with the expedient in art; our children do not properly prepare their little programme; our choirmasters all too naturally reach down the old, time-worn sheets that have done duty so long.

←→ 1/2 in.

Chapter epigraphs are formatted as a block quotation. Following a blank line, the source is placed flush right. Two blank lines precede the main text.

↑ One blank line
↑ Two blank lines

—Edmondstone Duncan, "Christmas Carols"

Christmas carols have long held an ambivalent position within contemporary culture, as the above epigraph suggests with its "old, time-worn sheets" of Christmas songs that "crop up year after year."¹ Shopping malls, dentist offices, and radio stations resound untiringly from Thanksgiving to Christmas with the strains of "Away in a Manger" and "Silent Night,"² while in our increasingly multicultural and international communities, nonreligious holiday songs, such as "Rudolph the Red-Nosed Reindeer," are gradually replacing sacred carols. For those, however, for whom the year concludes with Christmas, the familiar refrains of "We Wish You a Merry Christmas" and "The First Nowell" are still recalled and sung from year to year without fail, whether caroling in the streets, worshipping in churches, or sitting around the piano at home. Many of the still-performed carols and hymns can be traced back to the nineteenth century—if not earlier—and can be found in numerous translations and adaptations, resulting in a relatively limited repertory, albeit one with international appeal. While it is a rare occurrence to be able to connect any current carols with those of the Middle Ages or Renaissance, there is no question

1. Edmondstone Duncan, "Christmas Carols," *Musical Times* 55, no. 862 (1914): 687.
2. Hugh Keyte and Andrew Parrott, eds., *The New Oxford Book of Carols* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 300–305 and 59–61.

527 Place the page number at the top right or bottom center, half an inch from the edge of the page.

• Bibliography Page



Bibliography — Center the title Bibliography at the top of the first page and add two blank lines after.

Apply half-inch hanging indents for each entry.

- Afertapian, Jackson T. "What on Earth?." *Way Up There* (blog). January 12, 2013. <-> www.wayupthere.wordpress.com/2013/January2018408. 1/2 in.
- Habadashery, Hannah. Letter to James Habadashery, July 5, 1950. Box 12, Habadashery Family Papers, Louisiana History Repository, Baton Rouge, LA.
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- . "Helicopters and Parenting in the Prevention of Flight Anxiety." *Psychology Matters* 46, no. 3 (2009): 32-76.
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- Luftswaag, Anderson. *The Advent of Air: Cultural Considerations of Flight*. Dallas: Skylar Sisters Press, 1998.
- Dude, Everyone Has a Car*. Directed by Midas Mickelton. Mucas Films, 1972. DVD. 1 hr., 16 min. Mucas Films, 2002.
- Myerson, Whitney F. *Snoozy Cars*. Miami: Hangnail Press, 1980.
- . "Who's Driving My Car?" *Auto-Driven Auto 2* (2018): 14-15.
- Palmadia, Arnold. *Champagne and a Full Recline*. New York: Shady McCrusty, 2010.
- Wileyback, Lia. *Technological Advances in Twentieth-Century Entertainment*. Los Angeles: Emoticon Press, 2001.

Single-space each entry, and add a blank line between entries. Leave the right margin "ragged."

For multiple works by the same author[s], replace the author or authors' names with a 3-em dash in all entries after the first.

• Footnotes



Each footnote should appear at the bottom of the page that includes its numbered in-text reference. 51

earlier voyage. Then Rosa, her new husband, parents, five more of her siblings, one sister-in-law, a fiancée to another brother (these two women were sisters), and Kleberg's own brother Louis followed in the fall of 1834.²²

Many years later, Robert Kleberg reflected without regret on his decision to migrate:

I wished to live under a republican form of Government, with unbounded personal, religious and political liberty, free from the petty tyrannies and the many disadvantages and evils of the old countries. Prussia smarted at that time under an offensive military despotism. I was (and have ever remained) an enthusiastic lover of republican institutions, and I expected to find in Texas, above all other countries, the blessed land of my most fervent hopes.²³

In December of 1834, Rosa and Robert Kleberg's ship wrecked at Galveston, then a largely uninhabited island, instead of landing at the port of Brazoria as planned. Louis von Roeder and Robert Kleberg, who was the only one of the party who already spoke English, left Rosa and the others to watch their considerable baggage and set off on foot to find their relatives who had emigrated earlier. An Indian man helped the party to find them near the location of Cat Spring. Rosa recalled, "He belonged to a troop of Indians who were camping in the neighborhood and from whom our relations had been in the habit of obtaining venison in exchange for ammunition. They found our people in a wretched condition. My sister and one brother had died, while the two remaining brothers were very ill with the fever." Kleberg and the von Roeders rented accommodations in the city of Harrisburg through the winter and until they were all together again, and eventually settled fifty miles west of there, near where the advance party had been living at Cat Spring.²⁴

Indent the first line of each note half an inch like a paragraph in the main text. Use regular text or smaller for the notes.

²² Rosa Kleberg, "Some of My Early Experiences in Texas," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association* 1, no. 4 (April 1898): 297-302, *Handbook of Texas Online*, s.v. "Kleberg, Rosalie von Roeder," and "Kleberg, Robert Justus [I]," accessed Sept. 28, 2010, <http://www.tshaonline.org/>; Tiling, 24-25.

²³ Kleberg notes, 1876, as excerpted in Tiling, 24. Originals in the Rulolph Kleberg Family Papers, 1829-1966, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History (hereafter CAH).

²⁴ Rosa Kleberg, 297-98. For note numbers in the notes, use normal text with a period and space after, or use superscript with a space but no period after.

Use a short rule to separate footnotes from the main text.

Single-space each note, and add a blank line between notes. Leave the right margin "ragged."

- Parenthetical Citations



Immediately after a quotation or other material requiring a citation, include author and year and, for specific passages, a locator.

320

The DPP was successful in attracting an important number of votes in the 1990s, during the first rounds of multiparty elections in Taiwan. Those DPP candidates who campaigned in favor of the country's independence and sovereignty were the most successful ones: "In 1989, eight members of the New Tide Faction joined together to form the pro-independence New National Alliance to contest seats in the December legislative election. All eight were elected, a stunning accomplishment" (Rigger 2001, 124). The party was successful in "stealing" votes from

Do not use punctuation between the author and the date.

Separate the date from a page number with a comma.

The name and date must match those in the reference list entry exactly.

the dominant KMT: in 1991 the DPP obtained 23.9 percent of the vote for the National Assembly elections, and by 1996 this percentage had increased to 29.8 (data in Taiwan-

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section noting that in the 1990s the KMT adopted many of the policies advocated by the DPP:

By the mid-1990s, all of the concrete items on the DPP's reform agenda had been achieved, and the party was forced to find new issues to attract members and voters. . . . *The KMT has tended to co-opt DPP issue positions that prove popular with voters, including domestic policy proposals such as national health care and foreign policy initiatives such as the U[nited] N[ations] bid.* (Rigger 2001, 151; emphasis added)

The closing parenthesis precedes a comma, period, or other mark when the quotation is run into the text.

At the end of a block quotation, the opening parenthesis follows terminal punctuation.

Turkey's Democrat Party

Mustafa Kemal founded the Republican People's Party (RPP) in 1923, an organization that would dominate Turkish politics for a quarter of a century. The RPP was, like the PRI in Mexico, a conglomerate of different political groups, including the urban middle class, the state bureaucracy, landowners, and army officers (Ahmad 1977, 1-2). However, unlike the Mexican dominant party, the RPP was never able to develop a structure capable of effectively fostering elite collective action or incorporating the population—via corporatist arrangements—into the party organization. The reason for this was that, contrary to what Calles did in Mexico in 1929, Kemal "felt little need to develop the party organization. The [RPP] leaders did not devote considerable energy to opening up branches across the country. . . . Throughout the 1920s, the