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# How do Islamists rule?

*An analysis of Islamist provincial governance*



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## Executive Summary

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Religious political movements have been rising in popularity and power across the Islamic world for decades, amassing an ample record in local government. The Arab uprisings are only the most recent manifestation of this long-term trend. Yet there is little empirical study of the behavior of Islamist political parties, with prevailing assumptions never subjected to scrutiny. Conventional wisdom holds that ideology matters more to Islamist parties than to secular ones, and that once in power religious hardliners will moderate. Our study aims to clinically assess the performance of Islamist groups based on socio-economic data. It is difficult to compare Islamist parties across different time periods and national contexts, but we have looked for patterns and causal connections rather than hard-and-fast rules. We compared the ideologies and stated governing platform of the parties we studied to their political behavior and other outcomes measurable by data. Some general trends emerged:

**Islamists invoke religion selectively.** The level of Islamist rhetoric varied widely among the parties we studied. Those with an overtly religious discourse used it to gain political support and distinguish themselves from their secular counterparts, but applied religion only to some spheres of governance – usually gender equality and education, rather than issues like the economy or health.

**Politics trumps ideology.** Islamists respond to pressure from their constituents, displaying flexibility even on central points of doctrine if their political viability is at stake.

**Context is controlling.** Local structural concerns like economic crises or regime change trump ideology, pragmatically shaping the governing party's agenda regardless of its stated ideology. The transitional narrative is particularly important in studying the rise of Islamists; many of these groups rose to power after decades of state suppression and underground activism.

Even when an Islamist party rises to power on a wave of religious rhetoric, we found across a variety of national narratives that ideology can be molded or subsumed by public opinion, local conditions, and pragmatic political constraints. We also found that Islamism is most useful as a predictor of political behavior on matters of social policy.

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## Introduction

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Though in recent years an increasing number of Islamist parties have risen to power through democratic elections, little scholarly attention has been given to how these Islamist parties actually govern, particularly at the local or municipal level, and how governance affects their ideology. Even fewer studies take an empirical approach in measuring the performance of these Islamist political parties. This report aims to fill these gaps. It examines data on indicators of social, economic and cultural development for several Islamist political parties and compares their performance to that of their non-Islamist counterparts. We assessed five parties: Hamas in Gaza, the Justice and Development Party (AKP) in Turkey, Hezbollah in Lebanon, the Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA) in Pakistan and The Islamic Supreme Council of Iraq (ISCI) and Al-Fadhila in Iraq. We chose to study Islamist governance at a provincial level for four primary reasons:

- The local unit of analysis allowed for specificity in measuring a party's performance.
- Quasi-democratic states often allow more competition on the provincial level than the national.
- Competing political parties allow a basis for comparison within the same context.
- There is limited literature on Islamists in provincial power.

The broader purpose of this report is to provide policymakers and scholars information that can be useful for a more data-driven analysis of how Islamist parties and their competitors behave in power. We hope our case studies provide a better understanding of the interplay between governance and ideology in Islamist political movements. We believe they offer some insight into the circumstances that push religious parties into a more rigid or more flexible ideological stance. We hope this study might serve as a replicable model for a more comprehensive examination of Islamist parties in politics, and that it will contribute to an evidence-based discussion of Islamist politics.

### Acknowledgements

We would like to thank those who generously took the time to assist us with our project: Dr. Zeena Zakharia (Lecturer of International and Transcultural Studies, Teachers College), Sebnem Arsu (Reporter, *New York Times*), F. Derya Koc (SIPA 2011), and Aslihan Tuncer.

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## Methodology

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In order to select our case studies, we conducted a basic survey of Islamist rule in diverse regions from all over the world: Pakistan, Turkey, Nigeria, Indonesia, Malaysia, Gaza and the West Bank, Lebanon and Southern Iraq. We selected the political groups that best fit the following criteria:

- They self-identified as Islamists.
- There was substantial data available on the parties, their platforms and ideologies.
- There is a non-Islamist or less-Islamist alternative within the same national context.
- The case is pertinent for policymakers.

### Challenges and Limitations

Drawing broad conclusions across our cases studies posed a significant challenge due to the incredibly diverse settings in which each party operated. Pakistan, Iraq, Lebanon and Gaza were in a state of war during much of the period under consideration. All of the countries were in various stage of transition away from absolute authoritarianism, and arguably only Turkey, of the five contexts we studied, could be considered genuinely democratic. In addition, the AKP in Turkey stood out as anomaly because of its integration of Islamist roots with secular politics. Data proved difficult to find for many indicators, and Lebanon was particularly problematic. There we were forced to rely on qualitative sources for much of our analysis.

### Indicators

We used eight indicators that represent social, economic and cultural development:

- Economics
- Education
- Health
- Security
- Gender Equality
- Press Freedom
- Minority Rights
- Corruption

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Where possible, quantitative data was compiled from a range of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), government and United Nations sources. We had the most success finding quantitative data for economics, health, gender equality and security but often encountered difficulty with indicators of press freedom, minority rights, security and corruption. In such instances, we used qualitative data from interviews and secondary sources including newspapers and other media outlets.

### **Literature Review**

In selecting our cases we reviewed a wide selection of literature on Islamist governance. Though this is by no means a comprehensive list, the reader may consider consulting the following sources for further information on Islamism in general and on each of our case studies. For background information on Islamism the team consulted “Understanding Islamism,” a March 2005 report published by the International Crisis Group (ICG) that provides an overview of the spectrum of Islamist ideologies and explains the various streams of Islamic activism.

There is little agreement over the definition of “Islamism,” and there is even debate between veteran scholars over whether Islamism as an ideology is the coming wave or, as Oliver Roy and Gilles Keppele argue, already in eclipse. A substantial body of scholarship suggests that political Islamists – like non-Islamist political actors – tend to temper their more extreme claims once they obtain power. Scholars who have looked at particular cases have argued that inclusion in the political process leads to moderation. Other scholars, however, have used contradictory cases to argue that exclusion from the political process pushes political Islamists to moderation. For a fuller discussion of the literature see our appendix.

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## Case study: The Occupied Palestinian Territories

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*Hamas acted pragmatically in terms of the economy, education, health and security, maintaining earlier trends or improving them in some cases. However, in the areas of gender equality, press freedom and minority rights, Hamas's actions indicate a tendency towards ideological responses that restrict individual freedoms. Generally, Hamas appears to have compromised its more radical ideological perspective to prove itself as a viable alternative to Fatah.*

### Background

The Occupied Palestinian Territories saw the rise of an Islamist government in mid-2006, after Hamas won a majority of seats in the parliamentary election. This was the first time Hamas (also known as the Islamic Resistance Movement) ran in parliamentary elections, surprising many with its victory.

Previously, Fatah had been ruling both the West Bank and the Gaza Strip; Hamas ran as the Change and Reform Party to challenge the secular government. Founded as an offshoot of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood in 1987, Hamas formed on the basis of launching an armed resistance against Israeli occupation of the Palestinian Territories. The United States, Canada, Israel and the European Union all designate Hamas as a terrorist organization because of its use of force and violence against Israel.

In the early 2000's, Palestine faced a tired economy with slow growth and a stalled peace process with Israel, which weakened Fatah's most prominent leader, Yasser Arafat. With these challenges, in combination with an image of growing corruption within Fatah, Palestinians began to lose faith in its capability as a governing party.<sup>1</sup> Hamas became an attractive alternative to Fatah, both as a party without the corrupt image and having proven itself in the municipal elections of 2005 where it successfully delivered on its promises: "Since Fatah squandered its chance to deliver for more than 10 years, people decided to give their vote to Hamas, which had proven itself in municipal elections though it did not participate in national elections before."<sup>2</sup> With social and political circumstances in Hamas's favor, in the 2006 parliamentary elections Hamas won 74 seats and Fatah 29.<sup>3</sup> Hamas however, never took control of the Palestinian Authority (PA)—its status as a terrorist organization created strong

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<sup>1</sup> Bureau of Intelligence and Research, "Hamas and Fatah Neck and Neck As Palestinian Elections Near" *Office of Research, U.S. Department of State*, M-05-06, Jan. 19, 2005.

<sup>2</sup> Haboub Wael, "Demystifying the Rise of Hamas," *Journal of Developing Societies*, Feb. 21, 2012.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

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responses from Israel and resulted in withheld tax revenues and Western aid.<sup>4</sup> Fatah and Hamas attempted to reconcile their differences and form a unity government but these efforts failed and eventually led to direct violence between the two parties. Militants aligned with Hamas took control of Gaza in mid-2007, establishing a break between the two parties and territories.<sup>5</sup>

Most recently, Hamas has attempted to reconcile with Fatah. In May 2011, Hamas and Fatah signed an agreement in Cairo, which was a diplomatic move towards Palestinian unity. However, this did not result in changes on the ground except for the announcement in February 2012 of a unity government to be led by Mahmoud Abbas.<sup>6</sup> Hamas's stance towards Israel has also softened. For example, in October 2011, Israel and Hamas reached a deal to free an Israeli soldier held captive by Hamas in exchange for the release of 1,000 Palestinian prisoners held by Israel.<sup>7</sup> In December 2011, Hamas also announced that it would move away from violent tactics towards Israel in an effort to reconcile with the PA and entertained the possibility of engaging in peace talks with Israel.<sup>8</sup> In February 2012, Hamas's leadership publicly announced a break from its long-term patron, Syria, saying that Hamas would move its headquarters out of Damascus and was supporting the Syrian opposition at the risk of losing both Syrian and Iranian funding.<sup>9</sup> These actions indicate that Hamas wants to become more actively involved in the fate of the Palestinian state among the international community and that it may be realizing that moderating its stance is one way to insert itself more effectively in that dialogue.

## **Ideology**

Hamas's founding charter is militant and radical in its view of and approach to Israel. Its main goal is the liberation of Palestine and Hamas sees that struggle as a religious obligation.<sup>10</sup> According to Hamas, the

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<sup>4</sup> *The New York Times* "Hamas," *The New York Times*, Feb. 24, 2012, Website, Apr. 10, 2012. <http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/organizations/h/hamas/index.html>.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Phoebe Greenwood, "Hamas moves away from violence in deal with Palestinian Authority," *The Guardian*, Dec. 18, 2011 Website, Apr. 10, 2012 <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/dec/18/hamas-moves-from-violence-palestinian>.

<sup>7</sup> "Hamas," *New York Times*, *op. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> Phoebe Greenwood, "Hamas moves away from violence in deal with Palestinian Authority," *op. cit.*

<sup>9</sup> BBC, "Hamas political leaders leave Syria for Egypt and Qatar," *BBC News*, Feb. 28, 2012, Website, Apr. 10, 2012 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-17192278>.

<sup>10</sup> Jim Zanotti, "Hamas: Background and Issues for Congress," *Congressional Research Service*, Dec. 2, 2010.



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only way to accomplish this is to eradicate Israel, even by violent means.<sup>11</sup> Hamas did not entertain peaceful negotiations with Israel once it came to power, refusing to sign on to the peace agreements previously reached between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization.<sup>12</sup> It continues to refuse the preconditions for negotiation set forth by the Quartet, including recognizing Israel as a state and renouncing violence.<sup>13</sup> In Hamas's founding charter, it proclaims: "the so-called peaceful solutions, and the international conferences to resolve the Palestinian problem, are all contrary to the beliefs of the Islamic Resistance Movement [...] There is no solution to the Palestinian problem except by Jihad."<sup>14</sup> However, Hamas has offered Israel a 10-year truce in exchange for an Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem.<sup>15</sup>

The founding charter is also filled with anti-Semitic conspiracy theories citing, for example, the work of Rotary clubs as a ploy by Zionist organizations to distance Muslim women from Islamic teachings.<sup>16</sup> Some analysts see Hamas's founding charter as engendering "a particularly militant, uncompromising, and anti-Semitic agenda...which commits Hamas to the destruction of Israel and the establishment of an Islamic state in all of historic Palestine."<sup>17</sup> The charter however, does not provide a stance on domestic policy save for advocating an Islamic society in Palestine.

Hamas created a domestic platform for its parliamentary run in 2006 under the banner of the Change and Reform Party. Hamas issued an election manifesto in 2005, which outlined its views on multiple issues such as the economy, its stance on relations with other Arab nations, its view on battling corruption in government, education and social policy. The manifesto was written with an audience in mind, to garner political support for Hamas. As such, it includes provisions such as improving the economy by reducing Palestinian dependence on Israel, modernizing education and increasing access to and quality of healthcare.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> "Hamas charter," *The Jerusalem Fund*, 1988, preamble, Website, Apr. 10, 2012

[www.thejerusalemfund.org/carryover/documents/charter.html](http://www.thejerusalemfund.org/carryover/documents/charter.html).

<sup>12</sup> BBC "Profile: Hamas Palestinian movement," *BBC News*, Mar. 12, 2012, Website, Apr. 10, 2012

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-13331522>.

<sup>13</sup> Jim Zanotti, "Hamas: Background and Issues for Congress," *op. cit.*

<sup>14</sup> "Hamas charter," *The Jerusalem Fund*, 1988, Article 13 *op. cit.*

<sup>15</sup> "Profile: Hamas Palestinian movement," *BBC News*, *op. cit.*

<sup>16</sup> "Hamas charter," *The Jerusalem Fund*, 1988, Article 17, *op. cit.*

<sup>17</sup> Jim Zanotti, "Hamas: Background and Issues for Congress," *op. cit.*

<sup>18</sup> Change and Reform Party, "Election manifesto," *The Muslim Brotherhood's English Web site*, Apr. 10, 2012

<http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=4921>.

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Hamas continues to stress that Islam should be a part of all aspects of a society stating, “The true religion of Islam and its civilization [*sic*] achievements are our reference and a way of life in all its aspects: politically, economically, socially and legally.”<sup>19</sup> However, in its policy structure, religion does not permeate all aspects of Palestinian life—the manifesto states, “Our list adopts a number of principles arising from Islamic reference,” but also says Hamas will work to establish a civil Palestinian society with political multiplicity and reforms to advance the national rights of the Palestinian people.<sup>20</sup> Yet in some spheres of Palestinian life—education, women’s rights and law—Hamas advocates a religious view. Hamas states that Islamic law should be “the basic source of legislation,”<sup>21</sup> that education should be based on Islamic pedagogy<sup>22</sup> and women should be given an Islamic education.<sup>23</sup> However, Hamas does not advocate a complete overhaul of existing institutions—on Sharia courts, Hamas says, “There is a need to pass a law driven from Islamic law as well as choosing what suits the development of Palestinian Muslim society,” which implies that Sharia courts are not the only legal remedy for Palestinians and may not be suitable in all cases. Hamas members have made public statements that challenge its charter, stating it “should not be regarded as the fundamental ideological frame of reference from which the movement takes its positions.”<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, analysts see Hamas’s statements as more politically based than religiously oriented, with a focus on domestic issues rather than resistance.<sup>25</sup> Hamas’s decision to participate in elections is also seen as a pragmatic move.<sup>26</sup>

Due to the territorial restrictions of the Palestinian Territories, this report compares the West Bank to the Gaza Strip—the West Bank under the Fatah government and the Gaza Strip under Hamas. The analysis will examine social and economic indicators from 2000 to 2007 in both the West Bank and Gaza under Fatah leadership, comparing them to the same indicators from 2007-present, looking at the West Bank under Fatah and Gaza under Hamas.

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<sup>19</sup> Change and Reform Party, “Election manifesto,” Article 1, *op. cit.*

<sup>20</sup> Change and Reform Party, “Election manifesto, Introduction, *op. cit.*

<sup>21</sup> Change and Reform Party, “Election manifesto,” Article 5, *op. cit.*

<sup>22</sup> Change and Reform Party, “Election manifesto,” Article 7, *op. cit.*

<sup>23</sup> Change and Reform Party, “Election manifesto,” Article 11, *op. cit.*

<sup>24</sup> Baudouin Long, “The Hamas Agenda: How has it changed?” *Middle East Policy*, Winter 2010, Vol. 17, Issue 4: pg. 131-144.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

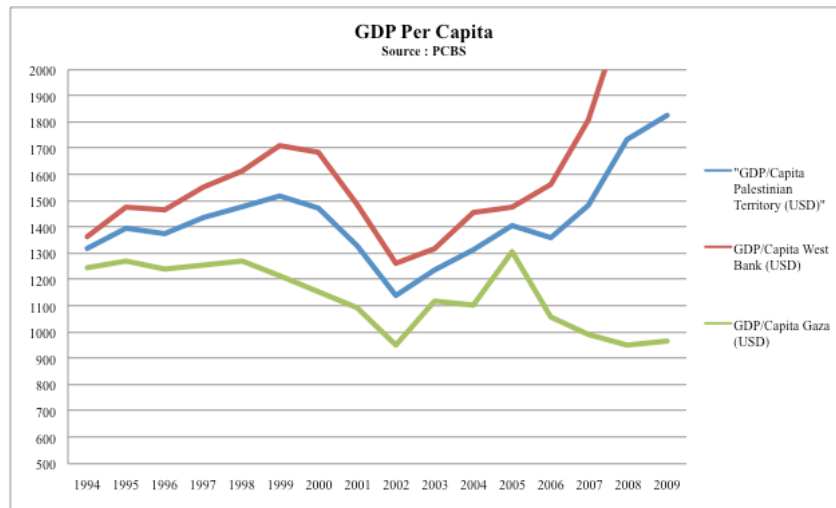
<sup>26</sup> Jim Zanotti, “Hamas: Background and Issues for Congress,” *op. cit.*

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## Data analysis

**Economy:** Hamas's election manifesto<sup>27</sup> indicated that they would improve the Palestinian economy through monetary and economic policy, developing infrastructure, reducing unemployment and creating a minimum wage to match the cost of living. Hamas also wants to create a Palestinian currency and eliminate Palestinian dependence on Israel. Hamas can control how it spends the money it receives, but since both the West Bank and Gaza Strip use Israeli shekels as their currency, neither Hamas nor Fatah have any control over monetary policy.

In measuring economic stability in Gaza, this report looked at the following indicators: GDP per capita, unemployment and labor force participation rates. The GDP per capita in Gaza has always been less than that of the West Bank and has been decreasing since 2005. The blockade instituted by Israel and



Egypt in Gaza in 2007 may be a large factor for this decline. According to the UN, the blockade caused “irreversible damage” to the local economy.<sup>28</sup> However, it is notable that the decrease in GDP was not as drastic as expected, indicating that Hamas has maintained economic growth by instituting measures such as expanding its networks of smuggling tunnels.<sup>29</sup> Unemployment spiked in Gaza between 2007 and 2008 (due to the blockade) but has since been decreasing, indicating that Hamas is living up to the promise it made during elections. Labor force participation also shows a decrease, which is generally bad for any economy as less output is generated collectively. Overall, Hamas has performed well economically considering the obstacles it faced. There is no indication that Hamas's ideology as an Islamist party is a factor in its performance—any political party that took these measures in Gaza would

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<sup>27</sup> Hamas only participated in the 2006 parliamentary elections and issued an election manifesto in 2005; all references to the election manifesto are from Hamas's 2005 platform.

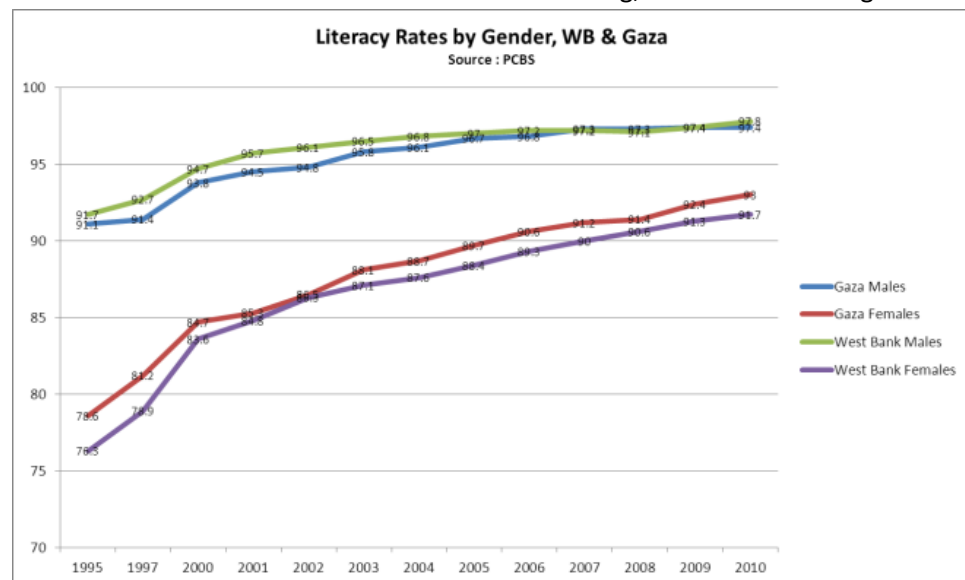
<sup>28</sup> BBC “Gaza under Blockade,” *BBC News*, Jul. 6, 2010, Website, Apr. 10, 2012  
[http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/7545636.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/7545636.stm).

<sup>29</sup> Jim Zanotti, “Hamas: Background and Issues for Congress,” *op. cit.*

have encountered similar results. While the West Bank fares better economically, this may be due to the vast amount of foreign aid, which allows it to stabilize its economy.

**Education:** Hamas was very supportive of education in its election manifesto, indicating the need to modernize the education system. It also wants education to be compulsory, without defining specifically what that entails. Hamas's election manifesto mentioned keeping education within an Islamic context without any specificity as to what that means on a practical level.

In analyzing educational performance, this report looks at enrollment in schools and literacy rates. Enrollment overall has been on the rise, which could be due to: 1) an increase in school-aged population; 2) schools being able to accommodate more students; or 3) an increase in the number of schools. Literacy rates in both Gaza and the West Bank have been increasing, with Gaza boasting a more literate population than the West Bank. Gaza's literacy rate overtook that of the West Bank in 2003, and Hamas maintained that edge since taking power in 2007. However, even in Gaza the Ministry of



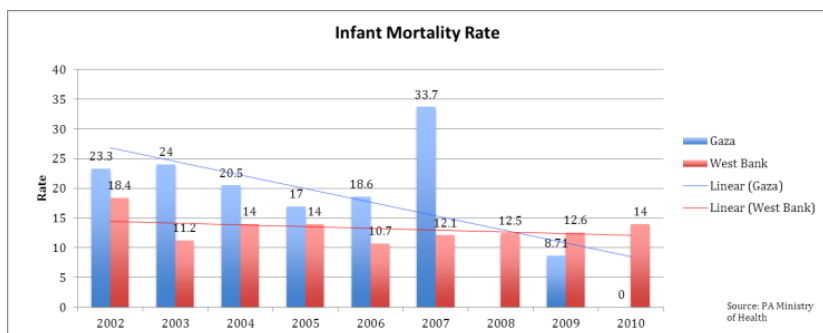
Education receives its funding from the PA and Hamas is only able to decide how to spend it.<sup>30</sup> It is noteworthy that despite the obstacles Hamas faced, it maintained Gaza's advantage over the West Bank in literacy. However, we cannot definitively comment on the content of the curriculum or the quality of the educational services provided by Hamas. The actual curricula in Gaza may reflect its ideological stance, but this is outside the scope of this study.

<sup>30</sup> Peace Research Institute Oslo "The Public Services Under Hamas in Gaza: Islamic Revolution or Crises Management?" *Peace Research Institute Oslo*, 2010, Report 3-2010, 71

**Health:** Improving the quality of and access to healthcare available especially for mothers and infants were all aspects explicitly mentioned in Hamas’s election manifesto.<sup>31</sup> Funding for health services also comes directly from the PA.<sup>32</sup>

With regard to improvement of health, Hamas shows mixed results: the number of hospitals and the number of beds per 1,000 people in Gaza remained stable before and after Hamas took power. The infant mortality rate (IMR) spiked in 2007 to 33.7, an extremely high number compared to 12.1 in the West Bank. The trend is significant, because Hamas then managed to decrease the IMR to 8.71 in 2009, lower than that of the West Bank. This could be due to better management and access to healthcare under Hamas, more funding for health services through the PA, or increased international aid for health services in Gaza.

Conversely, the rate of stillbirths has increased in Gaza since 2005 and was twice that of the West



Bank in 2010. This suggests that access to prenatal healthcare in Gaza was not as readily available as in the West Bank and that Hamas has not been improving access to health facilities or the quality of those facilities. There is a contrast in the improvement of IMR and the increase of stillbirths over the same time period. This suggests that there are other causal factors and that healthcare may not have improved that much. Generally, we can conclude that ideology does not factor into how Hamas deals with healthcare—it uses a more practical approach because Hamas’s appeal for Palestinians is partly in being effective at providing social services.

**Security:** Hamas makes it a clear priority to provide security to Palestinians. The Change and Reform party’s manifesto states: “providing security for each citizen, protecting him/her and his/her properties, so that s/he is not exposed neither to despotic detention, revenge nor torture.”<sup>33</sup> Its performance on these matters shows an ability to do just that while breaking its own rules.

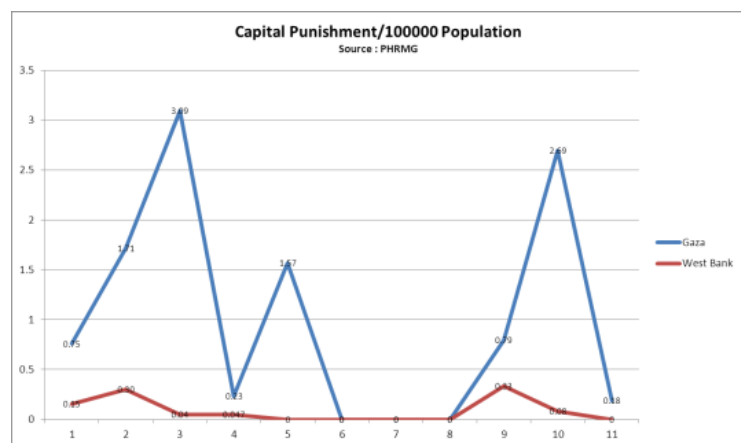
<sup>31</sup> Change and Reform Party, “Election manifesto,” Article 11, *op. cit*

<sup>32</sup> “The Public Services Under Hamas in Gaza: Islamic Revolution or Crises Management?” *op. cit.*

<sup>33</sup> Change and Reform Party, “Election manifesto,” Article 6, *op. cit.*

Hamis has demonstrated that it is capable of controlling some forms of violent crime in the Gaza Strip. Both kidnappings and deaths by gunfire were on the rise before Hamas took control of Gaza but have since been decreasing, while incidents of stabbing have gone up since Hamas took power. Deaths in custody and capital punishments have increased with Hamas in power. Additionally, these two indicators have shown substantially higher numbers compared with the West Bank, which also saw a rise in these two indicators under Fatah governance. It is notable that Hamas has continued in the same trend as Fatah even though they claimed in their election manifesto that it is their “duty to contribute in reforming the Palestinian reality, to alleviate the suffering of our brave people.”<sup>34</sup>

The higher deaths in custody under Hamas clearly indicate Hamas using repressive methods in controlling crime and political participation. The increase in sentences of capital punishment again suggests extreme methods of exercising control. As recently as April 2012, Hamas executed three prisoners:



one for collaborating with Israel and two for murder, indicating politics may be a bigger influence than the crime itself. Trials in Gaza are not public so it is impossible to determine what the evidence was against these individuals or the course of legal proceedings.<sup>35</sup> Hamas officials see capital punishment as an effective method of controlling crime in Gaza.<sup>36</sup>

Hamis had made some progress in improving crime rates. However, their methods suggest a forceful hand and are questionable. Deaths in custody are a fact regardless of Islamist ideology and occur under Fatah and Hamas rule, indicating an increased trend of political warfare between both parties to lessen competition rather than religiously motivated crime prevention based on Islamist thought.

<sup>34</sup> Change and Reform Party, “Election manifesto,” Introduction, *op. cit.*

<sup>35</sup> “Hamas hangs Gaza prisoners, including one ‘collaborator,’” *BBC News*, Apr. 7, 2012, Website, Apr. 10, 2012 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-17644406>.

<sup>36</sup> “Hamas official says capital punishment brings security to Gaza,” *Wafa: Palestinian News & Info Agency*, April 5, 2012, Website, Apr. 10, 2012 <http://english.wafa.ps/index.php?action=detail&id=19477>.

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**Gender equality:** Hamas takes a very contradictory stance toward women, identifying them as partners “in jihad and resistance, in building and development,”<sup>37</sup> which suggests that women are viewed as independent and equal to men. However, other parts of the election manifesto indicate a need to ensure women’s rights, “enabling her of contribution [*sic*] to social, economic and political development,”<sup>38</sup> which implies that they do not currently enjoy equality. Measuring gender equality is complex because it relies on many factors that are difficult to measure. This report combines qualitative and quantitative data in analyzing gender equality by looking at literacy, unemployment, marriage, and divorce rates. Anecdotal information supplements that data and provides a more comprehensive picture of gender in Palestine.

Literacy rates for Gazan women are higher than those of women from the West Bank and have been since 2002, indicating that Hamas has managed to maintain the trend from before it took power. Additionally, the gap in literacy between men and women in Gaza has been narrowing and was at the smallest difference in 2010, further confirming that Hamas is supporting women’s education. Unemployment among women from Gaza shot up drastically from 2007, which could be due to the blockade. This data shows that while Hamas was able to stabilize unemployment for men, it did not do so for women possibly due to the sectors women work in, which may be more restricted by the blockade. Marriage rates increased after Hamas came into power, which could be a result of mass marriages that Hamas officiates and financially supports.<sup>39</sup> Divorce rates have decreased since Hamas took power, although further research is required to determine if changes in legislation by Hamas caused that decline. Honor killings continue to be prevalent in both the West Bank and Gaza. While Fatah took action and changed its laws in May 2011 to end moderate punishments for honor killings, Hamas maintains laws that allow a maximum sentence of 24 months for honor killings.<sup>40</sup> Hamas proposed other laws that restricted women’s freedoms such as requiring Islamic clothing for girls in government schools but later retracted those proposals due to public and international criticism.<sup>41</sup> It is

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<sup>37</sup> Change and Reform Party, “Election manifesto,” Article 11, *op. cit.*

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> The Palestine Telegraph “Hamas hold collective marriage ceremony,” *The Palestine Telegraph*, Jul. 10, 2009, Website, Apr. 10, 2012 <http://www.paltelegraph.com/palestine/gaza-strip/1319-hamas-holds-collective-marriage-ceremony>.

<sup>40</sup> Gabe Kahn, “Honor killings remain fashionable in Gaza,” *Arutz Sheva*, Mar. 26, 2012, Website, Apr. 10, 2012 <http://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/154185#.T4CbFo4eJ7H>.

<sup>41</sup> Mona El-Naggar, “Peeking out from under Hamas’s Veil,” *New York Times*, Sept. 7, 2010, Website, Apr. 10 2012 <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/09/08/world/middleeast/08iht-letter.html>.

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unclear whether those proposals have affected Palestinian society or the extent to which such rules are being enforced.

Our indicators give a muddled picture of Hamas on gender equality—while they’ve managed to keep literacy among women in Gaza high, anecdotal data suggests that they might be infringing on women’s rights in other spheres of life. Yet, Hamas’s decision to not change its laws on honor killings, especially in light of the fact that Fatah acted to change the law in the West Bank, suggests that gender equality is not a priority for Hamas.

**Press Freedom:** Hamas specifically addresses the press in its election manifesto, identifying the need for “free thinking and expression,” and “the right of [an] audience to know the truth.”<sup>42</sup> However, it leaves the door open for censorship in stating that Hamas will work on “protecting citizens, especially youngsters, against spoilage, Westernization, thought invasion; and resisting cultural normalization.”<sup>43</sup> While there is very little quantitative data on press freedom in Gaza and the West Bank, there is anecdotal data that shows a need for improvement in both territories. A report by Human Rights Watch found that Fatah and Hamas arbitrarily detain journalists, harass and assault them with no judicial measures for the perpetrators.<sup>44</sup> Human Rights Watch reported the PA detaining a journalist for allegedly libeling the Palestinian Authority and Hamas torturing detained journalists.<sup>45</sup> In this regard, both Hamas and Fatah fail to provide security to the press. However, each party’s motivation is based on politics—censorship and detention of journalists comes from wanting to shut down political criticism. Hamas and Fatah in that sense are no different from one another.

**Minority rights:** Hamas recognizes the small Christian population in Gaza and in its election manifesto says that it will guarantee rights for minorities and respect them.<sup>46</sup> Hamas’s claim to protect minorities is not apparent according to anecdotal data. For example, Christmas ceased to be a national holiday after

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<sup>42</sup> Change and Reform Party, “Election manifesto,” Article 10, *op. cit.*

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Human Rights Watch “No news is good news: Abuses against journalists by Palestinian Security Forces,” *Human Rights Watch*, Apr. 2011.

<sup>45</sup> “Palestinian Authority/Israel: Escalating assault on free expression,” *Human Rights Watch*, April 3, 2012 <http://www.hrw.org/news/2012/04/03/palestinian-authorityisrael-escalating-assault-free-expression>.

<sup>46</sup> Change and Reform Party, “Election manifesto,” Article 2, *op. cit.*



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Hamas took power in Gaza.<sup>47</sup> Hamas also seems to turn a blind eye to violence against Christians—there have been attacks against the minority in the past and while Hamas condemned them, it did not make any arrests.<sup>48</sup> A report by the U.S. State Department said that Hamas tolerates the Christian population in Gaza. However, Hamas took harsh actions against Muslims of different sects or those who practiced Islam in a different manner than that which Hamas advocates. In contrast, the report mentioned the PA's involvement in interreligious dialogue in the region.<sup>49</sup> These documented instances suggest that Hamas could improve its treatment of the Christian minority in Gaza.

**Corruption:** Part of Hamas's appeal to the Palestinian voters was its claim that it could and had functioned without corruption.<sup>50</sup> Its election manifesto includes a section on combating corruption, explicitly stating, "Public fund[s] should be kept away from misuse, waste, anger, corruption and pilferage."<sup>51</sup> It further adds that Hamas will fight corruption because it considers it a "main reason behind weakening the domestic Palestinian front and undermining foundations of national unity."<sup>52</sup> Hamas also promised to conduct investigations into corruption and prosecute those found to be corrupt. This is another indicator where most of the data is mostly anecdotal because corruption as a quantitative indicator is hard to measure. Qualitative data suggests that for the most part, Hamas is less corrupt than Fatah. In an interview with *The Jerusalem Post*, a former PA official suggested that the reason Hamas was able to take over Gaza was because Palestinians in Gaza did not support the PA due to its corrupt reputation.<sup>53</sup> There were also reports that the UN's Relief & Works Agency director did not find evidence of corruption in Hamas institutions.<sup>54</sup> However, Hamas is not free of corruption: in March 2011, a senior Hamas official was suspended over allegations of embezzlement, although Hamas officials

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<sup>47</sup> Phoebe Greenwood, "Gaza Christians long for days before Hamas cancelled Christmas," *The Guardian*, Dec. 23, 2011, Website, Apr. 10, 2012 <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/dec/23/gaza-christians-hamas-cancelled-christmas>.

<sup>48</sup> Tim McGirk, "Christians in Gaza make their appeal to the Pope," *Time Inc.* May 11, 2009, Website, Apr. 10, 2012 <http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1897238,00.html>.

<sup>49</sup> "International Religious Freedom Report, July-December 2010," U.S. Department of State, Sep. 13, 2011, Website, Apr. 10, 2012 [http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/irf/2010\\_5/168266.htm](http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/irf/2010_5/168266.htm).

<sup>50</sup> Haboub Wael "Demystifying the Rise of Hamas," *op. cit.*

<sup>51</sup> Change and Reform Party, "Election manifesto," Article 2, *op. cit.*

<sup>52</sup> Change and Reform Party, "Election manifesto," Article 4, *op. cit.*

<sup>53</sup> Khalid Abu Toameh, "Corruption will let Hamas take W. Bank," *The Jerusalem Post*, Jan. 29, 2010, Website, Apr. 10, 2012 <http://www.jpost.com/MiddleEast/Article.aspx?id=167194>.

<sup>54</sup> Press TV "UNRWA Chief: Hamas free of corruption," *Press TV*, May 25, 2008, Website, Apr. 10, 2012 <http://edition.presstv.ir/detail/57331.html>.

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claim the charge is untrue.<sup>55</sup> Generally, Hamas has done a better job than Fatah to restrict corruption within its ranks, and that could be due to ideology and political motives: it would be antithetical to its Islamist ideology for Hamas to be corrupt; additionally, Hamas has to prove itself as a competent, anti-corrupt party in order to maintain its status among Palestinians as a viable alternative to Fatah.

## **Conclusion**

Hamas has generally acted on the measures it specified in its election manifesto. Despite the obstacles it faced economically due to sanctions, the blockade and reduction in foreign aid, it kept economic growth and reduced unemployment. Hamas also maintained Gaza's advantage in education, and improved some facets of healthcare and security. In that regard, Hamas acted pragmatically and took its responsibility as a governing authority to provide for its people. Hamas also had to continue providing those services effectively in order to maintain popularity and its power base. In other areas such as gender equality, freedom of the press and minority rights however, Hamas's actions show imprints of ideology. In that sense, Hamas has taken measures to improve indicators of utmost importance to Palestinians and inserted ideological concepts in other areas of Palestinian life. It is a strategy that allows Hamas to deliver on its promises and prove itself as a viable option for Palestinians but also interweave elements of an Islamist agenda slowly into certain spheres of governance. So far, Hamas has compromised its ideological stance, especially with regard to resistance against Israel, to prove itself as a capable governing force for Palestine.

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<sup>55</sup> "Report: Hamas official suspended over allegations of corruption," *Haaretz Daily*, Mar. 18, 2011, Website, Apr. 10, 2012 <http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/report-hamas-official-suspended-over-allegations-of-corruption-1.350057>.

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## Case study: Lebanon

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*As a political force, Hezbollah has not pursued any uniquely Islamic policies. The party has used their piety as political bona fides, framing their platform and emphasis on political, economic, and social reform as a religious obligation. Their individual piety, they seem to argue, makes them a more honest broker in the business of governance. In Hezbollah-controlled Nabatiyeh we observed either improvements in the indicators we measured or a continuation of the status quo, though there is no evidence that those gains were linked to any religiously-inspired policies.*

### Background

Hezbollah's roots lay in the tumult of the civil war in the late 1970's and early 1980's Lebanon. The prominent Lebanese Shi'a organization at the time, Amal, was united by resentment of corrupt political leaders and the unwelcome violence which accompanied the arrival of Palestinian guerillas.<sup>56</sup> Generally however, Amal failed to coalesce around a single ideology or hierarchy.<sup>57</sup> Before hostilities between Iran and Iraq broke out in 1980, the Shi'a seminaries in al-Najaf and Karbala in Iraq were leading destinations for Shi'a scholars, including Ayatollah Khomeini and prominent Lebanese clerics. As the Iranian Revolution gained momentum, Iraq became increasingly hostile to foreign Shi'a and eventually expelled Ayatollah Khomeini. The Lebanese clerics, who included Hezbollah's first and second Secretaries-General, Subhi al-Tufayli and his eventual replacement Abbas al-Musawi, returned to Lebanon and joined Sayyid Muhammad Hussein Fadlallah in urging their followers to join Amal and "Islamicize" the organization from the inside.<sup>58</sup> The young clerics who returned to Lebanon brought with them the same revolutionary zeal that went on to inspire the Islamic Revolution in Iran. Though it would be a few years before Hezbollah would formally come into being and delineate its core principles, by the time Israel invaded Lebanon in June 1982 the movement had already begun.

### Ideology

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<sup>56</sup> Ahmad Nizar Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizbullah* (Syracuse NY: Syracuse University Press, 2004), 20-24.

<sup>57</sup> For more analysis on Amal and Hezbollah activities in south Lebanon during the early 1980s see: Nicholas Blanford. *Warriors of God: The Inside Story of Hezbollah's Relentless War Against Israel* (New York, NY: Random House, Inc., 2011). Kindle version. Location 1141-1244.

<sup>58</sup> Augustus R. Norton, *Hezbollah: A Short History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007).

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On February 16, 1985, Sheikh Ibrahim al-Amin read “An Open Letter: The Hezbollah Program” in the al-Ouzai Mosque in West Beirut. Divided into four sections, the first section, “Identity,” outlines the party’s foundational philosophies. It describes a pan-Islamic organization which views itself as part of a larger *umma* (community) linked to all Muslims regardless of sectarian allegiance. The Open Letter also describes Iran’s intimate role in Hezbollah’s activities in that their “behavior is dictated to us by legal principles laid down by the light of an overall political conception defined by the leading jurist (Wilayat al-Faqih).”<sup>59</sup> Revolutionary in Khomeini’s—and by extension Hezbollah’s—interpretation of Wilayat al-Faqih is the right of the faqih (leading jurist) to political leadership as well as social and religious leadership. Hezbollah’s political ideology views Islam as instrumental to governance. Over time, however, the party would distinguish its ideology from its political program which highlights the importance of Lebanese—as opposed to Muslim—unity.<sup>60</sup>

Starting in the early 1990’s, Hezbollah began to adopt a stronger Arab and Lebanese identity, a process dubbed *infitah* (opening up), or Lebanonisation. Hezbollah’s military prowess during Israel’s 1996 Grapes of Wrath campaign – and their successful humanitarian and reconstruction efforts in its wake – united the Lebanese population, across religious and ideological divides, behind the party. Soon after the end of the civil war and the signing of the Taif Accord,<sup>61</sup> Hezbollah initiated a deliberate effort to recast the organization as both an Arab and a Lebanese – in addition to an Islamic – resistance movement in order to ensure its longevity. More than 10 years of resistance against Israeli occupation created a shared national experience and contributed to a stronger sense of Lebanese identity, which transcended religious affiliation. Now, Hezbollah no longer calls for the need to establish an Islamic state in Lebanon.

Having reconciled their ideology to—and embraced the co-existence of—nationalism and Islam, the party has become an influential political force in Lebanon. Hezbollah’s entrance into electoral politics came in 1992 with a political platform highlighting, among other things, political and media freedoms,

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<sup>59</sup> Hezbollah (believed to be written by Sheikh Muhammad Hussein Fadlallah). Hizballah. “The Hizballah Program – An Open Letter to the Downtrodden in Lebanon and in the World” (“Nass al-Risala al-Maftuha allati wajahaha Hizballah ila-l-Mustad’afin fi Lubnan wa-l-Alam”) Al-Safir, 16 February 1985. Printed in *The Jerusalem Quarterly*, Fall 1988. Web. 9 April 2012.

<[http://web.archive.org/web/20060821215729/http://www.ict.org.il/Articles/Hiz\\_letter.htm](http://web.archive.org/web/20060821215729/http://www.ict.org.il/Articles/Hiz_letter.htm)>.

<sup>60</sup> *al-fiqr al-siyasi* (political ideology) as compared to *al-barnamaj al-siyasi* (political program).

<sup>61</sup> The Taif Accord amended the Lebanese constitution to even the power distribution in Parliament between Christians and Muslims. It also included the future elimination of political sectarianism, which Hezbollah has continuously pushed for. Hamzeh, *In the Path of Hizballah*, 144.

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abolishing sectarianism, and promoting administrative, developmental, educational, cultural, and social reforms.<sup>62</sup> In the 1998 municipal elections, the party's platform was similar, emphasizing healthcare, education, and development. Hezbollah also called for the central government to delegate more governing authority down to the municipalities. Hezbollah's most recent manifesto, released in 2009, did not significantly depart from their traditional political line.<sup>63</sup> It focused on Hezbollah's resistance ideology as well as the need to abolish the country's sectarian political system.

We selected our case studies under Lebanon's imperfect conditions. The entire country is divided into only six districts, none of which are homogenous; the country's 18 officially recognized sects can be found in every district (singular, *mohafaza*, plural, *mohafazat*). We selected the Nabatiyeh district to measure Hezbollah's performance because in it Hezbollah has undisputed political control and a demographic majority. As a control group we selected the North, because of all the other districts it is the most comparable; Sunni supporters of the Future movement have a political and demographic plurality, and political control has rested with the same sect and political parties since the end of the civil war.

Complicating our analysis, we found that many of the indicators used to collect data shifted year over year. The specific data collected on health, for example, were not consistent from 2008 to 2009. Additionally, the unit of analysis was not consistent over time. Data was presented as a national aggregate for some years, and at the provincial or district level for others. Even in instances where consistent indicators were used and presented at the provincial level, we ran into situations where the south was grouped together as one, rather than split into Nabatiyeh and South Lebanon. This significantly restricted the amount of data available for analysis. Nevertheless, we believe that there are still instructive lessons from this case despite the limited quantitative data available.

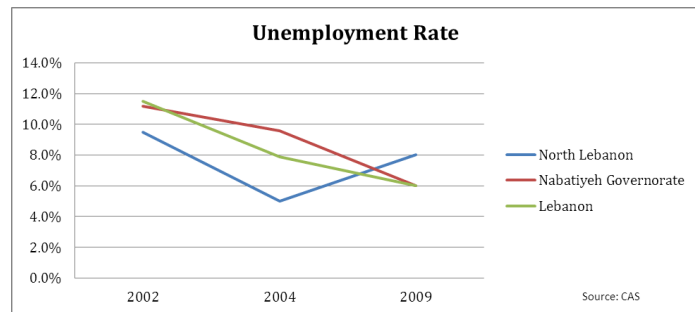
## Data Analysis

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<sup>62</sup> Joseph Alagha, *The Shifts in Hizbullah's Ideology: Religious Ideology, Political Ideology and Political Program* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006).

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

**Economy:** In their 2000 parliamentary election platform, Hezbollah proposed policies which would stimulate economic growth, increase employment and encourage investment, especially focusing on industry and agriculture through increased government spending.<sup>64</sup> The 2009 platform reiterated these priorities, emphasizing lowering of unemployment and encouraging cooperation between public and private sectors for fair distribution of profits and income.<sup>65</sup> Within these parliamentary platforms, Hezbollah did not explicitly relate these policies to Islamic principles but instead framed the goals within development and increasing living standards.



Economic data divided by *mohafaza* (region) is limited, except for information concerning unemployment. Between 2002 and 2009, unemployment in Lebanon steadily declined. The unemployment rate in Nabatiyeh decreased a total of about 5 percent. In comparison, North Lebanon's unemployment rate decreased by about 4.5 percent between 2002 and 2004, but then increased in 2009. At this point the unemployment rate in Nabatiyeh was lower than in North Lebanon.<sup>66</sup> Economic activity increased between 2004 and 2009 in both Nabatiyeh and in North Lebanon. However, North Lebanon increased by 6%, while Nabatiyeh only increased by 0.7%<sup>67</sup> and this increase in Nabatiyeh is too little to be significant. Since these trends in unemployment and economic activity seem to contradict each other, there is little evidence that Hezbollah is better or worse at stimulating the economy and that instead Nabatiyeh followed the national trends. However, taking into account the socio-economic differences between Nabatiyeh and North Lebanon, the lower unemployment rate in 2009 shows a significant effort by Hezbollah to improve these conditions.

<sup>64</sup> Joseph Alagha, *The Shifts in Hizbullah's Ideology: Religious Ideology, Political Ideology and Political Program* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 264.

<sup>65</sup> Hizbullah. "Electoral Platform of Hizbullah, 2009." Now Lebanon. 6 April 2009. Web. 9 April 2012. <http://www.nowlebanon.com/NewsArchiveDetails.aspx?ID=89737>.

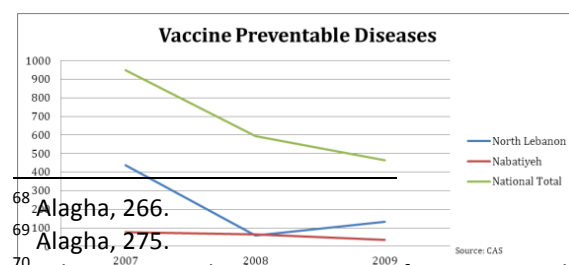
<sup>66</sup> Lebanon Central Administration of Statistics, Multiple Indicators Cluster Survey: Round 3. Available at [http://www.cas.gov.lb/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=175&Itemid=2](http://www.cas.gov.lb/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=175&Itemid=2).

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

**Education:** In both their parliamentary and municipal electoral platforms, Hezbollah set out goals to improve the education system. In 2000, they specifically mention attention to vocational schools, the Lebanese University and enacting a law to make religious education mandatory in both public and private schools.<sup>68</sup> In the municipal platform of 2004, there was an emphasis on increasing programs in science, math and vocational training programs in the educational system.<sup>69</sup> Many of these educational changes were focused on raising the living conditions of the oppressed, through increases in access to education, a main pillar of Hezbollah's party ideology.

Literacy levels in Nabatiyeh and North Lebanon followed the same trend between 2004 and 2009, falling by about 2 percentage points. Literacy rates in Lebanon as a whole increased, though by a significant amount. In comparison, university level education did not rise nearly as much in Nabatiyeh as it did in North Lebanon.<sup>70</sup> This increase could be explained by the different socioeconomic demographics of these two regions but it also may correlate to Hezbollah's emphasis on religious and vocational education programs instead of higher education. Since we do not have comparable data on the quality of the education itself, and Nabatiyeh followed similar literacy level trends as North Lebanon, for basic education it appears Hezbollah has indeed delivered on its electoral platforms.

**Health:** Social services have made up a significant part of Hezbollah's platform since their first elections. An electoral platform released in 1996 devoted one of its seven sections to health and social service improvements, citing the need to improve public hospitals and clinics and "making health security accessible to all the sectors of the Lebanese society."<sup>71</sup> In the party's 2009 electoral platform that commitment was reaffirmed with a pledge to "activate the public health sector, generalizing the principle of healthcare and preventive medicine."<sup>72</sup>



We faced challenges with the health data because it was inconsistently measured, sometimes recorded by

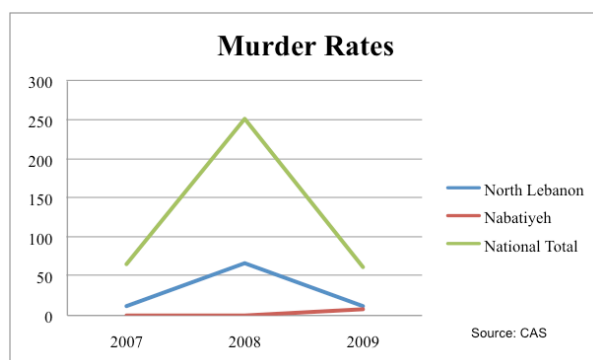
<sup>68</sup> Lebanon Central Administration of Statistics, Multiple Indicators Cluster Survey: Round 3. Available at [http://www.cas.gov.lb/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=175&Itemid=2](http://www.cas.gov.lb/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=175&Itemid=2).

<sup>71</sup> Hizbullah. "The Electoral Program of Hizbullah, 1996." Al-Mashriq. 20 June 1997. Web. 9 April 2012. <http://almashriq.hiof.no/lebanon/300/320/324/324.2/hizballah/hizballah-platform.html>.

<sup>72</sup> Hizbullah. "Electoral Platform of Hizbullah, 2009." Now Lebanon. 6 April 2009. Web. 9 April 2012. <http://www.nowlebanon.com/NewsArchiveDetails.aspx?ID=89737>.

*mohafaza* (region) and sometimes by *caza* (district). Nabatiyeh has significantly fewer incidents of reportable diseases than both North Lebanon and the nation as a whole. This is surprising as Nabatiyeh is more rural and poor than North Lebanon. It is unclear from the data if this can be credited to Hezbollah. Despite the party's prioritization of health care, there is a higher ratio of public to private hospitals in Nabatiyeh than in North Lebanon and residents in Nabatiyeh go overwhelmingly to public hospitals. From the available data it is not possible to determine if this is a result of preference or a case of demand outstripping supply. The data on reportable diseases and the ratio of public to private hospitals suggests that the public health care system is quite effective. However, the data we obtained did not define "hospital." Hezbollah operates a number of clinics which likely play a role in vaccinations and preventive care which would contribute to Nabatiyeh's performance on that indicator.

**Security:** Hezbollah has said that they represent an Islam which aims at "establishing justice, security, peace and rights for all people..."<sup>73</sup> Beyond that, references to assuring security have appeared in each of Hezbollah's political programs over the years.



The majority of available data is at the national level and/or only available for one or two years. The murder rates in Nabatiyeh were much lower than in North Lebanon and the national average. In 2008, the entire country saw a spike in murder rates, most likely due to the violence associated with an

attempted clamp down on Hezbollah. However, the murder rate remained at zero in Nabatiyeh. In 2009, the murder rates dropped down to their 2007 levels though murder rates in Nabatiyeh spiked to eight. A month by month review of newspaper articles from The Daily Star (a Lebanese English language daily) for the year 2009 does not point to any discernible reason for this jump.

**Gender Equality:** In the 2000 Parliamentary platform, Hezbollah sets out a goal to encourage female participation in public life and strengthen their roles.<sup>74</sup> While somewhat vague, this demonstrated

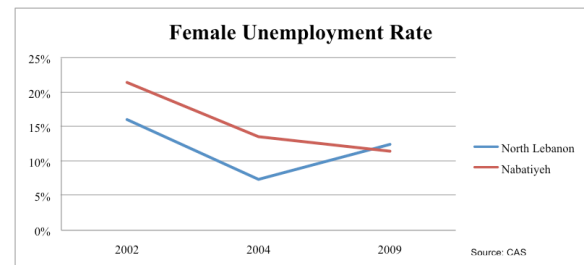
<sup>73</sup> Hezbollah Press Office. "Statement of Purpose." Al-Mashriq. 20 March, 1998. Web. 9 April 2012.  
 Mahdawi, Dalila. "Fadlallah Issues Fatwa Forbidding Vote-Buying". The Daily Star. 17 March 2009. Web. 9 April 2012.  
<http://almashriq.hiof.no/lebanon/300/320/324/324.2/hizballah/statement01.html>.



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openness to gender equality. In the 2004 municipal platform this is reinforced by goals of education and training programs for mothers in order to “help them raise more income for their families” and the establishment of day care facilities.<sup>75</sup>

Nationally, women’s rights have progressed continuously in recent history. Even though there are no longer restrictions in elections, women are still a minority, largely filling the seats of family members from the elite. Women have also been elected to more municipal councils, increasing from 1.9% representation in 2004 to 4.6% in 2010.<sup>76</sup> However, the law in Lebanon does not protect women against domestic violence or against “honor crimes”, leaving them vulnerable in both public and private life.<sup>77</sup>



From 2002 to 2009, female unemployment rates steadily decreased in Nabatiyeh. In North Lebanon, the unemployment rate also decreased between 2002 and 2004 but then started to increase again between 2004 and 2009 (similar to overall unemployment rates in the region). It is important to note that the gap between male and female unemployment has continuously been greater in Nabatiyeh, even though both male and female unemployment rates were lower than North Lebanon in 2009.<sup>78</sup> The decrease in female unemployment suggests Hezbollah has been successful in including women in the workforce, especially since 2004.

**Minority Rights:** Rhetorically, Hezbollah claims that “all the world’s oppressed peoples” are their friends.<sup>79</sup> And in line with this the party’s social services are theoretically open to all Lebanese. This was particularly evident in the aftermath of the 2006 war when Hezbollah provided assistance to all displaced and affected Lebanese, not simply the Shi’a.<sup>80</sup> And, as previously described, Hezbollah’s 1982

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<sup>74</sup> Alagha, 265.

<sup>75</sup> Alagha, 276.

<sup>76</sup> “Country Profile.” UNFPA Lebanon. 10 January 2012. Web. 9 April 2012. Available at <http://www.unfpa.org.lb/UNFPA-LEBANON/Country-Profile.aspx>.

<sup>77</sup> US State Department: Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor. “2010 Human Rights Report: Lebanon”. April 8, 2011. Available at <http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/2010/nea/154466.htm>.

<sup>78</sup> Lebanon Central Administration of Statistics, Multiple Indicators Cluster Survey: Round 3. Available at [http://www.cas.gov.lb/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=175&Itemid=2](http://www.cas.gov.lb/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=175&Itemid=2).

<sup>79</sup> “The Hizballah Program – An Open Letter to the Downtrodden in Lebanon and in the World.”

<sup>80</sup> Shawn Teresa Flanigan and Mounah Abdel-Samad, “Hezbollah’s Social Jihad: Nonprofits as Resistance Organizations.” *Middle East Policy Council* 16.2 (2008): 4.

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Open Letter describes the party as being part of a larger *umma* and that “whatever touches or strikes the Muslims in Afghanistan, Iraq, the Philippines and elsewhere reverberates throughout the whole Muslim *umma* of which we are an integral part.” From this, Hezbollah also views Sunni Muslims as their equal. Significantly, whereas at their founding in 1982 Hezbollah said that it was intolerable for them to participate in an unjust regime not based on Shari’a, the party has gone on to forge political alliances with secular Christian, secular Druze, and Maronite Christian political parties, among others. Still, the data is anecdotal. We were unable to find any quantitative data on minority rights from which to draw conclusions.

**Press Freedom:** As with the previous indicators, Hezbollah has repeatedly reaffirmed their commitment to a free press, stating in 2009, an “emphasis will be laid on the freedom of the media and the revision of certain laws...thus lifting the threats against the media.”<sup>81</sup> If anything, their 2009 commitment was more unequivocal than in 1996 when the platform supported a free press “on one hand, but while preserving the maintenance of the identity, public ethics and morals on the other.”<sup>82</sup>

There is very little quantifiable data on press freedom. Lebanon has historically enjoyed a reasonably free press and fares particularly well when compared to its neighbors in the region. The country’s 1962 Press Law and the Audiovisual Media Law restrict publishing of material that threatens national security, national unity, state frontiers, or insults high-ranking Lebanese officials or foreign heads of state. State challenges to press freedom, such as a 1992 proposal which would have limited information programming to the government, have been strongly and successfully protested. Lebanon is also one of the few countries in the Middle East which does not censor the internet.<sup>83</sup> Some reports suggest this changed in 2009 and that the government began to censor some websites.<sup>84</sup>

Anecdotal evidence suggests that despite a free press, both Hezbollah and the government harass and intimidate journalists. In 2005, a spate of attacks were carried out against journalists who were viewed

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Hezbollah. “The Electoral Program of Hezbollah, 1996.”

<sup>83</sup> “Open Net Initiative Country Profiles.” OpenNet. Open Net Initiative, n.d. Web. 10 April 2012.

<sup>84</sup> US State Department: Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor. “2010 Human Rights Report: Lebanon”. April 8, 2011. Available at <http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/2010/nea/154466.htm>.

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as anti-Syrian reporting on the Rafiq Hariri assassination.<sup>85</sup> It is believed that Hezbollah had a hand in the attacks though no one has been arrested, nor have charges been filed. Arrests and intimidation by the government also occur frequently enough that journalists continue to feel censored. In August 2009, for example, the Ministry of Defense detained and interrogated journalists on two separate occasions, claiming they had violated libel laws.<sup>86</sup>

**Corruption:** Hezbollah weaves anti-corruption policies throughout most of their stated goals, especially in increasing public information concerning government programs. At the municipal level, this included providing news on the decisions and expenditures of the municipal councils.<sup>87</sup> At the parliamentary level these policies focused on creating accountability bodies and strengthening the role of civil society in public life.<sup>88</sup>

There is limited data on corruption in Lebanon, though there is a widespread perception of Lebanese politics being corrupt throughout the country. Over the last several elections, international observers have noticed them becoming progressively more free and fair. This was especially true in the 2004 elections, the first time Syria was not influential and the majority in Parliament was opposed to Syrian influence. The 2009 municipal elections were rated by the Lebanese Association for Democratic Elections as “acceptable to good”. Lebanon Transparency did record several incidents of vote buying, however the South had the cheapest bribes recorded (\$60-100 recorded in Saida, \$800 in Zahle and \$3000 in Zgharta), which may be indicative of the lower levels of political competition.<sup>89</sup> Authorities of Hezbollah are still cited for conducting a practice of arbitrary arrest and detention, but these practices have diminished in comparison with the constant reports of detaining SLA members in the early 2000s. Today corruption in Lebanon is a daily activity in bureaucratic transactions (clientelism, judicial failures) but this anecdotal evidence shows that as Lebanon as a whole has become less corrupt, Hezbollah has also been undergoing great transformations.

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<sup>85</sup> “Attacks on the Press 2005: Lebanon.” Committee to Protect Journalists. Last updated: February 16, 2006. <http://cpj.org/2006/02/attacks-on-the-press-2005-lebanon.php>.

<sup>86</sup> US State Department: Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor. “2010 Human Rights Report: Lebanon”.

<sup>87</sup> Alagha 272.

<sup>88</sup> Alagha 265.

<sup>89</sup> The Lebanese Transparency Association, “National Integrity System Study: Lebanon 2009”. Transparency-Lebanon.org.

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## Conclusion

Hezbollah has proven to be a pragmatic political force. The party has moderated its original goal of extending the Islamic Revolution to Lebanon and has chosen instead to pursue societal change through existing political institutions. Hezbollah's political platform reflects the party's nuanced differentiation between its political ideology and its political program. Whereas the party's political ideology is based on Wilayat al-Faqih and suggests a prominent role for Islam in the government, their political program betrays a more moderate interpretation. Hezbollah's record in government suggests the moderate view dominates the organization's political behavior. We did not see evidence of Islamic beliefs influencing specific policies or practices for the indicators or time frames we looked at. Hezbollah points to their individual piety as an indicator that they can be trusted but the party's political platform and actions on the ground do not stem from a specifically Islamist agenda.

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## Case study: Turkey

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*The Turkish Justice and Development Party (AKP) has embarked on a business-oriented strategy of extensive economic liberalization that has also affected the health and education sectors. Data suggests these policies have improved the entire country's economic situation. The AKP's religious discourse is limited to the promotion of Islamic values, vaguely applied to "freedom," female employment, and ethnic-sectarian harmony. This rhetoric, however, has not translated into major improvements in minority rights, press freedoms, and gender equality.*

### Background

In 1923, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk founded the Turkish Republic and set in motion an aggressive program to remove religion from political and public life. Atatürk's legacy remains deeply entrenched in Turkish politics, and the Turkish constitution to this day adopts a policy of state laicism (an extreme version of state secularization).<sup>90</sup> The separation of religion and state was part of Atatürk's objective to modernize and democratize the country and has become an integral part of Turkish identity. Until 1987, Islamist parties were banned from participating in elections. With four military coups in the country's modern history, the military has been a powerful force in Turkish politics, viewing themselves as guardians of Mustafa Kemal's legacy.<sup>91</sup>

In 1995, Turkey's most prominent Islamist group, the Refah Partisi (Welfare Party), won an overwhelming victory in the parliamentary elections and became the first Islamic party to win a general election in Turkey. Three years later, the party was banned for violating the constitution's secular principles. In August 2001, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, after serving a short prison sentence for publicly reciting a poem deemed Islamist,<sup>92</sup> formed the AKP.<sup>93</sup> A little over a year later, in the November 2002 national legislative elections, the AKP won almost two-thirds of the seats with 34 percent of the votes.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> "Laicism" refers to the French model of secularization, which strives not only for separation of religion from the state, but for near-complete removal of religion from the public sphere and from officially-supported civil society. For the text of the Turkish constitution, see [http://www.constitution.org/cons/turkey/turk\\_cons.htm](http://www.constitution.org/cons/turkey/turk_cons.htm)

<sup>91</sup> "Ottoman Turkey and the troubled legacy of Kemal Ataturk", *Khaleej Times*, September 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2005.

<sup>92</sup> "Istanbul Mayor, an Islamist, Is Given 10-Month Jail Term." *New York Times*. April 22, 1998.

<sup>93</sup> Gunter Michael, "The AKP Catalyst", *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, Summer/Fall 2008.

<sup>94</sup> <http://eng.akparti.org.tr/english/index.html>.

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The second largest party, the Republican People's Party, or CHP, only obtained 19 percent of the votes. The massive success of an upstart Islamist party marked a rupture in the Turkish political arena given the country's history of fragile government coalitions and orthodox exclusion of religion from the political and public sphere. The AKP victory alarmed the liberal opposition which sees the party's success as a threat to the secular political system.

The AKP's emergence, however, did not result directly from Islamic rhetoric or Islamic policies. The country's political and economic difficulties best explain the AKP's success. The 2001 economic crisis,<sup>95</sup> mismanaged by the former CHP-led coalition, caused political fragmentation and bolstered AKP's popularity. Today, the AKP still holds an absolute majority in the Parliament but its last electoral performance was below expectations and suggests the party is losing ground.<sup>96</sup>

### **Ideology**

The Turkish historian and sociologist Ali Yaşar Sarıbay describes the party as "Islamic in name, liberal in practice, democrat in attitude and Westernist in direction."<sup>97</sup> Constitutionally, the AKP is a secular party and presents itself as a continuation of the Kemalist and Republican tradition of the state, rejecting the Islamist label. "Personally, I am a human being who tries to be religious. But my party is not based on any religion," Erdogan said in an interview after taking power in Turkey. "Our identity is that of a conservative democrat political party. We will never have a religious identity. This is a founding principle of our party: We are neither Islamic nor Islamist."<sup>98</sup> However, the AKP has put forward a new, less strict, model of secularism where religion plays a civic and moralizing role in the political arena. The AKP has promoted a form of political Islam that emphasizes values and relies on the principles of justice, brotherhood, family, and pluralism to "foster a distinctly religious understanding of liberal principles."<sup>99</sup> Faith is used to support a conservative public ethos and morality and demonstrate political probity and honesty. The party expresses its conservatism through Islamic symbols and references. For instance, Islamic rhetoric is used to define general values, such as unity between Kurds and Turks. But the AKP refused the candidacy of veiled women in the 2007 legislative elections, reassuring secular Turks who see headscarves as a symbol of encroachment on the Kemalist state system. While the AKP has hewed

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<sup>95</sup> 9.5% contraction of the GDP.

<sup>96</sup> "Erdogan falls short of goal in Turkish elections", Jürgen Gottschlich, in Spiegel Online, June 6, 2011.

<sup>97</sup> <http://www.nouvelle-europe.eu/en/akp-turkey-islamic-or-conservative>.

<sup>98</sup> Interview of the New Perspectives Quarterly editor Nathan Gardels with R.T. Erdogan, in 2004.

<sup>99</sup> [http://www.todayszaman.com/newsDetail\\_getNewsById.action?newsId=243144](http://www.todayszaman.com/newsDetail_getNewsById.action?newsId=243144).

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to the letter of the law in Turkey, it has vigorously reintroduced religion into public life. Its leaders promote public piety and their Islamist backgrounds are well known, creating a more complex position on religion and politics than their technical commitment to Turkey's secular principles would suggest.

The AKP has mostly focused on economic liberalization, rather than any project to Islamicize Turkish society. The party has undertaken proactive modernization of the country through massive investments and market oriented policies. The reforms, partly generated by EU membership requirements that Turkey hopes to fulfill, have led to remarkable economic performance.

The provinces of Istanbul, Izmir and Antalya have been selected for the study. Located on the coasts, they are all major Turkish cities both in terms of population and economic activity. Tourism is a major driver of each city's economy. In terms of the data, it should be noted that the three cities vary significantly in terms of population size and social composition. Istanbul has 13 million inhabitants, Izmir 4 million, and Antalya only 2 million. While Izmir and Istanbul are multicultural cities comprised of diverse socioeconomic groups, Antalya principally attracts single, young workers, rather than families, due to its essentially tourism-based economy, and has a long history of secular local rule.<sup>100</sup> Istanbul, in contrast has a history of Islamist rule; avowedly Islamist mayors from the Virtue Party governed the city from 1994 until 2004, when the AKP took over the city.

Despite this heterogeneity, these cities are representative of each party's policies. Istanbul is an AKP stronghold, while the CHP has deep roots in Izmir. Antalya was previously governed by the AKP, but has recently fallen under CHP control with the legislative elections of 2009 and the election of a CHP mayor in 2011.

In Turkey, education, and basic public services such as justice, security, and health are regulated by the national government. Consequently, the results found for the provinces cannot be attributed solely to AKP or CHP's local policies. Nevertheless, the decentralization process launched by the AKP at the

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<sup>100</sup> UNDP Turkey Monthly Newsletter, Issue 52, April 2010.

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national level combined with the expanding liberalization/privatization processes has given increasing powers to the local authorities and more freedom in shaping local economic strategies.<sup>101</sup>

### Data Analysis

**Economy:** The AKP's program espouses a "Continuous and Sustainable Economic Growth Strategy," intended to reduced poverty and unemployment.<sup>102</sup> The party program favors privatization but also emphasizes the importance of ethical and cultural values as a precondition for continuous and sustainable growth.<sup>103</sup> The party's economic platform makes no reference to specifically Islamic values or principles. After taking power, the AKP addressed Turkey's economic difficulties by undertaking market oriented economic reforms. The AKP tried to address the needs of both winners and losers of the globalization process, favoring industrial development while also encouraging small and medium-sized businesses.<sup>104</sup> The party encouraged liberalization while also emphasizing "ethics." As indicated in their program, the AK Party "regards the realization of the ethical values appearing with the mixture of international norms with [the Turkish] cultural values, in every area of economic activities as a precondition of continuous and sustainable growth."<sup>105</sup> According to Istanbul-based *New York Times* journalist Sebnem Arsu, the AKP in Istanbul focused its spending on developing the outer regions of the city, attracting conservative Anatolian families who, in turn, became an important political power base.<sup>106</sup>

The AKP, once in power, set out to create a business-friendly environment and liberalize the economy, moves credited with starting the recent boom.<sup>107</sup> Strategic investments in public housing, roads, and infrastructure as well as social transfers in AKP provinces have been the party's tools for implementing these policies and have led to divergent economic trends between AKP and CHP provinces.

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<sup>101</sup> Özcan Gül Berna and Turunç Hasan, ed. Jerri Killian and Niklas Eklund, "The Politics of Administrative Decentralization in Turkey Since 1980", *Handbook of Administrative Reform: An International Perspective* (Auerbach Publications, 2008): 190.

<sup>104</sup> Hale William and Özbudu Ergun, *Islamism, Democracy and Liberalism in Turkey, The case of the AKP* (Routledge Studies in Middle Eastern Politics, 2009), 38.

<sup>105</sup> "AK Party Program." Last updated 02 February 2007. <http://eng.akparti.org.tr/english/partyprogramme.html>

<sup>106</sup> Skype interview with Sebnem Arsu, 29 March 2012.

<sup>107</sup> Hale William and Özbudu Ergun, *Islamism, Democracy and Liberalism in Turkey, The case of the AKP*, (Routledge Studies in Middle Eastern Politics), 103.



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The data collected at the local level shows notable economic differences between the two parties that can be explained by different policy choices. Recep Tayyip Erdogan, when mayor of Istanbul, made infrastructure a priority and spent 14 million Turkish Lira on infrastructure and service needs for the city. The province has continued this investment policy until today. Sixty-one percent of the 2012 budget was allocated to transportation. In Antalya, the AKP won the local elections in 2004 on a platform calling for increased tourism through infrastructure investment. From 2004 to 2009, the AKP built new roads and airports to attract more local and international tourists to Antalya and, according to TUROFED (the Turkish Hoteliers Federation), the province's income grew on average 10 percent a year.<sup>108</sup> On the other hand, in Izmir, the second largest commercial center in the country, the CHP has failed to come up with a comprehensive program that would boost its economic activities. Izmir has recently undertaken efforts to improve its air and sea port capacity in the hopes of encouraging economic growth. Still, the city's poor rail infrastructure and reliance on highway transportation are listed among the factors preventing strong growth.<sup>109</sup>

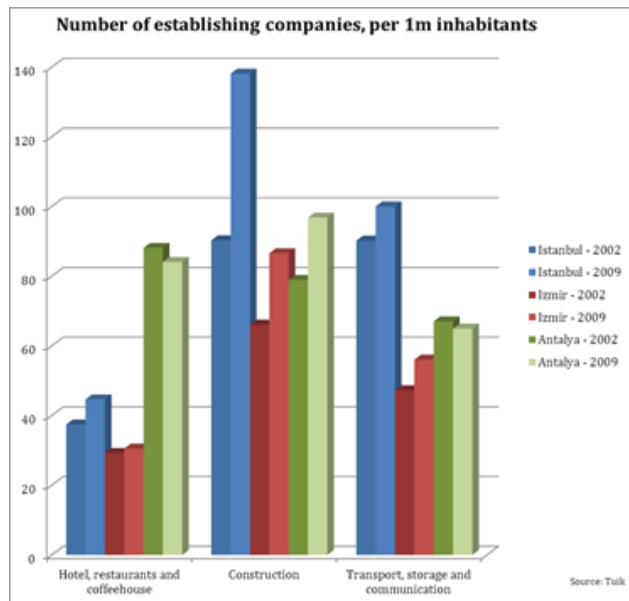
The AK Party's entrepreneur-friendly policies have positively impacted the number of new businesses in all provinces and across a number of sectors. According to TUIK,<sup>110</sup> between 2002 and 2009, in Istanbul and Antalya new businesses increased by 21% and 59% respectively while Izmir saw only a 14% increase.

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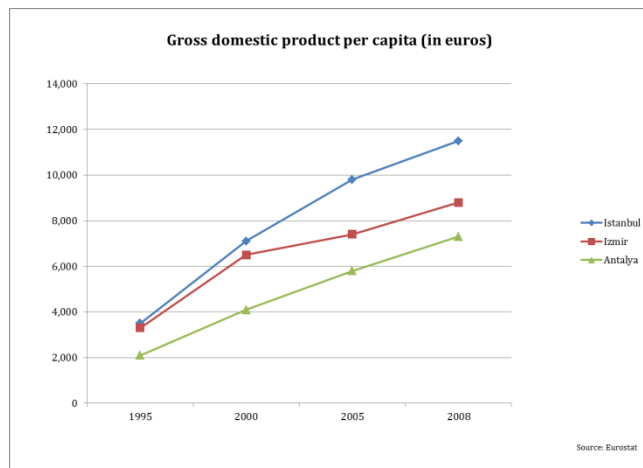
<sup>108</sup> Wikileaks Cable, Reference ID 10ANKARA303, February 25th, 2010.

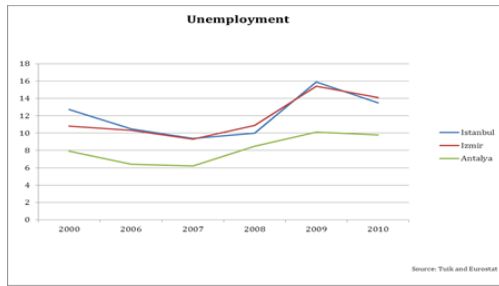
<sup>109</sup> <http://www.investinizmir.com/rising-star-izmir.html>.

<sup>110</sup> TUIK is the Turkish Statistical Institute.

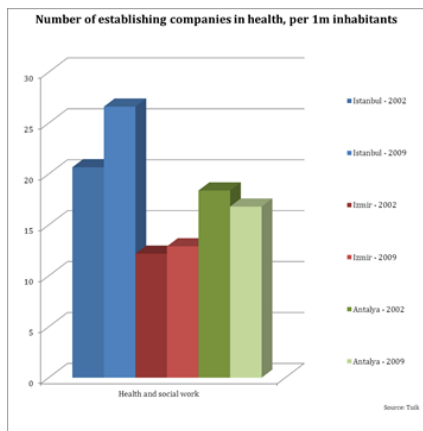


As a result of these policies, the AKP outperformed the CHP in terms of GDP per capita and unemployment rate. The GDP per capita has increased by more than 170% in Istanbul and 200% in Antalya while only 126% in Izmir. Istanbul has managed to reduce its level of unemployment to below that of Izmir. Antalya's unemployment rate has traditionally been the lowest, partly thanks to EU and UNDP employment programs in the province.





**Public health:** The party's political platform addresses the importance of social services, health among them. "Our party deems the fulfillment of public health services as one of the crucial elements of the social State [sic] concept," the party program says.<sup>111</sup> Health regulation in Turkey falls under the auspices of the federal government. The AKP's liberalization policies also extended to the health sector. As a consequence of economic liberalization, the number of new businesses in the health and social work sectors has increased, most pronounced in Istanbul. Prior to liberalization, poorer segments of society did not have adequate access to the health care system.<sup>112</sup> This particularly impacted the unemployed and informally employed.



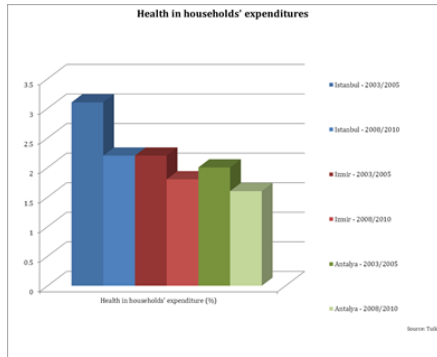
But according to Dr. Taner Gören of the Turkish Medical Association's Istanbul branch, health care services have been commercialized through the introduction of paid Family Health Centers and Family Practice Centers as well as the creation of various fees on prescriptions and bed and patient shares.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>111</sup> "AK Party Program." Last updated 02 February 2007. <http://eng.akparti.org.tr/english/partyprogramme.html>

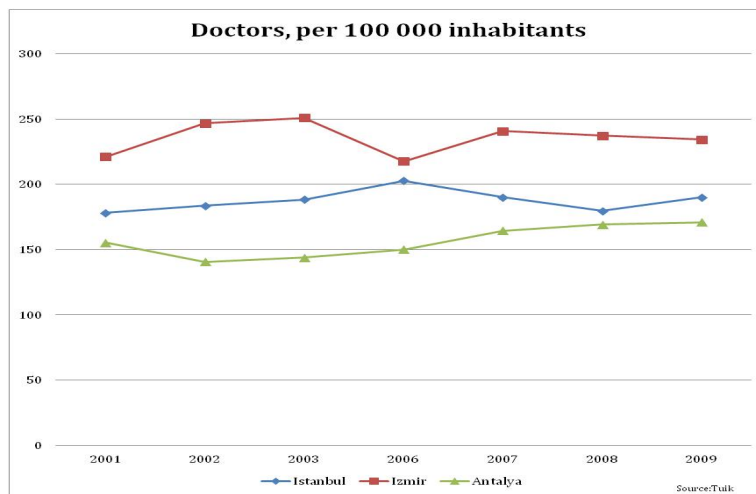
<sup>112</sup> Projet de réforme de la santé en Turquie, Résultats de la BIRD, World Bank, March 2010. See also "Health Standards in Turkey Lose in International Comparison," BIA News Center, October 27, 2010. <http://bianet.org/english/health/125689-health-standards-in-turkey-lose-in-international-comparison>.

<sup>113</sup> "AKP'nin sağlığa saldırılarına karşı İstanbul Sağlık Hakkı Meclisi kuruldu," [sol news portal](http://solnewsportal.com), February 28 2012.

The advent of public-private partnerships is part of this commercialization trend. Within this framework the state provides the land and funds, but a private company builds, operates, and keeps the revenue.<sup>114</sup>



Despite criticisms of the AKP for rising health care costs, distribution of household expenditures shows a decrease in health expenditures per household across the AKP and CHP provinces, and more particularly in the AKP provinces.<sup>115</sup> The AKP authorities in Istanbul, while favoring rapid development of private health companies, have also maintained a higher budget allocation to health than the CHP. While Istanbul has assigned 6.7% of its budget to health and social services, Izmir's healthcare and social services account for 5% of the municipal budget. The improvement of health services has translated into a rise in the number of doctors per 1,000 inhabitants, and the number of hospital beds available.<sup>116</sup> These increases have been greatest in Istanbul.



<sup>114</sup> "Sağlık'ta Alınan Yol ve Ortaya Çıkan Tehlikeler", Bianet, August 8th, 2011.

<sup>115</sup> Households' expenditure: health dropped from 3.1% to 2.2% in Istanbul; from 2.2% to 1.8% in Izmir and from 2% to 1.6% in Antalya.

<sup>116</sup> According to Eurostat, the number of doctors for 100 000 inhabitants rose from 114 to 165 at the national level.

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**Security:** The AKP frames their security policy in terms of the economy and democratic principles, stating, “The long-term security of Turkey involves the economic development of our nation as a whole,” and “in the civilized world, every security requirement is satisfied in harmony with the democratic system.”<sup>117</sup> While security in Istanbul under AKP didn’t necessarily improve, there were exogenous factors worth considering. According to the International Crime Victims Survey (ICVS), in 2009 Istanbul had the lowest assault rate of any European city and the highest burglary rate.<sup>118</sup> Istanbul was hard hit by the global recession, however, and economic trends are believed to have an inverse correlation to robbery and property crime rates.<sup>119</sup> There is no clear link between AKP policies and the overall crime rate. In assessing security data in Turkey it is important to note that the judiciary falls under the supervision of the national government. Criminal law falls under the supervision of the national government. At the national level, the total number of convictions for crimes rose by 32% from the AKP’s rise to power in 2002 to 2009.<sup>120</sup>

Between 2002 and 2009, the total number of crimes has significantly increased in Istanbul whereas it has slightly decreased in Izmir and Antalya. At first glance, this seems to indicate that the AKP has failed in reducing crime. However, because of a more rapid increase of the population in Istanbul, the AKP province faces a smaller rate of criminality than Izmir. Nevertheless, the trends show a more rapid decrease in crime rates in Izmir and Antalya, despite their higher level.

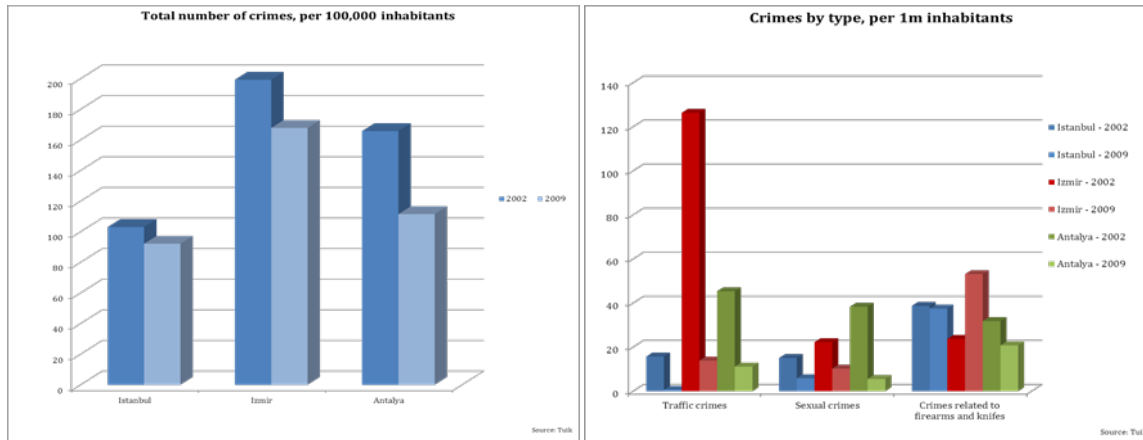
In addition, if we divide the crimes by type, the data shows mixed results for each party since 2002. The number of convictions for sexual crimes has decreased more rapidly in the AKP provinces but, as the graphs illustrate, the data for crimes related to firearms and knives confirm the national trend of an overall increase in crime since AKP’s victory. Except in a few specific types of crimes, AKP policies have not improved the security environment.

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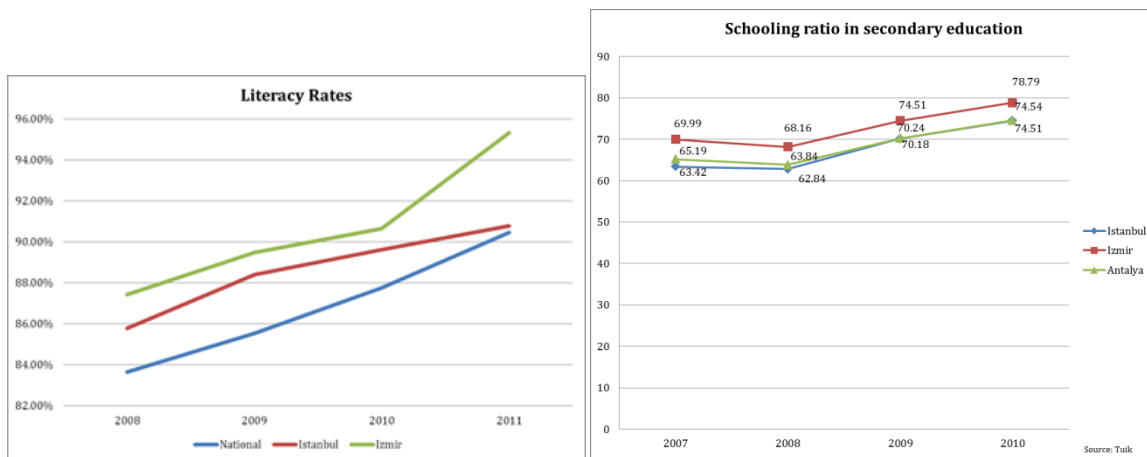
<sup>118</sup> Berlinski Claire, “Istanbul’s Crime Conundrum,” 19 March 2009, *City Journal*, 19.3.

<sup>119</sup> Richard Rosenfeld and Robert Fornango, “The Impact of Economic Conditions on Robbery and Property Crime: The Role of Consumer Sentiment.” *Criminology*. Volume 45, No. 4 (2007): 735-769.

<sup>120</sup> TUIK statistics indicate that the number of crimes went from 74,404 to 98,955 between 2002 and 2009.



**Education:** The AKP platform calls for the depoliticization of education, saying “The educational system has been transformed in to the arena of ideological struggles.” AKP policy allows for the teaching of religious culture based on the wishes of the parents. This comes in contrast to the concerted Kemalist effort to expunge religious instruction entirely from the curriculum. The party program further places education as the first priority for resource allocation, though budget decisions don’t reflect this.<sup>121</sup> Education in Turkey is a state-supervised system and the provinces are expected to provide educational services according to national regulations. There is a directorate of national education in each province to guide them. As a developing country, Turkey is faced with many challenges regarding education. To address them, the AKP has continued the investments in education initiated by the former government but has further encouraged privatization of the education sector. Under the AKP rule, access to education has globally improved. Literacy rates and schooling ratios have increased.



<sup>121</sup> “AK Party Program.”

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Islam has not challenged the primacy of secular education in Turkey. Still, in terms of both content and structure, the AKP has expanded Islam's influence in formal and informal education. Zeyno Baran, in *Torn Country: Turkey Between Secularism and Islamism*, notes that between 2002 and 2008 the AKP doubled the number of Quranic schools. He also notes that between 2002 and 2007 the number of Imam Hatip schools (IHS) doubled.<sup>122</sup> However, this increase of IHS is not specific to the AKP. Özdalga notes, "the ratio of IHS students to the student population in general changed substantially, from approximately 2.6% in 1965, to 8% in 1985 and 9.7% in 1995."<sup>123</sup>

Despite an absence of Islamic references in AKP's education program, Erdogan's education policies have been criticized for leaning towards Islam. He attempted to undo the old policy of the "February 28 process" of 1997 that gave Imam-Hatip religious schools high-school status instead of higher-level vocational status. Erdogan also proposed in 2009 to allow IHS students to complete 6th to 8th grade in IHS instead of state-schools, thus increasing the exposure of students to religious education, but backed down because of popular protest.<sup>124</sup> In 2005, a regulation allowing IHS students to earn degrees from regular high schools by taking correspondence courses was first issued and then suspended by the Council of State.<sup>125</sup> But in 2008, the AKP eased the ban on women wearing headscarves in universities.<sup>126</sup> AKP's policies have been perceived by the opposition as rollback to the Kemalist tradition of secular education. One of Atatürk's first acts was to close the *madrasas*, (religious schools) and exclude all the courses concerning religion from the curriculum.

The privatization in the education sector has led to a higher share of education in household expenditures in AKP-led Istanbul.

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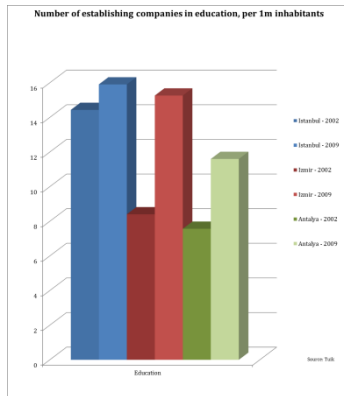
<sup>122</sup> Imam-Hatip schools are religious secondary schools created to train government employed Imams.

<sup>123</sup> Elisabeth Özdalga, "Education in the name of 'Order and Progress,'" *The Muslim World*, July- October 1999, 334

<sup>124</sup> "Growing less mild", *The Economist*, April 14th, 2012.

<sup>125</sup> Angel Rabasa and Stephen Larrabee, "The rise of political Islam in Turkey," RAND, 2008, 64.

<sup>126</sup> Angel Rabasa and Stephen Larrabee, "The rise of political Islam in Turkey," RAND, 2008, 63.



Mustafa Cinoglu notes that privatization of the education sector has improved access to education, but it has also enabled the promotion of specific religious or philosophical views by allowing a wider array of teaching methods.<sup>127</sup> Therefore, even if there is no curriculum freedom for private schools in Turkey<sup>128</sup>, AKP's liberalization has in fact given room for private actors to spread religion-oriented education in Turkey.

**Gender equality:** The AKP acknowledges the importance of women in society and its political platform emphasizes “the raising of healthy generations.”<sup>129</sup> Since the AKP has been in power, it has enacted some promising gender equality reforms, but with a mixed record of following through.

In June 2011, Erdogan dissolved the Ministry of Women and Family Affairs and replaced it with the Ministry of Family and Social Policies. However, in May 2011, the AKP signed the new Council of Europe Convention on Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence, following a 2008 labor law guaranteeing state support of female employees.<sup>130</sup> The AKP promotes gender equality with policies justified by religious references. It also has relaxed the ban on headscarves in public institutions, which was a hallmark of Atatürk's aggressive secularization program. In 2010, the AKP-appointed education minister overrode a ban on headscarves in public institutions, thus permitting some women wearing headscarves to have access to higher education for the first time. The proportion of women in higher education increased more rapidly in both AKP provinces than in the CHP one.

<sup>127</sup> Mustafa Cinoglu, “Private education as a policy tool in Turkey”, *International Education Journal*, 2006.

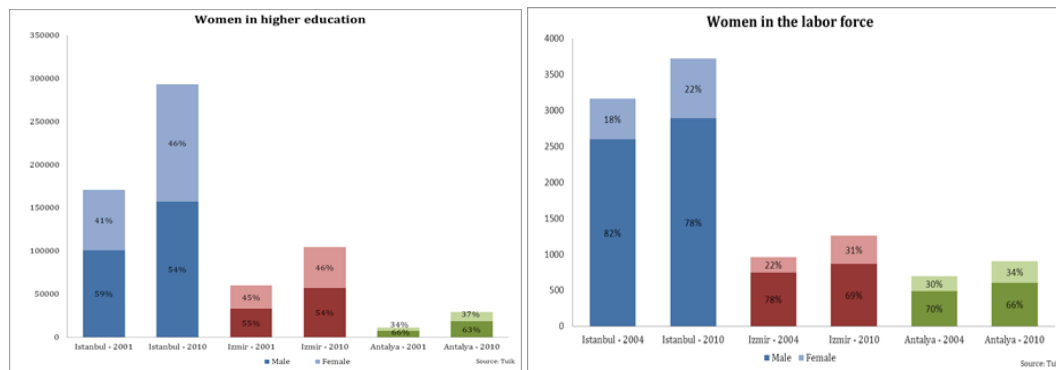
<sup>128</sup> Mustafa Cinoglu, “Private education as a policy tool in Turkey”, *International Education Journal*, 2006.

<sup>129</sup> “AK Party Program.”

<sup>130</sup> Shadow NGO Report on Turkey's Sixth Periodic Report to the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, by The Executive Committee for NGO Forum on CEDAW – Turkey, July 2010.



If AKP's gender-equality policies have proven effective in the education sector, they have not translated into similar progress in women's participation in the workforce. While both Antalya and Istanbul provinces show a 4 point increase in female employment between 2004 and 2010, CHP-led Izmir has outpaced both, posting a 9 point increase for the same years. AKP's religious-based strategy has thus failed to actually boost women's participation in the workforce compared to the CHP. A sociologist and CHP member of parliament, Binnaz Toprak, explains that religion-based gender equality policies cannot be effective since the ban on headscarves was not the source of Turkish women's low level of participation in education and economic activities. Rather, it is the conservative values within society combined with the economic forces that affect women's participation.<sup>131</sup>



The data on female political representation in each city shows that the CHP tends to have better female representation, except for Antalya where no women are represented in either party.

#### *Percentage of Female Representatives (2011)*

Source: TUIK	AKP	CHP
<i>Istanbul</i>	21.7%	24.1%
<i>Izmir</i>	18.2%	34.4%
<i>Antalya</i>	0.0%	0.0%

**Press freedom:** According to the AKP, "Free, independent, multi-voiced written press and visual media is one of the most important assurances of the democratic regime. It is fundamental to preserve the freedom to receive correct information and news." The party's program assures the Turkish people that

<sup>131</sup> Karaveli Halil, "Turkey's liberals, religious conservatism and Kemalism", Turkey Analyst, vol. 2 no. 9, May 2009.

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“all measures shall be taken to ensure such an environment.”<sup>132</sup> The AKP has been decried for its intolerance of criticism. The media feel they have become a specific target. Katinka Barysch, from the Centre for European Reform, indicates that 50 to 60 journalists are currently in jail, most of them accused of plotting to overthrow the government.<sup>133</sup> Around 10,000 lawsuits are pending against writers and broadcasters. As a result, Turkey has plummeted to 138th place in Reporters Without Borders’ press-freedom ranking, between Iraq and Russia.<sup>134</sup>

Media centralization in the hands of a select few is reported to be a major issue in press freedom.<sup>135</sup> According to Can Paker, the head of the Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV), “The press was not free in the past either. The problem of press freedom is not about the policy of the party but about the structure of the press. So long as the press owners have commercial interests, a solution to the problem will be difficult.”<sup>136</sup>

**Minority rights:** The AK Party platform affirms liberal democratic principles concerning minority rights. “One of the most important qualities of contemporary democracy is that the majority will respect the rights and freedoms of those who are in the minority,” it states. Yet minority rights remain a source of contention in Turkey. The Kurdish separatist struggle often rises to the level of warfare, while political tensions flare over the government’s refusal to recognize the Armenian genocide.<sup>137</sup>

The 1923 Treaty of Lausanne defines the status of minorities in Turkey on the basis of religion. It provides full citizenship rights for non-Muslims and sets affirmative obligations to the Turkish government. In practice, the scope of the Treaty is restricted to Armenians, Jews and Greeks, leaving other non-Muslims, such as Assyrians, Bahai or Christian Maronites, outside the protection of the Treaty.<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> “AK Party Program.”

<sup>133</sup> “Erdogan’s last hurrah (possibly)”, *The Economist*, June 2nd 2011.

<sup>134</sup> <http://www.economist.com/node/18772078>.

<sup>135</sup> “AKP won’t adopt authoritarian rule out of fear of losing votes”, Hurriyet Dailynews.com; February 4th, 2012.

<sup>136</sup> “AKP won’t adopt authoritarian rule out of fear of losing votes”, Hurriyet Dailynews.com; February 4<sup>th</sup>, 2012.

<sup>137</sup> The Armenian genocide took place at the hands of the Ottoman Empire during and after World War I. The government of Turkey insists that there was no systematic attempt to destroy the Christian Armenian people. For more see: “Q&A: Armenian Genocide Dispute.” The BBC, Last updated 5 March 2010.

<sup>138</sup> A Quest for Equality: Minorities in Turkey, Minority Rights Group International’s report, 2008.

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In order to fulfill EU membership requirements, the AKP has pursued efforts to ensure minority rights. As part of that effort, greater cultural rights have been extended to the Kurdish minority. Islamic rhetoric has enabled the AKP to display a unitary discourse aiming at transcending ethnic boundaries, in particular between Turks and Kurds, around a common Muslim identity. The motto “Turks or Kurds, all Muslims” frequently appears in AKP discourse.<sup>139</sup> In 2009, under the AKP, the first formal Kurdish television station opened and in the 2007 legislative elections the party invested in two Armenian candidates.<sup>140</sup> The AKP is also the first civilian government to take on the Kurdish issue, which had previously been handled by the military. If the Quranic references are used in the political discourse to justify its drive to diversity, in practice little improvement has been reported. Violent attacks against the rebels of the PKK have continued during AKP rule. Last October, in the province of Hakkari, 35 Kurdish rebels were killed in a military raid. Since May 2009, a series of arrests against the Union of Kurdistan Communities’ members was initiated by the AKP, sweeping up Kurdish politicians, civil servants, journalists, and scholars.<sup>141</sup>

Non-Muslim minorities view AKP’s ascendancy with mixed feelings. On the one hand, an increased tolerance for religion in society was an integral part of AKP’s agenda. The first AKP government had, for instance, proposed a law that would have lifted the strict rules that govern minorities and created a mechanism for returning minority property confiscated by the state, a bill that was strongly opposed by the CHP members of parliament.<sup>142</sup> On the other hand, a 2008 report by Minority Rights Group International concluded that minority rights have not improved substantially in Turkey. For instance, the use of minority languages is still restricted under article 42 of the Constitution prohibiting public education in any other language.<sup>143</sup>

**Corruption:** AKP swept to power by promising to root out corruption, particularly within the political elite. In line with this objective, the AKP has executed a number of highly publicized corruption arrests within several municipalities. Corruption, in the latest government program, was described as “a fundamental problem that damages the trust relationship between state and its citizens and that by

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<sup>139</sup> “La «sale guerre» de la Turquie menée contre les Kurdes”, Slate.fr, October 10th, 2011.

<sup>140</sup> Journal Sabah, 16 mai 2007.

<sup>141</sup> “Les ambitions néo-ottomanes de l’AKP et le conflit kurde”, LeMonde, January 24th, 2012.

<sup>142</sup> Rabasa Angel and Larrabee Stephen, The rise of political Islam in Turkey, RAND, May 2008, 66.

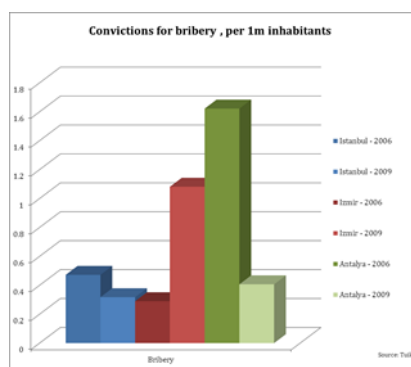
<sup>143</sup> A Quest for Equality : Minorities in Turkey, Minority Rights Group International’s report, 2008.

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reason of extortion of public resources, has cost Turkey its huge resources for years.”<sup>144</sup> In response it initiated technological/electronic administrative modernization with the idea that e-transformation would reduce bureaucratic corruption.

Despite these measures, Transparency International’s Corruption Perception Index (CPI) for 2007 ranked Turkey 64 of 179 with a score of 4.1 out of 10. The country scored similarly for the period 2000-2006. This places Turkey among the most corrupt in Europe. Despite these rankings, 39.8 % of voters thought that the situation was getting better while 26.4 % believed it was getting worse.<sup>145</sup>

The anti-corruption laws issued at the national level have had different effects at the local level. The total number of convictions for bribery and embezzlement has dramatically decreased in both Istanbul and Antalya since AKP took power. However, while convictions for embezzlement have decreased in Izmir, the number of convictions for bribery increased as a result of major and highly publicized CHP-directed anti-corruption raids in several municipalities, most notably in 2008.<sup>146</sup> Dozens of employees in Izmir’s municipalities, including high-ranking CHP officials, were reportedly detained on corruption allegations that included interfering with public tenders. As a result, the rate of convictions for bribery decreased in both AKP provinces while it increased in Izmir.



At the same time, rumors have proliferated about AKP’s leading figures in both national and local governments becoming exceedingly wealthy since taking power. AKP deputy Chairman Saban Disli was

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<sup>144</sup> Perception of corruption in Turkey, in the Sixth framework programme of the European Commission, Zeynep Aralrak, Dr. Bülent Besim Bali, December 2008.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> “Prosecutor asks for 397 years in jail for Izmir mayor”, *Daily Hurriyet*, January 19th, 2012.

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the first high-level party official implicated in a bribery case.<sup>147</sup> Disli is accused of having received a bribe whereby he would receive US\$1 million for turning a piece of land within Istanbul's city limits from a green pasture area where nothing could be built into a commercial property where buildings could be erected. Prime Minister Erdogan was himself peripherally implicated in a German court case of embezzlement in the German-Turkish charity organization *Deniz Feneri* (Lighthouse) with close ties to the AKP. People close to Erdogan were directly implicated as well (eg: the Chairman of the Radio and Television High Commission [RTÜK] Zahit Akman).<sup>148</sup>

## Conclusion

The AKP for the most part has used Islam as a strategic communications tool to sell its liberalization policies. Where its platform overtly invokes Islam – women's equality, minority rights and press freedom – the AKP's policies have encountered the greatest failure. The party has reintroduced the language and symbols of religion to public life, creating an image of virtue and probity directly linked to its Islamic pedigree. Secular Turks fear a concerted campaign to gradually Islamicize institutions of the state. While their animosity can seem out of proportion to the AKP's actual record, Turkey has witnessed a tangible upswing in public religion. The AKP's liberalization and privatization processes withdrew the state from many sectors and made way for private religious initiatives. Economic growth and private enterprise have benefited the conservative Anatolian elite, introducing their long-marginalized religious character to Turkey's elite political and social fabric. The AKP has shown the most efficiency in the sectors in which its platform evinced the least Islamic rhetoric or principles: the economy, education and health.

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<sup>147</sup> "Turk AKP MP resigns over Tesco land bribery claims," *Hurriyet Daily News*, September 4th, 2008.

<sup>148</sup> "Indictment finds no organized crime in Deniz Feneri fraud case", *Today's zaman*, April 10th, 2010.

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## Case study: Iraq

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*Islamists in Basra fared well on indicators such as education and health but those services are administered more from the central government in Baghdad than provincially. Where Islamists had control, in security, gender equality, press freedom and minority rights, individual freedoms waned, which can be attributed to Islamist policies.*

### Background

Iraq held its first provincial elections in 2005, two years after the U.S. overthrew Saddam Hussein's centralized government. Until then, southern Iraqi provinces had no autonomy and were fully beholden to Baghdad. The Iraq case study compares four southern provinces: Basra, Dhi Qar, Maysan and Muthanna, due to their likeness in history, demographics and recent party competition, which allows control to some extent, for exogenous factors such as the armed conflict in Basra from 2005 to 2009.

Two Islamic parties, the Islamic Supreme Council of Iraq (ISCI, known as the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq until 2007) and Al-Fadhila, took power in Basra after the 2005 elections. This case study will compare Basra under their rule to the national government during the same time period, other ruling parties in Iraq's southern provinces during the same time period and Basra pre-2003.

ISCI, a Shiite party, was established by exiled Iraqi Shiite clerics in Iran in 1982. After the 2005 elections, ISCI took control of Basra and Dhi Qar. An ISCI member served as the governor in Muthanna while Al-Fadhila placed one of its members as council president of Muthanna. However, violence in the region led to the assassination of Muthanna's governor (ISCI member) and that subsequently led to a new appointment which switched the parties' roles: an ISCI member became the council president in Muthanna while the former council president (Al-Fadhila member) became Muthanna's governor. In Maysan, the Sadrists gained power in after the 2005 elections. However, the Islamists did not retain power: both Al-Fadhila and ISCI lost power to the national, more secular State of Law coalition in the 2009 elections.

### Ideology

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ISCI claims to be a “pro-democracy organization” which “embraces Iraqis who believe in tolerant and moderate Islam,”<sup>149</sup> although its adherence to Islamic values has been more rigid than that of other Islamist parties in Iraq. However, analysts believe that it was ISCI’s “strong organization, a surprising political pragmatism in light of profound sectarian inclinations, [and] a somewhat strange dual alliance with both the U.S. and Iran,”<sup>150</sup> that won it Iraqi votes. It originally began with adopting Khomeini’s idea of the “rule of the jurisprudent,” which, modeled after Iran subjects the government to both a religious scholar’s supreme authority and Sharia. However, ISCI has since claimed that Islam’s importance to their political ideology “is strategic and is made to be permanent and not temporary or by secondary means to fulfill ulterior motives, for it is the source of legitimacy in our actions.”<sup>151</sup> Although claiming to support moderate Islamic values, ISCI’s behavior suggests a more rigid view of Islam in their governance of Basra, by closing down movie theaters, enforcing strict dress codes, punishing prostitutes and expelling Sunnis.<sup>152</sup>

While the ISCI’s power base comes from the Iraqi middle class, its challenging party, the Sadrists, appealed to the economically and socially marginalized Shia population in Iraq.<sup>153</sup> The Sadrists displayed conservative Islamic ideas through their destruction of liquor stores, harassment of Christians and intolerance towards uncovered women in Maysan. However, they also advocated for development in Maysan and began various projects in the region with questionable success.<sup>154</sup>

Al-Fadhila, also known as the Islamic Virtue Party, views Ayatollah Muhammad Yaqubi as its spiritual leader and has a strong base of support in Basra and its neighboring provinces. Similar to the Sadrists, it also espouses an anti-Iranian Arab nationalist creed, with a political goal of creating a three-province southern region in Iraq, which would include Basra, Dhi Qar and Maysan.<sup>155</sup> However, the idea of southern coalition puts Al-Fadhila at odds with ISCI, which advocates for a nine-province southern

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<sup>149</sup> ISCI website: <http://www.isci-iraq.com> (Accessed March 14, 2011).

<sup>150</sup> International Crisis Group, “Shiite Politics in Iraq: The Role of the Supreme Council,” (Damascus/Amman/Brussels): 2007.

<sup>151</sup> ISCI website, *op. cit.*

<sup>152</sup> Vali Nasr, *The Shia Revival*, (London: W.W. Norton, 2006).

<sup>153</sup> Center for American Progress, “Background Brief: Major Shia political groups,” January 28, 2009: [http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2009/01/shia\\_political\\_brief.html](http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2009/01/shia_political_brief.html) (Accessed March 15, 2011).

<sup>154</sup> By 2009, only 41 of the planned 241 projects for Maysan, such as building hospitals and universities were completed. Musings on Iraq Blog, “Maysan Province Remains Underdeveloped,” January 2009

<sup>155</sup> Center for American Progress, “Background Brief: Major Shia political groups,” *op. cit.*

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coalition. All three of these parties were ruling against the national backdrop of the State of Law coalition, a non-sectarian, law and order party that led the national government from 2005 to 2009.

### **Data analysis**

**Economy:** The economy suffered under the ISCI in Basra: while unemployment fell almost everywhere else in Iraq between 2003 and 2010, it rose in Basra, which is striking considering that Basra started out under stable economic conditions before the 2005 elections. One major factor of this trend was the rise in militia violence after 2005, which created constant instability and destroyed the labor market. Corruption was also rampant, especially in light of Basra's contribution to Iraq's oil revenues: approximately two-thirds of Iraq's crude oil production in 2010 (2.36 million barrels per day) came from oil fields in southern Iraq. When provincial governments were elected in 2005, a three-way struggle for control of oil revenues ensued between the central government, Al-Fadhila and ISCI. Al-Fadhila gained control of the Southern Oil Company and used its position as a bargaining chip to get more oil revenues.<sup>156</sup> In 2007 alone, Basra was responsible for 90% of Baghdad's \$40 million budget.<sup>157</sup> Local militia members in Basra, including members of Al-Fadhila, were accused of siphoning oil and selling it to Iraq's neighbors to increase their own revenues.

**Education:** While Iraq boasted one of the best education systems in the Middle East prior to the 1980's, that system deteriorated after the Iran-Iraq war and the 13 years of economic sanctions imposed on Iraq after it invaded Kuwait. The continuing conflict in Iraq has made it difficult for the country to recover and make improvements to its education system.<sup>158</sup> Basra showed much better education statistics than its neighboring provinces. However, due to its size, wealth from oil and history as a trade center, higher educational access is not surprising. Basra's net enrollment ratio for primary education was 90.8 percent in 2010 compared to 86.6 percent nationally.<sup>159</sup> Maysan had the lowest enrollment, at 65.6 percent. Female to male enrollment ratios in Basra also improved, going from 95.1 percent in 2007 to 99.8

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<sup>156</sup> Dagher, Sam, "Basra oil fuels fight to control Iraq's economic might," *The Christian Science Monitor*, September 19, 2007 <http://www.csmonitor.com/2007/0919/p12s01-wome.html> (Accessed April 15, 2012).

<sup>157</sup> Ibid.

<sup>158</sup> United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), "UNESCO and Education in Iraq Fact Sheet," March 28, 2003.

<sup>159</sup> IAU Iraq, "Basrah Governorate Profile," December 2010.



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percent in 2010. It must be noted that education, like health, is controlled centrally and provincial governments do not have control over educational administration.<sup>160</sup>

**Health:** Healthcare in the southern provinces improved under Islamist control: percentage of residents with access to clean water was generally much higher in the south (in 2007: Basra, 98 percent; Maysan: 91 percent; Muthanna: 65 percent; Dhi Qar: 94 percent; National: 77 percent). General malnutrition rates also improved from 2005 to 2007, however in southern provinces, malnutrition rates were still higher than national rates (in 2007: Basra, 12.4 percent; Maysan: 11.1 percent; Muthanna: 14.4 percent; Dhi Qar: 14.4 percent; National: 9.1 percent). These trends can be attributed to the fact that vast amounts of humanitarian aid made its way into southern Iraq.<sup>161</sup> Additionally, health was controlled through a central authority, the Health Ministry, not through provincial governments, so Islamist rule provincially did not affect changes in health administration.

**Security:** Basra was the worst performing province among the four southern provinces in terms of internal security. There was a rise in incidents that involved snipers, ambushes, grenade, mortar, rocket and surface-to-air missile attacks between 2005 and 2007. The reasons for an upsurge in violence were political turf wars, clashes between militias, disagreements over oil revenues, a corrupt police force, inadequate foreign troop presence and tensions among Sunnis and Shiites.<sup>162</sup> Security incidents in the other three provinces were minimal: Muthanna saw an increase in violence immediately after the 2003 U.S.-led invasion but that subsided by the second half of 2004. Dhi Qar also saw minimal violence compared to Basra partly due to a lack of sectarian violence in that province. Maysan saw an increase in violence during spring 2004 when the Sadrists challenged British presence in their region. However, after losing a 100-day battle, the Sadrists did not challenge the Iraqi government's efforts to secure Maysan and that reduced violence in the province.

**Gender equality:** Gender-based violence continues to be a problem for Iraq, including in Basra and other southern provinces. Anecdotal data shows that the increase in militias in the south has created a security breach for women. In 2007, more than 100 women were murdered in Basra for violating

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<sup>160</sup> There were a number of limitations with the data collected for education: official Iraqi statistics were presented as raw numbers rather than in rates; the World Food Program was inconsistent in its measurements from 2006 to 2008, making comparisons unavailable; lastly, for some indicators, data was not reported at the governorate level.

<sup>161</sup> United Nations, "Iraq, 2010 Humanitarian Action Plan," 2010.

<sup>162</sup> Lionel Beehner, "The Challenge in Iraq's Other Cities: Basra" Council on Foreign Relations, June 2006.

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religious laws.<sup>163</sup> Similarly, a report released by the Basra Security Committee recorded 133 murders of women in 2007. Of the cases reported, 79 women were targeted for violating Islamic teachings, 47 were victims of honor killings and 7 were killed for political affiliations.<sup>164</sup> There have been some improvements in women's representation politically: Iraq's constitution stipulates that at least a quarter of the members of the national parliament be women and Iraqi government data shows that the proportion of women elected to Parliament from the southern provinces remained constant in the 2005 and 2009 elections. Muthanna had the highest proportion of women members of parliament at 40 percent followed by Basra at 35 percent, Maysan at 33 percent and Dhi Qar at 30 percent. Critics however, argue that the women who were participating in politics had been indoctrinated with traditional Islamist perspectives.<sup>165</sup>

**Press Freedom:** Press freedom in Basra suffered between 2005 and 2009 and anecdotal data points to intimidation of the press by provincial security forces. A number of journalists were killed for political reasons in the province, caught up in intra-Shia fighting. However, authoritarian trends everywhere in Iraq—among every ideological current—make it difficult to distinguish between governing ideology and any challenge to a political culture of impunity that transcends regional and political differences. Press restrictions are not only based on political challenges but are also written into law and some laws, such as imprisonment for up to seven years for insulting the parliament, remain on the books today.<sup>166</sup> In the south, from 2000-2010, only four journalists were killed in Basra and one in Maysan compared to 73 in Baghdad and 145 total in Iraq. However, it is apparent that at least two if not all of the journalists killed in Basra were killed for political motives. According to Human Rights Watch, security forces in Basra continually oppress members of the media<sup>167</sup> and Reporters Without Borders reported that Iraqi security forces had increased attacks on journalists working in the south in 2008.<sup>168</sup> Although

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<sup>163</sup> "Iraq: Islamic extremists target women in Basra," *IRIN news and analysis—a service of the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs*, January 2, 2008: <http://www.irinnews.org/report.aspx?ReportID=76065> (Accessed April 17, 2011).

<sup>164</sup> Ibid.

<sup>165</sup> Lucy Brown and David Romano, "Women in Post-Saddam Iraq: One Step Forward or Two Steps Back?" *NWSA Journal* 18:3 (Fall 2006).

<sup>166</sup> Freedom House, "Map of Press Freedom, 2010," <http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=251&year=2010> (Accessed April 7, 2011).

<sup>167</sup> Human Rights Watch, "At a Crossroads," 2011, <http://www.hrw.org/en/node/95605/section/5> (Accessed April 6, 2011).

<sup>168</sup> Reporters Without Borders, "Assaults on journalists rise as two attacked in South," May 14, 2008, <http://en.rsf.org/iraq-assaults-on-journalists-rise-as-14-05-2008.27025.html> (Accessed April 6, 2011).

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information on Dhi Qar, Maysan and Muthanna wasn't readily available, some anecdotal data suggests that provincial governments did not actively advocate for journalistic freedom<sup>169</sup> and shut down an independent TV station with illegal justifications.<sup>170</sup>

**Minority rights:** While little has been written on minority rights in southern provinces, anecdotal data suggests mistreatment of minorities. Basra, a very diverse province consisting of numerous minority groups (Kurdish Sunnis, Arab Sunnis, Chaldeans, Assyrians, Armenian Christians, Mandeans and the Zinj people),<sup>171</sup> saw an increase in incidents of violent civilian deaths after the 2005 elections. Between 2005 and 2009, there were 500 incidents of violent civilian deaths, compared to only 107 in the two years before and after Islamist rule. This can partly be explained by the fact that once the central government collapsed in 2003, ethnic and religious authorities gained increasingly political roles. Leading up to the 2005 elections and immediately afterwards, ISCI and Al-Fadhila used intimidation tactics to gain and maintain power.<sup>172</sup>

**Corruption:** Data for Basra on corruption was too sparse to be included in this report but should be explored in further studies.

## Conclusion

The Islamists in Iraq did not do well compared to their secular counterparts as corruption, violence, and anti-Sunni sentiment was rampant once they took power. The promise to uphold Islamic ethical values fell short. Many of the indicators that improved in Basra, such as education and public health, were due to other factors such as central governing bodies and foreign aid, and not necessarily tied to Islamist provincial rule. Sectarianism within these parties exacerbated the security situation and their turn to violence benefitted Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki's State of Law party.

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<sup>169</sup> Journalistic Freedoms Observatory, "Journalists under confinement in Misan province," January 31, 2010, <http://www.jfoiraq.org/newsdetails.aspx?back=1&id=646&page=4> (Accessed April 6, 2011).

<sup>170</sup> JFO, "Weak excuses for shutting down Al-Baghdedeya TV Office in Dhi-Qar City," <http://www.jfoiraq.org/newsdetails.aspx?back=1&id=668&page=2> (Accessed April 6, 2011).

<sup>171</sup> International Crisis Group, "Where is Iraq Heading: Lessons from Basra," *op. cit.*

<sup>172</sup> Washington Institute for Near East Policy, "Policy Focus #66," February 2007.

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## Case study: Pakistan

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*The Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA), which came to power as an anti-American, pro-Sharia coalition, remained faithful to its revivalist rhetoric throughout its rule and tried to unsuccessfully implement Sharia law. When we look at MMA governance, we see that the rights of women deteriorated, education was increasingly Islamized, the economic policies were not implemented (though mostly due to the failure of the provincial government, which is responsible for it), and corruption was rampant. The MMA was able to deliver public goods at a level comparable to its counterpart in Punjab, however.*

### Background

The pro-Islamist MMA rose to power in the October 2002 election after the Inter-Services Intelligence, under President Pervez Musharraf, stifled opposing candidates' efforts to campaign and disqualified two other popular secular candidates.<sup>173</sup> The MMA's Islamist platform also gained popularity when anti-Americanism swept the Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP) after the American invasion of Afghanistan in October 2001. In the October 2002 election, the MMA captured 49 of the 99 elected seats in the NWFP Provincial Assembly.<sup>174</sup> The five years of MMA rule, from 2002-2007 in the NWFP was the first time in the history of Pakistan that Islamist parties were able to govern a province independently.<sup>175</sup> A decisive plurality of 49 of 99 seats captured in the 2002 election allowed the MMA to seize control of the provincial bureaucracy, controlling the office of Chief Minister who is the leading executive in the province and who forms a cabinet to govern the various provincial departments. In the 2008 elections, the MMA lost the election to the more liberal Awami National Party (ANP). This was due to fissures within the party, its association with the Musharraf regime, and failing to respond adequately to the 2006 earthquake.

### MMA Platform

One of the main features of the political ideology of the MMA has been the imposition of sharia and

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<sup>173</sup> Kamran Asdar Ali, "Pakistani Islamists Gamble on the General," *Middle East Research and Information Project*, 34 (2004), 186-214 and Ashutosh Misra, "Rise of Religious Parties in Pakistan: Causes and Prospects," *Strategic Analysis*, (Apr-June 2003): 192.

<sup>174</sup> Kamran Asdar Ali, "Pakistani Islamists Gamble on the General," *Middle East Research and Information Project*. <http://www.merip.org/mer/mer231/pakistani-islamists-gamble-general> (accessed April 3, 2011).

<sup>175</sup> International Crisis Group. "Pakistan: The mullahs and the military," International Crisis Group, no. 49 (2003).

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Islamicization of society.<sup>176</sup> In accordance with its Islamist platform, the MMA moved to tighten restrictions on the role of women, gender segregate schools and bring aspects of sharia into the common law of the NWFP.

### Data Analysis

**Education:** The MMA platform on education is simple. They believe in Islamist-centered and gender-segregated education, though implemented on a gradual basis.<sup>177</sup> Judging from the data collected, the performance of the conservative MMA was better than the liberal ANP or center-leaning Pakistan Muslim League – Q (PML [Q]) in terms of increases in enrollment, access to education and increase in number of schools for girls. However, some anecdotal data suggests that the MMA implemented policies to increase numbers, only so long as they were in power. For example, one of the incentives given to the families who sent their girls to the local schools was provision of a free oil canister once a month, an incentive that would mostly likely not work longer than the coalition's five-year term.<sup>178</sup> Similarly, the MMA relaxed criteria for recruiting teachers, bringing down the standard of education. Therefore, on one hand the MMA increased the enrollment rates for both males and females at the primary level, but at the same time the quality of education decreased.<sup>179</sup>

Though the ANP did worse than the MMA on education, there are exogenous factors that are partly responsible for these decreases: Army operations in settled and tribal areas and one of the worst floods on record in the NWFP in 2010. The total number of schools destroyed during flood was nearly 3 percent.<sup>180</sup> On the other hand, the PML (Q) was far ahead of the MMA in allocation of resources in the educational sector and initiating independent programs across the province when compared with MMA. The PML (Q) initiated several reforms that allocated money towards the poor and females, such as providing free books and limited stipends for poor students, as well as female students.

In sum, we cannot draw the conclusion that the MMA did better in improving education since the improvements may not be entirely genuine or of quality. The ANP's low performance can be attributed

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<sup>176</sup> Ibid, 6.

<sup>177</sup> Ashutosh Mishra, —Rise of religious parties in Pakistan: Causes and Prospects, *Strategic Analysis* 27:2 (2003): 202.

<sup>178</sup> Waseem and Mufti, *Religion, Politics and Governance in Pakistan*, 53.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid, 55.

<sup>180</sup> Khyber Pakhtoonkwa Bureau of Statistics, [www.khyberpakhtunkhwa.gov.pk](http://www.khyberpakhtunkhwa.gov.pk) (Accessed March 13, 2011).

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to external causes and the MMA did well overall in comparison to both. In this area, the more liberal PML (Q) did better than the conservative MMA.

**Security:** The MMA performed better than both the ANP and the PML (Q) in controlling murders, kidnappings, suicide attacks and roadside bombings in their region. However, the MMA's success, however, is in part due to its alliance with the Pakistani Taliban. Also, the ANP initiated two major army operations, which deteriorated the security in its region. In sum, the MMA did better than its more secular counterparts but because it had a huge advantage.

**Economics:** The economic manifesto of the MMA promotes a just, independent and humane economic system where citizens will be provided halal jobs, business and investments.<sup>181</sup> The MMA was better than the ANP in terms of maintaining good per capita income and unemployment rates, though both parties failed miserably. The PML (Q) in Punjab, however did very well. It must be noted that Punjab has traditionally been economically superior to the NWFP both industrially and agriculturally. Further, a large part of the population of Punjab works abroad, adding to the economic well being and enhancing per capita income in the area.<sup>182</sup> Finally, comparing the MMA economic policies with those of Punjab is a bit unfair. Both followed the federal government's policy in economic issues and few initiatives were enacted by provincial leadership. Looking at the figures, the PML (Q) was superior in each economic indicator as compared to MMA (GDP per capita, unemployment rates). In sum, it is difficult to draw any definitive conclusions from regions so economically diverse and also from a lack of autonomy in enacting economic policies – both the MMA and the PML (Q) followed the federal government's economic policies with different results due to regional and demographic differences.

**Gender Equality and Minority Rights:** In 2001, President Musharraf decided to give a greater role to women in National and Provincial Assemblies. He earmarked seats where women candidates would be selected indirectly. Thus we see a considerable number of female MPAs in provincial assemblies in Punjab and Frontier. It was also decided in devolution planning that each district assembly would have

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<sup>181</sup> Reza Rehman Khan, —The political economy of MMA's victory, *Jang News*, October 20, 2002.

<sup>182</sup> IRIN, —In Pakistan remittances from abroad radically changes lives, *Guardian Development Network*, March 7, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/global-development/2011/mar/07/pakistan-remittances-from-abroad-change-lives> (Accessed on April 11, 2011).

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at least 33% female representation.<sup>183</sup> However, the initiative of the MMA to give proper representation to women in the public sector was minimal. In fact, the MMA received severe criticism from various NGOs that were working to enhance the role of women in the NWFP. Incidents of sexual assaults and rape increased in 2006-07.<sup>184</sup>

On the basis of available statistics, it appears that the MMA was more successful in creating sectarian harmony than ANP and PML (Q). In the case of providing extra opportunities for women they were far behind the PML (Q) but were nearly at par with the ANP. The initiatives of PML (Q) for gender equality can be seen through their introduction of open competition in the public sector and in higher education. The MMA introduced female doctors, wardens and paramedics to examine female patients. Women coaches in sports were introduced for female players to discourage mingling with the opposite sex.<sup>185</sup>

**Press Freedom:** The MMA did considerably better in providing an environment to foster a free press than the PML (Q), as it did not take any action against journalists. The MMA was also superior to the ANP in terms of protecting journalists from being killed during their tenure. It is hard to determine what independent policies were implemented by the MMA as on most occasions they were towing the guidelines of Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Association.

**Health:** The MMA performed better than the ANP but not the PML (Q), in terms of health indicators and statistics. This was due to initiating a number of health projects in conjunction with foreign donors. They gradually increased the budgeted amount for these projects from 2002-03 until 2005-06 when the corresponding allocation reached 3,637 million rupees.<sup>186</sup> However, the ANP experienced setbacks due to an increase in violence due to a growing insurgent movement. On the other hand, PML(Q), also did considerably well and much better in comparison to the MMA in terms of infant mortality and number of hospital beds. They did well because they between 2003-07, the health sector was given more attention as a number of projects were carried out at grassroots (sub-district level) in rural areas, aimed

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<sup>183</sup> Saria Bano, "Women in parliament in Pakistan: Problems and potential solutions," *Women's Studies Journal*, 23:1 (2009): 30.

<sup>184</sup> Punjab Police Gazetteer: [www.punjabpolice.gov.pk](http://www.punjabpolice.gov.pk) (Accessed April 6, 2011).

<sup>185</sup> Ashutosh Mishra, *Rise of religious parties in Pakistan*, 201.

<sup>186</sup> NWFP Bureau of Statistics: [www.khyberpakhtunkhwa.gov.pk](http://www.khyberpakhtunkhwa.gov.pk) (Accessed April 7, 2011).

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at improving facilities at the basic health units.<sup>187</sup> Here, we see that the MMA did not have a necessarily a unique “Islamist” platform for improving health services. Like the PML (Q), it initiated practical reforms based on need, which produced good results.

**Corruption:** Looking at the surveys conducted by Transparency International Pakistan, the MMA was the least corrupt of the three political parties studied. Though there were allegations of corruption against MMA leadership, the party often took action against the corrupt officials. The PML (Q) used public money to buy the support of PML (N) members in provincial assembly. They also used anti-corruption units to pressure their political opponents and dropped genuine cases of corruption against those who assured them of their loyalty and support. In sum, ideology may actually help to prevent corruption, in the case of Pakistan.

## Conclusion

The MMA stood behind much of its revivalist rhetoric because it came to power as an anti-American, pro-sharia coalition. Its popular mandate was much more explicit than that of its Iraqi counterparts. The rights of women did deteriorate in the NWFP under their rule, while education, although improved for both girls and boys, was increasingly Islamized. Also in terms of security, the MMA was able to keep the peace, but mainly because it refused to aid the government’s pursuit of militants. Much of the MMA’s proposed economic policies (i.e., a riba-free economy) were not implemented simply because such matters are beyond the purview of a provincial government in Pakistan. The MMA was able to deliver public goods at a level comparable to the secular PML(Q) in Punjab, but in the end the MMA was racked with accusations of corruption, the various parties that constituted its core fractured along ideological and policy lines, and it overplayed its hand with the controversial Hisba bill which would have established sharia in the NWFP. This is another case of an Islamist party getting a shot, failing, and being replaced by a secular counterpart, even in a comparatively illiterate and insular region.

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<sup>187</sup> Punjab Health Department: [www.dghs-punjab.com.pk/](http://www.dghs-punjab.com.pk/) (Accessed March 30, 2011).



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## Toward a Clearer Understanding of Islamist Politics

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It is difficult to bore through the rhetoric and received wisdom about Islamist politics to achieve granular clarity and precision. There is no statistical metric for good governance; nor is there a standard scale on which to assess political ideology. Therefore any attempt to compare Islamist political parties and their secular counterparts presents technical problems, within a single national context and even more problematically across multiple settings and time periods. We found a wide array of examples, representing different patterns of behavior. We examined instances in which parties responded pragmatically and flexibly to political circumstances, and other in which they displayed ideological rigidity, attempting to shape rather than respond to their context. We examined groups that achieved power entirely through electoral means, and others that reached the chair of governance through less transparent means, whether by collusion with armed militants or a combination of popular support and high-level wrangling. We found that Islamists behaved much like their secular counterparts on economic and health care issues, despite Islamist doctrine that might suggest otherwise. Islamists tend to diverge into faith-based approaches more on issues like gender equality and education. Where their power or public support is limited, Islamists have limited their doctrinaire agenda in order to maintain their position. Where their constituency is dominant, their religious agendas tend to be more expansive. We have detected some potential patterns and correlations between ideology and political behavior, as well as some major obstacles toward reaching a clearer taxonomy of Islamist politics.

**Good governance is subjective.** An assessment of progress must look at outcomes in economic conditions, healthcare, education and security – but also the methods employed to achieve them. What if crime rates fall because of a scorched earth campaign involving torture and arbitrary detention? Is that model governance, or an object lesson? Subjectivity, along with variance in local mores, make it even harder to compare across contexts as diverse as Pakistan, Iraq, Turkey and Lebanon. With that caveat in mind, we can still describe political trends that help us understand the rise of Islamist parties and their subsequent political behavior.

**Religion is not enforced in all spheres of governance.** Islamists are largely defined by their use of religion as part of their political platforms, including references from the Qur'an and advocacy for

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Islamic policies in their respective societies. Many parties define themselves as Islamist. Others might be termed “post-Islamist,” such as Turkey’s influential governing party, the AKP, which was formed by veteran Islamist politicians who finally came together to form the AKP as a secular “values”-based party that moved decisively away from overt Islamist goals and rhetoric. Even Islamist parties that engage in overtly religious rhetoric do not force religion into every sphere of governance. While these parties utilize religion to set themselves apart from their secular counterparts, that rhetoric is a way to gain political support and does not necessarily come into practice in governing policies. For example, none of the Islamist parties we studied implement an Islamic financial system or insert Islamic values into economic practice. Important exceptions include Hamas’ decision not to change its laws on honor killings. Islamist parties regularly invoke the religious mantle as evidence that they will govern with better ethics and more responsibility than their secular competitors. A religious politician, they argue, will be less likely to steal or abuse the public trust.

**Politics trumps ideology – most of the time.** Islamists display flexibility when hard-line Islamist policies start to cost them political support. For example, Hamas at one point proposed mandatory headscarves for girls in schools but retracted in the face of public opposition. Hezbollah’s abandoned its original aim of creating an Islamic state in Lebanon when even its own Shia constituents rejected the idea. The AKP is perhaps the most extreme case—while the party’s leadership consists of former Islamists, the AKP itself has distanced itself from that label. Islamists, like any other ideological current that manifests in political parties, have to be accountable to their constituency and will respond to public opinion, including compromising a rigid ideology to remain in power. The Islamist parties we have studied have opportunistically pursued popular development policies, especially on bread-and-butter service delivery issues like health care, school construction, and economic liberalization. However, in matters of family law, the origins of legal authority, and freedoms for minorities, the press and women, Islamist movements generally display an adherence to faith-based policies. In both cases, the Islamist position aligns with the Islamist parties’ political ambitions. We found no example of a party willfully abandoning power or sacrificing public support in order to stick to a purist religious position.

**Context is controlling.** Historical transitions created an opening for Islamists to rise to power in the cases that we studied. Islamists successfully positioned themselves as better equipped to govern than their secular rivals. Hamas won the election after the failure of the Oslo Accords; Hezbollah was

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responding to a civil war in Lebanon; the AKP ran on a platform of improving economic conditions in Turkey during a period of political opening after decades of military dominance; Pakistan and Iraq were both conflict zones with leadership vacuums. While the rise of the Islamists tended to be precipitated by a seminal event, the parties still adapted to the circumstances in which they were forced to govern. To a great extent, context dictates political behavior for both Islamists and non-Islamists alike. The narrative of transition is particularly important to understanding the rise of Islamists. Many of these groups operated underground for decades, facing systematic coercion and oppression. In response, many Islamists cultivated profound credibility and deep links with their constituents, as well as secretive, undemocratic decision-making habits. In many post-conflict and post-dictatorial contexts, Islamists were the only political opposition groups organized and ready to fill the leadership vacuum left by their predecessors. We find that the following factors can trump movement ideology:

- National liberation struggle
- Established and functioning state institutions
- Pervasive culture of corruption
- Influence from outside actors (such as foreign states or a national diaspora)
- Political pluralism: Do Islamists wield majority power or do they share it with other parties?
- Internal party structure: Is the party unitary? Is its decision-making transparent?

The religious rhetoric that precedes most Islamist movements' rise to power is a poor guide of how they will evolve. Our case studies point to the importance of context, public opinion, institutions, and politics, and suggest that some trends, casual mechanisms, and constraining factors transcend the national contexts that we studied. Certainly in their political marketing Islamist politicians invoke a transnational community as well as a higher morality. We are well aware of the limitations of this study, which we consider a first step. Our data collection amounts to a first-pass; each of our cases could benefit from more data. As the study of transitional environments improves, so too will our understanding of Islamist politics in turbulent environments. This study only begins to unpack the mechanics of the interplay between religion, ideology and governance in the Islamist political space. The developing Islamist politics in Egypt, Libya, Syria, Jordan and Yemen will offer a fascinating slate of new cases, while the maturation of the AKP, Hezbollah, and other first-generation governing Islamist parties will provide insight into how Islamist politics age.

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## Appendices

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### Annotated Bibliography

We consulted the March 2008 Century Foundation report “Resolving America’s Islamist Dilemma: Lessons from South and Southeast Asia,” suggests that U.S. policy makers can work with Islamist parties in areas of shared interest and the *Foreign Affairs* essay “Whither Political Islam,” written by scholar Mahmood Mamdani, which argues that modern Jihad is not a simple cultural extension of Islam. In order to narrow our study and select our cases, the team also consulted a number of reports on Islamist movements in several regional contexts. These include:

- Menachem Klein, “ Hamas in Power,” Middle East Journal Summer 2007
- Yezig Sayid, “ Hamas Rule in Gaza: Three Years on,” The Crown Center for Middle East Studies, Brandeis University March 2010
- Bryan Hearly, “ Larger than a Party Smaller than a State: Locating Hezbollah’s place within Lebanon’s State and Society,” World Affairs Winter 2006
- Menderes Cinar, “ Turkey’s Transformation under AKP Rule,” Muslim World July 2006
- Hameed Agberemi, “ Nigeria Beyond Secularism and Islamism: Fashioning a Reconsidered Rights Paradigm for a Democratic Multicultural Society,” Muslim World Journal of Human Rights Vol. 2, 2005
- Virginia Hooker and Norani Othman Eds., Malaysia: Islam, Society and Politics, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, 2003
- Zachary Abuza, Political Islam and Violence in Indonesia, Routledge, New York, 2003

Due to the continued presence of U.S. and coalition forces in Iraq, there has been a fair amount written on the country’s Islamist parties. The Middle East Report, a staple of the International Crisis Group, offers excellent valuations of Iraq’s Shia groups. The 2007 publication “ Shia Politics in Iraq: The Role of the Supreme Council” discusses the political agenda of ISCI and its relationship with the United States. “ Where is Iraq Heading: Lessons from Basra” (2008) offers a sound analysis of Basra’s security dynamics and provides insights on the province’s intra-Shia relationships. Other ICG reports that discuss Islamism

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in Iraq include “Iraq’s Muqtada Al-Sadr: Spoiler or Stabiliser” (2006) and “Iraq’s Civil War, the Sadrists and the Surge” (2008).

Patrick Cockburn’s book *Muqtada: Muqtada al-Sadr, the Shia Revival, and the Struggle for Iraq* offers a journalistic account of the rise of one of the region’s most influential Islamist leaders. For a comprehensive historical background of Shia Islam in Iraq, Yitzhak Nakash’s books *The Shi’is of Iraq* and *Reaching for Power: The Shi’a in the Modern Arab World* are also excellent resources. However, although we found these readings significant and relevant to our topic, they did not directly answer our question about how Islamists rule in provincial settings.

Similarly, the following readings on Pakistan were found to be incredibly useful and pertinent to our background understanding of Islamism in Pakistan. However, like the Iraq readings, none provided a thorough analysis of how the MMA ruled at a provincial level. However, these readings deserve a mention for further study and/or information: Hasan-Askari Rizvi, *The Military and Politics in Pakistan*; Ashutosh Misra, *MMA-Democracy Interface in Pakistan: From Natural Confrontation to Co-habitation?*; Vali Nasr, *Military Rule, Islamism and Democracy in Pakistan*; Hassan Abbas, *Pakistan’s Drift into Extremism: Allah, the Army, and America’s War on Terror*; “Militancy in Pakistan’s Borderlands”; *Inside Pakistan’s North-Western Frontier Province: The Political Landscape of the Insurgency*; Joshua White, *Pakistan’s Islamist Frontier*; Anas Malik, *Political Survival in Pakistan: Beyond ideology*; and Kamran Asdar Ali, “Pakistani Islamists Gamble on the General.”

The engagement-moderation school includes Boubekur and Amghar, who argue that the PJD and MSP have abandoned their “revolutionary rhetoric” in order to become centrist parties that support the regimes in Algeria and Morocco. They argue that the political process moderated these parties, as did the Maghreb’s participation in the European Neighborhood policy, which promoted policies of “economic liberalism.” Schwedler compares the experience Islah in Yemen and the IAF in Jordan to that of Hamas and Hezbollah. She argues that the IAF and Islah experienced changes in ideology and experienced moderation in the political processes. Schwedler documents cooperation between leftist groups and Islamist groups in tactical, strategic, and reform levels in order to achieve political goals. Witts argues that excluded parties move in a more radical direction. She argues that Islamist/nationalist groups, like Hamas and Hezbollah, show adaptability and a desire to participate in the political process.

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Gerges argues that Hamas has taken large strides to participate in the political process between Israel and Palestine and has shown political moderation. Hezbollah, examined by Harik, has emerged as a staying political power by pursuing moderation through the political process in Lebanon. Lastly, Kamoludin describes the Islamic Renaissance Party (IRP) in Tajikistan and their ability to form coalitions with several parties in the Tajik system in order to achieve their political goals. All these parties have sought moderation within the political system and many have forged alliances with parties that are vastly different from them for political gain.

At the same time, others argue that political parties will moderate as a pre-condition of admission to political process. El-Ghobashy, Leiken, and Lynch cite the example of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt prior to the Arab Uprisings. Although it had limited entrée to the formal political process, these authors argue that the Muslim Brotherhood moderated because of its role in Egyptian society. Leiken examines how the Brotherhood moved away from Qutb's interpretation and toward Hudaybi's teachings. The party has moved away from violence and toward a desire for "slow and peaceful" Islamicization instead. Ghobashy claims that "the institutional rules of participation rather than the commandments of ideology that motivate political parties" and therefore the Muslim Brotherhood experienced moderation even though it was not a recognized political party. Furthermore, Marc Lynch argues that the Muslim Brotherhood stayed true to its stated democratic goals, even after Mubarak's harsh 2007 crackdown, and therefore is most likely truthful in their stated goals. However, as I will look at later, Lynch acknowledges that they are intentionally vague in some areas of their platform.

According to Vernon and Kuncoro, it is true that Islamic parties are less corrupt. In Indonesia between 2001 and 2005, Islamist parties were proven to be less corrupt. Corruption increased in areas that voted in secular parties after "full local democratization" took place. These areas then voted in Islamist parties in 2004 because it was both alleged, and proven, that these parties were less corrupt.

As for the role of women in Islamist parties, it is not often an issue of women being promoted in these parties, but women taking advantage of distractions within the party to make their way to the top. Clark and Schwedler look at women's participation in Islah in Yemen and the IAF in Jordan. There is rich women's participation in both these organizations, although women could not run for office in Islah. However, Schwedler and Clark make the case that women took advantage of international divisions to

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achieve positions of power within these parties; they were not actively recruited for these positions as an attempt to appease international audiences, but mobilized for these positions on their own accord.

There are some scholars that are necessary to include in this review in order to provide a counter-claim to the overwhelming literature. Delacoura suggests “mixed results” in moderation of Islamist parties when they are excluded from the democratic process. For example, the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and Ennahda in Tunisia moderated despite their exclusion, while the IAF moderated in Jordan as a result of inclusion. Similarly, the AKP moderated after inclusion. This raises an important point about the nature of political movements that are not necessarily recognized as political parties within the system. Some of these groups (Ennahda, Ikhwan) moderated despite being excluded from the system.

Delacoura also suggests that Islam is just a façade for political parties in some cases. Looking at the role of Islam in nationalism, war, and human rights, she claims Islam is oftentimes used by ruling parties as a justification for primarily political gains. This could be the reason why Islamist parties seem to moderate in the political process; Islam is often just a façade for political calculations.

Finally, many authors caution that there are “red lines” these parties often will not cross and there are “gray areas” where these parties are intentionally vague. Clark uses the example of the IAF in Jordan in order to show that oftentimes, the line “political process begets moderation,” is over used. The IAF refused to compromise at all, or even discuss, honor crimes law, seats for women in parliament, and divorce law during opposition party talks. This shows that while the party may have moderated, there were still examples where they would not shift their position. Similarly, Ottoway, Brown, and Hamzaway note that the role of Islamist parties as both political and religious actors leads them to take vague positions on several issues. Marc Lynch noted that this occurred within the Brotherhood. These parties may use Islamic Law, the use of violence, political pluralism, civil and political rights, the rights of women, and religious minority right as “gray areas” where they do not clearly delineate their positions. By remaining ambiguous, they continue to achieve political gains, but often feed perceptions that they are slowly hijacking the political system to establish an Islamic State.

In conclusion, most authors would agree that participation in democratic political systems causes Islamist parties to moderate. Some would even argue that if there is a strong political system within the

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country, parties that are excluded (Ennahda, the Brotherhood) will be forced to moderate in order to join the political system in the future. However, it is important to bear in mind that Islamist parties often have “gray areas” or “redlines” that will run contrary to their moderation. Limited literature shows that women participate in Islamist parties and that corruption is indeed less when Islamists govern.

We include here a review of literature that touches upon some aspect of Islamism and the political process. Some of the literature that we review in this section confirms one of the conclusions we draw from our empirical study – that Islamist political groups tend to moderate when trying to survive the political process.

**Abbas, Hassan . "Asfandiyar Wali: Profile of Pakistan's Progressive Pashtun Politician." *The Jamestown Foundation*. 21 Feb. 2007. Web.** Abbas explains the success of the Awami National Party (ANP) in the NWFP, a tribal area of Pakistan that is traditionally a Taliban stronghold. The success of this secular, leftist, Pashtun party has left some worried that the ANP may call for secession but it has yet to do so. It is yet known whether the success of the ANP will disrupt the success of Taliban-like groups or cause them to become more moderate.

**Boubekeur, Amer, and Samir Amghar. "Islamist Parties in the Maghreb and Their Links with EU: Mutual Influences and the Dynamics of Democratisation." (2006). Print.** This article analyzes the relationships that Islamist parties have with the European Union via the European Neighborhood Policy, looking specifically at the Movement of the Society for Peace (MSP) and the Justice and Development Party (PJD) in Algeria and Morocco, respectively. The authors conclude that both the MSP and the PJD have abandoned their former “revolutionary rhetoric” and have become more moderate as they engage in the political process, growing aligned with more center or conservatively aligned parties. It appears that political engagement acts as a moderating force on the degree of religiousness of Islamist parties.

**Clark, Janine A., and Jillian Schwedler. "Who Opened the Window? Women's Activism in Islamist Parties." *Comparative Politics* 35.3 (2003): 293-312. Print.**

The article looks closely at women’s political participation in the late 1990s and early 2000s in both the Islah Party (Yemen) and the IAF (Jordan). Contrary to popular discourse, the decision to include women



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is not a conscious choice, neither is it to give their parties international or political appeal. Rather, internal party divisions have opened a window of opportunity for women to mobilize.

**Dalacoura, Katerina. "Islamist Terrorism and the Middle East Democratic Deficit: Political Exclusion, Repression and the Causes of Extremism." *Democratization* 13.3 (2006): 508-25. Print.**

Although terrorism is outside the scope of our study, this article is useful in that it examines the role of ideology and politics. Exclusion from politics caused some groups to become violent while it caused others to moderate. When groups were included in the political process, the results were mixed. The inclusion of the IAF in Jordanian politics since 1945 has allowed it to moderate; conversely, the exclusion of Ennahda in Tunisia forced this party to moderate. Again, the contrast of the Egyptian MB (exclusion) with the AKP in Turkey (inclusion) shows that while both have moderated, they did not have the same experience in the political system. Therefore, Dalacoura concludes "no conclusive evidence of a necessary causal link between the democratic deficit in the Middle East and Islamist terrorism."

**Dalacoura, Katerina. "Turkey, Iran and the Arab Uprisings: The Failure of Political Islam and Post-Ideological Politics." *Center for Strategic Research and Analysis*. 11 Dec. 2011. Web.** Dalacoura looks at the role that Islamist parties have played in the Arab revolutions, specifically Egypt and Tunisia. She wonders whether the AKP is actually a viable model for these parties, given the unique history of Turkey and the authoritarian line the Turkish government has taken within recent years.

**Dalacoura, Katarina. "Unexceptional Politics? The Impact of Islam on International Relations." *Journal of International Studies* 29.3 (2000): 879-87. Print.** While many scholars believe Islam dictates politics in the Middle East, governments actually use Islam as a guise for what is rational politics: to gain and maintain power. For example, the Iranian regime relied on Islamic themes to justify the Iran-Iraq war even if it was really about territory. Also, the article argues that there is nothing "authentic" about "Islamic" human rights v. international norms; rather, the assertion of "Islamic" human rights is just a power play by conservative Muslims to assert control within the political system.

**El-Ghobashy, Mona. "The Metamorphosis Of The Egyptian Muslim Brothers."**

***International Journal of Middle East Studies* 37.3 (2005): 373-95. Print.** The author argues that the Muslim Brotherhood has strayed away from strict adherence to Qutb and has moved to reinterpret al-

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Banna for modern times. This has allowed the Brotherhood to more readily engage in the political process. She maintains that the MB are rational political actors and will therefore be affected by the political process like any other party. In short, she argues it is “the institutional rules of participation rather than the commandments of ideology that motivate political parties.”

**Henderson, J. Vernon, and Art Kuncoro. "Sick of Local Government Corruption? Vote Islamic."**

***National Bureau of Economic Research - Working Paper Series (2006). Print.*** The author’s research in Indonesia, from elections in 2001 and 2005, shows that Islamic local governance has proven to be less corrupt than secular parties. The first round of polling from this study was taken in 2001, when Indonesia underwent a transformation to “full local democratization.” The authors show through their data that corruption increased in localities that voted in secular parties. Since corruption continued in these areas, the electorate fled secular parties and voted for Islamic parties instead in 2004. Islamic parties are often perceived to be less vulnerable to corruption, and according to this study, that is largely true. It remains to be seen whether the growing popularity of Islamic parties at the local level will translate to less corruption at the national level in the long run.

**Gerges, Fawaz. "The Transformation of Hamas?" *The Nation*. 7 Jan 2010. Web.**

Fawaz points to Hamas’ willingness to become part of a peace process, which recognizes a two state solution as moderation within the party. Interestingly, the support for a two state solution is rooted in religious and Islamic tradition and perhaps it was this justification that Hamas needed in order to make this position politically viable. This group shows that it is a player in a political game, not a religious ideologue. This is another example of the political process (elections in 2006) moderation a party’s position.

**Harik, Judith P. *Hezbollah: The Changing Face of Terrorism*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2004. Print.** The author relays the story of how Hezbollah, a "terrorist" militia, became a moderate and mainstream political force within Lebanon. Harik draws on years of first-hand accounts to describe Hezbollah’s transformations over the years and the extent of its reach, both in Lebanon and throughout the Middle East.

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**Jonasson, Ann-Kristin. *At the Command of God?: On the Political Linkage of Islamist Parties*. Göteborg, Sweden: Centre for Middle Eastern Studies, Göteborg University, 2004. Print.** The author discusses two important topics: “linkage” within Islamist political parties and whether or not Islam is compatible with democracy. These two topics are inherently intertwined. The author looks at how these parties are organized and reach out to people will determine how the parties participate within the political system.

**Kepel, Gilles. "The Trail of Political Islam." *Open Democracy*. Print.** Kepel looks at three social groups, which Islamists have been able to mobilize and coalesce around their ideas: the young urban poor, the pious middle class and the Islamist intelligentsia. He claims that Islamists will never be able to seize power unless they can mobilize these groups. He claims these three groups have to be linked in order to seize control. He states that this succeeded in Iran in 1979.

**Nasr, Vali. "The Rise of Muslim Democracy." *Journal of Democracy* 16.2 (2005). Print.** The shift of Muslim majority countries towards democracy tend to occur when there was a receding military regime, an important private sector economy, and competition for votes, which causes parties to act pragmatically. This was the case in both Pakistan and Turkey. However, the democracy progressed much further in Turkey than in Pakistan. In Pakistan, the state was far too factionalized and the military acted as a state within a state and curbed the progress of democracy. Nasr argued that Turkey would continue toward secularization.

**Ottaway, Marina, Nathan J. Brown, and Amr Hamzawy. "Islamist Movements and the Democratic Process in the Arab World: Exploring Gray Zones." *The Carnegie Endowment* (2006). Print.** The authors from the Carnegie Endowment explore the six “gray areas” of Islamist parties: Islamic Law, the use of violence, political pluralism, civil and political rights, the rights of women, and religious minority rights. The vagueness regarding these issues is a result of these parties position as both political and religious actors.

**Schwedler, Jillian. "Democratization, Inclusion and the Moderation of Islamist Parties." *Society for International Development* 50.1 (2007): 56-61. Print.** The author concludes that the inclusion of Islamist parties in the political process will result in changes of ideology and will most likely lead to moderation.

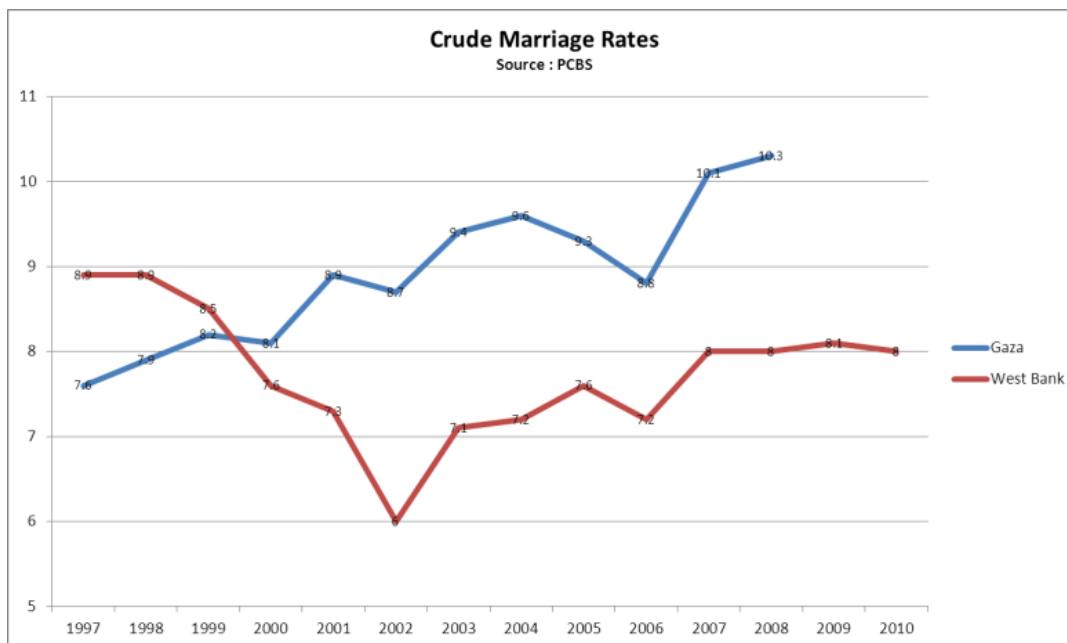
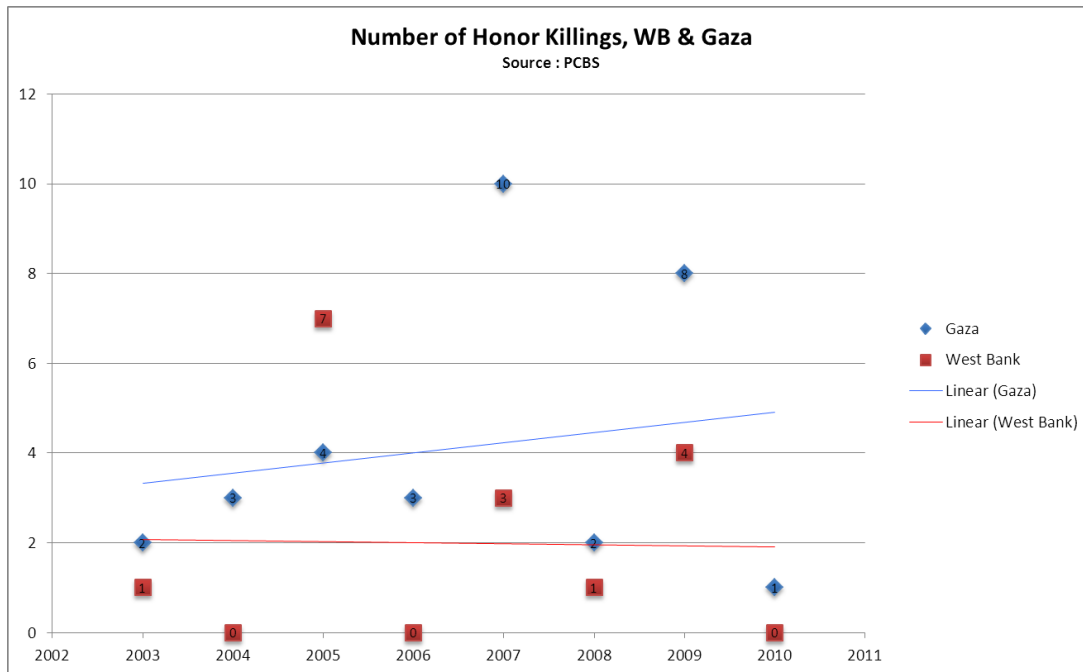
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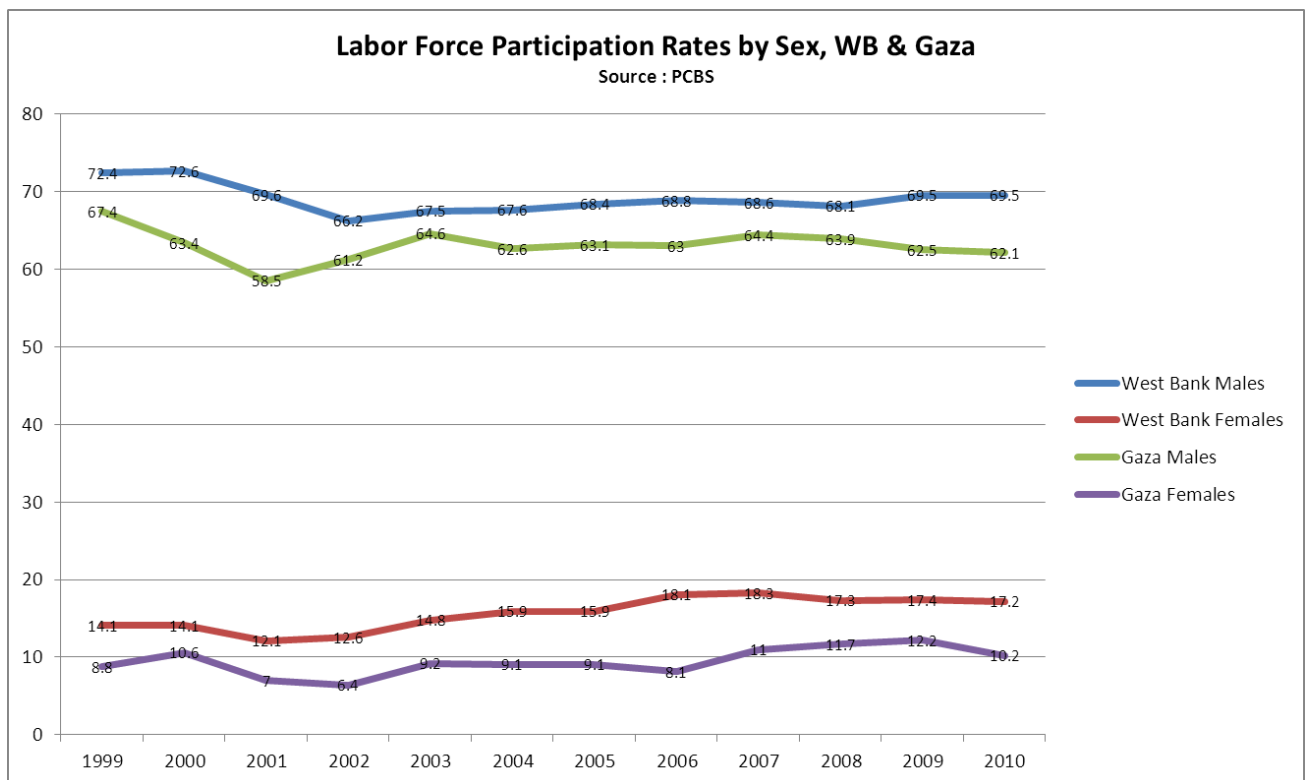
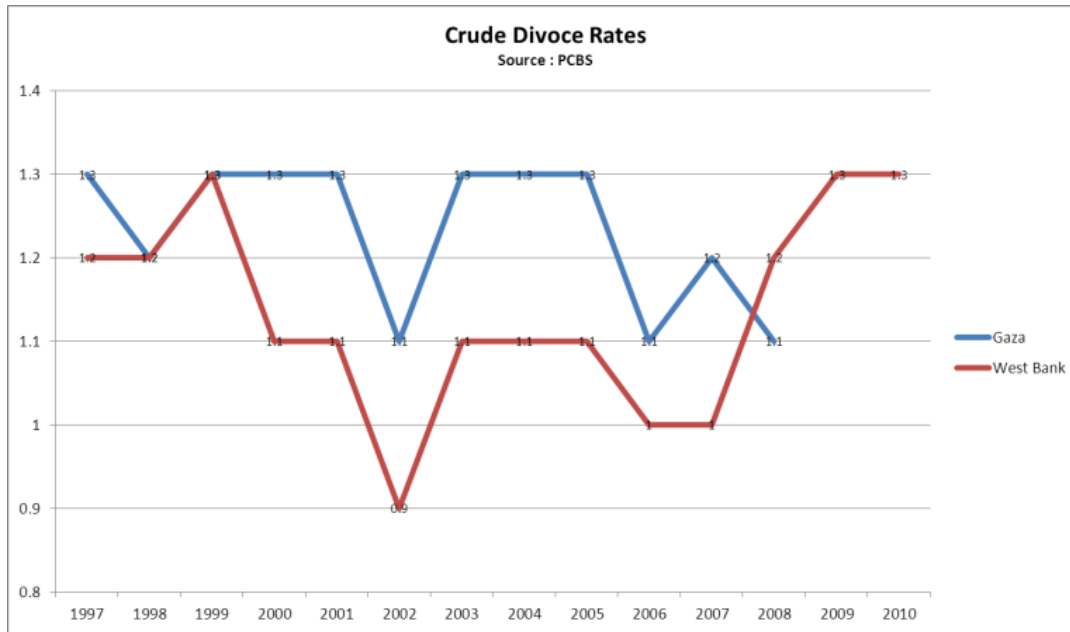
The author compares the experiences of Hamas and Hizbollah to that of the Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan.

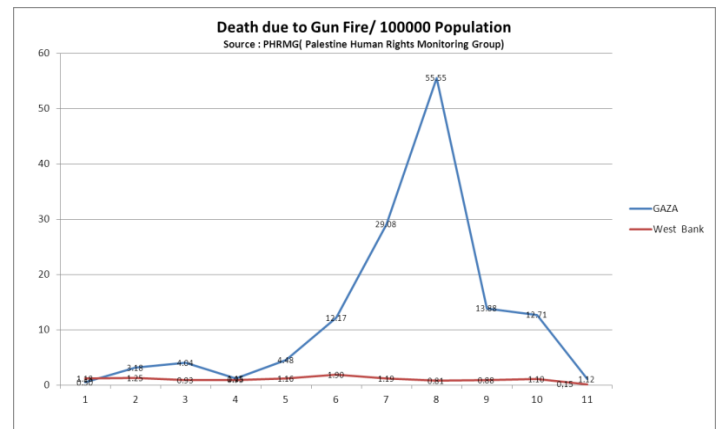
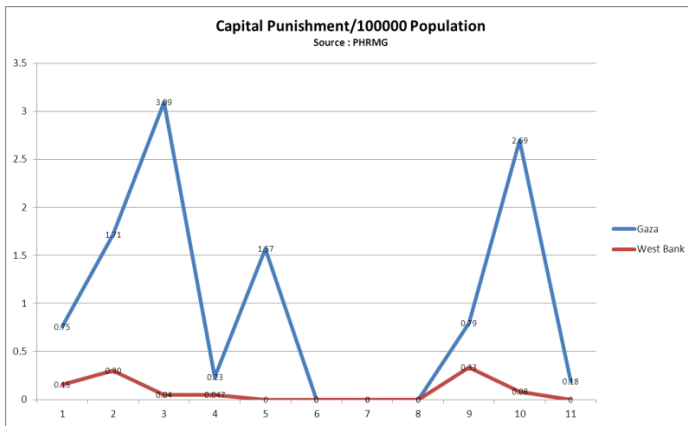
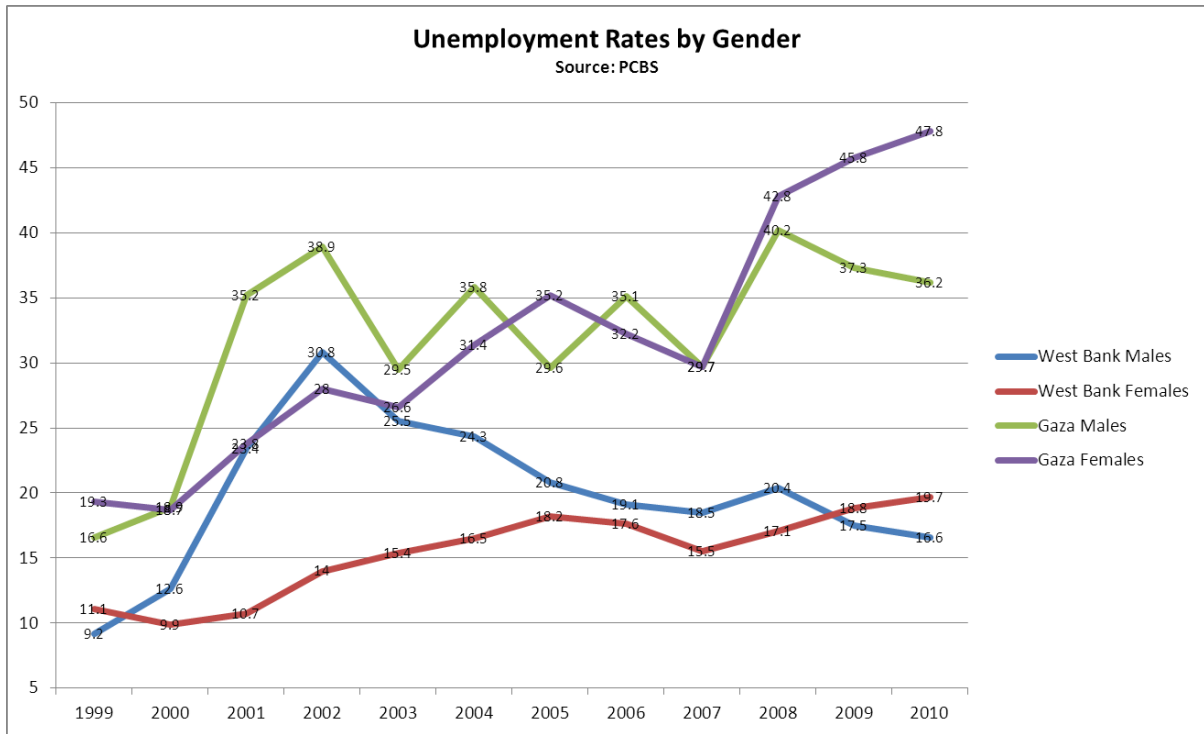
**Schwedler, Jillian, and Janine A. Clark. "Islamist-Leftist Cooperation in the Arab World." *Monthly Review*. 03 Apr. 2009. Web. <<http://mrzine.monthlyreview.org/2009/sc040309.html>>.** The authors examine the growing cooperation between Islamist movements and leftist groups within certain countries. They analyze this cooperation on tactical, strategic, and reform minded. These levels of cooperation are provided with examples from Egypt, Yemen, and Jordan. Although the authors admit that most of the cooperation is on a tactical, short-term basis, they insist that these examples of cooperation are growing.

**Yavuz, M. H. "Political Islam and the Welfare (Refah) Party in Turkey." *Comparative Politics* 30.1 (1997): 63-82. Print.** This dated article (Refah is no longer a party but was a precursor to today's AKP) is useful for its historical points. In 1996, the elections yielded the first Prime Minister of Turkey whose party was based in Islam. By allowing Islamic parties into the political sphere, Turkey "preserved" itself as a functioning democracy. The author looks at how the military take over of Turkey in the 1980s led to the "Islamization" of the political process in the 1990s. He also looks at the Welfare party itself and how it was able to integrate other groups into the political system.

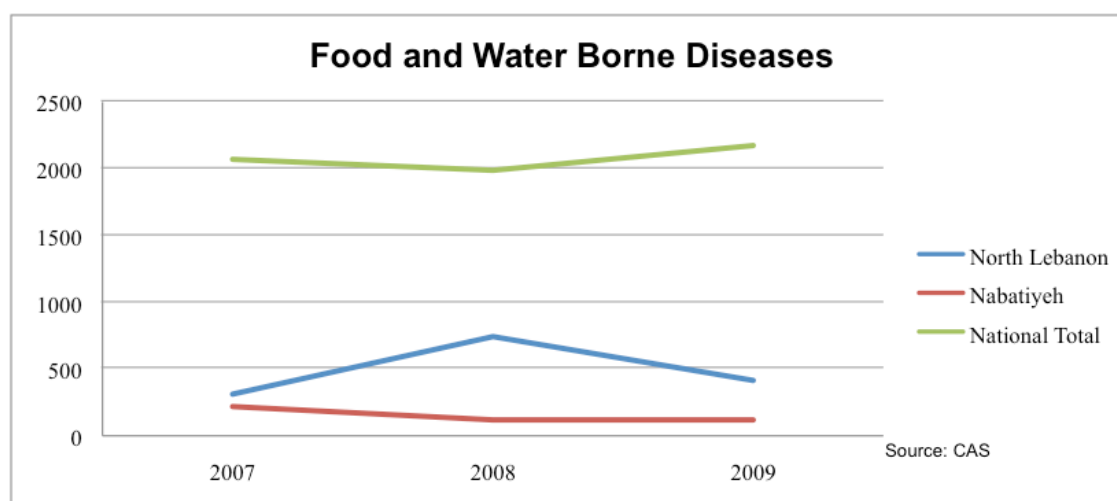
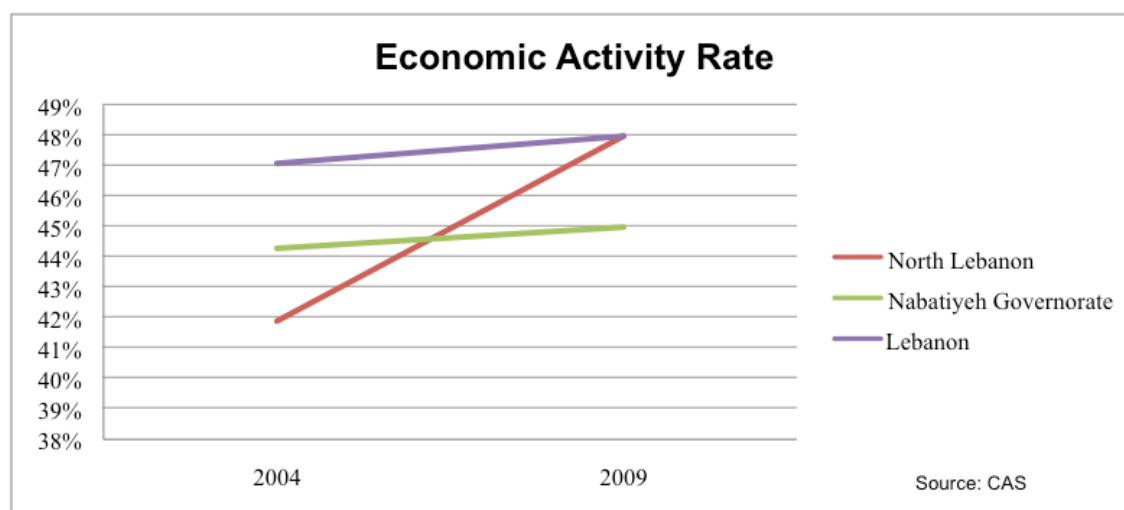
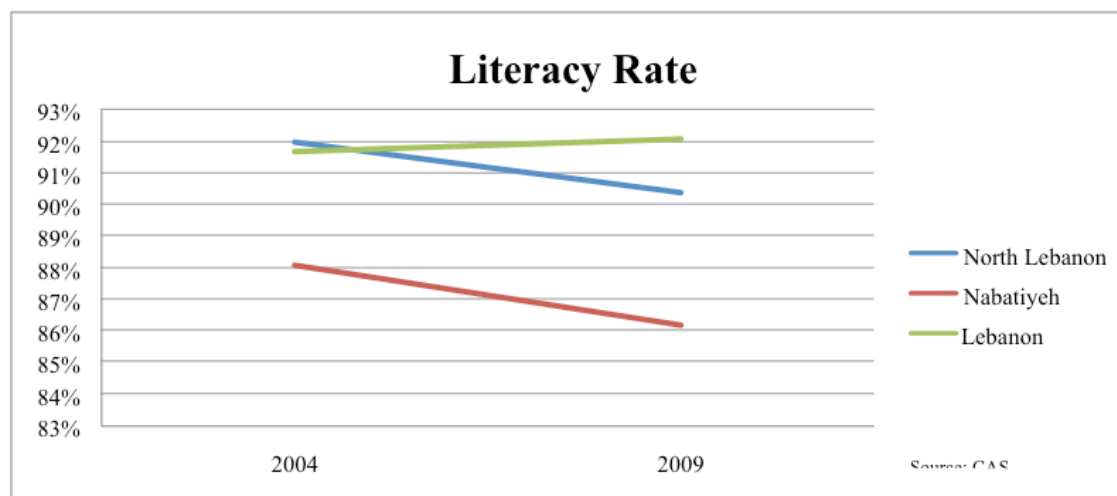
## Data: Occupied Palestinian Territories



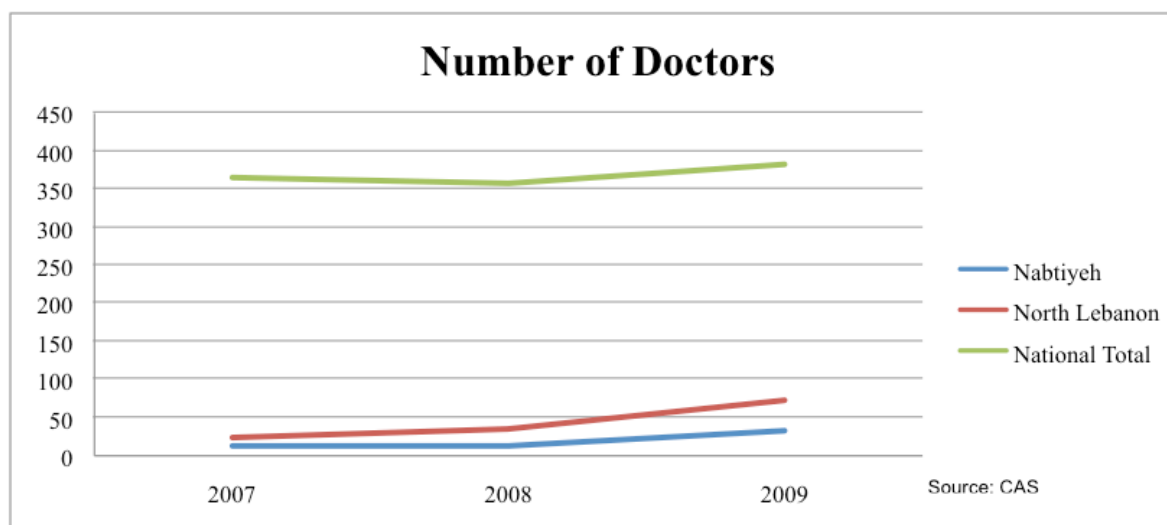
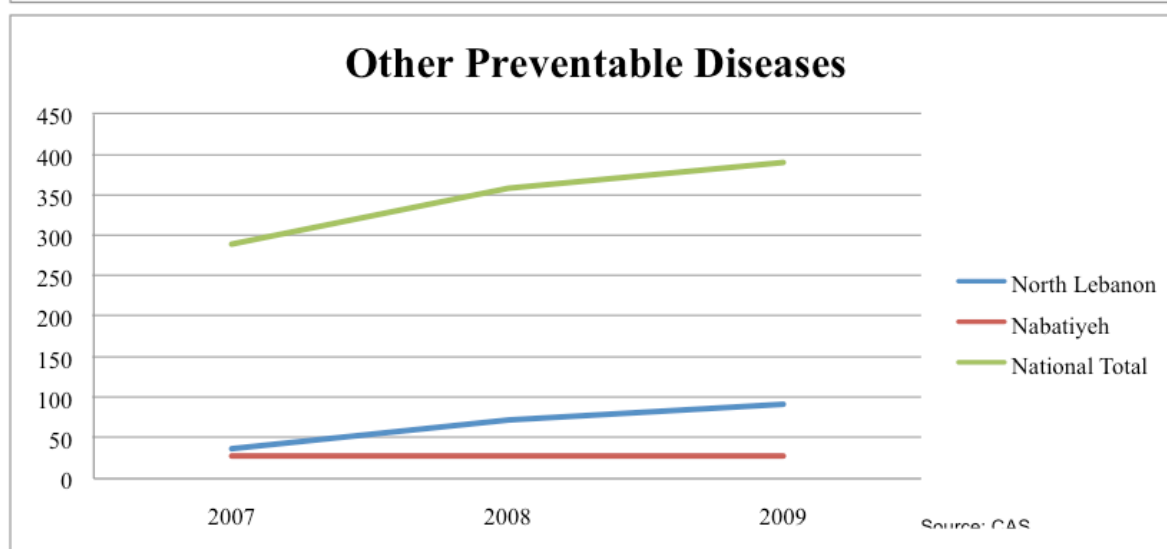
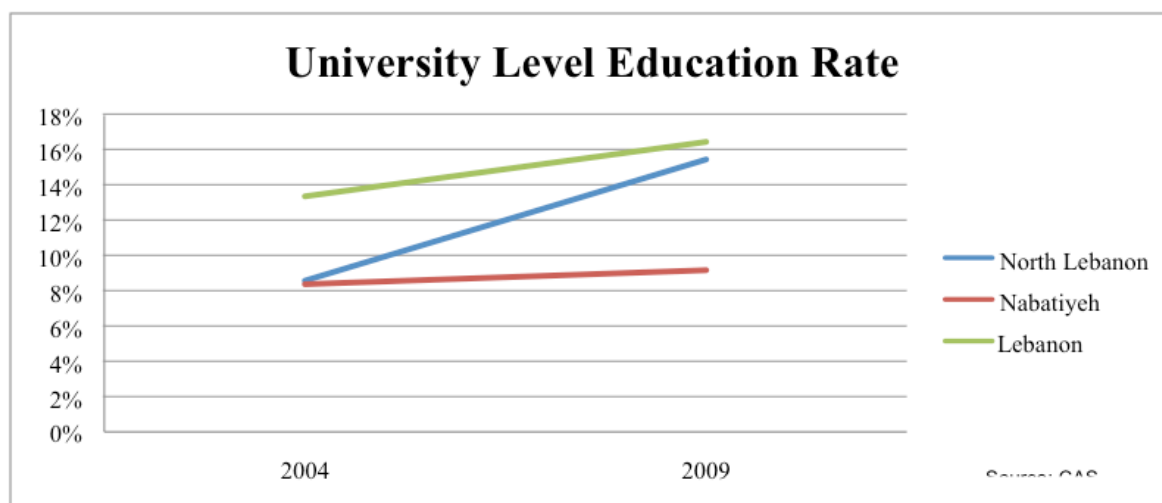




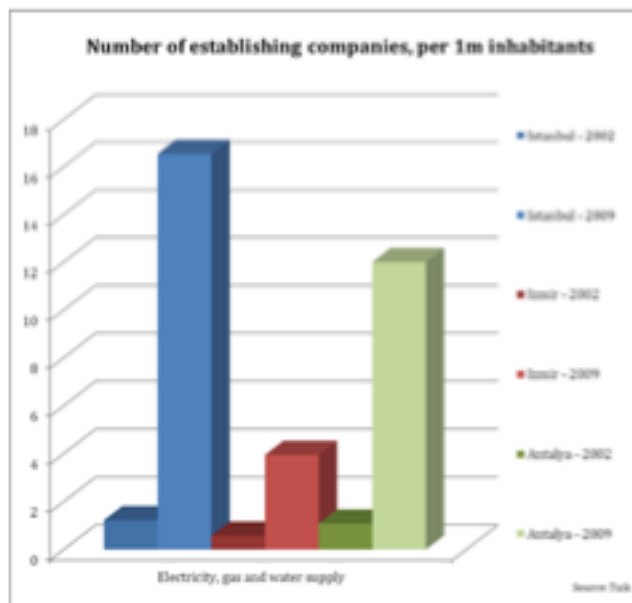
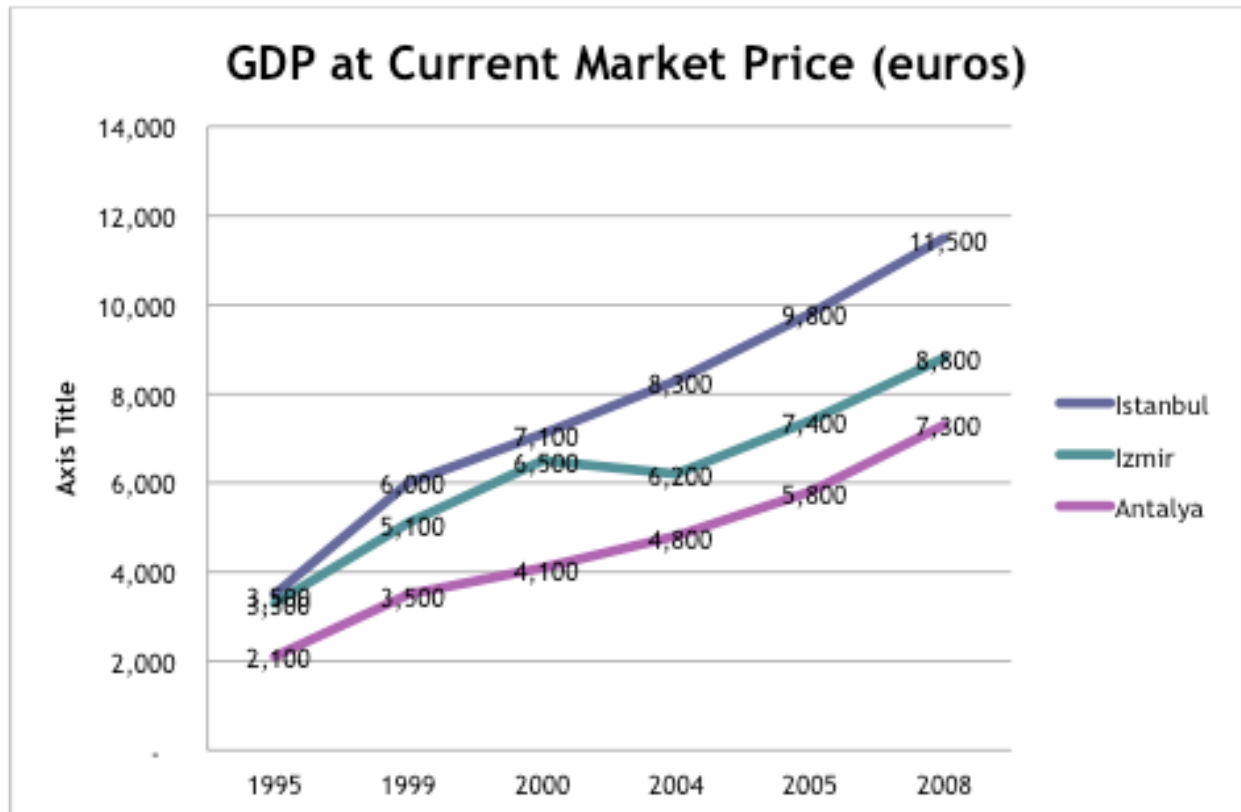
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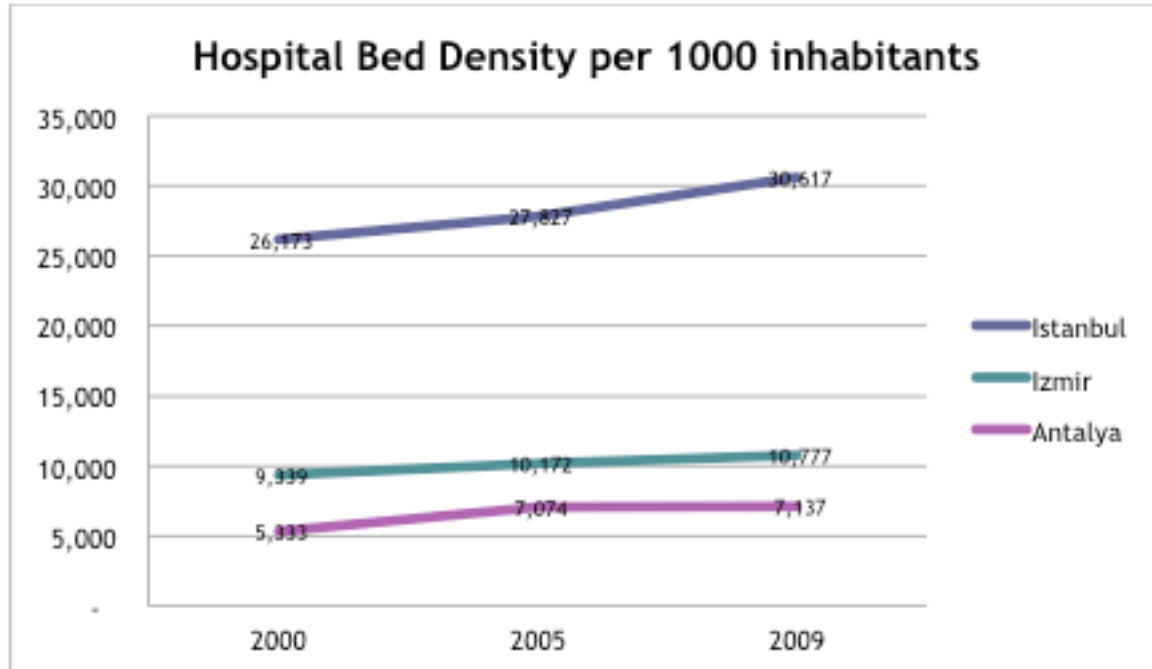




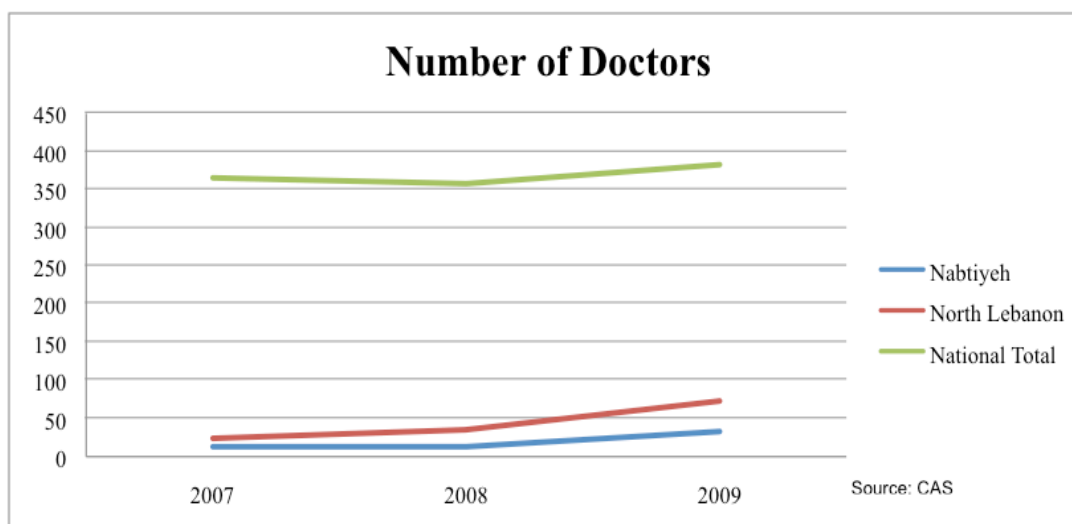
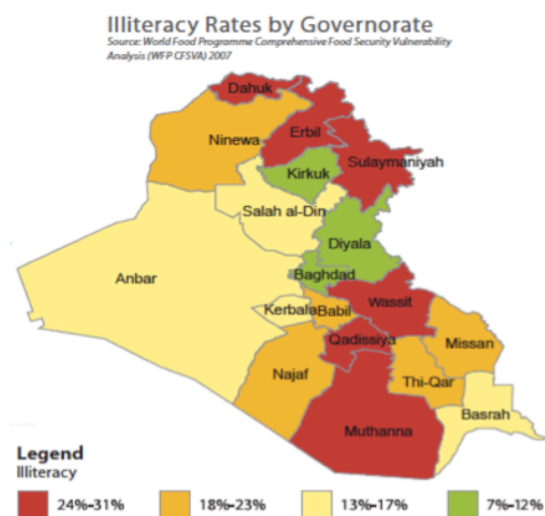
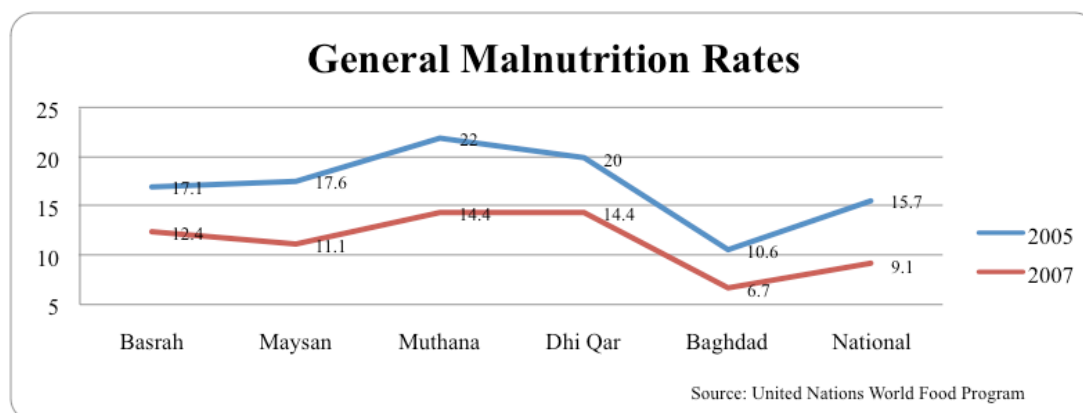


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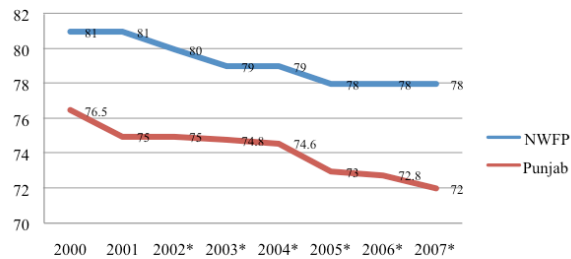


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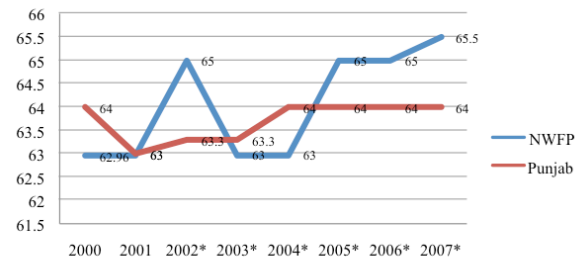
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### Infant Mortality



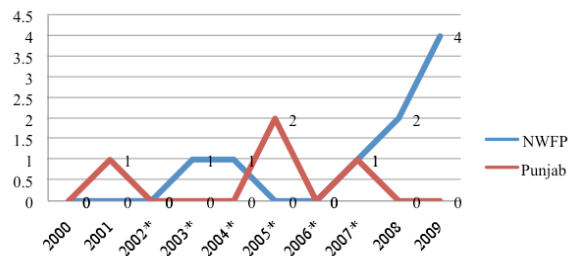
Source: Pakistan's Bureau of Statistics

### Life Expectancy



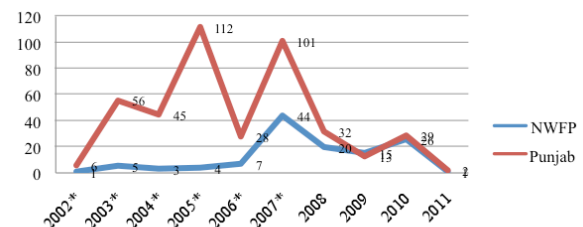
Source: The Fred Hollows Foundation

### Number of Journalists Killed



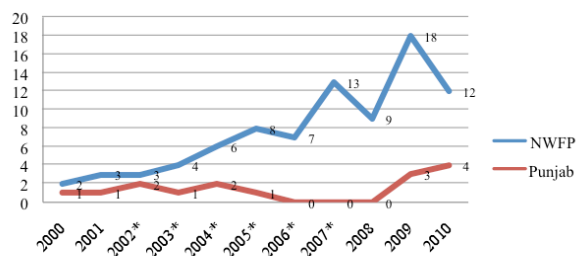
Source: Committee to Protect Journalists

### Number of Journalists Beaten, Intimidated, Arrested or Harrased



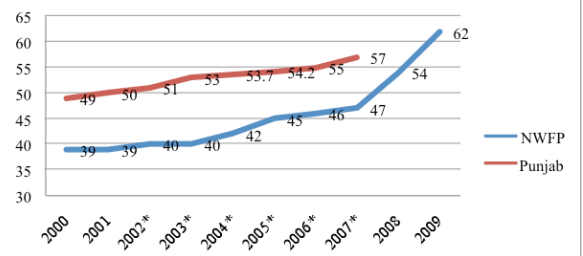
Source: Annual State of Media Pakistan Report

### Sectarian Violence



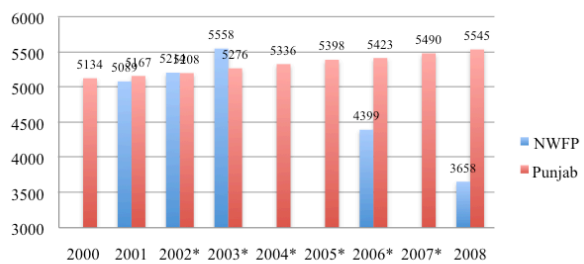
Source: South Asian Terrorism Portal

### Literacy Rate (%)



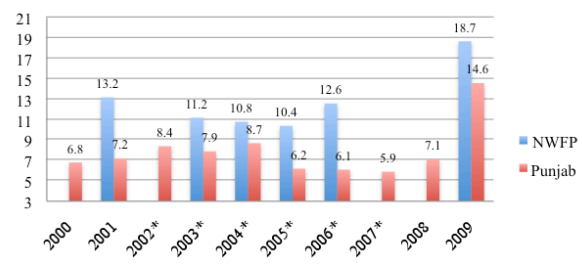
Source: Pakistan's Economic Survey

### GDP per Capita (in Rupees)



Source: Pakistan's Economic Survey

### Unemployment Rate (%)



Source: Pakistan's Bureau of Statistics

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