

# ABSTRACTS

## POLITICAL ISLAM IN THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY

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Since the 1980s, political Islam or Islamism has created enormous concern both in the political media and the news media. The revolution in Iran in the late 1970s and the election victory by FIS in Algeria in the late 1980s represented two decisive points in the popular and ideological mobilisation by Islamist groups. Immediately after that, the civil war in Algeria and terrorist violence left their mark on the 1990s. The perception of Islamism today is still associated, in many cases, with the dynamics of the end of the past century, and with the jihadism of a few fundamentalist groups, without taking into account the fact that the majority of Islamist groups have undergone an enormous evolution, and that the context in which they are operating is also very different. As we will see, instead of the jihadism or the ideological radicalness of the past century, today's political Islam is much better represented by the moderation (both ideological and in terms of political activity) of Turkey's AKP party, the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, Morocco's PJD, Tunisia's al-Nahdah and most of the parties and large groups. Central factors in this dynamic of moderation are, on one hand, the link between Islamist groups with regimes and, on the other, the claims for and acceptance of liberal democracy as a strategy in their political struggle.

*Key words: political Islam, Islamism, democracy, the Arab world, the sociology of power*

## THE ISLAMIST MOVEMENT IN MOROCCO: BETWEEN INSTITUTIONALISATION AND ASSOCIATIONISM

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This article analyses the dissimilar evolution of the Islamist movement in Morocco, from the coronation of Mohamed VI in 1999 to the present day, a period that has seen changes in relations between the monarchy, Islamism and governance, and which has given rise to a complex triangle in its organisation as a whole. The attitude of those in power towards the Islamist movement in Morocco has undergone a long journey, fluctuating between different attitudes: an initial boost, confrontation, manipulation, "assimilation" of moderates and the exclusion of radicals. The relational scenario changed after the Casablanca bombings in 2003, the consequences of which were manifested in this region on two different levels: the monarchy's attempt to reinstate its monopoly of the religious sphere, and the invalidity of the idea that Morocco was an exception to Islamist terrorism. The official line in Morocco is based on consecrating the king as the basic pillar of the country's political stability, given that he holds a dual constitutional representation: head of state and prince of the believers.

*Key words: Islamism, Islam, monarchy, democratisation, political system*

## THE “VIRTUALISATION” OF POLITICAL DISCOURSE AND ACTION IN THE MAGHREB REGION: THE CASE OF POLITICAL ISLAM IN MOROCCO AND ITS STRUGGLE FOR IDEOLOGICAL POWER ON THE INTERNET

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This article offers a general analysis of the impact of new technologies on the transformation of the political discourse and actions of the main actors in political Islam in Morocco. To that end, the author tackles the main symbolic, epistemological and political elements that exist in the virtual discourse of Islamist websites, and proceeds to carry out a detailed analysis of some of them, specifically those of the following movements and organisations: al-‘Adl wa-l-Ihsân (Justice and Spirituality), Hizb al-‘Adâla wa-l-Tanmiyya (Justice and Development Party) and Harakat al-Tawhîd wa-l-Islâh (Oneness and Reform Movement); all of these being examples of the use of Islamic ideology as a legitimising resource of political action.

*Key words: Morocco, political Islam, Internet, ideology*

## THE EXCLUSION OF POLITICAL ISLAM IN ALGERIA: THE IMPLICATIONS AND CONSEQUENCES OF THE UNFINISHED CONSTRUCTION OF THE STATE

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Almost 20 years on from the civil war in Algeria, the Islamist leaders of the illegalised Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) are still struggling to be integrated into the political scenario. The amnesty and harmony laws introduced by President Abdelaziz Bouteflika have not achieved the desired national reconciliation. A large part of the social elite are unable to exert their political rights, but they dream of creating, once again, a true party with a religious vocation. At the bottom of the issue lies the very construction of the state, a process that is still unfinished since the National Liberation Front (FLN) and its military wing appropriated power after independence, ignoring and excluding society. The use of violence is still present and the old unresolved conflicts represent a danger for the fragile balance maintained by the regime.

*Key words: Algeria, Islam, political, democracy, integration*

## POLITICAL ISLAM IN TUNISIA: ELECTORAL CONFLICT AND COOPERATION IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS OF 2004 AND 2009

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One of the key points in the future of today's political transition in Tunisia lies in the Islamists' willingness to cooperate with the rest of the political parties to promote political change, as well as their electoral performance in the next elections. The aim of this article is to help reduce uncertainty on this issue, by clarifying its antecedents. With this aim, the author adopts as the article's area of study the strategic-relational dimensions of Tunisia's Islamist party's performance in elections. With this in mind, the author analyses the types of interaction that the Islamist party maintained in the presidential elections of 2004 and 2009 with the other political and social parties that were critical of the Ben Ali regime, and examines its causes. As a result of this, the study concludes that up to now, both the party's alignment with certain secular political and social actors from the structure of opposition to the Ben Ali regime, and its policy of confrontation with certain others, has not been based on any programmatic issue, nor on any issues of sensitivity or religious conception, but rather on the struggle to head political change and to lead a new government.

*Key words: Tunisia, Islamist, political Islam, elections*

## THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD: A CENTRIFUGAL OR CENTRIPETAL FORCE?

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Before the third Egyptian revolution in early 2011, the Muslim Brotherhood was considered the only *real* opposition capable of challenging the hegemonic government of the Egyptian regime, owing to the popular support the organisation enjoyed; much greater than that of the opposition parties. However, change has not come through the Brotherhood, but through the Egyptian people themselves. In all these years that the Brotherhood has existed on the Egyptian political stage, neither its significant logistic and economic resources nor its dominant role in opposition politics have contributed to any change in the country's power structure. The aim of this article is to show that the policies adopted by the Muslim Brotherhood in their interaction with the Hosni Mubarak government – both when they were in confrontation and in phases of accommodation – have only helped to maintain the status quo, and that they have, therefore, constituted a centripetal force with respect to the regime. This analysis may also offer a few clues as to the organisation's future behaviour.

*Key words: Egypt, Islamism, Muslim Brotherhood, Mubarak, regime*

## THE SOMALISATION OF POLITICAL ISLAM: TURNING POINT FOR THE CLASH OF ISLAMISMS IN AFRICA

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This article covers – firstly and generally speaking – the gradual process of confrontation between traditional African Islam (and particularly the Sufi brotherhoods) and the Salafist tendencies that became established in the continent some time ago. Taking the chronic case of Somalia as an example, the author stresses the fact that in addition to doctrinal differences, it is also important to note that social, economic and cultural factors have also helped to aggravate tensions. These, nevertheless, have even erupted in the heart of organisations backing political Islam, in many cases of Wahhabi origin, owing partly to geostrategic determining factors, and partly to the turbulent debate on the advisability of incorporating processes of national reform and reconciliation. Furthermore, and in a way that is reminiscent of a number of antecedents in countries such as Algeria and Afghanistan, the controversy is focused around which strategy to adopt to fight the local leaders who have been labelled as corrupt, and how to link up with the regional and international powers involved in the conflict. Thus, an extreme *Somalisation* has also reached African Islamist movements, as can be seen in the current fragmentation of Islamism over much of the continent.

*Key words: political Islamism, Africa, Somalia, Salafism, Sufism, armed conflict*

## HAMAS AND HEZBOLLAH: REFLECTIONS OF RESISTANCE, CHALLENGES FOR DEMOCRACY

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In the Arab-Israeli conflict, the creation and maintaining of resistance groups, as well as their recurring confrontations with Israel, take place with greater intensity in the Palestinian territories and Lebanon. In the same way that the Palestine Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) was born out of the military occupation of the West Bank, Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip, the Lebanese Party of God (Hezbollah) emerged to counteract the presence of Israel and her allies in the south of Lebanon. The pressure exerted on Israel to leave the south of Lebanon (2000) and the Gaza Strip (2005) engendered massive popular support which resulted in victories in both municipal and national elections. Both armed Islamist groups shifted towards increasingly passive policies, though at the same time they continue to be condemned to ostracism by the United States and Europe, the rupture with the secular parties became deeper, and thus the solution was deferred: the creation of coalition governments respected by their own peoples. Today, this continues to be the greatest challenge to establishing democracy in the Middle East; in no other place is this more acute than in Palestine and the Lebanon.

*Key words: Middle East, political Islam, promotion of democracy, Hamas, Hezbollah, international intervention, Arab-Israeli conflict*

## THE PARADOXES OF POLITICAL ISLAM IN SYRIA

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The aim of this article is to analyse the evolution of political Islam in Syria since Bashar al-Asad became president. Over the past 10 years, a horizontal Islamisation has taken place that has called into question Syria's image as a containing wall against Islamism. Aware of its inability to oppose a phenomenon that affects the Arab world as a whole, the Bashar regime has opted for a bestowed Islamisation, by sponsoring various Sufi brotherhoods with the aim of reducing as much as possible the country's exposure to the jihadist phenomenon. However, the country's laxity as regards the infiltration of insurgents into Iraqi territory by crossing Syrian borders has ended up taking its toll on the regime, as has been shown by the violent emergence of factions such as Yund al-Sham and Fatah al-Islam. Meanwhile, the illegality of the Muslim Brotherhood has been maintained, though at the same time direct contact has been made with them which has led to the freeing of hundreds of political prisoners and the return of dozens of exiles.

*Key words: Syria, Bashar al-Asad, Islamism, Muslim Brotherhood, Sufism*

## POLITICAL ISLAM IN THE PALESTINIAN MINORITY IN ISRAEL: THE DEBATE ON LIMITED INSTITUTIONAL INTEGRATION

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Political Islam is just another component of the political scenario of the Palestinian minority in Israel, together with Communists, Arab nationalists and local traditionalist groups. It has common roots with the Islamist organisations in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and, just like them, it combines a traditionalist doctrine with nationalist demands which, in turn, it shares with the other Palestinian political organisations. Since 1996, after 10 years of experience in municipal politics, one branch of the Islamic Movement has taken part in legislative elections and participated in the Israeli state elections, while the other has chosen to limit its actions to extra-Parliamentary politics. The former has become the most-voted option among Israeli Palestinians since 2006, while the latter is one of the most active in terms of claims for the rights of Palestinians and for the defence of Muslims in historic Palestine.

*Key words: political Islam, Palestine, Israel*

## HIZB UT TAHRIR IN LEBANON: ITS CONTRIBUTIONS TO POLITICAL ISLAM

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Hizb ut Tahrir al Islami, the Islamic Liberation Party, is a social movement that is highly active in Europe, Central Asia and the Near East. In Lebanon, one of the few countries in the Arab world where it's legal (together with Yemen and the United Arab Emirates), this party has refused to take part in elections, but continues to participate actively in the country's political life through its social movement, which they call a "party". The party's vicissitudes in this country, going from illegality to operating freely (though recently it has been placed under suspicion), enables us to draw a series of useful conclusions for the evolution of political Islam in the public life of the Republic of Lebanon in the eastern Mediterranean.

*Key words: Hizb ut Tarir, Lebanon, Taquiuddin al-Nabhani, Mohammad Jaber, political Islam*

## NEOLIBERALISM, TECHNOCRACY AND NATIONAL ISLAMISM: THE GÜLEN MOVEMENT

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What has become known as the Gülen movement has grown considerably over the past 20 years. Defined as a transnational movement to help civil society, it is based on the ideas of the Muslim theologian Fethullah Gülen, who is of Turkish nationality. His work in the community (which has its nucleus in Turkey) has spread as far as Central Asia, the Far East, North and South America, the Balkans and even to some countries in Africa. On one hand, it forms part of the phenomenon of the neo-brotherhoods inspired by Sufism, but on the other, because of the nationalist and neoliberal ideology it champions, it is linked with the main tendencies of "national Islam" that opposes radical "internationalist Islamism".

*Key words: Gülen, neoliberal Islamism, Turkey, neo-brotherhood*

## FROM MULTICULTURALITY TO THE SUBTLE IDENTITY: A PROPOSAL FOR IDENTITY TRANSFERENCE

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Mass migrations of people, particularly into Europe, have always created conflict; however, if they are also taking place in the middle of a profound economic crisis, an atmosphere conducive to xenophobic and racist expression is created. To alleviate this tension, since the end of the past century (and with particular emphasis in the United States, Canada and Japan) a model of coexistence has been implemented – that of multiculturalism, which can be loosely translated as “together but not intimately involved”. In spite of its success, this model (which overestimates the exotic nature of immigrants), only deals with current challenges in a limited manner. This article presents a model that suggests the freeing-up of much of the heavy load that any identity entails with the aim of transforming individuals into plural beings, which are open to the transparencies of others’ identities, whether they are native inhabitants or foreigners.

*Key words: Immigration, multiculturalism, subtle identity, nationalism, racism, plurality*

## RETURN AND REINSERTION OF ECUADORIAN MIGRANTS: THE IMPORTANCE OF TRANSNATIONAL SOCIAL NETWORKS

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Within the context of migrations and Spanish and Ecuadorian plans for return, this article focuses on the ambiguous role played by transnational social relations in the migration stages of the return and reintegration of Ecuadorian migrants. One result of the study carried out in Ecuador in 2008 is a typology of returned migrants; or rather, that of typical migratory periods of time which contribute to a greater understanding of the interactions between the social network and the migration process. The results also include some reflections on the innovative potential and conditions for sustainable return.

*Key words: Ecuadorian migrants, transnational relations, social capital, return and reintegration, innovations*