

PO/IR 332 THE EUROPEAN UNION AND THE MUSLIM WORLD

IES Abroad Freiburg

DESCRIPTION: This foreign policy course offers a systematic overview on Europe's relations with the Muslim World and Muslim Communities, including inside Europe, on the periphery of Europe as well as beyond Europe. It encompasses issues of security, international relations, comparative public policy and intercultural dialogue.

The course will cover:

- 1.The Europe and the Muslim World – Background, Concepts, Actors
- 2.Relations within the European Union with its Muslim communities
- 3.Relations with the periphery: the importance of Turkey to the EU
- 4.Relations beyond Europe
- 5.Wrap up: The way forward and comparative approaches.

CREDITS: 3

CONTACT HOURS: 45 (including course-related trips, for detailed explanation see below)

LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION: English

ADDITIONAL COST: None

PREREQUISITES: One course in international relations, political science, or post- World War II European history

METHOD OF PRESENTATION:

Seminar lectures and discussions, presentations, case studies.

REQUIRED WORK AND FORM OF ASSESSMENT:

- Participation in seminar discussions 10%
- Analytic writing assignment 20%
- Essay 20%
- Midterm exam 25%
- Final exam 25%

Course Participation and Seminar Discussions

The participation grade reflects students' attentiveness and involvement in all kinds of classroom activities, particularly discussions and group work. Students are required to complete all reading assignments and will be expected to demonstrate this through insightful and relevant contributions to in-class discussion. Seminar discussions are based upon the compulsory readings and teaching introductions to the subject given at each session. The lecturer will give an introduction and background to the topic and all students are expected to join the seminar discussions following the teaching introductions with (prepared) questions and points related to the readings. Additional material may also be distributed in class by the instructor in order to briefly develop relevant points raised.

A	Excellent participation The student's contributions reflect an active reading of the assigned bibliography. Skillfully synthesizes the main ideas of the readings and raises questions about the applications and implications of the material. Demonstrates, through questions and comments, that he or she has been capable of relating the main ideas in the readings to the other information discussed in the course, and with his or her own life experience. The student makes informed judgments about the readings and other ideas discussed in class, providing evidence
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	and reasons. He/she respectfully states his/her reactions about other classmates' opinions and is capable of contributing to the inquiry spiral with other questions. The student gets fully involved in the completion of the class activities.
B	Very good participation The student's contributions show that the assigned materials are usually read. Most of the time the main ideas are identified, even though sometimes it seems that applications and implications of the information read were not properly reflected upon. The student is able to construct over others' contributions, but sometimes seems to interrupt the shared construction to go over tangents. He/she is respectful of others' ideas. Regularly involved in the activities but occasionally loses concentration or energy.
C	Regular participation The participant evidences a regular reading of the bibliography, but in a superficial way. He/she tries to construct over others' ideas, but commonly provides comments that indicate lack of preparation about the material. Frequently, contributions are shallow or unarticulated with the discussion in hand.
F	Insufficient participation Consistently, the participant reads in a shallow way or does not read at all. Does not participate in an informed way and shows lack of interest in constructing over others' ideas.

Analytic writing assignment

Students will complete an analytic writing assignment (1500-1600 words) that will be written on session-related topics (a discussion question will be provided for each written assignment). Written assignment is to be submitted via Moodle before the start of the respective session indicated in the syllabus.

Essay

Students will write an essay (1500-1600 words). Students are required to discuss methodological issues with instructor no later than one week before the submission deadline (see office hours). Essay will be written on session-related topics. The essay and written assignments will develop the capacity for critical academic analysis and serve as a basis for seminar discussions and group projects. They are to be submitted via Moodle.

Guidelines with details of the assessment criteria (content, structure, format) are made available in class.

Midterm Exam

The mid-term (session ...) covers key aspects of the first half of the course. A study guide will be provided beforehand.

Final Exam

The final exam (session 19) covers material of the whole course, with a focus on the second half of the term. A study guide will be provided beforehand.

LEARNING OUTCOMES:

By the end of the course students will be able to:

- Analyze the complex political ties and intercultural challenges of the European Union and Muslim countries and communities throughout the world practically and theoretically
- Discuss Euro-Arab relations, conflicts and security issues.
- Analyze the multi-faceted dimensions and strategic importance of EU-Muslim World relations in a multipolar international order,
- Compare and contrast the EU perspective and US approaches in assessing dialogue and cooperation with Muslim countries.
- Demonstrate a deeper understanding of the intercultural communication aspects and perspectives of international relations beyond the usual "clash of civilizations" or religious-secular polemics.

ATTENDANCE POLICY:

All IES courses require attendance and participation. Attendance is mandatory per IES Abroad policy. Any unexcused absence will incur a penalty on your final course grade (1 absence - 1%, 2nd absence -2%, 3rd absence – 3%). Any student

who has more than three (3) unexcused absences will receive an “F” as the final grade in the course. Any student who misses more than 25% of a course, whether the absences are excused or are unexcused, will receive an “F” as the final grade in the course. Absences due to sickness, religious observances, and family emergencies may be excusable at the discretion of the Center Director. In the case of an excused absence, it is the student’s responsibility to inform the Academic Dean of the absence with an Official Excused Absence Form, as well as any other relevant documentation (e.g. a doctor’s note), and to keep a record thereof. The absence form must be turned in as soon as possible before the class, in the case of a planned absence, or immediately upon return to the Center, in the case of an unplanned absence, in order for the absence to be considered excused. It is also the student’s responsibility to inform the professor of the missed class. Students can collect and submit the Official Excused Absence Form from the office of the Academic Dean.

TESTS, QUIZZES, OR PRESENTATIONS MISSED DURING UNEXCUSED ABSENCES CANNOT BE MADE UP!

ASSIGNMENTS NOT HANDED IN ON THE DUE DATE WILL BE SUBJECT TO A 3% PENALTY PER DAY POST-DUE DATE (with the exception of students who have an excused absence).

CONTENT:

Week	Content	Assignments
Session 1	The European Union and the Muslim World • Introduction to the course • Europe and the Muslim Word • Models of integration in Western Europe • Current challenges and debates: democracy, values, secularism, conversions, and violence	Required Readings: • Aydin, The Idea of the Muslim World, pp. 1-13 • Tolan, Europe and the Islamic World, pp. 87-107
Session 2	The Muslim World as a European Imagination • Historical background and legacy • Orientalism and European Colonialism • Orientalism and its implications for the relations between Europe and the Muslim world	Required Readings: • Lockman, Contending Visions of the Middle East, pp. 66-98 Recommended Reading: • Wiedemann, <u>Narrating the History of the Other(s). The Near East in European Historiographical Accounts of the 19th and 20th Centuries</u>, pp. 191-207.
Session 3	The “Clash of Civilizations” Debate • After the Cold War: F. Fukuyama and the ‘end of history’ • Europe and the Muslim world – a story of clash and dialogue? • Huntington’s concepts of culture and civilization Analysis and debate	Required Readings: • Huntington, The Clash of Civilizations, pp. 22-49 • Haynes, Huntington’s ‘Clash of Civilizations’ Today: Responses and Developments, pp. 52-62.

Session 4	Islam in the West or Westernized Islam? - Globalization and Islam - The decoupling of culture and religion	Required Readings: - Roy, <u>Islam in the West or Western Islam</u>, pp. 127-132 - Bowen, <u>Islamic Adaptations</u>, pp. 1601-1615
Session 5	Integrating Islam in Europe and the transformation of the public sphere - Current challenges and debates: assimilation vs. multiculturalism - Burqa ban debate	Required Readings: Ziaka, Islam, <u>Europe and Democracy. Seeking Answers in an ongoing Discussion</u>, pp.17-24.
Experiencing Europe: “European Parliament” Course-Related Trip, Destination: Strasbourg, France (1 day)		
Session 6	The Decline of European Multiculturalism: Muslim communities, Radicalism, Islamophobia and the Rise of Right-wing Populism in Europe Analysis and debate	Required Readings: Mudde, <u>Populism in Europe</u>, pp. 577-597.
Experiencing Europe: “EU Institutions” Course Related Trip, Destinations: Brussels, Belgium, and Paris, France (7 days)		
Session 7	Germany: incremental integration into a corporatist society - The success and limits of legal multiculturalism - The challenge of the current refugee crisis Analytic Writing Assignment 2 due	Required Readings: - Ahmed and Psoiu, <u>Uniting the far right: how the far-right extremist, New Right, and populist frames overlap on Twitter – a German case study</u>, pp. 232-254. - Lewicki, <u>Race, Islamophobia and the Politics of Citizenship in Post-Unification Germany. Patterns of Prejudice</u>, pp. 496-512

Session 8	France: Laïcité and the perils of a secular <i>reconquista</i> Decolonization and Violence – Reshaping Citizenship and National Identity in Post-Imperial France. • The failure of the republican model of assimilation and the crisis of French identity • Algerians – between colonial subjects and French citizens • The war of independence, 1954-62. • The Mediterranean – new boundary between European self and Muslim other? • Transforming and reconfiguring citizenship and national identity in post-imperial France	Required Readings: • Jouili, <u>Pious Practice and Secular Constraints</u>, pp. 153-186 Recommended Readings: • Shepard, <u>The Invention of Decolonization</u>, pp. 1-15 and pp. 229-247
Session 9	Mid-term Exam	
Session 10	The Rise of Islam in Politics in the Western Balkans Islam and Politics in Post-Socialist Southeastern Europe • From Empire to Nation-state • Islam and Politics in Southeastern Europe after the Cold War • Islam and the re-constitution of national identity in Bosnia • Islam between political identity and religious practice • Case study: Is there a 'model of European Islam' in Bosnia?	Required Readings: • Clayer and Bougarel, <u>Europe's Balkan Muslims</u>, pp. 167-208 Recommended Readings: • Elbasani, <u>The Revival of Islam in the Post-Communist Balkans: Coercive Nationalisms and New Pathways to God</u>
Session 11	EU-Turkey Relations Whither Turkey? The Limits of Political Liberalization and the Raise of Neo-Authoritarianism • Turkey's liminal position: between integration and Europe's 'other' • Islam and the Turkish Nation • Transformation of Turkish politics • Social movements and the weakness of civil society	Required Readings: • Müftüler-Baç, <u>Remolding the Turkey-EU Relationship</u>, pp.119-128. • Çinar, <u>From Moderation to De-Moderation</u>, pp. 127-157 Recommended Reading: • Gürleyen, <u>What did they promise, what did they deliver</u>, pp. 109-130
Experiencing Europe: The European Union Funds in the Region, Destination: South Baden, Germany (1 day)		

Session 12	The Arab Spring – From Protest to Revolution The Arab Uprisings – Revolutions Without Revolutionaries? The failure of political transformation? • The Arab Spring – from protest to revolution • Revolution without revolutionaries? • The failure of political transformation?	Required Readings: • Bayat, <u>Plebeians of the Arab Spring</u>, pp. 33-43. • Gaffar, <u>Democratization and the Arab Spring: A Theoretical Perspective</u>, pp.112-130. Recommended Readings: • Bayat, <u>Revolution Without Revolutionaries</u>, pp. 153-178 • Worth, <u>A Rage for Order</u>, pp. 17-35
Session 13	The European Union and the Arab Spring • Conviction or <i>Realpolitik</i>?	Required Readings: • Colombo and Soler i Lecha, <u>Europe and the ‘New’ Middle East</u>, pp. 403-422. • Gani, <u>From discourse to practice: Orientalism, western policy and the Arab uprisings</u> pp.45-65. Recommended Readings: • Del Sarto, <u>Normative Empire Europe: The European Union, its Borderlands and the “Arab Spring”</u>, pp. 1-18.
Session 14	The New Arab Winter? – from Civil War to the Counter-Revolution Political Islam: Voices, Ideologies and Movements Failed transition; authoritarian backlash; internal conflicts and the ‘success’ of ISIS • Islamist Ideologies and Movements • The Failure of Political Islam • Towards Post-Islamist Politics	Required Readings: • Roy, <u>The Failure of Political Islam</u>, pp. 1-27 Recommended Readings: • Burgat, <u>Face to Face with Political Islam</u>, pp. 43-72
Session 15	The New Middle East: a region between continued fragmentation and geopolitical reordering • International diplomacy • Saudi-Arabia and Iran: from competition to cooperation or conflict? • Authoritarian backlash and civil war • Iran – From Revolutionary to Post-Revolutionary Polity • Authoritarian Modernization • From Revolution to Post-Islamism? • The Green Movement	Required Readings: • Beck, <u>Aggravated Struggle for Regional Power in the Middle East</u>, pp. 84-92. • Kamrava, <u>Accessing the Multipolarity and Instability in the Middle East</u>, pp. 981: 1-19. Recommended Readings: • Baczko, <u>Civil War in Syria</u>, pp. 178-222

		• Mirsepassi, Ali, <u>Intellectual Discourse and the Politics of Modernization</u>, pp. 96-128 • Abrahamian, <u>Khomeinism</u>, pp. 13-38. • Bayat, <u>Life as Politics</u>, pp. 284-304.
Experiencing Europe: “EU Member States Course Related Trip” Destinations: 2 countries (see selection in description below) – 7 days		
Session 16	Turkey and the New Middle East • Current geopolitical challenges	Required Readings: • Pace and Bilgic, <u>Trauma, Emotions and Memory in World Politics</u>, pp. 503-517. Recommended Readings: • Karabekir <i>et al.</i>, <u>The Western Condition: Turkey, the US and the EU in the New Middle East</u>
Session 17	Relations with the Muslim World – a comparison of EU and US approaches • Same goals, different approaches?	Required Readings: • Fakoussa, <u>The EU Green Deal. A new Momentum for Democratic Governance in the MENA Region?</u>
Session 18	Wrap-up: Final discussion	See Moodle for additional material
Session 19	Final Exam	

COURSE-RELATED TRIPS:

- Franco-German History Trip: Alsace, France– 1 day

During the first course related trip you will visit two significant historical and cultural landmarks in Franco-German history. You will have guided tours and learn about how age-old controversies and catastrophes in the heartland of Europe are represented, the role of memorials in constructing a European identity, and the challenges of overcoming centuries of conflict and rivalry.

- Germany in Europe: Then and Now Trip: Berlin, Germany – 5 days

During the course-related trip to Berlin, you will continue to learn about the past and present of German culture, economy and politics of Germany. Historically this capital is a crucial place if one wants to understand the importance German politics has for the dynamics of European integration. In Berlin you will learn about the fall of the Berlin Wall, the reunification of Europe after the end of the Cold War, the challenges that emerged during the process of post-communist transition and about Germany’s hegemonic position within the EU.

- EU Parliament Trip: Strasbourg, France – 1 day

During this one-day trip, which is thematically linked to the EU Institutions trip you will visit the European Parliament in session in Strasbourg, France. There you will attend the parliamentary session and meet a Member of European Parliament who will discuss current events and elaborate on the workings of the European Parliament.

- EU Institutions Trip: Brussels, Belgium and Paris, France – 7 days

This course related trip will take you first to Brussels, the EU's institutional power center. In Brussels you will have the opportunity to meet with not only EU officials but also representatives of national delegations to the EU, think tanks and NGOs, as well as academic experts. The EU institutions you will visit include the European Commission, the Council of the EU and the European Council and you will have a chance to discuss with those actors who draft, shape and finally take decisions in the European Union. You will continue to have first-hand experience of the EU by visiting various agencies, institutions, and museums in Paris, you will meet French academic experts to discuss French culture, economy, politics and society.

- EU Funds in the Region Trip: South Baden, Germany – 1 day

This day trip will start with a meeting where an expert from the region will introduce you to EU's agricultural and structural funds and their implementation with examples from the region. Following the meeting you will visit a family farm that is typical for South Baden.

- EU Member States Trip - 7 days

Students choose 1 out of the three following course related trip options, e.g.:

- 1) Stockholm, Sweden; Warsaw, Poland/Prague, Czechia.
- 2) Rome, Italy; Budapest, Hungary
- 3) Athens, Greece; Sofia, Bulgaria/Bucharest, Romania

The destinations may vary according to the topicality and nature of challenges of the EU and its integration process. The member states of the EU are still characterized by different state structures, economic ideologies and cultural identities. This last course-related trip gives you the opportunity to choose between three different trip options. On these trips, you will learn about the current challenges of European integration. Experiencing the particularities and cultural diversity of these societies is essential in order to understand the variation in terms of domestic debates and national preferences when it comes to such important issues like, for instance, immigration, macroeconomic integration as well as European security.

REQUIRED READINGS:

- Ahmed, Reem / Pisoiu, Daniela (2020) Uniting the Far Right: How the Far-Right Extremist, New Right, and Populist Frames Overlap on Twitter – a German Case Study. *European Societies*, 23(2): 232-254.
- Al-Kassimi, Khaled (2021) A “New Middle East” Following 9/11 and the “Arab Spring” of 2011? (Neo)-Orientalist Imaginaries Rejuvenate the (Temporal) Inclusive Exclusion Character of Jus Gentium. *Laws*, 10(29): 1-33.
- Amiraux, Valérie (2012) Racialization and the Challenge of Muslim integration in the European Union. In: Akbarzadeh, Shahram (ed.) *Handbook of Political Islam*. London: Routledge, 205-224.
- Anagnostou, Dia (2007) Development, discrimination and reverse discrimination: effects of EU integration and regional change on the Muslims of Southeast Europe. In: Al-Azmeh, Aziz / Fokas, Effie (eds) *Islam in Europe: Diversity, Identity and Influence*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 149-182.
- Aydin, Cemil (2017) Introduction. In: Id. *The Idea of the Muslim World. A global intellectual history*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1-13.
- Bayat, Asef (2015) Plebeians of the Arab Spring. *Current Anthropology*, 56:11, 33-43.
- Beck, Martin (2020) The Aggravated Struggle for Regional Power in the Middle East: American Allies Saudi Arabia and Israel versus Iran. *Global Policy*, 11:1, 84-92.
- Bicchi, Federica / Voltolini, Benedetta (2022) The European Union and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict: How Member States came together only to fall apart again. In: Bouris, Dimitris / Huber, Daniela / Pace, Michelle (eds.) *Routledge Handbook of EU–Middle East Relations*. London: Routledge.
- Cesari, Jocelyn (2007) Muslim identities in Europe: the snare of exceptionalism. In: Al-Azmeh, Aziz / Fokas, Effie (eds) *Islam in Europe: Diversity, Identity and Influence*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 49-67.
- Colombo, Silvia / Soler i Lecha, Eduard (2021) Europe and the ‘New’ Middle East. *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, 23(3): 403-422.
- Fakoussa, Dina (2022) The EU Green Deal. A new Momentum for Democratic Governance in the MENA Region? Barcelona: European Institute for the Mediterranean, www.euromesco.net/wp-content/uploads/2022/01/Paper-N%C2%BA-47.pdf.

- Gaffar, Abdul (2017) Democratization and the Arab Spring: A Theoretical Perspective. *Mediterranean Quarterly*, 28(3): 112-130.
- Gani, Jasmine K. (2022) From discourse to practice: Orientalism, western policy and the Arab uprisings. *International Affairs*, 98(1): 45-65.
- Hauser, Jonathan (2021) Education, secularism, and illiberalism: Marginalisation of Muslims by the French state. *French Cultural Studies*, 32:2, 149-162.
- Haynes, Jeffrey (2018) Huntington's 'Clash of Civilizations' Today: Responses and Developments, in: Orsi, Davide (ed.) *The 'Clash of Civilizations' 25 Years On: A Multidisciplinary Appraisal*. Bristol: E-International Relations, 52-62.
- Huntington, Samuel P. (1993) The clash of civilizations? *Foreign Affairs*, 72(3): 22-49.
- Josua, Maria / Edel, Mirjam (2021) The Arab uprisings and the return of repression. *Mediterranean Politics*, 26:5, 586-611.
- Kamrava, Mehvan (2018) Accessing the Multipolarity and Instability in the Middle East. *Orbis*, 981: 1-19.
- Koppa, Maria Eleni (2021) Turkey, Gulf States and Iran in the Western Balkans: more than the Islamic factor? *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 29:2, 251-263.
- Lesińska, Magdalena (2014) The European Backlash against Immigration and Multi-culturalism. *Journal of Sociology*, 50:1, 37-50.
- Lewicki, Aleksandra (2018) Race, Islamophobia and the Politics of Citizenship in Post-Unification Germany. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 52(5): 496-512.
- Lippert, Barbara (2021) Turkey as a Special and (Almost) Dead Case of EU Enlargement Policy. In: Reiners, Wulf / Turhan, Ebru (eds.) *EU-Turkey Relations: Theories, Institutions, and Policies*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 267-293.
- Lockman, Zachary (2004) Orientalism and Empire. In: id. *Contending Visions of the Middle East: The History and Politics of Orientalism*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 66-98.
- Mudde, Cas (2021) Populism in Europe: An Illiberal Democratic Response to Undemocratic Liberalism. *Government & Opposition*, 56: 577-597.
- Müftüler-Baç, Meltem (2018) Remolding the Turkey-EU Relationship. *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, 17:1, 119-128.
- Mullin, Corinna / Patel, Ian (2015) Governing Revolt: EU-North African Relations after the 'Arab Spring' Uprisings. *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, 9(2): 162-189.
- Nielsen, Jorgen S. (2004) European Culture and Islam & Islam in Europe. *The Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World*. New York: Macmillan, 234-239.
- Pace, Michelle / Bilgic, Ali (2018) Trauma, emotions, and memory in world politics: The case of the European Union's foreign policy in the Middle East conflict. *Political Psychology*, 39(3): 503-517.
- Peker, Efe (2020) Right-Wing Populism and the Securitisation of Laïcité – Narratives in French Education Policy. *Social Policy and Society*, 20(2): 326-339.
- Perthes, Volker (2018) Conflict and Realignment in the Middle East. *Survival*, 60(3): 95-104.
- Roy, Olivier (2006) Islam in the West or Western Islam? The Disconnect of Religion and Culture. *The Hedgehog Review*, 8(1-2): 127-132.
- Völkel, Jan Claudius (2022) A disastrous decade — BTI Regional Report Middle East and North Africa. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Stiftung 2022, <https://bti-project.org/en/reports/middle-east-and-north-africa>.
- Wiedemann, Felix (2019) Narrating the History of the Other(s). The Near East in European Historiographical Accounts of the 19th and 20th Centuries. In: Brehl, Medardus / Eckl, Andreas / Platt, Kristin (eds.) *The Mediterranean Other - The other Mediterranean*. The Hague: Brill, 191-207.
- Ziaka, Angeliki (2021) Islam, Europe and Democracy. Seeking Answers in an ongoing Discussion. *Giornale di Filosofia*, 1: 17-24, <https://mimesisjournals.com/ojs/index.php/giornale-filosofia/article/view/1288>.

RECOMMENDED READINGS:

- Al-Rasheed, Madawi (2015) Is it always good to be king? Saudi regime resilience after the 2011 Arab popular uprisings (LSE Middle East Centre Paper Series 12). London: LSE.
- Amghar, Samir et al. (2007) *European Islam. Challenges for Public Policy and Society*. Brussels: CEPS.
- Amiriaux, Valérie and David Koussens (2013) *From Law to Narratives. Unveiling Contemporary French Secularism* (RECODE Working Paper No. 19). Augsburg: RECODE.
- Asad, T. (2003) *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity*. Stanford University Press.

- Asseburg, M. (ed.) (2012) *Protest, Revolt and Regime Change in the Arab World. Actors, Challenges, Implications and Policy Options*. Berlin: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik.
- Ayoob, M. (2008) *The Many Faces of Political Islam*. University of Michigan Press.
- Barnes-Dacey, J. and D. Levy (ed.) (2013) *The Regional Struggle for Syria*. London: ECFR.
- Barnes-Dacey, Julien, Ellie Geranmayeh, and Daniel Levy (2015) *The Islamic State through the Regional Lens*. London: ECFR.
- Bassiri Tabrizi, A. (2014) *The EU's sanctions regime against Iran in the aftermath of the JPA (Policy Memo)*. London: ECFR.
- Del Sarto, Raffaella A. (2015) 'Normative Empire Europe: The European Union, its Borderlands and the "Arab Spring"', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 2015, early view, pp. 1-18.
- Elbasani, Arolda (2015) *The Revival of Islam in the Post-Communist Balkans: Coercive Nationalisms and New Pathways to God (EUI Working Paper RSCAS 2015/28)*. San Domenico di Fiesole: EUI.
- Engaging with Iran: A European Agenda (Policy Brief 139). London: ECFR.
- Esposito, J. L. (1998) *Islam: The Straight Path*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gürleyen, Isik. (2013) *What did they promise and what did they deliver? The AKP and the CHP, in Turkey's Democratization Process*, Carmen Rodriguez et al. (eds.), Routledge.
- Hanioglu, Sükrü M. (2008) *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*. Princeton and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- International Crisis Group (2013) *Bosnia's Dangerous Tango: Islam and Nationalism (Europe Briefing N° 70)*. Sarajevo and Brussels: ICG.
- International Crisis Group (2014) *Iran and the P5+1: Getting to "Yes" (Middle East Briefing N° 40)*. Istanbul: ICG.
- International Crisis Group (2015) *Libya: Getting Geneva Right (Middle East and North Africa Report N° 157)*. Brussels: ICG.
- Karabekir, A., K. Nicolaïdis, and K. Öktem (2013) *The Western Condition: Turkey, the US and the EU in the New Middle East (South East European Studies at Oxford, SEESOX)*, University of Oxford.
- Khosrokhavar, Farhad (2017) *Radicalization. Why Some People Choose the Path of Violence*. New York and London: The New Press.
- Kirişçi, Kemal and Elizabeth Ferris (2015) *Not Likely to Go Home: Syrian Refugees and the Challenges to Turkey – and the International Community (Turkey Project Policy Paper Number 7)*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings.
- Korteweg, Anna C. and Gökçe Yurdakul (2014) *The Headscarf Debates. Conflicts of National Belonging*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Kortmann, Matthias and Kerstin Rosenow-Williams (2013) 'Islamic Umbrella Organizations and Contemporary Political Discourse on Islam in Germany: Self-Portrayals and Strategies of Interaction', *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 33: 1, pp. 41-60.
- LeVine, Mark (2008) *Heavy Metal Islam. Rock, Resistance, and the Struggle for the Soul of Islam*. New York: Three Rivers Press.
- Makdisi, Ussama (2000) *The Culture of Sectarianism. Community, History, and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Lebanon*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Marcou, Jean (2013) *Turkey's Foreign Policy: Shifting Back to the West after a Drift to the East? (Turkey Policy Brief Series 8)*. Ankara: tepav.
- Pierini, Marc and Sinan Ülgen (2014) *A Moment of Opportunity in the EU–Turkey Relationship*. Brussels: Carnegie Europe.
- Posch, W. (2013) *The Third World, Global Islam and Pragmatism. The Making of Iranian Foreign Policy*. Berlin: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik.
- Seufert, Günter (2015) *The Return of the Kurdish Question (SWP Comments 38)*. Berlin: SWP."
- Tarlo, Emma (2007) 'Islamic Cosmopolitanism: The Sartorial Biographies of Three Muslim Women in London', *Fashion Theory* 11: 2/3, pp. 143-172.
- Wiedemann, Felix (2019) *Narrating the History of the Other(s). The Near East in European Historiographical Accounts of the 19th and 20th Centuries*. In: Brehl, Medardus, Eckl, Andreas, Platt, Kristin (eds.) *The Mediterranean Other – The other Mediterranean*. The Hague: Brill, 191-207.