

Islamists, Elections, and Politics in the Middle East

INAF 520
School of Foreign Service
Georgetown University
Spring 2011

Instructor: Samer Shehata
Class Meetings: 2:15-4:05
Location: Reynolds 133
Office: ICC 251 (Center for Contemporary Arab Studies)
Office Hours: Mondays 3:00-5:00
Tel: 202-687-0350
Email: sss32@georgetown.edu
<https://digitalcommons.georgetown.edu/blogs/samershehata/>

This course is about Islamists, elections, and politics in the contemporary Middle East. It will address at least three, sometimes related, topics: 1) Islamist politics and movements; 2) Islamist electoral participation; 3) and elections in the Middle East. Although these topics sometimes overlap, this course will take a *broader approach* to these subjects and will not be limited to only those instances in which Islamists participate in elections. We will also be concerned with elections in the Middle East, which appear to be an increasingly important phenomenon. And when examining elections in the region, the course will attempt to integrate some of the emerging theoretical literature on “authoritarian elections,” or elections in non-democratic contexts.

From Morocco to Iraq and beyond, Islamist political parties, groups and movements are -- without doubt -- the most popular political forces in the region. And contrary to the focus in the United States and Europe, mainstream, non-violent and/or “moderate” Islamist groups (groups that participate in the political process) are much more popular and influential than the extremist, radical and violent groups that often receive a disproportionate share of media attention. Islamist groups have increasingly participated in electoral politics in the Middle East over the last several decades, from Morocco’s Justice and Development Party (PJD), the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, HAMAS, Hizballah, Jordan’s Islamic Action Front, Turkey’s AK Party, to the Kuwaiti Islamic Constitutional Movement (in addition to Kuwaiti Salafis), and beyond.

Elections also appear to be taking place with greater frequently and increasing significance in the region. In recent years legislative and municipal elections have taken place (with Islamist participation) in Morocco, Algeria, Jordan, Egypt, Palestine, Lebanon, Iraq, Kuwait, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan, and Iran (in addition to presidential elections in some of these countries). In many cases, Islamists performed exceptionally well. Increasingly, Islamists have chosen to participate in formal politics, including legislative elections and parliamentary politics. Elections have also become more meaningful and competitive in the Middle East as a result of both domestic pressures for reform and international attention to democratization. And there is reason to expect continued Islamist success at the ballot box. *This course, therefore, seeks to*

focus our attention on the intersection of these two interesting and increasingly important political phenomenon: Islamists and elections in the Middle East.

Questions: We will attempt to explore a number of questions surrounding Islamists, elections and politics in the Middle East including: what explains the success (electoral and otherwise) of these movements? To what extent does ideology, organization, or social service provision explain Islamist popularity? How important is service provision (e.g., the provision of social welfare services to citizens and constituents, such as schooling, healthcare, pensions, orphanages, recreational activities, etc.) in the success and popularity of these groups? Why do Islamists participate in elections that are likely to be neither free nor fair (i.e., “authoritarian elections”)? What electoral strategies do Islamists employ? When do Islamist (and other) groups decide to boycott elections? How do regimes manage or manipulate electoral systems for their benefit and preservation (the arts of “electoral engineering”)? In what ways are these movements “Islamic” (in fact, what is “Islamist” politics)? Are these movements on the ascendancy or on the decline? To what extent have Islamist movements accepted the fundamental principles and practices of competitive pluralistic politics and democracy? How have different regimes (at different times) dealt with these movements? How have regime-Islamist dynamics affected the development and trajectory of Islamist movements in different parts of the Middle East? What is the extent of variation in ideology, organization, strategy, etc. of these groups? Does inclusion in the political process lead to “moderation”? These are only some of the many questions we hope to explore during the course of this seminar.

HOW? The course will be conducted as a seminar that also aspires to be a “research workshop.” The seminar will be based on the *intense examination and discussion* of selected readings which all participants will complete *before* class meetings. Moreover, all seminar participants will be engaged in their own research projects throughout the course of the semester. Beginning in February, seminar participants will present their ongoing research, in addition to being responsible for leading class discussion at least once during the term. Your ongoing research projects, which will form the basis of your final paper, need not be limited to the countries covered in the seminar. You are encouraged to conduct primary research (in addition, of course, to the use of secondary sources), including analyzing the documents, web sites, electoral platforms, newspapers and other materials produced by Islamist political movements and parties. In addition to briefing all of us on your ongoing research, each of us will present our research projects to the entire class toward the end of the semester in the form of a semi-formal presentation.

Course Goals: The course is intended to provide students with an advanced introduction to some of the most important issues surrounding Islamist politics. At the end of the course students should have a familiarity with a number of the leading, mass-based Islamist movements in Egypt, Turkey, Morocco and Jordan. Class discussion and presentations will provide students with a chance to hone their public speaking and presentation skills. This course will also provide significant opportunities for students to engage in independent research and analysis using a wide variety of primary and secondary sources, in English, Arabic and other languages if possible. Throughout the semester, students will be encouraged to formulate their own critical opinions of the material covered.

Readings: Four books will be available for purchase at the Georgetown University bookstore or through Amazon. These books will also be placed on reserve in Lauinger Library if possible (one of the books might not be in the library at this time). Readings that are not in these books will be available through *Blackboard*. There are also a number of readings that are available on the internet. These readings include their web (www) locations beside them. **Please also note that additional web resources and supplementary readings will be posted on *Blackboard*. **

Requirements: This is a seminar based primarily on the close reading and focused discussion of set texts. It is also a “research workshop” (as described above). The success of such an enterprise depends on the *active participation* of everyone. Therefore, you are required to:

- 1) Come to class prepared -- having read the assignments carefully and ready to discuss them. Everyone will lead class discussion at least once during the semester.
- 2) Seminar participants are required to write short weekly responses (one or two paragraphs) that should be posted on Blackboard by Wednesday at 6:00 pm. These are not intended to be highly polished pieces of writing. Nor are they meant to summarize the week’s readings. Rather, they are your *short, critical reactions* and *engagement* to the readings and are intended to promote discussion, generate debate and raise critical questions about the topics to be discussed in class.
- 3) You are required to conduct research on your topic throughout the course of the semester and occasionally present your ongoing research (e.g., research conducted, sources gathered, articles read, etc.) to the class. You will also be required to present your research in the form of a semi-formal presentation at some point in the semester.
- 4) You are required to write a final research paper on a topic of your choice. This is intended to be a substantive research exercise and should include the use of a wide range of sources. Please consult the instructor as you think about different topics.

Grading: 20% Attendance & Weekly Response Papers
 20% Participation, Leading Class Discussion
 20% Research Updates and Presentations
 40% Final Research Paper

Books to Purchase (Available in GU Bookstore):

- Richard P. Mitchell, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers* (Paperback) Oxford University Press, USA; Reprint edition (July 29, 1993).
- Nathan J. Brown and Amr Hamzawy, *Between Religion and Politics* (Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace), 2010.

- Jenny B. White, *Islamist Mobilization in Turkey: A Study in Vernacular Politics* (University of Washington Press) 2002.
- Jillian Schwedler, *Faith in Moderation: Islamist Parties in Jordan and Yemen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) 2006.

Secondary Texts of Interest:

- Salwa Ismail, *Rethinking Islamist Politics: Culture, the State and Islamism* (I. B. Tauris; New Ed edition (August 20, 2006).
- Asef Bayat, *Making Islam Democratic: Social Movements and the Post-Islamist Turn* (Stanford University Press) 2007.
- Quintan Wiktorowicz (Editor) *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach* (Indiana University Press) 2003.
- Quintan Wiktorowicz, *The Management of Islamic Activism: Salafis, the Muslim Brotherhood, and State Power in Jordan* (SUNY Series in Middle Eastern Studies) 2001.
- Carrie Rosefsky Wickham, *Mobilizing Islam: Religion, Activism and Political Change in Egypt* (Columbia University Press 2002).
- Mary Ann Tetreault, *Stories of Democracy: Politics and Society in Contemporary Kuwait* (Columbia University Press: 2000)
- Banu Eligur, *Mobilization of Political Islam in Turkey* (Cambridge University Press) 2010.

Thursday, January 13, 2011

Introductory Meeting:

Syllabus (Begin Reading for next week. Come to class on 1/20/11
Prepared to discuss the readings)

Thursday, January 20

Topic 1: Islamists & Elections

****Choose 5 of the following readings***

- Jillian Schwedler, “A Paradox of Democracy? Islamist Participation in Elections,” *Middle East Report*, No. 209, Winter 1998.
<http://www.jstor.org/view/08992851/di011550/01p00292/0>
- Vali Nasr, “The Rise of Muslim Democracy,” *Journal of Democracy* volume 16, Number 2, 2005. http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/v016/16.2nasr.html
- Jillian Schwedler and Laryssa Chomiak, “And the Winner Is...: Authoritarian Elections in the Arab World,” *MERIP* (Year of Elections: Fact and Fiction) 238—Spring 2006.

- Andreas Schedler, “The Logic of Electoral Authoritarianism,” in A. Schedler, (ed.), *Electoral Authoritarianism: The Dynamics of Unfree Competition*, Boulder, CO and London: Lynne Rienner, 2006.
- Gandhi J. and Lust-Okar, E, “Elections under Authoritarianism,” *Annual Review of Political Science*, Volume 12, 2009, pp. 403-422.
- Charles Kurzman and Ijlal Naqvi, ”Do Muslims Vote Islamic?” *Journal of Democracy*, April 2010, Volume 21, No. 2.
- Judy Barsalou, *Islamists at the Ballot Box: Findings From Egypt, Jordan, Kuwait and Turkey*, USIP Special Report (July 2005)
<http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr144.pdf>

Supplementary:

- “Islamist Parties and Democracy” – special section in the *Journal of Democracy*, July 2008, Volume 19, Number 3.
- Martin Kramer, “Coming to Terms: Fundamentalists or Islamists?,” *Middle East Quarterly*, Spring 2003. (available online)
- “Perspectives on Elections in the Arab World,” *Middle East Report 209*, Winter 1998.
- Review – “National Elections in the Middle East Since 1980 (table)” *MERIP* (Year of Elections: Fact and Fiction) 238—Spring 2006.
- Salwa Ismail, *Rethinking Islamist Politics: Culture, the State and Islamism* (I. B. Tauris; New Ed edition (August 20, 2006). Selections: “Preface” and “The Study of Islamism Revisited”)
- Ali R. Abootalebi, Islam, Islamists, and Democracy, *MERIA*, Volume3, No. 1 – March 1999. <http://meria.biu.ac.il/journal/1999/issue1/jv3n1a2.html>
- Yahya Sadowski, “POLITICAL ISLAM: Asking the Wrong Questions?,” *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 9: 215-240
<http://arjournals.annualreviews.org/doi/pdf/10.1146/annurev.polisci.9.070204.083812?cookieSet=1>

Thursday, January 27

Topic 2: The Development of the Muslim Brotherhood (I)

- Richard P. Mitchell, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers*, Oxford University Press, Reprint 1993, *Selections*: Foreword; Preface, Part I (especially pp. 1-34; 35-79; 105-151); Part II (163-208).
- Two State Department documents about Hassan Al Banna and another MB member.
- Ziad Muson, “Islamic Mobilization” Social Movement Theory and the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood,” *The Sociological Quarterly*, 2001, 42; pp. 487-510.

Supplementary:

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

Thursday, February 3

Topic 3: The Development of the Muslim Brotherhood (II)

- Richard P. Mitchell, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers*, Oxford University Press, Reprint 1993, Selections: Part III, Part IV.
- *Islamist Movements and the Democratic Process in the Arab World: Exploring Gray Zones (March 2006)*
http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/cp_67_grayzones_final.pdf
- Explore:
{Official English language web site of the Muslim Brotherhood) Ikhwanweb.com
<http://www.ikhwanweb.com/>
{Official web site of the Muslim Brotherhood}
<http://www.ikhwanonline.com/>

Supplementary:

- Barbara Zollner, "Prison Talk: The Muslim Brotherhood's Internal Struggle During Gamal Abdel Nasser's Persecution, 1954-1971," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 39 (2007), 411-433.
- Saad Eddin Ibrahim, "An Islamic Alternative in Egypt: The Muslim Brotherhood and Sadat," *Arab Studies Quarterly*, 1982.
- H. N Ansari, "The Islamic Militants in Egyptian Politics," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 1984 (available via JSTOR).

Thursday, February 10

Topic 4: Turkey (I)

- Jenny White, *Islamist Mobilization in Turkey* (entire text)

*****BEGIN YOUR INDEPENDENT RESEARCH IN EARNEST*****

Thursday, February 17

Topic 5: Turkey (II)

- R. Quinn Meham, "From the Ashes of Virtue, a Promise of Light: The Transformation of Political Islam in Turkey," *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 25, No. 2, pp. 339-358, 2004.
<http://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/routledg/ctwq/2004/00000025/00000002/art00004>
- Sebnem Gumuscu, "Class, Status, and Party: The Changing Face of Political Islam in Turkey and Egypt," *Comparative Political Studies*, XX (X), 2010, pp. 1-27.
- Gunes Murat Tezcur, *Muslim Reformers in Iran and Turkey* (Austin: University of Texas Press), 2010. (*Selections*)
- Banu Eligur, *The Mobilization of Political Islam in Turkey* (New York: Cambridge University Press) 2010. (*Selections*)

Supplementary: Turkey's 2007 Elections:

- CRS Report for Congress, "Turkey's 2007 Elections: Crisis of Identity and Power," Updated September 10, 2007. (*SKIM*)
http://assets.opencrs.com/rpts/RL34039_20070910.pdf
- Heymi Bahar, "The real Winners and Losers of Turkey's July 2007 Elections," *MERIA*, Volume 11, No. 3, Article 7/9 – September 2007.
<http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/2007/issue3/jv11no3a7.html>
- Michael M. Gunter and M. Hakan Yavuz, "Turkish Paradox: Progressive Islamists Versus Reactionary Secularists," *Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 3, 289-301, Fall 2007. (Available on the web).
- Gareth Jenkins, "Muslim Democrats in Turkey," *Survival*, Volume 45, No. 1, Spring, 2003
http://taylorandfrancis.metapress.com/media/78u409rhr14qww1jxdf1/contributions/p/p/e/b/pp_ebllvqvqwpdykn.pdf
- Soli Ozel, "Turkey at the Polls: After the Tsunami," *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 14, Number 2, April 2003.
http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/v014/14.2ozel.pdf
- Hakan Yavuz, "Opportunity Spaces, Identity, and Islamic Meaning in Turkey," in Q. Wiktorowicz (ed.), *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach* (Indiana: Indiana University Press) 2004.
- "Turkey's Tigers," Wide Angle Documentary about "Islam and capitalism in Turkey," available at: <http://www.pbs.org/wnet/wideangle/shows/turkey/>
- "Turks Knock on Europe's Door with Evidence that Islam and Capitalism can Coexist," Dan Bilefsky, *New York Times*, August 27, 2006.
http://www.nytimes.com/2006/08/27/world/europe/27turkey.html?_r=1&n=Top%2fNews%2fWorld%2fCountries%20and%20Territories%2fTurkey&oref=slogin

- Also see the “filmmakers notes”:
<http://www.pbs.org/wnet/wideangle/shows/turkey/filmmaker.html>
- *Cihan Z. Tuğal, “The Appeal of Islamic Politics: Ritual and Dialogue in a Poor District of Turkey,” *The Sociological Quarterly* (2006) 47:2, 245-273
<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1533-8525.2006.00045.x?cookieSet=1>
- M. Hakan Yavuz, “Political Islam and the Welfare (Refah) Party in Turkey,” *Comparative Politics* (1997)
<http://www.jstor.org/view/00104159/ap020119/02a00050/0>
- Nilufer Narli, “The Rise of the Islamist Movement in Turkey,” *MERIA*, Volume 3, Number 3, 1999.
<http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/1999/issue3/jv3n3a4.html>
- Ziya Onis and E. Fuat Keyman, “Turkey at the Polls: A New Path Emerges,” *Journal of Democracy* 14.2 (2003) 95-107.
http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/v014/14.2onis.pdf

Thursday, February 24

Topic 6: Jordan

- Jillian Schwedler, *Faith in Moderation: Islamist Parties in Jordan and Yemen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) 2006. (Selections)
- Janine A. Clark, “Threats, Structures, and Resources: Cross-Ideological Coalition Building in Jordan,” *Comparative Politics*, vol. 43, number 1, October 2010, pp. 101-120.
- Janine A. Clark, “The Conditions of Islamist Moderation: Unpacking Cross-Ideological Cooperation in Jordan,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 38 (2006), 539-560.
- Nathan Brown, *Jordan and its Islamic Movement: The Limits of Inclusion? Carnegie papers, (November 2006)*
http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/cp_74_brown_final.pdf
- Explore the official website of the Islamic Action Front: <http://www.jabha.net/>

Supplementary:

- *Ellen Lust-Okar, “Elections under Authoritarianism: Preliminary Lessons from Jordan,” *Democratization*, vol. 13, no. 3, June, 2006, pp. 456-471.
- Quintan Wiktorowicz, *The Management of Islamic Activism: Salafis, the Muslim Brotherhood, and State Power in Jordan* (SUNY Series in Middle Eastern Studies) 2001.

- *S. El-Said, *Between Pragmatism and Ideology: The Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan, 1989-1994*, Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 1995. (*Selections*)
- Ellen Lust-Okar and Amaney Ahmad Jamal, "Rulers and Rules Reassessing the Influence of Regime Type on Electoral Law Formation," *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 3, 337-366 (2002).

(An earlier version of this text is available at:

http://hei.unige.ch/sections/sp/agenda/colloquium/Lust-Okar_Elections%20in%20Jordan.pdf

- A. Reynolds, J Elklit, "Jordan: Electoral System Design in the Arab World," -IDEA, The International IDEA Handbook of Electoral System

<http://www.idea.int/esd/upload/jordan.pdf>

- *Curtis R. Ryan and Jillian Schwedler, "Return to Democratization or New Hybrid Regime?: The 2003 Elections in Jordan," *Middle East Policy*, Volume XI, Summer 2004, Number 2.
- *Building Democracy in Jordan: Women's Political Participation, Political Party Life and Democratic Elections* (Stockholm, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), 2005). (PDF Available)

Thursday, March 3

Topic 7: Morocco I

Choose 3 of the following readings

- *G. White, "The Advent of Electoral Democracy in Morocco? The Referendum of 1996," *Middle East Journal*, 1997.
- *Bradford L. Dillman, "Parliamentary Elections and the Prospects for Political Pluralism in North Africa," *Government and Opposition*, Volume 35, Issue 2, April 2000.
- Michael J. Willis, "Morocco's Islamists and the Legislative Elections of 2002: the strange case of the party that did not want to win," *Mediterranean Politics*, Volume 9, Number 1, Spring, 2004.

<http://taylorandfrancis.metapress.com/media/l2t6ddrhl4rwjm7na9g/contributions/y/1/y/u/y1yupf6b58g0aar4.pdf>

- *Eva Wegner, "The Contribution of Inclusivist Approaches towards Islamist Opposition to Regime Stability in Arab States: The Case of the Moroccan Parti de la Justice et du Développement," EUI Working Papers, RSCAS No. 2004/42

http://cadmus.iue.it/dspace/bitstream/1814/2784/1/04_42.pdf

- Isabelle Werenfels, "Between Integration and Repression: Government Responses to Islamism in the Maghreb," SWP Research paper, 2005.

http://www.swp-berlin.org/en/common/get_document.php?asset_id=2800

- Explore the official web site of the PJD: http://www.pjd.ma/sommaire_en.php3

Supplementary:

- *Michael Willis, "Between Alternance and Makhzen: At-Tawhid wa al-Islah's Entry into Moroccan Politics," *The Journal of North African Politics*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (Autumn 1999)
- *Eva Wegner and Holger Albrecht, "Autocrats and Islamists: Contenders and Containment in Egypt and Morocco," *The Journal of North African Studies*, vol. 11, no.2, June 2006, pp. 123-141.

[http://taylorandfrancis.metapress.com/\(qhp04qqpr2wedr45vpuhaxud\)/app/home/contribution.asp?referrer=parent&backto=issue,1,7;journal,3,11;linkingpublicationresults,1:110531,1](http://taylorandfrancis.metapress.com/(qhp04qqpr2wedr45vpuhaxud)/app/home/contribution.asp?referrer=parent&backto=issue,1,7;journal,3,11;linkingpublicationresults,1:110531,1)

Thursday, March 10 -- Spring Break

Thursday, March 17

Topic 8: Morocco II

- Malika Zeghal, *Islamism in Morocco: Religion, Authoritarianism, and Politics* (translated by George Holoch), Markus Weiner Publishers) 2009 (Selections).

- National Democratic Institute's International Observation Mission Final Report on Morocco's 2007 Legislative Elections:

http://www.ndi.org/files/2316_ma_report_electionsfinal_en_051508_1.pdf

Supplementary:

- Asmae Otmani, "The Elections are Over: Let Voter Education Begin," *Arab Reform Bulletin*, September 17, Volume 5, Issue 7

<http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/otmani-sep2007.pdf>

- Amr Hamzawy, "The 2007 Moroccan Parliamentary Elections: Results and Implications," Carnegie Endowment, September 11, 2007.

[http://www.carnegie-](http://www.carnegie-mec.org/Library/Files/Uploaded%20Files/moroccan_parliamentary_elections_final.pdf)

[mec.org/Library/Files/Uploaded%20Files/moroccan_parliamentary_elections_final.pdf](http://www.carnegie-mec.org/Library/Files/Uploaded%20Files/moroccan_parliamentary_elections_final.pdf)

- Democracy Reporting International, "Preliminary Statement on the 7 September Elections to the House of Representatives -- Morocco,"

http://www.democracy-reporting.org/downloads/dri_prelim.pdf

- Samir Ben-Layashi, "Morocco's 2007 Elections: A Social Reading," *MERIA*, volume 11, Number 4, December 2007.

<http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/2007/issue4/pdf/6.pdf>

- Marsha Priskein Posusney, "Multi-Party Elections in the Arab World: Institutional Engineering and Opposition Strategies," *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 36, (4), Winter 2002: 34-62.
- *Party of Justice and Development Electoral Program, 2007 Legislative Elections* (available in Arabic).
- Jonathan Hartyln and Jennifer McCoy, "Observer Paradoxes: How to Assess Electoral Manipulation," in A. Schedler, (ed.), *Electoral Authoritarianism: The Dynamics of Unfree Competition*, (Boulder, CO and London: Lynne Rienner), 2006. pp. 41- 54.

Thursday, March 24

Topic 9: Egypt I

- Carrie Rosefsky Wickham, *Mobilizing Islam: Religion, Activism and Political Change in Egypt* (Columbia University Press 2002). *Selections*.
- *Mona El-Ghobashy, "The Metamorphosis of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 37 (2005), 373-395.
- *Carrie Rosefsky Wickham, "The Path to Moderation: Strategy and Learning in the Formation of the Wasat Party in Egypt," *Comparative Politics*, January 2004.
- Vickie Langohr, "Cracks in Egypt's Electoral Engineering: The 2000 Vote," *MERIP*, November 7, 2000. <http://www.merip.org/mero/mero110700.html>

Supplementary:

- Bertus Hendriks, Egypt's Elections, Mubarak's Bind, *MERIP Reports*, No. 129, Egypt and Israel Today (Jan., 1985), pp. 11-18.
- Erika Post, Egypt's Elections, *MERIP Middle East Report*, No. 147, Egypt's Critical Moment (Jul. - Aug., 1987), pp. 17-22.
- Sana Abed-Kotob, "The Accommodationists Speak: Goals and Strategies of the Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (Aug., 1995), pp. 321-339.
- Fahmy, N.S., "The Performance of the Muslim Brotherhood in the Egyptian Syndicates: An Alternative Formula for Reform?" *The Middle East Journal* 1998, vol. 52, no4, pp. 551-562.
- Mona Makram-Ebeid, "Egypt's 1995 Elections: 1 Step Forward, Two Steps Back?" *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 4, 1996
- Israel Elad Altman, "Current Trends in the Ideology of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood," Hudson Institute – Current Trends in Islamist Ideology (2006) http://www.hudson.org/files/publications/Ideology_of_Egyptian_Muslim_Brotherhood.pdf
- Mariz Tadros, "Egypt's Election All about Image, Almost," *MERIP PIN*, September 6, 2005; <http://www.merip.org/mero/mero090605.html>
- Salwa Ismail, *Rethinking Islamist Politics: Culture, the State and Islamism* (I. B. Tauris; 2006). Selections: "Confronting the other: Conservative Islamism in Egypt," "Religious 'Orthodoxy' as Public Morality: The State, Islamism and Cultural Politics in Egypt," "Contemporary Islamism as a Popular Movement: Socio-Spatial Determinants in the Cairo Urban."

Thursday, March 31

Topic 10: Egypt II

Choose 4 of the following readings

- Mona El-Ghobashy, "Egypt's Paradoxical Elections," *MERIP* 238 – Spring 2006.

<http://www.merip.org/mer/mer238/elghobashy.html>

- Samer Shehata and Joshua Stacher, "The Brotherhood Goes to Parliament," *Middle East Report*, Fall 2006, Number 240, pp. 32-39.
http://www.merip.org/mer/mer240/shehata_stacher.html
- Samer Shehata and Joshua Stacher, "Boxing in the Brothers," *MERIP PIN*, August 2007.
<http://www.merip.org/mero/mero080807.html>
- *Bruce Rutherford, "What Do Egypt's Islamists Want? Moderate Islam and the Rise of Islamic Constitutionalism," *Middle East Journal*, vol. 60, No. 4, Autumn 2006.
- Samer Shehata, "Political Da'wa: Understanding the Electoral and Parliamentary Participation of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood," manuscript, 2010.
- Mona El-Ghobashy, "The Dynamics of Egypt's Elections," *MERIP Online*, September 29, 2010.
- Mona El-Ghobashy, "The Liquidation of Egypt's Illiberal Experiment," *MERIP Online*, December 29, 2010.
- Dina Shehata, *Islamists and Secularists in Egypt: Opposition, Conflict and Cooperation* (Routledge) 2009. (Selections)

Supplementary:

- *Robert S. Leiken and Steven Brooke, "The Moderate Muslim Brotherhood," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2007.
- **Muslim Brotherhood Initiative: On the General Principles of Reform in Egypt* (2004)
- Muslim Brotherhood Electoral Program 2005.
- Muslim Brotherhood Electoral Program (Shura Council Elections, 2006).
- Muslim Brotherhood Draft Party Platform (2007) (Available in Arabic).
- Muslim Brotherhood Electoral Platform (2010) (Available in Arabic).

Thursday, April 7

****Student Presentations**

Thursday, April 14

****Student Presentations**

Easter Break -- Thursday, April 21

Thursday April 28 – NO CLASS

****FINAL MEETING (OFF CAMPUS) at a time and location TBD (Readings TBD)****

Other Supplementary material of possible interest:

- Marc Morje Howard and Philip G. Roessler, “Liberalizing Electoral Outcomes in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes,” *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 50, No. 2, April 2006, pp. 365-381.
<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2006.00189.x>
- Andreas Schedler, “The Nested Game of Democratization by Elections,” *International Political Science Review*, 23 (1), January 2002: 103-122.
- *Muriel Asseburg (Ed). *Moderate Islamists as Reform Actors: Conditions and Programmatic Change*, April 2007 Berlin, SWP. (Selections: pp. 5-29, 39-96).
- *Mona Yacoubian, *Engaging Islamists and Promoting Democracy: A Preliminary Assessment*, USIP Special Report 190, August 2007.
<http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr190.pdf>
- Stathis N. Kalyvas, “Commitment Problems in Emerging Democracies: The Case of Religious Parties,” *Comparative Politics*, 32, no. 4 (2000).
- James C. Franklin, “Political Party Opposition to Noncompetitive Regimes: A Cross-National Analysis,” *Political Research Quarterly*, Vol. 55, No. 3, (September 2002), pp. 521-546.
- Salwa Ismael, “The Paradox of Islamist Politics,” in *Rethinking Islamist Politics*.
- *Journal of Democracy*, Special Issue: “Elections Without Democracy,” Including the following chapters: Diamond, Larry Jay, “Thinking About Hybrid Regimes”; Schedler, Andreas, “The Menu of Manipulation”; Levitsky, Steven & Way, Lucan, “The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism”; Van de Walle, Nicolas, “Africa's Range of Regimes.”
- Michael Herb, “Islamist Movements and the Problem of Democracy in the Arab World,” Revised Draft of a Paper Prepared for the 2005 MESA Conference, November 19 -22, 2005.
http://www2.gsu.edu/~polmfh/herb_democracy_islam.pdf