

Institutional Origins of Islamist Political Mobilization

Muslim countries experience wide variation in levels of Islamist political mobilization, including such political activities as protest, voting, and violence. *Institutional Origins of Islamist Political Mobilization* provides a theory of the institutional origins of Islamist politics, focusing on the development of religious common knowledge, religious entrepreneurship, and coordinating focal points as critical to the success of Islamist activism. Examining Islamist politics in more than fifty countries over four decades, the book illustrates that Islamist political activism varies a great deal, appearing in specific types of institutional contexts. Detailed case studies of Turkey, Algeria, and Senegal demonstrate how diverse contexts yield different types of Islamist politics across the Muslim world.

QUINN MECHAM is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Brigham Young University. His research focuses on political Islam, identity politics, civil conflict, electoral behavior, and democratic development. He is co-editor (with Julie Chernov Hwang) of *Islamist Parties and the Normalization of Muslim Politics* (2014) and is the author of numerous scholarly articles focusing on topics including opposition in authoritarian regimes, Islamist electoral behaviour, and protest movements. He has taught at Middlebury College and George Washington University. He was an Academy Scholar at Harvard University and served as Franklin Fellow on the policy planning staff of the U.S. Department of State.

Institutional Origins of Islamist Political Mobilization

QUINN MECHAM

Brigham Young University



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press
 978-1-107-04191-2 — Institutional Origins of Islamist Political Mobilization
 R. Quinn Mecham
 Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

One Liberty Plaza, New York NY 10006, USA

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107041912

© Quinn Mecham 2017

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2017

Printed in the United States of America by Sheridan Books, Inc.

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

NAMES: Mecham, Quinn, author.

TITLE: Institutional origins of Islamist political mobilization / Quinn Mecham.

DESCRIPTION: New York, NY : Cambridge University Press, 2017.

IDENTIFIERS: LCCN 2016042163 | ISBN 9781107041912 (hardback) |

ISBN 9781107615106 (paperback)

SUBJECTS: LCSH: Political participation—Islamic countries. | Islam and politics—Islamic countries. | Islamic countries—Politics and government.

CLASSIFICATION: LCC JQ1852.A91 M43 2017 | DDC 323/.042091767—dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2016042163>

ISBN 978-1-107-04191-2 Hardback

ISBN 978-1-107-61510-6 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>page</i> vii
<i>List of Tables</i>	ix
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xi
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xiii
Introduction	I
1 Islam and Political Mobilization	II
2 From the Sacred to the State: A Theory of Islamist Mobilization	37
3 A Political Geography of the Sacred: Variation in Islamist Political Mobilization across Space and Time	71
4 Explaining Low Islamist Mobilization: Muslims and Politics in Senegal	105
5 Voting for Welfare and Virtue: Islamist Electoral Mobilization in Turkey	139
6 When Islam Defines Politics: From Voting to Violence in Algeria	186
7 Conclusion: The Institutional Origins of Islamist Mobilization	212
Epilogue: Islamist Mobilization in the Arab Uprisings	224
<i>Appendices</i>	239
<i>Notes</i>	245
<i>Index</i>	265

Figures

1.1 Spheres of Mobilization	<i>page</i> 15
2.1 Islamist Preferences Vary Both in Type and in Intensity	40
2.2 Key Actors and Decisions in Islamist Mobilization	49
2.3 Institutional Contexts that Enable Islamist Mobilization	68
3.1 Islamist Political Mobilization, 1970–2010	83
3.2 Number of Countries with Islamist Political Mobilization, 1970–2009	88
3.3 Average Intensity of Islamist Political Mobilization, 1970–2010	89
3.4 HDI and Islamist Mobilization	90
3.5 Islamic History and Mobilization	95
5.1 Average Provincial Votes for Islamist Parties by Region, 1970–2000	157
5.2 Average Islamist Voting by Province in Turkish National Elections, 1970–2000	157
5.3 Percent Enrollment in Religious Secondary Schools	167
5.4 Religious Books as Percent of Total Books	168
5.5 Religious Periodicals as Percent of Total Periodicals	168
5.6 Percent Change in the Consumer Price Index (Istanbul)	172

Tables

1.1	Typology of Islamic Movements	<i>page</i> 13
3.1	Polities with Muslim Populations >25 Percent	72
3.2	Geography of Islamist Violence 1970–2010	73
3.3	Geography of Islamist Protest 1970–2010	76
3.4	Average Freedom House Score 1970–2010	77
3.5	Geography of Islamist Voting 1970–2010	78
3.6	Factor Scores of Islamist Mobilization by Country 1970–2010	82
3.7	Change in Ordinal Mobilization Score between the Periods 1970–1999 and 2000–2009 by Country	87
3.8	Summary of Variable Correlations with Islamist Mobilization	103
5.1	Electoral Returns for Turkish Islamist Parties 1973–2003	154
5.2	Turkish Provincial Correlates of Islamist Voting	160

Acknowledgments

A great number of people have contributed their time and ideas to this project, far more than I can name individually. They include scholars and mentors such as David Abernethy, Larry Diamond, David Laitin, Jim Fearon, Doug McAdam, Abdulkader Sinno, David Patel, Eva Bellin, Jorge Dominguez, and many, many others. I am grateful to a number of great research assistants over the years, including but not limited to Ted Ellsworth, James Fallon, Abe Katz, Ronan McGee, Toral Patel, Will Van Heuvelen, Justin Curtis, Emily Schild, Joshua Balleck, and Nick Hafen. Many organizations provided advice, opportunities, and sometimes habitat that made it possible for me to complete the research for this study, and to them I owe a great deal of thanks. They include the Center for International Security and Cooperation at Stanford University; the Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies; the U.S. Fulbright Commission in Ankara, Turkey; the West African Research Center in Dakar, Senegal; Bilkent University in Ankara, Turkey; the Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV); the Institut du Monde Arabe in Paris, France; the Institute for Middle East Studies at George Washington University; Middlebury College; and Brigham Young University. Most of all, I am grateful to my parents for their inspiration and support, and to my wife Maren, for sharing in the process, travels, blunders, and all.

Abbreviations

AIS	Armé Islamique du Salut, Algeria
AKP/PJD	Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (Justice and Development Party), Turkey
AMUPI	Association Malienne pour l'Unité et le Progrès de l'Islam, Mali
ANAP	Motherland Party, Turkey
APR	Alliance for the Republic, Senegal
BDS	Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais, Senegal
CERID	Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches "Islam et Développement," Senegal
CHP	Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (Republican People's Party), Turkey
CIRCOFS	Comité Islamique pour la Reforme du Code de la Famille au Sénégal, Senegal
DP	Demokrat Partisi (Democratic Party), Turkey
DYP	True Path, Turkey
FAIS	Fédération des Associations Islamiques au Sénégal
FFS	Front des Forces Socialistes, Algeria
FIS	Front Islamique du Salut, Algeria
FJP	Freedom and Justice Party, Egypt
FLN	Front de Libération Nationale, Algeria
FSD	Front pour le Socialisme at la Démocratie – Sewe Sa Dek (Save your Country), Senegal
GIA	Groupes Islamique Armée, Algeria
GSPC	Groupe Salafiste pour la Prédication et le Combat, Algeria
HADEP	Kurdish People's Democratic Party. Turkey
HAMAS	Islamic Resistance Movement, Palestine
IBDA-C	Islamic Front of Fighters of the Great East, Turkey
MIA	Mouvement Islamique d'Algérie, Algeria

MIA	Movement Islamique Armée, Algeria
MHP	Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi (National Action Party), Turkey
MSP	Mouvement de la Société pour la Paix (Movement for a Peaceful Society), Algeria
MUSIAD	Müstakil Sanayici ve İşadamları Derneği, Turkey
NOP	National Order Party, Turkey
NSP	National Salvation Party, Turkey
PKK	Kurdistan Worker’s Party, Turkey
PDS	Parti Démocratique Sénégalaise, Senegal
PSS	Parti de la Solidarité Sénégalaise, Senegal
RND	Rassemblement National Démocratique, Algeria
RNS	Rassemblement pour le Salut National, Senegal
RPP	Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (Republican People’s Party), Turkey (see CHP)
SP	Saadet Partisi (Felicity Party), Turkey
TUSIAD	Türk Sanayicileri ve İşadamları Derneği (Turkish Industrialists’ and Businessmen’s Association), Turkey
UCM	Union Culturelle Musulmane, Senegal
UPS	Union Progressiste Sénégalaise, Senegal