

## **Islamists, Elections and Politics in the Middle East**

MAAS 621  
Center for Contemporary Arab Studies  
School of Foreign Service  
Georgetown University

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Seminar - Spring 2007  
Locations: ICC 203  
Class Meetings: Thursday 2:15-4:05

**WHAT?** This course is about Islamists and elections in the contemporary Middle East. It will address at least three, sometimes related, topics: Islamist politics; Islamists and Elections; and Elections in the Middle East. Although these topics often 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 these topics when they do not overlap. And when examining elections in the Middle East, the course will attempt to integrate some of the theoretical literature on elections in non-democratic contexts (“authoritarian elections”).

**WHY?** 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, from the Justice and Development Party (PJD) in Morocco, the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, HAMAS, Hizballah, Jordan’s Islamic Action Front, Turkey’s AK Party, the Islamic Constitutional Movement in Kuwait and beyond. 2005, for example, has been called the year of elections in the Middle East. Legislative and/or presidential elections took place in Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Afghanistan and Iran. Municipal elections were held in Saudi Arabia. And at the end of 2004, Palestinians undertook a presidential election and in January 2006, they held a closely watched parliamentary election. In all of these cases, Islamist political groups, parties and candidates performed exceptionally well. 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.

**HOW?** The course will be conducted as a “research workshop.” The seminar will be based on the intense 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. Seminar participants will present their ongoing research projects, in addition to being responsible for leading class discussion, throughout 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 will also be 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.

**Requirements:** This is a “research workshop” based primarily on the close reading and focused discussion of set texts and regular presentations by seminar members. 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 weekly one page response papers that should be posted on Blackboard by Wednesday at 3:00 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 *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) Seminar participants are required to attend as much of the 2007 CCAS Symposium (Thursday and Friday March 22-23) as possible. The two day symposium on the subject of “Islamist Politics in the Arab World” will cover many of the topics we will cover in class, and will include presentations by leading experts in the field.
- 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 and Presentations  
                                      40% Final Research Paper

**Books to Purchase:**

\*Richard P. Mitchell, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers* (Paperback)  
Paperback: 392 pages; Publisher: Oxford University Press, USA; Reprint edition (July 29, 1993); ISBN: 0195084373

\*Jenny B. White, *Islamist Mobilization in Turkey: A Study in Vernacular Politics*  
(Studies in Modernity and National Identity) paperback: University of Washington Press  
(October 2002).

\*Quintan Wiktorowicz, *The Management of Islamic Activism: Salafis, the Muslim Brotherhood, and State Power in Jordan* (SUNY Series in Middle Eastern Studies) (Paperback) 2001.

Optional Texts:

\*Salwa Ismail, *Rethinking Islamist Politics: Culture, the State and Islamism* (Library of Modern Middle East Studies) (Paperback): Publisher: I. B. Tauris; New Ed edition (August 20, 2006).

\*Quintan Wiktorowicz (Editor) *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach* (Indiana Series in Middle East Studies); Paperback: 320 pages; Publisher: Indiana University Press (November 2003); ISBN: 0253216214

\*Carrie Rosefsky Wickham, *Mobilizing Islam: Religion, Activism and Political Change in Egypt* (Columbia University Press 2002).

**Readings:**

At least one copy of all texts will be placed in reserve in the library. Readings marked with an asterisk (\*) will be available through electronic reserves or Blackboard. Readings that include a web address beside them are available on the internet. All other readings are in the books to be purchased or available in the library (on reserve).

**Thursday, January 11, 2007**

**Introductory Meeting:**

**Syllabus** [Begin Reading for next week. Come to class on 1/18 prepared to discuss the readings]

**Thursday, January 18**

**Topic 1: Islamists & Elections**

- Ali R. Abootalebi, Islam, Islamists, and Democracy, *MERIA*, Volume3, No. 1 – March 1999  
<http://meria.biu.ac.il/journal/1999/issue1/jv3n1a2.html>
- 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](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/v016/16.2nasr.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>
- 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>
- \*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.
- 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")

Supplementary:

- Review – "National Elections in the Middle East Since 1980 (table)" *MERIP* (Year of Elections: Fact and Fiction) 238—Spring 2006.

**Thursday, January 25**

**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; Part I; Part II.
- \*Ziad Munson, "Islamic Mobilization: Social Movement Theory and the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood," *The Sociological Quarterly* 2001 42:4 487.
- 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:

- 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 1

### **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](http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/cp_67_grayzones_final.pdf)

#### Supplementary:

- 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).
- Explore:  
{Official English language web site of the Muslim Brotherhood) Ikhwanweb.com  
<http://www.muslimbrotherhood.co.uk/Home.asp?zPage=Systems&System=PressR&Language=E>

{Official web site of the Muslim Brotherhood}  
<http://www.ikhwanonline.com/>

## Thursday, February 8

### **Topic 4: Turkey (I)**

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

## Thursday, February 15

### **Topic 5: Turkey (II)**

- 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>

- 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](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/v014/14.2ozel.pdf)
- 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](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/v014/14.2onis.pdf)
- Gareth Jenkins, “Muslim Democrats in Turkey,” *Survival*, Volume 45, No. 1, Spring, 2003  
<http://taylorandfrancis.metapress.com/media/78u409rhr14qww1jxdf1/contributions/p/p/e/b/ppeblvqvqwpdykn.pdf>
- \*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>

Supplementary:

- 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](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>

**Thursday, February 22**

**Topic 6: Jordan (I)**

- Quintan Wiktorowicz, *The Management of Islamic Activism: Salafis, the Muslim Brotherhood, and State Power in Jordan* (SUNY Series in Middle Eastern Studies) 2001.
- \*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.

Supplementary:

- S El-Said, *Between Pragmatism and Ideology: The Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan, 1989-1994*, Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 1995.
- 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>

**Thursday, March 1**

**Topic 7: Jordan (II) & Yemen**

- \*Jillian Schwedler, *Faith in Moderation: Islamist Parties in Jordan and Yemen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) 2006. (Selections)
- \*Ellen Lust-Okar, "Elections under Authoritarianism: Preliminary Lessons from Jordan," *Democratization*, vol. 13, no. 3, June, 2006, pp. 456-471.

(An earlier version of this text is available at:

[http://hei.unige.ch/sections/sp/agenda/colloquium/Lust-Okar\\_Elections%20in%20Jordan.pdf](http://hei.unige.ch/sections/sp/agenda/colloquium/Lust-Okar_Elections%20in%20Jordan.pdf)

- Nathan Brown – on *Jordan and its Islamic Movement: The Limits of Inclusion? Carnegie papers, (November 2006)*

[http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/cp\\_74\\_brown\\_final.pdf](http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/cp_74_brown_final.pdf)

- Explore the official website of the Islamic Action Front: <http://www.jabha.net/>

Supplementary:

- *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)
- See Yemen Readings below.

**Thursday, March 8 -- Spring Break**

**Thursday, March 15**

**Topic 8: Morocco**

- \*G. White, "The Advent of Electoral Democracy in Morocco? The Referendum of 1996," *Middle East Journal*, 1997.

- \*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)
- \*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,” *Mediterranean Politics*, Volume 9, Number 1, Spring, 2004.  
<http://taylorandfrancis.metapress.com/media/12t6ddrhl4rwjm7na9g/contributions/y/1/y/u/y1yupf6b58g0aar4.pdf>
- \*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)
- \*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](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](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](http://www.pjd.ma/sommaire_en.php3)

**\*Thursday, March 22-23 – Attend CCAS Symposium “Islam and Islamist Politics in the Arab World”**

**Thursday, March 29**

**Topic 9: Palestine & Lebanon**

- Glenn E. Robinson, “ Hamas as a Social Movement,” in Quintan Wiktorowicz, *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach* (Indiana: Indiana University Press) 2004.
- Paul Salem, “Skirting Democracy: Lebanon’s 1996 Elections and Beyond,” *Middle East Report* 203 (Spring 1997)



- Augustus Richard Norton, “Hizballah: From Radicalism to Pragmatism?” *Middle East Policy* 5/4 (January 1988).
- “Hizballah Through the Fog of the Lebanon War,” An interview with Augustus Richard Norton, *Journal of Palestine Studies*, vol. XXXVI, No. 1 (Autumn 2006), pp. 54-70. [http://people.bu.edu/arn/JPS3601\\_05\\_Norton\\_054\\_070%5B1%5D.pdf](http://people.bu.edu/arn/JPS3601_05_Norton_054_070%5B1%5D.pdf)
- Mona Harb & Reinould Leenders, “Know Thy Enemy: Hizbullah, “terrorism” and the politics of perception,” *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 26, no. 1, pp. 173-197, 2005.  
<http://taylorandfrancis.metapress.com/media/ha03eap98lcttmee1xej/contributions/m/x/h/t/mxhtlena93n1fh0y.pdf>
- Amr Hamzawy & Dina Bishara, *Islamists Movements in the Arab World and the 2006 Lebanon War*, Carnegie Papers, November 2006.  
[http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/cp\\_75\\_hamzawy\\_final.pdf](http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/cp_75_hamzawy_final.pdf) TBA
- TBA

Supplementary:

- Augustus Richard Norton, “Hizballah of Lebanon: Extremist Ideas vs. Mundane Politics,” Council on Foreign Relations (New York).  
<http://www.cfr.org/content/publications/attachments/Norton.pdf>
- Lara Deeb, Hizballah: A Primer, MERIP ONLIN,  
<http://www.merip.org/mero/mero073106.html>

## **Thursday April 5 – Easter Break**

### **Thursday, April 12**

#### **Topic 10: Egyptian Elections Past & Present**

- 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
- Vickie Langohr, “Cracks in Egypt's Electoral Engineering: The 2000 Vote,” *MERIP*, November 7, 2000.
- 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](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>
- Mona El-Ghobashy, “Egypt's Paradoxical Elections,” *MERIP* 238 – Spring 2006.
- Samer Shehata and Joshua Stacher, “The Brotherhood Goes to Parliament,” *MERIP*, Fall 2006.
- 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.

Supplementary:

- 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.”
- 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>

**Thursday, April 19**

**Topic 11: Student Presentations**

Salwa Ismael, The Paradox of Islamist Politics \*

**Thursday, April 26**  
**Topic 12: Student Presentations**

-----Additional Supplementary Reading-----

**Yemen:**

- Sheila Carapico, "Elections and Mass Politics in Yemen," *Middle East Report*, No. 185, Despots and Democrats Political Change in Arabia (Nov. - Dec., 1993), pp. 2-6

<http://www.al-bab.com/yemen/pol/scarap.htm>

<http://www.jstor.org/view/08992851/di011530/01p0015t/0>

- Renaud Detalle, Joost Hiltermann, "The Yemeni Elections Up Close," *Middle East Report*, No. 185, Despots and Democrats Political Change in Arabia (Nov. - Dec., 1993), pp. 8-12

<http://www.jstor.org/view/08992851/di011530/01p0016u/0>

- \*I. Glosemeyer, "The First Yemeni Parliamentary Elections in 1993: Practising Democracy," *Orient* (1993).

- Jillian Schwedler, "Yemen's Aborted Opening," *Journal of Democracy*, *Journal of Democracy* 13.4 (2002) 48-55

[http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal\\_of\\_democracy/v013/13.4schwedler.html](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/v013/13.4schwedler.html)

- Lisa Wedeen, "Seeing Like a Citizen Acting Like a State: Exemplary Events in Unified Yemen," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* (2003)

[http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FCSS%2FCSS45\\_04%2FS001041750300032Xa.pdf&code=5f219a1a96ca6f98e4a6c55bf429b91c](http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FCSS%2FCSS45_04%2FS001041750300032Xa.pdf&code=5f219a1a96ca6f98e4a6c55bf429b91c)

- Gregory D. Johnson, "The Election Yemen Was Supposed to Have," *MERIP*, October 3, 2006.

<http://www.merip.org/mero/mero100306.html>

**Supplementary:**

- Sheila Carapico, "Campaign Politics and Coalition Building: The 1993 Parliamentary Elections," *Yemen Update* 33 (Summer/Fall 1993)

- Janine Clark, “Islamist Women in Yemen: Informal Nodes of Activism,” in Quintan Wiktorowicz, *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach* (Indiana: Indiana University Press) 2004 (pp. 164-184).
- Jillian Schwedler, “The Islah party in Yemen: Political Opportunities and Coalition Building in a Transitional Polity,” in Quintan Wiktorowicz, *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach* (Indiana: Indiana University Press) 2004 (pp. 205-230).

### **Kuwait:**

- Michael Herb, “Princes, Parliaments and the Prospects for Democracy in the Gulf,” – *Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Regimes and Resistance* (Lynne Reiner: Boulder) 2005, (eds) Marsha Pripstein Posusney and Michele Penner Angrist.
- Mary Ann Tétreault, “Kuwait's Parliament Considers Women's Political Rights, Again,” *MERIP*, September 2, 2004
- Shafeeq N. Ghabra, “Balancing State and Society: The Islamic Movement in Kuwait,” *Middle East Policy* 5/2 (May 1997)

### **Theory:**

- 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)
- Marsha Pripstein Posusney, “Behind the Ballot Box: Electoral Engineering in the Arab World” *Middle East Report*, No. 209, (Winter, 1998), pp. 12-15+42
- Marsha Pripstein Posusney chapter in M. Pripstein Posusney and M. Angrist edited volume on Authoritarianism in the Middle East.
- *Journal of Democracy*, Special Issue: “Elections Without Democracy”
  - 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”